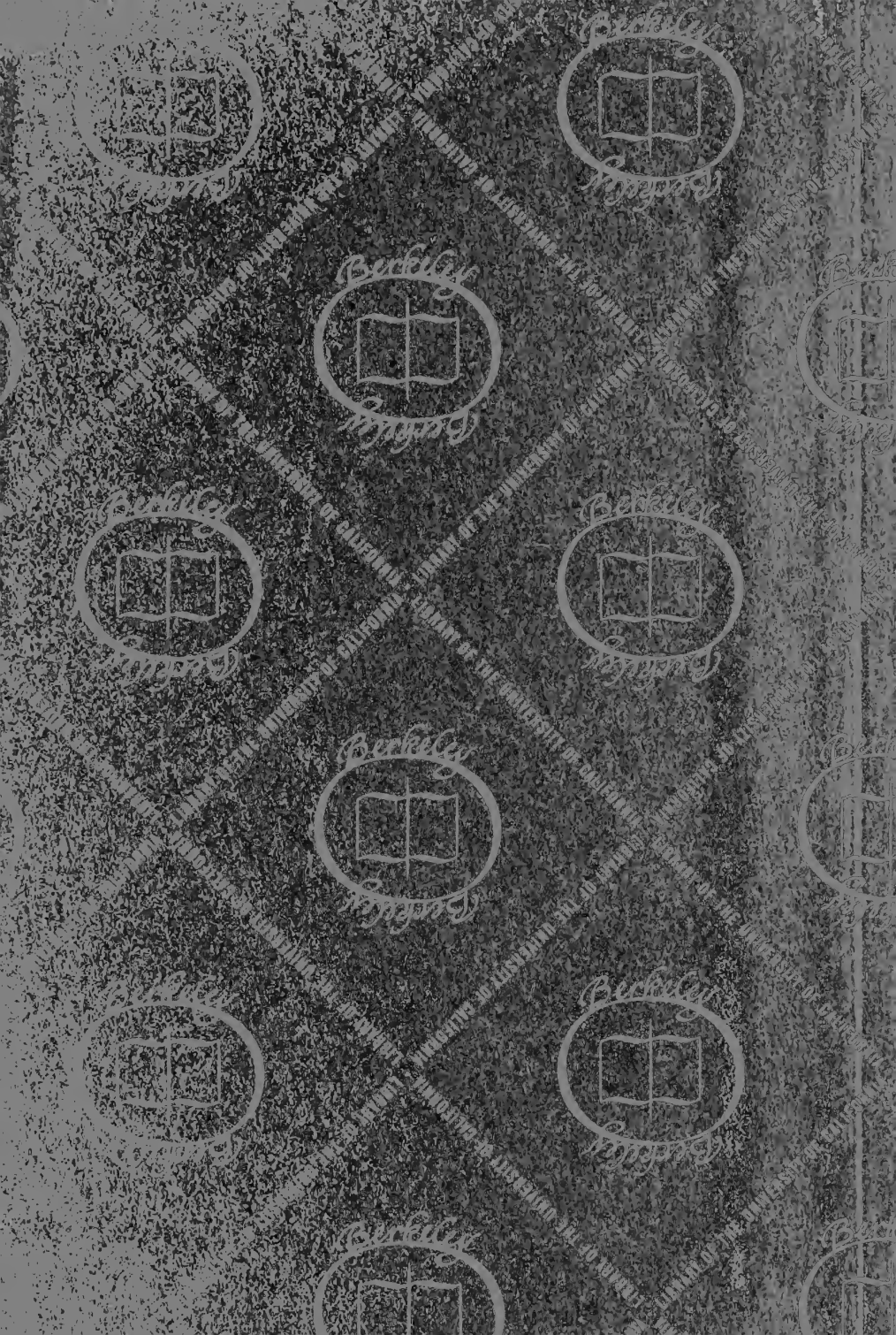


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MEMOIRS  
OF  
SIR GEORGE COURTHOP



THE MEMOIRS  
OF  
SIR GEORGE COURTHOP

1616-1685

EDITED  
FROM AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TRANSCRIPT  
IN THE POSSESSION OF G. J. COURTHOPE, ESQUIRE  
FOR THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BY  
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LONDON  
OFFICES OF THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
7 SOUTH SQUARE, GRAY'S INN, W.C.

1907





## PREFACE

THE Courthopes, or Courthops, an ancient Sussex family, are said to take their name from the lands of Courthope, in Lamberhurst parish. In the time of Edward I. we find Courthopes amongst the principal inhabitants of Wadhurst, more than two centuries before Whiligh became their home. But in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they were settled in Kent, partly at Goudhurst, partly at the old manor house of Goddard's Green, in Cranbrook parish.

Early in Henry VIII.'s reign John Courthope married Elizabeth, daughter of William Saunders, then in possession of Whiligh, and on Saunders's death, in 1513, Courthope became the owner of the manor, not merely in right of his wife, but by virtue of a will made by his father-in-law in his favour. In 1539 John Courthope granted Whiligh to his second son, George (whose elder brother, John, resigned all interest therein), and from that day to this the inheritance has passed, without a break, from father to first-born son, and, with only one exception, the owner of Whiligh has borne the name of George.

The author of the following Memoirs, the third George Courthope of Whiligh, did not write the story of his life until some forty years after he first set out upon his travels; it is therefore not surprising that his memory on certain points was not altogether trustworthy. This is chiefly shown in the matter of dates, but it is possible that some of the mistakes are merely copyists' errors, for, as will be seen by the short prefatory note by Mr. Ferrers, the transcriber, the two neatly written volumes at Whiligh do not contain the original narrative, nor even the first copy, but are a transcript of a transcript. In cases of undoubted inaccuracies, as in the notices of the Interregnum Parliaments and Charles II.'s coronation, we can only plead for our author that even so great a man as the Earl of Clarendon, when writing of what had

happened in days gone by, was not free from the crime of 'mixing his dates.'

To Sir George Courthope, looking back in old age to the time of his youth, his 'Wanderjähre' would loom large in memory. Unless there have been errors of transcription, he believed that he had been abroad from 1635 to the end of 1640, whereas he was only absent from England from October 1636 to Christmas 1639; but during that time he went considerably further afield than was usual amongst the young gentlemen of that day, not only studying and travelling in France, and going into Switzerland and Italy, but extending his journey 'out of Europe,' as it was then considered, to Malta and to Constantinople. Excepting a very alarming experience at Mitylene he had little in the way of adventure, but he visited many interesting places, and, owing to the absence of the Grand Signior, saw more of Constantinople than strangers generally succeeded in doing.

Within four years after his return to England, he succeeded to the family estates. He passed safely through the troublous times of the Civil Wars, and although his loyalty to the King was undoubted, his estates were never sequestered. This was, of course, partly due to the fact that he was never in arms; partly also to his official position at the Alienation Office, which was early removed from Oxford back to London, with the result that its officers were not mixed up with the doings of the King and Court. Even when it was discovered that they had been transmitting money to the King at Oxford they were let off with a reprimand, probably because it was considered that they were only sending in fines, &c., legally due to the Sovereign, not personal assistance for carrying on the war. Also the fact of his being the holder of a patent office was one which would appeal to the legal mind of the Puritan lawyer statesmen.

But he was certainly fortunate to escape so easily, for when, in 1656, Major-Gen. Goffe set to work to collect evidence against the Sussex candidates for Parliament, there was no lack of proof of Courthope's 'delinquency,' especially in relation to the petition for a treaty with the King in the spring of 1648, which he had not only promoted but had carried up to London himself (see 'Thurloe State Papers,' v. 341, 382, 383).

In 1653 the Alienation Office shared the fate of its great neighbour the Chancery, and was 'put down,' but was re-erected

in the following year and the Commissioners reinstated, on promise to 'hold their places by ordinance of Parliament.' This they got the young King's permission to do. They were, however, watched and controlled by a new Receiver, a strong Parliament man and a kinsman of Denis Bond. They contrived, in spite of him, to secure a small sum of money and send it to the King. The fact was known, but, as it could not be proved that the money had gone into Charles II.'s hands, the charges against them fell to the ground; and they managed to keep their places until the Restoration, when they were confirmed in them by the King.

Courthope says very little about his religious opinions in his Memoirs. He distinctly states that he was a Protestant, which in those days meant a Church of England man rather than a Non-conformist. With some risk to his safety, or at any rate to his comfort, he declined to attend Roman rites on shipboard; but that was the almost universal usage of English Churchmen in those days, when attendance on its services would be looked upon as almost equivalent to joining the Roman Communion. That it was not the result of bigotry is shown by his pleasant intercourse with the English Jesuit College at Rome, and his courteous attentions to Cardinal Francisco Barberini, 'Our Protector.'

Evelyn's 'Diary' gives us a very interesting picture of the attitude of an English Churchman during the Interregnum. No doubt Courthope, like Evelyn, would avail himself of the rites of his own Church whenever he could obtain them; but would resort to his parish church on a Sunday, that he might not be suspected of Papistry (counting himself fortunate if his minister, like Evelyn's, was 'presbyterianly ordained' and a quiet, peaceable man), and would make up for having to listen to extempore prayers and discourses of which he did not approve by reading the sermons of his own divines and 'saying the Common Prayer' in his own house (see p. 141, below).

On the great festivals he would, if possible, secure the services of a priest of his own Church, who would celebrate the Holy Eucharist in private; and if, as is probable, he was much in London, engaged in his official work, he would be able to hear Archbishop Usher at Lincoln's Inn, and to resort to the little church of St. Gregory 'by Paul's,' where the ruling powers

connived at the use of the Liturgy long after it was forbidden elsewhere.

On one occasion at least Courthope was brought into immediate contact with the Protector, and that in a manner which shows the confidence he felt in Oliver's judgment and fairness. His election for Sussex in the second Protectorate Parliament was, as already mentioned, opposed by Major-Gen. Goffe (and others), and they presented a petition against him, accusing him of sending money to the King and using the Book of Common Prayer. Courthope straightway carried a complaint against them to the Protector, apparently obtained easy access to him, and demanded admission to the House. Cromwell referred him to Lawrence, the President of the Council. A day was fixed for hearing the case before the Council, and meanwhile Courthope resorted again to the Protector, 'desiring him' to be present himself at the hearing, as his petitioner's 'life and fortune was at stake.' The day arrived, and the Protector arrived also, but with his mind so full of the proceedings of General Blake at Santa Cruz that Courthope's cause was laid aside, and in the end, by the mediation of Philip, Lord Lisle, the charge was dropped, and Courthope took his seat in the House, 'nobody anyway' interrupting him.

He was elected for East Grinstead in the Convention Parliament which met in April 1660, and heartily joined in the measures taken for recalling the King.

In spite of his known loyalty, George Courthope seems to have been somewhat anxious about his position after the King's return, owing no doubt to the fact that he had held office under the Parliament (although by the King's permission) and also had been a member of one of the Protector's Parliaments. There was no real need for alarm. Charles II. confirmed him in his post at the Alienation Office, granted him a place in the Band of Pensioners in succession to his late uncle, and knighted him at the Coronation. However, to make all safe, Courthope applied for and obtained a pardon under the Great Seal. These pardons were given out in very large numbers during the early days of the Restoration, and some of them (although not nearly all) are entered upon the patent roll. That to Courthope follows the usual forms, granting pardon for all acts of treason, &c., committed by him by colour of the authority of any assembly reputed or calling itself a Parliament, or of the Keepers of the Liberties of England (the name assumed

by the Long Parliament for official or legal purposes, writs, warrants, &c.), the Lord Protector, the commander-in-chief of the army, or others; with further pardon of all other offences saving complicity in the Irish rebellion, offences against the statutes against seminary priests, &c., and certain others specified.

This pardon, which is still in the possession of Mr. Courthope of Whiligh, is written on a large, fine sheet of parchment. The elaborate initial 'C' of 'Carolus' encloses a very carefully finished portrait of Charles II. The first line, 'Carolus Secundus, Dei Gratia,' is in large shaded brown letters, with highly ornamented initials. Above, in the centre, are the royal arms, bordered on one side by roses, carnations, and a lion holding a banner with the Lion of England crowned; and on the other side by thistles, single pinks, another flower (apparently a wild rose), and the unicorn carrying a banner with the harp of Ireland crowned. Below are butterflies, perched on the ribbon bearing the motto *Dieu et mon droit*. The document is countersigned 'Barker.' The Great Seal (broken) in green wax, is attached by a parchment label.

At the Public Record Office is the signed petition of George Courthope to the King for a place as Gentleman Pensioner. The essential part of this will be found on p. 138, *note*, below.

A word may be said of the transcriber of the Memoirs, who signs himself Edmund Ferrers, and states that he copied the manuscript at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1774, from a copy taken by Mr. Woodward, of East Hendred. There can be little doubt of Ferrers's identity with the Edmund Ferrers who matriculated at Christ Church in 1768 and took his M.A. degree there in 1774. One of his fellow students was George Woodward, junior, son of the rector of East Hendred. From him, no doubt, Ferrers would hear of the document, and a friendship with the Woodwards might naturally bring him into contact with the owner of Whiligh, Mrs. Woodward's brother. Ferrers was the son of a barrister of the Inner Temple. He afterwards became rector of Cheriton, Hants, and Wroughton, Wilts, and was made a chaplain-in-ordinary to the King. His transcript is written in a small, perfectly clear hand, and on the blank left-hand pages of the volumes he has added many notes, chiefly of a geographical nature. Those which have any point of interest are retained, but a large number, giving merely the latitude and longitude of the places

mentioned, are omitted. Ferrers's notes are distinguished from those of the editor by being placed within inverted commas and followed by the initials [E. F.]

A fact which gives an added interest to these Memoirs is that Sir George was not the only one of his family to leave a record of his journeyings in the early part of the seventeenth century. In 'Purchas his Pilgrimes' will be found 'The Journall of Master Nathaniell Courthope, his voyage from Bantam to the Islands of Banda,' during the years 1616-1620. Captain Nathaniel Courthope, who for four years held the island of Pulroon against the Dutch, unaided and alone, is called by Dr. S. R. Gardiner 'one of the noblest of those by whose unflagging zeal the English Empire in the East was founded.' He was a member of the branch of the family then seated at Goddard's Green. His 'Journal' has been again printed (from a copy of the autograph original by William Courthope, Esq., Somerset Herald) in vol. xxvii. of the 'Sussex Archæological Collections.'<sup>1</sup>

S. C. L.

*January 1907.*

<sup>1</sup> The transcript of these interesting Memoirs was placed at the disposal of the Council of the Royal Historical Society by G. J. Courthope, Esq., of Whiligh, through the good offices of W. J. Courthope, Esq., C.B., and Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte, K.C.B., an Honorary Life Fellow of the Society, both of whom have taken much interest in the preparation of this edition, for which Mrs. W. J. Courthope has kindly supplied the copy for the printers.

# PREFACE

(BY THE TRANSCRIBER)

July 1801.—These Memoirs were transcribed by me in or about the year 1774, at Christ Church, Oxford, from a copy taken by the Rev. Mr. Woodward, of East Hendred, Berks, from the original, then in the possession of Sir George Courthop's great-grandson, George Courthop, Esq., of Uckfield, Sussex. Mr. Woodward married his sister Albinia. His son, George Courthop, Esq., repaired and re-inhabited Whiligh (*margin*, A.D. 1735, October the tenth), which from these Memoirs appears to have been the family seat of the Courthops from the year 1620<sup>1</sup> to July 11, 1801 (the day on which I am writing there)—181 years.

EDMUND FERRERS.

It also appears from these Memoirs that Mr. Courthop, the present owner of Whiligh, is the sixth in succession of his family who has enjoyed the office of Commissioner in the Alienation Office. Sir George Courthop, his father, and grandfather, and son Edward were Commissioners. Mr. Courthop of Uckfield was a Commissioner, and resigned the office to his son.

Sir George says that the office is under the immediate inspection of the Lord Treasurer and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; that its object is the improvement of the King's revenue, and its annual receipts amounted in 1642 to near 16,000*l.*

The King was at Shrewsbury<sup>2</sup> when Sir George received his appointment, *clogged* (as he says) with the payment of 1,300*l.* to such persons as Lord Culpeper, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, should name. [E. F.]

<sup>1</sup> But see p. 95, above.

<sup>2</sup> Should be 'Wolverhampton.' See note on p. 137, below.





