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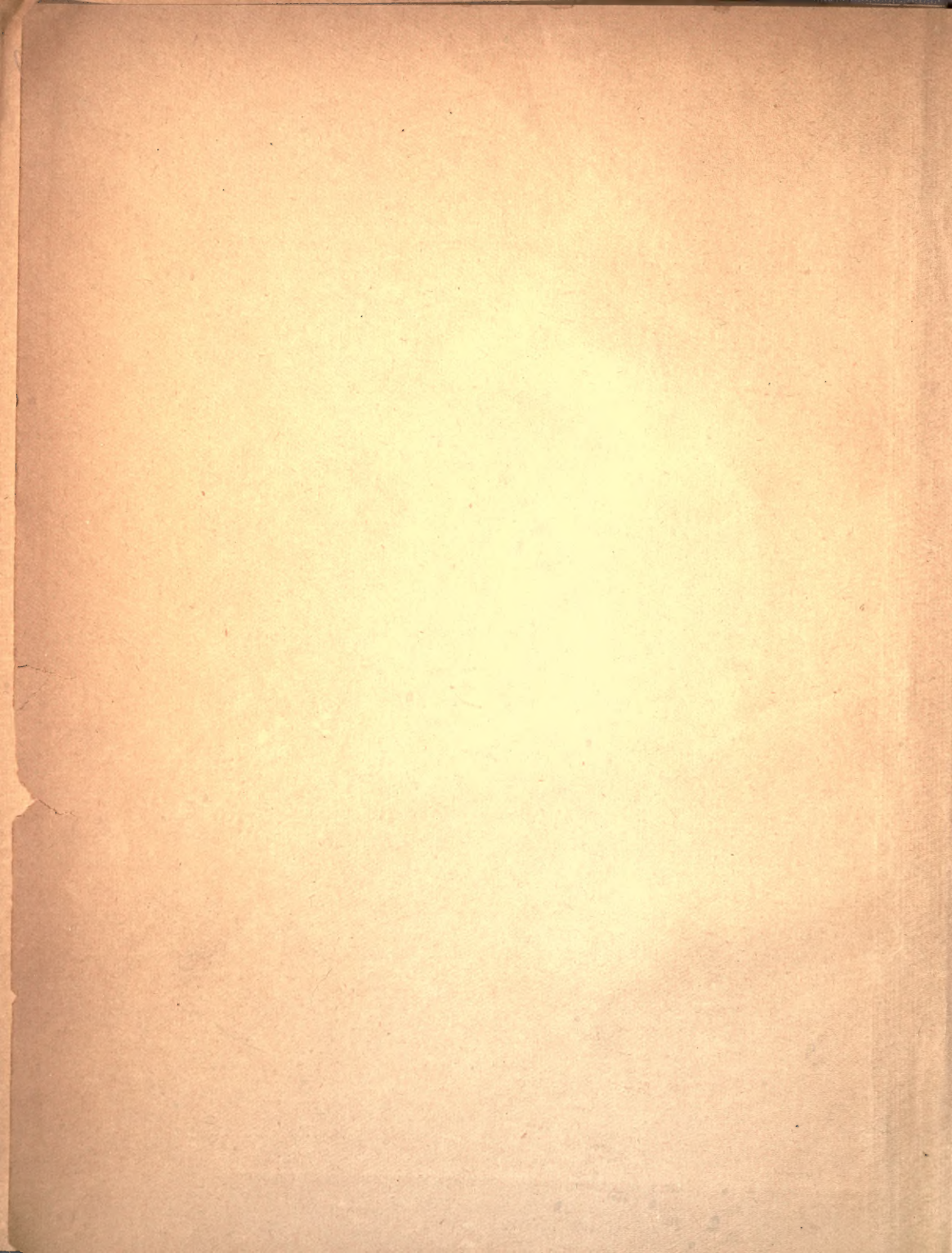
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AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THOMAS RAYMOND AND MEMOIRS OF THE FAMILY OF GUISE OF ELMORE, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

EDITED

FOR THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BY

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PREFACE

The Autobiography of Thomas Raymond has been printed from *Rawlinson MS.* in the Bodleian Library, D. 1150, where it occupies ff. 41-104, of which only ff. 41-89 are here included. It is a fragment, and the omitted portion, containing anecdotes of Italian crimes and cities, is of slight interest. The two additional anecdotes, which are also in Raymond's handwriting, are from the same manuscript volume and occupy ff. 38 and 38-41, 104-107 respectively. The editor is responsible for the punctuation, use of capitals, expansion of contractions and the substitution of 'th,' 'j' and 'v' for 'y,' 'i' and 'u' whenever modern usage required it; he has made no other attempt to correct or to render uniform the spelling.

The Memoirs of the Guises have been printed from a transcript, made, as far as can be inferred from the handwriting, within the last forty years. Whether the original is in existence is not known. A statement on the flyleaf of the transcript says that it was "bought Dec. 1899 by T. W. Jackson from Mr. Tyrrell of Little Clarendon St. who acquired it in a sale at Shrivenham, five or six years ago: The sale was of part of the effects from a larger house: the name uncertain." It was purchased, together with other books, from the library of the late Mr. T. W. Jackson, Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford, by S. W. Chaundy, 104 High St., Oxford, from whom it was bought by Professor C. H. Firth (1914), who has since presented it to the Bodleian.

I desire to thank Mr. H. H. E. Craster for helping me to decipher difficult passages in Raymond's Autobiography, and the Rev. A. B. Beaven for the continuous interest he has shown in my historical studies. Professor C. H. Firth first suggested to me that I should edit these two manuscripts and assisted me at every stage. He allowed me to work in his library and to consult him whenever I wished. I am fortunate in that I have received so many benefits at his hands: I am unfortunate in that I can find no words adequately to acknowledge my indebtedness to him. I can only feel the gratitude I cannot express.

G. DAVIES.

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AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THOMAS RAYMOND



INTRODUCTION TO RAYMOND'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

The writer of this Autobiography, Thomas Raymond, according to his own account, was born about 1610. Twelve years later, on his father's death, he was "put out to board and schoole," and, after a sojourn there of three years duration, went to London to be under the care of his uncle, William Boswell. For the next three or four years he was "consigned to a lawyer to better my writing and learne the places and manner of the city." He was then received into Boswell's household and complains that "long waiting and short meales" were his lot there. In 1632 he accompanied his uncle to the Hague when the latter was appointed the English Resident. Finding he "had neither money nor countenance" from his uncle, he joined the English contingent in the army of the United Provinces, and "trailed a pike" in the company of Sir Philip Pakenham during the campaign in 1633. He was not, however, destined to pursue the career of a soldier of fortune, since Sir William Boswell procured him a position as a secretary to Basil, Lord Feilding, appointed extraordinary ambassador to Venice in September 1634, in whose company he travelled to Italy. He was there less than three years when a letter from Sir William Boswell recalled him to England. "I shall ever acknowledge," wrote Boswell to Lord Feilding, "your lordship's noble favours to my nephew, your servant Thomas Raymond, but now I have humbly to beseech you to grant him leave of absence; for his fortunes and hope of an estate depending much upon the affection and bownty of some frends in England who are of a faminin complexion, I am advised that he ought to repair thither, lest his hopes should suffer by his two long absence."¹

Raymond, as soon as he had returned, wrote to Feilding: "Immediately on my safe arrival hither, I repaired to Mr. Church (according to your orders) who not having received any information from your lordship touching me, I was almost dishearted from

¹ *Denbigh MSS.*, v, 50. In this and other cases, when quoting from calendared documents, the *ipsissima verba* of the writers are indicated by single inverted commas within double inverted commas.

tendering my service to any of your friends at court. However, I took the boldness to wait upon my lady, your mother, who honoured me with a favourable audience, but as a stranger, not as your servant, having received no notice touching me. I pray you to send her some few words of information."¹

How Raymond spent the four following years is unknown, but a second letter to Feilding, dated, from Paris, October 22, 1641, throws some light upon his career. "When I divers times came to receive your honour's commands before leaving England, my ill fate kept me from finding you at home or at leisure. My infinite obligations to your lordship oblige me to give you an account of my present charge, as to one who has been pleased to stand cautionary for me (a favour I shall never enough acknowledge). 'It will be a perpetuall honour unto me to have had the conduct of soe noble and hopefull a cavalier as my Lord Mordaunt, who (to speake without flatterie or ends) is of a sublim'd and brave speritt, and endued with many excellent naturall parts. Hee is nowe in his horsemanshipp, mathematicks and dancing. I could have wish'd he had a little looked over againe the foundation of learning (phisicks) but his disposition and abler friends hath counselled him otherwise.' I shall not cease to give him the best counsel I can, and hope never to deserve ill of him or his friends. 'I have taken myselfe out of the number of the gazettiers, the better to applie myselfe to my private studies.'"²

For the next twenty years, details of his career are very scanty and indefinite. His pupil Mordaunt returned to England in 1642, but it is probable that the interview with Rustat at Dover that Raymond mentions did not take place until the end of 1644 or the beginning of 1645. There seems to be no reason to identify him with the Captain Thomas Raymond to whom Lord Inchiquin granted a pass to go into England (June 19, 1645),³ but he may be the Thomas Raymond who was at Siena in 1646 and who joined Robert Bargrave in a voyage to Greece. If the identification is correct, he was a participant in an exciting adventure. At Modon, Bargrave was blackmailed by the Turks and imprisoned. Under pretence of trading he induced his guards to allow him to approach the beach. According to his own narrative he "had contrivd before that not a person of ours should remain on shoar to be

¹ *Denbigh MSS.*, v, 51.

² *Denbigh MSS.*, v, 74.

³ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, vii, 236.

anywise a hindrance to my escape, having on purpose sent my cousins Mr. Thomas Raymond, Mr. Henry Palmer and Mr. Peter Annet all to the ship and ordered the master to have his sails and anchors in the best possible readiness for the first opportunity of escape: immediately as we were on the shoar our long boat came to us, when, crying aboard to them to hold fast theyr anchor and stand to me, I leapt out of the Turkes armes who stood about me and rann into the seae: but the boat lying a distance off, and I not knowing to swim, they soon overtooke me. When struggling with them I was three times quite under water and wanted but little to be drowned, but the mariners honestly swimming to my relief stoutly beat the Turks off and cleerd me from them. Being all in the boat we stood a notable shoure of brick stones the villanes hurld at us, and though with some knocks rowed out of theyr reach. . . . The Turks in the interim running to the gates, with theyr shouts raisd the people, who running in multitudes from their orations to theyr forts they shott six roaring canon at us ere we could gett without theyr reach. Of which only two took place, whereof one lodged in the ship of no less than 14 inches diameter, making 42 inches of circumfence & weighing (though of stone) 109 pounds English."¹ The travellers apparently left Raymond in the Morea, possibly at Athens.²

Be this as it may, he himself says that he was in England in 1649 and he may have continued to dwell there until the Restoration. In 1640 Thomas Raymond, Esquire, was granted in reversion the office of Keeper and Register of the Papers and Records of State, with the salary of 3s. 4d. per day, on the death, surrender or forfeiture of the present holders, Ambrose Randolph and Sir William Boswell.³ In 1655 he wrote to Randolph concerning his right of succession—his uncle having died five years previously.⁴ No evidence has been found that Raymond was employed at the Paper Office before the Restoration, but it is improbable that he could have drawn up the following memorandum unless he had some knowledge of the office:—

The librarie comonly called the Office of Papers and Records concerneing matters of State and Counsell in Whitehall consisteth of: 1. The originall letters of divers Emperors,

¹ *Rawl. MSS.*, C. 799, ff. 164b-166.

² *Ibid.*, f. 170b.

³ *30th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, Appendix, 241. July 20, 1640.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 242. April 5, 1655.

INTRODUCTION

Kings, Sovereigne Princes and States to our Kings: 2. Many treaties with them. 3. An abundance of originall letters of our Ambassadors &c. to our Kings and Secretaries of State: 4. The originall instructions and negotiations of most of our Ambassadors and other publick ministers: 5. An abundance of translates of foreign letters and other matters of State. 6. Many surveys and matters of Ireland: 7. A miscellanie of severall other papers and records concerning matters of State and Counsell both domestick and foreign.

A greate parte of these papers were auncientlie in possession of the Secretaries of State, and, in a confused and almost neglected manner, passed from one Secretary of State to another, whereby it experimentally fell out: 1. That many of the papers were imbezeld especially at the death or voidance of each Secretary; 2. That (for want of due management) the Council lost a greate part of the high use that might have bene made of them. Wherefore aboute the begining of King James they were ordered into a sett forme of librarie within Whitehall as they nowe stande with severall papers and records since delivered in. And a Clerke or Keeper appointed to attende the same.

The politie and management of affaires with forreigne Princes and States being (for the most part) the same that it hath bene formerlie, notwithstanding the change of Government within ourselves, this office wilbe of great and constante use as wherein is contayned presidents for, or lights into, almost any forreigne affaire that occurs. Alsoe upon the taking in of newe, or renewing of Ministers of State which (according to the forme of Government that may be ordered) may be often, this Office wilbe of like use and constantly for Secretaries of State, Agents &c., and it serves not only to preserve the excellent papers belowe mentioned but is also a safe repositorie for those of the like kinde which shall futurelie (for the benefitt of posteretie) be delivered into the same.

The Clerke or Keeper ought to be: 1. faithfull in concealing the matters within his office, the safe preserveing the papers from imbezement or spoiling, and duely communicating to authoritie whatever in his office may advantage the publick affaires; 2. able, having some skill in, and love to, state

affaires. He ought at least to understande the Latin, Italian, French and Spanish tongues, otherwise the office (or himselfe) will be of little use; 3. Industrious that he may be soe well acquainted with whatsoever of moment is containd in his office as upon all due occasions to give readie account thereof, and, if neede be, produce the paper itselfe.

And this he shall attaine unto by exact and minute methodizing and daylie peruseing the severall papers, and therefore 4. he must have noe other greate busines incumbent upon him, for he must give constant attendance in the office, that in case any of the Councill of State &c. shall come to peruse, or if they shall sende for him upon any matter in debate or call for any paper, he may be alwayes readie to doe his duetie &c.

Some fewe things might be added, which (in my simple judgment) would make the office an incomparable librarie of State:

Tho. Raymond.¹

Westminster, 9 September, 1659.

On October 2, 1660, a royal warrant was issued to John Thurlow to deliver to Thomas Raymond, Clerk and Keeper of our Papers and Records of State, within our palace at Whitehall, all such official papers as had been delivered to him by Ambrose Randolph, the late Keeper.² Raymond's brief tenure of the Keepership was only remarkable for the efforts made to recover the documents from the hands of their custodians or borrowers during the Protectorate. On February 1, 1661, a warrant was issued to Raymond that "divers books, treaties, papers, and records of State, have during the late unhappy troubles been delivered out of the office of our papers, by Ambrose Randolph, late keeper, to John Thurlow, John Bradshaw, Henry Scobell and others, and very few of them returned, 'to the prejudice of our weighty affairs'; he is commanded to repair to the parties before named, or to their heirs and executors, and to every other person with whom any of the said books, &c., do remain, and to receive the same into his custody to be safely kept in the said office."³

¹ *Tanner MSS.*, 80, f. 97. Bodleian Library. The form of oath taken by the Clerk is given in *30th Report of the Deputy Keeper*, 243.

² *30th Report of the Deputy Keeper*, 242.

³ *Ibid.*, 242-3.

In common with many State officials of Charles II.'s time, Raymond found it difficult to secure the payment of his salary: In a petition to Charles, he states that he had bought at great charge Randolph's interest in his patent of the Paper Office, and had performed the duty for more than a year without receiving any remuneration.¹ It was not until June 16, 1664, that a warrant was issued to pay Thomas Raymond 212*l.* in lieu of the arrears of wages due to him.²

Meanwhile the King, understanding that he wished to retire from his employment, for his health and convenience, allowed him to surrender his place to Secretary Nicholas, but he was still to remain as a servant extraordinary and to give his attendance when required.³ A month later (December 31, 1661) Joseph Williamson was formally appointed in his stead.⁴ It was in connection with his duties as servant extraordinary that he drew up a further memorandum in 1663 on the Paper Office.⁵

On October 27, 1662, he addressed a petition to Williamson, which is summarised in the Calendar of Domestic State Papers,⁶ and which survives at greater length in the shape of a rough draft elsewhere:—

“ The office of Controller of his Majesty's Customs in this port of Lynne Regis⁷ being in some likelihood through sicknesse of the present officer to fall voyd, I am become an humble suitor to you, if it should soe happen that you would please to be a meanes to my Lord Treasurer that myself might be looked upon in the first place for the same, and noe further then I shalbe found capable of the same in all respects shall I crave your favour. My sad misfortunes at Westminster where [or when] your favour I must ever acknowledg, bringing me to settle with my little family (where I forme[r]ly hazarded my lif and fortunes for his Majesty of blessed memory, I should [? not] inwillingly serve his Majesty, my

¹ *30th Report of the Deputy Keeper*, 243.

² *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1663-4, 618.

³ *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1661-2, 162. November 30, 1661.

⁴ *30th Report of the Deputy Keeper*, 243.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 244.

⁶ *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1661-2, 528.

⁷ Presumably King's Lynn. If he hazarded his life there for Charles I it must, in all probability, have been at the time of the siege (Kingston's *East Anglia and the Great Civil War*, 131 fol., 184-5). I can find no trace of his having fought there—or elsewhere.

gracious master, in the place as well as to manifest the constancie of my loyaltie as also to some occasion thereby to manifest how truly I am and desire to approve my selfe, Sir,

Your most obliged & most faithful servant,
T. R."¹

At the same time, to all appearance, Raymond drafted a letter which may have been written to Tobias Rustat:—

"My dearest friend,—It is likely that the Controwler of his Majesties Customes in this port may be taken away by death. In such case I would gladly put in for it, and first come first served. I know it must be paid for to my Lord Treasurer & I will give as much as any other. This if you presently intimate to Sir Philip Warwick and obtaine of him that I may be first heard. You shall much ad[? vance] the old kindnesses Sir Philip had much for the memory of my uncle Sir W. Boswell. Neither am I altogether unknone to him. I say nothing of the [? other] businesse because I mistrust. This would suite hugely with me and therefore againe I beg your support."²

Since, in a letter written a month later from Lynn, Raymond tells Williamson he will execute any orders the latter may require, it is probable that his application was successful.³

Another fragment, not dated, nor signed, nor addressed, remains: "I had the last sumer almost a fully resolved to visit those parts as well for the many antiquities there worth the seeing and the end now mentioned as also somewhat to assuage the just and heavie sorrowes which some what before were fallen upon me by death of a most deare and loveing wife. Howe it may succeed next yere if God grant lif and health I know not, but in the mean time I have sent out this wanderer."⁴ Another glimpse of his family is afforded in a letter written in 1670: "I beg your assistance in behalf of my eldest son, who having lost the use of one leg, is unfit for any but sedentary employment. He excels in writing and is a good grammarian."⁵

¹ *Rawl. MSS.*, D. 1035, ff. 62–3.

² *Ibid.*, f. 63. Sir Philip Warwick was Secretary to Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton and Lord High Treasurer.

³ *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1661–2, 572.

⁴ *Rawl. MSS.*, D. 1035, f. 63b.

⁵ *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1670, 157. Raymond to Williamson, April 11, 1670.

Further correspondence with Williamson reveals the continued interest he felt in the Paper Office. On February 20, 1670, he writes: "As to Thetford, or elsewhere, I shall ever be ready with my little candle to attend your son. I think with regard to your proceedings in connection with that place, that you tread in the footsteps of that excellent person now in heaven, Sir Edward Nicholas. I have some notes in MS. of the famous convention of Parliament in 1621, which I wish you to see, if you will give directions how the books are to be sent. I should like to know how affairs were since managed in that House, but such a petition would be unmannerly, if not unreasonable."¹ And again on March 16: "Whatever papers I have of public concern, although they are justly my own, yet I shall leave them for the [Paper] Office, to which I have so just an affection that God was justly pleased to punish me for it. I have often thought, and still do, that many letters therein would give much light to history, &c., and might be published without prejudice to the Government, and I would gladly help thereunto; pardon my extravagances."² The last letter preserved of this series, dated March 17, 1673, indicates that his health was failing.³

The date of Raymond's death is approximately fixed as the autumn of 1681 by a note of Archbishop Sancroft about Laud's account of his archiepiscopal province for the year 1635, which, he says, "is very happily come to my hand after this manner. My very worthy friend, Sir Will. Cooke⁴ of Broom in Norfolk, sent me a letter dated Nov. 6, 1681, that, being executor to an uncle of his then lately deceased in Suffolk, he found in his study a bundle of original papers of archbishop Laud, (which are the annual accounts here following, from 1632-1639) with a letter to me in the words following: 'May it please your Grace' &c. vide infra. The writer of this letter, Mr. Thomas Raymond, a very ingenious gentleman, was (as Sir Will. C. tells me) bred up under Sir Will. Boswell, ambassador in Holland, and was after governor to the present earl of Peterborough in his travels: and was after his return (as I have heard) one of the clerks of his Majesty's privy council, possibly under Sir Jo. Cooke, principal secretary, by which means these papers might come into his hands."

¹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1670, 78.

² *Ibid.*, 121.

³ *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, March 17, 1673.

⁴ William Cooke of Brome Hall, Norfolk, cr. a Bart. 29 June, 1663. G.E.C., *Complete Baronetage*, iii, 278.

“Mr. Raymond’s letter to my lord Archbishop Sancroft, concerning the following papers.”

“May it please your Grace,—The enclosed papers being of ecclesiastic concern, and true and mighty evidences of the abundant love and care of a blessed king, for the good of the Church, as well as that of a most pious and learned prelate, your grace’s predecessor; I thought myself bound both in duty and prudence to transmit them to your grace, as to their proper place, both for use and safety: and this I have endeavoured to do in the carefulest manner I could; and do implore your grace’s pardon for this intrusion; beseeching (most humbly) Almighty God, to grant to your grace multos annos in all health and prosperity, so much conducing to the good of His Church amongst us: and withdrawing myself into my wonted solitude, do crave the great honour to be esteemed, as I am ready to approve myself,

Your Grace’s most humble and most faithful
servant,

Thos. Raymond.”¹

In the Public Record Office is a draft of Raymond’s will.

20 *December*, 1915.

G. DAVIES.

¹ *Laud’s Works*, v, pt. ii, 316-7.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THOMAS RAYMOND

A RHAPSODIE

“ My father, being in the feilds a coursing about the latter end of December, was surprized with an extraordinary cold in the upper part of his belly, and, retyring home and into his bed, a high feaver ensued, whereof he dyed within some dayes. He was of lesse then a midling stature but of great symetrie of lymbe, browne hayre, and carless, of a very cholericke and hastie tong but soone passing over. Wee were 4 children, 3 sonns and one daughter, of all which my selfe, being the second, was least beloved of him, but upon all occasions (though I was not above 12 years old at his death) felt the effects of his cholor, which was of greate mischeife unto me, being of a softe and tymorous complexion. And indeed thus soon began the unhappy breaches made upon my spirit, which hath followed me in all the variations and course of my life, and proved a great obstacle to the advancement of my fortunes. So mischevous is the nipping the bud of a tender masculyne spiritte. Soone after my fathers death, my selfe and younger brother were put out to board and schoole. And here I, being not soe quick at repeating without booke as my younger brother was, thou not inferiour to him in any other part of [the] performance, not only harsely used by the pedagogie, but, to my greate shame and discouragement, placed in the forme belowe my younger brother: Of such discretion are ordinarily those Rhumbusies,¹ through which I dare avou many a gallent boyes spiritt hath beene abused and spoiled, which otherwise might have made a brave man: it being indeed greate pittty that no better care is taken for choyce of able

¹ Rhombus is a pedantic schoolmaster (something like the Holofernes of Shakespeare) who is introduced in Philip Sidney's dramatic entertainment, *The Lady of May*, 1578. The play is printed at the end of many of the editions of Sidney's *Arcadia*.

men to have the care of instructing and educateing of youth. Dureing my being here our ever churl neighbour (an old man), being one day in his yard and seeing a hogg of his neighbours breake downe a pale and come into his ground, tooke a spade and digging to sett the foote of the pale into the ground againe, threw up with the earth a lusty male child all naked, only a cloake about the neck, at which the old man being affrighted called some of his neighbours, whoe discoursing of this accident, some of them said that his daughter had been suspected of late to be with childe. Soe it proved : for she had had this child secretly and here buried it. She, notwithstanding contrary to law and expectation, escaped hanging.

Haveing spent about three yeres in this schoole, an unkle of myne being a courtier sent for me to London, intending to place me there. And at my comeing up I was consigned to a lawyer to better my writing and learne the places and manner of the citty. The next day after my comeing hither was kept as a day of thancksgiving for the rasing of that dreadfull plague in the yere 1625.¹ That morneing the maid goeing downe to open the strete dore, she found a letter, which lay as if it had bene thrust under the dore, directed to hir selfe, and being opend spake to this purpose, Good Cousin, seemed to come from a cousin of hers praying hir, too [? as] soone as hir master was gone to church, to come to hir, for she had something to tell hir which required hast and concerning hir selfe, that she sent by one that passed very early by, and if the dore should chance not to be open she bad him put hir letter in under it. The wench wondered at this letter because she had seene hir couson the day before, nor could imagine what this busines should [be], as she tould hir master, showing him the letter [and] praying she might goe to hir cousin, promising to make such hast that she would be back before church tyme, as she was, and brought word that her cousin wondred at the letter not haveing [? sent] any message. Hereupon they were suspitious of some plott to robb the howse, for the lawyer and the mayd being out was all the family. They both apprehended this was some plott of one Anthony Grymes, who lately lived with this lawyer and had robbed a goldsmith being the next door. Hee was his clerk and lived without suspicion of such dishonesty. Some tymes indeed hee

¹ A proclamation for a general thanksgiving for the stay of the late fearful visitation of the plague appeared January 22, 1625-6. *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1625-6, 231.

would be abroad late and once was all night, coming home very early, telling the mayd he had been with some of his country-men: But that evening he slipt into the goldsmyth shopp, and hid him selfe in a darke corner, and in the night robbed him of many jewells, rings &c. much lamenting the mans losse, himself being the theife: He kept his stollen wares about 5 or 6 wekes, after which tyme he put some of them to sale to a goldsmith at Westminster, to whome he sayd that [a] brother of his served an Irish lord, where he was apprehended but impudently denyed the theft; and, brought by the constables to the upper end of Foster lane, at the other end whereof the goldsmyth lived, he slipt from them, they crying 'Stop thief' and he 'Stopp thief' as fast as they. But he was retaken on striking up his heeles, sent to Newgate, and was thence not many dayes before the writing of this letter broke prison.

This fellow I say they suspected to have some designe upon the howse, tho the lawyer coud not fynde any part of the letter like his hand, but resolvd not to leave the howse wholly empty, my selfe remayneing at home in the fournoone and the lawyer himselfe in the afternoone. Supper tyme being come the mayd went to draw bere, and so passed through a roome called the office to the celler, the letter still working in hir braine, and looking about the windowe next the streete she perceived one of the barrs were whittled, and, stopping again to take a better view, she perceived the barr cut through at both ends, and then steppd to a dark hole under the stays, where a board was newly placed, but without a candle nothing could be deserned. She came hastily up saying surely Anthony was in that hole, telling of the window and the board. Hereupon a candle was lightd and downe wee three went, and she takeing the board away put the candle into the mouth of the hole, crying out 'O Lord, there he is, there he is,' wherewith wee all three most valiently ran out of the roome soe fast that wee almost ran over one another, but yet had the good luck to locke the dore. And soe in much affright wee called in our neighbour the goldsmyth and another. And the candle being lighted againe, which by our hasty retreat we had put out, one looked into the hole. 'Whie here is noe body,' said he. Nor indeed was he there, which made the lawyer begin to chide his mayd for deluding them, but she was confident he was there or not farre of, as indeed he was, being crayl[ed] out of the hole and gotten into a great presse, not farre of, where he was taken all loaden with dust and

cobwebbs (a very dreadfull sight to a younge country boy), sent againe to Newgate where the keeper was in great trouble for him, it being within 3 or 4 dayes of the sessions, and twas sayd the keeper was told by a cunning-man to whome he went aboute him that he should have him againe before the sessions. Had this rogue beene bloody, or had not God rather over ruled him, he might very easeily have knocked my braynes out. For I being alone in the howse went onc downe the celler to drinck, being just by his den, out of which he might have come and done it and after robbd the howse. Herein God did emynently preserve me. It may be observed alsoe howe the Divill moves his followers to make trapps to catch themselves, for had not this rogue writt this letter he might easily have robbd the howse (all of us intending had not that come to have gone to church), and have alsoe escaped being taken. But thus that fiend payes his servants.

This accident had soe deepe an impression on my mynde that for some yeres I never went to bed without looking under it, and in every corner of my chamber, with this good effect alsoe that I constantly sayd my prayers. I tooke care to secure my chamber dore and all the avenues by which I might be surprizd in the night, and I tooke my selfe to be secure in all parts of my castle but at one place where the jack weights passed up behinde a staynd cloath and was soe wide that I thought some rogue might passe up at it. To prevent which (see the deepe invention of a younge boy grevously tortured by feare) I gott a little tinckling bell, and fastened it to one of the lynes, assuring my selfe that they could not be much stirred but that my sentinell would presently give me the alarme. And soe indeede it fell out, for wakeing onc towards day me thought I heard that dismall sound. Yet supposeing it might be some dreame or misapprehension I with feare enough gave better care, but not longe it was now before my sentinell spoke out plainly. And now my valour was put to the test, whether I would cowardly be knockd on the head in my bed, or rise and valauntly defende my selfe. My courage prevailed; and soe up I gott, tooke my Morglay,¹ which I had layd ready by my bed side, and approaching the hole, where crying out 'What rogue is there? I shall prick your crowne for you,' I wipped my sword as hard I could downe the place, verily thinking I should therewith have mett the head or shoulders of some villaine, but noe such matter.

¹ A name for a sword used in romances. Nares, *Glossary*, ii, 582.

Soe after severall tryalls towards all parts of the hole, I retyred to my bed supposing the rogue might make away, and, not being willing to pursue out of my castle for feare of further danger or give a generall alarme for feare of being laughed at if mistaken, layd me downe againe, but (you may be sure) slept not, fearing a new assault. By this tyme it began to grow light, and still my eyes were towards the place of danger, when on a sudden my sentinell began againe to make use of his iron tongue. I had now with the light gotten more courage, and soe, observing a while what would follow, I espied myne enemy, a villanous great rat descending downe by the ropes, at which altho at that tyme I was not much disposd to laugh, yet since I have (as well as others) most heartily.

My contynuanee here was longer then at first was intended, for what reason I doe not now well remember. But I doe very well beare in mynde the greate danger younge ladds doe undergoe at their first comeing to London through bad company, counsells, and indiscrete masters: yet none more liable to be lost by debauchery then young clerks. God was pleased in a especiall manner to protect my selfe from many greate temptations, for which I must ever blesse his holy name. One was from the lawyers sister-in-law, a very handsome younge wench and tempting above measure, becomeing at last a very light (?). Another was a man that temptd me soe as tended to the vilest beastiallity. Another that would tempt me to the stewes &c. As for drincking I have cause to aske forgiveness of God for my faults therein, and have this for my consolation, that I never loved that great and too common vice. Passing one day in the streete after a carte wherein was a great peece of tymber, and not takeing soe good heed as I should, the carte gave suddenly back and the peece of tymber trailing now upon the ground bare upon my wright foote in such a manner that it made deepe impression of my stocking into my foote, and had not the horse suddenly pulled it had pashed my foote all to pieces, lameing me for ever.

This lawyer did much frequent the howse of a rich widow, a Puritan, in which howse I remember was much reioyceing at the murther of the Duke of Buckingham by Felton.¹ Long hayre was much condemnd, particularly the lock worne on the lefte side by good King Charles I. This lawyer had out of that howse 2 wives. One dyed with in 6 or 8 weekes after marriage,

¹ John Felton murdered Buckingham, August 23, 1628.

beginning with a breeding fitt as was sayd. She dying away was forced to life againe contynueing for ner 2 dayes after, singing the tunes of psalmes, and soe dyed without returne of intellectualls: The other lived some yeres with him. This widow undid hir selfe by entertaynments, especially of Puritans; and dying left this lawyer hir expenses, which also beggerd him. Dureing the latter part of my abode in this place my uncle had a comand from the King to attend an extraordinary ambassage into France and Italy as secretary thereunto, performed by James Hay, Earle of Carlisle,¹ one of the most compleate and generous courtiers of his tyme, whose splendor and magnificence in ambassages (whereof he performed many to the Emperor, severall Kings, Princes and States with greate applause and satisfaction) cost this good King and his father K. James many thousands of pounds: He was raysed by K. James from Sir James Hay to Vicount Doncaster, thenne to E. of Carlile. His first wife was daughter and heyre to the Lord Denny, Baron of Walsham and Earl of Norwich, to whom dying she lefte the E. on sonne. His second wife was daughter to the Earl of Northumberland, a lady of high extraction, of excellent beauty and maiestick personne, and notwithstanding the greate disparity in yeres betweene hir and the Earle (he growing old), she to his last breath approvd hir selfe (as I have often heard by those that know it) a most virtuous tender and loveing wife. The E. had wedded hir against the likeing of the Earle hir father, whoe, being a person of high blood and spiritt, thought it a greate disparagment to his lynage. But Carlile endeavoured to gayne him by many noble presents and signall services at Court, old Northumberland being then under a cloude, tho he could never attayne his desires. Carlile lived in a very high expense and gallanterie in his table, retenue and equipage. This King alwayes kept a very princely and plentifull howse; all his officers rich tables. I remember a courtier one day praying such a table and such a table, but my Lord of Carlile said 'He is like a good conscience, a contynuall feast.' I have often seene his dyet carryed from his kitchen crosse the courte at Whitehall, 20 or 25 dishes covered, most by gentlemen richly habited, with the steward marching before and the clerke of the kitchen bringing up the reare, all bare headed. This for

¹ James Hay, 1st Earl of Carlisle, married 1st Honora Denny, d. of Sir Edward Denny cr. Baron Denny of Waltham 1604 and Earl of Norwich 1626; 2nd, Lucy, 2nd d. of Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland, who said that he "could not endure that his daughter should dance any Scotch jigs."

the first and as many more for the second course: I have heard that the Earl of Norwich one day chiding him for his profusenes, 'Whie my Lord,' sayd Carlile, 'spend and God will send.' 'Send,' quoth Norwich, 'what will he send? A staffe and a wallett?' I doe not remember any greate place that this Earle had. The King gave him the Caribbe Islands.¹ He was of the Privie Councill, at last made Groome of ye Stole to the King by which he had a dyet of * * * dishes. He had beene in his younge dayes a greate masker. His sonne, the Lord Doncaster,² being now in one was complayneing that the doublet of his masking suite was too straight. 'Fye boy,' sayd the Earl, 'are you not ashamed to complayne of that? Whie, when I was a masker and that the mode was to appeare very small in the wast, I remember I was drawne up from the ground by both hands whilst the taylor with all his strength buttoned on my doublet.' He was a person that excelled in compliments, one of which with Gondomar I have heard often repeated. Which was that he goeing downe stayers with Gondomar, the strife was whoe should have the lowest stayer. 'My Lord,' sayd Gondomar,³ 'I will goe doune the celler but I will have it.' 'Then my Lord,' sayd Carlile, 'goe down to Hell.' 'Nay there my Lord,' sayd Gondomar, 'I leave you.' He delighted in all vocall musick. One evening after supper these verses of Sir Ha. Leighs leaveing the Court—he was champion to Queen Elizabeth and a goodly personage but growne old—'His golden locks tyme hath to silver turned'⁴ &c., caused the old Earle to let fall some teares.

My unkle soone after his returne with this Earle (haveing received greate gifts abroad from the state of Venice: I remember a rich chayne of diamonds) marryed, takeing to wife a Knight's daughter of his oune name, nobly descended by the mother's side. She was well advanced in yeres, well fietured all but hir face, an excellent voyce and well skild in songe, of disposition proud and dissembling and basely miserable. Soone after their marriage I was taken from the Citty, where I expected to be planted, and brought to Courte, attending my unkle, whoe grew soe rigorous that my life thereby

¹ Carlisle obtained the grant of the Caribbee Islands, July 2, 1627. Lucas, *Historical Geography of the Colonies*, ii, 170.

² Afterwards James Hay, 2nd Earl of Carlisle.

³ Diego Sarmiento de Acuna, Count of Gondomar, Spanish Ambassador in England *temp.* Jas. I.

⁴ The "verses" were Peele's Sonnet on Sir Harry Leigh, *Works*, ed. Bullen, ii, 302.

became very unpleasant, and leaving the Citty for the Courte I was with the proverbe fallen out of the frying pan into the fier. Long waiting and short meales, sometymes cutt wholly out at my first comeing by the voracity and nymblenes of the courtiers, and, if by chance I was necessitated to make to our lodgings for dynner, I was sure to be entertaynedd with a look and words would almost fright the devill. But after a while by getting courage and acquaintance I made partly shifte abroad, choosinge rather to fast then go home and be rated. I remember my aunte was one day seemingly very importunate with a good neighbour woeman, whoe came to visitt hir, to stay and dyne with hir, whoe through much intreaty at last granted to stay with hir. Whereupon my aunt called to hir mayde, 'Nan, sett on the whole rash of mutton,' which the good woeman hearing tooke occasion to breake way, having a farre better dynner at home. Another tyme there was boyling on the fyer in my unkles chamber a pipkin of pease pottage, and a Lord comeing to him unexpectedly on the sudden aboute busines, with stifling aboute least the pipkin should be seene it was throwne downe, broke, and all the porridge aboute the chamber—a woefull disaster to my aunt for the losse of hir belly tymber, and to my unkle least the Lord should have taken us in our cookery and misfortune. But the Lord was encounterd before he could perceive the mischeife, a miscarriage that hath often made me laugh heartily. Our lodginge were in a little straight howse built in a corner on the lefte hand as soone as you are out of the East door of Westminster Abbey, bellonging to one of the vergers of the Church, and is since demolished. My chamber was just under there, high towards on pynacle of the Abbey, and in rayney or wyndy nights there would fall downe upon the leades [of] the roofe of my chamber such huge pieces of free stone (those parts of the Church being much decayed and dayly decaying) that I often tymes thought I should be knocked on the head before morneing. And as before I tooke my selfe to be much endangered by theeves, soe here I apprehended as bad a death. My unkle, being wondered at and sometymes laughed at for the place of his lodgings, had this storey with other arguments to defende it, which I have heard him often relate for a real truth. In the latter tymes of Henry the 7th a prebendary of this Church (haveing lived most of his life in his cloyster commeing little in the world) was perswaded by some friends to goe toe a maske at Courte where he hardly ever had beene, but never saw such a sight, the masks very glorious and the King

and Courte in mighty gallantrie. The maske ended not till well towards morneing, and the prebendary returned home hugely satisfied and admyring the glories he had seene, and rose not that morneing till towards ten of the clock. And being very still these things much possessed his thoughts, and, haveing received many civillities at this mask from several greate courtiers, he resolved to goe [to] Courte to returne them his thancks and again to feede his eyes with the glories there. And comeing to the Courte, the great gates were both open and no porters attending, and passing farther the yards were strewed with straw and horse dunge; not a creature to be seene. Goeing up stayres in the like case to the gard chamber, there he found only bare walls, dust and rubbish, and the tables and trustles throwne aboute. Then to the presence chamber where he had seene the cloth of state, rich hangings, yet nothing but dust and bare walls, and one corner a poore old man with a piece of candle in his hand—the Court being that day removed—lookeing for pynns. This soe sudden and strange a change from what he had with admiration seene the night before strucke such a serious consideration into him of the mutability of the glories of this world that, returneing to his monastery, he within a while after bound himselfe an anchorite. And in this very place where our lodging nowe was his cell, haveing a little hole through the Church wall, by which he could see the high altar and heare masse. Where he in greate devotion lived and dyed.

