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**CHARLES I. IN 1646.**  
**LETTERS**  
**OF**  
**KING CHARLES THE FIRST**  
**TO**  
**QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA.**

**EDITED BY JOHN BRUCE, ESQ. F.S.A.**  
**DIR. CAMD. SOC.**



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FOR THE YEAR 1855-6.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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SIXTEEN hundred and forty-six, to which the following letters relate, was a year of peculiar moment to Charles I. It was the turning period of his personal fate.

Cromwell's charge at Naseby determined the Civil War. When the grim Ironsides rode down the more splendid cavalry that mustered under the royal standard, they destroyed Charles's last chance of keeping the open field. Thenceforth, all he could do was to move about amongst his strongholds, the reduction of which was the only work that remained to be accomplished by the victorious army of the parliament. One after another, some by storm and some by famine, garrisoned cities, towns, and fortified mansions fell into the hands of Fairfax and Cromwell, and as the year 1645 approached its termination, the parliamentary forces began to hem in the king's last place of retreat, the loyal and beautiful Oxford, the capital of the Cavaliers. The Roundheads were first discerned from the old tower of Oxford Castle, crowning the heights at a distance from the city. They soon approached nearer, commanding every road, and seizing every defensible point; but it was not until Fairfax had cleared the West, and had driven the Prince of Wales to Scilly, that he returned northward with the main body of his troops, and prepared to invest Oxford in due form.

The question then arose:—What was the king to do? His friends, even the most sanguine, deemed his cause irretrievably lost. Without

money, his supporters ruined by the sacrifices they had already made, his garrisons compelled to plunder as their only means of support, and the country consequently universally disaffected towards the royal cause, it was impossible that the king could carry on the contest any longer. What then was he to do? He had now tried almost all possible courses. He had endeavoured to govern with a parliament, and had failed. He had striven to do so without a parliament: in that also he had failed. Again, he had been induced to call a parliament by which he had been driven into concessions, but they were made grudgingly, in bad faith, and with the clear intention of being resumed as soon as possible: in this course he had also failed. Lastly, he had appealed to the final arbiter of national disputes, and again the result had been adverse to his hopes. His subjects, esteemed the most loyal people in Europe, had met him, front to front, in the open field. His choicest troops, commanded by some of the bravest of the English nobility, had been beaten in many successive engagements, and, finally, had been cut to pieces and utterly destroyed. What now remained for him to do? Peace, upon the best terms that could be obtained, was the ardent longing of every one. The stanchest Cavaliers saw that submission was a bitter but an unavoidable necessity. The victorious party must have its way. The cause had been decided in their favour. The losers must submit.

Such was the feeling and the reasoning of the Cavaliers, but not of the king. Submission was a thing to which Charles could never be brought. It was his candid avowal with respect to his own character, that he could never yield in a good cause;—which every man thinks his own cause to be. True, it was no longer possible for him to gain his ends by active measures; but he had not ceased to

be a power in the State. If he could not govern, he might prevent his enemies from doing so. The weary and exhausted country could have no peace without him. If those who were opposed to him desired tranquillity, they must have it upon his terms. He was beaten, vanquished, ruined, but no earthly power could induce him to sacrifice his royal dignity by yielding the principal points which were in dispute.

These points, the ultimate issues in this great contest, were gradually reduced to three, which were shortly designated from the matters to which they related, as those of the Church, the Militia, and the King's Friends.

The parliament had gone some way in altering the ecclesiastical constitution. They had substituted a church government by presbyteries in the place of that by bishops. They insisted that the king should acquiesce in this alteration. He was urged to do so by his wife. His ordinary official advisers put the matter before him plainly thus:—"The question is, whether you will choose to be a king of presbytery, or no king, and yet presbytery or perfect independency to be? In this case, the answer is as easy as it is to judge that a disease is to be preferred before dissolution; the one may in time admit of a remedy, the other is past cure."<sup>a</sup> Even two bishops whom he consulted advised him that he could not "trespass in point of conscience" by "permitting that which he could not hinder."<sup>b</sup> But nothing could move him. He believed that bishops held their authority *jure divino*, and he refused. This was the point respecting the Church.

Again, the parliament insisted that such regulations should be

<sup>a</sup> Clarendon's State Papers, ii. 263.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. ii. 268.

made for the future government of the militia, as would prevent the king from drawing the sword a second time, and at some convenient season revenging himself upon those by whom he had been defeated. On this point, if he had been left to his own judgment, he would probably have yielded sufficiently; but the exact character of the question was misunderstood by the queen. He acted upon her counsel and refused.

The remaining point stood thus. The king, in the language of the parliament, had been abetted in his contest by a multitude of evil counsellors. It was insisted that the parliament should have the power of preventing their doing harm in future, by regulating their future access to him, and otherwise dealing with them at its pleasure. Acting under foreign counsel and guided by what he esteemed to be a point of honour, the king protested that he would never desert his friends.

With anything like sincerity on the part of the king, means would easily have been discovered of settling such disputes as these. But he had no desire that the points in dispute should be settled, except upon the terms of submission to himself. He believed that the machine of government could not act without him; that if he could only keep the public affairs long enough in the condition of dead-lock to which they were reduced, his enemies would be wearied, or would be forced by the people, into yielding to his terms. His mind was as full as ever of the most exalted notions of the sacred and indefeasible character of his royal authority. All who opposed him were, in his estimation, wicked rebels whom God would judge.<sup>a</sup> It was his place to govern, and that of his people

<sup>a</sup> Even so late as the treaty of Uxbridge (February, 1644-5) Charles knew so little of his opponents, and was so blindly persuaded of the divinity which hedged him in,

to submit. His sins of misgovernment never occurred to him. Regret that for many years his course of action had been totally wanting in the kingly virtues of justice and fair dealing never entered his mind. It never troubled him that he had sought to govern in defiance of his own concessions, in opposition to the even then acknowledged principles of the constitution, and in breach of his coronation oath. The only things which grieved him were his concessions to the popular fury which himself had roused.

Whilst such was Charles's state of mind, peace was out of the question. On the side of the parliament, it was clearly seen that when a king sets up his standard against his people, he must conquer or submit; and that if, having failed to conquer, he refuses to submit, he must be deposed. To have yielded to him on the ultimate points of the contest, would have been to have relinquished the fruits of the warfare in which the parliament had been victorious. What then was to be done? Simply to follow him through a succession of messages and answers, until it became apparent to the people that the country must be governed without him. That was the course for the parliament; but what remained for the king? Nothing but to fall back upon his old course of intrigue.

Without much talent for intrigue, or even much dexterity in its practice, Charles had great fondness for being engaged in it. In all difficulties it was his resource, and at the time with which we are dealing he was fanatically sanguine that some one or other of

that he wished his commissioners to insinuate to those of the parliament, in their "private discourses," that they were "arrant rebels, and that their end must be damnation, ruin, and infamy, except they repented and found some way to free themselves from the damnable way they were in." He thought such representations "might do good," (Evelyn's Diary, iv. 137, ed. 1852.)

his little subtle stratagems would ultimately succeed. We have said that he was "fanatically sanguine," because the basis of his hopes of success was purely fanatical. We are accustomed to associate the notion of fanaticism with the opposite party only. They concluded that the cause of the parliament was righteous and favoured by God because it was successful. Every one sees this to have been a dangerous judging of the ways of Providence from partial results. We can all join in condemning conclusions so presumptuous and so illogical. But the same reasoning was equally rife at Oxford as at Westminster. Charles attributed his want of success in the war to God's anger against him for his concurrence in the death of Strafford. He confidently anticipated the approach of a time when he should have drained the cup of vengeance. Mercy would then, he presumed, take the place of justice, and the storm of heavenly wrath, transferred from him, would fall heavily on the heads of his enemies. To help on the ends of Providence, to expedite, as he supposed, the coming of that happy day, and to gain time until it should dawn, were the objects of the many intrigues in which he was involved during the year 1646. All these intrigues are more or less illustrated in the letters now published. During their course they exhibit Charles dealing with all the parties in the State, not successively, but altogether, and not candidly nor sincerely with any one of them.