## MEMOIRS OF SIR GEORGE COURTHOP

I WAS born in Sir George Rivers' house called Chafford in the County of Kent (my mother being his daughter) and was christened the third of June in the year 1616, as by the register in Penshurst Parish in Kent may be seen: some time after, Sir George Courthop, my father, left that place and kept house at Whiligh in the County of Sussex where I now dwell.<sup>1</sup> I being about 4 years old, my mother died, and I with my two sisters Ann and Frances Courthop (the former was never married, the latter was married to Sir Charles Howard of Bookham in Surry and by her he had the Lord of Effingham<sup>2</sup> that now is) were put out to school at Westram in the County of Kent, they to a gentlewoman whose name was Isley, to be taught to work and write and dance, and play upon some sorts of musick; I was put to a Grammar school, which was there kept by one M<sup>r</sup> Walter, that had been my father's poor Scholar in Cambridge; with him I staid seven years, till I could make true Latin both in prose and verse; and then was removed to Merchant Taylours school in London, and from thence to Westminster, where I remained till I went to Oxford, which (I take it) was in the year 1630,<sup>3</sup> and there I was placed in University

<sup>1</sup> The first Sir George's father, John Courthope of Whiligh, Esq., died in 1615, and is buried at Ticehurst. His son George probably removed to the family seat not long after the younger George was born.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Charles Howard died in 1673. His eldest son, Francis, succeeded as 5th Lord Howard of Effingham in 1681, on the death of Charles Howard, third Earl of Nottingham, without direct heirs. The reference to him as the Lord 'that now is' shows that the Memoirs were not written, or at any rate finished, until after 1681.

<sup>3</sup> According to Foster's *Alumni*, the true date was two years later; i.e. he matriculated June 22, 1632, aged sixteen, and took his B.A. degree on May 8, 1635. If these dates are correct he was only for a few weeks under the care of Dr. Bancroft, who resigned the mastership of University College on August 23, 1632, on his appointment as Bishop of Oxford. Dr. Thos. Walker was elected in his place on August 31.

College an upper Commoner; for we had no Fellow Commoners though they were Noblemens' Sons; the Master of that College at my coming thither was Dr Bancroft who was after Bishop of Oxford; he kept us to do as much exercise in the house as any poor scholar or Servitor did: and we were fined upon omission, and reproached if we did not make our exercises, either in the Hall or in the Chapel, better than the lower Commoners or Servitors. After I had been two years there, I answered in the Schools under-bachelour, under Sir Henry Chicheley; and at three years end, as a Knight's eldest son, I commenced Batchelour of Arts. The day I took my degree, I made a great dinner in the hall, at my own expense, which came to above 40*l.*, and had liberty to invite what persons I would to it, of what degree soever they were in the University. I staid there two years after I had taken this degree, and did most of my exercise for my Master's degree, after I had perfected my exercise for my Batchelor's; but did not make an end of them, nor did I take the degree of Master of Arts upon me; because in the year 1635 (as I guess) I was taken from the University to go and travel beyond the seas with Francis Lennard, Lord Dacre of Herstmonceaux in Sussex.<sup>1</sup>

As we were sailing between Rye and Dieppe, we were taken by an Algerine, who plunder'd us of all our fresh meat, and 100*l.* in money taken from Mons<sup>r</sup> Battilliere that was Secretary to the Earl of Liecester, that was then Ambassador in France: <sup>2</sup> my Lord

<sup>1</sup> The journey to France could not have been so early as 1635, as the Earl of Leicester did not go over as Ambassador Extraordinary (Lord Scudamore being Ambassador in ordinary) until May 1636. As is shown by the next note, Courthope and Lord Dacres crossed in October 1636. The former was therefore not much more than one academic year at Oxford after taking his degree.

<sup>2</sup> This incident enables us to fix the date almost exactly. In his despatch of October 23–November 2 the Earl of Leicester writes, 'The seas are now dangerous, by reason of the Dunkirks; and the other day, Battiere, my secretary (who hath lately bin with your honor) in his returne between Rye and Deepe, being in the English passage boat with my Lord Dacres and some other gentlemen, they were met by the Dunkirks, who (notwithstanding they were English and provided with good passports) used violence against them, and robb'd them, taking away from Battiere, in particular, amongst other things . . . about 50*l.* in Spanish pistols . . . and if the sight of a Holland man of warre had not made them goe away, they had used them worse. The particuler declaration . . . I will send, God willing, the next weeke.' *Leicester to Coke, S. P. France*, vol. 102; printed in *Collins's 'Sydney Papers.'* Courthope calls the pirate ship an 'Algerine,' but, apart from Leicester's statement, this is shown to be incorrect by the context. A 'Turk' would not have cared in the least whether the goods were French or English.

was forced, tho' very seasick, to be carried by two men on the bed he lay on, upon the deck to testify to them that there were no French goods in the ship, but being a Nobleman of England he hired it, to carry him and his company over to France. When we came to Paris we staid there some two months, to visit the Noblemen and Gentry of England that were there, who returned all our visits to our great satisfaction. When these civilities were ended, my Lord's Governour, by name Monsr. Dupont, persuaded him to go down the river of Loire, to Orleans, Tours, Blois, Saumere, Angiers, to see which of these he liked best, and there to stay and learn the language: when we had seen all these cities, my Lord chose Angiers to live in: I having had a recommendation from Sir William Champion<sup>1</sup> to a Scotchman seven leagues beyond Saumeres, that was Master of an Academy in Loudoun (his name Strachan) went there, and so my Lord and I parted by consent, that we might the better apply to get the French tongue, to give our friends satisfaction.

I had lived in the town of Loudoun 13 months, in which time I had a great sickness, much about the 21st year of my age;<sup>2</sup> the spotted fever struck in, after coming out upon me, but by physick was forced out again: this fever was occasioned (as I and my Physician guessed) by a fall I had into a wine cellar, in a winter night, at the lodging of M<sup>r</sup> Jervais Pierrepont, brother to the Earl of Kingston, who then sojourned in this town on the same occasion; the cellar door was to be opened in a certain passage that led out of the house into the street: I going thro' the passage into the street to make water, the maid of the house, having occasion to draw wine, the time that I was out of doors in the street, left the door (which was in the manner of a trap-door) open; I coming in and finding no candle in the passage, thought the passage as firm and close as when I went out; but after my first step into the house, going to fetch another, I found no place to sett my foot on, so that I fell down into the cellar; and my foot that found no bottom to fix on, was dashed violently against one

<sup>1</sup> A near neighbour of the Courthopes. Seated at Combwell, in Kent, only about three miles from Whiligh. Sir William commanded a regiment for Charles I., and was killed in a sally from Colchester during the siege in 1648. In later times there were many marriages between the Campions and the Courthopes.

<sup>2</sup> This fits in exactly with the true dates. Courthope's twenty-first birthday was on June 3, 1637, when he had been at Loudoun some five months or more.

of the stone stairs that went down into the cellar; and calling for help, when they came to me, going to rise up, I could not stand on the foot, which upon search was found dislocated; by reason of the dislocation, I was advised to keep my bed to ease my leg; and laying long upon my back to give my leg rest, the fever took me, which held me to the danger of my life for the space of four months, at the end of which time, I began to mend, which was manifested to the Doctors that I made use of by a scurfe that came all over my body, under which were millions of lice; so that when the scurfe was peeled off from my body and the lice taken away, there was new flesh appeared as if I had been newly born. When I had recovered strength enough to go abroad, I resolved to quit that place; but before I left it, intended to try whether the possession of some Nuns in that town by the Devil, as the Jesuits gave out (and had a form in Latin to exorcise them before they expelled them out of the Nun) were a real truth or a mere imposture: The Lord Purbeck's Lady<sup>1</sup> coming to the town, being a Roman Catholic, to see this exorcism, sent for me to come to her: when I came, all her discourse was of the wonders these Devils shewed, and how after diverse prayers and ejaculations used by the Jesuits, the Devil was expelled, and the Nun came to her natural temper again: she desired me to wait on her thither, that she might receive the Communion and confess to one of those Fathers: I told her I was a Protestant, and should not be welcome to them, and was a Heretick in the Faith that these Nuns professed, as those were in the Gospel who were cast out by our blessed Saviour; she replied that it might be the means of my conversion, and urged me so far that I agreed to wait on her, provided she would ask the Nun that was possessed and exorcised that day, to tell me what was wrote in a Paper that I should hold in my hand, and her Honour should see what I wrote in it before I went, upon condition she should not reveal it to any of the

<sup>1</sup> Frances, daughter of Sir Edward Coke, married against her will to Sir John Villiers (Buckingham's elder brother), afterwards created Viscount Purbeck. When her husband's feeble-mindedness developed into insanity she fled from him with Sir Henry Howard. In 1635 she was committed to the Fleet, but escaped and entered a nunnery in Paris, which, however, she left in July 1636 (see Lord Scudamore's letter, *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, under date July 11-21). There is a mention of this 'possessed nun' in the Earl of Ancaster's MSS. Young Lord Willoughby saw her at Loudoun in 1649, when she was restored to her right mind and was prioress of her convent. See also Evelyn's *Diary*, under date August 5, 1670.

Fathers, for she had been told the Devil could foretell things past, and things to come, and any other question that was asked of them, in their time of exorcism. The next day I waited on her to the nunnery of the Urselines, for so the Jesuits had named them: when I came to the place, one of the Nuns cries out, *Le voila un Huguenot* (Yonder is a Protestant) meaning me. I saw all the people fastening their eyes upon me, and demanded in Latin of the Father, if I might be permitted to ask one question: he answered me I might, for the Devil could answer any question in any language:

I then went on and told the Father that by the same reason the Devil knew me to be a Protestant he might know another man to be one. I demanded whether there were any more standing there, knowing Mr Covell who went with me to be one. After many prayers said and conjurations to make the Devil give me and the company satisfaction I was told I could not be answered till the Nun had received the wafer and an Honorable Lady (a stranger) had made her confession and received the Eucharist, which being done and the exorcism of the Devils going on I was called upon by the Lady Purbeck and one of the Fathers to come and remove the Nun's head (as she lay flat on her back) from the ground. Mr Covell and I at one side and two Papists with the Lady Purbeck on the other side: but though all five of us lifted together we could make no motion in her head, but it remained as immovable as a Church: The Father told us the Devil was entered into her head and that was the reason it was fixed to the floor of the room but by his Prayers and the form of exorcism he used he would get it out and then one of our fingers could make it stir this we saw performed, by what juggling tricks was not made known to us. Upon this the Lady Purbeck came and asked if this were less than a miracle, I answered it might be a matter of wonder but no miracle; she demanded if I would stay to know what was in the paper in my hand and she would know of the Father if I should have satisfaction: She asked him and his answer was *Nimia curiositas in facie populi post miraculum factum*. After I had received this answer I went home and left them that were there to see the end of the exorcism of the day. I went afterwards to take my leave of the Lady Purbeck; she being to leave the town and going for Rome. I found her fully possessed of the Truth that the Nuns have the Devil in them for some certain time

and that the Prayers and forms of exorcism there used by the Jesuits were the cause of the Devils leaving them till he re-entered again.

Being to leave the place I was diligent in making enquiries of all persons of my acquaintance whether Protestants or Papists how this possession of the Devils in these Nuns was originally brought into the town: there was a Protestant of good quality in the town that told me if I could persuade the Master of the Academy, whose name was Strachan, and my Landlord, to open the intrigue to me he could do it, provided there came no prejudice to him by it: being thus sett on I told my Landlord I was going away and never should see him again and knowing him to be a learned man (as indeed he was) and laughed to see what Juggling was put upon the people, desired him to give me his positive sense of the possession and exorcism there used by the Jesuits: He answered he would go the first days journey with me out of the town and at our Inn he would go so far as to tell me what he knew of it; the day being come and the night having brought us to our Inn, after supper I desired him to make good his promise, he told me he should do it provided I would make good a promise to him that I should never disclose it to any Person or return to the town again to work his ruin by it. I giving him full assurance of both, he then told me Cardinal Richlieu, who was the great Minister of State in those days, was resolved to build a town where he was born and call it by his name; this place of his birth was some eight miles from this Loudoun, and he finding this town full of Protestants and a city where was a Castle, Courts of Justice and a great trade driven was resolved to depopulate it and carry the Garrison of the Castle the courts of Justice and the trade to his town called Richlieu,<sup>1</sup> all which he lived to see performed: and finding no better way to effect it, sent down these Jesuits and Nuns to make an exorcism there, whereby the Protestants' Religion might be disgraced; and such who turned to be Papists upon sight of this wonder, if they would leave the town and go to inhabit in his town they sho'd be seven years free from all imposition and pay two capons a year during that time for rent:<sup>2</sup> these privileges and

<sup>1</sup> 'Richelieu, built by the Cardinal in 1635; 152 miles S.W. of Paris.' [E. F.]

<sup>2</sup> Strachan's curious tale evidently ends at this point, the rest being an addition of Courthope's own, supplied from the information of the son in 1644.

the other juggle so effectually wrought, that the Castle was demolished, the courts of Justice removed and all ways and means that brought profit to the town were carried to Richlieu and that being peopled and his work done the Jesuits and Nuns left the town: and my landlord's son (who came over to England in the year 1644), told me the vizard was taken off and the juggle manifest to all the world, and, though he was a Papist, he could not but acknowledge to me he never had faith enough to believe it to be a truth.

Having parted with my landlord Strachan and heard his sense of the possession I went on towards Lyons and took Orange and Avignon in my way for Geneva, where I had a bill of exchange for 100*l.* to carry me to Rome; when I came to Geneva I found the plague very hot there, but there were in the city some of my countrymen, by name M<sup>r</sup> Cecil Tufton, brother to the Earl of Thanet, S<sup>r</sup> Edward Cowper, son of S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Cowper of the Assurance Office, M<sup>r</sup> John Tracey afterwards Lord Tracey, and M<sup>r</sup> Francis Twisden, the Judge's brother.<sup>1</sup>

After they had searched me in relation to my bodily health before I was suffered to come into the town, they asked me of my Religion, I told them I was a Protestant (no Papist being suffered to lodge there above one night without leave of the Council) they brought me into the city, and some of the Council were sent to tell me I was welcome, and brought me a couple of flaggons of wine and some fruit and told me if I staid there I must be subject to such laws as they lived under and conform myself to their manner of living, which upon discourse I found was, to be at service every

The French *Gazetteer* says that the town was 'built in 1637.' If Richelieu had such ambitious designs for the future of his town they were frustrated by his death. Evelyn, who visited it in 1644, writes, 'Since the Cardinal's death, it is thinly inhabited, standing so much out of the way, and in a place not well situated for health or pleasure.'

<sup>1</sup> *Cecil Tufton*, youngest son of Nicholas, 1st Earl of Thanet, and of Lady Frances Cecil. Born 1619; ob. 1682.

*Sir William Cowper*, bart. (of Scotland, and in 1642-3 of England), of Hertford Castle; collector of imposts in the Port of London. The Assurance office was 'on the left side of the Royal Exchange' (Anderson's *Commerce*, ii. 203).

*John Tracy*, grandson of Sir John Tracy, made Lord Tracy in 1642-3 at the age of seventy-two. John Tracy the younger was born in 1617, matriculated at Oxford in 1633, succeeded his father (Robert) as 3rd Lord in 1662, and died in 1686-7.

*Francis Twisden*, a younger son of Sir William Twisden, bart., soldier, courtier, and scholar, of Roydon Hall, East Peckham, Kent.

Sunday morning by seven o'clock and all the week after to frequent the Church as often as there was any preaching there, and if I missed at any time the Council took notice of it & sent to see whether it was by any indisposition of body or neglect; if the latter the Minister by name Deodati<sup>1</sup> was ordered with much sweetness in his fraternal reprehension to let you know the Council took notice of your default, and if you did go on absenting yourself from the Church you would lose your reputation in the City.

Having made enquiry for my Merchant whose name was Wright I found there was no such man living there but going to one Burlimachi a Merchant,<sup>2</sup> he told me my bill of exchange was mistaken and they had directed it false, for it should have been Genoa instead of Geneva: which was in Italy and in my way to Rome; being without money I asked Burlymachi if he would let me have some money upon my Bill of Exchange, which was to M<sup>r</sup> Wright of Genoa in Italy, he answered he would send my Bill to M<sup>r</sup> Wright and if I would stay till he heard whether M<sup>r</sup> Wright would accept of it he would furnish me and give me credit for the rest in Italy which I was forced to do being to get some of my countrymen to bear me company into Italy. After the usual time of hearing from M<sup>r</sup> Wright was come, I went to Burlimachi and he told me my Bill was good and I might have what money I pleased. I then had got M<sup>r</sup> Tracey's consent to bear me company into Italy, but the city of Geneva being so visited with the Plague, no other place city or town would let us come into it, unless we lay in a Lazaretto forty days to air ourselves without the town; this being our case, we, hearing of the Duke of Savoy's Secretary being to come to Geneva, when he was come M<sup>r</sup> Tracey and I, with our landlord, went to visit him and desired him that he would

<sup>1</sup> 'This was probably the friend of Milton to whom some of his Latin Elegiacs are inscribed. Milton was in Italy in 1638, and from these Memoirs it appears that Sir George Courthope must have been there between the years 1635 and 1641.' [E. F.]