Our remove from these lodgings was to Whitehall, and there in the third story of [? over] the first greate stone gate passing towards King streete, where are kept the papers of state, whereof my unkle was now one of the clerkes and keepers: of which place more hereafter. And here my condition was somewhat better, both because wee were not soe often troubled with my female friend, the lodgings being streight, and that I was saved from the feare of being braynd in my bed, and only my leggs had here the worst ont by mounting soe high soe often in a day. My unkle now attending on the Councill of State, being a part of the Privy Council, for the paying of the officers and soldiers whoe were of that unfortunate expedition to the Isle of Rhe (A Pickture at Bartholomew fayre in London. An old woeman carrying a salor at her back and these verses: 'Come salor follow me. Ile beare the to the naked Isle of Rhe,' and a bed and a naked woeman in it). Amongst which officers I well remember one Coe came often to sollicite for what was due to him. Who I mention only because afterwards in our wretched

warrs hee was a very eager rebell and a bold plunderer. The famous library of the famous antiquary Sir Robert Cotton¹ was now by order from the Privy Council sealed up, whereing my unkle was imployd, and afterwards comanded to take a catalogue of those excellent pieces therein, being most of them MSS. The library was at his howse adjoyning to Westminster Hall. This man (as the Board knew) was of very greate parts. One thing I remember to have heard averred of him, that the least fragment of any auncient MS. being showd him he would give to what booke or matter it belonged. He was when I knew him growne old and infirme, yet soe addicted to venerie that he then kept a lustie young wench in the howse for his divertisement in that kinde—a pittie and a wonder. Dr. Potter, a Dr. of Lisbon, dying aboute this tyme, whose truncks and papers were seased by order from the Lords, amongst which were found Dr. Cousons² Booke of Devotion and Dr. Potters dissipynerie, being a whipp of 5 cords and knotted, the ends of the cords being farelled with using. About this tyme was the birth at St. James of our gracious King, whome God preserve. My selfe with many thousands at London saw the starre that shynd at nooneday.³ Good King Charles was constant at the sermons, Sundayes and Tuesdayes, and prayers in his closett; very reverent in his demeanour ther, giving most comonly greate attention to the anthem and the service after sermon. In Lent on Sundayes in the after noone it was then the manner for a Bishop to preach in the open court before the Councill chamber wyndows, where the King and Councill sate, a place being for that purpose, like Paules Crosse of old. I have heard that the King was soe carefull of his childrens breeding in the Protestant religion that he would not let them suck of a Roman Catholic nurse.⁴ The Queen tooke greate delight in playes on winter nights at Whitehall, especially (which since hath been much thought on) the teriblest tragidies. The King would often walke from Whitehall to St. James on foote, and had a very fast pace. One morneing a fatt man tendring him a peticon as he passed downe the stayers,

¹ 24th November, 1630. Cf. Gardiner, *History of England*, 1603-1642, vii, 139-41.

² John Cosin, afterwards Bishop of Durham, published in 1627 a "Collection of Private Devotions."

³ *Lives of the Queens of England*, ed. 1845, viii, 58.

⁴ James, Duke of York, was allowed a Roman Catholic nurse. *Strafford Letters*, i, 141.

he tooke it and asked the man what his bussines was, the King still goeing on, but the man, tho very desirous to informe the King of his peticon, was not able to follow, tho hee did awhile, puffing and blowing very much which made the King laugh heartily, but promised him a gracious answer to his sute. Tennise, balloone¹ and running at the ring the King much delighted in, and he was very expert in them. Princesse Mary being borne the 4 of November,² and the day before the Duke of Vandosme escaping a danger on the Thames, Sir John Finett³ poured forth his poetrie thus :

“ 3 November Duke of Vandosme scapd the water,
 4 November King Charles had a daughter,
 5 November should have been the great slaughter,
 6 November was the day of laughter.”

On the next day after, D[r.] Lambe⁴ had his braynes knocked out by a route of prentices. In London great out-cryes about this tyme against shom whoe they called Armynians as if shom of that opinion intended yarely⁵ to introduce Poperie.

A Cannon of Leige, whom the Pope the better to beare his charges in travaile (and he introduct him to such Princes into whose Courts he came) comitted divers Agnus Deii, hallowed graynes and relicz, unto, to present them withall, being come to London, lodging at the Italian Ordinarie and intending to waite on the Queen, the Court being then at Greenwich, tooke boate with Sir Harie (?) Fleming⁶ and a French agent. And passing alonge the river the Cannon was saying that at his first comeing he was affrighted by the boysterousnes of the water and those little boats, but now he could passe on the rivere without any feare. Sir O. F[leming] told him they were to passe under the bridge, that if he were fearfull or did stirre from his place he might endanger his owne and all their lives, and prayed him to deal ingeniously herein, for all danger might be prevented by landing on this and meeting the

¹ A game played with “a large inflated ball of strong double leather, struck to and fro by the arm defended by a bracer of wood.” *New English Dictionary*, i. 641.

² 1631. See *Court and Times of Charles the First*, ii, 139-140.

³ Sir John Finet, 1571-1641, Master of the Ceremonies.

⁴ This is an error. John Lambe, an astrologer, whose chief client was Buckingham, died from the injuries inflicted by London apprentices on 24th June, 1628.

⁵ *i.e.* quickly. Shakespeare uses the word in *The Tempest*, Act i, scene 1.

⁶ A slip for Sir Oliver Fleming, diplomatist and Master of the Ceremonies. *Somers Tracts*, ed. Scott, vii, p. 499.

boat againe on the other side of the bridge. But he bid them goe on, assuring them he should not stirre, insinuating also (tho obscurely) the protection he promised himselfe by the holy things he had aboute him. Soe on they went; and, cominge to the place of danger, the fall being somewhat greate, the Cannon affrighted startd up, by which the boat was overturnd. The French envoye, M. Oleid, was almost dead but brought to life againe, being a good swymmer but almost lost by the heavynes of his cloake, [and] gott safe to Tower wharfe. The Canon was taken up (found by the rowell of his spurre appearing above water), but haveing swallowd much water could not be brought to life, but there unfortunately ended his life and travailes, notwithstanding all his holy wares.

The King being in progresses, my unkle in the countrie at his wives fathers, a very pleasant seate, there came letters from Courte by which he was given to understand that the King had made choyce of him for his Resident with the States General of the United Provinces. Whereupon my unkle repayred to Courte to thank the King for the greate honour and trust, and also to receive his Majesties further pleasure. Soone after we prepared for our voyage. And all things being fitted we set out from Whitehall August 3, 1632, to Gravesend. Tuesday 4 to Canterbury enter-tayned there, dinner and supp, by Dr. Bargrave,¹ Dean of that Church. Thursday to Sir [William Monyns]² at Waldeshare with 3 servants, and the rest to Deale. Saturday 2 clock we all embarqued in the 10th Whelpe, one of his Majesties [ships] in the Downes, in Deale Roade, whereof Captain Stradling, also Esterling,³ a gallant man, was comander. Sunday about 4 clock wee arrived safe at Flushing, from whence on Monday my unkle, being much distempered by the sea, with my aunt and 3 servants passed by wagon to Middleburge, Terveer, Zerickzee, the Brill, and the rest of his retynue by skiffe to Dort and Rotterdam, meeting all at Delfe, there staying some few dayes. On Saturday to the Hague.

My unkle was here received by the States with much respect and honour, which he had to the last, as well from the States

¹ Dr. Isaac Bargrave.

² Blank in MS. The name was supplied from Hasted's *History of Kent*, iv, 188-9.

³ September 7, 1632. Capt. Henry Stradling to Nicholas. Returned the 6th inst. into the Downs from Flushing where he was commanded to land Mr. Boswell. *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1631-3, 412.

as the Queen of Bohemia,¹ whoe there resided, and the Prince of Orange,² serveing the King in this employment with all faithfulness and satisfaction for more then 2 prentishippis: For me I had fancied to my selfe greate matters in the enlargement of my uncles fortunes and my attending him beyond seas. But I might well have guessed at what should befall me by the usage I ever had from my female friend, whoe at our leaving England had well nigh prevailed to have me cast off and lefte behynde. And indeed my condition was not here bettered at all, nor noe encouragement given me whereby to rayse my spiritt or fortunes, notwithstanding my nearnes of blood and the faithfulness of my services then when my uncles condition was very low. And besides this I was soe pesterd by the foolish blynde boy with a young defte wench that waited on my aunte that I could not rest for it. And this being the proper age for love matters, I had a greate and vexatious share in them. Out of all which I was in probability to have ridded by an accident which befell me.³ Which was this: the coach which we brought out of England being at Delfe, and 2 Flanders mares being bought and sent for the coach, my selfe haveing occasion to be there that day came home in the coach, and very well till we came to enter into the Hagh. Passing over a draw-bridge the mares tooke a tetch⁴ and ran with all their force. The coachman striving to rayne them in wheeled them round to the river again, and I perceiving whither I must [? come] leapt out of the coach, with some danger of being torne in pieces had I hunge by any thing: The mares, with the coach running full speede, threw the coachman out of his box, and stayd not till they came into the middst of the river, from whence with much trouble they were recovered, and my selfe saved, for 3 months with a bruse on one of my knees. Another mischeif in this accident was that a poor woman haveing been long sick, being now abroad to take the ayre, came soe unhappily in the coaches way that she was taken up with the pole and carryed into the river, but drawne out without other hurte then wet and starvd. Which woeman afterwards did much trouble my aunt's charity.

This place in sumer is a very Paradise, wanting nothing for delight of the mynd or eyes. Here were now 3 very noble though

¹ Elizabeth, d. of James I, married Frederick V., Elector and Prince Palatine of the Rhine, titular King of Bohemia.

² Frederick Henry.

³ There is another account of this incident which may be a rough draft in *Rawl. MSS.*, D. 1035, f. 3.

⁴ *i.e.* start.

small Courts: that of the Queen of Bohemia, and of the Prince of Orange, with the residence of the States General. Ambassadors and agents from all or most of the Princes and States of Europe. Bookes of all sorts and languages, most excellently printed, and byndings. Charts and mapps, fayre churches, buildings, walkes, gardens, musick, excellent dyet, especially fish, veale, butter and cheese, excellent wyne all excell[?] ently] deare. Organs in the (as tis called) Great Kirk which in winter evenings used to be playd on in all times, the people in great numbers walking as in an Exchange. The Queen of Bohemia, with hir whole family, repayrd to the English Church, where service was performed according to the Dutch (not the English manner), one Bamford¹ being minister. The Queen hir chaplayne preached ordinarily in afternoones. Dr. Miles was chaplayn at our first comeing, a man of excellent parts and temper, afterwards Dr. Johnson. This last I remember was sound[l]y chidden by a letter from Arch Bishop Laude, who had it seemes beene informed that the Dr. enclined to Sociniesme, wherein he cleared himselfe to the Arch Bishop, only acknowledging that he had sometymes in discourse (disputandi gratia) mayntayned some points tending that way.² The Arch Bishop was very carefull to suppress this growing damnable heresie in the Dutch churches, as fearing from hence it might crepe over to us in England. To that end the Resident had orders from him in the King's name to importune the States General for the seasing and suppressing Socinus his workes or bookes holding these devilish errors. Indeed till this tyme his bookes were very rare in these parts, when one Besterwel (?), undertaking to confute him, had caused Socinus his booke to be printed with his confutation collationed together. And I have heard some learned men say that Besterwel did rather strengthen then confute Socinus arguments by the weaknes of his, and did further mischeife in dispersing his booke printed with his. Which bookes, through the dilligence and importunity of the Resident, were by the States General called in and seased on. And this mynds me of the trouble we then had with the Brownists of Amsterdam (all our countriemen). Amongst whome and our other countrymen, the Presbyterians, as most of the English Church were, were ever some pestilent rayling bookes printed and writed against the Church of

¹ *i.e.* Bamfort.

² Johnson was dismissed in 1644 at the request of the English Parliament. Everett-Green, *Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia*, revised ed. 1909, 363-4.

England and the Bishops. Amongst which we had that filthy, durty, rayling piece of Bastwicks,¹ with others of Burtons and Pryns, all which, or as many copies as could be found amongst the booke fellows, were seased on and delivered to the Resident. Here came the Earl of Arundell² from the King to the Queen of Bohemia, to condole with hir the death of the King of Bohemia, who dyed in Germany, where he was transacting his affayres with the King of Sweden, of the pest. The Earl repayred not to the English church, but had devine offices performed at his house by his owne chaplaine, then one Mr. Payne. The King of Swede, upon his greate successes against the Emperour, grew extreamply proud and arrogant, and fell from his engagements made to the King on the behalfe of the King of Bohemia. And further our King gave him greate assistance, for which he made him no better returne then the refusing to restore, upon reasonable terms, the King of Bohemia to the Palatinate. And not only soe, but put some affronts, as I have heard, upon Sir Henry Vane,³ Ambassador from our King to the King of Bohemia. Whereof one was this. The ambassador going one day to his audience the King being then in the feild and in his tent, the ambassador's trayne (in which were then many English officers in the Swedes army) as the manner is, went all before him, except his Lordship, the meanest servant goe[? ing] foremost. The tent dore standing open till they that were first came neere to it, when it was suddenly shutt, which caused the trayne to make a sudden stand. Whereof the ambassador demanding the cause, went to the dore (a lane being made him by his company), and, takeing it in his hand, threw it open with great force, saying "Now gent[lemen] enter." This I had from a youth there present. Some altercation being betweene the King and the ambassador touching an English gent whom the King had interceded for, and the Swede makeing very arrogant returnes to the Kings intercession, the Ambassador proceeded to say that the King his master was resolved to protect him, to which the Swede replied "Were he in your Kings bosome I would have him thence." This

¹ Presumably *Flagellum Pontificis*, a Latin treatise, printed in Holland 1633-4, in favour of Presbyterianism, for which Bastwick was fined £1,000 by the Star Chamber.

² Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, 1585-1646, was sent on a mission of condolence to Elizabeth of Bohemia in December 1632, on her husband's death: *Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia*, 303-5.

³ See the article on Vane in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

proude Swede and greate warrior was slayne at Lutzen battel.
According to the poet

“ Here greate Gustavus dyd,
And victory lay bleeding by his side. ”

The doctryne and disciplyne professed and exhorted in the Church of the United Provinces is purely and rigidly Calvinistically, though they permitt others to be publickly performed, as Lutherans, Anabaptists, Brownists, Armynians, Jewes. And these Calvinists admitt of noe ceremonie, not soe much of reverances as good manners in Gods service, enduring nothing not clearly expressed in the word of God. Which hath made me the more and often wonder at one ceremonie which they have taken up without any warrant, as I can conceive, in Scripture or practise of any other church, primitive or moderne. And that is this, that their ministers, when they baptise their children, sprinckled water three severall tymes on the childes face, saying in the words of Scripture, “ N. N. Jik gedoyts v in de name des vaders,” then sprinckling once and soe on.

They have preachers indifferently learned and able. One whereof I remember had a way by himselfe and did very odly. Which was to preach all his sermon in the very words of Scripture, except only this expression, which took up a good part of it: “ gelike als het geschreven stat,” *i.e.* as it is written &c.

Mr. Froude, afterwards Sir Philip Froude and secretary to the Dutchesse Ann of Yorke, and Mr. Palmer, after Sir Philip Palmer and cupbearer to his Majesty Charles 2, did accompany us into the Low Countries. Alsoe Mr. Thomas Barnes, Master of Arts (afterwards coming to nothing by his wild life), and Mr. John Bouillon, secretary, a Guernsey man, my tried and faithful friend and a most religious person, tho somewhat according to the Calvinisticall way. He was offered good preferment but would accept of none, being always intently resolved for the ministrie, which about the yere 1640 he tooke upon him. He had been caught in the same nett with my selfe and by the deft wench I formerly mentioned, soe we were soe rivalls but always good friendes. I soone leaveing him by my absence opportunity to gayne the lasse, which he could by noe meanes doe. Whereupon growing discontented he fell into a humour of * * * marrying he cared not much whoe, as himselfe afterwards tould me. And going into his owne cuntry it was his very ill fortune to marry one neither handsome, rich nor well quallited, but all the contrary, as my selfe presently perceivd,

he bringing hir into England, from whence he was soone driven again by the tymes of persecution into Guernsey and there soone after ended his life, and, I doubt not, is now in eternall happines.

My method is rhapsodie, els you must think (by this time) I had quite forgott my selfe. But now I recover and tell you that I had neither money, nor countenance from the Resident, and worse from the Residentsie. Soe I had in this brave place a very unbrave life, and therefore resolved to change the scene. From the Court to the campe I went, and soe now *Arma virumque cano*.

I put my selfe into the company of Collonel Sir Philip Pakenham, a person very well borne, being Pakenham of Pakenham in Suffolk. Had benee longe a soldier in the warres, and raysd himselfe by his deserts, haveing passed through most feild offices, a person of gallant stature and personage and courage. In his company I trailld a pike, and besides had the care and inspection of his family and expences, he being a bachelour. He had newly received a shott in the face at the league before Mastrecht, but the bullett being nere spent before it reached him saved his life, leaveing a little scarre on the left side of his nose. His servants were, mayd servant, a cooke, a groome and 2 lackeyes.

Wee set out for the feild from the Hague the 25 April 1633. To Delfe, thence to Delfe-Haven; soe up the noble river Rhyne, and by the strong townes of Dort, Gorchum, Wachum, Bummele, Tiel[? t], Niemwegen, Emerich, Res and Zantem. Between which towne and Wesell was the rendezvous of the whole army, being aboute 16,000 horse and foote. The horse marched thither by land: great part of the foote in small [? boats] on the river, the numbers of which was greate. They seemed a moveing wood, but was soe much moved by storm and cross wynds for some dayes that much hurt was done. The river but narrow and the vessels runing foule one upon another, doe what the marriners could. The Prince of Orange was there in his yaught, accompanied with the Princes Palatines, Charles and Rupert, and divers choise comanders, the Prince himselfe comanding the skypers, as he passed by, to hast up to Wesell on payne of hanging. Which made noe small sturre amongst them, each striving whoe should doe best, sayle fastest. The Rhyne, haveing broken his banks, had overflowd a good part of the country, some barks sayling amongst the trees with some danger and losse. A little above Worrhum we sayled by Lovestyne, a small strong place, where that great and excellent scholar Grotius, upon the storms betweene the Remonstrants and

Contra-Remonstrants, was imprisoned. From whence, as I have bene certaynly informed, he delivered himselfe in this manner. He had a great chest which he filled with bookes, entreating the captayne of the place to come and see them and give him leave to send them into the countrie, some place not farre of by water. The Captayne came and viewed them, searching to the bottome of the chest. Which haveing done, he comanded the soldiers on the guard to lett the chest passe into the skute. The captayne being gone, Grotius and his wife quickly tooke the bookes out of the chest, into which himself went takeing with him a great tester. And being locked up, some soldiers were called [to] helpe carry it into the skute. Which being weighty, "What a divill," sayes one of them, "tis as heavy as if Grotius himself were in it." But away went the chest attended by a mayd servant with direction to leave it at such a place, where meanes were ready for conveying him out of the States domynions, which he happily attained, and was received by the French King with much respect, whoe gave him a pension. He was at my last being in France 1641 ambassador for the Crowne of Sweden with that King. He was a person of prodigious learneing, a bitter enemy to Calvin and his sectators, noe full approver of the Lutherans, but, as I have heard by one whoe had intymate conversation with him, a greate admirr and lover of the Anglican Church. He was much for the reconciling of the differences in religion and made some endeavours therein, for which Monsieur Rivet, a rigid Calvinist, did much quarrell him though with little advantage to himselfe. In some of his writings at this tyme he had sharpe passages against the proceedings of the phanatiqs in England, and, I have heard say, if these troubles had not broke out, he was resolved to have settled in England for the remaynder of his tyme, which was not longe, for, as I take it, he dyed in 1642¹, being in his journey into Swethland.

The townes I last named were strongly fortified, gallant brasse ordnance mounted on the walls, most well peopled and full of trading, gallant churches but very desolate by reason of their defacing by pulling downe the ornaments, picktures and statues, the quires and altars haveing bene certainly very costly and noble. Some of these statues, as of the Crosse and our Saviour crowned with thornes, the Virgin Marie and others, they have in some places placed in little hovells built for that purpose in the

¹ He died $\frac{18}{28}$ August, 1645.

Church yards, which, being open on all sides for people to looke in—possibly to be convinced of the superstition of the Papists—are filled with filthy stones and durte. There is in * * * one of the bravest wells that ever I saw, haveing twelve bucketts goeing with pulleyes. On each side of these rivers is a very pleasant country. On the shore stand divers watch towers at convenient distance to give the alarme, and in the river divers small men of warre, well mann'd and armed. The whole army being come to the place of rendezvous, we marched in battalia over a greate hea[l]th in support of Rhinborke¹ or Berk, a small towne. And the next day sate down before it, being Friday 18 May 1633: Saturday, Sunday and Munday entrenching the foote and fixing our quarters. And that night the English brooke ground, began their approaches, wherein they were so little disturbed that not soe much as one shott was made at them, the enemy being little active and soe little losse of men on either side dureing the whole seige. The approaches being brought to the side of the moate, and our batteries haveing shrew[d]ly gauld the towne, after a month and 3 or 4 dayes they began to parley and rendered the towne, out of which marched 36 companyes of foote and troope of horse. Ther foote companys very thin and many of them mere boys carrying small fierlocks. The Governor, a stout old man, but condemnd for his bad conduct and delivering the towne too soone, which he might have held a week or 10 dayes longer. The cloyster of nuns was extreemely batterd: they were by the articles to contynue in their howse dureing life.

Our manner of quartering and hutting you may see by this order² which passed through all the foote army.

My Colonell had a kitchen tent, a servants tent, a lodging tent for himselfe, and another, the largest and fayrest tent of all, wherein he eate, gave audience to his officers and entertaynement. Which alsoe was our church, haveing there every Sunday morneing a sermon preached by the chaplayne to the regyment, which was then one Mr. Day, a good schollar but a better good fellow. The whole service being according to the Dutch mode *i.e.* reading 2 or 3 psalmes, then a chapter, next a Psalme sung, and then to the pulpett, where he began with a long praver of his owne. To these sermons came the officers and such soldiers as would or

¹ Rhymberque surrendered 2 June, 1633. This campaign is described in Commelyn, *Histoire de Frederic Henry*, Amsterdam, 1656, pp. 222-230.

² Not preserved.

could be spared from duty. The chaplayne to Colonell my Lord Veres, called Generall Vere, regiment was one Mr. Goffe,¹ after Dr., an excellent scholler and a good fellow, as twas sayd, more wayes then one. He afterwards during the rebellion in England was a kinde of agent for Queen Mary and became a Romane Catholike and father of the Oratorie, attending that Queene when she returned into England upon the Restoration of her sonne, our gracious King, as one of her chaplayns. Another of our army chaplaynes, whose name I have now forgotten but have heard him often preach in the army, I mett in Italy some 2 yeres after this, travailing to Rome in a Pilgrymes habit. Besides this part of our devotion we had another, which was that every night, when we went to releve the gards in the approaches, the preacher came and the soldiers drawing clouse up round about him in a circle, he being exactly the centre, he there prayed with them for good successe &c., sometymes making an exortation to encourage them.

Wee had at this leagure a full plenty of all provisions out of the country and brought up the river by shipping of the States, and soe longe as money lasted wee had a merry life. As for my selfe I only wanted a good bed and sheetes. Parts of an old tent, which I had provided my selfe of one for my bed, being stuffed with straw, and ther, my pillow layd upon boughs supported with 4 cruches 2 foote from the ground, lying in my wascoate and drawers and stocking, covered with my cloathes, my cloake being the coverlett, sleeping excellently well, and in this leagur pretty free from lice.

At my first comeing before the towne my courage began somewhat to faile me, and, being younge and never being on such an employment, wrought the more upon me. I remember I had an aorange tauny feather in my capp, and at first I thought that every great gun that was discharge[d] towards our quarters had been aymed at it, the Spaniards not enduring that colour. But within few dayes I tooke my selfe to be a very gallant fellow, and had noe more dread of danger then if I had been in a fayre, only in the approaches I was not soe jocund though not attended with much feare. Once I was there when it was not my busines, and giveing fier to a greate gun or two at one of our batteries, there came a cannon bullett from the enemy, tooke the topp our worke and pashd us soundly with the earth that flew about our eares:

¹ The well known Stephen Goffe.

Many are shott in peeping to see what the enemy doe betweene the muskett basketts that stand on the topp of the breast worke in the approaches, which are called keekers, for there little rogues with feir-locks lying close to the grounde are ready to dispatch such. Let but the topp of an old hatt appeare betweene the basketts and you shall presently have 3 or 4 bulletts shott into it. Our soldiers oftentimes bring pretty younge wenches into the feild with them, which they have brought out of their garrysons with them. I remember one of our souldiers had such an one which lay with him in his hutt. One night another soldier that had a mynde to be dealing with hir, thincking hir husband had been on the gard (it being his course), came confidently to the hutt, and entering claspe fast hold aboute the mans neck, supposing it to be the wench, and began to kisse. But perceiveing his error made away as fast as he could, and the fellow after him, giveing him very nerely a prick or two on the breach with his sword, wherewith he escaped. Another wilde fellow who usually spent his money 2 or 3 dayes before pay day had gott a greate marrow bone and tyed it on the topp of his hutt over his head as he lay in his bed. And in these fasting dayes he would often rise up and smell on it saying twas very comfortable, with calling earnestly for "Pay day, O pay day, O sweete pay day, come away, make hast" &c., and the night before he would cry out, "Oh I see pay day. Courage. Twil be here I am sure to morrowe morneing."

The enemy being marched out, and a garrison and governor placed in the towne, the Prince his quarter master began to shift the works in that quarter, whereupon the soldiers in each quarter according to order began to shift them so that in a short tyme all the workes and trenches were slighted and the Scote [?] army comanded to imbarke, which wee did. And the Prince in his yaught sailing in the van, all the shipping followed downe the river to Nemweghen, belonging to Dukedom of Cleves. A little belowe which towne the army lay on board till Thursday the 7 July, and sailed that day a little below the Voorneskinse, a very strong place—the amunition wagons marching by land. Fryday busynes, the army being disembarqued and the baggage laden on wagons and the artillery mounted, we marched to a little dorpe calld Os and there pitched. Saturday we marched within 3 miles English of the Busse, lodging in a heath. Sunday, to a fayre village within 4 miles of the Busse, called Buxtell; and here we had a formed leagure. These 3 dayes was a very hard march, for we were end

of day very wet, and came soe and late to our quarters, lying 2 night *sub dis*, haveing only the panopie of heaven to cover us. This put my mettle to a full prooffe and almost made me staggar. One night I had nothing to keepe me from the cold wett ground but a little bundle of wett dryed flax, which by chance I litt on. And soe with my bootes full of water and wrapt up in my wett cloake, I lay as round as a hedgehog, and at peep of day looked like a drowned ratt. I had not yet come to know the virtue of tobacco, but in this hard marche was wished to take some. I tryed but could by noe meanes like it, for it made me sick and ill all daye. Every morneing there went fellowes about crying "Brandie, wyn, toback." I made choyce of the brandy which did me much kindnes: This village is a very large and very pleasantly seated, haveing a very faire and stately church, now filled with the goods of the countrie people, and the church yard with their cattle to secure them from the ravenous soldiers, or rather the hangers on of the army. And thus it was in our whole march, the churches and churchyards being freed from plunder. And we knew when we were nere a show place by the noyse of the cattle and people.

4 August 1633. During this leagure here arrived our King's Resident accompanied with Philpot¹ a herauld, whoe brought from the King a comission to the Resident to present the order with the ornament of the Garter to Charles, Prince Elector. Where-with the said Prince was invested in the Prince of Oranges greate tent with greate solempnity, assisted by the said Prince with all the English officers. A little before which ceremony the Resident himselfe was knighted by the Lord Vere by comission from the King, the Resident making a longe and eloquent oration in prayse of that most auncient and noble order of the Garter.

From hence wee marched crosse the countrie of Brabant, being assisted by some of the King of Swedes horse called Croatts, all dark [?] and ragged, in excellent millitary order. Most of the countrie being open to the bancks of the Mese, betweene Maestricht and Leige, wee had but one alarme given us by the enemy, and that was one night towards morneing. It was by a troope or two of horse which soone disappeared and were noe more troubled with them. Here we quartered on high rising ground with[in] halfe a mile of the Mese. Maestricht was then extreemly visited with

¹ John Philipot, Somerset Herald. On July 25—August 4, 1633, the Electoral Prince, Charles Lewis, was presented with the Garter, see *Ashmole MSS.*, 1113, f. 120 (Bodleian Library).

the plague, and, as twas sayd, the garrison much weakened and the towne straightned in provisions. Wee remayned here till the towne was supplied with plenty of viends. Wee had most our wyne, and plenty of all things. This was a longe march in a countrie, noe subsistence for the most part nor friends to the States. Wherefore, not daring to trust to the countrie for victualls, we had abundance of ammunition wagons laden with bread, and wee had mills and ovens carryed in wagons, whereof wee made some use, but they answered not expectation, they not being able with a whole weeks cooking to furnish the army on dayes bread. And a greater number of them would not only greatly encrease the charge and hugely incomedate the march of an army. But the army had indifferent plenty in this march, only 2 or 3 dayes of scarcity was such that the ammunition wagons were opened for the soldiers. Being settled in our quarters our wants were little or none, Leige furnishing us with all sorts, especially good wynes and beres.

My curiosity carryed me to see that towne, being a greate citty and head of a little comonwealth standing newtrall betweene the States and the King of Spayne, a fatt and rich countrie. They speake French, but mixt with Low Dutch and High Dutch and a pronounciation soe uncouth that a Frenchman is often puzeld to understand them. My comrade, being an officer in our regiment, and I put our selves into the passage boat that went betweene Mastrichte and Leige, wherein were divers passengers. This boate was free, that is to say, all parties, either of the States [or] of the King of Spaine, being in it were not to molest one another but passe as friends, but being once out of the boate they were enemies as before. Wee passed not only freely but merrily up the river, and comeing within nere a mile of Leige, the river being then full of meanders and wyndings and the weather somewhat cold, one began to say, "Tis but a little mile by land but 2 or more by water, and I will goe by land." "Soe will I," sayes another, and therewith divers left the boate, whereof my selfe was ready to make one had not my fellow-traviling, whoe was [an] old man, perswaded me to the contrary. The issue was that 2 of those that went out, being of our army, were never heard of againe, and a third, being a pretty younge man and sonne to a captain, was carried by the rogues into a cave, where they stript him and were about to murder him. He, lamenting and pleading hard for his life, was over heard by some that chance[d] to travail that way, whoe, pittying the young

lads case, ransomed him, laying down a considerable sume to the rogues, and after brought the young man to his father—which meeting was with mutuall teares of joy—who welcomed him with teares, the father haveing given him for lost, and the money being repayd with many thanks.

I had never before this tyme been in any place where the Romane religion was professed, and that made me so much the more gaze aboute. Wee went to the greate church, which is a very large and stately one and high, very neate and cleane, adorned with a bundance of images and picktures, a great crosse at the entrance of the quire with the image of our Saviour nayled to it, and many lamps burning before severall shrynes, which is indeed but ordinary, as I have seene some in many places beyond seas. But at this tyme these were strange sights to me, as alsoe the ffryers in their severall habitts which were frequent in the streetes, the towne consisting very much of these sorte of people. It was now very full of soldiers, every hosterie pestred with them drincking and swearing, as my comrade sayd, for I understood them not, but they seemed like soe many madmen or assassines. The inns where we lodged being soe full that we could hardly get a lodging, where I had little rest that night, what through the noyse with the apprehension I had of them, and [was] glad the next morneing when I was gott into the passage boate to returne to our quarters. This place was now the more pestred with soldiers by reason of some jealousies this citty had of the Prince of Oranges intentions, being soe nere with his army, as alsoe the resorte of many of our soldiers as well as the enemyes, the towne, as I sayd, being newtrall. These Walloone soldiers are very cruell and murthering sort of villanes, as many of our men experymented when they mett them forraging abroad, whome they draw into pitts and holes, many being in these parts, and stripped and murthered there. Neither were our soldiers wholly to be excused, for they would steale and plunder and, which exasperated the people the more, they break downe ther picktures and images where ever they found any, bringing them often into the quarters, hanging them at ther backs, making sport with them &c. These are a very superstitious and ignorant people.

By this tyme I arrived a pace to some part of a soldier, for though wee had had little to do with our comon enemy, yet myne were groune soe numerous, especially in our last march, that I was enforced to attack them. Wherefore choosing out as I thought

the most advantageous place for the battaile, which was upon the banks of the river Domelen nere Eyndouen, I joynd battaile with them and routed them, soe that many I lefte dead on the place, others I forced into the river, the rest fled into such places as I could not then fynde them out, but was constraýnd to let alone till another opportunity that I should take them out of their skulking holes. This sumers buysines [having] grone now towards an end, for Maestricht being well victualed and the garrison strengthened (the plaigue haveing beene and now was in the towne), our leagur broke up. We burnt our hutts, marching back partly the way wee came but more towards the Mese passing by Venloo and Roermond, and soe to shipping and to our severall garrisons.

My selfe with my Colonell to the Hague, where we came towards the latter end, as I remember, of October. I observed how briske and fyne some English gallants were at the beginning of this campagne, but at the latter end ther briskenes and gallantry soe faded and clowdy that I could not but be mynded of the vanity of this world with the uneasines of this profession. And truly, by what I have seene and felt, I cannott but thinck that the life of a private or comon soldier is the most miserable in the world ; and that not soe much because his life is always in danger—that is little or nothing—but for the terrible miseries he endures in hunger and nakednes, in hard marches and bad quarters, 30 stivers being his pay for 8 days, of which they could not possibly subsist, but that they helpe themselves by forraging, stealing, furnishing wood in the feild to the officers, straw, some are coblers, taylers &c. Straw is ready money, especially at first comeing to new quarters. I remember at one place I saw a couple of soldiers that had found a little howse filled with strawe. One of them kept the dore whilst the other carryed out the strawe by bunches to sell. Other soldiers came and would have part : these withstood them. At last others fell to chopping of the 4 corner posts, soe in a short tyme downe fell the howse and soe the straw grew comon. It is hardly to be thought the devastation that an army brings into a countrie, and the hangers on of the army doe most of the mischeife. They march in noe order, carry hookes by which they search wells and ditches for pewter or brasse that the poore countrie people have sunck to preserve them from the soldiers. Other places they dig up where they suspect any thing to be hid, torturing the poore people to make them confesse &c. Sometymes we came to a goodly feild of corne, which within a few minutes is trod flatt, to the very

ground: faire howses unthatched, all the plancher and woodwork chopped downe, if not fyred, pleasant orchards and walkes of trees in an instant chopped downe by the ground &c. It pittyed me at one place where we marched by a poore little howse to which joynd a little close of about an acre with bush. The poore woeman came out, felled on hir knees, and, holding up hir hands, praying the soldiers for Christ Jesus sake to spare hir cropp. Twas all, she sayd, that she and hir poore children had to live on all the yere, makeing lamentable outcryes, but all to noe purpose. For, though there was forrage enough just by, with in a few minutes all this poore creatures crop was wholly destroyed. Soon after our returne to garrison to good lodging and dyet, many of our soldiers fell into sicknises and some dyed. My selfe had a huge boyle broke out on the inside of one of my thighes from which issued such abundance of filthy matter that I suppose it cleered me from sicknes, which otherwise certaynly had befallen me.

I had noe greate fancie to this kynde of life, but seeing no other way to make out a fortune, being a yonger brother and little hopes or encouragement from my unkle and lesse from the female, I buckled my selfe to the profession, solliciteing my unkle to procure me an ensignes place, wherein he promised me to use his interest. And I was advancing to my second campagne when I received a letter from him (whoe was some moneths before gone for England by leave from the King for his private affayres), with an other enclosd to my Colonell. Myne was to tell me that I was to attend my Lord Feilding,¹ whoe was goinge ambassador to Venice into Italy; and that to my Colonell to pray him that I might be discharged. This was newes and very sudden to me, but not unwelcome for I loved not well my trade but much better to be goinge to new places. My Colonell, tho not very willingly, gave me my furloose. Soe back I came to my uncles howse in the Hague, where I soone began to prepare for my voyage into England. And haveing received my letters recomendatorie with others to my friends and relations in England, and some little cashe, wherein my aunt did something, and goinge a greate way from hir, I tooke my leave of them and the Low Countries. But still I had some pangas of the boy Cupids tricks about me for that pretty wench, but left hir now the more litly for my deere friend, honest J. Bouillon, whoe

¹ Basil, Lord Feilding (afterwards 2nd Earl of Denbigh) appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to Venice 14 September, 1634.

was almost madd for hir. We had some turnes aboute hir by letter at my being in the army, as may appeare by his letters to me.

So now I left sweete hearte and all and tooke course towards the Brill in company with one of Bishop Halls¹ sonnns. And comeing thither we could light of [? on] noe other passage then in an old crazie barke that had newly brought over slate, and into it put our selves, with a pretty fayre but soft gale of wynde. That night we lay at sea almost becalmed, the sea as smooth as a small river, soe that my selfe, whose custome it was perpetually to vomitt soe longe as I had any thing in my stomach, and then to strayne to my greate trouble and payne, the waters so calme, I grew pretty well, and my appetite begane to returne to me and I fell to foode, beleveing now I was become a perfect sea-man. But this lasted not longe, for, comeing within a little of sight of land, the little wynde we had turned against us, soe that we were forced to tide it against the wynde to Dover peere, the sea growing high and our barke very old and crazie, which neverthelesse we recovered, though not without much danger and a greate deale of toyle. From hence we tooke horse for Gravesend, and from thence a wherry to London, wherein we tooke our selves to be in more danger then we were at sea, for in some wayes the wynde and tyde soe crossed us that our boate was often filled with water and in emyent danger of being over turned. And we were the more endangered by the fearfulness of Mr. Halls man, a huge greate fellow that by his rising up 2 or 3 tymes had like to have over sett the boate. Besides we were soe troubled with his shrekes that, for that and his daymands to be on shore, we were forced to sett him on land. And soe we proceeded and, through God[s] greate mercie, in much danger gott safe to Land.

Having rested here one night, next day I delivered my letters at Courte and elsewhere in the towne. Soone after [I] waited on my Lord Ambassador, of whome I had leave to go into the countrie to see my mother and friends and take my leave with their benediction for my journey into Italy. And haveing then about 3 weekes or a month I returned to London lodging in the howse of my dear pious friend Mr. S. P. And now I began to put my selfe into a garbe and habitt fitt for my employment, for the attendance of ambassador must be very fyne though few pence in their purce. Soe I made my selfe soe fyne that I remember well one day in

¹ Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter.

my best robes, "Now," said the taylor, "did but Sir W[illiam] B[oswell] see you he could not but love you." I had provided my selfe with 3 sutes: one to travaile in, a second for ordinary tymes and a third for extraordinary tymes, with all things suitable put up in a trunck, whereon was the ambassadors coat [of] arms to secure it from search. These expenses had left me little cash in my pocketts, and to recruite them I yet knew not, for I had noe stipulation from my lord but was merely a younge man of fortune, and therein I was not very sollicitous. I went into Kent and tooke my leave of Sir Raph Bosvile, whoe treated me very civilly, gave me the appellation of cousin, and his letters to a very good friend of his in Venice, one Signor Nicholaa, an Italian.

After 4 or 5 moneths stay in England my lord being in readynes to begin his journey wee left London on the * * * of * * *, and lodged that night at Canterbury, being aboute 60 or 70 horses, many of my lords friends and relations accompanying him to Dover, where we embarqued in a brave shipp of the Kings called the Charles 1st, John Pennington captayne. Wee had in our retynue my lady ambassatrice,¹ daughter to the then Lord Treasurer Weston, after created Earle of Portland, Mr. Ben. Weston his brother, Colonel Dowglas, goeing to serve the Venetians, and his lady, 2 gentlewomen attending my lady, one chamber mayd and one landrie mayd, Captayne Feilding a nere kinsman of my lords, Mr. Wyndham, Mr. Sayer, Kingston, Parins &c. travaillers into Italy, Mr. Middleton, chaplaine, Hyde, and Rustate² and Fulwood of the Chamber, Parkere steward, Bashford master of the horse, Spaniodelta a Greeke &c. attendante at large—in number about 50 persons. My lord was nobly feasted on board by Sir John Pennington, whome he joined, and safely wafted to Callis with many guns for a farewell. Wee were noe sooner landed but a horrible tempest arose, the Kings shipp being in danger. See my notes of our voyage.

Soone after our coming to Venice my lady ambassatrice fell into a lingering distemper, hir appetite failing. It was Lent and she a Roman Catholic wherein she was soe strict that she could not be prevailed with at first to eate flesh, tho afterwards she did. Yet still declyned into such a sicknes as she was not sensible of payne, which at last bringeing hir to hir bed, she within a weeke

¹ Anne, d. of Richard Weston, Earl of Portland. She died 10 March, 1635.

² Tobias Rustat, whose life is recorded in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

dyed piously and devoutly, calleing on the Lord Jesus Christ and not on any Sainte or angell. Assisted by hir confessor, who was a franciscan fryer of Venice, with another with him, she held in hir hands a little crucifix and was besprincld with holy waters. Wee of the family in the night brought hir dead body to a monastery, where it was received by the friars with singing, and by them enterrd. She was a very proper and lovely lady, very pious, of somewhat a melancholy being, was courteous and a greate lover of hir lord, whoe was extremely afflicted at hir death, and for some yeres kept the weekly day of hir death a strict fast. Aboute halfe a yere after hir desease hir woeman and hir chamber mayd together with the s[t]eward were sent back into England, and my selfe put upon the stewards place. The landry mayd remayned. I cannott say longe a mayd, for she was forced soone after the departure of the other females to retyre into the country to take phisick. My new office was very troublesome to me, for, besides I was very yonge, I had not the language of the country, nor now practised in such matters. But the greatest inconveniences were the want of money for howshold expenses and to satisfie the Jewes, with whome my lord had contractd a great debt, and they persecuted me daily. Yet I made shifte to give my lord content for the most part, and indeede alwayes but when he wanted cashe. I gave my selfe with my best witt to understand my place and performed the same with all dilligence and fidelity. I had under me a spendidore, whoe bought in most of the provisions (except wyne and wood which I bought my selfe), and gave me an account. I had somewhat to do to keepe the younger people in order, and some old ones, as the porter, who sometymes, as I perceived, opened the doors in the night to let in such persons as I thought had beene better kept out; and in this particular I suffered most, though as I thought very unjustly. Upon this pointe I tooke occasion to pray that I might be returned to my first employment, which at last I obtaynd with the favoring good likeing of [the] lord ambassador.