He amused the parliament by holding out hopes, expressed in the most solemn words, that, if permitted to come to London, he should be able, upon mutual explanations, to make such concessions as would be satisfactory. It is clear, upon the correspondence now printed, that he never entertained any such hopes. He made the offer as a subterfuge, the "best put-off" (p. 50) he could devise. It was a

mode of avoiding a direct answer to the parliamentary proposals. He thought the suggestion plausible. It would sound well in the ears of the people. Its refusal would be deemed harsh, and would therefore tend to render the parliament unpopular. If he had been allowed to visit London, his hope was, not to have made peace, but to have touched the hearts of the people, to have drawn them to his side by an exhibition of majesty in distress, and to have sown discord amongst his enemies (pp. 9, 11).

With this latter object he intrigued with the Independents. He knew they were the bitter enemies of monarchy, but they were equally strenuous in their opposition to Presbyterianism. If he could have gained their support, the English army would have been divided, the league between England and Scotland would have been broken, and the Royalists might again have lifted up their heads. They might have held the balance between the rival parties in the camp of their opponents, and ultimately have destroyed both.

At the same time, he intrigued with the Presbyterians. He fomented their political jealousy of the Independents, and sought to take advantage of their love of monarchy, professing to be willing to throw himself into their arms, although really hating them (see pp. 19, 22, 27), with an intensity which was one of the most prominent features of his character.

Another of his contemporaneous schemes was that of a French invasion. He urged upon his wife to procure the government of France to land 5000 men in Kent. He indicated their place of embarkation, and pointed out their line of march. He supposed that the English people would have assisted a foreign power to replace him upon his throne.



But foreign aid in a far larger measure was the subject of a wider and better-known intrigue. Since the too celebrated Irish insurrection and massacre in 1641, the Roman Catholics of that country had stood out in rebellion. They had remained in possession of a large part of Ireland, and had held the field with a considerable army. In defence of Protestantism and of the English authority in that country, the Lord Lieutenant had also on foot a considerable force. A peace with the Irish Roman Catholics would have released both these armies, and have allowed them to be transferred into England to support the royal cause. But this object could only be effected by an arrangement of the religious privileges of the Roman Catholics. To gain his end, Charles was ready to consent to terms so liberal to the Roman Catholics both in England and Ireland, as to induce the pope and the leading Roman Catholic princes to unite for the re-establishment of the Church of England and the king (p. 24). An army of 6,000 foreign troops was to have been landed at Lynn, at the same time that 10,000 Irish were to have been thrown on the opposite shore at Chester, and a similar body into South Wales.\* In this way—that is by the aid of the pope and the Roman Catholics—Charles imagined that he could have re-established his own authority, have suppressed the Presbyterian and Independent “factions,” and have preserved the integrity of the Church of England (p. 25).

The earl of Glamorgan was Charles's agent in endeavouring to carry out this wild and fatal scheme. To enable him to accomplish it, powers the amplest and the most irregular were granted to him. A dukedom and the garter were rewards promised to him-

\* Clarendon's State Papers, ii. 202.

self; blank patents of nobility were intrusted to his disposal; a marriage was guaranteed between his son and the princess Elizabeth; and Charles bound himself, on the word of a king and a Christian, to confirm whatever engagements Glamorgan entered into, however informal, illegal, or unfit to be made publicly known.

Acting on his authorities, Glamorgan concluded a peace with the Irish Roman Catholics, surrendering to them the ecclesiastical supremacy over a great part of Ireland, and releasing them from all statutory pains and penalties. Preparations were entered upon for carrying out a further portion of the scheme. Men were mustering to be transported to Chester, and an application was made to the prince of Orange for the loan of vessels to convey them from Ireland. Of a sudden an accident disclosed to the world this most foolish and wicked business. The parliament published the facts which came to their knowledge, including a copy of the treaty between Glamorgan and the Irish Roman Catholics. The outcry was universal: Cavalier and Roundhead united in condemnation of the joint sacrifice of Ireland and of Protestantism. Now also became fully apparent the consequences of Charles's having acted throughout his reign in opposition to the religious feelings of his people. The support which, in times past, he had given to anti-protestant innovations had led many people to doubt the sincerity of the king's own belief. By such persons the authorities given to Glamorgan were deemed conclusive proofs of the king's inclinations towards Romanism. They viewed them, not as the efforts of a drowning man ready to catch at anything, but as the disclosure of a deliberate treachery to the national faith; a treachery as needless as it was complete, for it did not escape observation that Glamorgan's powers were dated before Naseby, at a time when the king's affairs were

far from desperate. Even if his cause had been at the very worst, Ireland was a jewel of the English crown which the king had no right to throw away. But the part of the transaction which most excited the English people was the intention of subduing them by armies of Irish Celts, the idea of whom was, at that time, inseparably connected in the minds of Englishmen with thoughts of massacre and cruelty, with barbarism the most savage, and superstition the most debased.

Of all the false steps taken by the unhappy Charles, perhaps these powers given to Glamorgan were the worst, and his affected repudiation of them the meanest and the most extraordinary. The depths of that transaction have never yet been thoroughly sounded. I have been favoured with the use of the most important of the original documents, and hoped to have appended to the present publication the results of some inquiries which I have made upon the subject. But the investigation is not complete, and it is not convenient to delay the volume. Another opportunity will be easily found for communicating the information to historical readers.

Glamorgan's affair completed the ruin which Naseby began; and now the French, not willing to see the king deposed, stepped in to attempt his rescue. The sympathies of France were constant from of old towards Scotland. The business of Montreuil, who was sent as a special ambassador on this occasion, was to use this ancient influence towards inducing the Scots to form a junction with the king. But the Scots were in close alliance with the English parliament. A separate treaty, or any open division of interest, would infallibly have resulted in a sanguinary quarrel between the two countries. Such a thing was not to be lightly hazarded, and, accordingly, when Montreuil consulted the London commissioners, who repre-

sented Scottish interests with the English parliament, he met with politeness, but no encouragement. At Edinburgh he was equally unsuccessful, and still more so in the Scottish army. These were his first attempts; but, after having seen the king, and fully ascertained the state of utter ruin to which he was reduced, Montreuil once more entered into negotiations with the London commissioners. With undiplomatic want of caution, he probably mistook the language or the meaning of the civil common-places with which men have at all times been accustomed to speak of the sovereign. Acting upon what he fancied, he communicated his presumed success to the king, and gave him a guarantee, in the name of the King of France, for his safety in the Scottish camp. From the king Montreuil went to the Scottish army, to settle the minor details of his arrangement, and there found himself to be utterly mistaken. The commissioners with the army entirely repudiated any such agreement. Montreuil's only course therefore was to apprise the king of this alteration, and strongly to dissuade him (p. 37) from coming to the Scottish army.

What now was the king to do? His stratagems had all failed. Neither Presbyterian nor Independent could be induced to side with him. France would not fight for him, and had been unsuccessful in her diplomacy in his behalf. All hopes of his re-establishment by the Pope and the Irish were buried under the indignation excited by the transactions with Glamorgan. Oxford was environed. If he remained there he must infallibly fall into the hands of the parliament. He determined to fly, but whither he did not know. "To eschew all kind of captivity," he says, "which, if I stay here, I must undergo, I intend (by the grace of God) to get privately to Lynn, when I will try, if it be possible, to make such strength as to

procure honourable and safe conditions from the rebels; if not, then I resolve to go by sea to Scotland, in case I shall understand that Montrose be in condition fit to receive me; otherwise, I mean to make for Ireland, France, or Denmark; but to which of these I am not yet resolved." (p. 38.) In this state of utter uncertainty he abandoned Oxford. His first thought was to get into London. He advanced nearly fifty miles on the road towards the city, which was no longer his. As he neared the metropolis, the danger of his intended course pressed heavily on his mind. At Brentford his courage failed. He turned off to the north-east and made his way towards the Scots. After wandering about for eight days, apparently without aim or plan, he presented himself on the ninth morning<sup>a</sup> after his departure from Oxford in the camp of the Scots. He was evidently weary of uncertainty, and simply chose the course in which there was the least present danger, although he afterwards endeavoured, with his customary want of candour, to make it appear that he had gone to the Scots on the faith of the French "engagement that he should be used like a king" (p. 42). Nothing is clearer in the present letters than that Montreuil dissuaded the king from going to the Scots, thereby clearly withdrawing the engagement which had been entered into.