Mr. Ferrers's suggestion is not correct. This is Giovanni Diodati (1576-1649), professor of theology and head of the Reformed Church at Geneva. Milton's friend, Charles Diodati, was the son of Giovanni's brother Theodore, who had settled in England. Milton was staying with Dr. Diodati at Geneva when he heard of his friend's death, and there wrote the *Epitaphium*. John Evelyn visited the Doctor in 1646, and 'had a great deal of discourse with that learned person.'

<sup>2</sup> The Burlamacchi were a family of wealthy merchants and financiers. The best known of them is Philip, who settled in England, and often assisted Charles I. and also the Queen of Bohemia.



suffer us to go as his servants with him to Turin in Piedmont where his Master kept his Court. After some hesitation he said, he had but such a number of persons in his pass and could not enlarge them, and if he did, before we came into Turin we must be aired as afore said: We were willing to undergo that, so the request was granted—At last he agreed, and told us when he went away, and bid us meet him three leagues out of the city, which we performed, and he, coming to his Master's dominions conveyed us to Turin, and so ordered it that we had liberty to come into the city, and to visit our Lord Embassadour who then was the Lord Fielding, Earl of Denbigh; <sup>1</sup> whom we desired to return thanks to the Secretary answerable to our obligations.

After some stay at Turin, we having a desire to go forward, told my Lord Ambassadour of our resolutions; he answered there was now an opportunity, such a one as we could not have expected, which was, that the Prince of Joinville, the Duke of Guise's son, <sup>2</sup> was going to the Duke of Florence, and that he had sent for the Duke's galleys to meet him at Savona, and that he would recommend us to the Prince, whereby our expences would be defrayed and the journey made with more ease and safety. We accepted of his Lordship's offer and the next day he brought us to the Prince whereby after complimenting he told us he had received information that there were 2000 Spaniards drawn out from the Garrison of Milan and other places under the Spanish dominions in Italy, to take him in his passage: for there was then an implacable war between the French and Spaniards; we replied that we would run the same hazard with his Highness, and so agreed to wait on him when so ever he should take his journey into Italy. The time being come we were furnished with horses of his, as belonging to his train. We had gone but one day's journey but sending out the scouts the day following to see if the coast was clear, they brought in news of 2000 Spaniards behind such a mountain, where we were to pass: upon which the Prince resolved to stay till he had sent to the Duke of Savoy for forces able to encounter these Spaniards;

<sup>1</sup> Basil Fielding, Earl of Denbigh, after being two years in Venice, was transferred to Turin in the autumn of 1637. He remained there a year, returning to Venice in the autumn of 1638.

<sup>2</sup> The Duc de Guise, driven out of France by the influence of Richelieu, had settled with his family at Florence in 1631.

we, not knowing what time might be spent in their raising and coming to his aid, desired leave to go before to Genoa, where my bill of exchange was; and when we heard his Highness was arrived at Florence we would wait on him there: He very willingly gave us free liberty to go, and wished us a good journey, and that the Spaniards might not set upon us instead of Frenchmen: we returned answer that we had; the Lord Fielding's pass to shew that we were Englishmen and that he had formerly been Ambassador at Venice and so was known by most persons of Quality in Italy: After having taken our leave of the Prince we pursued our journey.

Passing by a Castle called by name Mon Mellian,<sup>1</sup> we were there carried before the Governour, who demanded of what nation we were; we told him Englishmen; he desired us to make that appear to be a truth; we told him we could no otherwise do it in that place, than by shewing him a pass we had from the Lord Embassadour Fielding, who was by His Majesty's command gone from Venice to Turin to reside there during his Majesty's of Great Britain's pleasure, which we producing, after reading it he told us that he knew the Embassadour who was a brave person, and that for his sake he would further us in our journey, and so directed us to Savona where we embarked for Genoa; but before we parted, he enquired if the Prince of Joinville was not at Turin: we told him we had heard of such a person's being there, and would remain there till such time as the Duke of Florence should send his Gallies to transport him to his court.

Coming to Genoa, I enquired out Mr Wright, who readily furnished me with money; and having staid in that city time sufficient for viewing the walls and other memorable things there, we took shipping in an English vessell for Leghorn; where being arrived I there met an old acquaintance of mine at Oxford by name Mr Richard Jennings, son of S<sup>r</sup> John Jennings, Knight of the Bath, living close by S<sup>t</sup> Albans in Herts who had been some time in Italy and had learnt the language; and was then residing at Florence where the Duke and the Grandees of the Court delighted much in his company; who was a person for all kinds of divertissement; so that after he had made an end

<sup>1</sup> 'Montmélian, in Savoy, 27 miles E. of Grenoble; 8 S.E. of Chambéry.' [E. F.]

with his Merchant and we had seen what was worth seeing in the Port and Town we accompanied him to Florence, where he being acquainted with the great Duke's Gentleman, we had an opportunity of viewing all the rarities in his palace, but more especially in his Chapel and closet in which there is such a collection as I believe no Prince in Europe can show a better. Having made our abode there about six weeks, I was willing to go for Rome, but M<sup>r</sup> Tracey falling sick, and liking the place, resolved to stay there some months with M<sup>r</sup> Jennings and gave me leave to proceed in my journey to Rome; where being come after five days' journey with the Procacio, which is the messenger or carrier, with whom I had agreed both for my diet and horse. He gave me very spare diet, because I would not allow much money to the Priest that attended them at their Inns for a mass for a prosperous journey. He at Monte-fiascon set before me at dinner the hind leg of a fox upon a Fast Day. I guessing the affront to be because I went not to Mass with them as other passengers did, rose from the table without finding fault with anything; so went and procured some bread, and with wine for which the place is famous,<sup>1</sup> made up a dinner; and when the time of taking horse was come, I went on with the rest of the Company, who had taken notice how I was served, and so made answer that when I came to Rome I should return him a trick for his trick, which I did after this manner: There being a custom when you pay the remainder of your money, that is for the whole journey, which is the last day, the Messenger sets a plate on the table to see what every one will give him for his care of you the time you are with him; but alighting from my horse, I went to the place where I heard Dick Dewes (brother to Simon Dewes) was with Sir Richard Ducie<sup>2</sup> my countryman, who lending me an Italian they had for their servant,

<sup>1</sup> See Evelyn's *Diary*. 'We came to Montefiascone . . . heretofore Falernum, as renowned for its excellent wine as now for the story of the Dutch Bishop, who lies buried in Faviano's church with this epitaph:

"*Propter Est, Est, Dominus meus mortuus est.*"

Because having ordered his servant to ride before, enquire where the best wine was, and there write *Est*, the man found some so good that he wrote *Est, Est*, and the Bishop drinking too much of it died.'

<sup>2</sup> Sir Richard Ducie, knight and bart., son of Sir Robert Lord Mayor of London, &c., who died in 1634. Sir Richard was sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1637-8. On the breaking out of the Civil War he espoused the King's cause, was in Bristol at its surrender, and compounded for his estate upon its articles. (See *Cal. of Committee for Compounding*, p. 1017.)

I sent what money was due to him for my journey, without giving him any thing for his pains.

I made a stay of two months at Rome (being resolved to come thither again after I had been at Naples) and employed my time in viewing all the most famous churches, the Vatican, the Pope's Palace, the Pyramids and Obelisks and Pillars, which they say came out of Solomon's Temple, which are in S<sup>t</sup> Peter's Church in Vaticano; in which church they tell you are the bodies of S<sup>t</sup> Peter and S<sup>t</sup> Paul buried, the spear that was thrust into our Saviours side, some of Noah's Ark, some of the milk of the blessed Virgin, with many other relicks of Saints which I shall not here set down, nor can I remember, but refer the reader to the book of the Wonders which are to be seen in Rome, which is everywhere to be had. After I had satisfied myself with such rareties as I went to see, those of my countrymen whom I found there, had been at Naples and returned to Rome again; hearing them so much commend Naples and that being the last city in Italy and a Port-town, where I might take shipping for any place, I resolved to go and see it, which I compassed in five days; There I found Sir Edward Cooper and Ferdinando Marsham: the former I had left at Geneva, who told me that M<sup>r</sup> Tufton was gone from Naples by sea to Messina, with intention to pass from thence to Constantinople.

I staid in Naples about a fortnight, where I became acquainted with M<sup>r</sup> Keridge's Factor (a Merchant who married my Mother-in-law's Sister) who told me M<sup>r</sup> Tufton desired him if I came thither to let me know he would go to Malta, to see the island that did so annoy the Turks, with me, if I held any resolution and would come with him to Messina; after I had seen the three Castles which they call the Horse, Saddle and Bridle, I found an English ship called the *Prosperous*, Cap<sup>tn</sup> Driver Commander, who upon M<sup>r</sup> Kerridge's recommendation carried me to Messina, for a pair of Naples perfumed gloves; where being arrived, I was consigned to the same Merchant where M<sup>r</sup> Tufton lodged: we being met, our discourse was wholly turned on our several voyages: He was always enticing me to go to Constantinople with him. I alledged that I came out of Christendom without my Father's leave or knowledge and could go and see Malta and return to Italy before he could hear where I was: but the Merchant Mr. Dove having wrote his letters sooner

than usual, brought in after supper two flasks of Syracuse wine which is the strongest wine that the Island of Sicily affords: and discerning what pity it was that two such old acquaintance meeting by chance out of Europe, should part, made a proposition that we should fling dice, whether he should go with me, or I with him: we both agreed and the lot fell upon me he throwing more than I did. After the lot was fallen we addressed ourselves to Captain Driver, who was bound for Smyrna, after he had taken some lading at Messina.

The time of our setting sail from Messina being come we both went aboard and sailed through Scylla and Charybdis both being in the gulph of Venice<sup>1</sup> and passed by Mount Ætna where in the night-time we could see huge flames of fire come out of the burning mountain, that were not to be perceived in the day. After some few days' sail, we came into the Archipelago, amongst many rocks, and there we were becalmed so that we were forced to steer to a Bay whose name I have forgot near Negropont<sup>2</sup> to take in some fresh water, ours being almost spent. When we came to an anchor in the Bay, we hung out the white flag of truce and traffick with the inhabitants. They did the like; so the Captain manned his Long-Boat with men and musquets, and sent them to treat with the Inhabitants for fresh water & fresh meat; if they would bring any down to the shore the next day we would give them such commodities as we had on board for them or ready money: but the Captain having heard that some Dutch ship, being at anchor there, went on shore in the night and stole away thirty sheep from them, would not agree to any traffick with them unless they gave pledges of their Inhabitants, for so many Christians as he should send on shore; to which they agreed, and so when a Christian was set on shore a Turk was brought on shipboard. I asked the Captain's advice whether I might go with safety the first day, but he answered they were People whose word and promise stood for nothing, if they had advantage on their side; so he desired me not to go. Mr Tufton would venture and did go. There was a Renegado came along with their Pledges,

<sup>1</sup> 'Venice. Perhaps it should have been Messina; the Gulph, which is generally called the Pharos, is ten miles long and at Messina only a mile and half over. Scylla is on the Calabrian shore; Charybdis on the coast of Sicily. The Whirlpool is said to have been removed by the earthquake in 1783.' [E. F.]

<sup>2</sup> 'Negropont, the ancient Eubœa.' [E. F.]

an Italian, and from him we learnt, that if we had come ashore without taking pledges of them, they had laid an Ambuscade for us, that all our men had been cut off who had ventured to land, and gave us as a reason for so doing, that they had been robbed some five months before of a hundred goats and sheep, and they had an opinion that we were some of the persons coming for another booty. But we giving them knowledge that we were Englishmen, and not Frenchmen or Dutch, they were more open and free to us, and there was one amongst them whom they called a Chilabi, which is a Gentleman; He told us the next day there should be muttens and poultry brought down to the shore and coral and such like other commodities, so we shewed them English knives and tobacco and they said they would barter with us. In the middle of this discourse, the Captain's dinner was brought in; among the rest of the meat there was a leg of pork, at the sight whereof the Chilabi fell a crying; I asking the Interpreter what he meant by that flux of tears, he said now we had him on ship-board he did guess we would force him to eat pork, which he would rather die than do. We told him our intentions were not to put any abuse upon him, so caused the pork to be carried out to the sea men; and then he began to eat such as was set before him with confidence, and drank such beer and wine as was there, saying, he would send us to-morrow better wine and water than we had. The day being past and the warning piece shot off to let them know they must come aboard that were on shore, for the Turks were coming ashore. We parted very good friends, and the next day I ventured ashore upon pledges as aforesaid, but there were no houses nor persons near the Bay where we anchored, but those that trafficked with us came out of the country thereabouts, and brought down coral and quilted purses and brushes with poultry and muttens and we gave for them English knives, tobacco, shoes, stockings, gloves and painted boxes; and so, the day being spent, after we had walked a mile in the country, or thereabouts and brought down wild thyme which the soil did bear in great abundance, we returned to our ship and having taken in fresh water for our use we set sail for Smyrna; but we were so often becalmed, that we were thirteen weeks at sea going from Messina to Smyrna, which voyage Sir Sackville Crow performed with a fair wind in thirty-five days.

Being arrived at Smyrna I met with M<sup>r</sup> Henry Chowne who

was Factor for Sir John Caldwell<sup>1</sup> and my countryman in Sussex who took me and Mr Tufton home to his house, where he entertained us very magnificently, and shewed us what was to be seen there; it being a Port town, and the chiefest rarity that was there was St Polycarp's tomb who lays buried there.

Having been there some time we were informed by the Consul who liveth there, whose name was Mr Bernard, that he intended to go up to Constantinople by land on horseback; we told him if he would be pleased to stay till we had seen Ephesus we would bear him company which he agreed to: so we bought Horses, and got a Janizary and a Druggerman, which is an Interpreter; and rode five days' journey to see the Ephesian Church, and Diana's Temple, which is built in a quagmire but sunk an incredible way in the earth so that we went down into it with a candle, but saw nothing but vast rooms under ground, supported by marble pillars: and much more lay above ground, enough to build a great city. We could learn nothing from the people who lived there being all poor and unlearned; only they shewed us a great marble Font, which was that in which St John baptized the People: and Aquæducts that were brought ten miles off, of a stupendous height to bring water into the city: So we staid one night there, lodging upon the ground in a poor Turk's house; and the next day returned towards Smyrna; it not being worth the pains and expence the Journey cost us. In our journey back we met with some wild Arabs, Thieves, at a Fountain drinking water with Sherbett, which is lemon juice and sugar boyled, and so melted in the water as they drink it. They all had Turkish bows and a quiver of arrows by their sides, and a sort of hatchets in their hands: but we being more in number than they, and pistols with us, they meddled not with us but rode away from us, so we had the benefit of the Fountain after they had left it.

Our time being come to set forwards for Constantinople, most of the Merchants in Smyrna accompanied us to Magnesia which was two days journey; There we were entertained by a Jew (who dealt with the Merchants at Smyrna) very splendidly after their manner which was all with baked meats: none roasted or boyled

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Cordell, sheriff of London in 1634, knighted in 1641; imprisoned as a delinquent in 1642. (See *Cal. S. P., Dom.*, 1641-3, p. 403). He was an important member of the East India Company, carried on a large trade with the Levant, and had 'factors' at the principal ports.

that I saw: after that the Table was covered with all sorts of dried sweetmeats; and when we were carried to Bed, there was nothing but a Quilt (a Turkey carpet) to cover us and a cushion for the bolster, so we lay all night in our clothes. The next day having brought provisions of meat and wine, which we carried for our use in hogskins, the Merchants returned and we went on our journey. After we had rode some seven hours, we came to a great building, much like our Tennis Courts where the Janizary told us we were to lay all night. This building they call a Cane,<sup>1</sup> as it is a receptacle for all Travellers and their Horses. When we entered into it we saw many Turks, Armenians and Greeks, who had taken up their lodgings there before we came. The Armenians had camels with them; and they carried great bales of silk and were tied to rings made on purpose in a wall of stone, that was raised all along the Cane, for travellers to lodge on and dress their meat upon about ten feet higher than where the camels and horses were tied below. The people who lived thereabouts attended at the Cane with chopped straw, and a sort of grain they put into it, to feed our horses: they then brought wooden spits and other vessells with fire to dress our meat. But wine they had none, but a spring of water which was near the Cane, which served both man and beast. After we had supped upon such meat and wine as we had brought with us, every man took his lodging upon the long wall, and no other bed but quilts that were brought with us, and vests that we wore to cover us, and our saddles instead of bolsters. About one o'clock in the night there were lights set up for the slaves to feed their camels and horses, so there was no sleeping after that hour and then every one was raised, and, after the cattle were fed, about three o'clock in the morning, we all one after another, left the Cane to be cleaned for those who came at night to lodge there. After this manner we travelled thro' the country, which is very little peopled: all inhabiting the great towns, and but very few of these being in our way, for I do not remember we passed through any town of note but the aforesaid. Some villages of six or eight houses we passed through whose names I have forgot, but we lodged in none but Canes for twenty days. The country we went through abounded with fertile valleys in which was very high grass but no cattle in it, and very good rivers running all along the low grounds in which were all sorts of seafowl. But we saw no people except

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* khan.



those who came to us at the Canes to furnish us with necessaries and those [who] were travellers as we were, with whom we could have no converse, because we understood not their language. But when we approached near the Porte, we met with more company than when we were far from it, and being in three days' journey from it, in the morning about four o'clock, as we passed by a wood, there came out near a hundred hares staring at us. They never stirred till they had seen us past them; but tho' we had guns we durst not kill one because the Janizary told us it was in the verge of the Great Turk's hunting and he must bear the blame if any one should come to know it: and it was not unlikely but some of our servants might speak of it when we were in the City.