One day the lackey that attended me brought me word into my chamber there was a gent., an Italian, desired to speak with me. I being the maggior duomo steward, I bad him bring him up. I never had seene the man before. He began with asking my pardon for his boldnes, that he was one that had a extraordinary love for our nation above all others, which made him thus presse upon me, that he had beene well acquainted with several English gent.

whome he desired to serve in any thing to his power, and now tooke leave to offer his service to my selfe, of whom he had heard soe high a character that he should take it for a greate honour to be knowne and imployd by me. I returned him my hearty thancks, first for the good opinion he had of our nation in general and particularly of my selfe, whoe merited not the esteeme he was pleased to set upon me, that I should strive to deserve his love and favour by serving him in anything to my power, and soe prayed him to the obligation he had so freely in this manner layd upon me he would lett me know his name, and where I might have the happines to waite on him. Which he did, and after a few more complements departed. He was a handsome person, neatly clad in blacke silke, and of very complete deportment. Soone after, haveing enquired after him, I found him to be an ambassadeur d'amore, as they are called in Italian, an ambassador of love, *anglice* a pimp, of whome I heard noe more never after, he fynding, I suppose, that I had noe employment for him. This is a very gallant place, the auncientest aristocracie now extant in the world as the United Netherlands is the youngest democratie. But I shall say noe more touching Venice, being soe well and accurately described by many, and shall only apply my selfe to the particular actions of those in our howse, to whom it was somewhat dangerous to be here, being a place soe full of opportunities of femenyne debaucherie.

Having gott rid of the maiordomshipp and returned to my first place of scribshipp, my life was here very pleasant. My bussines was easie, the cheifest being ordinarily but 2 dayes, or part of 2 dayes, in a weeke for makeing and writing despatches into England, other correspondence which we held with divers of his Majesties publick ministers, as at Constantinople, France, Spain, Genoua, Naples &c. and some private gent[lemen] in several places in Rome, Florence &c., to attend my lord ambassador in his audiences at the Collidge, in giveing and receiveing visitts to and from the severall publick ministers of forrayne Princes and States thereupon the place, as the ambassador of Spain, France, Holland &c. All which was done and much tyme to spare, which might have been employed in the language, studie of the arts and of the government and interests of that State, could youth and witt goe together.

I was here freed from all cares (except, before excepted, cash shorte), but those of constant and dilligent attendance, where in I never failed if I were in health, as I was for the most part, only

incomodated by the heate of the countrie and one sharpe feaver I had, whereof, with much difficulty and the helpe of a Dutch phisitian, I did recover. The disease of the place was soe much amongst us, that it would not be beleved at first but that that was my distemper. But God was pleased to give me soe much grace and prudence as wholly to sheild me from the least touch of that filthy trouble, and by keeping me from the occasion, for which I must ever blesse his holy name. After I was recovered my stomach grew soe violent that I could not by anie reasonable meanes satisfie the same. Whereby in a short tyme by over-repletion I brought my selfe into a new distemper, which to remove, I would needs be my owne phisitian, or at least guided by one in the family. I tooke a purging dose in preserved quince, and tooke but one quarter of those which he usually (as he sayd) tooke, half of that he sent me—which soe wrought on me upward and downewards that my phisitian was called againe, and my second danger worse then the first. But had I taken the whole it had infallably cured and for ever all deseases in me: I had not been in Italy longe enough to know the tricks of that countrie, which if I had, I should never have taken phisick from one in whose way of preferment I stood.

My cash was but shorte, yet I made shifte to keepe my selfe in a habitt as became my place and imployment, and that is a necessary pointe, for an ambassadors attendants must be very fyne however their pocketts fare. Yet this straightnes of money was very hurtfull to me, in that I could not for want thereof engage any to reade to me the arts, wherein I was very deficient, being taken very younge from my schoole, and never had meanes or encouragement to studie. Let this be set downe as a maxim that tis ordinarily as impossible to rayse a fortune (in this way that I was in) without a competent skill in gramere, logick and philosophie, as tis to build a howse without a foundation. And in this my self have beene, I must not say an unhappy (because God knowes what is best for every one), [but] a reall example. I say ordynarily for I could name some, whoe, though they had as little learneing as my selfe, yet have come to greate preferment in the State, through confidence and dilligence and encouragement: all which but dilligence I ever wanted. But, togeather with this want of grounded learning, I was ever tortured with too much diffidence of those abilities I had, which was alsoe very prejudicall to my preferment, as was alsoe a foolish bashfulnes and tymorousnes of nature. Of this I have had many proofs of my selfe. One

was, that being one day to speake a few words before the Duke and Senate, altho I had those matter[s] as perfect as my pater noster, and repeated them more then a hundred tymes over by heart, yet I was a little out at my uttering of it, it being indeede one of the most terrible things in the world to me to speake in publicq. Parte of this great imperfection I had *ex traduce*, for I perceaved it was with no small difficultie and bashfulnes with which my unkle spake in publiq, tho a person well grounded in all lear[n]ing and much practised therein. My younger brother was Master of Arts in Jesus Colledge, and after one of the senior Fellows of Trinity Colledge in Dublyn,¹ accounted a good scholler and preacher, yet was much annoyed with this mischeife in soe much that he dure not trust his memorie soe farre as to repeate the Lords Prayer, but had it written verbatim before all sermons.

But tho these wants broake the staves [?] to my advancement, yet I had the happines to give full content in my place. I was ever at hand, honest and punctuall in the performance in whatever I was entrusted with, courteous and kinde to all my fellow servants, even to the meanest, and ready to do them any good office. Wee had (as all great families and societies have) 2 factions in our howse, but I was fully of neither; yet still was closest with the honestest yet ready to serve them both. My intimatest converse was with Mr. Francis Hide,² a gent[leman] well borne, nere 40, whoe had beene of the Inns of Court and a former acquaintance of my lords. But, being of somewhat a mellancholy and cholorick being (which he could not well moderate in his discourse with my lord at table and other tymes) had thereby (not without some wante [? of moderation on] my lord[s] part) lost much of my lords favour. He was of excellent parts, but not cutt out for a courtier, whoe must not alwayes say that the snow is black. This deere friend of myne sitting one day at dynner with my lord, and being as well to his owne thincking as ever he was in his life and feeding as heartily, calling for a glass of wyne, which he tooke into his hand, and while he was bringing the same to his mouth, his hand turned soe that he spilt some of the wyne, whereat he sayd, "I think I am drunk." But still the glasse turned. Soe the fellow that waited tooke it out of his hand, and all that side sunck soe

¹ William Raymond, M.A. and Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, 1640. *Catalogue of the Graduates in the University of Dublin*, 478.

² He died between November 1636 and February 1637. *Denbigh MSS.*, v. 47; but *cf.* *Catalogue of the Clarendon State Papers*, i, 126, 160.

fast that he began to seze downe, but was layd hold on and supported (all that side struke with the num-palsie), [and] presently carried up to his chamber. But before he gott thither it seized on his intellectualls, which he never perfectly recovered, but after 6 or 7 days expired. He voyded a world of black color at seige, and was extreamly, as we thought, hot within for a day before he died. He called very often for drinck, saying, "I will drinck & die." He was a person of a pious and good life, not at all subject to the vices of that place, whereof, I doubt not, he receives now the blessed fruites. We delivered his corps to the preists of the parish wherein our howse stodee, whoe promise[d] to give it Christian buriall. Hee was a nere kinsman of Sir Henry Hyde, whoe (beyond seas) taking the part of King Charles the Martyr was trecherously gotten on ship-board, and brought prisoner into England and executed in London. My lord had, more then a yere before the death of Mr. Hyde, received another servant from Sir Oliver Fleming, his Majesties agent in Swizzerland, whome he imployed as secretary alsoe, but my selfe had Mr. Hydес page and chambers allotted to me.

This man was brother to a dilligate peece who had been for the D[uke] of B[uckingham's] tooth,¹ and after for Sir O[liver] F[leming's], as Venetia Stanley had beene for that incomparable person Sir K[enelm] D[igby]. This new secretary was indeed a secretis, and of such as I ever from my heart deteste, which, together with some emulation betweene us, being now collegues, made my lord observe, or possibly upon complaynt. My lord tooke an occasion one day to reprove me, asking me whie I agreed no better with R.², that his service was like to suffer thereby. I answerd that Mr. R. and I had never had any falling out, that we both agreed for the advancement of his lordshipps service, which I should ever attend unto with the best of my skill and with all faithfulness, and trusted that his lordship would require no farther from me. To which he made little reply. And my self was ever after free from molestation in this particular, my lord I suppose well understanding what I meant. This person fell to greate debouchery as to woemen and often abroad a night, bragging amongst those of his feather how often that night he had shodd the

¹ Delicate piece=pretty woman. Venetia Stanley, perhaps the most famous of the lovely women who stooped to folly in the latter years of the reign of James I, married Sir Kenelm Digby secretly in 1625.

² Evidently Rowlandson, secretary of Legation.

wild mare. And thus he contynued serving himselfe and others in this kinde till he came for England, where I understood afterwards he married, and was one of those whoe was entrusted by the rebels to sell divers moveables belonging to good King Charles. But had soe poxed himselfe and wife that first shee dyed of the pox and after himselfe, so miserably used by them, that he rotted by peecemeles before he dyed, and soe ended his vicious life, miserable and shamefully—a faire caution for others. One L., an old servant of my lords had beene in this predicament and renewed the same now &c.

I now come to a sober on T[obias] R[ustat], whoe waited on my lord in his chamber, and free, soe farre as I ever could perceive, from this vice in himself or advanceing it in others. He was a sober person and religious, the son of a minister, but had been prentice in London to a Barber Surgeon, where he saw some dreadfull operations that might well deterre him from this madnes. He was the most dilligent attending servant in the whole family, early and late, exact and compleate in his place, and hath since often brought to my minde that of Solomon Proverbs. We were very intymate. I helped him in his writing and inditeing, he being very unlearned, in so much that our promised mutuall and reall kindnesses one for another did of us come to performance, and our common appellation was friend. He afterwards attended the Duke of Buckingham, and was with him at the rising in Kent¹ for the King Charles, wherein the Duke was engaged. And they being put to the flight, the Dukes helmett by a bough under a tree was turned upon his back and tyed soe fast with acteing under his throat that without the present helpe of T[obias] R[ustat] it had undoubtedly choaked him, as I have credibly heard. After this he shifted for himself and making friends bought the reversion of Yeoman of the Robes to the Prince our gracious King, and followed the Kings and Princes Courts, and had gotten such credit there that he was often employed in carrying of letters between the King and Queen. In which quality my selfe once mett him at Dover, being newly arrived from beyond seas and under the examination of Sir John Boyce, then Governor for the Parliament, in Dover Castle. After we had with much joy greeted one another in so unexpected a meeting, being soe intymate friends as wee had beene, wee began to talke of the tymes, and the mischeife they

¹ In July, 1648.

threatened both to the King and Kingdom. He tould me he was newly come from the Queen, and had bene examyned and searched by the Governor of the castle for letters, and was not yet quite freed but must yet undergoe another scrutany. I tould him if he had letters I could tell him where they were, at which he wondered, but me thought it was plaine where they were, and that was a new large hollow cane neatly trynd up which he walked with, in which I tould him they were, and he confessed as much to me, knowing my honesty and faithfull affection to the Kings partie. Hee thereupon grew very diffident and fearfull that his letters should be discovered, inclyning the next tyme he went before the Governor to leave his staff behinde him. Therein I could not tell howe to advise him, for soe doeing he might draw suspition upon himselfe. What course he tooke I know not, for I was that night imbarqued for Callis, whither I was then bound with a younge lord, of whom I had the tuition, as will hereafter appeare. But in conclusion he passed through London, and came safe to the King at Oxford with his letters. His abode was after this tyme sometymes with the King Charles, otherwhiles with the Queen and Prince. After the King[s] death he contynued with our present King, where his reversion falling, he, by the Kings greate favour and particular care, gott into his place of Yeoman of the Robes, to which at the Kings returne he obtayned the Keepership of House [of] Commons, and is growne very rich, haveing bestowed 1000 a yere on each university to my knowledge, and it may be much more which I knowe not of. And how he hath performed his part of the covenant made betweene us at Venice the sequall of this rhapsodie will declare. In this person is fully verified what Solomon by the Holy Spirit hath left recorded in Proverbs, and is an excellent example for all younge men whoe desire to advance their fortunes.

However wee had some miscarriages amongst us by the temptations of the place and the much idle tyme wee had, yet the family was piously and devoutly governed. Wee had constantly prayers twice in the day and one sermon every Sunday, comunions three tymes in the yere, all exactly according to the use of the Church with the decent vestments used by our clergie. Our chaplaine was a person of excellent good parts and of a pious life, of which he gave full prooffe in converting an Italian, a franciscan fryer, from Popery to our Church, who afterwards was conveyed into England. On Sundayes repayred to our service most of the English merchants in the towne with some Dutch. Most of the

family were constantly at prayers and sermons, and many of them as frequently at their private devotions.


Our honest recreations were bilyards, hearing sermons in Lent, repaying to the stestas in their Churches for the musick sake, which was very excellent, walking on the Rialto and St. Marco, taking the fresh ayre in evenings on the Canale Grande, eating melons and drincking some tymes a glasse of Greeke wyne, seeing the carnevale, a tyme of much sober debaucherie, and wherein a man or woeman may for their money be furnished with any sort of habitt and maske—any sort except religious, and those are forbidden. You may go out of your lodging in your usuall dresse, goe to one of those places, there lay aside your owne, and put your selfe into what shape you please. And being masked, you may see and here your owne friends on the Piazzo, if they be not masked or if you know their maske, and they not know you, which oftentimes ministers cause of much mirth. I remember one day 3 or 4 of us put our selves into the habitts of Zanies, such as ordinarily make sport on the stage, a canvase breeche with stocking all of a peece reaching to the shou, and a kinde of jeppe gird about the loynes with a broad leather girdle, which held a shorte wooden sword close to the side, an old capp or hatt with a fox tayle in it, and vizard for the face as ridiculous. And being thus dressed it was our parte to play all the ridiculous tricks wee could imagine, especially when wee mett any of our bretherne (of the same feather). But herein, tho we did our parts as well as we could, yet not haveing the language perfect, wee were out done often tymes by those wee mett. We might talke what we would or could, flourish our swords, make grymauces, and ridiculous gestures, but not touch any but of our owne company. Encountring our brethren wee had excellent wild gestures, and strange salutes betweene us, which would presently draw many aboute us to see the same. Wee could not walke in quiet, for all tooke a liberty to make sporte with us. At last we mett some brethren that worited us so sadly that one of our company, being a cholorick blade, not remembering hee was in maskerade, tooke himselfe to be abused, and began to be soe angrie that we had much adoe to keepe him from using his fists, which made us retreat and reassume our owne shapes, not a little laughing at our comrade, whoe was not yet cooled for the offront which he sayd the rogue offered him.

One day being in maskerade somewhat like a woeman, and being long and streight, I was taken for a wench, and followed by

some Italians, and a while by some of our owne howse, who had a greate contest amongst themselves, some holding I was a wench and a very pretty one, others that I was not a wench, which after gave cause of much mirth. A frolikking Sir A[lexander] G[ordon]¹ one day gott an old masking sute which my lord had by him, being tynsell and very glorious : he was not come soe farre as Piazzo or St. Stephano (the rendezvous of the maskerade), before he was soe vexed with the Zanies whoe made him a Monsieur, and soe welcomed him to Venice with antiq postures and attendance, that he was driven home againe much out of the humour. There are many howses wherein is musick and danseing into which any masked may enter and danse as long and with whome they will, all being masked, paying soe much a danse. And there is many a festive and deare bargayne made to the hazard of many a nose. Nay, sometymes you shall hear a maskerade courted and taken for a very handsome wench, which when hir maske is of hath none or it may [be] an ugly face. If any in maskerade had come to our howse (which is the manner to be free at such tymes) they were offered all civility and kindnes. The people cannott be broken of from this inveterate custome of carnevale, but the magistrates restrayne it what they can. There are often tragick actions occasioned by it. Some have been killed, mistaken for anothers, and some securely to murther others have done it in maske, tho the laws be very strict to prevent such things, it being death for any in maske to carry about the[m] any pistoll or weapon.

Ashwensday putts an end to these extravagancies, when every one appeare very penitent, and, after the auncient custome, have ashes strewd by the preist on their heads at masse, whereunto they then very solemnly and in great multitudes repayre. They have very many very solempne processions in the yeare, wherein the Duke, the Senate, the Pope's Nuntio, the French or Spanish ambassador are comonly present, accompanied with all the orders of religious fryers in the towne, going all by couples. Some of which fryers seeme soe much mortified and taken up with heavenly meditations as they walke, that they will not soe much as turne their eyes towards the people, whoe are ther in greate multitudes, yet are fatt and lustie. There is the Sacrament carryed under a rich canopie : alsoe a great crucifixe before which goes the flagellates

¹ There are eight letters from Gordon to Feilding written about this time, some when Gordon was in Italy, in *Denbigh MSS.*, v.

(those that whipp themselves), which are comonly some poore fellows hyred for that busines. They are in a kinde of maskerade, wearing a cappure of black buckerum which covers all their face, having holes for their eyes, and their backs are bare, which they belabour with ther whippes (being soe made as quickly to fetch blood) that the blood runs downe a pace. When they come nere a church, shryne or crosse, they turne themselves towards the crucifix and lay on to appearance stoutely, otherwise they are moderate in their worke. The Holy Week is full of these actions. From Good Fryday till 12 clock Sunday morneing there is not a bell chimme in the whole towne. The Sacrament, attended by the Duke and Senate, is placed in a kinde of sepulchre, and locked up, the key delivered to the Duke, where it rests till Easter Day morneing when they returne thither againe in the same solemne manner. Where, when they come, they fynde sepulchre open and the Sacrament gone, a priest there on purpose saying to them, *non est hic*. From whence they goe to the masse in St. Markes church. From Good Friday morneing till Easter Sunday they darken most of their churches, not a lamp nor candle in them. Soe in St. Markes where only 13 white wax candles are placed at the back of the High Altar in this forme  that in the point

higher then all the rest. At severall parts of the service the severall candles or tapers are taken away, beginning with the lowest from side to side till they come to topp candle which alsoe they take downe, drawing so behinde the altar for a moment that little light appears. At which there folloves such a terrible thundring tearing noyse as if the whole Church were breaking in peeces, which together with the darknesse, is very dismall and terrible, and would soundly fright one that were not before hand acquainted therewith. The noyse is made by divers people placed for that purpose aboute the rooffe and obscure places in the Church, with greate hammers and staves wherewith they beate upon such things as will make the most sound. I am weary with relating these pageantries in religion, whereof there are practised many more, and shall end with a true storie which hapned in an Easter Day morneing.

Those flagellates are most comonly, as I sayd before, poore fellows which are hyred to whipp themselves at these solemne processions, or els do it to get some thing by the charity of good people, they ordinarily placing themselves in their whipping habitts in some parts of the towne (as our beggars doe), where most people

are to passe the better to make their markett. A younge fellow of the towne, haveing a handsome wench to his wife, had some reason it seemes to suspect that she was a waggtaille, and haveing narrowly observed and watched hir, not only founde that it was soe but whoe was the baude and the cheife instrument to debauch hir. Whereupon meditating a revenge on the baude he resolved to freeze hir, *i.e.* give hir a slash over the face, esteemed at Venice almost as bad as death. And, haveing bethought himselfe of several wayes how with safety he might best doe it, at last he put himselfe into the habit of a flagellater, and place[d] himselfe in the streete where the old baude was to passe to masse. On Easter Day morneing [he] mett hir soe oppertunely as to give hir 2 or three stigmaes over hir face, letting out some of hir base blood, which myselfe saw lie on the stone. Which haveing done, he sett himself to run as fast as he could to the Pallace, our howse, for sanctuarie, almost scaring some of our people that stooode at the dore seeing one in so an uncouth habitt come soe fast towards them. But he was admitted in, and, haveing made his case knowne to my lord ambassador, he was permitted to shifte for himselfe, as he did, uncaseing himselfe and goeing out at another dore, and was hardly gone when a message from the justice came to my lord ambassador, praying him to cause the offender to be delivered to them, but answare was made that he was not there but gone.

The persons and howses of ambassadors are by the lawes of all nations sacred, and in this place as much as any where. Not only their howses are priviledged but a considerable distance from them, within which no officer of justice must presume to come to follow or fetch away any offender that flies thither. And these priviledges are often abused by the attendants of ambassadors, whoe are too ready to protect offenders against the lawe. There stood very nere our Pallace a little howse into which certayne offenders had fledd, and there not only sheltred themselves, but contrary to the lawes of the place kept diceing and carding. Complaint was made thereof to the ambassador, that he would either cause them to be delivered to the justice or chase them from thence. But the ambassador, possibly by meanes of some of his servants, turned the deaf eare to there just requests, whereupon, after some waiting the ambassador[s] answere, in the dead tyme of night came the bargello with his men, and tooke these fellows out of ther beds, and carried them to prison. And well for us it was that it was done when we were all a sleepe, otherwise wee must

have defended our priviledges, though to the endangering of our own lives and of those officers. This bred a great difference betweene the State and my lord ambassador, whoe said the howse was his, and that the officers had violated the laws of nations by this proceeding, craved the persons taken out of the howse should be returned thither and the bergello and his officers severely punished for their impudence &c. This matter proceeded to that height that the ambassador was ready to quitt the place, and a rupture betweene England and the Republick like to follow, but was at last with much adoe composed to the honor and satisfaction of the ambassador and the Republick. In the agitation of which busines, being very hott on both sides, the King himselfe, good King Charles, did write once or twice to my lord ambassador with his owne handd, in which appeared his greate prudence and noe small affection for the person of the ambassador.

Another untoward busines we had occasioned by a sawcie barcharole, whoe it seemes someway or other had insolently demeaned himselfe towards my lord. And it was this fellowes ill fortune one day to be in a barke which sould wood, lying at anchor over against our howse, my lord espying him at his chamber wyndow. Whereupon calling to him a kinsman of his, a stoute man, he show[ed] him this fellow, telling him his misdemeanor and how gladly he would have [him] taken and brought into the howse. Whereupon the captain tooke a footeman or two with him, and in one of our gondolaes went to the barke, where he tooke the fellow by the choller, and threw him into the gondola and brought him into the howse, and putt him into a little celler (then not in use) where he was kept a day or twoe with bread and water. After which one morneing he was brought forth, every footman, being 8, haveing a good cudgell in his hand, and placeing them selves on each side a longe entrie by which this fellow was to passe, the dores into the canall and streete being shutt, my lord himself standing by comanded the footmen to bestinado this wretched fellow, which they did to some purpose, the fellowe running from one end of the roome to the other roaring and crying out extreemely. At last the streete or lane dore was opened, and out he ran as fast as he could. It was a wonder that none of us had not had some of our throates cutt as wee walked the streets in revenge of what was done to this fellow, a thing frequent in that place. And therefore actions of this nature should by all possible meanes be avoyded.

Two sad accidents befell our family dureing my tyme in two of our lackeyes or footmen, and the best of them. The one, an Irishman, wishing to swym one evening before our dore, was drowned. The other, an Italian, waiting on my selfe, standing with others one day at the lane dore, an idle and dangerous humour tooke them to see whoe could clymbe highest up the outside of the howse by the pillars and jetties. This poore lad was gotten very high and severall tymes called to not to venture, but he obstinately proceeded till his hold failed him and downe he fell * * * sending forth a huge streame of blood at his mouth and nose, his forehead being dashed in peeces, dying without noyse or motion of any kinde. A sad effect of idlenes.

A younge merchant of this place haveing gotten into the good graces of the wife of a nobile or gentleman of Venice, to enjoy her more frequently and comodiously, took a lodging next to this nobilies howse. And haveing the liberties of the leades or roofe of the howse, they had betweene them found a dore by which the merchant frequently waited on this ladie. At last these doeings came to the knowledge of the nobile by a servant, as I remember, whoe secretly betrayd hir lady. When he, providing himselfe of a pistoll charged with a brace of bullets, takeing leave of his wife, made as if he were going out of towne, but secretly conveyed himself into the vancie roofe,¹ attending the merchant, [who], coming in at that dore to visit his paramour according to the invitation he had received from hir, was there miserably shott to death by the nobile. The sad effects of filthy lust.²

Soone after our most gracious King Charles the First was by hellish miscreants sonnes of Belial put to death, it was my chance to be in London at sermon in St. Mary Alder-Maryes Church, it being death then for any man and especially ministers to speake in vindication of that good King. The preacher fell to aggravate the great synnes whereof wee were guilty and haveing instanced in severall greate and crying ones, "Nay," said he, "wee have put to death our King, our most gracious and good King"—at which he made a little pause (the people amazed and gazing aboute

¹ *i.e.* a garret.

² Folios 89-104, which follow in the MS., have been here omitted. The two annexed fragments are from the same MS. volume.

expecting the preacher should be pulled out of the pulpitt) but he added—" the Lord Jesus Christ by our sinnes and transgression."

Aboute 2 yeares before the myracillous restoration of our King (my most gracious master) it was my happ to be travailing into Kent. And having passed the ferry at Lambeth, on passing on the roade on the other side of the towne, there stood a person well mounted and habited enquireing the way to Lewisham, a place through which I was to passe. I tould him it was my road, and that if he pleased I could be his guide thither, and be glad of his company. He returned me thancks and acceptd my proffer. And haveing exchanged a few courteous words he tooke occasion to say, " Sir, I am come abroad to ayre my selfe and to see a good friend, for I have beene longe layd up in prison, and if it please you I shall tell you my storey,¹ which is not an ordinary one." I thanck[ed] him and tould him it would much shorten our way, soe he began, saying: " I am a cittizen of London and by my trade an apothecary. And wee of that profession doe make use ofentymes of a seate or chayre made of bricks to sweate people in. And my selfe haveing one which, by often use by reason of the contynuall fire, was often to repayre, I began to thinck how (and therein enquired of some friends) to make it that it might last better. Up[on] which I came to be resolved to lyne it with some thyn plates of iron, to which purpose I went to a smyth to doe it, but he tould me it would be very chargeable to beate the iron into such thyn plates as the worke required, but that it were farre my better way to buy some old armor, which he could easily make fitt for that purpose. Whereupon I sett my selfe to enquire for old armor, and within a few dayes I was directed where I might have some, which when I came I found the partie had mistaken me, for it was not old but a faire suit of bright armour. Wherewith haveing acquainted the owner I sett my selfe againe to seeke for the old armor, and was within a while directed to a mans house in Longe Lane, and goeing thither neither was there any old armour. ' But, ' sayd the partie to whome I spake, ' if you

¹ This account is confirmed by an order of the Council of State, 24 August, 1659, " on the petitions of Edward Heath and Thos. Drinkwater, that the Committee for Examinations examine the said persons and report." *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60 141.

will buy other armor I have sixe suites of very good, which I can afford [? to sell for] a good penny worth.' I replied my busines was for old armour and told him for what use. He sayd he had none but these suites which he would willingly sell [? for so] much money. I tould him I would consider of it, and going to a friend of myne whoe had skill in such comodities, I tould him what I had beene seeking, and what had befallen me. He tould me possibly I might be a good gayner by those armes if I could have them at such a price. Whereupon I repayred againe to Longe Lane, and the man comeing to my price, I bought the armes, appointing a day to fetch them away. And haveing hereby gayned some skill in those matters, I went presently and bought the bright armer, which was a very fayre suite and soe pleased me that I placed them on a cupboards head in my bed chamber. The day comeing that I was to fetch the armes from Longe Lane, I went thither with porters to bring them away. And haveing payd my money and the porters haveing them on their backs, there came a fellowe to me and laying hold on me sayd, 'Come, Sir, you must goe a longe with me before my Lord Maior, whose warrant there is and for the securing these armes. You are, it seemes, a buyer of armes.' I was indeed somewhat startled, dreameing of noe such matter as this, but told the officer I should obey, praying my goods might be forth comeing, for I had noe evill intention in buying of them.

And soe away I went before the Maior (Ireton,¹ brother to the rebell Ireton, was then Lord Maior). Where, when I came, his Lordship examyned me very strictly and I answered him according as I have tould you how I came to deale for these armes. But he rested no whit satisfied with my honest and just answere, but comitted me to the courte, informeing the Counsell of State [which was alsoe presented in the Maiors booke] that he had made a greate discovery of a grand Malignant that was buying up armes for the Cavaliers. Next day the Comittee for the Militia sate in Guild-hall, and two of the Maiors officers was sent to the Counter to bring me before them. Where, when I came, 'Come Mr. D[rinckwater],' said the Maior, 'I hope you are now in a better mynde then you were when I last examind you, and that you will now confesse whoe employed you to buy those armes &c.' I replyd, 'My Lord, I have already tould you the truth and the occasion

¹ John Ireton, who became Lord Mayor 9 November, 1658.

of my buying of those armes. I am noe Malignant, nor have correspondence with any Cavalier, nor had I any evill intention of buying those goods but only to benefitt my selfe by them.' The Maior replied, 'Thinck not Mr. D[rinckwater] to put of the Committee in this manner with such a pretty fayned story as this is. You are a cittizen, and should have a care to preserve the citty, and not combyne with bloody Cavaleers for the destruction thereof, of the kingdom and the good cause. Therefore give glorie to God and declare the truth.' 'My Lord,' sayd he [? I], 'soe I have. Should I confesse what you charge me with I should be a lyer and be guilty of my owne ruine. My Lord, I am a cittizen and freeman, a true lover of the citty, nor am I a Malignant as my neighbours can testifie.' Now I had caused each of my neighbours to meete at the Comitee and testifie for me, but they soe soone as they heard the matters pressed against me, and the great speech that assuredly I should be hanged, slunck all away from me, being indeed terrified most by a false rogue, an informer, whoe stood to mayntayne that he had seene me severall tymes in company with Cavaleers—a fellowe which till that tyme I never saw. The Committee still pressed me to confesse and I to reply as at first. 'It is very likely,' sayd the Maior, 'that you, being an apothecarry, should employ your selfe to buy armes for profitt, a likely busines that you should have skill therein.' 'Why, my lord,' sayd I, 'my friend helped me to skill therein, and I am ready to lay out my money in anything that I benefitt my selfe by, as your lordship may see in this booke (which I then produced), wherein I sett downe whatever I trade in. And therein you may see that not longe since I bought a coach and horses and gayned well by them, though I be an apothecary.' The Maior tooke the booke and kept it till I called for it againe, telling him it was an account of my whole estate, as indede it was.

I should have tould you that upon my first examination, there were some whoe entred my howse, seased and carryed away my bright suite of armes, brooke open my studie and truncks, and tooke away all my papers. The Maior still pressing me and promising much favor if I confessed &c. and I persisting as at first, 'Well,' sayd he, 'seeing tis soe, and that nothing will worke with you, we have one way more to force the truth from you, and that is the rack.' 'The rack, my lord,' sayd I, and therewith I confesse I was not a little stounded as much apprehending the torture. 'Oh, Mr. D[rinckwater],' quoth the Maior, 'does the mention of

the rack amaze you? I hope when you come to feele those paynes you will soone confesse?' 'Amaze me, my lord?' sayd I. 'Yes, my lord, that I confesse it doth, but not out of any sense of guilt in me, but of the paynes which I shall not be able to endure. But this, my lord, I am resolved to doe when I am on the rack. I will confesse whatever you aske me, though never soe false, to avoyd the payne, but soe soone as ever I am from it I will utterly deny all but what I have already confessed.' 'Ay, marry,' sayd the Maior, 'is that your resolution?' 'Yes, my lord,' sayd I, 'tis my firme resolution.' 'Very fyne,' sayd he, 'wee shall put it to the tryall,' and thereupon caused an officer to come to him, with whom he whisperd in his eare. Which officer came and tooke me into his custody, calling another of his fellow officers to assist him. And soe away they carryed me, being, I must confesse, very sad and melancholy, and much apprehending the greate torture and paynes I was to endure.

But these men carryed me, not towards the Tower, where I had heard the rack was, but towards Westminster, where I did not know but there must be a rack alsoe. But coming to Westminster they carryed me into White-Hall, and then up to the Chamber dore where the Counsell of State sate (which it seemes was to be my rack, and they indeede had racked many an honest man), but they were risen. Soe my payre of knaves were to conduct me back againe. Which they did, but soe carelessly that the one was a good way before me and the other as much behinde me, and a fayree opportunity to escape, which, presenting it selfe to me on the sudden, I began to embrace and had already set out one legg to run. But, as God would have it, safer thoughts came into my mynde, and I began to suspect they lefte me at this liberty meerely to tempt me to make an escape, by which I should have much injured my selfe. And fearing they would on purpose leave me and soe charge me with an escape, I not only called back my stepp but called them. 'My masters, will you not looke to your prisoner?' Whereupon they called out, 'Whie, where is he gone?' and gave me all liberty still to goe. 'Noe,' sayd I, 'I am here. I intende not to goe from you and therefore pray goe not you from me.'

This was a roguish instruction given them, as I conceived, by the Maior to make me guilty of something. But back wee came, and I was brought to the Lord Maiors howse, whoe had newly dyned. Who, hearing I was come back, comanded me to be brought

into the parler, where was only himselfe and his wife. My lord spake very kindly to me, caused a tankerd of ale to be brought, and caused me to drinck. After which he began to speake to me in a very kinde and compassionate manner, saying to me, 'Come, Mr. D[rinckwater], be not longer your owne enemie by your obstinacy, and though you have fallen, yet now rise againe and recall your selfe. Confesse freely and fully the plott you are in, which if you doe and make a full discovery, I will engage my selfe to be so much your friend if possibly to save you, if not to reward you. Therefore loose not this opportunity, but abandon and lay open the plott of these bloody Cavaleers.' (And he pressed me thus hard and as earnestly because he had informed the Counsell of State that he had made a discovery of a very dangerous plott against the Comonwealth, and I thinck verily would rather have given me a good reward to have confessed a lye, because his credit with the Counsell might be saved.) I professed to his lordship as in the presence of God, that I was innocent, that I knewe of noe plott, that I had confessed the reall truth and all the truth, and that I hoped his lordship did not desire that I should confesse or frame a lye. 'Well then,' sayd the Maior, 'you are lost and undone, for your action condemnes you.' And then my lady undertooke me and sayth, 'Mr. D[rinckwater], have pittie on your soule, on this citty whereof you are a freeman, have pittie on your selfe, your wife and children, all which are like to suffere much, if not ruind, by this your obstinacie' &c. 'Alas madam,' sayd I, 'what should I doe? I have confessed the truth. I have suffered much already, and if I suffer more I cannott helpe it. I suffer as an honest man, and hope God in mercie will support me and provide for myne, and discover myne enemyes. I love the city, and will doe any thing for the preservation thereof. Neither doe I know of any plott against it.' 'Very well,' sayd the Maior, 'but now I thinck ont wee have not yet searched your pocketts, and though you have had tyme enough to convey papers out of them, yet we will now search you.' 'Your lordship may if you please,' sayd I, 'but I have nothing in them tending to the hurte of the state.' And soe calling an officer he comanded him to search my pocketts, out of which he pulled several papers of ordinary and privatte busines, of little concerne otherwise. At last the fellow brought forth a sheete of paper handsomely folded up, which was collitioned (?), and many several names fairly written therein. Which the Maior opening and looking on the severall names, 'Oh

Mr. D[rinckwater], now we shall fynde you out with the rest of your comrades. Here are a plentifull number of names and I will fynde out the mistorie of them,' said he with much earnestness and joy, 'if it cost me a week.' 'Alas my lord,' sayd I, 'it is nothing.' 'Nothing!' sayd he. 'Do you take me to be such a foole. These are the fayned names of your fellow Cavalleers.' 'Truly my lord,' sayd I, 'you shall not neede soe much charge to fynde them out, for the next apothecaries boy will doe it' (and indeede they were only the names of such symples as I had caused to be gathered and hung up a drying in the vance roofe at my house). But the Maior would not beleeve but that they were the names of Cavaliers. Soe I was sent againe to the Counter, and thence the next day to the Counsell of State, who comitted me to Lambeth clowse prisoner, from whence after much petitioneing and laying bond with sureties of a 1000*l.* to appeare when they called for me, I was released aboute a weeke since.

Within 2 dayes after my release I put on my best cloathes, made my selfe prim as I could, and went to the Committee at Guildhall. Where, when I came, they were not yet come, and, attending in the yard, there soone arrivd a coach full of them, and amongst them Mr. P. Barebones, to whome I applyed my selfe (they all looking on me with earnestly wondering at my liberty), praying him to move the court that I might be called and heard. 'Well,' sayd he, 'Mr. D[rinckwater], though I thinck you a bad man and guilty, yet I shall doe you that peece of kindnes.' And soe he did. And I appearing before the Maior and the Committee put as cheereful a countenance as I could. I bent my speech to the Maior, telling him I had cleered my selfe to the Counsell of State for matter of * * * and that on my bond I was discharged from prison; that I was come to tender duty to the Committee to desire and crave satisfaction for the great charge I had unjustly been put unto; and that I might have my goods restored unto me. They told me in their opinion I had justly suffered and deserved much more, 'and as for your goods, they are not fitt for your keeping, but for those to whome we have given them in charge, and shall soe remayne soe longe as we thinck fitt.' I replyed they were detayned contrary to law, and that I hoped a tyme would come when right would be done. 'In the meane tyme I humbly submitt and take my leave.' And soe with a briske looke and a legg I went my way, and they too looked very scurvily upon me, especially the Maior.

I forgott to tell you that the Maior comanded the boy that kept the Comitee dor at my first coming before them to have a greater care of me, and to observe whether I pulled any thing out of my pocketts. And the rogue made me stand 2 hower together with my face towards him, not suffering me to alter my posture. And this raskell (whoe stamered extremely) seeing me now cryed out, 'O Lord, Lord, Mr. Dre Drenckwater are you still alive?' 'Yes,' sayd I, 'that I am.' 'O Lord, Lord,' sayd he, 'I had had thought you had beene hanged.'

The wretched fellow that informed against me came to me and acknowledged he had wronged me, and prayed me to forgive him. Which I did giving him a almes, he [being] wretchedly poore."

He had hardly ended his stra[n]ge comital story before wee came to the place he was going to, where we parted, I thancking him for his good company and his story he had comunicated to me, which, I tould him, I thought I should never forgett. He gave me back my thancks with interest, telling me withall that he should be heartily glad to see me at my returne to London at his house. "My name is Drinckwater, at the fountayne without Temple Barre." But my occasions would not permitt me to see him which I wish since I had done for fuller information in this story, but this is as nerely as I can roat it the very same he told me.

APPENDIX I

NOTE ON THE RAYMOND FAMILY.

In a rough note Raymond writes, "My selfe being cast into this countie where are none of my name, and my father, leaving me when I was very younge, hath left me almost in the darke as to the stock from whome I come. My curiosity (besides the love I beare the name) hath made me desirous to knowe and be acquainted with all thes that beare it. In Essex there is Oliver Raymond Esq. and this hath beene that which at this tyme hath brought you this letter."¹ In addition to this incompleted letter he states in his Autobiography that there were "4 children 3 sonns and one daughter, of all which myselfe being the second," and in another place he mentions that his younger brother was a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin. This brother was certainly William Raymond. There is a copy of a petition of an Edward Raymond to the Lord President (Ireland) dated January 25, 1636[-7], for leave to go to England to have lands his mother intends to give him legally conveyed to him.² As Thomas Raymond later in the year was summoned from Venice for a very similar purpose, the two may have been brothers.

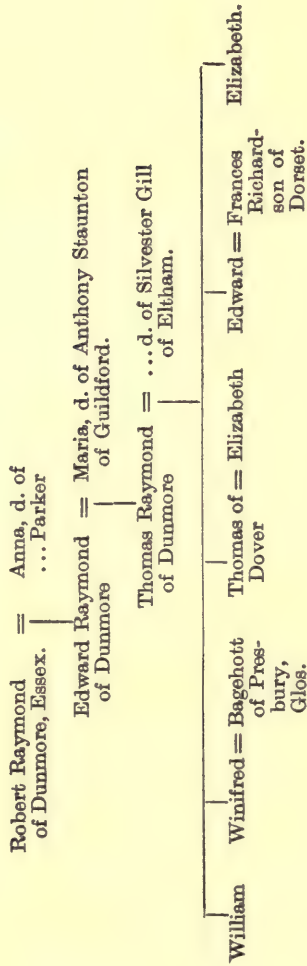
There are three pedigrees among the *Rawlinson MSS.* of a Raymond family from which the appended tree is taken.³ Since Thomas Raymond wrote his Autobiography towards the end of a long life, when he was in failing health, the mention of two sisters in the genealogical table does not preclude its being that of the Thomas Raymond who wrote this autobiography, since one may have died young and have been forgotten. It cannot on the other hand be positively asserted that the two families are identical.