To those who are not well acquainted with Charles's character, it must seem marvellous that he did not at this time quit the country. Why should he have stayed in England? Having made up his mind not to consent to the offered terms, all that the parliament could do was to depose him, put him under restraint, and carry on the government without him: either taking somebody else for

<sup>a</sup> At p. 40, note <sup>a</sup>, this period is printed by mistake as only "five days." The figures shew the real number.

a king or establishing a republic. To remain in England was obviously to submit to certain imprisonment. Whether he went to Westminster or to Newark, to the English or to the Scots, it mattered not; imprisonment could be the only result. Why then did he put himself in the way of it? The answer is to be found in the king's sanguine character, and his daily anticipations of a revolution in his favour:—"I am most confident," he writes in one of the letters now published, "that within a very small time I shall be recalled with much honour, and all my friends will see that I have neither a foolish nor peevish conscience." (p. 81.) When the clouds gathered darkly over his head he seems to have doubted for a moment whether the anticipated change would come in time to save him, but he never doubted that come it would. "Without pretending to prophecy," he writes to Montreuil in allusion to his enemies,<sup>a</sup> "I will foretell their ruin, except they agree with me; howsoever," he adds, "it shall please God to dispose of me."

As a mere mode of gaining time, perhaps it was better to go to the Scots than to the parliament, but if it had been the king's object to effect a peace he should have gone to London. There he would have found men of a multitude of different opinions, especially on subjects of religion; he would have found, too, many friends, and might have added to their number. But in the Scottish camp there was but one opinion on religious matters, and that not merely diametrically opposed to but as strongly entertained as his own. The English contest against him was mainly one of law against prerogative; the Scottish contest was one of fanaticism against fanaticism. The Scots were as fanatically attached to the covenant as he was to episcopacy. In the English contest much could be done by

<sup>a</sup> Clarendon's State Papers, ii. 213.

a mediator, in that with Scotland but little, for each party rested his argument upon an assumed right divine. Nor did the Scots, when the king put himself into their custody, do anything to dispose him to regard themselves or their religious opinions with favour. Without alluding to well-known anecdotes, the present letters are full of complaints upon this subject. Day by day the king alludes to the ill-usage which he suffered at their hands:—"I never knew what it was to be barbarously baited before" (p. 45); "I am strangely and barbarously threatened" (p. 56); "impudent, importunate threatenings and persuasions are used to me" (p. 57); "threatening is the only phrase used to me now" (p. 65). Many similar passages are scattered through these letters; and, although it may be allowed that a man like Charles, a stern and solemn person, punctilious and ceremonious, with high notions of his personal dignity, little accustomed to allow familiarity in those about him, and quick to repress the slightest expression of an opinion adverse to his own, may have put a harsh construction upon what might be merely free and honest talking, yet are there many indirect evidences that his personal condition whilst among the Scots was one of great annoyance;—"every day never wanting new vexations" (p. 44) is his own description of his continual life. Some of his allusions to his condition are truly touching:—"I cannot but again remember thee, that there was never man so alone as I, and therefore very much to be excused for the committing of any error" (p. 46); "as for the queen's letters and cyphers, all day they are about me, and all night under my head" (p. 50); "if the queen once should openly condemn me of wilfulness but in one point, I should not be able to support my daily miseries" (p. 62); "God knows I have but little [comfort] and that little must come from

thee" (p. 77). Such expressions hint more than they tell. There is that in their melancholy tone which shows how deep the fall to which he had been already subjected. And yet, even under these depressing circumstances, such was the almost childish sanguineness of his character—his aptitude to fancy that good would somehow or other come out of circumstances the most decidedly adverse—that, overlooking the agreement of the Scots in the essentials of the quarrel, he fixed his attention upon their minor political differences, and imagined that these were either means through which all of them would ultimately be brought to join with him, or that they were a way in which God was punishing them for their opposition to their king. Thus, in the letters before us written from the Scottish camp, he goes on amusing himself with the notion of a speedy restoration as the result of some change in the purposes of the Almighty, and at the same time nursing and encouraging all those prejudices which effectually barred the way to peace. His native Scotland became an object of his deepest aversion. He would only go thither, he declared—as he was ready to die—for the queen (p. 52); he would sooner choose the farthest part of the world than go thither (p. 53); he should abhor the country until the people evidently and heartily repented of their rebellion (p. 54). Of Presbyterianism he could not speak with sufficient bitterness: it is, he says, absolutely unlawful, adding, as one chief argument of its illegality, that it never came into any country but by rebellion (p. 27); the covenant he designates as "this damned covenant, the child of rebellion, and [which] breathes nothing but treason: so that," he adds, "if episcopacy were to be introduced by the covenant, I would not do it."

These letters carry on their valuable disclosures of the state of



the king's mind, and the nature of the advice under which he acted, until the end of the year 1646. In November of that year the parliament sent him their new proposals for a peace, suited, as they supposed, to the circumstances in which the country was placed by the termination of the war. For the consideration of such a business Charles's situation seemed most unfortunate. Separated from his constitutional advisers, whom he left behind in Oxford; without a single person about him whom he thought he could thoroughly trust; bound hand and foot by promises to his wife, which restricted him from acting without her consent—promises which, it is evident from these letters, he carried out with an obedience the most complete: in this situation he was called upon to accept or reject proposals which would not merely determine his own fate, but would deeply influence the welfare of the whole English people. The only advisers he had were the two French ambassadors—Montreuil, whose recent mistake gave evidence of his carelessness, if not of his incompetency, and was so regarded by his own court; and Bellievre, whose entire honesty to Charles, it is clear from these letters, was a subject of suspicion. As foreigners, these gentlemen were imperfectly acquainted with our laws and constitution. In them also the minute knowledge out of which, when combined with fertility of invention, spring the devices of diplomatists, was entirely wanting. Substitutes and expedients in such a case they were incapable of devising. All they could do with the king must be done by the direct pressure of appeals to his understanding, his interest, and his fears. This seemed unfortunate, but really was not so. Men who could have followed the king into the bye-paths along which he loved to wander would have bewildered themselves and him. Montreuil and Bellievre obtained con-

cessions which if they had been proposed to parliament would in all probability at that time have been accepted. He gave way to the establishment of Presbyterian government for three years, subject to an ultimate determination of the question in parliament, after a conference of divines. He also yielded the government of the militia for ten years. His answer to this effect was drawn up, and sent to the queen. Born to be his ruin, she decidedly objected to his concessions. Although she had herself urged his absolute submission to the Presbyterian government, she disliked his partial surrender. She taunted him with having yielded his ground of conscience, and abandoned his principles of divine right, by his concession of three years—an argument which touched the king to the quick. She was equally opposed to his temporary abandonment of the militia. The last of her letters on these subjects (dated 1646, Dec.  $\frac{4}{4}$ ) is printed in the Appendix, p. 97. It exemplifies the fatal influence which she possessed and the uncivil way in which it was too often exercised. Charles's letters to her are couched in terms of entire submission and devoted affection. He would not appoint a bed-chamber man without her concurrence. Even Montrose was not to be admitted to his service unless she approved (p. 39). The reply alluded to sounds like that of a superior to one who owed the writer due obedience. His arguments are overruled, almost with contempt. His little subtleties are laughed at and brought to the light. He is told, with a peremptoriness which sounds like dogmatism, to do this, and to be sure never to do that. Advice, which on some points is substantially good, is conveyed in terms which indicate a total want of confidence in his judgment and discretion. The effect was as remarkable as the letter. Charles submitted instantly. "I have done," he said, "and willingly yield the argument, when the

question is of holding fast." (p. 85.) The concessions were withdrawn until they were too late. The intended answer was thrown aside, and in its place one was transmitted which merely reiterated the king's wish to come to London. The parliament saw that it was trifled with. The king was instantly declared to be a prisoner, and thus the curtain dropped at the close of 1646.