The prospect of the city, when you come within six or eight miles of it, exceeds all imagination, the sea encompassing it every way, so that, let the wind blow where it listeth, some ships or other come in, and in the city are such stately high cypress trees and firs, that with the reflection of the golden spires that are upon their mosques, and the Great Turk's Seraglio, that it may not unfitly be called to resemble Paradise. When we went into the city we had all the dogs in the city following us, some with doublets on, catching at our feet: we asked the meaning of it, they told us the dogs could tell the inhabitants when there were strangers come to town. We passed by water from Pera<sup>1</sup> to Galata where our Ambassador dwelt,<sup>2</sup> who was S<sup>r</sup> Sackville Crow; for before our arrival S<sup>r</sup> Peter Rich<sup>3</sup> who was then in the city had delivered all power of an Ambassador into the hands of S<sup>r</sup> Sackville Crow. This gave occasion to him to send for our horses and servants and to lodge us in his house, together with M<sup>r</sup> Bernard the Consul of

<sup>1</sup> 'Pera, a suburb of Constantinople, as is Galata; they are both on the European side of the Strait. Scutari is opposite and upon the Asiatic side.' [E. F.]

<sup>2</sup> But then, as now, Pera has been the usual dwelling-place of the ambassadors. George Sandys, in his *Relation of a Voyage, &c.* (see note on p. 127, below), speaks of 'ascending the vines of Pera' to the ambassador's house.

<sup>3</sup> Mis-script for Sir Peter Wych. He had long been entreating to be recalled, and Sir Sackville Crow was nominated his successor as early as 1635, but put off his going time after time, and only reached Constantinople in October 1638. Wych surrendered all papers, &c., and the Ambassador's house, but the Grand Signior was absent 'at the siege of Babylon' *i.e.* Bagdad, so that Wych could not get his dismissal, nor Crow be received. When a messenger was sent to the Grand Signior he returned answer to his Vizier to tell 'the old Ambassador' that ambassadors could not be licensed or discharged during his absence. Wych received his discharge on April 20, 1639, and left Constantinople shortly afterwards.

Smyrna and his retinue: telling us he was the King's representative there, and as we were gentlemen come for curiosity, it belonged to him to entertain us: and he would not suffer my Merchant to whom I was consigned (by name William Chapell, Factor to John Caldwell) to have me lodged in his house without leave from him.

Having reposed our selves two days and enjoying two nights quiet rest in our beds, we were desirous of going abroad to see the remarkable things that were to be seen. My Lord sent his Janizary and Interpreter with us, who, by leave of a Capi Aga, and the Great Turk's being at the seige of Babylon, gave us liberty to see one of the Grand Seignior's Seraglios at Scudra:<sup>1</sup> but we could not go into the best rooms, they being sealed up with his own seal, and Vizier Azems seal, which it was death to break open. In this Seraglio, which is one of the meanest he hath thereabouts, we saw some stately rooms in which were troughs of marble of great bigness to bathe in, and fountains hard by that brought water by cocks into those marble troughs, when he went to bathe. All the windows were of green, blue, yellow and all sorts of coloured glass, so that he could by that means represent his own body and those that were bathing with him in what colour he pleased, in which I found by them he took great delight. There we saw some presents that had been made him, of vests of gold, saddles richly set with jewels at the pommel, swords, pikes, lances all richly adorned with precious stones and some guns and plumes of feathers beset with jewels, the guns inlaid with rubies, emeralds, sapphires, and diamonds of great value, if they were right, as I am apt to believe they were, no prince nor potentate being of power sufficient to put an affront upon him. There were many pleasant walks and grass plots, in which were canals of water, and high cypress trees that beautified the places. But what I took to be most costly was the cielings of the rooms, which were, some of them, of Mosaic work that was very enormously done with nobs of gold.

From this place they carried me to a mosque in which they say Job was entombed, there being a Tomb all of silver wire on the outside; the inside mostly silver. But upon enquiry I found it to be the tomb of one Jupiter a Sultan that was there interred,

<sup>1</sup> 'Perhaps Scutari.' [E. F.] Uskudar is its Turkish name.

but who or what he was I could not learn. The next things they shewed us was Sancta Sophia, once a church of Christians, twice burnt, and re-edified by Justinian, the greatest part raised in an oval manner, with admirable pillars both for greatness and workmanship. Over these are galleries all paved with marble; and the roof is mosaïque work, which is certain coloured glass cut four square: gilded, of great durance. The sides of this Temple are all marble, so is the floor. Underneath are great cisterns of marble to which the water is brought by the Aquæducts of the City. In this Temple as they say are the stones that our Saviour's clothes were washed upon; and under a Coppar pillar that is ever sweating in this church was the Blessed Virgin buried, if you will believe them. This Temple they say, was once, from East to West, two hundred and sixty feet long and one hundred and eighty feet high; so that it held, in the days of Bajazet the Great, six and thirty thousand Turks. It is reported, when it was entire, to have as many doors as days in the year, and one of these doors to have been made of the wood of Noah's ark. When Mahomet the Great took the city, he threw down the altars, defaced the images and made it an ordinary mosque; so that when I saw it there were but four doors, by one of which the Emperors rode up on horseback, the mounting being upon marble and large enough for a coach and horses to go up. In one of these galleries there is marble that is transparent.

Having viewed this stately structure, we passed into the city of Constantinople formerly called Byzantium of Byrza the Founder. It was taken by assault from the Persians; but after a siege of three years it was retaken by the Emperor Severus<sup>1</sup> and in process of time was made the Metropolitan city by Constantine<sup>2</sup> who amplified it and called it Constantinople, making it the seat of the Empire and endowed it with all the priviledges of Rome, so that the Citizens of one were free of the other. He once had thoughts of building it at Chalcedon, on the other side of the Thracian Bosphorus: but laying the platform at Chalcedon, certain eagles they say conveyed the lines of the workmen to the other side of the Straight and let them fall over at Byzantium, where upon the Emperor changed his resolutions as being appointed from above where to build. He bereaved Rome of all her ornaments and

<sup>1</sup> 'A.D. 194.' [E. F.]

<sup>2</sup> 'About the year 312.' [E. F.]

brought in one year more to beautify it than had been carried away in twenty years. It is walled with stone and bricks intermixed, hath twenty-four gates, five whereof regard the land and nineteen the sea. There are Seven Hills which are crowned with seven heads of magnificent mosques all white marble, round in form with cupolas in which are high turrets (like the main-top of a ship), in which the Priest goes when he calls the people to prayers and there with as a loud voice as he can cry, he says in the Arabic tongue 'There is no God but one and Mahomet is his Prophet or Messenger' and then the People fall to praying which is usual about sunset. And after the sun is down, nobody walks the streets but he is in danger of being drubbed. This is to receive some blows upon the soles of his feet, as the Bastangi (who is the officer who punishes those that walk after sundown) shall appoint to be given for his offence, which is done with a Bull's Pizzle that makes their feet so swell that they are forced to go (presently after the punishment is inflicted) and hold their feet in sea water, which they say hinders the swelling. Having proceeded thus far, they desired us to go round the walls of it, upon which are made watch towers, that look towards the Black Sea, and into the Thracian Bosphorus; and in our going round they carried us into a tower in the midst of the sea which is called the Maiden Tower, and stands upon a rock; in it was a spring of fresh water which was easily tasted from the salt water: and the sea is so deep all round about the Haven that the King's best ships may unlade their burthens in the streets. From this tower they carried us into a place called the Hippodrome where they ride his horses that are managed for the great Saddle. In it they run horse races and use the flinging of darts one at the other on horseback, which they do with great dexterity. There is a hieroglyphical inscription, on a pillar of marble which is wrought very curiously, but it was so imperfect that we could not read it. Here is also a stately column of wreathed brass with three Serpents of brass on the top of it looking several ways in a triangle: hard by stands a great Colossus of nothing but several great stones, heretofore covered with brass, and another historical pillar carved far beyond any at Rome, another column of Constantine but not carved so well as the other. Where this Column stands, the column commemorates the palace of Constantine, which is now made into stables, and the Aquæducts that brought the water into

his palace are standing still, and are magnificent to behold, being three Arches high, and walks between every one of them, that carry the waters from the top of the hills and so from hill to hill till it comes thither, for the space of eight miles in length.

Whilst we were viewing these things which stood in public places, the Janizary being absent from us went and obtained leave for us to see another of his Seraglios that stood upon the water upon Pera side, in which we saw stately rooms, but the most magnificent were sealed up as in the other. Those rooms we saw were all with chrystal windows, and covered with rich Turkey carpets and some of gold and fans with precious stones: a Spleen Cup, a bottle all of jewels inlaid with great art, in which he carries drink for himself only. He has here a passage towards the sea, beset all with red reeds, by which means he can see (without being seen) whosoever goes that way by sea. There he has also a pond made all of porphyry stone, that is in the middle of a grove all beset with trees, on which he hangeth carpets: that none can see into it, or dare approach near it. Here he putteth in his Concubines stark naked and shooteth at them with certain pellets that stick upon them without any damage to their bodies. And sometimes he lets the water in such abundance upon them (for he can let what quantity of water he will in) that being above their heights they all bob up and down for life; and when his pleasure is satisfied with the sport, he lets down the water, and calls the Eunuchs who wait upon his women, to fetch them out if alive.

We being weary and the sun near setting, called upon our Janizary and Druggerman to convey us home and, in our passage by water, we discoursed them whether there was no possibility of seeing the grand Seraglio where the Turk keeps his Court. He being absent, they told us, it was locked up and sealed as to all the rooms of state, but if we could get my Lord Ambassador to send his Caimacham,<sup>1</sup> who governs in the Vizier's absence, we might perchance see more than would be shewed us by any other means. When we came to the Lord Ambassador's house to supper, we discoursed of what we had been shewed that day. My Lord was so taken with our report, that the next morning he sent to the Caimacham to know if he would give leave for some English gentlemen who were there, to see the Grand Seignior's Court out

<sup>1</sup> Should read 'send to the Caimacham.'

of curiosity, having had many reports of the magnificence of it: and that he himself would come along with us, if it were no prejudice to him. The Caimacham made answer that he would serve his Lordship in what he lawfully might: but for him, a public person, to come thither in the Grand Signior's absence, by his sufferance, was certain death to him. If he escaped, he thought it would be with much difficulty. Upon this message, the Ambassador gave over all thoughts of going, and told us he did not find that the Chaimacham had any desire, or indeed durst show us any of it, which made us cast about how to compleat it. M<sup>r</sup> Chapel happening to come to the Ambassador's that morning, dined there and invited my Lord and all his company next day to dinner, but my Lady went not. Relating the Caimacham's answer M<sup>r</sup> Chapel said he had a Jew who was his broker that was acquainted with this Caimacham, and sold his goods for him: that he could get out of the Seraglio by stealth, and that he would employ him to find out a way for us to see what was to be seen, without the Caimacham's taking notice of it, or being concerned in it. This he did by what means I know not; so we were brought within two days by this Jew to this great Seraglio. It hath many gates some of which open to the sea, and others towards the city; by one of which, which is a very stately one, we entered. Here we were received by Officers belonging to it, but of what quality we could not tell, and we were carried into the room of the public Divan, which is the place where he gives audience to Ambassadors and to those Bassas who are to depart upon any weighty service or employment; as also to such, who after the limited time of their government is expired, do return to Constantinople, to give an account to his Majesty of their carriage in their several places. This Room standeth in a little Court curiously adorned with many delicate fountains and hath within it a Sopha, which is a place raised from the floor about a foot to sit on, spread with very sumptuous carpets of gold and of crimson velvet, embroidered with costly pearls. Upon this the Grand Signior sitteth: and about the Chamber, instead of hangings, the walls are covered with very fine white stones which having divers sorts of leaves and flowers artificially wrought and backed upon them, do make a glorious shew. There is also a little room within it, the whole inside whereof is covered with silver plate hatched with gold and the floor is covered with very rich Persian carpets of silk and

gold. There are belonging to the said rooms very fair gardens, in which are many pleasant walks, inclosed with high cypress trees on each side, and marble fountains in such abundance, that almost every walk had two or three of them. Such delight doth the Great Turk take in Gardens as indeed do all Turks, that they no sooner come into a pleasant garden that is their own or where they think they may be bold, but they put off their uppermost coat, and lay it aside, and upon that their Turban, then turn up their sleeves and unbutton themselves, turning their breast open to the wind if there be any. If not they fan themselves or their slaves do it for them. Then holding their arms abroad, courting the weather and sweet air, calling it their soul their delight: ever and anon shewing some signs of contentment. During this pleasant distraction, if there be any flowers (as there are excellent ones in all the gardens of the Grandees) they stuff their bosoms with them, adorn their turbants, and then shake their head at the sweet savor, sometimes singing a song to some pretty flower and uttering words of as great joy as if the Mistress of their heart was present. And one bit of meat in the Garden, after the use of the ceremony aforesaid, shall in their opinion do them more good, than the best delicates that may be had elsewhere. After we had seen these four rooms, the Jew told us there were divers rooms and lodgings built apart, in which were the Hasinett or private Treasury and the place where the King's wardrobe was: both of them with iron doors but sealed up with the Kings seal, also rooms for schools, Bagnios, Prayers, places to swim in, to run horses, for wrestling, to shoot at butts in, to conclude, all the commodities that may be had in a Prince's palace. But we could not be permitted to see any more. So we went from thence to Besestan, which is like our Exchange. In this are all sorts of commodities sold, and jewels of all sorts and prices, scymitars, javelins, bows, headpieces and gauntlets of very great value. We staid here but a little while and sent the Jew back to try if we might not be permitted to see the storehouses, hospitals, kitchens, schools, baths and gardens, (where are green grass plots in which Roe Deer feed) and the stables where the Horses are kept: He returning brought us word that these were under several other Ministers as Chias, Agas, Spahis and Eunuchs and Janizaries, so that he, not being known to them, despaired of getting leave. Neither would he attempt it lest some suspicion should fall on him,

and so an Avania (Accusation) made, he should be fined more than he was worth, or perhaps put to death without a hearing.

What is wanting of the magnificence of this Court with all the Officers that belong thereto great and small, with the expences of it both for men and women are to be seen in a book printed in the year 1650 by Mr John Greaves,<sup>1</sup> who had the description of the Turkish Emperor's Court from one Mr Robert Withers, Merchant, who lived there a long time, and had opportunity by speaking the language to be shewed more than any Christian at present can obtain and to that Book the Reader is referred. Having been there two months, there came letters to me from my Father and to my Lord Ambassador requesting him to persuade me to return home, he having no other son. When my Lord moved it to me I replied I was obliged to bear my comrade company by lot and promise and if he would release me I would willingly obey. He then said he doubted not to get Mr Tufton to release me, which he having obtained, after we had been feasted by the Merchants at their country houses, Mr. Tufton and I agreed to go and see Melita, now called Malta, and so to part, he for Jerusalem, and I, for England. There being an English ship at Constantinople by name *The London*, Capt. Stevens Commander, that was to touch at Malta I would fain have gone in that ship; but Mr Tufton having found a French ship going to Malta and from thence to Aleppo within a few days' journey of Jerusalem, would not suffer me, but got me to go with him in the French ship. Sailing from Constantinople we passed by the two Castles of Sestos and Abydos<sup>2</sup> famous for the loves of Hero and Leander. Abydos stands in Asia founded by the Milesians. Sestos stands in Europe, though not great yet strongly built and once the principal city of Chersonesus, afterwards defaced and made a triangular castle. The Ordnance are placed level with the sea and the castle not to be commanded by reason of the Mountain's defence. We also saw a city of Chersonesus named Callipoli<sup>3</sup> where the gallies were that

<sup>1</sup> Greaves, *Description of the Grand Signor's Seraglio*, reprinted in 1737. Greaves does not seem to have got the description from Withers direct. He states that the manuscript was given to him at Constantinople, and that upon inquiry he has 'found it since' to be the work of Withers.

<sup>2</sup> 'Sestos and Abydos. The Strait is called Gallipoli and is two miles over. It joins the Archipelago to the Propontis. The Castles are called the Dardanelles.' [E. F.] In Henry Blount's *Voyage into the Levant*, 1634-6, he states that these two castles on the Hellespont are called 'Dardanelli.'