¹ *Rawl. MSS.*, D., f. 64. See Morant's *Essex*, ii, 330, for a note on Oliver Raymond.

² *Ibid.*, C. 439, ff. 104-5.

³ *Ibid.*, B. 429, 196; 304, 158; 315, 216.

PEDIGREE OF THE RAYMOND FAMILY



APPENDIX II

LIFE OF SIR WILLIAM BOSWELL.

William Boswell of Suffolk was elected a Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1606, became a Master of Arts in the following year and was incorporated at the sister University the year after that.¹ He perhaps spent the following decade in study, for it is not until March 1622 that he is mentioned again, when he was appointed secretary to John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln and Lord Keeper, among his earliest duties being that of recording all the contribution money paid by the clergy of that diocese towards a fund for the recovery of the Palatinate.² From this time onward promotion was rapid. About the beginning of 1627 he became joint "clerk to the Council Extraordinary," when he was concerned with the equipment of the unfortunate expedition to the Isle of Rhé and with the payment of its survivors.³ A year hence he was granted an allowance of 40s. per diem during his attendance on the Earl of Carlisle, who was despatched, after Buckingham's failure to relieve La Rochelle, to Lorraine and Piedmont to stir up antagonism against Richelieu.⁴ On his return he resumed his duties at the Council Board, and was instructed to prepare a catalogue of the library of Sir Robert Cotton after its seizure by royal warrant.⁵ On November 21, 1629, Ambrose Randolph and William Boswell were named "Keepers and Registers of the Papers and Records concerning matters of State and Council"⁶—an office which the latter held until his death, though he was, with brief intervals, abroad from 1632 to 1650. A newswriter, under date January 12, 1631-2, notes that "Mr. William Boswell, a clerk of the Council Extraordinary, who was joined in commission with my Lord of Carlisle when he was in Italy as secretary for the ambassage, and one of the ablest and honestest men of our nation, is designed by his Majesty to be resident in the Hague in place of Sir Dudley Carleton."⁷

¹ Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss, i, 332.

² *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1619-23, 364, 476.

³ *Ibid.*, 1627-8, 97.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1628-9, 42.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1631-3, 224; Gardiner, *History of England*, vii, 139-41.

⁶ *30th Report of the Deputy Keeper*, Appendix, 240.

⁷ *Court and Times of Charles I.*, ii, 158.

This information was correct, although Boswell did not leave England for his new position until August.

His first diplomatic task was to prevent the arrangement of a truce between the States General of the Spanish Netherlands and the United Provinces. The refusal of the former to cast off their allegiance to Spain would probably have wrecked the negotiations without English intervention, but Charles I determined to leave nothing to chance. Boswell was instructed to urge the Northern States to insist on the restitution of the Palatinate as a condition of peace, and to point out to the Southern Provinces "what near and powerful protection they may have from his Majesty's dominions to support them in their freedom and liberties, if they resolve to make themselves an entire and independent body; what indignity and prejudice they may suffer if they submit themselves to those neighbours upon unequal terms." Not without reason does Gardiner style these intrigues "pitiable."¹

James I had hoped to recover the Palatinate for his son-in-law by diplomacy: Charles I was under the same delusion. In vain his sister, now a widow, looked towards England for effective support. At length Charles was moved to action, but his anger was directed towards the faithful if indiscreet servant of Elizabeth of Bohemia, Nethersole, who roundly declared the Palatinate had been lost by James and was likely to be lost a second time by Charles. For this and other injudicious conduct Nethersole was sent to the Tower, and Boswell recalled to England to discuss the matter, though his presence may have been required also in connection with the disgrace of his former master, the Bishop of Lincoln.²

The ascendancy of the Swedes in Germany rendered the recovery of the Upper Palatinate possible, and Oxenstiern sent his son to England to discover what help might be forthcoming. Charles's finances being unable to support any costly military enterprise on the continent, the result was that Richelieu quietly occupied some of the fortresses of the Palatinate, while the Treaty of Prague (May 30, 1635), assigned it to the Duke of Bavaria. Boswell was instructed to consult again with Elizabeth—an ambassador being

¹ Instructions to Boswell, October 22, 1632, quoted by Gardiner, vii, 210-4.

² *Elizabeth of Bohemia*, ed. 1909, 309-15; *Strafford Letters*, i, 225; *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1633-4, 518.

once more despatched to enlist the sympathy of Spain. Boswell reported "That any thing should be asked or insinuated of grace, or more than of justice, doth very much trouble her (*i.e.* Elizabeth) besides the fears that the Emperor's answer will be so ambiguous and dilatory (as ever heretofore) that before his Majesty shall be so fully cleared as expected, the Emperor will have underhand wrought an imperial diet, and therein passed this treaty¹ into a pragmatial sanction and constitution of the empire; after which the party yet on foot and in good strength against the Emperor being dissolved, by accord or otherwise, she saith she doth not see but her son's affairs may prove irreparable."² Irreparable, indeed, were his affairs so long as any reliance was placed upon succour from his uncle.

Meanwhile Boswell had been engaged with other matters, intrinsically of small importance, which loomed large in the eyes of the exponents of the policy of "thorough" at the English Court. The increasing severity with which those ecclesiastical innovations associated with the name of Laud were enforced caused the stricter Puritans to seek, in foreign lands, that freedom denied to them in England. The clerical hierarchy not only attempted to prevent this exodus, but also endeavoured to control the services attended by Englishmen abroad. As Holland was the chief place of refuge for the harassed Puritans, Boswell was kept busy with petitions and remonstrances to the States General.

The Merchant Adventurers at Delft were the first to receive the unwelcome attentions of their spiritual masters. Boswell, in a despatch to the Privy Council of March 18, 1633, describes their church government as entirely Presbyterian, without liturgy, catechism, confession, set forms of prayer for marriage or celebration of the Sacrament—"things, if true, of most insufferable nature and most dangerous consequence."³ The minister, already an exile from Scotland, was forced to resign, and was replaced by a nominee of Laud, and the Prayer Book was henceforth read to an unwilling audience. Simultaneously the objection of the Dutch Council of State to the use of the Prayer Book by Stephen Goffe, chaplain to Lord Vere's regiment, then in the Dutch service, gave Boswell further opportunities of proving his zeal for the Anglican

¹ Charles proposed to send an agent to Vienna to request an explanation of the Treaty of Prague.

² *Elizabeth of Bohemia*, 330-1.

³ *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1631-3, 375.

Church. After warning the Divinity professors of Leyden, to whom the question was referred, "into what a labyrinth they might cast themselves" if they condemned the liturgy of the English Church, he told the Dutch councillors that English soldiers were fed with their Prayer Book as with their mothers' milk. As the majority of the English officers desired it, the use of the Prayer Book was permitted, and chaplains refusing to use it replaced by others less stubborn.¹

His zeal stimulated by accession to the dignity of knighthood² (July 25, 1633), Boswell now attacked the printing-presses of the exiles, and, according to his nephew Raymond, induced the Dutch Council to destroy "pestilent rayling bookes . . . against the Church of England and the Bishops. Amongst which we had that filthy, durty, rayling piece of Bastwicks, with others of Burtons and Prynns." He failed, however, to silence Hugh Peters at Rotterdam, though he directed the attention of Laud to the religious proceedings there.³ His efforts to stifle Laud's opponents in Holland cannot have been very successful, as two letters of the Archbishop written in 1638 show. "I perceive by your letters," he writes to Boswell, "that you have been very careful of our Church-businesses in those parts. And very sorry I am to hear from you to what little purpose that great good pains of yours hath been taken. . . . I am sorry to hear that such swarms of wasps (for bees they are not) are flown over to those parts, and with such clamours against our Church affairs . . . and if the copy of my speech hath done you such extraordinary good service (as you write), I am heartily glad of it."⁴

Even more unsuccessful was his attempt to induce the Dutch fishermen to accept licenses from Charles, and to secure his protection by recognising his sovereignty at sea. This project failed because the Spanish Governor of Dunkirk refused to acknowledge the validity of any licences not emanating from Madrid.⁵ The critical nature of his relations with the Dutch, combined with the spread of resistance to the Prayer Book in Scotland, rendered it

¹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1633-4, 30, 280, 317-8, 447; Gardiner, vii, 315-6.

² Shaw, *Knights*, ii, 201.

³ *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1633-4, 318.

⁴ *Laud's Works*, 1857, vi, pt. ii, 528, 529-30. Letters of May 24 and July 5, 1638. The reference is to Laud's speech censuring Prynne, Bastwick and Burton in the Star Chamber.

⁵ Gardiner, viii, 218-9.

necessary for Charles to avoid at all costs a rupture with France: To this end he had persistently refused to allow Marie de Medici and her band of conspirators to visit England. When in the summer of 1638 it was rumoured that she meant to come, Boswell was ordered to remonstrate with her. ". . . the wind . . . is yet contrary. I think queen-mother is cause of it, for she is gone very suddenly from hence, without scarce taking leave, towards England, though Sir Will. Boswell did all he could to dissuade her. I think the wind loves our country, in keeping her as long as it can out of it."¹

Charles's failure either to crush his rebellious Scotch subjects or to satisfy their demands turned all men's eyes towards the northern kingdom. Boswell, who, like many of his countrymen, detected the agency of Jesuits in every mishap, now furnished Laud with an explanation of the conduct of the Scotch. "Be you assured," he wrote, "the Romish clergy have gulled the misled party of our English nation, and that under a puritanical dress. . . . For which purpose above sixty Romish clergymen are gone, within these two years, out of the monasteries of the French King's dominions, to preach up the Scotch covenant, and Mr. Knox's descriptions and rules within that kirk. . . . There are great preparations making ready against the liturgy and ceremonies of the Church of England and all evil contrivances . . . to make your grace and the episcopacy odious to all Reformed Protestants abroad."² Later despatches disclose the origin of this information. One Andreas at Habernfeld came to Boswell at the Hague and discovered to him the supposed confession of a Papist agent: "Hence he related to me the factions of the Jesuits, with which the whole earthly world was assaulted, and showed, that I might behold how through their poison Bohemia and Germany were devoured, and both of them maimed with an irreparable wound: that the same plague did creep through the realms of England and Scotland . . . the King is to be dispatched: for an Indian nut stuffed with most sharp poison is kept in the Society . . . wherein a poison was prepared for the King, after the example of his father."³

¹ Elizabeth to Roe, October 2, 1638.—*Elizabeth of Bohemia*, 339; Gardiner, viii, 379. Marie de Medici landed October 19, 1638.

² Boswell to Laud, June 12, 1640.—*Harleian Miscellany*, vii, 541-2.

³ Prynne's *Rome's Master-Piece*, 1643. Reprinted in *Laud's Works* vol. iv; the documents are also in *Rushworth* and in *Harl. Misc.*, vol. viii. These quotations are from pp. 469 and 484 of *Laud's Works*.

Habernfeld, in a memorandum to Laud, probably reveals the motives of the originators of this supposed plot. "For those who thrust themselves into this business, are such men, who mind no gain; but the very zeal of Christian charity suffers them not to conceal these things: yet both from his Majesty and the Lord Archbishop some small exemplar of gratitude will be expected."¹ The Resident, however, far from realising that he had discovered a mare's nest, declared himself "a most happy man, to have had my oblation in so pious a work,"² and even the Archbishop deemed the story worthy of most careful investigation.

The stern reality of the Puritan revolt soon distracted Boswell's attention from Habernfeld's plot. In October, 1641, Nicholas asked the King to sign "a warrant . . . for the delivery of your Majesties collar of Rubies to Sir Wm. Boswell for your Majesties use. . . . The Queene tould me yesterday that she would write to your Majestie to be pleased with your owne hand to give Sir Wm. Boswell order what to doe with the said collar, for it is apparent, that these merchaunts dare not have a hand in the engaging of it, but they say they will take order that, upon receipt of your Majesties warraunt, it shalbe safely delivered accordingly."³ This attempt to pawn the crown jewels failed, and in the following March Henrietta Maria, then at the Hague, requested her husband to send her "a letter of warrant for Boswell, by which you command him to give up the collar to me, that if I see we can get nothing for it here, I may send it to your uncle."⁴

In August, 1642, Strickland arrived at the Hague to protest to the States General against the help furnished by the Prince of Orange, Frederick Henry, to Charles. Boswell successfully remonstrated against his public reception, but the States "sent to the rogue in private, to know what his commission was."⁵ The Queen soon had reason to complain again of the States, since they gave orders that a vessel she had laden with arms for her husband should be searched. Upon this Boswell, "by the express command of her Majesty," addressed a memorandum "to demonstrate to the Lords States, that this injustice and affront, which she shall

¹ *Laud's Works*, iv, 474.

² *Ibid.*, 468.

³ Sir Edward Nicholas to Charles, October 15, 1641.—*Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. 1879, vol. iv, 106. The contractions have been expanded.

⁴ *Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria*, Mrs. Everett Green, 1857, 54.

⁵ *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 101-2.

receive by the arrest of this vessel, cannot pass for less than a violating of the league between the king and the States; the consequences whereof will be very dangerous, wherefore she hopes that they will not give such a just cause to the king and her of such a displeasure."¹

This high-spirited language was maintained in another protest against any intercourse between the Lords of the Estates General and Strickland, which would be "an act altogether unworthy and contrary to the alliance which he (*i.e.* Charles) hath with this State, repugnant to his right, power and authority royal, prejudicial to his honour, and not tending (as it is clearly seen) but to animate his subjects revolted, in their detestable taking up of arms against his Majesty, the true lord and father of his people. . . . He doth assure himself of the prudence, justice and discretion of your Lordships, that they will not at all permit that he should be so violenced by his own subjects; and that at least your Lordships . . . will not furnish them with occasions of persisting in their rebellion."²

The remainder of Boswell's residency was occupied mainly in an attempt to induce the Dutch to land an army in England in Charles's behalf. The Prince of Orange was eager to lend armed assistance, but was opposed by the States General. So long as the war against Spain lasted no intervention of importance could be contemplated, but the general European settlement of Westphalia seemed to open up brighter prospects. Boswell believed he had achieved his object.

In February 1648, he wrote to Charles, "I have perfected my negotiations with Prince William; and if the peace between Spain and the States be declared, which is confidently said here, he will certainly land a gallant army for your relief; and I hope you shall have the Irish army and this meet most successfully. Therefore, as you tender the good of you and yours, be constant to your grounds. If your Majesty make laws to strengthen their usurped power, or part with the Church lands, there can be no hope to restore you, and your prosperity will be for ever undone. All that I or any of your faithfulest servants can say to you is to beg constancy from you."³

¹ *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 164-5. Dated February 25, 1643.

² *Lords' Journals*, vi, 187. See *ibid*, 188, for a protest against the sale of goods, seized by Parliament "with a strong hand," in Holland.

³ An intercepted letter, quoted by Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, iv, 83-4.

To Boswell there was nothing incongruous in the union of Dutch Calvinists—led, it is true, by Charles's son-in-law—against whom Charles had plotted with Spain in 1631, with Irish Papists, whom the King was prepared to abandon to their bitterest enemies, to fight to restore a monarch whom neither party had the slightest reason to respect. Less than a year later the scales fell from Boswell's eyes, and on January 13-23, 1649, in the presence, and in the name, of Prince Charles, he begged the States to consider "in how great and imminent danger the life of the King . . . is." How Parliament had "declared a resolution or purpose to proceed with further violence against the person of the King, implying thoughts of deposing him and taking away his life. . . . How these unparallelled proceedings concern the interest and quiet of all Princes and States . . . how far the reformed religion may suffer by the scandals of their actions, who profess that religion, his Highness needs not press their Lordships to consider, but he contents himself with this sad relation of the state and distress the kingdom and crown of England at this time are in, assuring himself that their Lordships will proceed thereupon with that affection and vigour as is agreeable to their own justice and honour, and to the great estimation and regard they have always professed to such an ally."¹

With the execution of Charles I came the virtual end to Boswell's diplomatic career. During the year 1649 he presented two memorials to the Dutch against their reception of Strickland as deputy and resident "de la part (comme l'on pretend) du parlement d'Angleterre," and against their recognition of a usurped government "lequel apres avoir faict mourir le pere d'heureuse memoire tasche d'esteindre la race royale."²

It was the misfortune of Boswell to be the agent of a shifting diplomacy which earned the contempt of Europe. There is not the slightest reason to doubt that he heartily approved of that system of government which led to the tragedy at Whitehall. If, however, he revealed no trace of statesmanship, there is ample evidence that he was a gentleman and a scholar. Elizabeth of Bohemia styles him "a true honest man."³ Sir Charles Cavendish

¹ Abridged translation, *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1648-9, 345-6; Clarendon, *Great Rebellion*, ed. Macray, xi, 212-4. The Dutch did make representations to England on behalf of Charles I, but unavailingly.

² *Thurloe*, i, 112, 129.

³ *Elizabeth of Bohemia*, 315. Elizabeth to Roe, March 10-20, 1634

writes that "at Rotterdam, Sir William Boswell came to us, whom I found to be that which I supposed him formerly to be, a discreet, civil gentleman. I perceive he thinks Monsieur Descartes' last book to be full of fancy, though he esteems much of him."¹ Dr. John Worthington describes him as "a learned man, a great encourager of learning, zealous for the Church of England, faithful in the execution of his embassy, and highly valued by eminent persons." He "was pleased to attribute all his proficiency in learning whatever it be, to the goodness of" John Dee's preface to Euclid.² The same writer, on another occasion, describes him as "an excellent philosopher and mathematician,"³ and records that Boswell's letters professed "it was better then musick to him to hear the innumerable commendations of so near a friend"⁴ as Joseph Mede. Among the documents in the Record Office calendared in the *30th Report of the Deputy Keeper* is an "advertisement" concerning the discovery of Mede's papers. It is there summarised as follows: "That letters passed between him [Joseph Mede] and Sir William Boswell on the best way of studying divinity. Such letters as these, if they could be retrieved, deserve to be printed among the rest of Mede's works, now in the press, and might be singularly useful to all lovers of learning. Endeavours have been made to discover them; Lady Boswell said that on Sir William's death, His Majesty, being then at the Hague, sent for these papers, and they were delivered for the King's use. Whether Joseph Williamson, who succeeded Raymond, Sir W. Boswell's nephew, in the Paper Office, hath discovered any such, or whether Edward Oudart, Secretary to the late Princess Royal, or John Quin can give any light about these papers."⁵

Boswell also had some correspondence of Dr. John Dee in his possession, as appears by a letter from Dr. Thomas Browne (?) to

¹ Vaughan, *Protectorate of Cromwell*, ii, 361. Cavendish to Pell, Antwerp, March 20, 1645.

² *Diary and Correspondence of Dr. Worthington*, 59-60. Chetham Society, vol. xiii, 1847.

³ *The Works of Joseph Mede*, 1677. General Preface, by Worthington.

⁴ *Ibid.* The author's *Life*, p. vii.

⁵ *30th Report of the Deputy Keeper*, Appendix, 251. The then Deputy Keeper, Sir T. Hardy, made one of his rare blunders in identifying "Mr. Mede" with a certain Matthew Mead. The reference is of course to the edition of Joseph Mede's *Works*, ed. by Worthington, which appeared in 1677.

Elias Ashmole, dated 1672, which enclosed a letter from Sir William's widow endorsed "Receivd at White Hall 28 Jany: 1672 :

" Dear Mr. Oudart:

I am glad you are one this [? side] of the seas this troublesom times. I thank you for your letter. Doe mee the favour as lett thos two gentlemen [?Browne and Ashmole] you name in your letter know that att my husbands death his owne nephew Mr. William Raymond tooke charge of his studdy and discharged all. I did not bringe manuscriptes awaye nor did I mind any such thinge my greef was so great. If I had had anye such things you should have freely comanded them from

Your assured friend and servant

Margaret Boswell."

The letter to Ashmole proceeds :

" Mr. Raymond : : : resigned the paper office to Sir Joseph Williamson, which occasioned mee to aske Sir Joseph (29 Jan. 1672) whether he met with any of them in the paper office. He said noe. But he remembered to have seene some papers of Dr. Dee which passed betweene him and the Archbishop of Canterbury."¹

A letter of a later date from Browne to Ashmole supplies more definite information as to the papers Boswell had. John Dee's son, Dr. Arthur Dee, " was very inquisitive after any manuscripts of his fathers and desirous to print as many as hee could possibly obtaine and therefore understanding that Sir William Boswell, the English resident in Holland, had found out many of them which hee kept in a trunk in his house in Holland. To my knowledge hee sent divers letters unto Sir William humbly desiring him that hee would not lock them up from the world butt suffer him to print at least some thereof. Sir William answered some of his letters, acknowledging that hee had some of his fathers writing and works not yet published, that they were safe from being lost and that hee was to shoue them unto him butt he had intention to print some of them himself."²

¹ *Ashmole MSS.*, 1788, ff. 157, 158. Bodleian Library. No doubt Jan. 1672 should be 1673 N.S., when England was at war with Holland.

² *Ibid.*, ff. 151-2. Cf. Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, i, 211-12.

Nevertheless Boswell did not publish any of Dee's letters. His last years were, however, occupied with literary work of a similar character. In January 1648, he writes to Mr. Pell: "I pray, do you think Gilbert's *Physiologia MS.* (which I believe you have seen in the King's Library, at St. James's) would make anything to his or the renown of our nation, if printed in these wild times. I find he had the start of many of our modern madcaps, and so may challenge precedence." In 1651 appeared *De Mundo nostro sublunari Philosophia nova*, a posthumous work of William Gilbert, edited by Boswell.¹

Sir William Boswell died about the beginning of May, 1650.² He had married, probably in 1629, Margaret Boswell, or Bosvile, a relation of Sir Ralph Bosvile of Eynsford, Kent. Raymond writes with an especial animus against this lady, but either he is guilty of base ingratitude towards his benefactors or her character mellowed with advancing years. Her epitaph in the church at Sevenoaks gives a fairer picture. "To the memorie of the pious relict of Sir William Boswell, Resident at the Hague of xxi years for King Charles 1st, Lady Margeret Boswell, whose religious charitable spirrit not satisfyd to exert the Christian liberalitie in large and frequent bounties towards the comfort and support of indigents only during LXXXVII years she conversed amongst us mortals, but, very near entring the state eternal, projected a fund of munificence such as might continue to the posteritie of futur ages, which she happily effected by settling a farm, called Hallywell in Burnham in Essex, upon trustees and their heirs for ever to pay and dispose the rents to these uses. To Jesus Colledge in Cambridge two scholarships XII pounds per annum each, the scholars to be called Sir William Boswells scholars and to be chosen out of Sevenoke school, & for want of lads fitting here then from Tunbridge School, and upon every vacancy 3 pounds a piece to two of the Fellows of Jesus College to come over to prove the capacities of the lads. Also XII pounds yearley to a schoolmaster to instruct XV of the poorest children born in this parish in the catechism of the Church of England and to write and cast accompts, & XVIII pounds per annum more to be kept in publick stock to place them to [be] taught to handycraft trades or employments. The

¹ Vaughan's *Protectorate*, ii, 376-7, with note.

² His death is mentioned in a letter dated May 12. *Cal. Clar. S.P.*, ii, 58; *Mercurius Politicus*, June 13-20, 1650.

mortal part of the said Lady M. Boswell was deposited in a new vault and over it this monument, erected at the sole care and charge of Mrs. Elizabeth Green, formerly Worseley, executrix of her ladyships last will, to express her affectionat duty to her deceased relation. In the year mdcxcii.”¹

¹ *Rawl. MSS.*, D. 682, f. 56.

MEMOIRS OF THE FAMILY OF GUISE

INTRODUCTION

The Guises of Elmore can be traced back to the reign of Henry III, without the aid of those mythical genealogical trees which began to appear copiously in Elizabeth's reign and which are by no means unknown to-day.

In or about 1274 Anselme de Gyse received from John, son of Hubert de Burgh, the manor of Elmore, to be held by the payment of *unum clavum gariophili* at Easter. From that date Elmore has consistently remained in the possession of the Guises, though the inheritance passed to a younger branch of the family towards the end of the eighteenth century. The brief sketch of the early history of this family with which these Memoirs begin can only be supplemented to a slight degree by references in contemporary chronicles or other sources. The fragmentary character of these references, which may be found in Maclean's article in the Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society for 1878-9, precludes any attempt at a connected narrative: Although the Guises were, no doubt, of local importance before the seventeenth century, it is not until the Stuart period that they become distinguished from many other county families, and play a part sufficiently important to be noticed, albeit somewhat meagrely, in national and private records. In the following pages a sketch of three generations of the Guises has been essayed, the period covered comprising about a century, beginning towards the end of the reign of James I and ending at the commencement of that of George II.

Christopher Guise, the author of the first portion of these Memoirs, was born on Candlemas Day, 1617-8. Although the firstborn of William Guise and his wife Cecily, he was put out to nurse. After six months he was removed by his parents and spent the following years with them. At an early age he was entrusted to the care of his grandfather, Sir William Guise, at Elmore. Sir William "att this time was grown a greate folower and favourer of silent ministers and nonconformists, with abundance of zeale in him selfe and very profound hipocrisy in most of his" children by his second wife. The punishments inflicted "under the cloake of

care and pretences religiouse" upon Christopher, coupled with an attack of measles, so affected his health that his mother took him to live at Brockworth, where he in part recovered, though remaining a victim of "the ill habitt of melancoly" for the rest of his life.¹

At the age of nine or ten he went to Wotton-under-Edge, "being sojourned in an honest house where our dyett and all things else were of the playnest but holesome." The profit of being "on the playne ground without any advantageous rise of aliance or preheminece of extraction" was neutralised by his compliance with his seniors in their vices, learning "to drinke more then nature required."² On leaving Wotton he went up to Magdalen Hall, Oxford, where the scantiness of his income and his own lack of application prevented him from taking a degree. Nevertheless his account of undergraduate life acquires an additional value from the paucity of evidence relating to Oxford for the earlier portion of the seventeenth century.

After two years of dissipation Guise went down from Oxford, and spent the time which elapsed before he went to the Inns of Court in hunting, which he describes as "noe ill recreation for men of plentifull fortunes; itt is good exercise; it cleares the mind . . . butt itt is costly . . . and must be follow'd like a trade, and therefore seldome embraced by men of businesse, as taking up to much of theyr time." After this interval he went to London, and "was left by my father at the Middle Temple without freinds or governors, without a chamber out of comons, with noe cloaths butt what I brought out of the country, and to live upon £80 per annum." Apart from the desultory study of "poetry, some mathematickes, and a little history," he was content to enjoy the diversions of the capital, and, during his sojourn of two years, never went into Hall.

The years 1639-42 he spent in the country, suffering from fever and ague. Finding his grandfather's house at Elmore "a spatious prison," and being unable to make the grand tour abroad which was then becoming fashionable, he went on a masquerade through England. Since he travelled without any equipage, he was not noticed by the gentry, and as for the "meaner sort theyr very diversions generally were but exercises of theyr

¹ *Memoirs*, 12-13.

² *Ibid.*, 14.

crimes, and their dispositions very rugged if not smoothed by the shewes and hopes of advantage, to the only study of which their nesessitys presse them soe violently that a stranger is not look't at except as a prey."

The displeasure evinced by his father at this adventure and the critical condition of the family estates induced him to submit to the bonds of matrimony. After the settlement of 400*l.* upon him for "joyncture and present mayntenance," he married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Lawrence Washington, but she died seven weeks later.

The outbreak of the civil war found him in the country, which he was forced to quit by his unwillingness to join either party. After dwelling in London for nearly two years, during which he probably became the father of "one that I must in honor, or at least good nature, provide for," he returned to Gloucestershire to find that his father had been voted a delinquent and his estate sequestrated. William Guise had been found guilty of toasting the royalist cause, though under alleged compulsion. He had admitted being detained by an accident in the King's quarters near Monmouth, and having spent a night in Oxford to avoid payment of £200 to the royal exchequer. He had thus rendered himself liable to the penalty of sequestration under the ordinance of 27 March, 1643, and was condemned on technical grounds. Before the Committee for compounding at Goldsmith's Hall, Christopher Guise, acting as his father's representative, was able to prove that the witnesses to the episode of the royal toast were suspect as they had plundered Elmore without authority and had a personal interest in Guise's delinquency; that Monmouth was not a royal garrison at that date, while the visit to Oxford was solely to escape a contribution demanded by a privy seal. His loyalty to the Parliament was attested by the contributions, both in money and kind, he had given to the local forces and by his zealous efforts to arm his tenants at Elmore.¹ It was not, however, until 20 March, 1647-8, that the name of William Guise of Elmore appears in the "list of those voted delinquents by the County Committee (of Gloucestershire), but discharged by the Commissioners for sequestrations."² The acquisition of this discharge was Christopher Guise's "mayden negotiation in publike, and therefore I was soe proude and soe

¹ The evidence for this paragraph is contained in Appendix iv.

² *Cal. Com. Compounding*, 86, 512; *Cal. Com. for Advance of Money*, 51.

well satisfyd with my successe that I never accosted my father with a bill of charge."

His debts now amounting to more than 2,000*l.*, he hoped to improve his financial position by a second marriage. His advances to the daughter of Sir William Hicks were unsuccessful, inasmuch as he was "there blasted with the scandall of a licentious person and one prone to woemen"—not altogether unjustly. In 1647, however, after a year's courtship, he married Rachel Corsellis, the daughter of a wealthy Italian merchant domiciled in London. His residence in the metropolis was abruptly terminated by the execution of Charles I, when, after having, in accordance with the custom of the time, buried his money, he retired to Clayhall in Essex, the seat of his wife's aunt, Lady Campbell.

After the lapse of four years, during which no mention of Guise has been found, he emerged from his retreat to become one of the five members for Gloucestershire elected to the Parliament summoned in 1654. He was not one of the extremists excluded for refusing to swear fidelity to the principles enunciated in the Instrument of Government, nor was he conspicuous amongst those desirous of discussing "fundamentals." From the fact that his name appears with those of Lord Broghill and of Col. John Birch as a teller, it may be inferred that he belonged to the adherents of Cromwell.¹ For the rest he was named for several committees,² but no record of any speech of his is extant. His re-election to the Parliament of 1656 was prevented by an obscure quarrel with the local commissioners, who "prevayled with Desbrowe to come from Salisbury to hinder our election." Since Desbrowe, who, after his election for Gloucester, elected to sit for Somersetshire, was succeeded by James Stephens, the cause of dispute may have been a personal feud.

Meanwhile as a Justice of the Peace and as a Commissioner for Gloucestershire he assisted in the local administration. On 27 December, 1655, he signed, together with his colleagues, an acknowledgment of the "commands and orders" of the Protector "for securing the peace of the commonwealth."³ In September 1656, he was named as a Commissioner for the County of Gloucester and for the City to superintend the raising of money for the war with Spain by monthly assessments, and in March 1659-60, he

¹ *Commons' Journals*, vii, 379-80, 388.

² *e.g. ibid.*, 370, 373, 381.

³ *Thurlos*, iv, 354.

held a similar position with regard to "An Act for Settling the Militia."¹ Whether he took any decided part in promoting the Restoration has not transpired, but his grandson asserts that he lent a large sum of money to Charles II, which was only repaid by the grant of a baronetcy and the remission of the usual fees.

The last years of his life were spent in melancholy circumstances. His wife died on 10 March, 1658, after a long and painful illness. Although he was well enough to journey to France in 1663, he was seized, probably about this time, with "a dead palsy on one side, which much impaired his understanding." Consequently he fell an easy victim to the wiles of his old mistress, Mrs. Rouse, for whose acquaintance he was indebted to the agency of the notorious "lady" Bennet.² He settled upon her and his bastard son "many estates of great value," thereby entailing a vexatious law-suit upon his successor. It was after his seizure that he revised these Memoirs, which were probably written about 1662-1665. A casual reference to his tutor at Magdalen Hall as being "dissaffected to the present government" may be due to the tutor's recent removal from his position by clause x. of the Act of Uniformity. The abrupt termination of the Memoirs may have been caused by his illness, but no exact date can be assigned to their composition inasmuch as their original has vanished, together with the transcript made under his direction.

He died in 1670, leaving his only son John as his successor to the baronetcy. The first task of the guardians of this youth was the settlement of the law-suit with Mrs. Rouse, who consented to relinquish her claims to the Guise estates on receipt of £800 and annuities of £100 and £50 for herself and son respectively. Sir John, after a residence at Christ Church, Oxford, where he matriculated in 1669 at the age of fifteen,³ married Elizabeth, the daughter of John Grubham Howe, and the sister of the famous Jack Howe.

¹ *Acts and Ordinances*, ii, 1069, 1431. Among the Thurloe Papers in the Bodleian (*Rawl. MSS.*, A. 27, 293) is an unsigned paper "concerning unfit persons whose names are given in to be of the Militia for Glos." Among these names is that of Christopher Guise.

² "Lady" Bennet's character is described by Pepys, *Diary*, i, 246; viii, 34. Her reputation is said to have deterred Sir Henry Bennet from adopting the title of Lord Bennet on his elevation to the peerage 14 March, 1665 (as Baron Arlington). Anthony Wood, *Life and Times*, ii, 7. The same writer states that she died about the beginning of 1675, *ibid*, ii, 304. Cf. *Tatler*, no. 84, and *Spectator*, no. 266.

³ Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*.

After a visit to France, he returned to commence a political career which bears some resemblance to that of his better-known brother-in-law.

Together with Sir Ralph Dutton, he represented Gloucestershire in the Whig interest in the three Parliaments elected under the influence of the Protestant furore aroused by the discovery of what the House of Commons denounced as a "damnable and hellish Popish plot."

His belief in the vast superstructure of lies erected by Oates and his imitators upon a narrow basis of truth is shown by his employment to request the concurrence of the Lords in a resolution asserting their conviction of the reality of the conspiracy.¹ He was also a member of the committee to which was referred an Act for the better Discovery and more speedy Conviction of Popish Recusants.² He intervened in the great debate on 7 Jan., 1680-1, on the removal of evil councillors, apparently on the side of moderation,³ but the remaining references to him in the *Journals* relate to matters of very ephemeral interest. His opposition to the Court in these Parliaments was the cause of his being struck off the list of Justices of the Peace for Gloucestershire.⁴

The Tory reaction, which set in after the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament, and which was fanned into a white heat by the accession of James II, was responsible for his defeat at the election for Gloucestershire in 1685, the successful candidates being Charles Somerset, titular Marquess of Worcester, the heir of the Duke of Beaufort, and Sir Robert Atkyns, junior, with whom he is said to have fought a duel ten years earlier.⁵ He presented a petition against the return but obtained permission to withdraw it.⁶ His acrid Protestantism marked him out as a possible adherent of the Duke of Monmouth, and his citation before the Council in June⁷ was in all likelihood due to this suspicion. Although no further proceedings were undertaken against him, he deemed it prudent to withdraw to Holland with his family.

¹ *Commons' Journals*, ix, 574.

² *Ibid.*, 584.

³ *Beaufort MSS.*, 113-4.

⁴ *House of Lords MSS.*, 1678-1688, 180.

⁵ *Harley Papers*, i, 352.

⁶ *Commons' Journals*, ix, 721, 759.

⁷ *Beaufort MSS.*, 89.

There is no reason to believe the statement of his son that he and Lord Coote, created Earl of Bellomont 2 Nov., 1689, dissuaded the Prince of Orange from abandoning the projected expedition to England. He, however, landed with the Prince at Torbay, and at Exeter, on 12 November, was given a commission to raise a regiment of foot.¹ Boyer, in his *Life of William*, states that "Sir John Guise, with his new raised regiment was left to guard Exeter when the Prince of Orange marched out with his army." It is more probable that he joined Shrewsbury in securing Bristol, thence marching to Gloucester.² A quarrel with his lieu.-colonel, John Foulke, led him to resign his commission, whereupon the King drily informed Halifax that "hee (*i.e.* Guise) would by that prevent him from taking it away, which hee was resolved to do."³ According to another account, "Sir John sent to the King to desire leave to give up his commission, who said, with all his heart. Sir John sent his thanks, it being the first request that was ever granted him."⁴

Sir John Guise's son asserts that his father received nothing for his services at the Revolution beyond "some few civill looks and wild court promises," but this is contradicted in the following pages of the Memoirs. Sir John had the audacity to ask for the grant of all the woods in the Forest of Dean, "which were not timber." He was, however, obliged to content himself with the governorship of Portsmouth,⁵ to which he was appointed after the disgrace of the Duke of Grafton early in 1689, the receipt of £7,000 from the revenues derived from the Forest of Dean, and the repayment of the expenses he incurred in 1688.⁶ Nevertheless his disappointed ambition did not lead him to attempt to make his peace with James II, and, during the crisis of 1692, his proposals for the muster of both horse and foot to defeat the designs of Gloucestershire Jacobites were welcomed by the principal Secretary of State.⁷ That he had at this time attained a public position of more than local importance is shewn by the invitation to his wife⁸ to be present

¹ Dalton, *English Army Lists*, ii, 244-5.

² *Luttrell*, i, 482; *Beaufort MSS.*, 92-3; *Montagu House MSS.*, vol. ii, pt. i, 35.

³ Miss Foxcroft, *Life of Halifax*, ii, 232; *Luttrell*, i, 580.

⁴ *Harley Papers*, i, 440.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i, 441.

⁶ *House of Lords MSS.*, 1690-1, 427.

⁷ Nottingham to Guise, 29 April, 1692. *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1691-2, 260-1.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 264.

at the birth of James's daughter at St. Germain's, and by his prominence in Parliament—apart from his mayoralty of Gloucester in 1690.

Meanwhile he had been, together with his old colleague Sir Ralph Dutton, elected member for Gloucestershire in the Convention Parliament, of which he became one of the most frequent speakers. Notes of some thirty of his speeches were jotted down by Anchtell Grey, and incorporated in the *Parliamentary History*.¹ From them his political views can be ascertained with a certainty impossible in the case either of his father or his son. His speech on the question whether those revenues granted to James for life *ipso facto* belonged to William and Mary on their accession, or whether the term for which they were given had expired with James's abdication, clearly defined his position. The theory enunciated by Guise—that what is given to a king “is not as he is king but for support of the nation, to take care of it. If so given, then 'tis not the king's going away who was to receive it, 'tis not come to be nothing, but is fallen upon the lords and commons” —must have sounded revolutionary to a generation accustomed to the prodigality of Charles II to his “numerous progeny,” and to those tender ladies “whose charms were the boast, and whose vices were the disgrace of three nations.” In all the debates on the proposed exceptions to the Bill of Indemnity he adopted the Whig attitude, wishing to exclude from office all concerned in the repressive measures of the last two reigns. Discussing James's Ecclesiastical Commission Guise declared “that whoever does own such a commission is never fit to serve the nation in any public capacity. I know not their names, but begin first with the privy councillors, and their actions; that if any be employed now, to take care they shall never be for the future.” Occasionally he affected sarcasm. “This lord (Earl of Huntingdon) was once a great patriot. He acted in the three last Ecclesiastical Commissions. He did go through Devonshire to raise the country

¹ The references in *Parl. Hist.*, vol. v, I have noticed are: 141, 168, 232, 285, 299, 341, 345, 354, 356, 367, 374, 375, 377, 381, 410, 412, 416-7, 418-9, 422, 430, 435, 437, 447, 450, 464, 470, 474, 476, 506, 518, 521, 525, 528-9, 535. The list of speeches given by Cobbett is very defective. In the account of the debates in the Commons on 28-29 January in the *Hardwicke State Papers* (vol. ii, 401-425) Guise is credited with saying: “When fill up vacancy, the same time present a declaration. Appoint a committee, and at the same time proceed to nominate.” He was, no doubt, advocating the drafting of such a declaration as was incorporated into the Bill of Rights.

against this king, and has done no service since : surely you will not exempt him for that."

Another subject on which Guise spoke frequently was the delay in the reconquest of Ireland, where little progress was made in 1689. The badness of the commissary department presided over by Shales led to an address for his removal, upon which Guise roundly denounced any man who failed to promote Shales's disgrace as "an enemy to the kingdom." On 13 July he acquainted the House with the King's reply to an address for leave to inspect the Council-Books, which was that his Majesty would consider of it. Whereupon it was resolved "That those persons who have been the occasion of delaying sending Relief to Ireland, and those persons that advise the King to defer the giving leave for some persons to inspect the Council-Books, &c. are enemies to the King and kingdom." Three weeks later Guise returned to the charge with a motion demanding the dismissal from the royal councils of Halifax, who was supposed to be the minister especially concerned with Irish affairs.¹ Again on 30 Nov., during the debate on the King's message sanctioning a commission to be sent to Ireland, Guise strongly urged the Commons to nominate some of themselves: "You say you are betrayed; will you not remedy it? I hope that being a member of this house does not make a man so profligate that he may not accept. If you will not take it into your hands to support yourselves, it looks like giving up the cause."