The letters now published were brought to light through NOTES AND QUERIES. They are all contained in a small quarto parchment-covered volume, containing eighty-eight leaves, which was purchased by Mr. Joseph Conway Witton, of Bath, early in the year 1855, of a dealer in pictures and curiosities, named Walker, whose shop is in Harley Street, in that city. Walker had bought the volume some time previously, from a person who was at that time an auctioneer's porter, and was in the habit of purchasing small lots of books at sales in which he was employed. In this way many books passed through his hands. He is not able to identify the volume in question, and the catalogues of several sales which he mentioned as likely to have been the one from which it was derived have been consulted without success. The probability seems to be that it came out of some such library as that of Mr. Pigott of Brockley, or Mr. Coates of Sopworth near Didmarton, sold within a few years past in that neighbourhood.

Mr. Witton, not being able to trace the letters contained in his purchase as being known to historical writers, communicated the first of them to Notes and Queries, with a request for information respecting them. The letters being previously unknown excited attention, and the Editor of Notes and Queries submitted to Mr. Witton the propriety of sending up the volume for inspection, and in case of its being found genuine, for publication by the Camden

Society, as the proper medium for conveying such documents to the world. Mr. Witton acquiesced in this suggestion with a liberality well worthy of observation, and the present publication is the result.

The letters are deemed to be unquestionably genuine. They prove themselves. Facts, names, allusions, dates,—everything in them and about them, which is either stated or implied, is so entirely consistent with our previous knowledge, and is capable of confirmation in such a variety of ways, that it is not thought likely that any one will entertain a doubt that they are what they claim to be.

The writing of the volume is entirely in one hand, an ordinary and extremely legible transcriber's hand, of probably the first half of the eighteenth century. It is obvious from the mistakes in the few words of French which occur in three or four parts of the volume, that the transcriber was a person unacquainted with that language. It may also be inferred from the variations between the one or two of these letters which have been published by Clarendon from King Charles's drafts, and the letters as they stand in Mr. Witton's MS., that the latter was derived from deciphered copies of the letters themselves, as ultimately despatched by the king and received by the queen. It is not improbable that the letters, after they had been received by Henrietta-Maria and had gone through the process of deciphering, were transcribed into a book for convenience of reference, and that Mr. Witton's MS. was copied from that book. We are not aware of the existence of any such book, either for the year 1646 or any other period. If anything of the kind is in existence, it is to be hoped that the present publication will conduce to its discovery.

In publishing from Mr. Witton's MS., care has been taken to present the letters exactly as they stand. Some obvious faults of

transcription have been pointed out, and some doubtful passages are queried. It is not unlikely that if the originals are discovered, other variations of the same class will be discovered, but in the main the letters are unquestionably trustworthy.

In the Harleian MS. 7003, at folio 312, there is a transcript of a letter from Dr. Charles Hickman, afterwards bishop of Derry, written in 1690, to Dr. Sprat, bishop of Rochester, from which it appears that Mr. Bennet, a bookseller, had "last week" left with Dr. Hickman, "a manuscript of letters from king Charles I. to his queen," telling him, that it was bishop Sprat's desire, and Dr. Pelling's, that lord Rochester (Henry Hyde, son of lord chancellor Clarendon), "should read them over, and see what was fit to be left out in the intended edition of them." Dr. Hickman, who was domestic chaplain to lord Rochester (Wood's *Athenæ*, iv. 655), informs bishop Sprat that lord Rochester had "read them over, and upon the whole matter says, he is very much amazed at the design of printing them; and thinks that king's enemies could not have done him a greater discourtesy. He showed me," Dr. Hickman proceeds, "many passages which detract very much from that king's prudence, and something from his integrity; and, in short, he can find nothing throughout the whole collection, but what will lessen the character of the king, and offend all those who wish well to his memory. He thinks it very unfit to expose any man's conversation and familiarity with his wife, but especially that king's, for it was apparently his blind side, and his enemies gained great advantage by showing it. But my lord hopes his friends will spare him, and therefore he has ordered me not to deliver the book to the bookseller, but put it into your lordship's hands, and when you have read it, he knows you will be of his opinion." He adds,

that he had turned down some leaves in the places which he thought chiefly objectionable. After this expression of opinion, we hear no more of the meditated publication.

The question arises, whether the letters now published are those which were held back from publication in 1690. I know of no evidence on the point, but I think it not improbable that they are. It may, perhaps, be thought that the disclosures in this MS. are not bad enough to justify the opinions expressed by lord Rochester; but it should be borne in mind, that since 1690 a great change has taken place in public opinion respecting Charles I. At that time this monarch's memory was universally regarded with the deepest affection. Consecrated by the Church of England as a martyr, and paralleled in that character with the Saviour of mankind, he was venerated by a multitude of obedient worshippers as the unsullied victim of an unprovoked and impious rebellion. Disclosures which exhibited even his human frailties, would give pain to such admirers; and, if any revelation went the length of impeaching his excellence as a sovereign, or of calling in question his regard for the interests of his people, or the dignity of his country, it can be easily understood why the notion of its publication should excite so much apprehension in the mind of lord Rochester. But in spite of all lord Rochesters the day at length arrives when sovereigns, like other men, must submit their reputations to the test of truth. The application of that test has so far changed the general opinion respecting Charles I. that there is nothing in the following letters which will take any one by surprise. They will be merely found to confirm what in these days every one has heard, although there still linger among us persons who uphold the excellence of king Charles as a part of their religious and political creed.

The great lesson to be deduced from the following book is, that they who set themselves in opposition to Charles I. in his lifetime judged accurately of his character, and of the dangers to which the country was exposed under his government. To examine this matter fully would lead us too far a-field, but we will mention three particulars in which these letters speak distinctly.

Charles's opponents alleged that, inheriting the weakness of his father, and like him continually clinging to some stronger nature for guidance and support, he selected for favourites and ministers persons whose opinions and course of conduct were perversely opposed to the wishes and feelings of the English people. In proof they cited the extravagant folly of Buckingham, the absolutism of Strafford, the anti-protestantism of Laud, and summed up all by referring to the unmanly submission which Charles yielded to his queen, not merely in his private affairs but in those also of his kingdom and government. The letters now printed prove the accuracy of these allegations in the instance of Henrietta Maria. Un-English in her tastes and notions, separated from the people by her religion, and never able to form the slightest idea of the depth and fervour of their opinions, it is clear from the letters before us that the fortunes of England were laid with most abject humility at the feet of this imperious lady.

Charles's opponents alleged again, that, whilst his people feared nothing so much as a return to the dominion of Rome, he outraged the popular feeling, and facilitated that dreaded return, by giving his patronage to anti-protestant innovators, who dressed up the national church as a victim ready to be sacrificed to her great adversary; they added that he protected and encouraged Roman Catholics in defiance of the law, and shewed direct discouragement, not only

to Protestants at home, and to foreign Protestants, but generally to that Protestant cause which it had been the policy and the glory of England, under queen Elizabeth, to uphold. The letters before us confirm the accuracy of this charge. They prove that Charles was directly bent upon over-riding the opinions of his people, and had so little notion of the dignity of his position as the king of an independent country, that he was ready, like another John, to abase himself, and tarnish the honour of the nation, by receiving again his forfeited crown from the hands of the pope.

Another of their allegations was that Charles was personally untrustworthy: that in his concessions and agreements there was ever some reservation, some quibble, some jesuitical verbal distinction, contrived before hand to deceive those who confided in him. This was asserted to be a part of his character so intrinsic that it was not possible for people who used words in ordinary senses to deal safely with him, or to put any trust in him. The letters before us contain instances in point. In that of the 18th Jan. 1646 (p. 10), after admitting that, in a message on which he is commenting, he had given the parliament "leave to hope for more than he intended," he refers almost triumphantly to the words in which his message was couched, pointing out to the queen two minute distinctions which she had overlooked. He had not, he alleged, undertaken to give the parliament satisfaction, as she had understood, but merely to "endeavour" to do so,<sup>a</sup> and the end aimed at was to be "their security," so that any thing which had in view "his" security, and not "theirs," was not comprehended within his engagement.

<sup>a</sup> He does not state this accurately. The words were, "he doubts not so to join his endeavours with his two houses of parliament as to give just satisfaction."—Message of Dec. 29, 1645.