<sup>3</sup> 'Callipoli. In a book at Whiligh (entitled "A Relation of a Journey contain-



fought the battle at Lepanto<sup>1</sup> where the Christians beat the Turks; yet this was the first city the Turks took in Europe, under the conduct of Solyman. Here entering into the Propontic Sea you see the island of Proconesus now called Marmoreum, by reason of excellent white marble that comes from thence. We sailed by an island called Tenedos<sup>2</sup> from whence we had a sight of the ruins of Troy according to Horace,<sup>3</sup>

Est in conspectu Tenedos notissima famâ  
Insula dives opum Priami dum regna manerent (*sic*)  
Nunc tantum sinus et statio malefida carinis.

*Æn.* 2. 21.

Troy is ascended by a high Promontory, where they say is the sepulchre of Achilles & the famous Mount Ida in which Paris' Judgment was delivered—

. . . Manet altâ mente repostum  
Judicium Paridis spretæque injuria formæ.

*Æn.* i. 30.

From hence we came to another island in the Hellespont called the Mitylene,<sup>4</sup> according to the former poet.

Laudabunt alii clarum Rhodum ac Mitylenem.<sup>5</sup>

Lib. 1. Od. 7. Lin. 1.

ing a Description of the Turkish Empire of Egypt etc. etc." p. 22), the reasons are assigned why this place is called both Callipoli and Gallipoli. These voyages were performed about the year 1610, *i.e.* twenty years before Sir George's Travels, which they illustrate, and prove the accuracy of many of his observations. It is a thin folio.' [E. F.] Written by George Sandys, poet and traveller, best known for his translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* into English verse. The book was published in 1615.

<sup>1</sup> 'Lepanto, in Livadia, 100 miles W.N.W. of Athens—350 S.W. of Constantinople. Here Cervantes, the author of "Don Quixote," lost his arm, in 1571, when Don John of Austria gained a victory over the Turkish fleet, to which Sir G. C. alludes. The Sea of Marmora or Propontis is 120 miles long, 50 broad, extending from the Archipelago through the Dardanelles and Strait of Constantinople to the Euxine or Black Sea.' [E. F.]

<sup>2</sup> 'Tenedos is ten miles from the Straits of Gallipoli and on the Asiatic side.' [E. F.]

<sup>3</sup> 'Horace' has been underlined, and Virgil written after it, in different ink, but in Mr. Ferrers's hand. In the same way 'the former poet' has been crossed through, and 'Horace' substituted, below. The references are also in different ink, probably added by Ferrers later.

<sup>4</sup> 'Mitylene or Lesbos. Not more than seven miles from the Trojan coast. Here Sappho and Alcæus were born.' [E. F.]

<sup>5</sup> Should be 'Laudabunt alii clarum Rhodon aut Mitylenem.' It is quoted correctly by Sandys.

Tho I have good reason to remember it I have no cause to praise it, for going ashore by reason of the Captain having goods to unlade there I was taken for a Venetian by a Turk's false accusation (called an Avania) who told the Beglerbi who was the chief Magistrate (the Aga not being in the island) that I was in the castle and had taken the platform of the Castle and had measured the Guns with intent to give the Venetians advice of their situation and what weight of bullet the Guns could carry and how far. Upon this information I was sent for from my ship to attend the council that were gathered together to examine the matter of Fact. When I came before them they were all seated cross legged upon Turkey carpets & the Beglerbi upon a sophia raised a foot above the rest. He charged me by an Interpreter that he had information that I had been in the Castle and had drawn out the platform of it with black lead and had measured the guns with intent to give the Venetians advice how and where to attack it when they had an opportunity. To this I answered I was no Venetian, but an Englishman, and that our nation had leave, by capitulations agreed on between his Majesty of Great Britain and the Grand Signior, to trade in his dominions, whereby he had much profit, and that our Ambassador was then residing at the Porte, who was answerable for any Articles that were broken by an Englishman. That it was not possible for me to go into the Castle there being three gates to go thro' and at every one of them a Guard of Soldiers who must necessarily have apprehended me before I could have dispatched half what was informed against me. When I had said this before them, my own company being in presence, I was taken away by their Officers, and demanding of them whither they would carry me, an Italian Renegado who was the only man I understood, told me, I had deserved the *Furca*, which is the Gallows, and they had orders to see me fast laid in Prison till such time as the Council had determined what course to take with me. When I came to the prison they opened a pair of Stocks in which were no holes for a Leg to be put into as ours are, but all flat, without any hollowness. I told the Italian that the weight of the piece of wood that was to be laid on my Leg would break it, which he telling them they were at a stand what to do, by which I guessed their orders were to confine me there. Looking about the Prison I saw Greeks and Turks and I think Armenians all chained together about the neck

with iron collars and their chains hanging down before them. Whilst they were resolving what to do, I went and took up an iron collar, and made signs to him that was the chief among them, to have that put about my neck, and offered to give him a dollar, which is 4<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup> of our money to have that as the other Malefactors had. He refused my money with scorn, and said, as I understood by the Interpreter, my crime was of a higher nature than to be bought off for money. By this time I conceive they had a return from the Council, for new messengers came in and told me my ship and all the Persons in it were stopped and then I was chained with an iron collar about my neck to three others, so that none of us could stir to ease nature but all four must go. When they had thus done they all left me to the Keepers of the Prison, saying they would go & hear what the Council had resolved upon. When I had laid thus four hours, M<sup>r</sup> Tufton and the Merchants came to me and told me the Council had agreed on three things, to detain me till the Cadi or Aga returned, who had power to hang or draw, or to send up to Constantinople to know whether I was an Englishman, or to give me fifty or sixty blows on the soles of my feet. After I had heard these propositions, I was desirous they would let me go with those officers that went to Constantinople, and offered to pay the freight of the ship, during the time I used her, but the Merchants were all against me, alledging their goods would be spoiled, and they must unlade them, and then put them in again, and they themselves stay there till my return; and how long that might be by reason of contrary winds and weather was very uncertain. To which I replied, that tho' they were not chained as I was, yet they could not go out of the Island without leave, so that they were under restraint as well as I, tho they had a larger compass, and if they kept me till the Cadi came home, their ship and they would be forced to stay with me. Therefore I desired them to pump the Interpreter, to know what the Council most inclined to, and to feel the Italian, whether if the Corporal Punishment was agreed on, it might not be bought off with a sum of money, for their accusation would be quashed at the Porte, if it came to be heard there, by reason of the impossibilities that would be found in it. And I desired M<sup>r</sup> Tufton to give the Italian Renegado 4 Dollars secretly, that he might have them to himself without any person seeing him receive them; to start that question among the Officers of the Court and have their sense upon it.



He took the money, being alone, and promised Mr Tufton to move it, if he kept secret his receiving a bribe; and wished him to give such an Officer as he should bring to him double what he had given him to get it done. When the Officer came, he told Mr Tufton we ought to have had an Officer or Janizary with us, that might have been responsible for any misdemeanour done by us but we omitting it were brought to answer in our own persons and a Christians word was not to be taken, when a true Believer had impeached him: so that what we said in our own behalf signified nothing to the Council; neither was it in their power to believe us before him. Mr Tufton demanded what was their practice in such cases, telling him the time was precious with the Merchants and for the ship to stay there till the chief Magistrate came home, was very uncertain; and how the winds and the weather might prove if she went to Constantinople was unknown; So that if the Council might be moved for the corporal punishment, if that would satisfy their Law, he thought it the best expedient for both parties: provided it might be taken off for a reasonable sum of money, which perhaps might be procured if agreed on. The officer replied he would not undertake to tell the sense of the Council, but he had precedents, that such sums of money had been taken for misdemeanours. When he heard this, he gave him twelve Dollars to put the Council in mind of these precedents, When he had viewed them and nobody there, he gave him his word to do it, on condition he might have as much more if he procured it to be accepted: for he fairly told him he was to have none of the money the Council imposed on the malefactor. Before this was agreed to by Mr Tufton and the Court officer the night came, and Mr Tufton and the Merchants told me the Council was broke up, so that I must have patience till the next morning. I desired I might have my Turkey carpets and vest to lodge on that night in the Prison, which by the mediation of the Officers was granted, and such wine and water as I had in the ship. By this I found I had got more respect from the Keepers of the Prison than when I first entered.

The night being past with little or no sleep, by reason of every one's necessity that waked all his fellows, the Council sat early and by his shewing the books of the like cases, they in a little time resolved on fifty blows with a Bulls Pizzle upon the sole of my feet which was to be executed that morning in the face of all the People for examples sake. They came and told me what was resolved upon

and the execution to be forthwith : but the Money to buy it off was not spoken of, nor durst the Officer move it, that promised to get it done. I told M<sup>r</sup> Tufton he had placed his money in ill hands, and I should be crippled all the days of my life if he served me thus. He told me the Officer had not yet had his double fee, which he was confident before the Council arose would make him move it. So it proved, whether out of policy or reality I know not : for a little before their rising, one of the Council said it was a punishment not used in Christendom and that Christians were disabled by it all their lives, and he did conceive a mulct of money would be more useful : and he thought there was money or wares in the ship that might answer the offence committed and that if they would stay till the Destarder, or Registrar, could search the books, they would find money paid, and the punishment relaxed : The Register (as I conceive) pro formâ, brought the books where the like was done. Then the question arose what sum was proportionable to take off the corporal punishment. The first sum moved was 400 Dollars, about 90*l.*, but none of the Council spoke by way of mitigation, so that up came M<sup>r</sup> Tufton to let me know what was the sum imposed upon me. I told them I had no such sum to pay, and <sup>1</sup> that the ships going to the Porte would not stand me in half the money, and I would insist upon that, if nothing would be abated. I asked M<sup>r</sup> Tufton if he had paid the Officer the double bribe. He answered he had had no opportunity of fastening it upon him. Then said I, do me the favour to let that Officer inform the Council, that I have not so much money to pay, and will with their leave go for the Porte, where they shall have the matter of fact tried, and I will stand by their Judgment, be it what it will. But if they will accept of such a sum of money as the freight of the ship in the time going and coming will amount to, I will borrow it, if there be so much in the Ship. M<sup>r</sup> Tufton and the Merchants parted from me with my resolution, and finding a convenient time to fasten the double bribe on the Officer, told him what I insisted on, and that so much money was far above the nature of the offence : and so it would be construed if heard at the Porte which I was resolved on. They not being capable of trying it without the Cadi, desired him to move the Court to mitigate the fine imposed, otherwise the whole sum would be lost as to them.

<sup>1</sup> Here the 1st volume ends and the 2nd begins.

He returning informed the Council of my resolutions, which he gave them to understand were not to be altered. Upon this motion they receded from 400 to 300 Dollars and then I had another parly with my comrades, but I stood firm to my resolution, as knowing my innocency: and having cast up in the interval the charge of a journey to and from the Porte, I found it would amount to about 50*l*. This I told them, to set them at liberty and myself out of Prison, I would borrow, if so much was in the ship to lay down, that we all might be cleared, and learn more wit than to go without such Guards as the Country allowed of where we travelled. The sum of 200 Dollars being accepted of by the Council, I had it of two Merchants M<sup>r</sup> Napper (who married my wife's Uncle Muns Daughter) and of M<sup>r</sup> Death. When I had paid it, we made all the haste we could for fear of any After-Claps, they having power enough over us if they had made use of it.

Having sailed out of sight of the Island, I asked M<sup>r</sup> Tufton and the Merchants, if they intended the whole charge should be upon me: to which they replied, the false accusation affected only my person and it was well I escaped drubbing; neither had I a farthing allowed me from any of them.

As we sailed towards Malta, the Captain and seamen shewed us Corinth and Athens and where Alexandria in Egypt stood; but we were not pressing to go ashore, having had such ill fortune at Mitylene. In a few days we arrived at Malta and the Captain going ashore to shew his certificate that he came from a place that was not affected with the Plague, the Great Master of Malta, for so the Governor is called, convened a Council, and the Captain being called in to justify the said certificate, told them he had two Gentlemen of the English nation aboard him, that came from the Porte; having been lodged at the Lord Ambassador's there some two months, only out of curiosity to see the magnificence of the Emperor's court: and were come thither to see the famous island that hath perpetual enmity with the Turks. The Grand Master ordered the searchers to go and view the seamen immediately, to see if they were all in health and looked to be sound in body: that the whole ship should have Practic, that is, might come ashore.

Before they had made an end of seeing the Persons who belonged to the ship, the Grand Master sent M<sup>r</sup> Tufton and I a present of fruit by his own servants, who had orders to carry us to

a house in the town, where we lodged. The next morning he waited on us to shew us the strength of the Island, and what store of provision, of corn and other grain it had in it in case of a siege. Then we saw the arms that were for their Gallies, which is their greatest strength. For it being only a rock in the sea, the streets are all white stone; this, when the Sun is at the highest in the summer, casts such a reflection upon the eyes of the inhabitants, who are Moors, it being in Africa, that they are forced to wear spectacles to save their eyesight. The whole Island is not above eight miles broad, and being all stone, little or no wheat is sown. For this they are and must be beholden to the King of Spain, it all coming from Sicily. What other provisions they want, they have from thence and from Italy: but the fruits that grow in the place as figs, pistachios, oranges and lemons are far beyond what is in Italy; and the Cotton Wool that is there excelleth all that grows in the neighbouring countries.

We were, I suppose by the Grand Master's order, invited by some gentlemen to take a repast in one of the Grand Master's country houses: and in our way we saw all the Albergees that belong to every nation.<sup>1</sup> These are Colleges appointed to receive all that are nobly born, or Gentlemen of any Nation in Europe that will come there, and bring their fortunes with them, and take a vow of Poverty and Chastity, and enmity with the Turks for ever so as to give no Quarter, nor receive any in fighting with them; and after so many voyages in the Gallies that war against the Turks and some other circumstances performed, they are made Knights of Malta, which is known by the white Cross they are allowed to wear in all the Courts in Christendom upon their cloaks or coats, as they are their swords. In our way to this Country House, they brought us into the Cave where S<sup>t</sup> Paul shook off the viper from his hand without any hurt: and there were people ready to sell us vipers' tongues and teeth very curiously wrought, as they say, of the stones in the Cave; which have the virtue, if you will believe them, of expelling any poison in the body. So hath the Earth of the Cave dried used as aforesaid.

Having seen all the Fortifications of that place, and what was remarkable in the Island, which is certainly the strongest that can

<sup>1</sup> 'There were at that time seven Colleges or Alberges—1 for France, 1 of Auvergne, 1 Provence, 1 Castile, 1 Aragon, 1 Italy, 1 Germany. Before the Reformation there was an eighth for England.' [E. F.]

be seen. being environed by the sea, we went to take our leave of the Grand Master and give him thanks for his great favors to us, and having made our compliments and going away, he said he was informed that one of us went for Naples, if so, his Gallies were to transport the Princess Collon thither, and by them I might have a good passage. I returned my acknowledgments to him for his kindness and accepted of it, which was the occasion that I staid there three days after Mr. Tufton set sail in the French ship for Aleppo.

When I came aboard the galley I was received very courteously by the Captain, being in the same ship where the Princess was, and had my diet at the Captain's Table which was well furnished with flesh (that was fresh on those days that they were to eat it) and on fasting days with fresh fish and sweetmeats, and music all the evening, which sounded beyond expression on the sea. We had Mass morning and evening,<sup>1</sup> but I not going to it, it was not so well thought of, when upon enquiry I owned to the Protestant Religion to the Captain.

When we arrived at Naples I demanded of the Captain what he would have for my diet and passage. He replied he had orders from the Grand Master to treat me with both. I then told him after I had gone ashore and changed my habit I would wait on him, presuming he would make a day or two's stay there. When I came to Mr Keridges who was my Merchant I told him how civilly I had been treated in the Gallies of Malta, and asked him what was the fittest present for the Captain. He said there were silk waistcoats in Naples embossed with gold about 3*l.* price, which he thought would be well accepted of. So we both went and bought a green silk one, embossed very richly with gold, which cost 3*l.* 5*s.* English, and being accompanied by Mr Keridge, I went aboard the galley. I found the Captain with other Spanish Gentlemen at a collation of fruit: and when I had an opportunity I presented the Captain with the waistcoat, who received it very kindly at my hands, and when we had eaten some fruit and drank two glasses of wine, leaving my services to the Grand Master, we took our leaves and returned to our lodgings.

I had not been in the town three days, but there arrived Sir

<sup>1</sup> This is incredible; it is even doubtful whether they would have Mass at sea at all, unless they had a dispensation. But the Protestants of that day sometimes used the word 'Mass' loosely for any services of the Roman Church.