Two other speeches deserve mention. In the former he lays stress upon the importance of making the best use of grants of money "said to be the nerves of war": in the latter the virulence of his Whiggism is shown by his utterance during the discussion of Sir Robert Sawyer's prosecution of Sir Thomas Armstrong in 1684—"You ought to do justice to yourselves, that a man, guilty of murder, should not sit with you: let it be heard at the bar."

The impossibility of passing a Bill of Indemnity through a House containing Whigs animated by rancour such as this impelled William to dissolve his first Parliament early in 1690. The result of the election was to convert a considerable Whig majority into a small Tory majority, but the representation of Gloucestershire underwent no change. Although it is obvious from the large number of references to Guise in the *Journals* that he was, during the earlier Sessions, as active a member of the

¹ *Clarendon Letters* (1763), vol. ii, 199.

Commons as formerly, fewer speeches of his have been preserved, and these are of less value as an index to his opinions than those delivered in the Convention Parliament.¹

One of the first questions to arise in the new Parliament was whether the revenue should be granted to the King and Queen for life or only for a term of years. An attempt was made by ministers to secure the former, but it was eventually resolved that the Customs should be granted for four years. Guise spoke in favour of this arrangement: ". . . . I would not dispose of the Revenue farther than becomes a prudent man, who may answer it to his country. 'Tis said, 'Put no distrust on the King'; but I would not have all ill management laid on the king, which ought to be laid on the ministers. . . . I think it ought not to reflect on any particular prince, when others have the keeping of his ears: I would have a Fund of Credit for 4 years, and no longer."

In another speech he revealed that he shared that distrust of the secret counsels of the Privy Council which afterwards inspired a well-known, though happily abortive, clause of the Act of Settlement. "I'll tell you from whence this Grievance does proceed; that people do not own the counsels they have given; the visible part of the privy council. Is any about the king that had a hand in the Charters? If by that way our misfortunes have come, it ought to be rectified." A year later he ably combated the Tory theory that English martial efforts ought to be limited to the sea. "I suppose we are to defend ourselves by sea. You have two thirds of the Fleet, and the Dutch one third. If the mouths of their rivers be taken away, their strength is taken away; and how can they supply you? If you did so distress the French last year, much more now, as you can draw your men out of Ireland. . . . When I voted a war against France, I was in earnest, and I have not abated since this war. . . . It is not only honourable, but safe, for you to continue your number of men."

On other points he showed less wisdom. He was at one with the more extreme Whigs in objecting to William's superintending in person the campaign in Ireland in 1690, and in promoting an Abjuration Bill in the same session. He apparently also joined the noisy band of libellers who accused Marlborough of diverting public money into private channels, inasmuch as that nobleman

¹ *Parl. Hist.*, v, 557, 559-60, 563, 570, 571, 597, 599, 614, 619, 630, 634, 639, 641, 642, 643, 660-1, 673, 705, 753, 809, 841.

complained to William that he had been "extremely fretted" at an accusation brought against him by Guise, "touching 30,000*l.* I left in Holland."¹ The accusation was probably made after Guise had been named by the Commons to be one of nine "Commissioners for taking the Accompts of the publick Monies."² His popularity is also proved by his selection as the chairman of the committee of the whole House to consider the petitions regarding the East India Trade.³

One of his last recorded utterances was to defend himself against a charge, freely levied against members, of accepting money for secret service. "I am charged with 400*l.* for secret service (reading the privy seal) in consideration of my service beyond sea, and the charge of our expedition, to the hazard of my person, &c. I thank the gentlemen for putting me down. This is not very much for the service I have done. As for 'the forest of Deane &c.' it is but part of what the king promised me." A passage in a pamphlet called *Price of the Abdication* seems to refer to this defence: "and yet this doughty knight (Sir J. Guise) affirmed, that at Exeter, in recompence of his service, in going to fetch, and accompany the prince hither, to the hazard of his life and fortune, he had promised him the . . . Underwood of the forest of Dean: This sort of claim of merit shews that the price of the Abdication is never to be discharged till the people . . . shall take some effectual course to secure their purses, which they ought more to endeavour than against highwaymen."⁴

It would seem that Guise had no real ground for complaining of the ingratitude of William. He had, moreover, another, and a less creditable, source of income. In 1692 the Lords of the Treasury had authorised certain persons at their own expense to "discover and make out their Majestys' title to recover lands, tenements and sums of money . . . given to superstitious uses"—that is, to the maintenance of Jesuit or Benedictine foundations. For these services they were to receive a third part of the value of the property thus accruing to the Crown. This third part was to be divided into three equal shares, one of which was to belong jointly to Sir John Guise and his brother-in-law, Sir Scrope Howe. The discovery of the so-called Lancashire plot pointed to a profitable

¹ Marlborough to William, 17 June, 1690. *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1690-1, 34.

² *Commons' Journals*, x, 422 (20 May, 1690).

³ *Ibid.*, 542 *et seq.* (29 October, 1691).

⁴ *Parl. Hist.*, v, 809-10.

field for the enterprise of these speculators, and the agency of the infamous Taafe was secured by the promise that, if the estates of the Lancashire Catholic-Jacobites were forfeited to the Crown, he "should have advantage by it."¹ The inquiry into the Lancashire prosecutions in Parliament in the autumn of 1694 brought these facts to light, but since, as Macaulay states, the only account of the debates which ensued is to be found in the despatches of L'Hermitage, no report of Guise's defence is available. On the whole the comment of Robert Harley is justified: "The affair in Lancashire is scandalously vile. Sir J. Guise and Sir S. How are under censure for the management."²

Sir John Guise lived long enough to be re-elected in 1695 as M.P. for Gloucestershire, but died of small-pox³ on 19 November. In these Memoirs it is said that "He of all things loved popularity and had an excellent way of managing the common people to obtain it : . . . he was never so acceptable either to his equals or superiors as to those of less rank than himself." It is evident that he shared with the majority of his party a violent antipathy to those Tories who were in part responsible for the execution of Whig "martyrs," and for the confiscation of charters in the decade previous to the Revolution, but his views on the vital importance of an English army to secure the balance of power on the continent show that he possessed a clearer political vision than many of the minor "Parliament-men" of his generation. His chief foible was an exaggerated opinion of the value of his services to William in 1688, which he thought ill-requited:

Sir John Guise, third baronet, who succeeded his father, had, though still a minor, already attempted to enter Parliament. Together with Henry Ireton, the son of Cromwell's son-in-law, he sought the suffrages of the inhabitants of Cirencester at the general election of 1695, but the popularity or, as Ireton's petition alleged,⁴ the "threats and promises" of Jack and Richard Howe proved too strong. The by-election caused by his father's death offered him another opportunity of entering the legislature, but he was again defeated. The contest affords a good example of electioneering skill as practised towards the end of the seventeenth

¹ *Jacobite Trials at Manchester* (Chetham Soc., vol. 28), p. 1; *Kenyon MSS.*, 328, 339; *House of Lords MSS.*, n.s. i, 443.

² *Harley Papers*, i, 559.

³ *Luttrell*, iii, 553; but *cf. infra*, 137.

⁴ *Commons' Journals*, xi, 353.

century. The sheriff, a strong partisan of Thomas Stephens, the Whig candidate—Guise being supported by the Tory interest—“continued the Poll, very irregularly, by Adjournments; and refused several Freeholders that offered to poll for the Petitioner; and, finding that the Petitioner had the majority after four Days Polling, and that several Hundreds more offered to poll for the Petitioner, and none appearing to poll for Mr Stevens, the said Sheriff adjourned the Poll near 20 miles distant from the Place where he began to poll, and afterwards Ten Miles distant from thence; and declared the said Mr Stevens duly elected; though the Sheriff did not appear at the last Place of Adjournment.” A motion was made in the Commons that the Committee of Privileges and Elections should consider this petition on a fixed day, but was defeated by 160 to 119, and no report was ever made.¹ The account in these Memoirs of the election is more circumstantial, but the length of time of the adjournments is certainly exaggerated, since the Speaker did not issue the writ until 25 November at the earliest, and the return is dated 11 December.

Guise's next attempt to enter Parliament was in 1702, when he opposed his uncle, Jack Howe. On this occasion the representation of Gloucestershire was divided: Maynard Colchester, a Whig, and Jack Howe, a Tory, being returned. Guise petitioned the House against the return of the latter, but “found the treatment all those will meet with who petition against a man better liked than themselves; nay, so far was that parliament from doing me justice that without hearing my cause, Simon Harcourt : . . put the question that Mr John How was duly elected, and it was carried; and what makes the proceeding still the more scandalous is that this was not done in a drunken committee after dinner, but in the morning at the barr of the House and in the face of the sun.”²

The bitterness existing between Guise and Howe is further illustrated by a letter from Harcourt to Robert Harley. “This morning our Assizes began: there was a very full appearance of the Grand Jury of the best quality in the country. Amongst others Sir John Guise and Jack Howe were returned and appeared. The Grand Jury being called over and Sir John Guise called as foreman, they desired liberty to choose their own foreman, which the Judge permitted them in open Court to do; and seventeen voted for Mr Howe, and four for Sir John. Whereupon Mr Howe was sworn as their foreman.”³

¹ *Commons' Journals*, xi, 381-2.

² The figures were Colchester 2536, Guise 2394, Howe 2376. *Ex. inform.* Rev. A. B. Beaven.

³ *Harley Papers*, ii, 36.

Guise's ambition to become a member of the legislature was at length gratified in 1705, when he was elected, after a strenuous contest, Knight of the Shire for Gloucester. Although he retained his seat for five years, an almost unbroken silence hangs over his Parliamentary career. He was a teller in two unimportant divisions in the Parliament which accomplished the Union with Scotland¹: his lack of sympathy with the Whigs, whose "ambitious and emulous spirit . . . makes them bad subjects and worse rulers," led him to sever his connexion with that party, and a correspondent (Feb., 1708-9) notes that "Sir John G[ui]se has expressed a dissatisfaction and divided against his friends."² He was also member for Marlow from 1722-1727, but seems to have remained a silent voter.

The last pages of his Memoirs contain a long account of his vain attempts to effect a reconciliation between George I and the Prince and Princess of Wales. Although no confirmation of Guise's intervention has been found, his narrative is not inherently false, and, if allowance is made for his habitual exaggeration, may be considered as having some solid basis. A coarse ballad entitled "Duke upon Duke"³ refers to a quarrel between "John duke of Guise" and "Nic of Lancastere" (Nicholas, Lord Lechmere) which took place in 1719.

In an Appendix to this volume are printed:

- (i) A letter of Jack Howe's.
- (ii) Two letters from Henry Ireton⁴ and one from William Taylor, an agent of Lord Wharton, the most skilful electioneer

¹ *Commons' Journals*, xv, 179, 405.

² *Harley Papers*, ii, 519. Guise was a Tory in 1722.

³ Printed separately, and in *The Hive, A Collection of the Most Celebrated Songs*, vol. i, 109-115 (3rd ed.; it is also in the earlier editions). Pope, writing (3 October, 1721) from Rendcombe to Blount, brother-in-law to Guise, mentions this ballad: ". . . . I am well pleased to date this from a place so well known to Mrs. Blount, where I write as if I were dictated to by her ancestors, whose faces are all upon me. I fear none so much as Sir Christopher Guise, who, being in his shirt, seems as ready to combat me, as her own Sir John was to demolish Duke Lancaster" (*i.e.* Lechmere). *Pope's Works*, ed. Elwin and Courthope, vol. vi, 378-9.

⁴ Henry Ireton was the only son of Lieut.-General Henry Ireton by Bridget, daughter of Oliver Cromwell. He married Katherine, daughter of Henry Powle, Speaker of the Convention Parliament, and M.P. for Cirencester, 1671-1681. In June, 1691, Ireton was appointed Gentleman of the Horse to William III, and was promoted 20 January, 1694, to be Colonel of the Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards. He died 14 December, 1711, aged 59.

of his generation, on the election at Cirencester in 1695 : Ireton's letters also describe the capitulation of Namur, of which he was an eye-witness.

- (iii) A genealogy showing the relationship between the families of Guise and of Howe.
- (iv) Extracts from Bevir MS., illustrating the history of the Guises during the years 1642-48.

MEMOIRS
OF THE
FAMILY OF GUISE
OF ELMORE, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

WRITTEN BY SIR CHRISTOPHER GUISE AND SIR JOHN
GUISE, BARTS.¹

The world is divided by geographers into foure parts, Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, whereof the three former are one continent and contiguous, being lesse remote then the last, which is as they reverse on the globe.

Europe is for the most part Christian, and hath in civility and knowlege, att least in our opinions who are inhabitants thereof, outstript her sister Asia where we are taught that man was first plant'd. I leave the description of them all to geographers.

In Europe, the Roman Empire being mouldred away by the want of good government, mistaking theyr interests and deserting the love of the publike, the Germane Emperor as theyr descendent claymetth superiority—I say deserting the love of the publike: for after the Romans with the acquests of Greece had induced theyr language, manners, theyr speculative learning also grew into request, by which contemplative men came att last to know and finde a neerer way to theyr owne happynesse then through the publike interest, and soe studiing theyr owne private interests the care of the publike was left and abandoned, religion recon'd as a stale to take the vulgar and secrettly despised and derided as vayne and false, and soe by consequence all principles of honor

[There were a few notes in the transcription from which these Memoirs have been printed. They are indicated by the use of inverted commas and the words *Original note*.]

¹ “The portion which is the composition of Sir Christopher Guise is a copy, corrected and altered, perhaps from dictation. In one or two instances a few words are added in a tremulous and indistinct hand, which may be his after he had been attacked by paralysis.”—(*Original note*.)

and honesty spetiously pretended butt never practised, which often happens in luxuriant ages and is an infallible argument of a succeeding ruine or turne in the state, wherby men accomodate the present nessesitys att hazard or certayne losse of the future, and act like those who sell a fee simple to buy an estate for life—For when tis once beleevved that religion is butt a politike institution, and that a man may and oft doth loose his private interests by involving them in the publike, and a maxime is theron groundd that one is to be left when the other comes, or seemes to come, to competition, hereby the very rootes of honor and integrity are cutt up, noe wonder if noe man be honest or just further then consists with his private interests, noe man valiant or trusty further then profit guides him, noe man temperate or indeed vertuouse.

Next to the Germane Emperor, the kings of France chalenge the next place, although of late disputed wth them by the kings of Castile since the uniting of all Spayne and also theyr acquisition of the Indyes. The next place wee chalenge, and then Poland, Swede, Denmarke, Russia &c, over all which the pope of Rome formerly chalenged and had a spirituall jurisdiction, butt extending the same to far and to the prejudice of some, the same being better inquired into, twas found neyther *jure divino* nor indeed well suiting with governement, and therefore shak't of by many. But I must confine my selfe to the islande of Greate Brittain, which with Irelande makes one and that none of the least monarchyes in Europe, eyther for riches, power, or extent.

Itt was antiently divided betweene diverse petty kings, since the Romans glory shone also on this corner of the earth; and after England was united under one prince, Scotland under another, and Wales under a third; butt Wales being conquered and reduced to a province, and England being by match united with Scotland, the whole island is become as one body politique, to which also Ireland hath bine long since united, wth the interjacent islands: England, with Wales, is divided into 52 countyes, the proportion which each of them beares to other is very well knowne by the acts for contribution and taxes which are in this age but to frequent; and thither I shall refer you to be informed of the valewes, only note that the county of Gloucester to the remayning 51 beares the proportion of ¹or neere thereabouts.

The islande is governed by lawes, called theyr comon law or *lex terra* groundd on reason and back't by antiquity, but differing

¹ Blank in MS.

much from the civill lawes used in all other parts of Christendome ; for justice is administer'd to us by our neybour, all men being in theyr turnes judges of matter of fact and only instructed by the learned in the law in difficult cases, from which direction neverthesse a jury doth oft deflect and trust to theyr oune sense, soe that a good name amongst one's neybour is of more consequence here then in other parts.

Besides the judges of eyther bench who sitt to direct the triall of all cases concerning eyther distributive or commutative justice, and besides the Chauncelors, whose power and place is to supersede the extreame and nocent rigour of the common law in some cases, there are also ministers apoynted in each county to heare, determine and provide for emergent acidents more properly apertayning to the courts of distributive justice, in which commissions these ministers also are named as assistants ; yet sometimes also they doe act alone in thinges of lesser consequence, which nott being of a valewable consideration scarce deserve the paynes, and seldome arive att the knowledge of superior courts for want of prosecution. These are cal'd justices of the peace ; under whome agayne are constables in each parish, in whose power and charge itt is to repress many petty enormityes and stop suddayne emotions whose nature admit not the delayses of or absence from superior ministers.

There is also a publike minister of state who is the executioner of all legall and royall processes, called the Sheriffe, who also hath his baylifes in each hundred and quarter of the county ; and that theyr power and the precincts thereof may be knowne, the county is divided into divisions, and those agayne into hundreds, and the hundreds in parishes. And accordingly, this county of Gloucester is divided into foure divisions : there was also a fifth, a petty county, taken out of itt and called the county of the Citty, being in the center of all the rest, having to the northward of itt Kiffsgate division, to the eastward the Seven Hundreds, to the southward Barkly division, and to the westward, beyond the river Seaverne, the Forest division. For the bounds of each I refer you to Mr Speed¹ and Mr Cambden's² mapps.

Butt as though this were nott enough, Henry the 8 made them a citty. And soe, having obtayned the honor and the power, they did execute both a litle severly if nott unjustly. Gloucester hath

¹ John Speed, author of *History of Great Britain from Julius Cæsar to King James*, 1611.

² William Camden.

apertayning to itt the Barton farme, and diverse other things of publike revenue, given by the Lady Cooke and others, to the yearly valewe of some £1,400 per an. They have a river sufficiently navigable to enrich themselves by trade; butt they have neglected those advantages, depending to much on theyr powers on the incounty and leaviing monyes there unduly, which, although to litle to enrich them, is yet enough to make them odious, and by consequence as much as may be hindred and depressed in theyr trades and subsistence by those of the county who are sufferers herein.

These two hundreds have in them some four and thirty parishes; itt is a rich vale and contaynes some 30 miles in compasse. There are also some hamletts adjacent to the citty, but noe part thereof, as Longford, Twigworth, Kingshome, Barton Streete, Wooton, Lanthony, Woolstrop. And the Colledge also wth itt precincts, being formerly the residence of the Abotts of St Peters, is in speciall words excepted out of theyr charter soe far as itt was exempt in the time of the said Abotts, which makes mee understand itt for part of the countye of Gloucester still.

The country is of three sorts of soyle; through the midst from north to southwest runs the river Seaverne, and on the easterne bankes thereof a rich deepe vale of eight or ten miles over, in some more, in some lesse, profitable for the husbandman; beyond which to the eastward is a ledge of hills which alter the soyle to an open country called Cottswoold, a place famouse as Arcadia for sheepe and plesant for all feild sports.¹ The westerne side of the river is the forest of Deane, abounding wth exelent timber and rich mines of iron, coale, milstones &c.

Kiffesgate or the northerne division contaynes within itt a very pleasant and fruitfull part of the vale of Gloucester; 'tis watered on the northerne side by the River Avon, made famouse by Mr Sandis his enterprise of making that river navigable up to Strettford, a very vast and chargeable undertaking wherein he buried, as I have heard his father Sir William Sandis say, about some twenty five or thirty thousande pounds, together wth his oune happynesse

¹ See *Annalia Dubrensis upon the Yerely Celebration of Mr. Robert Dover's Olimpick Games upon Cottswoold Hills*. Written by 33 persons, 1636 (reprinted privately at Manchester, 1877). Thomas Randolph's *Eclogue on the noble assemblies revived on Cottswoold Hills by Master Robert Dover* (in *Poetical and Dramatic Works*, ed. Hazlitt, 1875, vol. ii), and Madden's *The Diary of Master William Silence*.

and fortunes, and left his freinds also much engaged, a good warning to all men how they undertake to force nature too much, noe such workes being permanent, and most, as this prove[d], distructive to the undertakers, of whome and his greate labour time hath swallowed almost all but the name already.

Avon, in his voyage to Seaverne, kisseth the walls of Tewkesbury, a pretty markt town, as are also in this division Cambden, Cheltenham, and Winchcombe, both eminent planters of the Indian drug Tobacco, and now impoverish't by the restraynt.¹

Neere Winchcombe (formerly an Abbey) is the seate of the Lords Chandos, Sudeley, and another branch of the same tree, Todington, the seate of the Tracyses, both of eminent quality in those parts. There are also the seates of many other gentlemen, as are Slaughter of Slaughter, Ayleworth, Cox, Stratford, Higgeford.

The cheife families in the Incounty or there interested by estate are, Mr Cooke of Hineham, my Lord Scudamore for Lanthony, Mr Ligons att Upton, Mr Wood at Brookthorp, Mr Ri. Atkins att Tuffleigh, Mr Selwin att Matson, Mr Robert Atkins att Kempsteede, Mr Brett att Hatherly, Mr Hinson and Mr Lawrence att Shurdington, Sir William Hicks att Wittcombe, Mr Rauleigh att Churchdowne, Mr Compton att Hartpury, Mr Caple att Barnewoode, and Mr Kenn att Woolstrobe, and lastly our family att Elmore, antiently seated and since also enjoying Brockworth, by grant of Henry the 8th with Barrington, in exchange for Asply Gise and Wigginton, as also Leadons Court and Abloades Court, in the parish of Sandherst, the first purchased by Sir Will. Gise, the last by my father and given to my brother Mr Jo. Gise.

Elmore is scituate upon the bancke of the river Seaverne, some three miles below Gloucester, upon a pleasant hill of gravell, butt otherwise an ill ayre in the winter and springe, as being surrounded with meadows overflowen, which begining to dry in March leave a

¹ The plantation of tobacco in England was prohibited during the Commonwealth by an Act of 1 April, 1652, which was put into execution by an Ordinance of 11 April, 1654 (*Acts and Ordinances*, ii, 580, 1137). The attempt of Commissioners to destroy the tobacco grown at Winchcombe led to a riot, which was appeased by an order from the Council that the Commissioners "be authorised to suspend execution of the Act as to the crop now growing at or near Winchcombe till further order" (*Dom. S.P.*, 1654, 211, 212, 230; *ibid.*, 1655, 100; *Mercurius Politicus*, vol. v, 3597).

very ill disposition in the ayre,¹ butt itt was formerly a lodge and parke of deare, and by the vicinity of the river and rich soyle is a delightfull place in that season of buckhunting and more proper for that use then any other.

Brockworth was formerly the land of the Lords Chandos, and by them given peace meale to the Priors of Lanthonye neere Gloucester. Att the dissolution, the manors of Wiggington with Aspley Gise, two of our antient seats in Bedfordshire, were exchanged with the kinge for Brockworth and Barrington, now belonging to the Brays in Oxfordshire. And this is, I suppose, by the meanes of Sir Anthony Kingston,² a greate man in those times and an earnest undertaker in the parl[ia]ment] to bring the Church lands into the king's coffers. I had forgotten his name in the Forrest division; and indeed both name and family are worne out there and elsewhere, I will not say for this.

Butt Elmore is the antient seate, by much the better house; the lesser mannor, butt the richer inhabitants and more civilized, as driving a constant trade to sea, whereby they are better enabled to deale with the landlord.

Itt was formerly the land of Hugh de Burghe, Earl of Kent, and Lord Cheife Justice of Englande in the time of Kinge Henry 3, a man persecuted for his service to the prince, who left itt to his sonne John de Burgo, which John de Burgo gave the same unto Ancelme Gise,³ testify'd by his charter very fayre written with large a seale⁴ (*sic*), butt without date, as the manner then was, the same and the counterpart thereof remayning now in my keeping, as by the Calendar of writings in my closet doth appeare.

Elmore is a fitt place for fish ponds, for pleasure boates, and intertaynments on the water, for foule, for fruite, besides fewell and all forreine comodities suplyed by the river, and is very well and cheape accomodated wth all things for house keepinge; itt is also a good retreat in times of civill warr, as having the river on thre sides, the city of Gloucester as a screene before itt, and

¹ "This objection is now effectually removed by the large drains and sluices, since which it is become as healthy as pleasant."—(*Original note to MS. in a later hand.*)

² See article in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

³ The early history of Elmore and of the Guises is the subject of an excellent article by the late Sir John Maclean in *Trans. of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 1878-9, pt. i, 49-78. There is also an elaborate genealogical table.

⁴ Reproduced by Maclean, *ibid*, 50-51.

the wayes to itt through an inclosed country and hardly passable for partyes exsept in sommer. Itt hath continewed in the possession of our family about 400 yeares, namely from the time of Henry 3 : then possesd by Ancelme Gise,¹ whose office in Edward I. time in the Gloucestershire booke, in the Tower of London, I have seene.²

I shall here say a word of his pedigree, drawne from papers and evidences in mine owne custody, without going to the Heralds Office. Tis beleevd wee were originally French, and an escutition is given us by the Welsh heralds as the antient coate of the house, which is : gules, a cheveron ermine, and under itt is written : Sir Philip Guise, Lord of Castle Guise (now called Wiston Castle neere Hartford West in Pembrokeshire) who was second brother to the Duke of Guise, and came in with the Conqueror ; soe sayes my escotition, the truth of which I will nott discusse, butt follow more certayne lights of my owne evidence, from the sayd Ancelme, Lord of Elmore.

Anno 4 of Edward the I, John Gise, the sonne of Ancelme, was lord of Elmore, as appears by deed graunting land in Elmore to one Berrew. Also by another deed, 2 of Edward 2, John Gise graunts and confirmes 6 acres more of land in Elmore to one Berrew.

I suppose there were two John Gises³ successively, for 13 of Edward the 3 is the date of a quit clayme from John Gise to one Dabetot. Now from the 4 of Edward I to the 13 of Edward 3 is 66 yeares, and, alow him then a man, is 87 yeares : to much for one John Gise : in probability admitt then a second John.

His sonne was Ancelme Gise, 47 Edward 3. His deed also I have with one Turrington, and others concerning the mannor of Aspley Gise, neere Ampthill in Bedfordshire, which also was then, and I know not how long before, apertayning to our family. Those that are curiouse of antiquities may perhaps find more in the records of that County in the Tower.⁴

11 of Richard 2, the sayd Anselme Gise graunts tenements in his mannor of Daglingworth to Oulpen and others. 14 Richard 2 Alicia, the widdow of Ancelme Gise, the sonne of Sir John Gise, knt., graunts land in Elmore to her sonne Ancelme. Note here two Ancelmes.

¹ Died 7 February, 1294-5, *Trans. of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society*, 1878-9, pt. i, 52.

² This Inquisition *post mortem*, 20th Edward I, is quoted in some detail, *ibid.*, 53-4.

³ There were two John Guises.

⁴ *i.e.* the repository of early Chancery records in the Tower of London.

8 Henry 4 Ancelme Gise¹ gives his letter of attorney to one Corse, to putt one Biseley and his wife Katerine, sister of the said Ancelme, in to possession of Daglingworth, given her, it may be, in marriage.

His sonne was Sir Regnald Gise, whose quit clayme to Biseley of the mannor of Daglingworth is also there extant, and in itt he calls himselfe the sonne of Ancelme Gise, but he exepts his wood called Overley: this in the 7 yeare of Henry 5.

His sonne John Gise, I suppose, was bred to the law; for I finde, 39 of Henry 6, a graunt from one Nevill to make this John Gise steward of his mannors of Bradsted and Stinchcombe. His sonne was Sir John Gise,² mentioned in the chronicles of Henry the 7th for a soldier, and lies buried in the church at Apsley, under a fayre marble with labells of brasse, wheron his name and the time of his death are mentioned, which was about the 20th yeare of Henry the seaventh; which, in a greate fitt of melancoly after the death of my first wife, I once visited.

To him succeeded John Gise, whose graunt we have of the warren of Wiggington to one Halthyer in the 10th yeare of Henry 8. The same John, 31 of Henry 8, did exchange the mannors of Winnington and Aspley wth the Kinge for the mannors of Brockworth and Barrington, parcell of the then dissolved priory of Lanthony, as by the letters pattent of the same itt doth sufficiently appeare.³

This John⁴ bred his sonne, Ancelme Gise,⁵ a courtier, who did sufficiently partake of the disolute vices of that place and time, and that without makeing any benefitt or advantage of the Kings favour, butt rather vaynly and wickedly spending his estate in luxury; of whome the songs that were made remayn'd to my time and have bine sung to me by country people, soe that his ill fame is the only thinge remaying of him, to the terror of others and a warning to avoyd courts and courtiers.

I have heard my grandfather tell how he mortgaged the manor of Barington for £400, and after the day elapsed the mony being tendred was refused by the mortgagee and in fine was kick't about the house. The businesse att last was refer'd to Sir Anthony

¹ Died 1407, *Trans. of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society*, 1878-9, pt. i, 55.

² Died 30 September, 1501, *ibid.*, 58. "M. Agnes, dau. of Berkley of Stoke."—(*Marginal note to MS.*)

³ In 1539, *ibid.*, 59-60, "Winnington" is an error for Wiggington, Oxon.

⁴ Died 20 December, 1556, *ibid.*, 61.

⁵ Died 9 May, 1563.

Kingston, who ordred that Ancelme Gise should have £100 more and the morgagee (Bray, as I take itt) should have the land ; and in the same sleight manner did he part wth 14 mannors more, of which the inheritance that came to us by the coheyre of the Ld Beaucham, that is Holt Castle and Shelsey Beauchamp, were part with Woodchester and other goodly things. And hereby the family was infinitely depres't. The kinge, taking notice of his condition, bid him finde out somethinge to doe himselve good and he would confer itt on him ; whereupon he desired the kinge to give him an ayry of goshaukes that timbred yearly in the forest of Deane, which I thinke turned the kings commiseration into contempt as al those very well merritt who have noe respect to theyr family nor posterity ; for he never gott any other suite.

He dyed wthout any legall issue, and would, I thinke, have disposed Elmore to his base children, and did his endeavour to that purpose ; for there is yett in the study att Elmore the opinion of counsell that William Gise¹ should defend his house in case the Sheriffe should come to make livery to the feoffees of Ancelme. He had also stated outt very considerable parts of these two mannors, soe that his brother William who succeeded him had a hard game to play.

In the 10th yeare of Elizabeth this William and his sonne, John Gise, lett the tith hey of Brockworth to one Parsons, who was then vicar there.

This William Gise, I beleeve, did live very closely and left his estate to his sonne, John Gise, who marryed the daughter of Pauncefoote,² a very worthy woman and a good huswife. She planted the row of elmes by the orchard side and also by the horspoole att Elmore, and by her providence the estate was agayne brought into a condition of subsisting. I could nott passe by her name without an honorable mention, which surely shee well deserved from all hers.

By her John Gise³ had many children ; five sonnes I remember : Sir William Gise⁴ the eldest, and his brother Will. Gise,⁵ a lawyer, after towne clearke of Gloucester, John Gise⁶ whoe dyed before

¹ Brother of Ancelm Guise. Died 7 September, 1574.

² Jane, d. of Richard Paunceforte, m. 22 January, 1564, bur. 22 June, 1587.

³ Died 24 January, 1587-8.

⁴ Born 20 January, 1566-7, died September, 1641. Knt. 27 August, 1619.

See Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*.

⁵ Town Clerk of Gloucester from 1615 till his death about January, 1640-1. See Foster's *Alumni*, and his *Judges and Barristers*.

⁶ Foster's *Alumni*.

Sir William, Thomas Gise, a souldier, and Charles Gise. Of daughters also he had¹, one marryed to Mr Havyland,² a merchant of Bristoll, another to Gough of the Forest, another to Perry, and Cisely, who dyed unmarried.

Noe wonder then if John Gise and his wife were enforced to live close, to provide for soe many, and noe wonder if Sir William Gise was bred only to a country life and taught all the principalls of good husbandry. As sonne as he came of age, his father dyed, which was about the yeare 88, wherein was the Spanish invasion, for I have herd him say he thought itt very hard to have his estate taken away as soone as he came to be master of itt, for such then was the generall feare. He was never a lover of bookes, butt of all corporall exercises and pleasures, as dancing, hunting, hauking, and such country sports, which made him of a robust complexion. I have been told that he did every Sunday daunce att the Church-house att Elmore, which then itt seemes was the fashion. I have heard him tell how travayling to London, att Henly, he tooke exeptions att an hostler for words given to one of his company, and soe, each of them laying one hand on a basket of horsbreaed which the hostler carryed, they cuft halfe an houre before his sword and buckler men came to helpe him.

His mother's kinsman, Mr Pauncefoote, being in the Fleete, his cosen Mr Dennis of Gloucester and he, in a youthfull heate, carryed him a file to file the barrs of the window, and soe they broke the prison; butt Pauncefoote unworthily betrayed him, soe that he and Dennis were layd in his place; butt, after getting out on bayle, he with his mirmidons went into Pauncefoots walke, Cats-lawne, and there meeting him, though well armed and attended, they tooke him by force, and brought him to lye in the same irons agayne very deservedly.

This knight errantry, together wth his humor of keeping swordmen about him, gave him such a reputtation, that when he was a suitor to my grandmother, daughter³ to Mr Ken of Ken, if his men and he chaunced to discourse together in private, Mr Ken and his wife concluded that they were designing where to take a purse. I draw this picture of him without any vayne, for, though they were wild passages, yet were they innocent, and he a most just, conscientious, good man, butt withall collicricke and passionate, marrying and

¹ Blank in MS.

² Matthew Havyland, Mayor of Bristol 1607-8, d. 16 March, 1619-20. A. B. Beaven, *Bristol Lists*, 294.

³ Margaret, d. of Christopher Kenn of Kenn, co. Somerset.

providing for his brothers and sisters very well according to his condition, and doing all other actions requisite to persons of all conditions about him.

Mr Ken of Ken, in the county of Somerset, had married his servant, though a gentle woman, and by her had a daughter, to whom he intended well butt performed not all his intentions, out of hope that att his death he had left her with child of a sonne, butt itt proved also a daughter, yett carryed away the bulke of the estate (My Lady Paulet¹ by name) to which that family is oblidedged for theyr advancement to a barrony. The eldest sister Sir William Gise married in her father's life time. With her he had eighteene hundred pounds in mony wth the expectation of a better estate; butt she dying in childbed of her only sonne, William Gise, my father, and Mr. Ken also dying shortly and leaving all much in the dispose of his wife, she was perswaded out of her good intentions by degres, and soe overwrought by the surviving sister and her creatures that our interest in her declined, especially toward her latter time, when she, in her sicknesse, was injuriously detayn'd from speech of her dependants and relations. She, after the death of her husband Ken, married Sir Nicholas Stalenge. Her picture with her daughters are in the parlor att Elmore.

Sir William Gise, having buried this wife, was not long without another, Elizabeth Walronde,² the widow of one Hauker, with whome he had some land, after sold for her eldest sonnes behoofe, and five hundred pounds a yeare joyncture, besides some houshold stufte given her by her uncle, Sir Jasper Moore, at his death, of which are the gilded bedsteeds yett remaying att Elmore. If I should speake the truth of her, the world might thinke I rayled, butt, to omitt other faults, she never could be brought to take any care of the house or estate; a goship, a makebate, a wastall, as may be evinced by letters to her under Sir William Gise's hand yet remaying in the closett att Elmore.

By this wife he had many children, of which some dyed young. Foure sonns I remember, John,³ George, Anthony,⁴ and Edward, and three daughters, Florence, Margarett, and Elizabeth. This plentifull broode by a second venter coming in to stocke the house,

¹ Elizabeth, m. Istly John, 1st Lord Poulett of Hinton St. George, and 2ndly John Ashburnham.

² Elizabeth, d. of Humphrey Waldron, of Wood, co. Devon.

³ Second son. See Foster's *Alumni* and his *Inns of Court Register*.

⁴ Third son. Foster's *Alumni*.

my Lady Stalenge¹ tooke my father into her charge and bred him up with her young daughter neere of one age.

About this time Sir William Gise purchased some odde thinges, as Churchdowne parsonage, Saule and Winterborne and Calthrop farme, all which he after sold agayne, and also the Berrows farme, which yett remaynes to his house.

And now about the yeare 1616 William Gise,² my father, being growne a man, was, by the joynct advise and direction of Sir W. Gise and my Lady Stalenge, directed to marry with Cicely, one of the two daughters of John Dennis of Pulckerchurch (the other marryed Milborne), of a very antient family butt somethinge depres't by an unthrifty generation, having parted with Deorham, now the seate of Winter, and many other considerable peices of land, soe that this John bred himselfe up as a follower of my Lord Berckly, having elder brothers, which then was esteemed noe disparagement, though a man of 7 or 800*l.* per annum estate, and there marryed his wife, a servant in the house, her name Millet. My mother's portion therefore could not be greate, some £1,500, wherewith Sir William Gise was well enough satisfyd,³ as being unwilling to part with any large exhibition to his sonne which might lessen himselfe. In returne therefore he setled the reversion of all Brockworth and Elmore, and for theyr present subsistence only £160 per annum, payable as an annuity. And with this portion, as I take it, Leadons Court was bought.

In the latter end of the yeare 1617, on Candlemas day, past twelve at night, was I borne in Sir William Gise his house, att Elmore, whither my mother was come to lye in. I have heard my mother often say that I was a very weake child, and, though the first borne, yett not permitted to be nurst in the house or by my mother. Soe I was putt to a woman in the towne, indifferently antient and of a dry hott complexion and not very plentifully stored wth riches, soe that itt was noe wonder if there were neglects in my attendance, neyther might complaynts be admitted soe neere a stepdame; my mother therefore weaned mee in six moneths, and carryed mee first to Pulcherchurch, thence to Bristoll, where my father had then setled him selfe as a neere neybour to my

¹ Presumably the wife of Sir Nicholas Stalage, knt., 1604. *Shaw, Knights*, ii, 132.

² Died 26 August, 1653.

³ "having but 600 a year in land to settle besides leases for the younger children."—(*Original note to MS.*)

Lady Stalenge, who also lived there, and from whome he was in hope of a good blessing ; and heare also she had my sister Horton.¹

Shortly after my Lady Stalenge dyed, and left my father only four thousand pounds, to be payd him by the Lord Paulett, who had marryed her other daughter, giving him all the rest of her estate. My Lord would oft tell my father in rallery that he did not bribe deepe enough ; but itt seemes he did, for some of her servants by whom she was guided he did keepe 30 yeares after.

My Lady Stalenge being now gone and all further hopes with her, my father very prudently left Bristoll and began to settle himselfe att Brockworth, neere Sir William Gise, where my mother brought him 3 sonnes² and two daughters more³ ; soe that I, att the instance of Sir Will. Gise, was sent to Elmore to be bred by him as a kindnesse intended mee, but there I found very sharpe masters of my uncles and aunts.

Sir William Gise att this time was growne a greate folower and favouurer of silent ministers and nonconformists, with abundance of zeale in himselfe and very profound hipocrasy in most of his ; soe that the whole house was a scoole of disiplinants, wherein I wanted not my share, itt being easy for those to whose care I was comitted, under the cloake of care and pretences religieuse, to wreake theyr malice upon every slight omission, and soe punish my father, whome they hated, in mee ; by reason whereof, with the ill ayre and Sir William Gises passionate hand of government and delegation of the charge of mee to such as did rather punish then correct mee, I was brought to a greate depression of spiritt and melancoly, succeeded by the measells and a greate flux of reughme, which with some other ill simptome warned my mother to take care, which she did, takeing me almost per force to live at Brockworth about the year 1623, where by her care I did agayne in part recover my health, butt never the ill habitt of melancoly wholly nor itt dangerous effects.

During the time of my abode att Elmore, one of his chaplayns, who had more heate of love then zeale, had designes upon Margaret, Sir William Gises daughter. She, whether concerned or not, was sent away to Brockworth, and she wanting better conveyance, at my returne to Elmore, putt a letter into my bosome, which my father

¹ Elizabeth, eldest d., m. Thomas Horton, s. of Sir John Horton of Elston, Glos., Knt.

² John, William and Henry.

³ Eleanor and Frances.

suspecting and searching mee did finde. This was discovered att Elmore to the prejudice of theyr designes; wherefore he was put away and shee was shortly after marryed to Mr Leigh¹ of Longborough, and £2,000 portion given with her.

After this, the children of my Lady Gise confederating with my uncle William Gise, the towne clearke of Gloucester, and some others to putt my father besides his inheritance, proposed a match for my uncle John Gise, the Lady Berrew's² daughter in Hampshire, promising with her golden mountaynes, and Sir William Gise was wrought to take a journey thither to conclude the match; butt he findeing every thinge there far short of his expectation and theyr vaunts, and even the table and family scarce accomodated with decency, he broke of the businesse; after which his sonne grew melancoly and crasy, and soe continued without amendment. I cannott chuse but note here the malice of cadetts, who are often the most unnaturall enimyees of theyr oune house, upon noe stronger provocation then what nature and theyr oune melancoly thoughts present them. Butt God turned the evill intended upon theyr oune heads.