Another example occurs at p. 84. He is commenting upon a message relating to Ireland. The message ran that he would give the English parliament full satisfaction "as to the managing of the war." But he was really striving at that very time not to manage the war but to make a peace, so as to put the Irish in opposition to the parliament. What if the Irish took him at his word? What if the peace were concluded, how then could he satisfy the parliament in the way proposed? Charles bids his queen observe that he has "so penned that article" that it may be interpreted to suit either case. If he "finds reason to make peace," he remarks, even at the very time when he had offered to the parliament to concur with them in prosecuting the war, "there," he asserts, his "engagement ends." This fatal trickery running through all his dealings, gradually alienated from him the heartiest and warmest of his defenders.

A close examination of these letters will bring to light many other points, on which it will appear that Charles's character was thoroughly understood by those who opposed him. The more it becomes known amongst ourselves, the more will the calm endurance of these men, who submitted to his course of misgovernment for a period of fifteen years, excite our wonder and admiration.

JOHN BRUCE.

5, *Upper Gloucester Street, Dorset Square,*  
15 *March, 1856.*

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS.

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	PAGE
I. Charles I. to Henrietta Maria	Oxford, Jan. 4, 1645-6 . . . 1
II. The same . . .	—, Jan. 8, — . . . 3
III. The same . . .	—, Jan. 11, — . . . 6
IV. The same . . .	—, Jan. 14, — . . . 9
V. The same . . .	—, Jan. 18, — . . . 10
VI. The same . . .	—, Jan. 22, — . . . 12
VII. The same . . .	—, Feb. 1, — . . . 14
VIII. The same . . .	—, Feb. 8, — . . . 16
IX. The same . . .	—, Feb. 19, — . . . 18
X. The same . . .	—, Mar. 3, — . . . 20
XI. The same . . .	—, Mar. 12, — . . . 23
XII. The same . . .	—, Mar. 16, — . . . 26
XIII. The same . . .	—, Mar. 18, — . . . 27
XIV. The same . . .	—, Mar. 22, — . . . <i>ib.</i>
XV. The same . . .	—, Mar. 24, — . . . 29
XVI. The same . . .	—, Mar. 30, 1646 . . . <i>ib.</i>
XVII. The same . . .	[without date] . . . 30
XVIII. The same . . .	Oxford, April 2, — . . . 31
XIX. The same . . .	—, April 4, — . . . <i>ib.</i>
XX. The same . . .	—, April 6, — . . . 32
XXI. The same . . .	—, April 13, — . . . 33
XXII. The same . . .	—, April 15, — . . . 35
XXIII. The same to the Marq. of Montrose	—, April 18, — . . . 100
XXIV. The same to Henrietta Maria	—, April 21, — . . . 36
XXV. The same . . .	—, April 22, — . . . 37

			PAGE
XXVI. Charles I. to Henrietta Maria	Newcastle-upon-Tyne	May 15, 1646	39
XXVII. The same . . . .	—, —, —	May 20, —	40
XXVIII. The same . . . .	—, —, —	May 28, —	41
XXIX. The same . . . .	—, —, —	—, —	43
XXX. The same . . . .	—, —, —	June 3, —	<i>ib.</i>
XXXI. The same . . . .	—, —, —	—, —, —	45
XXXII. The same . . . .	—, —, —	June 10, —	<i>ib.</i>
XXXIII. The same . . . .	—, —, —	June 16, —	47
XXXIV. The same . . . .	—, —, —	June 17, —	48
XXXV. The same . . . .	—, —, —	June 24, —	50
XXXVI. The same . . . .	—, —, —	July 1, —	51
XXXVII. The same . . . .	—, —, —	July 8, —	52
XXXVIII. The same . . . .	—, —, —	July 15, —	54
XXXIX. The same . . . .	—, —, —	July 23, —	55
XL. The same . . . .	—, —, —	July 30, —	56
XLI. The same . . . .	—, —, —	Aug. 3, —	<i>ib.</i>
XLII. The same . . . .	—, —, —	Aug. 5, —	57
XLIII. The same . . . .	—, —, —	Aug. 8, —	58
XLIV. The same . . . .	—, —, —	Aug. 12, —	59
XLV. The same . . . .	—, —, —	Aug. 19, —	60
XLVI. The same . . . .	—, —, —	Aug. 24, —	<i>ib.</i>
XLVII. The same . . . .	—, —, —	Aug. 26, —	61
XLVIII. The same . . . .	—, —, —	Aug. 31, —	62
XLIX. The same . . . .	—, —, —	Sep. 3, —	63
L. The same . . . .	—, —, —	Sep. 7, —	<i>ib.</i>
LI. The same . . . .	—, —, —	Sep. 14, —	64
LII. The same . . . .	—, —, —	Sep. 21, —	66
LIII. The same . . . .	—, —, —	Sep. 26, —	67
LIV. The same . . . .	—, —, —	Oct. 3, —	68
LV. The same . . . .	—, —, —	Oct. 12, —	69
LVI. Henrietta Maria to Charles I.	—, —, —	Oct. 1 <sup>st</sup> , —	91
LVII. Charles I. to Henrietta Maria	—, —, —	Oct. 17, —	70
LVIII. The same . . . .	—, —, —	Oct. 24, —	72
LIX. The same . . . .	—, —, —	Nov. 1, —	73

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

xxxi

	PAGE
LX. Charles I. to Henrietta Maria Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Nov. 7, 1646 . 74
LXI. Henrietta Maria to Charles I. St. Germaine,	Nov. $\frac{13}{23}$ , — . 92
LXII. Charles I. to Henrietta Maria Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Nov. 14, — . 75
LXIII. Henrietta Maria to Charles I. St. Germaine,	Nov. $\frac{20}{26}$ , — . 94
LXIV. Charles I. to Henrietta Maria Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Nov. 28, — . 76
LXV. The same . . . . .	—, Nov. 30, [21?] . 79
LXVI. Henrietta Maria to Charles I. Paris,	Dec. $\frac{11}{11}$ , — . 95
LXVII. The same . . . . .	—, Dec. $\frac{4}{14}$ , — . 97
LXVIII. Charles I. to Henrietta Maria Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Dec. 5, — . 82
LXIX. The same . . . . .	—, { Dec. 12 } and 19, } — . 84
LXX. The same . . . . .	—, Dec. 26, — . 87
LXXI. The same . . . . .	—, Jan. 2, 1646-7 . 99



# CHARLES I. IN 1646.

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## LETTERS

FROM

KING CHARLES I. TO QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA.

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### I.

Oxford, Jan. 4th, 1645-6.

DEAR HEART,

I desired thee to take notice that with the year I begin to new number my letters, hoping to begin a year's course of good luck. I have heard of but seen no letters from thee since Christmas Day; the reason is evident, for our intelligence with the Portugal's agent<sup>a</sup> is obstructed, so that I am not so confident as I was that any of my letters will come safe to thee. But methinks, if card. Mazarin were but half so kind to us as he professes to be, it would be no great difficulty for him to secure our weekly intelligence. And in earnest I desire thee to put him to it, for besides that, if the effects of it

<sup>a</sup> Much of the correspondence between Charles and Henrietta Maria was carried on through the friendly intervention of Antonio de Souza, a diplomatic agent of the king of Portugal, who continued resident in London throughout the Civil War. The services rendered by De Souza to Charles I. frequently drew upon him the resentment of the parliament. Charles II., after the Restoration, rewarded a son of De Souza with a mock grant of the title of lord Molingar. (King's Cabinet Opened, pp. 24, 31; these letters, p. 13; and Gent. Mag. N. S. vol. xxxvii. 156.)

succeed, it will be of great consequence to me, I shall very much judge of the reality of his intentions according to his answer in this. If Ashburnham<sup>a</sup> complain to thee of my wilfulness, I am sure it is that way which at least thou wilt excuse, if not justify me in; but, if thou hadst seen a former paper (to which being but accessory I must not blame his judgement), thou wouldst have commended my cholerick rejection of it, the aversion to which it is possible (though I will not confess it until thou sayest so) might have made me too nice in this, of which I will say no more; but consider well that which I sent in the place of it, and then judge.