Peter Wyche,<sup>1</sup> his Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte and Ferdinando Marsham with him ; and their company occasioned me to make a longer stay there than I intended, for I had met with letters from my Father most passionately desiring my return. I had seen what was worthy of observation when I was there before, and when the Rains of September had fallen, I went away for Rome, for I was informed that an English Gentleman by name M<sup>r</sup> Walmsley, going from Naples to Rome in August before, died by the way, travelling in such hot weather as there is in that month.

When I came to Rome, I found but few English Gentlemen there, by reason of the heat that was not yet allayed with the showers that had fallen. Going to Father John a Friar, who had before carried me to wait on Cardinal Francisco Barberini, who was Protector of the English nation, he told me there was one M<sup>r</sup> Honeywood, who had a brother a Merchant at Leghorn, that died and left an estate behind him, which this M<sup>r</sup> Honeywood came to look after, but had not recovered enough to bear his charges : for there was one M<sup>r</sup> Bothus a Merchant and an Englishman who laid claim to the greatest part of it, and at a hearing in the Duke of Florence's court, had recovered it. I went and found out M<sup>r</sup> Honeywood, and there being a lodging in his house, I took one there for the time of my abode. After I had furnished myself with clothes fit to walk abroad in, I went to wait on the Cardinal our Protector, who had heard of my misfortune in Turkey, so that I was bound to give him an account how I had escaped their hands. When my Compliment was ended, I took leave and went to visit my countrymen at the Jesuits College at Rome, whose Principal went then by the name of Herbert. He desired me to relate the story of my being a prisoner in Turkey, which I did so much to his satisfaction, that he caused me to be invited to dinner the next day at the College and to bring M<sup>r</sup> Honeywood with me, which I did. We were entertained very nobly by them<sup>2</sup> at a long table, at which sat no one but myself and M<sup>r</sup> Honeywood, the elder Jesuits discoursing with us all dinner time, and the younger bringing in the meat and serving us with wine and water. After we had dined,

<sup>1</sup> Wych, having left Constantinople about May 1639, had a tedious journey to Italy, but arrived there during the summer, and was back in England before November. Therefore the 'September' here is certainly September 1639.

<sup>2</sup> John Evelyn also notices the 'singular courtesy' and hospitality of the English Jesuits at Rome. See *Diary* under dates November 8 and 24, December 29, 1644; February 18, 1644-5.

we were carried to Father Herberts Lodgings, where, before we parted, we had a Collation of such rare fruits and wine as we had neither seen nor tasted all the time of our abode there. The night approaching, we took leave and after three weeks stay I left the town and M<sup>r</sup> Honeywood there, and went to Venice, Padua and Loretto. Here I saw the riches of Madona Loretto, which they say was a chapel in the air brought miraculously from Jerusalem to this Place. But most certainly there is not any one altar in Italy that is furnished with such costly Copes and rich Jewels, as this hath set on it on festival days. From thence I went to Milan and so to Savona and there I embarked for Marseilles in France.

Arriving there, I met with an Englishman by name M<sup>r</sup> Fludde, who had been at Padua to do his exercise for a Doctor of Physic's degree, which he afterwards practiced in the town of Maidstone in Kent. He was going for Paris and so homewards, which was the same journey I was to make, and by that means we came both to the Messenger that went from thence to Lyons: and there with another Messenger we both were carried to Paris, where I staid some time to visit the Earl of Leicester<sup>1</sup> who was there still Ambassador. There I met with my Lord Spencer afterwards Earl of Sunderland, who was newly married to Lady Dorothy Sidney<sup>2</sup> the Earl's daughter. He being of my acquaintance at Oxford was joyful to see me alive, for they had news that I was strangled in Turkey, which also was brought to my Father, who afterwards, to his great comfort received letters to the contrary. When I had remained there about three weeks, Christmas according to the English account drawing near, I went down to Dieppe to wait for a passage to England, which I there found. So I embarked and came to my Father's house in Leadenhall Street (now the Crown Tavern) the night before Christmas day in the year 1640.<sup>3</sup> I lived in this house with my Father from 1640 till the 12<sup>th</sup> of October 1642, at which time he paid that debt to Nature which I owe.

After his decease, I went to the King, who was then divided

<sup>1</sup> 'Father to the famous Algernon Sidney' [E. F.]. The Earl returned from his embassy in 1641, on being appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

<sup>2</sup> 'The famous Sacharissa of Mr. Waller.' [E. F.] She was married July 20, 1639. Her husband, Henry, Lord Spencer of Wormleighton, was created Earl of Sunderland in June 1643, but fell mortally wounded at the first battle of Newbury, shortly afterwards, fighting for the King.

<sup>3</sup> As shown by note 2, above, and note 1 on the previous page, the true date of his return was Christmas 1639.

from his Parliament, and was raising men at Shrewsbury in Shropshire.<sup>1</sup> My uncle John Courthop (my Father's younger brother) was then waiting on his Majesty in quality of one of his Gentlemen Pensioners, which is the King's only guard of state, and are bound to go with him and serve him with three horses, in his wars. When I came to Shrewsbury, I found out my uncle and told him my Father was dead, at which report he was astonished, and desired time to allay his sorrow. I told him there was but little to be allowed him, for my Office was in danger, and that my Father's death had taken air enough: and if he delayed to move the King on my behalf, other suitors would come and I should lose it. It being then Sunday and his waiting time, he made the more haste that he might be at court before the King went to chapel. In the court he met with Sir John Culpepper who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and by virtue of that place, is joined with the Lord Treasurer of England to inspect the Alienation Office,<sup>2</sup> and the Commissioners in the Office are bound by their deputations to follow the orders and directions of those two persons for the better improvement of his Majesty's Revenue. He having married Sir Stephen Lennard's sister of Wickham in Kent, was allied by that marriage to Sir John Culpepper, afterwards Lord or Baron of

<sup>1</sup> This statement is rather perplexing. The 1st Sir George died on the 12th, as here stated. This date is given on his memorial tablet in Ticehurst Church, and is confirmed by the fact, as proved by the parish register, that he was buried on the 19th, just a week later. His son reached the King on a Sunday, *i.e.* the 16th, which he could do by fast travelling. But Clarendon states that the King left Shrewsbury on the 12th, and this is shown to be correct by the *Iter Carolinum*, which gives the following 'gests':—Oct. 12th, to Bridgnorth; 15th, to Wolverhampton; 17th, to Birmingham. It must therefore have been at Wolverhampton, not at Shrewsbury, that young Courthope came to the Court.

<sup>2</sup> The Alienation Office, which in 1576 had been leased to the Earl of Leicester, and was held by him until his death, was afterwards put into the hands of the Commissioners. They issued licences for alienations of land and pardons for those passed without licence or made by will. Every pardon and licence had to pass under the great Seal in Chancery, and to be entered of record. For every pardon upon an 'ultima voluntas' and every licence, half a year's rent was paid to the Crown, and for other pardons a whole year's rent (the proportions appear, however, to have differed at different times). Moreover most part of the alienations passed upon writs of covenant, and for each such writ there was paid 6s. 8d. fine for every five marks of land. One object of their passing the Great Seal was that they formed good proof of the tenures of tenants *in capite*, &c., 'which bringeth wardships, marriages of wards,' &c. (see *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. 110, No. 57). The office was not finally abolished until the reign of William IV.

The office buildings were situated in the Temple, at the north end of King's Bench Walk (see *Calendar of Inner Temple Records*, prefaces to vols. i. ii. iii.)

Foreway.<sup>1</sup> When he had acquainted him with the death of my Father and that there was a Commissioner's place in the Alienation Office vacant, he requested him to move the King that I might have it, by reason my grandfather and father had it before me; and that he would go immediately to know the King's pleasure in it: for fear if it should be delayed, it might be begged before he had spoke for it. This he did and his Majesty was pleased to grant it, but with this clog at the end of the Grant, that I must pay 1300*l.*, to such persons as my Lord Culpeper should name, and that my uncle and I should enter into a bond to pay it in 21 days, after our arrival at London. We accepted the condition and entered into bond to pay so much money to M<sup>r</sup> Dudley Palmer, a gentleman of Gray's Inn. When we had sealed the bond, I told my Lord I was but a young man, newly come to an estate, knew not in what condition my father had left me, and desired him to move the King to dispense with my uncle's waiting and to let him go with me to London and we should be better able to get the money payable at the appointed time. He having moved it to his Majesty, it was granted, and by that means my uncle came and lived peaceably at home at Brenchley<sup>2</sup> in Kent, during the time of the civil wars between the King and the Parliament.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Colepeper, created Baron Colepeper of Thoresway, October 21, 1644.

<sup>2</sup> 'Brenchley in Kent.—He died September 17, 1649; was interred in the Chancel there, where on the north side of the Eastern wall is a Monument with the following inscription:—

'M.S.

Joannes [*sic*] Courthop de Brenchley in Comitatu Cañt: Armiger. Amplissimi Viri Georgii Courthop Equitis Aurati de Whiligh in Comitatu Sussex. Frater natu minor, olim inter serenissimi Caroli Primi Satellites Generosos. Carnis mortalitate demum exutâ hic situs requiescat.

Obiit autem Mensis Septembris 17<sup>o</sup> Anno Reparatæ Salutis ultra Millesimo Sexentesimo [*sic*] quadragesimo nono.' [E. F.]

<sup>3</sup> This statement does not quite tally with the petition which, shortly after the Restoration, George Courthope presented to the King. It runs as follows: 'That John Courthopp of Brinckley in the county of Kent esquire was gentleman pensioner to his late Majestie, and going to performe his dutie to his Majestie during the late warrs, was taken prisoner by the Parliament's forces, and after long imprisonment he was released upon condition hee should not returne unto his Majestie againe: That not long after hee dyed, leaving your petitioner his executor, subject to his debts: That there was due to John Courthopp for his wages at the time of his death 800*l.*, being the most considerable part of his personall estate.' George Courthope prays his Majesty to confer a pensioner's place upon himself, that he may be better able to pay his uncle's debts, and also 'be in a capacity to expresse his cordiall dilligence' in the King's service. The petition is signed in a clear, firm hand 'Geo. Courthop' [*S. P., Dom., Car. II., vol. ii., No. 154*].

When we came to London, I went to the Lord Treasurer, who was Bishop of London (Bishop Juxon), who then lived at Fulham, and when I shewed him my Warrant from the King to invest me in my father's place, with all such profits and priviledges as thereto belonged, and in as ample a manner as he enjoyed it, he readily gave me a deputation for the place, which I enjoyed till I resigned it to my youngest son Mr Edward Courthop. Being in full possession of the Place, we provided the money according to the time of the Bond. But in the change of government Oliver Cromwell (being made Protector about the year 1653) called a Parliament of his own garbling, which was called the Rawbone Parliament, and they put down the Office, not knowing that Writs of Covenant, and Writs of Entry were included in the ordinance they had made for taking away fines upon general writs.<sup>1</sup> And so we acted not for the space of a whole year, and then another Parliament was called,<sup>2</sup> and we made application to them to set it up again, by reason the former Parliament never intended to lose so great a revenue, and what they did was done ignorantly. Upon which motive they restored us again and would have had us hold our places by ordinance of Parliament. This we durst not refuse, because there was one Samuel Bond our Receiver,<sup>3</sup> son to Dennis Bond, a great Committee man, and of great power in those times. But we found out ways to defer it, till we had sent one Col. Compton<sup>4</sup> to the King to know his pleasure in it: and by him we sent

<sup>1</sup> 'Rawbone' is, of course, 'Barbone' (probably merely a mis-script). This Parliament was summoned by Cromwell, but as Captain-General, not as Protector. It entirely abolished the Court of Chancery, but, in order to the carrying on of business, resolved that 'original writs, writs of covenant, and writs of entry' were to be issued by the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal (see *Commons' Journals*, under date October 15, 1653). It would appear from Courthope's statement that the Alienation Office was put down when the Chancery was, and re-erected with it the next year, although there are no notices of this in the *Journals*.

<sup>2</sup> 'Another Parliament,' *i.e.* the first Protectorate Parliament, which met September 3, 1654. It restored the Court of Chancery, and evidently the Alienation Office also.

<sup>3</sup> At the Restoration he was displaced, and his office given to Mr. Edward Nicholas. It was then stated that Bond was 'behind with his accounts for that office for seven years past,' and he was ordered to pay up these arrears to his successor. He is sometimes called Samuel Bond, sometimes Thomas (see *Calendar of Treasury Books, 1660-1667*).

<sup>4</sup> Sir William Compton, colonel of a regiment for the King; Royalist governor of Banbury; master of the Ordnance after the Restoration. The 'intelligence

the King 100*l*. But at his return he was taken by intelligence from the Kings Court, to Secretary Thurloe (who had that place under the Protector) and was clapped in the Tower where we bore his expences during his Imprisonment. The King gave us leave to act under them if we could not avoid it, rather than be put out of our places: for we had been at Oxford with him,<sup>1</sup> and at a hearing before the Council it was thought more proper for us to be in London, than to let all the assurances by way of settlements in Marriages, Mortgages and sales of Land in the nation, be at a stand. So we returned from Oxford, with instructions to send all the money to the King that we had brought into the Office, which we did, till discovered by a clerk whose name was Maidstone, put into the office by Dennis Bond, one of the Committee for the Kings Revenue, to give intelligence what was transacted there. We had a severe reprimand from the Committee for doing it, but with M<sup>r</sup> John Crewe's help, afterwards Lord Crewe, and one of the Committee, we got off, not without great fear of losing our places, and the Committee stopped our salaries, telling us it was in their power to allow us anything or nothing as they pleased: so that we acted a whole year without receiving one farthing: and when we made application for payment, they answered us, the Public had need of the money, and we must stay till their necessity was over.

After the Long Parliament was dissolved, Cromwell called another Junto which was called the Little Parliament<sup>2</sup> who sat

from the King's Court' was no doubt sent by the traitor Manning. Writing to Thurloe in May 1655, he says that he wonders Compton is not yet taken.

<sup>1</sup> Courthope is here harking back to earlier times. Charles II., as Prince, was partly at Oxford with his father, and was a member of his Council, by whom the order to remove to London was given; but he was a mere boy, only twelve years old when Charles I. went to Oxford, and sixteen when he finally quitted it in 1646.

<sup>2</sup> This is very confused. The *Long Parliament* was expelled April 20, 1653. The *Little* or *Barbones* Parliament met July 4, 1653, and dissolved itself—*i.e.* 'delivered back their power,' &c.—on December 12. No Parliament sat and installed Cromwell as Protector. The Instrument of Government was drawn up by the Council of Officers, and it was by them that the Protectorate was offered to him. The *first Protectorate Parliament* met September 3, 1654, and was dissolved January 22, 1654-5. Both this and the following Parliament included Irish and Scotch members, and consisted largely, though not entirely, of knights of the shire. The small boroughs were disfranchised or gathered into groups, but the important ones sent members. The context clearly shows that it was to the second Protectorate Parliament that Courthope was elected. The *second Protec-*

some short time and then delivered back their power to him from whom they received it. Then this Rawbone Parliament sat and installed him Lord Protector in Westminster Hall, which ceremony being performed, they offered to make him King; which he refused in a long speech, and some time afterwards put an end to their sittings, and then called a Parliament which only consisted of Knights of the Shire, and the Scotch and Irish being sent over by election, from their own countries, were admitted to sit in it, with the English Parliament all together in the house of Commons (for there were no Lords). The King was murdered the thirtieth of January<sup>1</sup> 1648, the House of Lords voted useless and dangerous by the Long Parliament. In this Junto we had nine Knights to serve for the county of Sussex,<sup>2</sup> and the Country did in the open castle at Lewes choose me the fourth man to serve, which when the Army men who were at the election saw, and what a company I had to vote for me, and that none of them could be elected if I kept my party entire (which I did and so made whom I would to be chosen) after the nine were elected, Col: Whalley, Col: Gough,<sup>3</sup> and other Officers of the Army framed a petition against me to the Council of State, in which they charged me with sending money to Oxford to the King, and that I said the Common Prayer in my house when it was prohibited.

When the time was come for the Convention to sit in the House as a Council, I was kept out of the House by means of the aforesaid Officers, who were there and told me, that there was a Petition depending in the Council of State that rendered me incapable of sitting there; upon which advice I did not offer to go in, but went away immediately to the Protector at Whitehall, and told him, my Country having sent me up to serve as one of the Knights of the Shire, I was refused entrance. To this he replied that it was an act of the Councils, and that he did not concern himself in it, but wished me

*torate Parliament* met September 17, 1656, and it was this Parliament which pressed the kingship upon Cromwell and to which he made the 'long speech.'

<sup>1</sup> '1649, according to our present style of beginning the year on the first of January: at that time the year began on the 25th of March, and the interval was generally marked in this manner, 1648/9.' [E. F.] This paragraph about the murder of the King is a parenthesis, apparently to explain there being no House of Lords.

<sup>2</sup> 'Courthop's name appears as sixth among the nine members returned for the county of Sussex on August 20, 1656.' [E. F.] There were also members for the boroughs of Arundel, Chichester, East Grinstead, and Lewes.