My father this while, being buoyed up with my Lady Stalenge's mony, purchased every yeare Droyscourt, Alvington, Bearnly parsonages, Abloads Court, and Webleyes Farme, which two latter he left to his younger children. He also lent £1,000 to one Mr Grey in Staffordshire, a man that wanted nothing but a will to pay debts, butt he putt my father to many weary journeyes and a long chargeable suite before he could have his oune agayne. Att last he had the fortune to meete with one Wriothesley, to whome Grey owed more mony, who tooke his security and payd my father the mony, hoping thereby to recover his oune also; and soe was that trouble ended. Itt is as much as I can remember my father's journeyes and vexations upon this ocasion and my mothers walkes to meete him att his returnes out of Staffordshire. It was about the yeare 1624 or 25.

After this businesse ended and the mony received, he found the south wall of the house att Brockworth soe ruinouse that notwithstanding itt was his stepmother's joyncture, yet was he enforced to put in to repayre, and to the end itt might nott decay agayne before itt came to his owne family, he built itt with freestone,

¹ William Leigh of Addlestrop (which is near Longborough).

² This is obviously an error, since there has been no knight, baronet, or peer of this name.

and itt cost him, as I have heard him say, about 100 markes¹; and within a short time after he was enforced to doe as much on the west side. And Sir William Gise, stirred up heerby, began and built all the easterne end of the house att Elmore with the same worke and done by the same workman. One memorable thinge also of this time I cannot omitt, which was, that my father cutt an elme on his new purchase of Drayscourt soe large that thereof hee made £40.

And now being arrived at 9 or 10 yeares of age, I was sent to my Lord Bearckly's free scoole att Wooton Underedge,² where I spent some yeares as to my studyes in a course profitable enough, being sojourned in an honest house where our dyett and all thinges else were of the playnest but holesome, and among many other young people, my seniors in age, witt, and scollarship, who made use of those advantagees over my pusillage, soe that here I found myselfe on the playne ground without any advantageouse rise of alliance or preheminance of extraction; and itt was in that respect very profitable, for a man ought to inquire his owne price in the markt before he sett a rate on himselfe. But as itt is the nature of man to aply himselfe to everythinge above him, soe itt taught mee compliance wth persons that might be usefull to mee, even in theyr vices. And here I first learnd to drinke more then nature required, beleeving itt a poynt of civility; which quality I afterwards improved in Oxford. Whilst I was at Wooton, thinges were turned upside downe att Elmore. Sir William Gise had bine much guided by one Purrocke, who had perswaded him to many frivilouse and many pernitiouse undertakings in his estate, as spending and throwing away an unreasonable and uselesse proportion in his house, unnecessary alterations and expensive diversions, butt none in my opinion worse then the cutting of all the old trees att Elmore, being an irreparable losse of an honourable simboll of antiquity. Purocke was after killed with the fall of a tree.

Sir William Gise, vexed with the humours of his wife, who had litle compliance, and disgusted wth the wildnesse and debocsherys of her children, and wearyed with his owne expences, resolved to turne over a new leafe. My aunt Leigh was marry'd, my uncle, John Gise, disposed to Wrenton in Somersetshire for phisicke, the three younger

¹ "Ay 140."—(*Original note to MS.*)

² Catherine, widow of Thomas, 3rd Lord Berkeley, founded a free school at Wotton-under-Edge in 1384. Supplement to Ralph Bigland's *Collections for Gloucestershire*. *Victoria County History of Gloucestershire*, ii, 396-409.

sonnes¹ to the Innes of Court, Oxford, and London, and my aunt Elizabeth dying about this time (for Florence was dead long before), he had now an oportunity of ridding his house of this party, which he did, putting away Purrocke, and of his oune accord sent for my father and mother to come and governe his house; to which they willingly condescended, chusing with Isachar to undergoe the heavy burden of observance and profound obedience to the morose humors of his age, in hope of a returne on them and theyres of the reversionall estate; and sure wee are beholding much to theyr temper.

Thither also they carryed with them my uncle William, the younger brother of the Dennises, a man bred abroade and very sociable, soe that, being three they were able to putt of a rayny afternoone at cards in leiu of hunting, theyr ordinary pass time, and in this manner was the mony saved that might be spared of superfluouse expences.

During this theyr conversation att Elmore I made another remove to Oxford, to Magdalene Hall, where my father, who was none of the sharpest nor deepest readers of men, plac't mee with a tutor² disaffected to the present government and with an allowance fitt only to converse with the lowest company; and soe gave mee leave to dispose of my owne time as my raw discretion should direct mee.

The vice of Oxford scollars is theyr frequenting tipling houses, and comonly that liberty most taken by the most ingenioue.³ I was inclined to poetry and all ingenioue studyes, the scrapps of which dropt in att our comptations. There we censur'd and extoll'd whome we pleas'd, and the title of ingenioue was a sugred sop that gave a good relish to all concomitant qualities and made us swallow licentiousnesse and, by consequence, idlenesse. For who so begins to thinke well of himselfe from that time neglects to improve his stocke.

Post vinum Venus is the old saying, and soe itt was with us, for wee being in the bloomeing time of our youth, our blouds heated with wine and prompted by the spur of our oune lazy thoughts

¹ There were five 'younger sonnes': George, Antony, Jasper, Christopher and Edward. For Antony see Foster's *Alumni*.

² "Mr. Payne."—(*Original note to MS.*)

³ Cf. *Life of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon*, ed. 1857, i, 7, 63; and *Christie's Life of Shaftesbury*, i, 17. Both confirm this account of excessive drinking at Oxford about this time.

and desires, noe wonder if we followed and courted any whome we found to be indued wth the least beauty, and those tipling houses that make itt theyr businesse to draw custome by any meanes are seldome without such sirens, who are taught by all allurements to draw on expenses and yet avoyd the last act, well knowing that fruition cloyes ; soe that the youth of Oxford are like to leopards, to whome Bachus shewes the face of Venus in a glass and thereby insnare[s] them. I cannot forget how many unwilling glasses I have drunke without any advantage from those woemen ; and soe doe most young men, theyr complexions naturally disposing them to hope till they grow into an unhealthy, evill and deborch't habitt, and soe are cosen'd out of theyr health and hopefull youths by such circes ; and this perhaps deserves the care of publike authority.

Two yeares I hovered about Oxford, gayning litle, butt upon every occasion making jorneyes home for recruits, which came butt indiferently, my grandfather yet living ; soe that here I began to make shifts for monyes to suply my fancies rather then wants, butt with soe ill successe that a hott vacation breeding some diseases there, I gladly tooke that pretence to make a retreat home.

About this time I began to ride more. My father was alwayes a lover of hounds. He and my grandfather had kept a famouse packe of greate hounds 40 yeares ; at this time he had some, which was theyr dayly diversion, and, whether my father were unwilling yet to send mee to the Innes of Courte I know not, butt he, for some reasons, indeavourd to make mee a huntsman, and I was ready enough to undertake that idle kind of employment, the rather because itt gave mee opertunitys of good fellowship when wee mett sportive neybour in the feild.

Hunting is a kind of waking traunce or a pleasing dreame ; for soe long as the sport is on foote, itt doth soe amuse the mind and soe earnestly busy all itt faculties that I have bine as much concerned for the death of a hare as some would be in the event of a battayle, and have as earnestly wish't sometimes to find or start a hare as if therein had consisted a considerable part of my welfare. I beleve itt's soe with minds of my temper in all employments, since I have found mine inclination as prone to other recreations, as much engulphed with them, and, if soe, noe wonder wee are taught that greate employments make greate men, since the soule, as itt seemes, is a peece of leather that conformes ittselfe to the mould whereupon 'tis strayned.

Hunting is noe ill recreation for men of plentifull fortunes ; itt is good exercise, itt cleares the mind, itt hardens the body for weathers ; butt itt is costly, everythinge considered ; the sport is uncertayne, the charge and trouble is continuall and must be follow'd like a trade, and therefore seldome embraced by men of businesse, as taking up to much of theyr time. Every hunting costs a whole day ; and therefore proper for those who retire from all ambitions and publike affayres, and live only to themselves.

About this time, Sir William Gise treated and concluded for the purchase of Randoombe,¹ won by the earnest solicitation of my cosen Doule and my father, sett on by my mother, though, as I conceive, agaynst his owne inclination and mine also ; and, to pay for this, he parted with Churchdowne parsonage and Saule and Colthrop farme, and also brought a debt upon himselfe, which finding troublesome it caused him to looke the worse on my father as the man that did engage him therein, which ill opinion much time did hardly weare out ; but my father's profound compliance and observance were able to dispell any reasonable umbrages. Itt cost £6,700, and noe present returne, but only the expectation of reversions after lives, all which as to the manurage of the land being much left in the hands of Mr Barckly. I cannot but remember how earnestly he protested his joy that, since itt must be sold, itt came to our family, how he would save and preserve itt as for his owne sonne, and how Sir Will. Gise, being wonn and rock't asleepe by such promises, did consent to leave him power of wast upon all that mannor, and refused to tye up his hands in many things offred by Mr Bearckly ; but he quickly repented, and the same Mr Bearckly, upon some disputes about the estate happening shortly after, when he was urged on those promises, did aver that freindship must give way to profitt, and on that maxime assayd to cutt all the timber and to plow all the parcke ; wherby we may be warned that a man cannot to playnly expresse his bargayne nor to strictly tye his freinds in worldly dealings.

My next remove was to London to the Innes of Court. I was brought thither att a time when the City was very brave and

¹ Rendoombe belonged to Sir Maurice Berkeley of Hannam (knt. 1621). His estate was sequestered during the Civil War, and he was forced to pay 1,372*l.* composition. Probably it was to raise this sum that the Berkeley family sold Rendoombe to the Guises. (If so, the writer's chronology is at fault here.) See Rudder's *Gloucestershire*, 622.

the whole Island swimming in an ocean of peace and security; and I was left by my father att the Midle Temple¹ without freinds or governors, without a chamber, out of comons, with noe cloaths butt what I brought out of the country, and to live upon £80 per annum.

His intent was that I should study the law, butt I wanted bookes and direction, and in two yeares time never came into the hall; and I found the ordinaryes soe expensive that my exhibition would hardly find cloathes and meate. Butt I made a shift for a time and soe long as I could doe soe, London will yeeld diversions enough to keepe a man from study; soe that in the law I made noe progresse, butt pleased myselve with poetry, some mathematickes, and a litle history, for to all these I bent myselve att idle houres, even from the time that I went to scoole, soe that with mee my idle houres were the best, and I tooke that litle stocke of learning that I have rather as a diversion then a labour.

My allowance being scarce sufficient for the society of the better sort of gallants, 'twas necessary I should cutt of some expences to suply the rest; wherefore I clad myselve in handsome but lasting cloathes, butt for my dyet I was content with such as the more ordinary sort of gentlemen, and the more provedent part of them, did usually eate, wherby I saved my purse and preserved myselve from the temptation of being engaged for sommes of mony, butt lost the possibility of improvement that is usually gayn'd among the better sort of people; upon which accompt I had a hard bargayne to pay 20s a weeke in London for meate and lodging, which att home would have cost mee nothinge. Butt as he that lives in a mill must have some meale on his coate, soe I that had alwayes my eyes open, pick't up somethinge, which made my father thinke the mony wel bestow'd. Among the rest I made use of dauncing and riding att an academy to good purpose for the time.

About this time wee had the first rumors of commotions begining in Scotland.

Sir William Gise about this time removed to Marsden, a farme which was part of his purchase of Randcombe and newly fallen into his hands, being drawn thither att my father's instance that he might enjoy the pleasure of that country and soe grow more

¹ I can find no record that he was ever formally entered at the Middle Temple. It is interesting to note that Edward Hyde (aft. Earl of Clarendon) had an allowance of only £40. *Cal. Clar. S.P.* i, 33.

reconciled to his new purchase: Butt he stayed there but one season for two reasons, first because he found his body unable to endure the exercise of riding, which did produce a bloudy urine from his kidneys, secondly because upon some discourse passing betweene himselfe and Mr Stephens,¹ who advised him to decline any disputes of his right wth Mr Bearnly, who about this time gave us cause to complayn, Sir William Gise answered very magnanimously that being his right he should not doubt to mayntayne itt, and by this heate he lost Mr Stephens, Sir Robert Cooke,² and Sir William Masters,³ and all that company who were united with Mr Bea[r]ckly, and itt may be on designe raised this storme.

1639.—Shortly after this, I removed backe to my father's house; and my father, as he supposed, having then given mee all the aditions of breeding which our younge gentlemen in England usually passe through, did from henceforth leave mee to guide myselfe as to things of improvement, and only gave mee the example of a country gentleman and a good huntsman. Indeed I grew to fast upon him, being 22 or 23 yeares of age, my grandfather yett enjoying perfect health, and sixe brothers and sisters treading on my heeles, soe that he was not able well to doe more; and by reason of the old man's passionate fiery humor, blowne continually into flames of discontent by a stepdame's breath, wee were att last inforc't to leave Elmore and goe back to Marsden, where my father kept a private house, with the continuall jealousy of receaving prejudice by his absence from Elmore, where, after our departure, the children of the second venter and theyr allyes hoped to warme them whilst wee ayrd us on the cold hills of Cottswald.

¹ The family of Stephens was of great importance in Gloucestershire during the 17th century. No less than seven Stephens appear as Commissioners for Gloucestershire for various purposes during the Commonwealth. (See index to *Acts and Ordinances*.)

(a) Nathaniel Stephens, M.P. Gloucestershire, 1627-8, 1640-40.

(b) Edward Stephens, M.P. Tewkesbury, 1643-1648, Gloucestershire, 1660.

(c) John Stephens, M.P. Tewkesbury, 1645-48. Gloucestershire, 1659, Bristol, 1660.

(d) Colonel Henry Stephens, died a prisoner of war in 1643.

(e) Colonel Thomas Stephens.

(f) Richard Stephens.

(g) James Stephens, M.P. Gloucester, 1656-60.

Some particulars about (a), (d) and (e) are in Washbourn's *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis*.

² M.P. Gloucestershire, April-May, 1640; Parliamentary Governor of Tewkesbury, 1643; *knt.*, July 21, 1621.

³ M.P. Cirencester, 1623-4; *knt.*, 3 December, 1622.

About this time I tooke a jorney to my Lord Paulett's house, and there fell into a dangerouse fever, which reduced me to very greate extremity; butt my mother came to looke that I wanted nott nessarys for my condition, and by her care having recovered soe much strength that I could butt sitt a horse, back shee carry'd mee home to Marsden with her, and there I fell into an ague the ordinary recesses of feavers; butt that also with a little ease and the benefitt of a good ayre soone left mee, and soe from Marsden, which was to far distant from Elmore, we did quickly returne to Brockworth, being a warmer seate, a better house, and within hearing how the businesse went att Elmore; and there we continued till, after a short expectance, matters went soe ill att Elmore, that my father and mother were recalled to Elmore agayne to continue.

Butt as theeves often fall out in sharing theyr booty, soe these who were litle better, having with to greate improvidence wasted the old man's revenues for some yeares and inverted the severe rules of government soe long observed in his house, to which they looser humors could nott in any sort conforme, he found himselfe soe unapt to resume the oiconomicall care himselfe and soe unprovided of any else, who eyther for theyr quality or providence were fitt to susteine that burden, that in short wee were recall'd with a resolution to be rooted there during his life.

I was of opinion my father did not well with soe easy a temper to conforme himselfe to such a variable resolution in his; and, although we owe much to our parents, yett I thought itt a just excuse in a sonne marryed to aleadge his oune interest, nay, to pleade his private satisfaction; for I conceived Elmore litle lesse then a spatious prison by reason of the morosity of the old man, the designes of the woman, and the continuall espialls of the family (who also were of that side), as very averse to a strict government. But my father, with whome the interest of his estate weighed very much (if not to much), would have itt soe, and we conformed and putt away our hounds as men putt of theyr shoes when they enter a sanctuary.

North voyage.—In the meane time none will admire that I was weary of my abode att Brockworth, itt being without recreation, without the advantage of personall improvement, and withoutt any visible aparence of advantaging my fortune; yett during my necessary abode now and before I did soe far comply with the humor and genius of the place as gave me an advantagious rise

in the opinion of the old gentleman, and by consequence was as a banke of reputation agaynst the prejudices which might be dictated in my absence, for I was resolved to change that manner of life.

Butt what change to make was the mayne doubt. To marry I could not bringe my minde, having observed some young married couples to live in a very narrow compasse. I reflected on my owne condition, who then had a grandfather, father and sixe brothers and sisters alive; by the consideration whereof I was discouraged from hoping for a handsome allowance, and therefore I tooke a greate prejudice agaynst that suposed yoke, which would have kept mee many yeares single had not the nesessityes of my condition induced mee to beleeve this the lesser evill. To travell was contrary to the minds of both grandfather and father; to returne to the Innes of Court was butt to submitt myselfe to the same nesessitouse condition I had formerly tryed wthout any benefitt. In fine, being unresolved of any course more advantageouse, I concluded to give my selfe up to mine owne inclinations and make a disguised jorney, or mascarade as the French call itt, about England, without servant, not to be betray'd, without freinds or companion, as knowing none intimately, and without other provisions then a playne freese suite and a good horse, hoping att least by this meanes to take a just measure of myselfe and try what valewe I should beare with others when I had layd aside the advantages of birth and fortune.

1640.—This end I obteyned and my jorney was sufficiently delightfull in some respects but nott in others, for persons really deserving are nott wont to impart favours hastily to strangers of meane quality, and for the rest of the gentry theyr acquayntance nott to be obteyned but by partaking also theyr vices, and for the meaner sort theyr very diversions generally were but exercises of theyr crimes, and theyr dispositions very rugged if not smoothed by the shewes and hopes of advantage, to the only study of which theyr nesessitys presse them soe violently that a stranger is not look't at except as a prey. Yet I found many exceptions in this generall rule, which, at least in mine owne opinion, did balance the expence of my time. And so, having wasted a winter, I returned.

My father, to whome my resolution and jorney was unknowne, was surpriz'd with the accident and hard set to make a good answer att Elmore; wherfore, finding that I began to governe myselfe, att my returne he began to speake to mee with a methode of gravity

and moderation very diferent from his former behaviour, for, having grounded many of his arguments att Elmore against mine uncles upon theyr ill behaviour, he thought itt would neerly concerne him and his that any unsteady humor should be found in him or the heyre of the family; and, although this were noe crime, yet what if the lyon should say that the foxes eares were hornes? and therefore a match was thought on and proposed to mee.

1642.—I had now tryed other courses and found none to please myselfe, or setle advantageously or to enlarge my narrow exhibition which was butt very small, and a gentlewoman being att this time proposed without exceptions, being the daughter of Sir Lawr. Washington,¹ and they, my parents, having instill'd into mee how tickleish my grandfather's estate stood, as depending much on his good will, I was att last content to make all sure att the losse of my lov'd liberty. Soe, on my marriage, the whole estate was settled. And now I came to act a part in the world, having £400 per annum settled upon us for joyncture and present mayntenance. But in seven weekes my wife dyed, and left me agayne att liberty; and I then went, to shake of my melancholy, a jorney into Bedfordshire to Aspley Gise, and soe by London returned home.

Now Sir William Gise, finding greate disturbance in his wife, greate disorders in his house, age and weaknesse aproching, and he not able to resume the care of his family, once more summoned my father and mother to come to Elmore, never to part agayne. I was of opinion my father did ill to resume those chaynes, for I look't on Elmore as a spatious prison through the old man's morosity, his wive's malice, and the ill habit of his servants; butt my father (with whome his interest weyghed much) did resolve itt, putt of his hounds, tooke up the crosse and resolved to endure; for which his children may thanke him.² * * * marble.

About this time things went very high betweene the late kinge and parliament, soe that, doubting so fre declara[tion] might bringe mee into some prejudice, I repayred to London, where I found all things growing worse and tending to a warr. And now Sir William Gise³ dyed, to whose funeralls at Elmore I went and resolved to stay in the country; butt finding itt very difficult so

¹ Elizabeth, d. of Sir Laurence Washington of Garsden, Wilts. Knt., 29 July, 1627.

² "At this place some leaves are cut out of the MS."—(Original note.)

³ He was buried 19 September, 1642.

to doe and not ingage myselfe in some party which I did not like, for now they were come to mustering of horse and foote, I resolved once agayne to returne to London; which I did, and in the way thither understoode the successe of the battayle of Edgehill which was then fought. That blow being once strooke att Edgehill, the war broke out instantly in all places with so much violence that for some time there was scarce any intercourse of places remote, soe that I resolved to abide in London and expect the event for some short time; which I did as long as my monyes held out, but that growing short and noe suplyes from the country, I was inforc't to provide for myselfe as well as I might, and having in vayne attempted to furnish myselfe otherwise, I was inforc't to borrow.

1643.—Butt the times were soe uncertayne that itt was very difficult to borrow, except persons who had visible estates neere London; wherefore I was inforced to take up mony with another gentleman, my estate lying far of and his a reall estate in Kent; and when we came to engage for a considerable somme, being well assured of my oune condition, though then a litle eclipsed, I demanded counter security of him, which he gave me by a cittizen then unquestionably able; whereupon I was content to hazard £800, which wee divided, all butt what brokers and scriveners had, and this with some other monyes taken up on better termes for another designe putt me afoate, pay'd all debts, and furnisht mee in a very handsome equipage; for now I was resolved to goe into the country and looke to my estate.

1644.—Being arived into the country, I found my revenue destroyed by the warr, and my father, upon some jealousyes betweene himselfe and the Governor and city of Gloucester, retyred from his house and estate into Wales. And indeed the city upon some former differences with our family did, att this time, all they could to ruine us; and I came very seasonably to prevent itt by a more then ordinary submission and a dexterouse addresse to the Governor Massy,¹ who, though att first much led by the malice of some, yett att last used all possible moderation and justice, being thoroughly informed.

Having made my application to Massy, I obtayned a passe from him for my father's peaceable returne to his house att Elmore and leave also to goe and carry itt unto him, and founde him very desirouse

¹ Colonel, afterwards Major-General, Edward Massey, Governor of Gloucester during the siege.

of his returne home, though itt was much oposed by some of his family. Butt home he came, and finding the Governor of Gloucester's mind well prepared, he made noe difficulty to send for his family also in short time. Butt he made not soe much hast butt that the wary and malitiose citizens by theyr influence on the comitte had gotten him sequestred, soe that he must pleade before them whether he should enjoy his repose or nott, and was cast by one voyce.

By this time I was also come home after him, hoping for some repose after my perigrination and that his affayres had bine also establish't; butt I was surprisd wth the newes of his sequestration, and now I must cast about agayne; wherefore I went and made an abode in Gloucester, where Sir Humphrey Tracy¹ and Heylin² and Savage³ [? were] that winter, to sound some that were powerfull; butt I found all doores shutt.

Now to us a sequestration must needs be more dangerouse than to any other family as being under the eye of such enemyes; wherefore I perswaded my father not to lye under that blott and offred myselfe to be his solicitor before the lords and comons, where we might hope to be heard with as much impartiallity as delinquents in those times mett with, which in my opinion would cleare us having accted litle or nothing,⁴ and having found such good measure to be first trepan'd by a party of horse under West⁵ and Mathewes,⁶ and then brought prisoner to Gloucester, there comitted to a tincker, after the seidge of Gloucester he in feare retiring, his house plundered, whereby he might guesse what his entertayne should have bin, and therefore to suspect worse and therefore content himselfe with the present, my father, though heavy and in aprension in that affayre, yett was drawne to assent to the appeale. And

¹ Sir Humphrey Tracy, Bart., of Stanway: a staunch royalist. See G. E. C., *Complete Baronetage*.

² Perhaps the well-known Dr. Peter Heylin. A Dr. Heylin of Gloucester compounded for delinquency, *Cal. Com. of Compounding*, 86.

³ Probably Edward Savage, who compounded at the same time as Dr. Heylin, *ibid.* That these three suffering royalists should shut their doors to Christopher Guise, at this time a timid Parliamentarian, though he became a local commissioner during the Protectorate, is not surprising.

⁴ "A just punishment, notwithstanding his zeale for them and subscription to Waller."—(*Original note.*)

⁵ Captain Walter West.

⁶ Captain William Matthews.

soe to London I went agayne, living all this while on the stocke of monyes late borrowed, and being soe litle asisted by my father that I durst not oune my condition; butt I was sure my future well being depended much on this, and soe without murmure to London I went, resolving to goe through this businesse if possible, though I payd deare for itt. Being arived att London, I was saluted with the ill newes that £150 left by me in London was lost; that the gentleman and merchant with whome I stoode ingaged were both broke, the one dead and the other in the King's Bench prison; that I had incurred the jealousy of all my dependences there by my departure and some ill offices done thereupon and evill interpretations made thereof; yett I was nott dismayed, butt resolved to use my uttmmost endeavour to reassure my freinds, to make new, to passe by injuries and with uncessant labour to procure a favourable hearing for my father.

1645.—In fine, my dilligence was crowned wth successe, and after many delayes and much time and mony spent by mee, I gayned a favourable heareing, wherby he was acquitted with an order of restitution for what had bine taken from him; and soe favourable for him was that vote understoode even by the Comittee themselves, that itt was also ordred that that proceeding should not be drawne into precedent. This was my mayden negotiation in publike, and therefore I was soe proude and soe well satisfied with my successe that I never accosted my father wth a bill of charge butt generously expected what returne his good nature would make mee of my great expences and paynes, both which he swallowd without any notable remarke, and I, as in duty bound, putt it up with all humility and silence, nott then knowing what sluice drew all the water from my mill, which after did but to publicly appeare.

I resolved to continue in London, the warr being not yet ended, and therefore doubts of future accidents were nott wanting, besides the oportunytyes there offred of contracting new freindships and composing my debts and other affayres, which now began to grow both troublesome and also clamourouse, soe as they reach't my father's eares, who att last was pleased to aske mee my condition. I acquaynted him with £1500 debt only, nott daring to oune more, which mony after many expostulations he lent mee, butt nott much for my advantage, he takeing for consideration £60 pounds a yeare from mee; and soe I only chang'd my creditor.

The knowledge hereof and some ill offices done mee att home made him grow thoughtfull and doubtfull of my resolves and of

further ingagements, for which the best remedy he could finde was to tempt mee to a second marriage, which he did by offering mee the reversion of Randcombe, immediatly on Mr Bearkly's decease.

I had now lived a widower sixe or seven yeares and was indebted above £2000 by my sally to Oxford¹ and the prosecution of my fathers businesse, soe that I could nott well tell how to shake of that debt without lessening myselfe to much as mine affayres stodee (and having a relation to one that I must in honor, or at least in good nature, provide for) I founde my selfe in a manner inforced to looke after another match. And about this time was offred a match with the daughter of Sir Wm. Hicks,² since married to my Lord of ———.³ To this I aplied myselfe with the outward seemeing consent of her freinds, butt I had ill offices done mee underhand by some, not soe much in malice to mee as in love to preserve mee for a kinswoman of theyr oune, and I was there blasted wth the scandall of a licentious person and one prone to woemen; and the author of that report was named to mee.

I bore my repulse as lightly as any lover would doe that was not much taken with his mistresse who was but indifferent, and within a small time after I was solicited by the raysers of that report for a freind of theirs to marry. I seemed to approve the motion and like the woman; butt when I came to treat, the first condition I propounded to them was that whereas such a report had bin rayseed by her uncle to my prejudice in the world, they should first take of that spot on mee by disavowing that rumor as false and not credible to them, which they did by a writing under theyr hands, which I sent to Sir Will Hicks and his freinds. Hereby I cleared myselfe, was revenged for the wrong which I highly resented in private, and after found a hundred reasons to quit her and theyr treaty who had soe abused mee before.

1646.—And now being very busy in discharging those debts with the mony my father had lent mee and lying privately in St. Clement's lane for that purpose, Sir John Pretyman⁴ found mee out

¹ No further evidence of this "sally" appears to exist: in 1650 information that "Chr. Guise, Marsden, co. Gloucester" "was in arms in 1643 and 1644, and had a commission in the King's army" was in the possession of the Committee for the Advance of Money (*Cal.*, p. 1278), but this was almost certainly false; probably a reference to his father (App. iv).

² Sir William Hicks of Beverstone, Glos., Bart., a prominent local royalist.

³ Blank in MS. Married 1st Earl of Donegal (1651).

⁴ Sir John Pretyman, 1st Bart.

and made me a proposition of my second wife,¹ who was the daughter of Mr Lucas Corselis and neece to the Lady Cambell, widdow of Sir James Cambell.

I liked this woman and her freinds, and prosecuted the same. And indeed itt cost mee a whole yeare's time; butt with my father's fullfilling his promise, and satisfaction given to her freinds, all was effected notwithstanding the malitiose tongues had revived all the slanders of mee; butt shee seemed to despise them, and soe, September, in the yeare 1647, wee were married att Clayhall in Essex.

That winter, the match being now done, I was to goe downe to Elmore to treat with my father and settle other businesse of mine oune, which was sufficiently discomposed; and my wife, whether to show an extraordinary love or soe perswaded by her freinds, would needs goe wth mee. I was agaynst itt, because I found her newly with child, yet could nott suppose all the danger, and therefore bought a coach and horses to carry her. Butt before we went, in going through London to take her leave of my Lady Cambell and her freinds, shee caught an unfortunate strayne, the ill effect whereof we found not presently. Butt the weeke after, setting on our jorney, shee complayned the first day and came ill to Maidenhead, yet would goe on and the next day with much adoe reach't Abingdon, where being destitute of all good helpe I constraigned her to goe the other 5 mile to seeke a phisition in Oxford, and there she lay sicke and bedrid for a whole fortnight, and then in very ill case crauled downe to Elmore, where notwithstanding all the remedyes we could use, shee miscaryed.

Besides this misfortune wee founde other things very ill managed att Elmore; the sisters did not well brooke a stranger that was to take place of them all, and theyr breeding in the country was not to know better. My father instigated by my mother (who perhaps also was impatient of any other woman in the house) found fault with the servants, found fault wth our horses, cloathes, nay 'twas a fault that she had bine borne in London. Instead of excusing and debating pretended faults, I prayed them to give us harbor till she could leave her bed and be removed to Gloucester, where we would take lodgings and soe returne to London and not trouble them to whom she only intended a visite of kindnesse. This

¹ G. E. C., *Complete Baronetage*, iii, 218-19, is clearly wrong in stating that Guise's wife was d. of Nicholas Corsellis.

answer stop't all the rest of the clamors, for they desired not our returne to London; butt wee, espetially I, was resolute, and about Candlemas did goe backe, and that spring tooke a house in Mayden Lane, resolving to trouble neyther of our freinds.

1648.—My parents finding us settled in London and soe resolved agaynst any abode in the country and under them as they desired, they began first to quarrell att the non-payment of her portion, not seeing that the same discharged my debts, which by this time were well increased, and also to call very violently for his mony, refusing to make such resonable deductions and demands as were made by mee; butt at last, finding that he could not make out his demands, he was content to refer itt to Mr Bell, his attorney, and I suffred him to make what end he thought fitt, though something to my prejudice, and soe came back to London, whither my father came also and lay att my house, where he was soe satisfied of my wive's behaviour, love, and duty to him, and of our manner of living, that he went downe with greate commendations of all things in our house; butt, having stayed butt one ten dayes att home, his mind was much altered by some accident, as wee after found to our prejudice. Agaynst winter the army was somoned to come up to London for some greate thinge; and since a masacre of the Royalists was muttred and wee could not see the bottome of their evill intentions, wee hastily quitted our house in Mayden Lane, pack't up our goods, pawn'd our plate, buryed our mony, and soe removed to Clayhall, where we after understood theyr greate and threatning cloude of fury fell upon the life of the Kinge.

After all this, I received many messuages and letters from my father, part threatning and part perswading me to come and make my abode in the country; and the truth was that, after my debts were payd with this wive's mony, the estate settled on mee before was very slender to discharge handsomely in London; and soe perswading myselfe that my good¹

* * *

theyr indemnification which I did sometimes, butt found my power soe litle there that they could nott receive an assistance from mee proportionable to theyr expectations, yet my expressions were sufficient to make the rest of the commissioners understand mee soe well that, the election to another parliament following shortly after (whereto the country

¹ "Some leaves have here been cut out of the MS."—(*Original note.*)

was strongly inclined to elect mee), they prevayled with Desbrowe¹ to come from Salisbury to hinder our election, which by very foule meanes he did, expressing soe much hate against mee that I was fayne to follow him to Deane, to expostulate that businesse and make some apologies to him; for I feared that if Lambert's proposall of a masacre should have taken, my family would not have escaped.

1656.—Neyther durst I take part in the petition to the House after by Overbury and Atkins. Upon consideration of all which I resolved to quitt all publike interests till the time were better, and to that purpose I betooke myselfe to visites and recreative jorneyes to Bath and elsewhere, my wife now shewing some greater symptomes of an ill habitt of health by quinsseys, ericplus, jandice, and continuall abstractions and weakneses, which made me also soli[c]itious for some more healthy winter abode. And about the moneth of September this yeare it ples'd God that my Lady Gise dyed, which made mee hasten thither, notwithstanding that my uncle and shee had received all that yeares profitts, and also sowed for that winter a crop of wheate for the next, having retired for that winter to Clayhall as the springe came on. And soe with glad harts to Brockworth we went in October, where I began in a masse of repayres and troublesome patching of an old house; but itt was like to be our settled abode, and my father had left mee none but ruinouse Marsden.

1657.—About the beginning of the yeare 1657, my abode being now neere Gloucester I could nott soe well looke after my Lady Cambell and her proceedings; and now my brother Corselis, finding her apt to give away mony very frely to her poore kindred, and to us who marryed her kinswomen his sisters, he indeavoured and prevayled wth her to setle her estate in land, suposing that lying in a lump she would scarce give that from him. Noe place in Gloucestershire would serve her turne, for he thought itt to neere us, so shee bought the mannor of Stanwell in Essex. And toward sommer my brother and sister Cambell came to us to Brockworth, where we were first in order to receive them, and, after theyr returne to London, wee had shortly the newes of my brother Corselis death, soe litle joy had hee of my Ladyes new purchase. This greife touched my wife very sensibly, imediatly after which her nurse by neglect suffred the child to fall into the fire, thereby burning one

¹ Major-General John Desbrowe was chosen M.P. for Gloucester in 1656, but elected to sit for Somersetshire.

of his hands, which also did much afflict her, and shee shewed a visible declination in her health; after which also ensued the death of my Lady Cambell, all which joynd together caused her to keepe her bed, brought her to greate weaknesse, which her doctor's care did in part lessen toward the spring, soe as in Aprill shee was able to travell; I this while repaying the east part of the house. And indeed 'twas her earnest desire and necessary to goe to London, for we hoped for better phisitians, and my Lady Cambell had made my brother Cambell, Sir Thomas Abdy¹ and I her executors nominally, butt really only my brother Cambell, giving away most part of her personall estate to poore kindred and part of her manner of Stanwell in joynt tenancy to us three.

1658.—Soe towards London wee went in Aprill, and, my sicke wife desiring itt, wee tooke Windsore in our way, and soe being arived in towne she tooke her old phisitian, who was not very expert, nor to be prefered for kindnesse or old acquayntance in soe dangerouse a condition as hers. In short, shee fell into an ague, which as he ordred itt did increase her weaknesse and obstructions, and att last, finding how litle he prevayled on her desease, the weather also growing to hott for phisicke, he advised her to make use of Tunbridg waters.

But at this time, finding my brothers, Sir Thomas Abdy and Mr Cambell, equall sharers with mee in my part of Stanwell farme, and being likely to have but a sad accompt of my part of rent, being soe far distant from itt, I did perswade my wife to sell her part of itt, which she consented to by passing a fine and recovery, and I sold it to my brother Cambell for ——² pounds, giving him collateral security against my sonne out of my manor of Brockworth.

My sister Cambell offred her company with her husband's assent, but I att this time was imbroyled in a suite with one Fletcher, where with I was inforced to retourne into the country to Brockworth. Soe wee parted, they into Kent and I home for 3 weekes. After returning with the coach and going to seeke them att Tunbridge, I found that my brother Cambell, being deceived by a country fellow, had lodged them in an inconvenient house with earthen floores and ill attended. And the waters scarce passed with her, and made noe progresse in mending her greate obstructions, with

¹ Sir Thomas Abdy, 1st Bart., m. Mary, d. of Lucas Corsellis.

² Blank in MS.

which her paynes increasing weakened her soe much that I, fearing any longer to expect the event there, did the next morrow take them up all and brought them in the coach to London and settled in St Martin's Lane. Within two dayes my wife first with a swooneing fitt fell a vomitting a greate quantity of bloude, which brought her to that extreame weake condition that we all expected her death that night; but shee languished out the winter, and by her phisitian's helpe was able to remove into Longacre. And I going into the country brought her sonne up to her, which shee received with all expressions of joy; butt imediatly after the usuall purgations of woemen shewing themselves and after as sudaynly stopping, she fell into greater paynes and weakenesses without hope of amendment or any ease by opiate medecines; and soe about the vernall equinox, being the 10th of March, shee yeilded to the fury of her desease, and I buryed her wth her kindred and her eldest sonne in the vault att Ilford, the parish church to Clayhall.

1659.—Now was I left alone with my sonne and servants, whome I carryed home to Brockworth, having there some businesse in my hands and the demeanes of Brockworth unlett.

Thus¹ farr my grandfather, Sir Christopher Guise went in the history of himself and family, which I purpose to continue; for, having myself taken satisfaction even in this imperfect account of his, I doubt not but some of my successours may be well pleas'd with knowing what has happend to our house since that time.

Some years after the year 1659, in which Sir Christopher Guise left of the account he has given of himself, he fell into a dead palsie on one side, which much impair'd his understanding, which he never recover'd to any tollerable degree, but died in the year seventy one, leaving an only son very young and engaged in a vexatious law suit with a woman who, living with Sir Christopher in his latter days, had so far imposd upon his weaknes as almost to cause the ruin of his family. This woman had been his mistress in his healthy days by the procurement of a very famous woman of those times, call'd my Lady Bennet, in London, but having left the town he left her also and came to live at his seat at Brockworth, where he fell ill of the palsie, as was said before; in some time after which, Mrs Rouse (which was his old mistresses name) being grown very poor, her trade being a very uncertain one, came to Brockworth,

¹ "Here Sir John Guise (*i.e.* 3rd Bart.) takes up the story."—(*Original note.*)

as she pretended, in her way to Ireland, where shee was born, and from a little house where shee rested her[self], sent to Sir Christopher to desire his charity; but the lady, thinking it best to receive it from his own hands, followed the messenger and was so kindly received by her old lover that shee not only remained there that night, as shee desir'd at first, but as long as he lived, so farr imposing upon his weaknes that by the help of some of his treacherous servants shee perswaded him to grant to her and a son of hers many estates of great value, and after his death pretended he had married her; and this was the cause of that law suit which my father found himself engag'd in at the death of his.¹

I mention this accident because it was the only remarkable one which with its consequences fill'd up the latter part of Sir Christopher's life. But I will not leave him without giving some account of his personall qualities. Before his illness he had pass'd in the world for a man of very good sence, as I have been inform'd by many yet living who knew him; and methinks, tho what he has wrot in this book seem incorrect, yet there appears in it much of vivacity, not without a sound judgment and knowledge of mankind. He lived in very difficult times, but as he submitted to them on the one side, so on the other he parted not with his loyalty, but did lend king Charles the Second a large sum of money in his exile, which he could never get repayd but by a title of Barronet,² which he was told was the only recompense he had to expect for that service. The Lord Clarendone,³ then Chancellor, had a great friendship for him; and what Oliver Cromwell thought of him appears by his answer to some who propos'd Sir Christopher for some employment in the State, which required a man of better understanding then ordinary. He sayd he would not employ Mr. Christopher Guise, for that he knew him more capable of governing three kingdomes then himself. This story I had from Sir Michael Est,⁴ who was formerly his Secretary, a man well known in the Treasury, who told me he had it from the old Earl of

¹ He was buried 24 October, 1670. *Brockworth Parish Register*.

² He was created a Baronet July, 1661, being discharged for the fee usually paid on assuming that title. *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1661-2, 22; *Cal. Treas. Books*, 1672-5, 425.

³ This statement is absurd. Mention is made of a payment to a certain "Mr. Guyse" in 1653-4 in the *Clarendon State Papers*, iii, 41. This is the sole reference to a Guise in all Clarendon's published writings.

⁴ This is obviously a blunder. There has never been a Sir Michael Est.

Thomond,¹ a near relation and intimate friend of the usurper. He was esteem'd by all the noted men of his time and lov'd them; and my self have seen a printed will of Doctor Dover² pasted behind a picture of Sir Thomas Moore, wherein is this clause: Item I leave to my good friend Mr. Christopher Guise Sir Thomas Moor's head, which in my conscience I think not more ingenious than his own.

And now was my father left at his age of fourteen in the hands of guardians, who, with the testimonie of some of the servants who kept their fidelity and by their own friendly care and a very great expence of their pupill's, brought Mrs Rouse to an agreement for herself and son, which was, that eight hundred pounds in money should be payd her, and one hundred pounds annuity should be securd to her and fifty pounds annuity to her son; and so ended this law suit.