My great affairs are so much in expectation that for the present I can give thee but little account of them, albeit yet in conjecture (as I believe) that the rebels will not admit of my personal treaty at London, and I hope well of having 2,000 foot and horse, out of my smaller garrisons. As for the Scots, we yet hear no news of them, neither concerning this treaty, nor of that which I have begun with David Lesley.<sup>b</sup> And, lastly, that the Duke of York's journey is absolutely broken,<sup>c</sup> both in respect of the loss of Hereford,<sup>d</sup> as that the relief of Chester is yet but very doubtful.<sup>e</sup> But upon this design,

<sup>a</sup> The well-known "Jack Ashburnham," a groom of the bed-chamber to Charles I. often mentioned in his majesty's letters, and one of the agents in the king's surrender to the Scots, and in his subsequent escape from Hampton Court to the Isle of Wight. His Vindication from the aspersions to which his conduct on these occasions laid him open, published by one of his descendants in 1830 (2 vols. 8vo. Lond.), is a well-known book.

<sup>b</sup> A general in the Scottish service. He defeated Montrose at Philiphaugh, but succumbed to the military genius of Cromwell at Dunbar and Worcester.

<sup>c</sup> James, king Charles's second son, afterwards James II., was now with his father cooped up in Oxford. The intended journey here alluded to was into Ireland. (Clarendon's Rebell. Book xiii.)

<sup>d</sup> Hereford was taken from the king by stratagem on the 18th December, 1645. (Whitelocke's Mem. 184, edit. 1732.)

<sup>e</sup> The king had despatched from Oxford a body of his small army for the relief of Chester, but the bridges on their line of march being broken down, and the hedges lined with musqueteers, they were unable to accomplish their mission. Chester held out most courageously, and through terrible suffering, until the beginning of February. (Whitelocke's Mem. 183, 191, edit. 1732.)

having commanded Sr George Ratcliff<sup>a</sup> to wait upon him, I desire thy approbation that he may be sworn gentleman of his bedchamber, for which, tho' he be very fit, and I assure thee that he is far from being a Puritan, and that it will be much for my son's good to have him settled about him, yet I would not have him sworn without thy consent. So God bless thee, sweetheart.

CHARLES R.

Even now Montreuil<sup>b</sup> is come hither concerning the treaty. The Queen cannot have a particular account of it till my next.

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## II.

Oxford, Thursday, Jan. 8, 1645-6.

DEAR HEART,

I find by Montreuil that his chief errand here is to try if he can obtain more from me than Sr Robt Murrey<sup>c</sup> could from thee, for he rigidly insists upon my consent for the settling of the Presbyterian government here (indeed he sayth it will be but temporary, for

<sup>a</sup> The "Ratcliffe" here alluded to was "Sir George Radcliffe, the friend of Strafford," of whom Dr. T. D. Whitaker published a memoir in 1810 (Lond. 4to.) Radcliffe retired to the continent on the surrender of Oxford, and did not live to see the Restoration. He died at Flushing, 25 May, 1657. The duke of York entertained a high opinion of his judgment, and was much guided by his advice.

<sup>b</sup> Mons. de Montreuil was sent to England by the government of France "with some formal address to the parliament, but intentionally to negociate between the king and the Scots." (Clarendon, book ix.) Many references to his unfortunate mission occur in the present collection of letters. Its sad result upon his own fortunes may be read in Clarendon's Rebellion, book x.

<sup>c</sup> Sir Robert Murray was the subsequent first President of the Royal Society, "and while he lived the life and soul of that body." Burnet, who knew him well, describes him as a man of great intelligence and worth. (Own Times, i. 102, ed. Oxford, 1823.) Evelyn speaks of him affectionately as his "dear and excellent friend, that good man and accomplished gentleman." Diary, ii. 84, ed. 1850.)



which likewise he can shew me no probability), alledging that less will not be accepted. And when I shew him that it is against my conscience, and besides that, though it were not, yet it could not be effected, the Independant being as great an enemy to the Presbyterian as Episcopal government, and even all the English Presbyterians will never admit of the Scotts' way, his answer is still, that the Scotts will go no less.<sup>a</sup> For all this, I mean not thus to let this treaty break if I can possibly go on with it, which I find to be very difficult. Wherefore I have proposed the business of Ireland to stay their stomachs,<sup>b</sup> instead of the church's patrimony, which I am confident is their great case of conscience on which they so much insist, whatever they pretend; and to stop their mouths for point of security—their great argument for my abolishing episcopacy here being that there is no other way to secure their government at home—I have offered to seek the security of the Queen of France,<sup>c</sup> which I desire thee to obtain for me, which I believe will not be difficult, Montreuil making no doubt of it, that she would answer for me that I should not invade the church government.

<sup>a</sup> To "go no less," in the sense of to "insist upon no less," is a phrase which occurs in several parts of king Charles's correspondence. It will be found in the subsequent Letter, No. xxxiv. and also in the Clarendon State Papers.

<sup>b</sup> The treaty to which this letter alludes was begun by a letter from the king to the speaker of the House of Lords, dated Oxford, 5 December, 1645. In that document Charles proposed to send the duke of Richmond and other gentlemen to Westminster, with "such propositions as his majesty is confident will be the foundation of a happy and well-grounded peace." Not receiving an immediate answer, the king by other letters, dated the 15th and 20th of December, 1645, proposed that upon a guarantee for his personal safety he would proceed to Westminster to have a personal treaty with the parliament. In the meantime the parliament, in answer to the king's first and second letters, had declined to receive the king's suggested ambassadors. The king replied, on the 29th Dec. by again urging his previous proposal of a personal treaty, and assuring the parliament that if it were consented to he doubted not "to give a just satisfaction, not only concerning the business of Ireland," but also for the payment of the public debts to the Scots and the City of London, as he had already in his former message "shewn a fair way for the settling of the militia." These royal messages are printed in king Charles's Works, pp. 104—106, ed. 1687.

<sup>c</sup> Anne of Austria, queen regent during the minority of her son Louis XIV.

This is the result of divers long discour(s)es that have passed in this business, not knowing what effect it will have, for, though Montrevil refuseth not to carry what I propose, I find him very doubtful of the event. But he hath most willingly undertaken the facili(t)ating of packet intelligence between thee and me, as also the safe delivery to thee of Prince Charles and the Duke of York's pictures, and the George and Garter for the young Prince of Orange." <sup>a</sup>

There is yet no return of my last message from London, which makes me much more doubtful of the event than I was, they being more troubled to answer me than I expected. I have no more to say but desire thee to hasten the Queen of France's answer for her security between me and the Scotts, that I may know betimes what to trust to. So, farewell, sweetheart.

CHARLES REX.

I had almost forgot to tell thee that I propose the business of Ireland, but only in case there be no other way to save the crown of England (for which at all times it must be sacrificed), Montrevil assuring me that France, rather than fail, will assist me in satisfying the Scotts [for their] <sup>b</sup> arrears. And for Mountrose,<sup>c</sup> I have absolutely declared that he and I must come hand in hand in open daylight, without tricks or devices, which I find will not be much stuck at, though Montrevil tried what he could gain upon me likewise in that.

It grieves me much to find that my intended journey to London gives thee so much trouble, but I believe the rebels at this time will satisfy thy fears in not suffering me to do it. Howsoever, I

<sup>a</sup> The "young prince of Orange" was Charles's son-in-law, William of Nassau, married in 1641 to the princess Mary, and father by her of the future William III. of England. He was elected a Knight of the Garter at Oxford on the 2nd of March, 1644-5. It has been stated that the George and Garter were sent to him on the 4th of the same month. (Beltz's Memorials of the Garter, p. clxxxix.)

<sup>b</sup> The words within brackets look as if they have been introduced into the MS. at a later period, and by some other person than the original transcriber.

<sup>c</sup> Montrose was at this time in arms for the king in Scotland.

desire thee to believe that that resolution was not so weakly grounded as thy love to me makes thee apprehend, for although the security which I have demanded is not to be despised, yet I esteem my safety to consist in the absence of Prince Charles and the Duke of York, and in the unquestionable garinosity<sup>a</sup> between the Presbyterians and Independants: so that, dear heart, be confident that there is nothing that I can undertake of so little personal danger, or can be of so great hopes to give a speedy great turn to the good of my affairs, as my personal treating in London. As for the sending of a French ambassador to meet at London, I like it extremely well, and that the Count de Tilliers should be the man; and for Will. Murray's coming over I like that well too, so that I may have a pass to send him or somebody else to Montross,<sup>b</sup> whereby he and I may know the state of one another's condition; and this I believe may be easily obtained, to procure Will. Murray to be a negotiator in the Scotch treaty.