<sup>3</sup> See Goffe's letters, *Thurloe State Papers*, v. 341, 382.

to repair to Sir John Lawrence, who was then President of the Council,<sup>1</sup> and he would direct me what to do in it and when I should be heard. I went to Sir John Lawrence, who told me that there were such foul things put in a petition to the Council of State against me, that he wondered what the country meant by choosing me, who could not, if guilty of what I was charged with, be in a capacity to serve them. To this I replied I was ignorant of what was alledged against me, but desired no more favor than to come to a tryal: and if I was innocent, that I might be acquitted in the face of my Country where I was accused: if guilty, I was willing to suffer such punishment as the offence deserved. He bid me come thither towards night, and I should know what day the Council had sat down for my hearing: which I did, and had notice given me that that day sennight I should be heard. In the meantime I went to the Protector to tell him I was an officer in the Alienation Office and served there as Senior Commissioner and which brought into the Common Wealth such a revenue, as, with the Præfines and Postfines amounted to little less than 16000*l.* per annum, desiring him that he would be present, for my life and fortune was at stake. There being an Ordinance out, that if any person had correspondence with Charles Stewart, son to the late King of ever blessed memory, or any ways assisted him that he should be guilty of high Treason, if they proved that I had sent money to Oxford, as was charged in the petition, I must have been tried for my life, but knowing they were out in the place, though true as to the matter of fact, I was confident it could not be proved, because I went to Mr Cooper of Thurgarton<sup>2</sup> in Nottinghamshire who had brought me a privy seal from the King for 100*l.* and demanded of him where he paid the money that I gave him on the Privy Seal: he answered that it was paid to Col: Anthony Gilbey at Bruxells and that I need not fear it would rise up against me.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The President of the Council was Henry Lawrence, not Sir John.

<sup>2</sup> 'Mr. Cooper' was John Cooper, second son of Sir Roger, of Thurgarton, employed as agent by Charles II. He was sent into England in the spring of 1656, and was successful in getting 'horses' (by which was probably meant money) for the King; but he had been over before and been imprisoned, as in 1655 he is said to have 'escaped from the Gatehouse' (see *Cal. Clar. S. P.* iii. 122, 164).

<sup>3</sup> There is no mention of this in the Books of the Council of State, and it is not easy to see what Courthope means. No one would dream of sending money to Oxford for 'Charles Stewart, son of the late King.' The argument might be expected to run:—'If they proved that I sent money to —, where the King was,



The day coming of my hearing, I did not carry council with me, tho' there was one that I had fee'd hard by, if occasion had been; I attended to know when I should be called in to hear the charge. M<sup>r</sup> Jessop, who had been clerk in some of those conventions that I had sat in, was my good friend, and had by proxy sent me word that the sending money to the King at Oxford was the only Article in the Petition, that could prejudice me, and if that was false, all the rest would come to nothing: and He being then one of the Clerks of the Council of State and in waiting, sent me word by a Messenger of the Council, that when my Cause was called on he would send me word so long before that I might prepare the witnesses that were to be heard on my behalf. After I had waited from three o'clock in the Afternoon till seven at night in the Summer time, They sent out to know if those officers of the Army who had prepared the Petition against me were in readiness with their Witnesses to make good their Petition. Word was brought in they were all without and I also attending according to Summons. M<sup>r</sup> Jessop then sent me out word that I should be heard that night, but it proved not so, for the Protector coming into Council (which I thought had been only to be present at the Debate) started another business,<sup>1</sup> viz that he had received Letters from the Fleet that General Blague was gone into Santa Cruz with the best part of the navy to batter the Spanish Plate Fleet, and when he came in, found all the rich Spanish Lading was carried ashore, and the wind shifting he could not get out again, but must suffer great damage all the while from the Castle, which fired upon his ships: and further said that it was an act of his own, not warranted by a Council of war, and so, he thought<sup>2</sup> liable to be called to account for it by the Council. He therefore wo'd have them leave whatever business was under debate, and go on to consider the best way to save that part of the Fleet, that was in danger of being in the Island aforesaid, and having no wind to get out, and that their advice when agreed on should be sent away by an express to the Fleet riding without the Island.

I must have been tried; but as it was only paid to Gilby at Brussels, they could do nothing.' Perhaps there was also a charge of sending money from London to Charles I. at Oxford during the Civil War.

<sup>1</sup> This was at the Council meeting of May 26, 1657; 'the next day,' i.e. May 27, the news came that Blake had fired the fleet, &c.

<sup>2</sup> 'Query whether it be generally known that the reputation of Admiral Blake depended on so nice a point as it here appears to have done?' [E. F.]

The Council resolved to take the matter presently into consideration, so that our cause was laid aside for that time, and the next day news came to town that General Blague had fired the Spanish Fleet in the Harbour of Santa Cruz<sup>1</sup> but all the bullion was taken out and most of their Lading got to land, but after he had set the ships on fire the wind turned about and he sailed out without much damage.

By this interval, I seeing the Earl of *Leicester that now is*<sup>2</sup> go into the Council, and asking if he was one of them, and being told he was, I made address to him as being my acquaintance beyond the seas. He told me he had heard the Petition read, but knew not that I was the Person concerned, but was sworn to secrecy, so that he durst not let me know the contents of it, but withal declared that if one Article was not well proved, all the others would do me no great harm. To this I replied that I conceived the Article was for sending the King money to Oxford, for those who were my Accusers had vented such discourse at the meeting in Sussex for the election of Knights of the Shire, where I was chosen one to serve: but I was confident neither they nor any Witnesses could make it appear to be a truth. He then said I need not fear, for all the other was more malice that the Country did not choose them than anything relating to my Person, to which I answered that if they could prove it I desired no mercy, but [to] suffer what punishment the crime deserved. He said he was glad to find me so innocent and so confident of my cause and would intimate so much to some of my accusers by a third Person, whereby they might know that what they laid the greatest stress upon could not be made out a truth; which he did so effectually, that the Council breaking up abruptly and leaving me sine die for

<sup>1</sup> 'A town on the east side of the Island of Teneriffe, W.L. 16, N.L. 28. See Hume, vol. 7, p. 257. N.B.—He there says when the treasures arrived at Portsmouth the Protector from ostentation ordered them to be transported by land to London. Query, if the Lading was taken out and all the bullion removed, what treasures remained on the ships to be removed by land?' [E. F.] The transporting of the bullion from Portsmouth had nothing to do with the affair of Santa Cruz. It was after Blake's attack on the ships in Cadiz harbour, September 8, 1656, when he did get the treasure, that the eight-and-thirty waggon-loads came 'triumphantly jingling up;' probably for the purpose of bringing home to the minds of the people the reality of the victory over Spain.

<sup>2</sup> 'At p. [154] it appears that these memoirs were written after 1679. The Earl who was ambassador died in 1677, and this must have been his son Philip, who succeeded him, November 2, 1677.' [E. F.]

a hearing, I had notice from M<sup>r</sup> Jessop that my accusers had been dissuaded from any further prosecution, and some of them told him, if the Council had not set down a time for a hearing they were agreed to let it fall.

Upon this news, I wrote down to my Wife, who was M<sup>r</sup> Edward Hawes's only daughter, who was a merchant of good repute in London, and grandson to Sir James Hawes sometime Lord Mayor of London. The said M<sup>r</sup> Edward Hawes's widow, was my Father's second wife and after his decease I was married to my Mother-in-Law's daughter July 12<sup>th</sup> 1643; by her I had four sons and two daughters: two of my sons died: the other two were named George and Edward. My eldest son George was married to Capt. Fuller's daughter of Waldron in Sussex. She died childless Dec<sup>r</sup> 16, 1675 having lived with him a little above a year. The other son married one M<sup>r</sup> Baynes's widow, a Counsellor of the city of London, on the 28<sup>th</sup> of Nov<sup>r</sup> 1681. She was sister to M<sup>r</sup> Warner of Walsingham in Norfolk who was nephew to the Bishop of Rochester of that name and by changing his name to Warner from Lea he left him his estate. My eldest daughter Elizabeth was married to Sir Thomas Pierce's<sup>1</sup> eldest son of Stone Pit in the county of Kent. She had several children by him who are at present living. My youngest daughter Mary<sup>2</sup> is now living with me unmarried.

But to return from this digression. I wrote word to my wife that I understood my accusers were of opinion they should make nothing of their charge against me, so that I was resolved to try my fortune, by venturing to go into the House of Commons and there sit, to act in the capacity my Country had chosen me: which I did, nobody any way interrupting me, and there I remained till such time as Oliver Cromwell departed this life<sup>3</sup> in White Hall, which was Sept<sup>r</sup> 3, 1658. He lay in great state in Somerset House till Nov<sup>r</sup> 23<sup>rd</sup> following and then was buried in Westm<sup>r</sup> Abby. After whom his son Richard succeeded, but was soon thrust out by Fleetwood and Lambert, who with the rest of the Army called the Long Parliament again. After which several gentlemen in

<sup>1</sup> 'Should be Piers.' [E. F.]

<sup>2</sup> 'See her husband's epitaph, p. [157].' [E. F.]

Mr. Ferrers here confuses two Marys. The epitaph relates to the husband of Sir George's step-sister, not of his daughter. See note on p. 157, below.

<sup>3</sup> No parliament was sitting at the time of the Protector's death. He had dissolved it seven months before, on February 4.

Cheshire, under the conduct of Sir George Boothe, rose for the defence of their priviledges but were defeated by Lambert, who soon after turned out the remnant of the long Parliament and created a Government called the Committee of Safety.<sup>1</sup>

In this space of time General Monk hearing Sir George Booth had a considerable number of men up, and not knowing Lambert had defeated them, marches from Scotland with a declaration of a free Parliament; thinking to join Sir George Booth, and so to come up to London with both their armies.<sup>2</sup> Upon this news of General Monk's coming out of Scotland with an army, Lambert marches towards the North as far as Newcastle to fight against Gen<sup>l</sup> Monk. But his men would not engage, which the Parliament hearing of, they got together in the House of Commons and dissolved the Committee of Safety and invited Gen<sup>l</sup> Monk to march with his army to London, which he did accordingly, and was received with great joy, and soon after procured the dissolution of the Long Parliament, and called another upon April 25, 1660, in which I was chosen for the town of East Grinstead in Sussex: and at the opening of the Convention we chose Sir Harbottle Grinstone<sup>3</sup> Speaker, of which his Majesty being in Flanders had notice, who sent several Letters to the Lords, Commons and Gen<sup>l</sup> Monk: and likewise his gracious declaration to his subjects, in which he granted a free and general Pardon to all excepting only such Persons as shall here after be excepted by a Parliament lawfully called. His Letter to the House of Commons was brought to the door by Sir John Greenville,<sup>4</sup> afterwards Lord Bath, and being read in the House we

<sup>1</sup> 'See Echard, p. 745, where the names of the members are mentioned. They were twenty-three in number.' [E. F.]

<sup>2</sup> Lambert defeated Booth at Nantwich on August 19, 1659. The Parliament was turned out by the Army on October 13, after which the Committee of Safety was appointed, and was the governing power until the restoration of the Parliament on December 26. The statement that Monck did not know of Booth's defeat is absurd. The Council of State sent him an official narrative of it on August 25. There can be little doubt that he intended to join Booth, but before there was time to do anything the rising collapsed, after which he remained quietly in Scotland and wrote dutiful letters to the Parliament. When the breach between the Army and the Parliament occurred in October, Monck declared for the latter; but even then he only demanded the restoration of the Rump. Lambert marched out from London on November 3, and reached Newcastle towards the end of the month. On November 15 Monck declared for a free Parliament, and announced his intention of marching into England, but it was not until January 2 that he actually crossed the Tweed.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.* Grimstone.

<sup>4</sup> Granville.

were all bareheaded, and taking it into debate we resolved upon 500*l.* to be given for a Gratuity to the Messenger, and to let his Majesty know that in a very short time he should have the answer of the House. This being performed by M<sup>r</sup> Holles, afterwards Lord Holles, it was resolved that 12 Lords and 24 Commoners and some Citizens of London, should go to the Hague with the Royal Navy, to fetch home our King (whom God preserve) to sit by consent of all upon the throne of his Father.

And upon the 29<sup>th</sup> of May 1660 His Majesty arrived at Dover and was there met by the Lords and Commons and Gen<sup>l</sup> Monk who was there created Duke of Albermarle<sup>1</sup> and received the order to be a Knight of the Garter, and from thence all the train'd Bands in the Country where he passed, waited on him till he came to London, where he was received, the streets being hung with the richest furniture the Citizens had, and with all the acclamations of joy that could be expressed. Coming to White Hall he sent for both Houses and tho' much wearied with the ceremony of his reception yet sat so long in the Banqueting House as both Lords and Commons had time to express their joy in seeing him and to kiss his hand every one of them before he went to bed, though it was very late.

The next day at the meeting of the House there arose a debate that now the King was come, and we having been long humbled and tost upon unlawful foundations, it were prudent to return to our ancient Constitution of Government, and to desire his Majesty that this Convention (which was called the healing Parliament) might be dissolved, and a legal Parliament called by the King, Lords and Commons, which might set the nation upon its old foundation, and all things would be valid that were past in it. The King being moved in it readily agreed to it, that the Act of Oblivion might be the sooner dispatched, and good in law when perfected. So that was in a short time dissolved and another presently chose to sit, in which I was chosen to sit for East Grinstead; and during that Parliament, which I think sat 16 or 17 years.<sup>2</sup>

On the 23<sup>rd</sup> of April 1661. The King having that day made a magnificent passage with great splendour and solemnity from the Tower through the City of London; was crowned at Westminster.

<sup>1</sup> A very common mistake for Albemarle.

<sup>2</sup> Nearly eighteen years. It met on May 8, 1661, and was dissolved on January 24, 1678-9.

and dined in the great Hall there, with the Lords and Commons Bishops, Judges and Lawyers, the Representatives of the whole Nation. I then waited on him at dinner in the quality of a Gentleman Pensioner, he having given me that place by reason my Uncle had it before me, and the next day there was a chapter held at Windsor of the Knights of the Garter where the Duke of Albermarle with the Earl of Sandwiche, with others were installed,<sup>1</sup> and there the King treated with two dinners the whole order of the Garter, who are waited on at those solemnities by the Gentlemen Pensioners, where I waited upon my Lord of Northumberland, who was Lord Lieutenant of my county in Sussex, and he having made me one of the Deputy Lieutenants, I was forced to get William Levett, my countryman, to convey my meat out of the great hall in a large baskett to a certain lodging that the Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners had assigned for that purpose, who was then the Earl of Cleveland, that he and the other Officers of the Band might dine with us, which course if we had not taken, we had lost all our meat and dinner also, but meeting there, we found great plenty of meat, sent in of all sorts by several of the Band. So having dined, we were presently sent for to wait on the King to Chapel to hear the evening service for that occasion. After Church, my Lord Northumberland sent for me, who passed a compliment upon me and told me I must wait upon the Lord Chamberlain the next morning, who was the Earl of Manchester, to go with him to the King in his Bedchamber, for his Majesty had something to say to me. I guessed what his Lordship meant, and gave him my humble thanks for the honor I was likely to receive from the King by his means. The next morning I did accordingly, and was brought by my Lord Chamberlain to the King. When the King saw me, he presently bid me draw my sword, and taking it from me, the Lord Chamberlain bid me kneel down, and the King laid my sword on my

<sup>1</sup> The dates here are not quite accurate. The 'magnificent passage' from the Tower to Whitehall was on April 22, the day before the Coronation, and the installation of the Knights of the Garter had taken place the week before, 'apud Castrum Windesore, decimo quinto die dicti mensis Aprilis,' in order to lend greater glory to the Coronation itself. The 'two dinners' to which the King treated the Order would be on the 15th and 16th, and on this later occasion, no doubt, the Earl of Northumberland desired Courthope to go next morning to the King, as the knighthood was conferred on April 17. As regards his uncle's place as Gentleman Pensioner see petition, p. 138, above, note 3.

shoulder, uttering these words, '*Sois Chevalier*' ; so I arose, made my obeisance and departed. This was noised about the Court at Windsor on the 24<sup>th</sup> of April 1661, and that day the Chapter broke up, and all feasting was done: so that we all repaired to London to serve in Parliament, who were Members of it: and within three days I had a Bill brought me of the Knights fees, to be paid to the Officers of the Court, according to their several places, amounting to 72*l*. I being one of the King's menial servants was informed by some of the Band of Pensioners who had been knighted by the late King that they paid no fees, because Servants in the same condition were not to receive of one another, and if I paid it I should do the Band wrong, being one of their society. I answered, it would reflect much on my Lord Northumberland, who was then the only man who held up the nobility of England, to speak to the King to knight a gentleman who was not able or willing to pay his fees, and desired leave to wait on my Lord Northumberland, that I might acquaint him in what condition I was, and that I would willingly pay the money, were it not a prejudice to the place and my whole Band, and that I had precedents to bring of some of the Band who on the same occasion had not paid the Fees. When I had spoke with my Lord, whose father had been Captain of the Band of the Gentlemen Pensioners, he said that he had formerly heard such a report, but was informed that the Officers to whom the Fees did belong, had procured a warrant from my Lord Chamberlain for me to appear before the King, with intent to overthrow that custom in case I proved it to be one. I asked his Lordship if he were willing I should pay it before I appeared before his Majesty, and I would readily do it, rather than incur his Lordships displeasure. He said my best way would be to wait on my Lord Chamberlain, and to take notice of the Warrant which I had seen, and know if his Lordship would assist the Officers of the Court against me, and to let him know I had precedents then in being of the Band, who paid no Fees on the same occasion, that I was willing to pay, were it not to the prejudice of the Society I was of.