By this time my father was of age to go to the University, and did so³; but before he was one and twenty came into Glostershire and married the daughter of Mr How of Compton,⁴ by whom he had three children, two daughters and myself; and then took a journey into France, leaving his wife and children at his seat at Rendcomb, where he had also begun to build. His stay in France was not long, nor, as I think, of any use to him, for he never wrote nor spoke that language well, nor had any other advantage that I know of by that journey out of season. When he came back again, he found the Duke of York's party very powerfull at Court, and in his own country the Duke of Beauford with full power and a suitable zeal forwarding the popish faction. And now was the long parliament dissolv'd and another called, at the election of which my father joyned with Sir Ralph Dutton against the Earl of Worcester and Sir Robert Atkins, for the nation beginning to be allarm'd at the measures of the Duke of York, the bill of Exclusion was talk'd of and parties openly declared themselves. At this election the protestant interest was undoubtedly the strongest, and a great majority of the freeholders in Glostershire appeard

¹ Presumably Barnabas O'Brien, 6th Earl of Thomond. See Carlyle's *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, Letter xvii.

² Not to be identified with Thomas Dover, grandson of Robert Dover, the founder of the Cotswold games. See the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* and *Thomas Dover: Physician and Merchant Adventurer*, by J. A. Nixon. Reprinted from the *Bristol Medico-Chirurgical Journal*, March, 1909.

³ Matriculated at Christ Church, 3 December, 1669.

⁴ Elizabeth, d. of John Grubham Howe of Compton, Glos., and of Langar, Notts., and sister of Jack Howe.

to vote for my father and Sir Ralph Dutton; but even then the Court knew how to disturb and confound elections, and accordingly did so mannage matters as to get the Earl of Worcester and Sir Robert Atkins return'd, who sat all that Parliament.¹

And now things grew towards a crisis. King Charles died and was succeeded by his brother, the Duke of York, who, being a Romanist, sought by all means to bring the nation over to that superstition, and to reduce it to an absolute obedience to his government as the only means of perfecting the other work he had so much at heart, for I think verily he had more devotion then ambition. The measures taken for these purposes were such as extreamly allarm'd all lovers of their country, and among others my father, who, being of a warm unguarded temper, drew the suspicions of the government upon him, which suspicions made him so uneasy that he resolv'd to leave his country; and accordingly he went into Holland, not only to secure himself, but to contribute also, as far as in him lay, to the Prince of Orange's expedition into England, which soon follow'd.

However, that matter not being very certain, nor consequently the time of his stay there, he resolv'd to take his family, and, soon after he went, my mother, sisters, and self follow'd him to Utrecht, where we staid till the Queen came over. As to my father, he went before with the Prince, and had a commission for a foot regiment which he soon rais'd in Glosteshire among his countrymen. He had not a little contributed to the Prince's resolution, for, as I have heard him say, not long before the revolution, the Prince had so far laid aside the thoughts of it as to discharge Duke Shomberg from his service, whom he had entertaind on account of that attempt upon England only. Him then, however the Prince was discouraged, he parted with; and the old Duke was already on his way to Vienna when the Lord Coot, afterwards created Earl of Bellmont, came to Utrecht to my father, who, having conferr'd together and throughly considered the present state of affairs, agreed to go together to Loe, where the Prince then was, the succes of which journey was that Duke Shomberg was sent for

¹ The writer has blundered here. Sir John Guise (misprinted Oyse in *Official Returns of Members of Parliament*, under date 1679) and Sir Ralph Dutton represented Gloucestershire in the last three Parliaments of Charles II, but were defeated in 1685 by Charles Somerset, titular Marquess of Worcester, and Sir Robert Atkyns, Junr., Knt.

back, and from that time the whole matter pursued without farther hesitation till its final accomplishment.¹

Now was the Convention Parliament summoned, in which my father sat as Knight of the Shire for the county of Gloucester, where he was very usefull to the new establishd government. But as to his regiment, he resign'd it, thinking himself ill us'd by a preference given his lieutenant Coll. Foux² in a dispute which happen'd between them. He was but an ill courtier; he could not bear the tricks and insolence of men in power: deceit, perjury, and promise breaking were things shocking and insupportable to his nature, which he would not dissemble, and for want of doing so he had quarrels with severall persons nearest to the King, and, among the rest, with the Lord Portland, then favourite. This, 'tis probable, hindred the advancement of his fortune; nor had he any reward suitable to the great expence and hazard he had run, for in those days also the Court thought it more politique to buy new services then to reward old ones, and, not having mony and places enough for both, took care of the former and left the latter almost wholly neglected, especially in our family, for, tho my father was too necessary to them to be quite forgot, he receivd nothing but some few civill looks and wild court promises. And now was he perswaded by one Warner, who had some inspection of the woods in the forrest of Dean, to ask of his Majestie a grant of all woods within that forrest, which were not timber. Which accordingly he did, and his Majestie readily promised it; but this, being a large grant not thought of before by any of the courtiers, rais'd such a storm of envy in some and a desire of sharing in others that it was soon represented to the King as unfit to be made; and, tho the reasons given were coulor'd with pretence of inconvenience to the publick, 'tis certain the private advantages of the givers were the true motives of this their opposition to his Majestie's promise; and for proof of this truth, almost all of them had sums of money granted them out of these very sales of the Crown, especially the chief opposer, Charles Montague, after Lord Halifax, whose grant amounted to no less than thirtie thousand pounds.

But to return to the sequell of my story. My father being thus disappointed in his hope of the whole, had yet a small sum

¹ This statement is not supported by any other authority.

² Lieut.-Colonel Foulke succeeded to the command of the regiment raised by Guise on 20 September, 1689.

granted him in this manner. The next time he saw the King, his Majestie told him that he was advised how unfit 'twas to give the whole and had resolv'd not to do it, but, if he would ask any sum out of it, he should not be refus'd. Upon which he told the King he owed one thousand pounds and wanted six to marry his eldest daughter, which if his Majesty would give him, he should be well satisfied. And now, if any one should demand why he did not ask twelve thousand for his two daughters or a greater sum which would have been as easily given him as the seven, I think 'twas a great proof of his moderation, which yet may be condemned by some, modesty in this age not being a fashionable virtue, especially when getting money is the question. And this I say not without book, having observ'd that, as the skill of growing speedily rich at the publick cost has been mightily improv'd ever since I can remember, so also has the desire of doing so in most men. They are not now content with getting one or two hundred thousand pounds in the course of a long enjoyment of some of the most gainfull offices of the state, as heretofore; a statesman's fortune now must be made in three years at most; and many such we have seen, mushrooms as tall as cedars. About this time it was that Queen Mary at St Germain's was or pretended to be, with child of the Lady Elizabeth, and sent over to the English Court, desiring that a certain number of English ladys might come to be present at her delivery. Amongst these my mother was named; but, the offer being rejected, no one went.¹

And now came the year in which my father died,² to the great damage of the family, leaving his children young and without experience, which my mother could not easily supplie, being herself of an indolent temper and ill versed in the busines of the world, nay, so little capable of advising us well that shee wanted it extremely herself, but did not ask it. My father's death came by an inflammation upon bleeding at the time of an election for the county of Gloster. He died at Gloster in Dr Wintle's house (who had let him blood and was the cause of his death) the day after he was chosen knight of the shire with great majority and applause. He of all things loved popularity and had an excellent way of managing the common people to obtain it. He was very healthy,

¹ This is confirmed by the list in *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1691-2, 264. (A daughter, Louisa Mary, was born to James, 28 June, 1692.)

² He died of small pox, 19 November, 1695, according to G. E. C., *Complete Baronetage*, iii, 219.

of a robust make, an open countenance and cheerfull, not displeas'd with the company of the meanest nor unfitt for that of the best; yet he was never so acceptable either to his equals or superiors as to those of less rank then himself. He was liberal and kind to his friends, stout and unrelenting to his enemies, yet very ready to forgive offences upon acknowledgment made.

At the death of my father I made my first appearance in busines, tho much too young and under severall disadvantages. Many of the Whigg gentlemen in Glostershire being emulous of my father's credit, which indeed was extreamly great in the country, had spirited up an opposition in his last election. Mr Thomas Stephens of Lupyate was set up by them, tho without succes. But when my father was dead (the news of which they set people to watch for in a stable joyning to Wintle's house where he lay) hee and his friends thought their game more sure and immediatly sent their emissaries into all places to make intrest for him. I on the other side, resenting their usage of my father and disdaining to let them carry their point, easily yeilded to the perswasion of my zealous friends who were in the same sentiments, and resolv'd to oppose him by standing myself; in order to which, as soon as my father's funerall was over, I also began to make my interest in all places. I was at this time near nineteen years of age, not bred to any knowledge of busines, but boyed up by the great court payd by the country to my father in his life time and by flatterers after his death, little enquiring into the true condition of my affairs, but desiring extreamly to maintain that popularity my father had gained.

He died I may say without a will, being too violently seized to finish one, so that all the knowledge we had of his designs was by a half sheet of paper, blotted and underlined all over, without his name, seal, or any witnes. In this paper he encreas'd my mother's joynture near two hundred pounds a year, and gave my sisters the six thousand pound granted by the King out of the sale of wood in the forrest of Dean, to be equally divided betwixt them. This paper my mother brought to Gloster as soon as shee had news of his illness, and order'd it to be engross'd, but that engross'd copy was never sign'd, so that I may justly say the benefitt they receiv'd was by my will not his.

And now came on the election for the county, where Mr. Stephens and I appear'd with all the forces we could muster, he having in his intrest most of the Whigg gentlemen who were not particular

friends of my family, [and] I being followed by them¹ and the whole Torie intrest of the county. Thomas Ridler esquire, of the clothing sort, was our sheriff and entirely devoted to Stephens and his interest, who, seeing the election like to go against Mr Stephens, took occasion from some quarelling which hapen'd at the election to withdraw himself, leaving above a thousand men in the town to pol, the quarter of which were not for Mr Stephens. This put us under a great difficulty, but, the Undersheriff and County Clerk being there, it was resolv'd the pol should be continued, notwithstanding the sheriff's absence who was gone no further then to Hempsted, a place about a mile of Gloucester. To him then we sent, desiring him to return and finish; but he refusing, his deputy took the votes of all the freeholders then in Gloster, and then by Ridler's order adjourn'd for a month to Wootten Underedge.

The account of this election I did not think improper here to insert, because of some extraordinary proceedings of the Sheriff in it, and also that it caus'd a law to be made in that present session to regulate the elections of counties, and also that for the future no minors should be admitted to sit in parliament.² But to go on: the month being expir'd, the county met at the afforesaid place, and the election was continued, where also I had a majority of votes. But here also the Sheriff avoided a conclusion and adjourned to that day sennight at Bisley, in Stephens neighbourhood, to finish there; and when we met, casting up the pol and finding his friend too much behind me, upon the whole, struck of all whose votes were taken during the abdication and the free miners of the forrest of Dean who had allways voted till then, and by this means the majority remaining for Stephens, he return'd him without any more to do.³

This election, lasting so long and being carried from place to place, cost us above a thousand pounds apiece; which expence lay so uneasy upon the stomacks of Mr Stephens family that they hardly ever were in charity with me or mine, notwithstanding some advances I made till I found them to no purpose. But however, after this election, I went with my mother and sisters to

¹ *i.e.* the Whigs who were particular friends of the Guises.

² Minors were excluded from the House of Commons by 7 and 8 Wm. III, c. 25. This statute was frequently broken. See Porritt, *The Unreformed House of Commons*, i, 223-235.

³ Thomas Stephens was returned at this by-election 11 December, 1695. See Introduction.

London, and lodged in Parkplace at a very dear rent and lived expensively in all things, and maintained my mother and sisters, though they were in better circumstances than myself. I thought my estate would answer every thing, and, if that should fail, that the support of his Majesty could not. I was so ignorant that I thought Courts grateful, but soon found my error, for, when I came to the Treasury to solicit the payment of the sum his Majesty had granted my father, Lownes¹ told me it was made only to my father and no more of it should be paid without a new order. But his Majesty was so gracious as to grant one at last, of which my sisters had the fruits, tho' that stop and renewing of the grant was a farther bar to their title, had the will been never so good: At this time I was advised by some to petition against Mr Stephens; but what was then called the country party being strong in the House, and Robin Harly Esqr, after Earl of Oxford, asking my uncle John How, who was a leader of that faction as considerable or more than himself, whether he would engage that I should be with them, and he refusing to do it, Mr Harly told him that 'twould be in vain for me to attempt a petition, for that Mr Stephens had engaged to him; so that, this party then being all powerful, I gave over the thoughts of my petition, and since that am more confirm'd that I did right, being better acquainted with the spirit of the committees of election in that House. Stephens therefore sate this parliament, and never was chose more, for the gentlemen who set him up doing it only in order to break an establish'd interest, did at the next election lay him quite aside and set up Sir Richard Cox, an ill favour'd orator of that county.

But to return to my own affairs; in the next spring parson Rich² propos'd a marriage for me with Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Nathaniel Nappier³ of Dorsetshire, who had in money and jewels about eleven thousand pounds, and in land about the worth of fifteen hundred pounds. Her guardians or trustees were Serjeant Thomas Strode and Sir George his brother, two hard headed old fellows, who, taking advantage of my inexperience and also that my marriage settlement was made by a

¹ William Lowndes, Secretary to the Treasury.

² Probably Samuel Rich, chaplain to the regiment of foot raised by Guise.

³ Sir Nathaniel Napier of Middlemarch Hall and More Critchell, 2nd Bart., m. Istly Blanche, d. and coheir of Sir Hugh Wyndham, Justice of the Common Pleas, and 2ndly Susanna, d. of Rev. William Guise.

privy seal,¹ did so tie up my hands by making me tennant for life only to all my estate, that I had not power left to take up one farthing of money upon it, tho on never so just an occasion, nor make any alteration in it, tho never so convenient or profitable to my family. After my marriage, which was about midsummer in the year 1696, Sir Nathaniel Nappier, my father-in-law, invited his daughter and myself to his seat at Creech Hill in Dorsetshire, whither we went with my youngest sister, where we stay'd till September and then went to Rendcomb to entertain Sir Nathaniel in our turn, and visit my own estates, where he became acquainted with Mrs Sue Gyse whom he afterwards married. Having stay'd there some time, we went to London and lived with him all the winter, paying half charges. He was a man of extream levity, which had given me an ill impression of him at first; nor did his behaviour after mend my opinion of him, so that we lived disagreeably enough, and worse when we discovered his design of marrying Mrs Guise, which was about the spring after his seeing her at Rencomb, where he had taken a liking to her and told her so. Shee was advised by her mother, Mrs Arnold,² a very crafty woman to come to London, and put herself in his way; which advice she immediatly put in practice, having but four hundred pounds to her portion, and he a very good estate, which (in her judgment who intended not to want younger men) made up for his great age. In the spring then, he being impatient to marry and bring home his wife, we, to be free from our uneasines in living with him, did agree to part, and accordingly, the summer comming on, and designing soon for the country we took a lodging in Greek Street and left him his house at liberty, whither soon after came his new lady. We left the town too soon after and came to Rendcomb. When I came there I began seriously to look into my affairs and found them in great disorder. My estate was charged with 6000 pounds to my sisters and 2000 pounds mortgage. The elections had cost no less then 2000 pounds, besides the funerall of my father, many book debts of his and many more contracted by myself; and I beleive in debts personall and real I owd no less then thirteen thousand pounds, to pay which I had about eight to receive, having allready call'd in a bond of Sir Nathaniel Nappier for a thousand. My wife's mother was a coheiress of Judg Hugh Windham, and

¹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1696, 140, 154.

² *Mrs. Ann Arnold.*

had left her daughter her executor, by which means she had her fortune, for Sir Nathaniel gave her nothing but one hundred pounds for wedding cloaths. He had indeed promis'd her six thousand pounds at his death, but gave her nothing, nor to her son after her.

The inconvenient scituation of my affairs and my incapacity of sitting in the House of Commons made me resolve to continue in the country; and this year my younger sister was married, without my consent, to Sir Roger Bradshaw,¹ of Haigh in Lancashire, of whom I can say no more then that he was a handsom man and pleas'd her. He was recommended to my mother by the Countess of Bridgwater,² her near kinswoman. I neither consented to the marriage nor was at it. Now my mother settled herself in town with her eldest daughter Annabella, a woman of great witt which I think did her no more good then the other's beauty, which was also very perfect. Both then living together and seeing much company, my sister fell in love with Edward Blount Esqr, a younger brother of Sir Walter Blount of Worcestershire, a family well known but of the popish religion, which shee had allways shown a great aversion to. He was also allmost twice as old as shee, without land or money. He was however a good scholar, having been intended for the church and bred first among the Jesuits at St Omers and afterwards at Rome in their colledge there. His person was very disagreeable, but his conversation insinuating, and having got the reputation of a wit and critick, tho I think without reason, being also tollerably skill'd in the Greek and Latin tongues, he pleas'd her bookish humour. Shee read the Greek and Latin authors translated, but wished shee could have done it in the originall, which desire of hers he being in some measure able to supply, shee thought shee could not joyn herself to a more usefull husband. In short 'tis very hard to account for her choice; but so it was, that in spite of all her best friends she married him at last. As he was so cunning as to perswade my sister to marry him, so also he contrived to perswade his elder brother, Sir Walter, to settle his maternal estate upon him, in consideration of this match; and as by those means he removed the objection of his poverty, so, after, he did that of the difference of religion, for, when he had

¹ 3rd Bart.

² John Egerton, 4th Earl of Bridgwater, m. 2ndly Jane, d. of Charles (Powlett) 1st Duke of Bolton and Mary, illeg. d. of Emmanuel Scrope, Earl of Sunderland, and sister of Sir John Guise's (3rd Bart.) grandmother.

been married to her thirteen or fourteen years, shee turned papist and that way became more entirely united to him and his family. I never knew above one protestant marry a papist husband who was not at last brought over either by the importunity of their priests or their love to a husband: therefore would caution all protestant fathers and mothers against such ventures.

There happen'd nothing remarkable to me during my stay in the country, which was about four years, only that my uncle Mr. John How (though we had different opinions as to the publick) did engage me to give him my interest in the county of Gloucester, myself being not yet at age, and, to insinuate himself the more by the means of my old servant Gammon, told him he intended only to keep up my intrest till I could use it; which how sincere, the following part of this Memoir will shew. However, he was elected not only then but after.

And now my wife, after severall miscarriages, brought me a son, but died herselfe ten days after he was born. Shee was a very virtuous woman and good wife, and as my love for her during her life was very great, so was my affliction for the loss of her. The Countess of Bristoll,¹ her aunt, and the Lady Guise, my mother, were both at Rendcomb when she died; who going thence soon after, I put my son to nurse at Northletch and came myself to London. There I stay'd till about midsummer, and then, being much invited by my Lady Bristoll, went and spent the rest of the summer with her at Sherbourn, which being past I return'd to Rendcomb to see my son, and thence to London again. The next spring I came to Rendcomb and liv'd there till autumn, at which time my son being more then a year and a half old, I resolv'd to carry him to Sherbourn to the Lady Bristoll; and not only did so, but, at her desire, left him there, I think to his no great profit of any kind.

By this time my unkle How had been chose into the parliament for Glostershire and another election came on, at which I, not being yet enough establishd among the Whigs, did yeild my pretensions to Sir Richard Cox, and this was the last parliament of King William; for at my fathers death the Tories had been all on my side, which made the Whigs suspect me, especially having also given my intrest to my unkle How and appear'd openly for him at his

¹ Rachel, d. and coheir of Sir Hugh Wyndham, m. John, 3rd Earl of Bristol, as his 2nd wife.

first election for Glostershire. This therefore made the Whigs cool to me ; and setting up with them some time before had drawn the Tories from me, for whatsoever figure I had accidentally made I had never been other then a zealous friend to the King and Revolution, and my late adherence to that partie just before the King's death had at his death got me a good place in their opinion, which made me, at the first election of parliament of the Queen, declare myself a candidate against my unkle. This was a bad time, for then was the Earl of Marlborough, Godolphin, and the whole court entirely in the Torie intrest, which was my unkle's, and whatever power could contrive to defeat my election was done. But the high sheriff put the finishing stroak to their design, for, by pretending to make a scrutiny of the bad votes, he shuffled up a return, which return when I petitioned the House against, I found the treatment all those will meet with who petition against a man better liked then themselves ; nay, so far was that parliament from doing me justice that, without hearing my cause, Simon Harcourt, since Lord Harcourt, put the question that Mr John How was duly elected, and it was carried ; and what makes the proceeding still the more scandalous is that this was not done in a drunken committee after dinner, but in the morning at the barr of the House and in the face of the sun.¹ And here I must take notice, not to do it at twice, that I after sat in the House and saw Simon Harcourt turn'd out of the House, if possible with more injustice then he excluded me. But I would not return his violence upon him, for, when I saw the whole cause, I left the House without voting.² But to return : My majority at this election was about twenty five, which, as is aforesaid, they found means to strike out with seven or eight more, which left Mr. How the majority, upon which the sheriff made his return. But when this was over, I began to think more seriously of setling my intrest ; and, in order

¹ "The petition complained of the Sheriff's granting a scrutiny (which I think he might do, however hazardous to himself, perhaps ought to do, when properly demanded, and the matter feasible), but it complained also of the election and return, and without entering at all into the merits of the election . . . How was voted duly elected. It was at the motion of Sir Simon Harcourt (afterwards Lord Harcourt) [who] was often reproached with it to his face : but he was a man without shame, although very able." Oslow's note to Burnet, *History of My Own Time*, ii, 335.

² By Order of the House, dated 20 January, 1708-9, the return for Abingdon was amended by erasing the name of Sir Simon Harcourt,

to it, borrow'd the Bishop's palace at Gloster and settled myself there, and being in the center of all the business of the county did secure it better before the next election, till when nothing very remarkable happen'd to me.

About the end of the last sessions of this parliament, the Tories lost their credit at Court by that famous tack as it was call'd and the Duke and Dutches of Marlborough and the Lord Godolphin who govern'd all thought it necessary to lay them aside and call the Whigg party into busines, which also made my election the more easy, for by this means we had a sheriff who did me justice which was yeilded by Mr. How himself. This time I was elected with Coll. Colchester,¹ a very worthy man and a true friend to his country. But tho nothing of violence was done in the management of this election, yet the day before there happen'd somthing very extraordinary and not improper to be told here. Mr. John Prin, barrister at law, had taken care of Sir Ralph Dutton's estates for many years; he was a zealous Whigg, and till then Sir Ralph had allways been so, but having lost his credit in the county by the ill state of his affairs, he had been laid aside by the gentlemen of that party for two or three elections, which he took so ill of them that in this election he was perswaded to side with the Tories. Mr. How, whose intrest it was to draw him from his party, had insinuated Mr. Prin's ill management and dishonesty so artfully to him, at the same time naming another who he engag'd should do him justice, that Sir Ralph resolv'd to leave party and steward and all and put himself entirely in the hands of these new friends. The man who Mr. How proposed for settling his affaires was Vincent Oakly, an attorney of little substance, credit or skill, but of an invincible impudence and not much conscience, as may be guesed by what follows. Mr. Prinn was active in elections, and now in an intrest which Sir Ralph had left. This was to be remedied, and the best way they could think of was to suppose a vast debt due upon account from Prinn to Sir Ralph, upon which Prinn was to be arrested and so hinder'd from doing mischeif. Accordingly an action of forty two thousand pound is clap'd upon his back, and the day before the election himself brought to Gloster gaol publickly through the high streets between two bailifs. And now they thought him sure; and indeed had like to have made him so, at least for some time, for all his old acquaintance shrunk from him

¹ Maynard Colchester, Whig M.P. for Gloucestershire 1701-10.

and utterly refus'd their bail, till myself, who was but little acquainted with him, did prevail with my friend Mr. John Hanbury,¹ a man of more then ordinary worth and substance, whose charity and generosity upon this occasion can never be enough prais'd, to be bail with me for him. And so the poor man was freed from durance, and when after, the accounts between him and Sir Ralph came to be made up, it appear'd that Sir Ralph was in debt to him upon the balance of fifteen hundred pounds. The reason that I so readily gave my bail for Prinn was that he had already suffer'd persecution for the Whigg cause. Mr. How had been inform'd at the election before that he had accused him in Cheltenham market of being in the intrest of the pretended Prince of Wales, and had brought his action against him for scandall.²

Bridges of the Mithe, a man of profligate life and conversation, was one of his witnesses, the other a country man of no better repute. But, however, the busnes ran high against Prinn, and a jury of Glostershire gentlemen gave Mr. How four hundred pounds damage, which Prinn immediately payed, with the costs, amounting to fourscore pounds more. I mention this, because of what was done after to make up his losses. For my own part, I never believed Prinn guilty of the scandal, because first he persisted in deniing it, though Mr. How offer'd upon his acknowledgment to remitt him all but the costs, and next because the declaration was for a great number of words hard to be remember'd, at least by any person to whom they were not spoken; and neither of the witnesses were in company with Prinn when he spoke them, but stood at a distance in the market place. Prinn also, just after the triall, came into some company where I was and offer'd a wager that no one should repeat them after him, which, when we did hear them, all agreed was allmost impossible. But, since I have mentioned Mr. How so often, and this was the last time he appear'd publicly in the county, 'tis fit I say somthing of his character.³ He was second son to John How Esqr, of Compton, and the Lady Annabella, daughter of the Earl of Sunderland, Scroop. In his time he made a great figure in parliament, especially at the latter end of King William's

¹ M.P. Gloucester, 1702-8; father of Sir C. Hanbury Williams.

² John Prinn accused Howe of being a Jacobite and was fined 400*l.* The case was carried to the House of Lords, but the verdict in Howe's favour was upheld. See *Lords' Journal*, xvii, 635b; and *Trans. Bristol and Glos. Arch. Soc.*, 1877-8, 50-1.

³ This character of Jack Howe should be compared with that of Macaulay (*History of England*, ed. C. H. Firth, iii, 1336). The latter character, though based too exclusively on lampoons, is undoubtedly the more correct.

reign, for then he acted a part which will allways gain the applause of the people of England, whilst they maintain their liberty, viz: *dum sentire quae velis, et quae sentias dicere licebit*. He spoke freely and sharply against the abuses of the courtiers, for which I think almost allways there is good reason; but in Queen Ann's reign he began to change his stile from satir to eulogie, which, as it is less agreeable to mankind, so was he infinitely less a master in it, and began to loose his reputation as an orator, to receive in exchange that of a pretty good courtier. Yet during all that reign he executed the office of paymaster of the Guards and garrisons at home with such exactnes and justice as got him no small honour with those who had dealings with him. As to his figure, he was tall, very well shaped, and had abundance of ingenuity and sharpness in his look, extreemly agreeable to those he desired to please: had a great deal of witt, a very sound judgment, and good knowledge of polite learning. He was also a man of honour and courage, but with all these not one grain of goodnature or religion, I mean in his younger days, for after those were past and that time, reflexion, and disapointment had made him look into himself and sit looser to the things of this world, I verily think he became a true and sincere Christian; and in this best condition of his life I leave him and my account of him to return to my own affairs.

After my election I went to London and took my place in parliament, and soone after it was agreed by us all, I mean the gentlemen of Glostershire, that application should be made to the Lord Treasurer to make Mr. Prinn Receiver of that county, and desir'd me to be their spokeman and sollicitor in this and all their other busines with the Court at that time. This first negotiation I was successfull in for them, but not without difficulty, for I know not by what secret influence the agents refus'd all security but mine, 'tis probable being unwilling to displace Mr. Webb, whom Mr. How had plac'd, and for whom upon that score my Lord Godolphin had some favour. However it were, I resolv'd not to stop when there was question of doing credit to the interest I was engaged in, but became security for Prinn, and accordingly he was Receiver, to the generall satisfaction of the Glostershire Whiggs and mortification of the other party. Soon after this, I became acquainted with the Duke of Somerset¹ who honour'd me with a more then common civility; and then one Ant. Thomas, a clerke in the Treasury,

¹ Charles, 6th Duke of Somerset, "the proud Duke."

introduced himself to me by the means of my man Ludlam, and gave me notice of the vacancy of the office of auditor of the land revenues of Wales, vacant by the death of Shales,¹ representing it to me as a very advantageous thing, and perswading me to ask for it, which I did, being seconded by the Duke of Somerset. My Lord Treasurer wrot a very kind letter to me upon the subject, but withall told me he did not think fitt to grant my desire, the office I desird being beneath me, and rather fitt for some one who had been bred a common clerke. I must confess, at that time I thought this reason for refusing me a meer jest, but since that time have alterd my opinion; however at Lowndes desire it was granted to his son in law Jett,² and so that matter ended. All this while my circumstances were very uneasy, and the Whigg ministry took little care to make them otherwise; and at last they grew so as to worst my very constitution, my health impairing as my estate did. Certain it is that some bodies bear up under the pressure of an afflicted mind better then others can, especially those uneasinesses which men of honour hate to complain of. I wanted the assistance of the Court, and solicited my Lord Godolphin in order to obtain it; but this rather encreas'd then lessen'd my misfortune, for dependance and frequent disapointments were new unhappineses, and which till then I had been unacquainted with. On Thursday I went commonly to the Lord Treasurer's levy, where he spake to me so often and so kindly that I was by many taken for a favorite. Once he told me the Queen was sending an envoy to the Emperour's court, and that if I would go I might expect his assistance and service in it; but at the same time told me the allowance of envoy would hardly maintain me, and desir'd me to consider and advise with my friends whether that employ would be worth my while. The then Earl of Berkly³ had been my old acquaintance, and having been often sent abroad I thought him a fit man to consult in this affair. Accordingly I went to him, and he advised me to accept of it. The next was the now Lord Cadogan,⁴ who, upon my proposing it to him and telling him the objection rais'd by my Lord Godolphin, himself likewise advis'd

¹ Henry Shales, one of the two Auditors of the Exchequer.

² Presumably Thomas Jett, one of the "Five Under-Clerks in the Inner Room"—Chamberlayne's *Magna Britannia*, under Exchequer.

³ Charles, 2nd Earl of Berkeley. His diplomatic appointments are noticed in G. E. C. *Complete Peerage*, ed. Vicary Gibbs.

⁴ William, afterwards 1st Earl Cadogan.

me to accept of it, as they would give it, verily believing they would soon encrease the allowance, saying further, which I think is true, that the cheif difficulty is to get first into busines. Upon the advice then of these two friends I resolv'd to accept, and the next Thursday went to the Lord Treasurer to let him know I did so. But when I asked him what he would do in it, he told me very driely that he could not serve me. Away then went I, cursing the uncertainty of Courts and the doublenes of great men—but why say I of great men, since there is no vice so unbecoming a truly great mind, neither was that my Lord Godolphin's fault, but rather a timerousnes which made him a prey to men less sincere then himself. I discover'd this soon after by Robin Harly, now Earl of Oxford, who, without any necessity, came to me in the House of Commons and told me he had offer'd my service to the Queen (it being his place as Secretary of State) for Vienna, but that her Majesty sayd shee had resolv'd on some body else, which was Sir Phillip Meddows,¹ and that, upon his urging her on my behalf, shee said shee was for some reasons obliged to give it him, and that, besides, he was my Lord Treasurer's nephew; and this last part of his discourse to me was the cause of it all, for he was then beginning to play that game which he after completed, viz. the disgrace of my Lord Godolphin. I say he was then laboring hard to make him odious not only to her Majesty but every one else.

Soon after this I fell into a terrible feavor of the spirits, which had very near cost me my life; but, with the help of Sir Samuel Garth,² I escaped after a month's dangerous illnes. My son was all this while with my Lady Bristoll. The summer after this illnes, I made my sister Bradshaigh a visit in Lancashire, then to Rendcomb, and to London the next session of parliament. And this winter died my Lady Bristoll of a feavor which shee cougth by living too soon in a new built house. Shee left my son a little estate in Hampshire, which shee had held in joint tenancy with his mother; and all she [had] besides, which was worth more then ten thousand pounds, shee gave William, the elder son of Sir Nathaniel Nappier. She was a woman of wit and cunning, but she first was spoil'd by her pride and a bad education, the latter no good quality. Shee never had any children, her husband being every

¹ Sir Philip Medowes, created Knight-Marshal of the Household, December 23, 1700. *Shaw's Knights*, ii, 272.

² The famous Whig physician.

way a weak man: Nothing is more unfortunate to humankind then the mistaken notion of greatnes, for whereas nothing truly deserves that name or worthily sets us above the rest of mankind but virtue, we are too apt to reckon titles and other distinctions (which are the mere gifts of chance) so, and therefore are those ornaments and gifts of fortune often stops and barrs to the growth of true greatnes, which is virtue, rather then marks of it. This by the way. As to my Lady Bristoll, shee had not any true friends amongst those shee reckon'd her equals, and thought it beneath her to seek for or accept of any among those shee calld her inferiors ; and so, for the sake of a distinction of no value, did shee live in an uncomfortable solitude, the naturall consequence of ill judged pride and false greatnes. Upon her death I carried my son into Glostershire ; and, at the desire of Sir Richard How, sent him soon after to school at Marlborough, where he stay'd two years to his great loss of time, a damage in youth not to be repair'd.

About this time or soon after it was that I came acquainted with my Lady Dudley,¹ daughter of the Lady Diana Howard, and widow of my Lord Dudley. Shee was a very genteel woman and had wit, and I liked her well enough to desire to marry her. Shee was not quite of age, but under the government of her mother, whose consent I had. As for the daughter, I had reason to think I had hers also, since shee met me allmost every night for the greatest part of a summer, at the end of which we parted, shee to go into Surrey, I into Glostershire, with a design, as I thought, to conclude in the winter ; in order to which, Lady Diana sent a very venerable person to view my estates and was well satisfied with his report, and I think did sincerely desire I might have her daughter. But the young lady, in my absence, had given herself a loose and got into a way of living not agreeable to the state of marriage ; and this shee was so pleas'd with that shee resolv'd to enjoy it a little longer ; and, in order to it, and also to trie my patience, shee went to Dudley Castle, whither, seeing her levity, I disdain'd to follow her, nor ever thought of her more. What an end she made, and how shee behav'd herself the rest of her short life I shall not say ; but have often thanked God who delivered me from that improper match. Whilst I was thus engaged in hopes and disappointments, my health also grew worse, and I lived

¹ Edward (Ward) Lord Dudley, m. Diana, only d. and h. of Thomas and Diana Howard. He died in 1704, she in 1709 when only 23.

in a kind of uneasy condition, having given up all thoughts of preferment till the session of parliament, which was the last in which the Whiggs kept their credit at Court, in which, being once in the House of Commons, Mr Lownds, by nature no promising man, took me by the hand and with much kindnes told me that the Court would soon take care of me. This was not without order; but I had so often been deceiv'd in my expectation from the Court, that with a little resentment I told him I was glad if I had been of any use to the Queen (for hee also told me they acknowledged my services) but that I had nothing to ask. Whether that cold answer would, or would not, have hinder'd their designs for me I cannot tell; but soon after this the ministry was changed and a new set advanced in their places, so that, whatever their designs for me might be, that alteration made them miscarry.

Soon after the ministry being changed and the parliament dissolv'd, I went into the country to secure my election, tho almost sick of the publick. And now being on the Bench at the Quarter Session, a Justice of the peace took me aside and ask'd me whither I would marry a woman worth twenty thousand pounds; whom, upon enquiry, I found to be the widdow¹ of Sir Harry Every of Darbishire and daughter to Sir Francis Russel² of Worcestershire, of an antient family and a man much esteem'd in his life time by all that knew him. The lady I had seen but never spoke too, and upon the whole readily accepted his offer, and we agreed that I should see her at his house at the time of the Tewksbury election.

And now my cozen John How, son to my unkle, set up with Mr. Berkley of Stoak against Coll. Morton and myself. The first time I stood candidate for the county of Gloucester, I had the Tory intrest, as was said before, but after left them for the Whiggs, who at that time I thought the best Englishmen; and for these last I did and ventur'd much, but without a suitable return, having, whilst I was at their head, allways been made uneasy by an ambitious and emulous spirit very prevalent in that party, and which makes them bad subjects and worse rulers, unfit either to command or to be commanded; and, for my part, when I stood for Glostershire upon that intrest, I allways found more difficulty in managing my friends then my opposers, which made me very doubtfull as to the succes of the election as this time, and what

¹ Anne, widow of Sir Henry Every, 3rd Bart., mar. lic. 2 January, 1710-11.

² Bart., M.P. Tewkesbury, 1673-89.

pains I took in it was to secure Coll. Morton rather than myself; and accordingly he was chose and I lost it.¹

But to leave this small digression and return to my own affairs. When the time of the Tewksbury election came, I went thither, and from thence to the house of my friend the Justice of Peace, who had so managed matters that I found the Lady Every and a woman of her acquaintance, calld Mrs. Williamson, were there. I had with me Mr. Richard Gwinneth, who was much in my family and knew my affairs and particularly this. At this first interview I liked the lady's person very well, and finding she had the character of a good natur'd woman, I resolv'd to pursue the busines as warmly as I could; and accordingly, when I was got home, desir'd my friend the Justice to propose me to the lady, which he did, and had her consent that I should wait upon her at Strensham, where shee then resided. As soon as I had notice of this, I went thither and stay'd about a week the first time, in which we agreed upon severall matters, and shee consented that settlements should be drawn, which I immediatly gave her lawyer orders for, by her direction.

There were some conditions in our agreement very disagreeable to me and contrary to my judgment, which yet I complied with out of my desire to marry her, and eight years experience (for 'tis now so long since we married) has convinc'd me I judg'd right. Let no woman marry a man in whom shee will not place an entire confidence; to whom shee will not, with her person, give up all her affairs; nor let any man who will preserve the dignity and authority of a husband, or secure the happines of his marriage, consent to what the folly of parents and distrust of wives has introduced among us, viz. deeds of trust, in separation, of estates, goods, *et cetera*; naming trustees to take care of all these; servants of the ladys, which have nothing to do with the master, and the like. Let all wise men and women, I say, avoid these things; for, as God has appointed that man and wife shall become one flesh, so ought their intrest, their humors, their affections to become the same; and as the Gospel appoints the husband to be the head of the wife, so ought he to be the only trustee and guardian for his wife, nor can shee with honesty appoint any against him. And as entire reliance is most endearing in marriage, so is the want of it most odious and intollerable; and, whatever reasons a man of

¹ John Berkeley and Matthew Ducie Moreton were returned for Gloucestershire 25 October, 1710.

sence may have to yeild to such infamous terms, he must always resent the indignity of being forc'd to do so. (This was my case, and this made her a very uneasy wife and myself very unhappy with her.) But I will say no more of this now ; eight years I have unhappily past over ; may the rest that are left be more comfortable.¹ But to come back to my story.

After I had married this my second wife, finding her very fond of London, I bought a very good house of the Earl of Orrery in Park place, to please her, and furnish'd it very richly ; and there we liv'd most of our time till I grew very sickly and found the town air so contrary to my constitution that I could bear it no longer, but took a little house at Kensington. This was about two years in the reign of King George and the eight and thirtieth year of my age. My ill health hindred me from meddling with publick busines or making myself known at Court, which I otherwise much desir'd, having a great opinion of the King. But afterwards I had my wish, tho hitherto without any advantage to myself or family. And here it 'twill not be an improper place to say something of the cause of my acquaintance with the King and royal family, it being a matter which still subsists, and is, I think, like to do so. On the [2nd] day of [Nov.] in the year [1717] the Princess of Wales was brought to bed of a son, about whose christening the King and Prince fell into an open rupture with each other, the disgust not then begun but being made more publick. The King, who has always shewed a great desire of keeping our laws and customs, sent to the Dutches of Marlborough to know what godfathers and godmothers were usually appointed for the royal children. Her Grace, who never yet let slip an opportunity of satisfying her avarice or ambition, sent his Majesty word that the Lord Chamberlains had usually been so, and some others which are not here material, giving for instance the Earl of Dorset's² being godfather to the Duke of

¹ The marriage settlement is dated 20 December, 1710. "Last week I was at the sale of Lady Every's, now Guise's, goods at Burton (the best, indeed they had reserved), and saw in a few hours the house emptied, she had to my knowledge been many years with great expense and nicety fitting and furnishing. I did not see my countryman, Sir John Guise ; he hath the character of a fine gentleman. Her two former spouses gave her the power, the third 'tis thought she must vail to." Lady Pye to Mrs. Abigail Harley, 28 July, 1711. *Harley Papers*, iii, 65-6.

² Charles Sackville, 6th Earl of Dorset. See Macaulay (iv, 1664) for his being sponsor to the Duke of Gloucester.

Gloster, who was Lord Chamberlain to King William. This was true, but I do not find it had been ever observed or practiced as a custome. However this president best served her design, which was that her son in law, the Duke of Newcastle,¹ might now have that honour, and not only so but contrary to the Prince's inclination, shewing thereby the power of that family even superior to that of the royal blood. The King insisted upon the Duke of Newcastle's being godfather. The Prince, who had design'd that honour for his uncle the Duke of York, grew very uneasy; but, there being no remedy, is forc'd at last to yield. After a month's debate, the day of christening comes; the King and all the Court present. The Prince, at that time not being able to contain his anger, goes to the Duke and in a whisper tells him he would remember his insolence. The Duke in a great fright runs and complains to his Majesty and tells him how the Prince had threatened him; upon which the King orders the Prince to keep his chamber, the next day to leave the palace; which he did immediatly with the Princess and their servants, leaving only the young Princesses and their attendance at St Jameses.