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### III.

Oxford, Jan. 11th, 1645-6.

DEAR HEART,

I had no time before Friday last to decipher thine of the 25th of November, which I must answer how late soever (for kindness is never out of date), every line in it being but a several way of expressing thy love to me, even there where we differ in judgement, which I know we should not do if thou wert not mistaken in the state of the question; I mean concerning episcopacy, for I am of thy opinion to a tittle in everything else. For the difference between me and the rebels concerning the church is not bare matter of

<sup>a</sup> So in the MS., with a marginal explanation, "hatred or animosity."

<sup>b</sup> The "Mountrose" of the MS. has here been altered into "Montross" by a subsequent hand.

form or ceremony, which are alterable according to occasion, but so real, that if I should give way as is desired, here would be no church, and by no humane probability ever to be recovered; so that, besides the obligation of mine oath, I know nothing to be an higher point of conscience. This being granted, I am sure thy persuasions will be turned into praises of my constancy. And for the truth of my affection, the doubt of which is the only argument against me, I can make it as clear to any not wilful person, as two and three makes five. But this I am sure of, which none can deny, that my yielding this is a sin of the highest nature, if I believe constant as I have said, which really I do. And, dear heart, thou canst not but be confident that there is no danger which I will not hazzard, or pains that I will not undergo, to enjoy the happiness of thy company, there being nothing which really conduceth thereunto which I will not do, which may not make me less worthy of thee. And to this end I prosecute the Scotch treaty with all the industry and dexterity which God hath given me, not differing in opinion concerning it. My intended journey to London is likewise for this. Than which, believe me, no undertaking can be less hazzardous (the greatest fear being of my doing some lache<sup>a</sup> action, which thy love will hinder thee to apprehend and mine to give the occasion), nor of so great probability of good success. One of my securities I forgot in my last to mention to thee, which is, that this Parliament without doubt determines with my life, if I give it not some new additional strength, which I protest never to do, but, for the contrary, to follow precisely thy advice therein.

Upon my word thy information concerning L<sup>d</sup> Culpeper<sup>b</sup> is much

<sup>a</sup> Marginal note in the MS. "base or low."

<sup>b</sup> This allusion explains a transaction which is merely glanced at by Clarendon (Rebell., book ix.), and has not been thoroughly understood by other writers. Clarendon says that "the gentlemen of the western counties," no doubt alarmed at the state of public affairs, held various meetings and consultations whilst the prince was at Exeter, which terminated in a resolution to petition the prince "to interpose between the king and the parliament, and to send a message to the latter with overtures of peace." The prince's

mistaken, if not malicious. For Prince Charles's treaty was begun with Fairfax before I knew of it, merely to eschew a mutiny which otherwise could not be prevented. But there was no time lost in acquainting me with all the circumstances, the sum of it being only the demand of a pass for sending to me to have my advice concern-

council took this proceeding in bad part, and determined "that all endeavours were to be used to divert and prevent any petition of such a nature from being presented to his highness," which, Clarendon adds, "with great difficulty was at last prevented." The noble historian gives no hint at the nature of the "difficulty" alluded to, nor does he mention that prince Charles at this time sent a letter to sir Thomas Fairfax, who was in command of the army which was gradually hemming the prince in. In the letter to Fairfax it was professed that there was nothing which the prince more earnestly prayed for to Almighty God than the restoration of a happy peace, and he therefore requested Fairfax to send him, or to apply to the parliament for, a safe conduct for lord Hopton and lord Colepepper to go to the king with "some such overtures" as he hoped might conduce to peace. Fairfax remitted the prince's letter to the authorities at Westminster, with a report of his own, in which he stated that he thought it his duty not to hinder the hopeful blossom of the young peace-maker, which might "prove a flower in his title more glorious and sweet to us than the rest of his ancestors." (Lords' Journals, vii. p. 600.) The lords received the proposal favourably, but the commons, probably better informed, allowed it to die away. In Paris the transaction was turned in some way to the disadvantage of lord Colepepper. The king's allusion shews that the dissatisfaction of the gentlemen of the west amounted to a threatened mutiny, or desertion of the king, and that the letter to Fairfax was a mere piece of simulation had recourse to for the sake of influencing public opinion and quieting the mutineers. The "barbarous refusal" which the king seems to have esteemed a fortunate result of this little manœuvre, amounted to this. Application was made to Fairfax for an answer to the letter of his royal highness. Fairfax replied, on the 8th November, that he had not received any directions upon the subject from the parliament; "perhaps," he remarked, "finding what counsels still prevail about his majesty, they may justly apprehend any such address to him would be fruitless if not hurtful to the end you propose [by] it, and yet, being loth to answer any desire from your highness with a public denial, may choose to suspend rather than give their resolution." He added, that a better way to peace was by the prince's disbanding his troops and going himself to the parliament, where "he need not doubt of safety and honorable reception." (Clarendon's State Papers, ii. 194.) Lord Capel replied, on behalf of the prince, that his royal highness did not believe his overture would have brought him an invitation to quit his piety and loyalty to his royal father; that, if his former propositions were consented to, he hoped God would bless his sincere intentions; if rejected, he should give the world no cause to believe that he would forfeit his honour and integrity. (Fairfax Correspondence; Civil War, i. 259.)

ing a treaty, the barbarous refusal of which I am confident did much settle men's minds in those parts. Lord Digby<sup>a</sup> writes from Ireland somewhat hopefully of assistance from thence, and to that end desires thee to try if an 100 busses may be obtained from the Prince of Orange, to be in Ireland by the end of next month; and though I will not bid thee be confident of great matters from thence, knowing my author to be most sanguine, yet if his hopes should prove true, it were pittty the effects should fail for want of shipping. This is all for this time from him who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

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IV.

Oxford, Jan. 14th, 1645-6.

DEAR HEART,

Because my trumpett is not returned yett, and that it is not unlikely he will bring such an answer as must oblige me to a very harsh reply, I have been therefore this day making a message such as may either cause my journey to London, upon those terms that I am confident will be extreemly to my advantage (considering my condition, as likewise the unquestionable differences between the Independent and Presbyterian faction), or upon refusal will further my Scotch treaty, or at least breed distractions in London, which

<sup>a</sup> Digby, wayward and inconsiderate but romantic and generous, was at this time endeavouring to aid the marquis of Ormond in effecting a treaty with the Roman Catholics of Ireland, by which Charles was to receive assistance out of that country. But, whilst Ormond and Digby were proceeding in the ordinary course of diplomacy, Glamorgan, acting upon extraordinary powers secretly given to him by the king, effected their object, but at what was considered equivalent to the sacrifice of Protestantism in Ireland. The indignation which ensued rendered it impossible for the king to avail himself of the assistance which the Roman Catholics had agreed with Glamorgan to render; it even induced the king to disavow the authority under which Glamorgan had acted. This subject is again alluded to in several places in these letters.

possibly might have been hindered, if I had staid the return of my trumpet, by the rebels' insolent demands.

I received yesterday the chearfullest letter from Jermyn <sup>a</sup> that I have seen these many days, and, when I see the effects accordingly, shall then begin to think well of the cardinal's <sup>b</sup> friendship, but I must confess, that the fayling of former hopes, and Sabrand's <sup>c</sup> declared neutrality here, makes me yet suspect that the cardinal totally prosecutes cardinal Richelieu's grounds; <sup>d</sup> and, seriously, the want of assistance from thence hath not troubled me so much as the affliction I know thou hast had, for having been juggled withall, in a thing thy heart is so set upon for his sake, who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

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V.

Oxford, Jan. 18, 1645-6.

DEAR HEART,

Although thou wilt be eased of thy fears from my going to London by the last answer which the rebels have sent me, yet I desire to satisfy thee that my proposition for a personal treaty was (considering my present condition) fully in order to those grounds that thou leftest me withall, and mainly conducing to the Scotch treaty, and that if my offer had been accepted, I had great reason to expect great good effects from it. I shall not now mention matters

<sup>a</sup> Jermyn, the handsome friend of Henrietta Maria, and as was generally believed her husband after the death of Charles, was now at Paris occupied in the management of her majesty's household, and in constant correspondence with the king.