When I had waited on my Lord Chamberlain, he said the Officers were resolved to fling off the custom, if any such there was, and that the King had appointed a day for the hearing. Upon which I said I would acquaint my Lord Northumberland and if I should obtain leave of the Band I would not trouble his Majesty nor him

upon so small an occasion, but if they would not agree I should pay, I would certainly attend the King's pleasure in it. When I had acquainted my fellow Pensioners, they all resolved to interest their friends at Court on my behalf, and to stand it out. In the interim some of them had got Prince Rupert to move the King in it, and to let him know there were precedents now in being in the Band, who had been knighted by his Father and had paid no fees. To this the King replied that my Lord Chamberlain was then in the wrong: and desired the Prince to acquaint him that the hearing should be put off for he would not disoblige fifty Gentlemen for so small a sum: which the Prince did and so I escaped.

At the opening of this Parliament, which was of King, Lords and Commons, I had lived to see a circular motion of the Sovereign Power, thro' two Usurpers, from the late King of ever blessed memory to this his Son. It moved from King Charles the first to the Long Parliament, from thence to the Rumps, from the Rump to Oliver Cromwell and then back again from Richard his son to the Rump again; thence to the long Parliament and from thence to King Charles the Second, where I beseech God it may long remain. I shall not trouble myself nor the Reader with what was acted in this Parliament, only observing that the Act of Oblivion was past in the beginning, and the Act for Settling the Militia in the King only, without either of his houses of Parliament, passed presently afterwards, and when the Act of Oblivion past, there were certain Persons excepted, who had sat in judgment upon the late King, which is needless to name, they being mentioned in every printed book that treats of the History of those times.

In this Parliament there were many Prorogations, and one was in 1665 prorogued to Oxford by reason the Plague raged in London furiously that year. I had at that time leave of the King to go into France with my eldest son<sup>1</sup> provided I returned time enough to sit in Parliament. I seated my son at Caen in Normandy with a Doctor of Physick whose name was Mons<sup>r</sup> Potelle by my Cousin Mervins recommendation (a Merchant in London) to M<sup>r</sup> Britton a Merchant at Caen, who was to furnish him with

<sup>1</sup> 'See pages [145 & 156]. His name was George, born 1646, and then nineteen. He married first the daughter of Captain Fuller of Waldron, and 2<sup>dly</sup> Albinia daughter of Sir William Elliott of Busbridge in Surry. See his Monument in Ticehurst Church, Sussex. He left only one son, George Courthop, Esqr.' [E. F.]



money, and to advise him to take good courses, and to follow his exercises, that were to make him an accomplished person. There I left him and returned to Paris with my Cousin George Rivers of Chafford who had been with me from England the whole voyage.

When we had seen the Louvre, the Tuilleries, Luxembourg and other remarkable things which he had never seen before, we came to Calais for a passage to our own country. At Calais we met with Lord Hinchinbroke, eldest son to the Earl of Sandwich who was then Vice Admiral, and had sent the *Blackmore* Frigate to his son to Calais to bring him to Dover, for we had then wars with the Dutch. Being lodged at Mons<sup>r</sup> La Forces house at Calais we heard of this convenience, because the Frigate was then in the Harbour. My Lord was not willing to go to sea having just recovered of a great sickness, but we told him we would wait his leisure, if his Lordship would do us the favour to let us go in the same frigate with him: which he readily agreed to, and at his appointed time we set sail, and came to Dover safe,<sup>1</sup> and there parted with my Lord. We were invited by Sir Henry Palmer to his house at Wingham in Kent, to lodge till such time as I could send for my coach to fetch me: and when that came, after a week's feasting with the Gentry of East Kent, I arrived at Whiligh in August 1665, time enough to perform my promise to His Majesty of sitting in Parliament the Winter following.

We sat most part of the Winter, and made such Laws as were approved of by the three Estates and they being past into Acts of Parliament towards the heat of the summer we were prorogued again. Before we came together again the next winter, there happened a dreadful Fire in the City of London on the 2nd of September 1666, which burnt on both sides the street from the place where the Monument is erected to the middle of Fetter Lane before it stopped, in which were burnt 80 Churches, and houses not to be numbered, for it extended in length very near two miles: so that in the year 1665 the People were by the plague taken from the city; in 1666 The City was by the Fire taken from the People, both judgments calling upon us for a national repentance. Neither was this all the Nation suffered in this year, for we having war with the Dutch, they came up the river with their fleet of ships in a Bravado, and broke an iron chain that was put across the mouth of the River to hinder them, and came above Rochester, and fired one of the

<sup>1</sup> They landed on August 3. See *S. P., Dom.*, under date.

King's best ships in Chatham, and carried away another laying in the river, and returned without any damage to ships or men, which was such a disgrace as this nation, always famous at sea, never had put upon it either before or since the Conquest. This Parliament continued by several Prorogations, till the year 1678, always passing such acts as the necessity of the Kingdom required. Their transactions being in print, I shall take the priviledge of omitting the relation of them here, for brevity's sake, and come to a narrative of a most horrid Plot and Conspiracy of the Popish party against the life of his sacred Majesty the Government and the Protestant Religion; sworn before Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Middlesex, 1668,<sup>1</sup> by Titus Oates,<sup>2</sup> born near Hastings in Sussex, and brought up to be a Preacher of God's word and afterwards turned Papist, and went and lived at St. Omers with the Jesuits in the College, and from thence was sent into Spain to the Jesuits there, and being of the Confederacy was sent into England to wait on the Jesuits who lived in Wildhouse in Wild Street, and some others who lived disguised about London and elsewhere, with Letters from those of Spain and S<sup>t</sup> Omers to the Jesuits here, to encourage them to perfect their design of killing the King, which was to be performed by one Coniers, as D<sup>r</sup> Oates in his 68<sup>th</sup> Article relates: and this Coniers shewed him the dagger that he brought to do it with: but this man failing, they sent four Irish Ruffians to Windsor to effect it, and there were sent 80*l.* to them from the Society of the Jesuits to supply their expences. I shall not here insert how his Majesty escaped the danger, neither how Sir Edmondbury Godfrey was murdered in Somerset House<sup>3</sup> by their consults held at the White Horse Tavern by S<sup>t</sup> Clements; nor how many of the Jesuits discovered were executed: all these occurrences are set down in the narratives that were made by some of their own party, who saved their lives by confessing the Conspiracy, which was examined by the Lords and Commons and found to be a design of the Pope and the Society of Jesuits and

<sup>1</sup> 1668 is a mistake (probably merely a mis-script) for 1678.

<sup>2</sup> 'N.B.—Oates was tried and convicted of perjury May 1685. Sir George Courthop died Nov. 18, 1685.' [E. F.]

<sup>3</sup> The scene of the murder was never identified. Godfrey was at St. Martin's in the Fields at noon (of October 12, 1678), and was reported to have been seen in the Strand, between St. Clement's Church and Somerset House, later in the day. His body was found on the slopes of Primrose Hill.

their confederates in this Plot to make a reduction of Great Britain and Ireland and all His Majesty's Dominions, by the sword, to the Romish Religion and Obedience.

In this examination, the Parliament discovered one Coleman who was Secretary to the Duchess of York, to be a principal Agent, by holding correspondence with the Jesuits at St. Omers, Rome, Spain and France; and by sending speedily to secure his Letters and Papers, they had great light into the Plot, and upon his trial, he was condemned, and was the first executed on this horrid Plot. After this, they went on by way of discovery and took up many Lords who are now in the Tower, and many disguised Jesuits, being discovered were executed. Sir George Wakeman, the King's Physician, was discovered to be among the plotters: but had better luck than those who were tried before, for he escaped and went over beyond sea speedily after he was acquitted by the Jury. Sometime after, Viscount Stafford was tried by the Peers in Westminster Hall, in which were seats made for them in their several capacities as Judges: the Lord Chancellor Finch was Judge, and having had a fair trial by the Lords, he was by much the major part judged guilty, and sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered: but being a Peer of the Realm, the Lords interceded for his being beheaded, which was done on Tower Hill Dec<sup>r</sup>. 29, 1680.

In the aforesaid Parliament S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Osborne Lord Treasurer of England was impeached of High Treason (now Lord Danby). He was upon impeachment sent to the Tower by the House of Lords, but there remained, and was not bro't to his tryal, for the Commons who impeached him were not brought to their Proof of the Articles against him. They found out he had been tampering with the Court of France, to keep off all Parliaments in England, which was discovered by M<sup>r</sup> Ralph Montague then Ambassador there. They also found much of the King's revenue was wasted, by Pensions for secret services, which they were afterwards informed was to secure voices in Parliament, so that with the Members who were the King's Servants, and those who were corrupted with Pensions, the major part of the House were for the King upon all occasions. I shall not insert their names, they being printed to their everlasting shame: I shall only mention that being the King's Servant I was attempted to be in the number, but the *Magistratus Domesticus* that is in me, wo'd not let me be caught in the snare.

In the Winter 1678 I had the *Tres nuntii mortis, Casus, Infirmitas, Senectus*; *Casus nuntiat mortem latentem, Infirmitas apparentem, Senectus presentem*. In the winter I was forced to stay at home, and could not attend my service in Parliament: for which neglect I had a Sergeant at Arms, sent by warrant from his house to my habitation to give the house an account of my condition. When He came he found me on the bed labouring under a distemper of bloody urine, which I conceive I got in straining my back to bend a long bow: though some Doctors were of opinion I had a stone in my kidneys which I had dislocated; but he found me in a condition unfitting for travel, which I could not undertake without danger of my life, and promised to make such a Report to the House: for which I gave him a gratuity for himself, and paid his Fees as Sergeant at Arms (his name was Topham) which came to 20*l.* as by his receipt bearing date Dec<sup>r</sup> 27<sup>th</sup> 1678 may appear.

Presently after this money was paid The Parliament which had sat so long, dissolved, of which I was much glad, knowing that Retiredness is more safe than Business. *Periclitatur anima in negotiis* and he that doth *vivere sibi* must *vacare Deo*<sup>1</sup> and considering I had passed so many Offices with so long practice in public employments, I now thought it time to seize on Death, before it seized on me: having learned that the right way to die well was to live well, and the way to live well in the world was to die betimes to the world. Upon these meditations I was resolved to spend the remainder of my days, and not to enter any more upon public employments; being then in my Climacterick year of sixty-three,<sup>2</sup> and ever since have studied *artem bene moriendi*, which I found to be better learned by Practice than Precept, Therefore I beseech God, that by his assisting Grace I may be brought to such a degree of repentance, that when by the direction of his holy spirit I shall finish my course in this transitory Life, I may cheerfully leave this world and resign my soul into his fatherly hands, in assured confidence that through the Propitiation, Mediation and Intercession of my alone surety and only Saviour Christ Jesus, it shall be received into his heavenly kingdom, clothed with the Robes of his Righteousness, there to rest for ever and to be filled with the eternal comprehension of his Love and Glory.

<sup>1</sup> 'See his Epitaph, page [155]. From the phrase *vacare Deo*, which is repeated in the Epitaph, it is most probable that he wrote the Epitaph himself.' [E. F.]

<sup>2</sup> 'A.D. 1679.' [E. F.]

APPENDIX <sup>1</sup>

N.B.—From the Inscription on the Monument in (Whiligh or) Ticehurst Church it appears that Sir George lived there quietly till 1685. The inscription is as follows:

‘Hic juxta situs est Georgius Courthop Eques Auratus qui Carolo II fidelem quoad vixit operam navavit: In Aulâ quidem ex Satellitibus Generosis Unus: in Urbe Commissarius Prædiis alienandis Primarius: Ruri cum Deputatus Locum tenens, tum Irenarcha: in supremâ vero curiâ Senator ex Populi Delegatis Amplissimis et Consultissimis iterum lectus, ut antedicto Regi restituendo, sic deinceps ad extremum Vitæ spiritum stabiliendo. Reliquis idem Pietatis et Christianæ Justitiæ muneribus defunctus: inter ipsa negotia Deo vacavit et exuvias carnis suæ prope cineres Parentum hic juxta reponi vivens curavit.

‘Obiit 18<sup>mo</sup> Novembris  
1685.’ <sup>2</sup>

## 2

His lady survived him five years. She is buried at Ticehurst, and on a flat stone over her remains is the following inscription:

‘Here lyeth the body of Dame Elizabeth Wife of Sir George Courthop of this Parish who departed this life Dec<sup>r</sup> 18, 1690. Aged 67.’

## 3

His Father and Mother were also buried at Ticehurst, and on a mural monument is the following inscription:

‘Hic juxta situs est Georgius Courthop Eques una cum Uxore Aliciâ filiâ Georgii Rivers Equitis Chaffordiæ in Agro Cantiano oriundi.

Obiit Octob: 12, 1642.

‘Hoc Monumentum debito erga Parentes studio, Georgius Courthop Eques, filius unicus posuit.

Resurgemus.’

<sup>1</sup> By Mr. Ferrers.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Aged 69.’ [E. F.]

## 4

His eldest Son,<sup>1</sup> who survived him 29 years, was buried at Ticehurst. The following Inscription is on the Pillar in the South-west corner of the family pew.

‘Near this Place are deposited the Remains of George Courthop Esq<sup>re</sup> late of Whiligh in this Parish Eldest son of Sir George Courthop K<sup>nt</sup> who died Sept<sup>r</sup> 13 AD. 1714. Aged 68.

‘Albinia eldest Daughter of  
Sir William Elliott K<sup>nt</sup>  
late of Busbridge in the  
county of Surry  
His very disconsolate Relict  
Erected this Monument  
in true affection to his Memory.’

‘He left  
only one Son the present George Courthop Esq<sup>re</sup>;<sup>2</sup>  
And the said Albinia who died June 11, 1717.

Was interred  
At her request  
In the same grave  
With her  
Dear Husband.’

## 5

The second Daughter of the above-mentioned George Courthop Esq<sup>re</sup> is interred in the chancel belonging to the Family and North of their pew with this Inscription on a flat stone.

‘Here rests the Body of  
Frances Courthop  
Second Daughter of  
George Courthop Esq<sup>rr</sup>  
Of Whiligh in this Parish  
Who departed this Life  
July 10, 1723  
Aged 14 years.’

<sup>1</sup> ‘See page [145], where it appears that this son was married *first* to the daughter of Captain Fuller of Waldron in Sussex in 1674 and that she died 1675’ [E. F.]

<sup>2</sup> ‘Grandfather to the present possessor of Whiligh, 1801.’ [E. F.]

N.B.—In Thorpe's 'Registrum Roffense' fol. P. 776, is the following Epitaph etc. in Meopham Church. [Meopham in the Deanery of Shoreham and a Peculiar to the Archbishop of Canterbury; but in Rochester Diocese.]

In the chancel on a black marble gravestone is the following inscription:

'Here lyeth the Body of Henry Haslen of Meopham Esq<sup>re</sup> who married Mary Courthope the daughter of Sir George Courthope of Whiligh in the county of Sussex Knight and of Dame Elizabeth his Wife, who had issue by her two Sons and one daughter.

'Obiit 26<sup>o</sup> Septembris anno Dom<sup>i</sup> 1658 <sup>1</sup> ætatis suæ 36.'

<sup>1</sup> '1658. The date cannot be correct: at p. [145] it appears that Sir George married in 1643; and that Mary was his youngest daughter; but according to this statement, she would have been a widow at fourteen years of age, even if she, as the *eldest* child of Sir George Courthop, had been born in 1644. Query if the figures should not be reversed, *i.e.* 1685 instead of 1658.' [E. F.]

Ferrers has (as stated above, p. 145, note) confused the two Mary Courthopes. Mary, wife of Henry Haslen, was the daughter of the *first* Sir George Courthope by his 2nd wife Elizabeth, widow of Edward Hawes. The second Sir George Courthope married Elizabeth Hawes, daughter of his stepmother by her first husband, and had by her a daughter Mary, who was unmarried at the date when these memoirs were written.

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