A little while after this, the Princess sent to me by the Countess of Buckenburgh² to come to her R.H. at my Lord Grantham's.³ When I came to her, shee told me shee had heard much of me, tho shee had never seen me, and that the good opinion shee had of me made her desirous to know my opinion about the misunderstanding between the King and Prince, and also my advice what was best to be done in it. I told her I thought regaining the King's favour by an entire submission and dutifull behaviour to his Majesty was the best, nay the only good method his Highnes could take. Shee desir'd to hear my reasons for thinking so, in order to which shee appointed me to wait on her the next day, being Sunday. By this time it had been in debate to whom the management of the children of the royal family did belong, and the opinion of the twelve judges had been asked upon it, who

¹ Thomas Pelham Holles, cr. 1715 Duke of Newcastle, m. Henrietta, 1st d. and coheir of Francis, 2nd Earl of Godolphin by Henrietta, *suo jure*, Duchess of Marlborough.

² Countess of Lippe and Buckenburgh, one of the Ladies of the Princess of Wales.

³ Henry D' Auverquerque, cr. 1698 Earl of Grantham, Chamberlain to the Princess of Wales.

return'd for answer that it was the King.¹ This so disorder'd her Royal Highnes, to whom this resolution was signified, that shee could not speak to me that day ; but I went to her on the Munday and found her in a very great disorder upon the loss of her children who were taken out of the hands of the frail Gemenghen² and put into the Countess of Portland[’s], a lady without doubt extremely fit for such a charge, but not more then shee who had ’em before, of whom I must say that shee was a woman of as great worth as ever I knew in my whole life, of as consummat prudence and as extensive vertue and true honour. Shee was my sincere friend and intimate ; and her death was to me a loss not to be repair’d.

But to return from this digression which is much less then I owe to the memory of so excellent a woman. I still continued in the same mind in my discourse to her Royall Highnes, I mean the necessity of submission to the Kings will and pleasure. This was a generall advice, for twas some time before I knew particularly what his Majesty expected, and yet (which will seem a strange paradox) I knew it before his Majesty himself did ; the meaning of which I shall here explain.

The German ministers, who best knew the King’s mind, had form’d a set of articles as necessary conditions of the King’s reconciliation to his son ; and these had been shewn to me by the Princess of Wales, who I had the honour of going to very often in private ; and knowing hers and the Prince’s minds concerning ’em all, I had occasionally made mention of ’em to his Majesty, who told me he had not seen ’em and commanded me to procure ’em for him. This must seem very strange that anything should be made necessary to so great an event as the King and Princes reconciliation and his Majesty know nothing of it ; but this is certainly true, for, having procured a copy of these articles from her Royal Highnes, I carried ’em to the Dutches of Kendall to deliver to his Majesty ; and that lady is still alive to be a witnes of the truth hereof.

About this time the King, who honour’d me with some esteem, supped with me at Kensinton and was very merry with me and well pleas’d with my entertainment ; and ’twill not be improper in this place to speak something of his character and person. He

¹ Proceedings on the case concerning the King’s prerogative in respect to the education and marriage of the Royal Family. Howell’s *State Trials*, xv, 1195–1230.

² “The governess.”—(*Original note.*) “Frail” probably=fräulein.

came to the crown at the age of fifty four, and reigned about thirteen year. He was of a middle stature, thick set, and had a good natured and open countenance. His understanding was sound and strong, a great lover of justice, not without a mixture of mercy and good nature. He had been used to arbitrary power; therefore was not shocked at any thing that savour'd of it; yet was he very tender of our laws, and would, when anything happen'd which he was not well acquainted with the nature of, ask whether it were according to the law, which when his ministers assured him of, he would soon consent to it. When first he came over, he seem'd very industrious in government; but whether those about him made the constitution more appear to him more perplexed then it really is, on purpose to wear out his patience and get the management of affairs entirely into their own hands, or whether he grew more inactive by age, he at last gave himself up to his naturall indole[nce] and love of pleasure, and left all to 'em, which certainly was a great unhappines to this nation, for, whilst he medled in affairs, he was a great check to the arbitrary and insolent power they have exercised ever since. He was not fond of royalty or of the marks of it, and in the Queen's¹ time, after his mother's death, Mr Ropton,² a powerfull man in that court, told a considerable member of the House of Commons who was there that it would be necessary to provide a sum of money for the Hannover ministry, to engage 'em to perswade their master, the Elector, to accept of the crown of England, when it should become his by the Queens demise. Few men are so indifferent as he was to power and greatnes; but surely this indifference was a proof of the goodnes of his nature and shews well enough how happy any other nation but ours might have been under the government of such a prince. Between this good King and the Princes of Wales I often went, and found 'em extreemly animated against each other, nay, the King seemd more angry with her then his son. He accused her of bad principles and dissimulation. He told me once that shee had drawn in Doctor Wake, then Archbishop of Canterbury, to her party by telling him he should have the direction of her conscience, and at the same time made a jest of him with her familiars and call'd him her setting dog, his Grace having some little motions not entirely unlike that creature. Her Royal Highnes in return told

¹ "Anne."—(*Original note.*)

² *i.e.* Robethon.

me that his Majesties dislike to her was so much the stronger because he had not allways had an aversion for her and had signified so much to her in a manner shee did not well understand.

Be this as it may, in some time I had so farr prevail'd upon the Prince that shee order'd me to go to Mr. Spencer Compton¹ to settle the busines of the articles with him ; but he being gone out of town and it being late in the summer, I was also in hast to go and could not get an opportunity of speaking with him till the next winter, at my return, and then I found a kind of peace made between Sunderland, Craggs, Stanhop, and Wallpole, with his party, which was call'd by them a reconciliation of the King and Prince, tho most certainly at that time and ever after they were as much at variance as ever, those people not much caring how much the King and his son remaind enemies in secret so they might but do their own busines by a seeming pacification.

Thus² far my father of his own and some publick matters, but he was too indolent and unhealthy to pursue a Court intreague, and of too honest and open a temper to have kept any power there, had he obtain'd it, which he certainly would, had he brought about the reconciliation he so far advanced ; nay, so far had he wrought himself into the old King's favour by his honest and free advice, that the King once asked him what he should do for him. He named something ; but when the King mention'd that he would consult his ministry about it, my father told him that he would gladly serve him, but would never be obliged to his ministers. So the business drop'd.

(The following verses are written on one of the blank pages in the hand of Sir John Guise, the third Baronet.)

I

Tho death which nothing spares have tane thee hence,
And in thy coffin hid thee from our sight,
To thy dear memory he has no pretence,
For in our hearts thy image soft and bright,
Whilst our hearts move, shall live, nor worn away
By time or fortune ever know decay.

¹ "Since Ld. Wilmington."—(*Original note.*)

² "This conclusion is in the handwriting of Sir John Guise, fourth Baronet."
—(*Original note.*) Sir J. Guise, 3rd Bart., d. 16 November, 1732.

2

O little comforter, O favorite dear,
 Hast thou then left me, never to return ?
 For thee the hardest heart would drop a tear,
 For thee in sighs with bitter woe I mourn.
 Within thy little coffin lies my heart,
 Wounded all ore with sorrows piercing dart.

3

The rising sun is witnes of my grief,
 And when he sets he leaves me weeping on ;
 The empty world for me has no relief,
 Vain are its joyes since thou, my love, art gone.
 The pain I feel no language can express,
 Nor hours, nor days, nor years can make it less.

4

Whatever beauties plenteous nature yeilds
 Must still encrease my grief, resembling thee.
 Sweet are the flowers in gardens and in fields.

(The following entries of the births of his children are in the handwriting of Sir John Guise, fourth Baronet.)

Jenny was born Fryday, the 4th of Janry 1733-4 at half an hour past eleven.

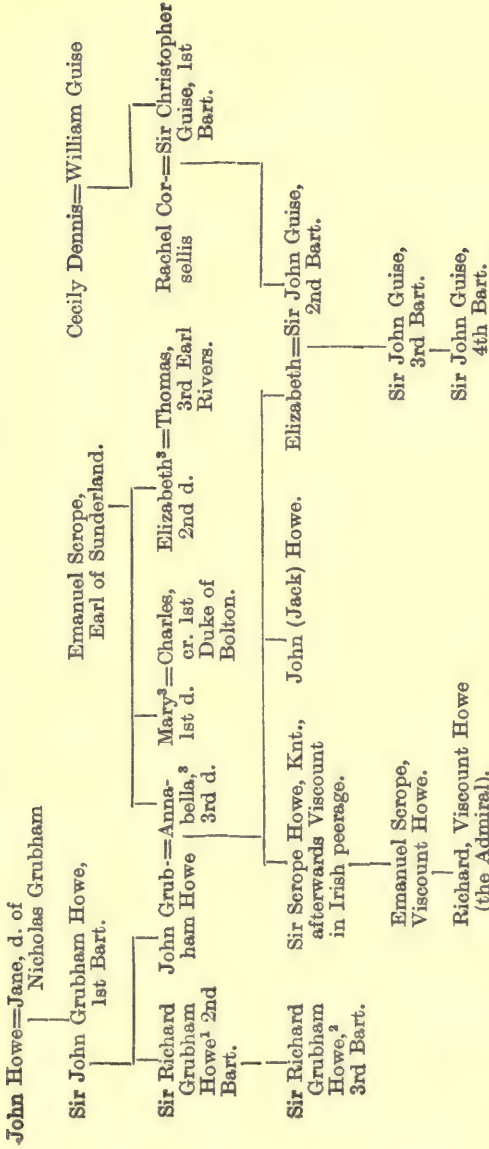
Betty was born Munday, the 16 of Decr. 1734, at (———).

Jackey was born Wednesday, the 28 Aprill 1736, at (———).

Billy was born Tuesday the 26 of July 1737, at 30 minutes after 4.

APPENDIX I

GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF GUISE OF ELMORE.



¹ M.P. Wilts, 1656; Wilton, 1659, 1660; Wilts, 1675-9; Hindon, 1679-81; Wilton, 1690-5.

² M.P. Tamworth, 1685-87; Cirencester, 1690-98; Wilts, 1700-01, 1702-27.

³ Illegitimate daughters. Their mother was Martha Jones, otherwise Sandford.

APPENDIX II

LETTER FROM JOHN HOWE TO LORD WHARTON.

Lond. Aug. 2, '80.

My Honored Lord

I returned hither on Fryday, for the necessary business of yesterday. Leaving my company behind to follow at leasure, who were more deeply engaged in water-drinking at Astrop, than my limiting circumstances would suffer me to be.

We had uncertain rumors from many there but no distinct account of the Election. Nor of ye Petition heard I a word till my return. Wherein my Lord Mayors prudence is much applauded by all understanding men.

Mr Bethel now hesitates to hold or no, wch troubles many. But tis hoped he will not desert his friends. To morrow determines it.

Wth renewed acknowlegmt of yr Lps most obliging favors I am

My Ld

Yor Lps And my honored Ladies
most devoted humble servt

JOHN HOWE.

If a project I have of meeting my wife at Alisbury or Hampden the next week, hold, I hope (and shall endeavor) to wait upon your Lp from thence, before my return home.

To Lord Wharton, *Carte MS.* 228, 167. The Lord Mayor was Sir Robert Clayton, and "Mr. Bethel" was Slingsby Bethel, the newly elected Sheriff of London.

APPENDIX III

LETTERS ON THE CIRENCESTER ELECTION, 1695.

Breda Sep. ye 6th 1695.

Sr

I finde here yt it is resolv'd we shall have a New Parlmt. which I presume is no newes to you : I cannot tell whether ye Writts are to be Issued out before ye King's returne into England or not, but am inclin'd to thinke, that ye making out of Writts requires more haste than we shall make to gitt into England ; And for my owne part tis Impossible for me to come away before ye King. In ye mean Time I have written to Sr John Guise about joyning his Son wth me. I have also written to Mr Selse (?) to thinke of Securing some publick houses, and to spend a little mony as he sees occasion as soone as ye prest Parliamt shall be Dissolved : I have also Secured one or Two Interests not inconsiderable, wch Mr * * * knew nothing of wn he saw you.

You may Remember that Sr Benjamin Bat[hur]st once propos'd Joyning wth me : If he still be inclinable to do so, And that by that meanes it be probable that my Interest may be too Strong for Mr Howes, But that Mr Guise and my Joyning will not be so, I presume yt in such case you may prevaile wth Sir J. Guise to let his Son desist, I must Joyn wth him if he be willing to Joyne wth me ; for upon wt your letter hinted to me of Joyning wth him last month, I writ to him to that Purpose 8 dayes ago.

If ye Writts should be sent out before ye King's returne I must desire you will contrive (if it may be) that the Sheriff of Gloucestre may not give out that for Ciceter, till late.

The ondy newes I have is that ye King left ye Army last Wednesday, and is going towards Loo, where ye Electr of Brandenburg is to meete him. The French King has made ye Mareschal Boufflers Duke and Peere of France: Monsr Guis is restor'd to his former Governmt of Dinant, wth a continuation of ye same Pension and

Proffitts as wñ he Govern'd Namur, And has the Blew Garter of ye Order of France : Monsr de L'Amene who was Major General in Namur during ye Siege, is made Governr of Dunkirk.

I am

yr most humble & oblidge Sert

H. IRETON.

Carte MSS. 228, 35.

From ye Camp near Namur

Sep. ye 6th n.s. 1695.

Sr

I am extremely oblidge to you for ye trouble you give yr selfe about ye Ciceter business, And more for ye good opinion you have of me wch I must looke upon as ye foundation of yr engaging therein ; for I can't otherwise pretend to yr ffavr in this matter : all I will say to it is, That I have lived long enough to know my selfe so well That I can positively say I shall not deceive you.

I told you some time since ye Reasons why I did not agree to Joyñ wth Guise, namely, I had a minde to prevaile wth my Neibour ye youngr Mr Barker to stand : (But now that I believe is not to be thought of) the other was ye Difficulty of Sr Ralph Dutton's compliance therein which you have undertaken, and are best able to effect. It remaines that you speake to Sr John Guise also about Joyning wth me ; wch I beleive he cant well refus because the most popular man of his Interest one Greenway is (unknown to Guise) engaged for me by an officer in our Army by letters from home, and I have recd a letter of assurance from ye Mr Greenway, That he will do me all ye Service he can : But I beleive Sr John will not be difficult to win for when by yr advice I desir'd his Interest, he told me he intended his son should stand, and in case his brothr J. How engaged wth any body else, his Son should Joyne wth me and he would publickly oppose Jack How wch otherwise he thought not decent : So I will write to Sr John Guise taking it for granted that since Rd and Jñ How are Joyñ'd his Son and I are to do so.

One Mr Cox is Bayliff of ye manor a place he has by purchase for his Life : Some of his near Relations and Freinds are mine Intimately : I have wth you taken care to bring Mr Cox underhand to favr my Interest tho Sr Ben. B. should direct otherwise : However it will be a great point gained if E. of Marl. can make Sr Ben. direct for me as you say, agst his opinion ; but that is not to be done but by you.

Yesterday the Garrison of Namure Castle march'd out by ye Breache according to Capitulation, and were about 6000 men, wch are all gone to Dinant or thereabouts.

Merreschal Boufflers came out att ye head of ym : but first by Monr Dykevelt in ye name of ye States, was desired to walke back into ye towne, And then by Monr de L'Etany att ye head of several of ye Guards du Corps, was Arrested in ye name of ye King of England. He was told that it was not without greate reluctance that ye King tooke this course, But that ye French King had so trickt us in all Capitulations, that he had no better way than this to oblige ye French King to do us Justice : particularly that our Dixmuyd Garrison who can be no other than Prisoners of War and Redeemable according to ye Cartell, and, some of ym prevail'd wth to enter into ye French service by wayes scarce differing from force : and ye Rest order'd to march into Cattalonia, or other remote places to ye utter ruine of ye poor men : That if Mareschal Boufflers would give his parole to prevaile wth his Master to Returne us those Troopes and paying ye ransome according to ye Cartell, or also that within 15 dayes he would again Surrender himselfe our Prisoner, he should have Liberty to go imediately into France. Boufflers answered that he could not be sure of success in this thing and possibly the French King might not onely refuse what was demand(ed), but also refuse to let him returne to us, And that he had rather loose his Life than breake his Word, and therefore chose rather to stay now a prisoner : But that he was sorry we took this course for it would enrage his Master and make him come to use the last extremities wth us : to wch Lrd Portld reply'd that angring ye King of France in this affair was ye leaste of our feares, For we have a greate while bin above that consideration. More I have not to adde, But that I am

yr obliged and affectionate humble Sert

H: IRETON.

Boufflers has now ye Liberty of Namur town upon Parole.
Carte MSS. 228, 35.

Pusey, Oct: 3, 1695:

Right Honourable !

I received your Honours orders by my Lord and Lady Rosse on Wednesday last week to go to Cirencester on Thursday, which I acquainted my Lord with, who lent me his horses, but engaged

me to return the next day, which I did, and I had before now given this account, but that your Honour has been expected here every day since.

As I went I called on Mr Southby, whom I knew to have an Interest there (his Father having formerly served in Parliament for that place) and who had been versed in affaires of that nature, to take some instructions and recommendations from him. He very kindly and freely offered to go with me, and do Mr Ireton all ye service he could.

When we came to Cirencester, as soon as it was known that Mr Southby was there on Mr Ireton's behalf many came in to us, and while we were in Towne, several voices were gained for him. But we found your Honour was misinformed that the Dissenters of all persuasions were unanimous for him.

There are 3 sorts of Dissenters in that Town, some (but very few) Anabaptists, who are for him. The Quakers are about 20 voters, but are resolved not to poll at all; yet we found by one, who is a considerable shopkeeper and a Tenant of Mr Southby's, that if they polled for any it should be for Mr Ireton and Mr Guise. The Presbyterians are divided, many of them possessed with a very good opinion of Mr J. Howe, whom we endeavored to sett right, and some of ye most considerable, who intended to vote for him and Mr Ireton (but were not engaged by promise) we prevailed with not only to give their owne votes, but to engage as many as they could for Mr Ireton and Mr Guise; some few of them had promised their votes for the two Howes—particularly Mr Jho. Dicke ye Ironmonger, whom we discoursed, but could not move him, but so far staggered him, that he declared he was sorry he had promised his vote.

While we were in Towne we had the Towne canvased, and according to ye best computation they could then make both of our party and of the other the votes stood thus, For Mr Guise 304 Mr Ireton 218 Mr John Howe 265, Mr Richard Howe 254. Tho Mr Iretons Interest be yet so much lower then any of the others, yet it is hoped it may be raised by Mr Iretons appearing himself as soon as he returns to England; and it is very much that his Interest now is so great, being known by face but to 2 persons in that Towne, and no Gentleman having personally appeared there on his behalf till now that Mr Southby went.

There is a Justice of the Peace in the Towne, Mr Masters, who always was against Mr John Howe, but now goes from house to

house to gain votes for the two Howes. We were informed that Sr Benjamin Bathurst has wrote to Mr Masters, and his chaplain to another in ye Towne on behalfe of the two Howes.

There is one Farmer Edwards, not far from Towne, who can make about ten votes, he has been very active for the 2 Howes, and threatens those whom he imployes to putt them out of their work except they give their votes for them. We are told Sr Richard Onslow has a power over him, and that a letter from him to this Edwards would not only take him off, but engage him on Mr Iretons side.

If a letter were procured from Sr Benjamin Bathurst to Capt. Cook it might be of some use, and would be published, for if he has wrote any on Mr Iretons behalf, it is concealed.

We were informed that there is one Mr Fettiplace—a Quaker, who has a very considerable estate, who lives 12 miles from hence at Coln Rogers in Gloucestershire, who could very much influence the Quakers. Mr Southby and I went over to him on Tuesday last, but could prevail with him to do no more then what he promised Mr Ireton (who was with him when he was in ye Country) viz. to engage them not [to] be against him.

Mr Ireton is very much engaged to Mr Southby who has taken a great deal of paines, and with good success in this business, without whom I am sure I should have been able to have done little or nothing and I question not but Mr Ireton will be sensible of it.

I heard it said when at Cirencester that there would be endeavors to throw Coll. Wharton out of Malmsbury. I could not inform my self of any particulers, but thought fitt to give your Honour an account of it.

I am

your Honours most obedient and
most humble servant

WM. TAYLOR:

Mr Fettiplace is related to Mr Iretons Lady. I believe if Mr Ireton did apply to him, it might be well, for he can engage the Quakers to vote, if he will.

To Thomas Lord Wharton: *Carte MSS.* 228, 36.

APPENDIX IV

The following documents were lent by Mr. J. L. Bevir, M.A., of Wellington College, to Prof. C. H. Firth in order that they might be utilised in editing the present volume. There were other papers in the same collection which have not been printed, either because they related to private affairs of no general interest or because they were imperfect. Mr. Bevir states that these documents were found in the desk of his grandfather, who died in 1828. As he belongs to a family of solicitors well known in the West of England, the papers were probably entrusted originally to one of his legal ancestors. It will be seen that the Society is much indebted to Mr. Bevir for his courtesy in allowing me to examine these documents, which only came to hand after the whole volume had been set up in type.

G. D.

AT THE COMMITTEE BY ORDINANCE OF PARLIAMENT FOR GLOUCESTER HEREFORD ETC:

2 Sept. 1644.

Present Mr. Mayor.¹

Mr. Fettiplace

Mr. John Stephens.

Mr. Kyrle.²

Mr. Bromwise.

Mr. Leigh.

Mr. Wood.

Mr. Sheppard.

Mr. Pury.³

Mr. Clifford.

Mr. Jones.

Resolved upon the question that the Articles read against Wm: Guise Esq. and his answer thereunto in person and upon hearing witnesses on both parts, it is ordered that the said Mr. Guise is a delinquent within the ordinance of sequestration, and that his real and personal estate shall be sequestered to the use of the King and Parliament.

¹ Nicholas Webb.

² Either James or Walter Kirle.

³ M.P. Gloucester, 1640-53, and 1654. Mayor of Gloucester 1655.

THE INFORMATION OF CAPT. RICHARDS AND MATTHEWS AGAINST
WILLIAM GUISE OF ELMORE ESQ.

July 10, 1645.—This informer saith that presently after that Cirencester was taken by the King's forces, the said Captain Matthews, who at that time was lieutenant to Captain Yate, accompanied with Captain West, who at that time was belonging to my Lord Stamford's troop, who then were accompanied with 40 or 50 soldiers or thereabouts, were by orders from the Governor of Gloucester sent to the house of the said Mr. Guise in Elmore aforesaid to fetch away all the arms, horse and plate they could find in the possession of the said Mr. Guise. At our approach to the said house they taking us for Gloucester soldiers kept the doors fast shut and would not admit us into any part of the said house, but after, we pretending to be Prince Rupert's soldiers, the doors were opened and we were all bid very welcome and all courteous entertainment that the said house could afford.

And further saith that they had long expected our coming. And they said that the said Mr. Guise was at his cousin's at Hardwick. And that they would immediately send for him, which was done accordingly, and at his coming we told him we were Prince Rupert's soldiers. He bid us heartily welcome and that he and his and all he had was for the service of the King, for he had received some discourtesy from Gloucester. And further saith that at the time the said Mr. Guise declared himself and said that the King had yet some friends in Gloucester and named Alderman Powell for one. And further informed us where the weakest places of the works of the City were and easiest to be gained, namely between the work at Barbican Hill and the water side and the other between Angate¹ and the West gate.

WM. MATTHEWS:

[COPY OF INFORMATION EXHIBITED ON BEHALF OF WILLIAM GUISE.]

Mr. Guise met Mr. Wood and Mr. John Stephen at the Bell at Gloucester at midsummer anno 1642 to consult for the weal of their country—the first meeting in Gloucestershire, and they warned constables to keep watches at Michaelmas 1642 to suppress bands raised by Sir Ralph Dutton.

When the rumour of the Welsh was at Westbury the said Mr. Guise caused an alarm to be given to the City of Gloucester by

¹ Alvingate.

beating a drum, and sent down 12 musketeers to keep the passages, the first time Elmore (being the parish wherein he lived) met in a warlike manner, ever since which time they have continued upon duty for the Parliament.

The said Mr. Guise voluntarily sent 40*l.* to the State and paid it to Sir William Waller, and 20*l.* more for dragoons and other services.

When Prince Rupert came to Worcester¹ first the said Mr. Guise came to Gloucester with 16 of his servants and tenants horsed and armed, offering to join with Col. Forbes to go against Prince Rupert, but were hindered by Sir Robert Cooke and other deputy lieutenants, but when Forbes went he sent 2 cuirassiers upon his charge with him, sent out 2 men and horses with 4*l.* in their pockets under the command of Colonel Forbes.

Mr. Guise opposed the Commission of Array at Cirencester.²

Mr. Guise hath constantly kept 2 of his men for all service for the State with Captain Ellis of Elmore at his own charge.

Mr. Guise acted in his place of deputy lieutenanship and joined with Mr. Stephens in calling in the country to Wotton and Dursley.

Sent in voluntarily great quantity of provisions both for Sir William Waller when he took Highnam,³ and another large quantity of provisions into the Earl of Essex when he came and raised the siege at Gloucester.

[LETTER OF EDWARD MASSEY to WILLIAM GUISE.]

Sir,

For the communicating of your affairs to me as you say you desire, if you please to send any friend of yours to me I shall be very willing to accept him, and shall assure him security for his person coming to me and a safe return back without prejudice. In the meantime I shall remain, Sir, I am

Your servant

EDWARD MASSIE.

Ross the 27th 1644.⁴

¹ September, 1642.

² August, 1642.

³ 24 March, 1643.

⁴ The month is omitted and cannot be supplied with certainty. Massey was at Ross on the 22 May, but at Malmesbury on the 24th. As the writing is faint perhaps the date should read 21 [May] 1644.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE COMMITTEE OF LORDS AND COMMONS FOR SEQUESTRATION.

May it please you to be advertized that we whose names are subscribed of the Committee by ordinance of Parliament assigned for the City of Gloucester and County of the same, and the County of Gloucester and Hereford &c. having received an information against William Guise of Elmore in the said county of the city of Gloucester &c. touching matter of delinquency. The occasion being chiefly grounded and arising upon his departure with his wife and some of his family from his dwelling house in Elmore aforesaid at the rising of the last siege at Gloucester, so have proceeded to examination of witnesses thereupon and so to a hearing, upon which he hath been and is convicted of delinquency, and upon the point hereafter mentioned, his case and carriage being the whole as it appeared unto us in substance thus viz.: That he being much oppressed by the enemies quartering and lying upon him in the siege time so that his provisions prepared for the keeping of his house the winter following being for the most part exhausted and spent, and being otherwise much damnified thereby as he affirmeth and is very probable, did for his better accommodation and the saving of charge of housekeeping repair with his wife and part of his family to one Mr. Milborne in Monmouthshire, who married his wife's sister (and a man not then detected enemy to the State) to sojourn and reside here for some short time till he could be better fitted and accommodated for his housekeeping at home suitable to his rank and quality. But it so happened that the soldiers then at Gloucester taking his departure in the worst sense did thereupon without commands fetch away from his house into that garrison not only all his hay and corn that was left by the enemy, but his household goods also that they could find about his house, suddenly after which it so fell out that he unhappily received a very dangerous hurt in his body and limbs by a fall down a pair of stairs at Mr. Milborne's house, upon which he languished in great extremity for many weeks, and for the most part of last winter (as was proved). And in the spring of the year by the advice of his physician repaired to the Bath for the better recovery of his health and strength. That he there receiving a Privy Seal which he offereth to show to you for the lending of the King 200*l.* upon pain of imprisonment, he repaired from thence to Oxford to use means to take off that burthen, which he did accordingly without payment or lending of any money at all that

we know of, and where he abode only one night and no more, and then returned back to his wife and family, who all suddenly there-upon voluntarily came to his dwelling house again at Elmore aforesaid, and withal he came in and presented himself to the garrison of Gloucester as a friend and well-wisher thereunto as he had formerly done before the siege. Upon all which matter we did not find anything to convince him the said Mr. Guise of delinquency but only such—his leaving his house and going to Oxford as aforesaid—which he ingeniously confessed upon the question demanded in that behalf. So finding him within the letter of the Ordinance of Parliament against such going into the enemy's quarters without leave, we could do no less than convict him of delinquency. To which sentence he having humbly submitted and desired to compound for his estate, we have in part compounded with him accordingly and have accepted of him for such part of his personal estate as we found unquestionable forty pounds, and for his real estate 50*l.* per annum as by our order and contract under our hands may appear, a very great part of his land being out in jointures for the Lady Guise, his father, Sir William Guise his last wife, and a great part in estate to others for life, and another part settled upon his eldest son in possession upon his marriage before the war. But as touching three several leases for years whereof he was possessed since the beginning of these present troubles of two in his own right and of the third as executor. So his father, of which leases he produced to us severall assignments made to some of his younger children respectively for their preferment, and which appear to be so done bona fide, before the matter of his delinquency whereof he is convicted, we did and have according to the Ordinance of Parliament in such cases forborne to determine the matter as to those leases and the assignments thereof, but do humbly leave the same to the honourable consideration and result, and so in all humbleness do take our leaves and rest.

At your honourables further service and command.¹

[LETTER FROM CHRISTOPHER GUISE TO WILLIAM GUISE.]

Sir,

Our business is not succeeded altogether according to your nor our expectation, for there is one delay happened more in it, but the charge I hope is at an end except some small matter. Since our

¹ As no names are signed this is undoubtedly a copy.

coming to attend the Committee there have been many new orders made that press hard upon those who are under the sense of delinquents, so that now either words against the Parliament or going into the King's quarters upon any pretence whatsoever is enough to condemn a man, and you well know that our friends would not favour you but did certify up what they could with the highest aggravations. But I was so confirmed by the testimony of Simms and John that I doubted not to do well, and therefore (although it be the course here to give great credit to the certificates of Committees in the country) yet I would not petition for a new examination of witnesses or a new certificate from thence, nor indeed in reason could I, for there is an order that we could not know what was certified against us till we had engaged ourselves to stand to a trial, which we did about a month since, about a fortnight after the Committee made an order that no witnesses should be heard viva voce but as their testimony was certified by the Committee's below only. Not being suffered to speak here, you may judge, Sir, in what case I now was, much ashamed we had been so long delayed and more afraid we should be cast for want of our evidence, but there was no going back, and we hoped they would at least suffer Tho. Simms to explain his oath. But when it came to hearing he could not be heard speak a word nor John neither, so being put upon the imperfect certificate, the testimonies of Matthews and West were urged strongly against us. We answered that they had plundered you and were ordered to make you restitution and therefore were no competent witnesses, but we could not prove it directly, for Tho. Simms his oath in this particular was so imperfectly certified that although it mentioned an order of Sir William Waller's for restitution of some goods to you, yet it did neither mention the cause, the time or the particulars at all, so that we could not make it pertinent to the business, and the governor's letter only mentions some unruly soldiers without naming either Matthews or West, which was very much unsatisfactory and this evidence much urged against us. Then they pressed your going into the King's quarters which is clearly within the Ordinance. And John could not be heard to swear that Monmouth was no garrison neither was the oath of Giles Bishop certified in that particular: You must think we were now in a bad case, our counsel had not one word to say to the purpose, and the truth is, if some friends had not been very fast unto us and put a fair reputation and belief upon what I said, we had been gone, which for my part I expected,

but at last it was desired and ordered that there might be a new examination of testimonies concerning those two particulars in the County, and that you may know, Sir, it was a courtesy, it was done against the usual proceedings of that table, and ordered that it should not be induced for a precedent. So that now I hope our business is very plain and brief if we prove

First that Matthews and West were the men that plundered you without the governor's order at the time when they pretend you spoke those words and when they brought you prisoner to Gloucester.

Secondly that Sir William Waller ordered them to make you restitution of those goods they had taken from you.

Thirdly that at the time of your going to Wonastow,¹ Monmouth was not a garrison of the King's and that my uncle Milborne then was in the protection of Sir William Waller.

Fourthly that you kept your bed so many weeks, which is sufficiently proved already.

Fifthly that during this time the King garrisoned Monmouth and got the garrisons of Westbury and Huntly by the treachery of Davis.² This Bishop, John, Will Guise, Powell and sender may prove.

These things, Sir, if they are punctually proved with every particular circumstance of time, which will be very necessary and not difficult for you to perform, the sequestration will be cleared.

Your dutiful son
CHR. GISE.

TO THE CHARGE OF MR. GUISE HIS HOUSE BEING SHUT AGAINST THE PARLIAMENT'S FORCES, AND AGAIN OPENED WHEN THEY SAID THEY WERE PRINCE RUPERT'S FORCES AND ENTERTAINED WITH MUCH HONOUR AND RESPECT.

It is answered in the first place, That Mr. Guise was not at home when the Parliament forces came to his house, and if his doors were shut it was fit they should be so, for that sundry parties of the enemies' horse lay near upon the hills, and plundered the

¹ A hamlet less than two miles from Monmouth.

² About November, 1643.

country very much in small parties, but durst not attempt a strong house.

And the truth of the matter is this. Mr. Guise in summer of 1642 had voluntarily subscribed to give 40*l.* toward maintenance of the Parliament army, and not knowing where or to whom to pay it, he sent Mr. Marshall, the minister of his parish, to certify the Mayor of Gloucester that the money was ready whensoever he would send for it. Who returned answer that he would send to him for it.

And a council of war being not long after upon some other occasion called and this 40*l.* not then paid, nor sent for, the governor gave order to send to Mr. Guise for it, and in case he refused payment, that then he should appear at Gloucester and show cause.

Thereupon Colonel Forbes sent Captain Matthews and Captain West with direction to receive the said 40*l.* or to bring Mr. Guise to Gloucester to answer it.

But Captain Matthews and Captain West came with above 60 horse, and knocking with great violence at the doors of Mr. Guise his house, Mistress Guise and her mother, a very ancient gentlewoman, ran in great fear and amazement to the window, not daring to open the door, and demanded what they were. They pretended themselves to be of Prince Rupert's forces, and that the army was at hand. They were then questioned what they sought or would have there. They answered they must have quarter for the Prince's and their retinue. Many such like questions and answers passed between them. During the time of which conference some of them coasting the walls of the house found the kitchen door open, which in that confusion was forgotten to be made fast, and so possessed themselves of the house, and carried themselves so like the persons they pretended to be by seizing upon his plate, cabinet and other things to the value of 200*l.* that at Mr. Guise his return to his house about two hours after he believed them to be in truth Prince Rupert's soldiers, for they made no demand of the 40*l.* nor delivered any piece of the errand they were sent on, but so far otherwise, as they seized on his person, clapt their pistols to his breast, inforced him to pledge Prince Rupert's health, and demanded of him what parts of Gloucester were the weakest. Which carriage of theirs left no room for further doubt but that they were indeed Prince Rupert's soldiers, yet the amazement he was in could not work upon him to desert the cause, or to discover the weakest places of Gloucester, for on the contrary he told them that those places were the weakest

which were indeed the strongest and best fortified. But all this would not divert those persons from their wicked designs, for having taken what they could find, they carried it and him prisoner to Gloucester and committed him to the custody of a tinker, where he remained prisoner two days, the governor all this while not knowing what they had done. But at last the governor having notice of this great abuse sent for Mr. Guise, and upon examination of the matter discharged him, and committed Captain West to prison (the other having withdrawn himself) and ordered him to make restitution, which he being unable to do, confessed the offence and offered his cloak towards restitution.

Afterwards Sir William Waller coming to Gloucester and taking an account of the business, ordered Colonel Forbes and Captain Matthews to restore all the money, plate, and goods which were taken from Mr. Guise, and in obedience to that order, Forbes restored some plate to the value of five pounds. Matthews confessed the taking of eight pound odd money, promised restitution, and then presently delivered a pistol which he had taken, but never paid back the money, nor were any of the goods ever restored.

All this was done in and near about February 1642[-3] and from that time until June 1644 (being a year and 4 months) Mr. Guise was never drawn into question for any pretended delinquency.

Then he was questioned for leaving his house and for going into the King's quarters, and on the 14th of June, 1644 it was ordered by the Committee of Gloucester that the informer and all that could object against him should bring in their accusations on the Thursday then next following. Whereupon Captain Matthews and West brought this as a charge against him for his behaviour of supposed words pretended to be spoken when they rifled his house as Prince Rupert's soldiers and became witnesses against him to convince him of delinquency, thereby to avoid restitution which they were ordered to make both by the governor and Sir William Waller.

Its humbly submitted to the wisdom of the honourable committee whether these men swearing in excuse of their own oppressions, and to avoid the restitution enjoined them shall be admitted witnesses.

And also whether in case Mr. Guise being in that strait (as he conceived) under the power of Prince Rupert's forces, had spoken the words charged against him in compliance with them for the

present, and for his own preservation, shall it bring him within the compass of any ordinance of sequestration.

For the second charge, that he left his own house at the raising of the siege and went into the King's quarters.

We answer that Mr. Guise went not into the enemies' quarters but was surprised contrary to his will at Mr. Milbourne's house (the King unexpectedly putting a garrison into Monmouth behind him) for the siege being raised on the 5th of September 1643, the King's forces retired towards Cirencester, and some of them that had lain at Mr. Guise his house threatened a speedy return, and that very day Mr. Guise left his house, and went to the house of a gentleman who married his wife's sister, and was then under the protection of Sir William Waller and no way suspected of any malignancy, the same Mr. Milbourne, who dwelt two miles from Monmouth, which then was no garrison at all.

And two reasons made him to go thither, for that the King's forces had spent almost all his provision, and that which was left (except some corn and hay) he had ordered to be sent into Gloucester to the Lord General.

The second, for that he conceived if the King's forces should return he being absent, they would not expect so great entertainment and provision as if he were at home, and he had just cause to fear that they might plunder or imprison him for sending away his provision to the Lord General.

But it may be objected that he stayed longer at Mr. Milbourne's than he ought and returned not in a long time to his house.

To this we say, he returned not to his house for two causes.

First for that he was credibly certified that the common soldiers threatened to kill him, and Captain Backhouse confirmed his fears of violence upon his return, by seizing and carrying away his corn and hay contrary to the protection of the governor.

The second, that whereas the governor had taken off the ill opinion which the soldiers had conceived against him and had signified so much to him by a friendly letter, he had, before the governor's letter came, received a grievous mischance in his body and limbs by a fall down a pair of stone stairs, which so bruised him as that he was thereby made prisoner to his bed fourteen weeks, and could not in regard of his bruises and lameness possibly travel to give his personal attendance on the governor, so that for the present he could only give him satisfaction in a letter, which he did by signifying his condition unto him, promising also to give him a

good account of himself, and actions as soon as he should be able to travel. But in all the time of his absence, his servant by his special command paid all assessments and performed all duties to the service of the Parliament:

To the third charge, that he went to Bath being the King's quarters and from thence to Oxford.

Its answered, that Mr. Guise beginning toward the spring to recover the use of his limbs, bethought himself how he might perform his promise to the governor, wherein he found great difficulty, for Monmouth being made a garrison for the King, they having gained much ground in the forest of Dean, which was his way home, he must have passed with his wife, family and carriages by four more of the King's garrisons, namely Sir John Winter's house,¹ Huntly, Flaxly and Westbury, and he desireth this honourable Committee will please to consider the apparent danger if not impossibility of such an escape.

Wherefore he the rather inclined to the advice of his physician in making use of the Bath for recovery of his strength, and under colour thereof, he drew his wife and family to a kinsman's house within 5 miles of the Bath that they might be near him, from whence the way to Gloucester was clear, and without any visible let or interruption.

Shortly after he arrived at Bath he received a Privy Seal for lending the King 200*l.* upon pain of imprisonment, so that he was inforced to go to Oxford to use means to take off or delay the payment of that sum, which he did, and so, staying there but one night, he returned to his wife and family, who being then come near to Bristol, he found means from thence to convey them and his goods over to his house at Elmore, and presented himself to the garrison at Gloucester as a friend and well-wisher.

Mr. Guise never assisted the King's forces either in purse, horse or arms, nor ever subscribed for the raising of any money for the King, nor any way directly or indirectly contributed to the forces raised against the Parliament. But on the contrary expressed upon all occasions his faithful affection to the Parliament, even from the beginning of these unhappy differences.

For he opposed the Commission of Array when the Lord Chandos came with it to Cirencester.

¹ At Lidney.

He joined with other gentlemen of the county to put themselves in a posture of defence.

He voluntarily subscribed to the Propositions 40*l*.

He raised four horses which are still in the service.

He paid to Capt. Husband for dragoons 5*l*.

To Mr. Edwards for dragoons 5*l*.

To Captain Backhouse 5*l*.

To Captain Nurse 5*l*.

He put his tenants in the parish of Elmore in a posture of war, and lent those arms who wanted, and they, being 60 able men, have been ready upon all occasions, and have done very good service for the Parliament, and also all his household servants, calling them when occasion required with his own drum.

He sent good store of provision to Sir William Waller at the taking of Highnam, and all this was done voluntarily.

He paid Sir William Waller 40*l*.

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