<sup>b</sup> Mazarin.

<sup>c</sup> Mons. de Sabran was the resident ambassador of France in England. He fixed himself in London and intermeddled but little in the English troubles.

<sup>d</sup> Richelieu's policy towards England was very unfriendly to Charles I. He encouraged the troubles in Scotland, and gave countenance to the Puritan party in England, with the view, as the king's friends thought, of preventing any union in policy between England and Spain.

of security, hoping that my former letters have given thee satisfaction therein, but desire thee to observe, that though I have stretch'd my wits to persuade them to accept of my personal treaty, yet examine my words well, and thou wilt find that I have not engaged myself in anything against my grounds. For first, I am sure that there can be no scruple as concerning the church. Then, for Ireland and the militia, it is true that it may be I give them leave to hope for more than I intended, but my words are only, to "endeavour to give them satisfaction" in either, and, for the latter, the end is likewise expressed, which is, their "security." And, lastly, I do not so much as give an hope that I will abandon my friends. Indeed for places I give them some more likely hopes, yet neither in that is there any absolute engagement, but there is the condition of "giving me encouragement thereunto, by their ready inclination to peace" annexed with it. This I hope will satisfy thee that no new counsellors have changed my former resolutions. Now, as to fruits which I expected by my treaty at London. Knowing assuredly the great animosity which is betwixt the Independents and Presbyterians, I had great reason to hope that one of the factions would so address themselves to me, that I might without great difficulty obtain my so just ends, and questionless it would have given me the fittest opportunity. For, considering the Scots treaty that would be besides, I might have found means to have put distractions amongst them though I had found none.

Thou, howsoever thou esteemest my arguments (which I hope will satisfy thee), I am sure thou seest clearly that I cannot be contented so long as thou art in the least ill satisfied about my intentions, and especially when my constancy may be called in question, upon which, if importunity could prevail, I should not long brag of it; for there is none doth assist me heartily in my steady resolutions but S<sup>r</sup> Edw. Nicholas<sup>a</sup> and Ashburnham; all the rest are very

<sup>a</sup> Sir Edward Nicholas, who entered public life as secretary to the duke of Buckingham, was now secretary of state. He continued with the king in that capacity until his



inclined to most flexible counsels, yet grumbling when they are not employed, and, when they are, do rather hinder than further business; yet, notwithstanding all these difficulties, so long as I have thee to advise with, I shall no ways doubt but, by the blessing of God, to overcome all my misfortunes, and that we shall live again together as we have done, without which no life can be of contentment to him who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

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VI.

Oxford, Jan. 22, 1645-6.

DEAR HEART,

Upon Monday last I received thine of the 18th of Jan. wherein I find that upon very good reason thou hast resolved to send Will. Murray to me, and thy judgment is as <sup>a</sup> right, considering the great advantages I am likely to have by agreement with the Scots, wherefore assure thyself that I shall endeavour to procure it with all possible care and industry, not leaving those grounds, which upon no consideration I must quit; and upon my word, even in those things, I shall go as near the wind as I can, according to that wit which God hath given me. Wherefore I say no more of this, but refer thee to my two former letters of the 28th of December and 11th of Jan. Thou hast likewise very well answered the Duke of Courland's man, by leaving ceremony to wait on substance. Concerning Prince Charles his marriage, I shall say nothing till the Prince of Orange gives his positive resolution, and indeed hasten to satisfy thee in that which I find hath troubled thee, either by much mistaking or misinformation.

majesty quitted Oxford and delivered himself up to the Scots. Nicholas then went to Jersey, at that time the place of refuge of prince Charles and his little court.

<sup>a</sup> So in the MS.

I see thou thinkest me careless in hazzarding to divulge that which as a secret thou hast recommended to me, I mean the Scotch treaty. The truth is, I have so precisely kept thy council, that albeit it came to me from London divers ways, so as I might have use of it to the Independents (in case the intentions of the Scots had not been real) without breaking any of thy trust, yet, because it might look like it, I would not do it. Now for the message which I sent to the Lord Sinclare<sup>a</sup> and David Lesley; thou must understand that the man which came from them told me all the particulars of the Scotch treaty with thee, and when at first I seemed to be ignorant, he in a manner laught at me, telling me that what he said I knew to be true; whereupon I thought it might be of more prejudice than good to the business to conceal my knowledge of it from those who were to be active in it, and who knew it before me; but I desire thee to observe that none of my letters out of cypher spake a word of it, and I assure thee that what Ashburnham wrote was not only in cypher, but also with great conjuration of secrecy. The same I likewise did to those [I?] instructed. This, upon my faith to thee, is the truth of this business, so that, what fault soever hath been in it for point of secrecy, it must have come from some of the proposers, and I am sure thou wilt be loath to blame me for other men's faults.

Concerning my Portugal ambassador, I desire thee to send [him?] away with all speed, and find some handsome excuse for his detention all this time, for I assure thee my honour suffers much in the delay, as seeming a desire to find a shift to break my promise, which in this particular will be accompanied with ingratitude, I having been extreemly obliged to that king and his ministers. From Ireland there is some hopefull news, and also from Mountrose, as S<sup>r</sup> Edw. Nicholas will inform thee by his command who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

<sup>a</sup> John sixth lord Sinclair, a supporter of the covenant but an equally strenuous upholder of monarchy. This is the lord Sinclair who was taken prisoner at Worcester, and suffered imprisonment from 1651 to 1660.

## VII.

Oxford, Feb. 1st, 1645-6.

DEAR HEART,

Because I desire to insist upon that which I conceive most necessary for our preservation, I refer thee to S<sup>r</sup> Edw. Nicholas concerning the late unhappy accident in Ireland,<sup>a</sup> and my last message to London.<sup>b</sup> And first, I earnestly desire thee to believe that what I have sent to the rebels will not procure a peace. Secondly, that as I have not hitherto quitted foundations, so I am resolved to suffer those afflictions that it shall please God to inflict upon me, rather than to part with any more. I judge this short preamble necessary to hinder the greatest mischief which now can befall me, which is, that supplies should be stopt by thinking them needless, as if peace were assured on either my present or future concessions.

As at no time I desire to conceal anything from thee, so at this it is most necessary to shew the truth of my present condition, which is that, considering my own weakness, the small or rather no hopes of supplies from either Ireland or Scotland, and the rebels' strength, I am absolutely lost if some brisk action do not recover me, wherefore, having thought of many, I have at last resolved on this.

I shall, by the grace of God, without fail, draw into a body by the

<sup>a</sup> The allusion is to the treaty concluded by Glamorgan with the Roman Catholics of Ireland, which had recently come to the knowledge of the world in a curious way. An attempt was made by the associated Roman Catholics to retake Sligo, which had been shortly before taken from them by sir Charles Coote. Amongst the persons killed on that occasion on the side of the Roman Catholics was the titular archbishop of Tuam. In his carriage, which was captured by the Protestants, was found a collection of papers relating to the transactions of Glamorgan. Shortly afterwards an Irish packet boat ran into Padstow without being aware that it was in the possession of sir Thomas Fairfax. Some of his dragoons seized upon the vessel and captured the passengers. One of them, a captain Allen, was observed to throw overboard a number of papers. A few were recovered, and turned out to be letters from Glamorgan himself, and from various other persons connected with his transactions. They were immediately published by the parliament, not less to the amazement of the royalists than of their opponents. (Husband's Collection, 782, 811, ed. 1646.)

<sup>b</sup> The message of the 15th January, 1645-6, before alluded to at p. 4, note <sup>b</sup>.

end of this February 2,000 horse and dragoons; with these I resolve to march into Kent, where I am confident to possess some important place not far from the sea-side (not being out of hope of Rochester), where, if I have either time or sufficient strength to settle myself, I shall esteem myself in a very good condition; wherefore I desire thee, as thou lovest me, to hasten those men which Jermyn promised me by the middle of March; they must land at or near to Hastings, in Sussex. And whereas by mine to Jermyn of Jan. 18, I directed him how to send the money to Oxford by bills of exchange, now I desire thee to send it all by the army, and I pray thee divert as little of it any other way as is possible. Now, it may be thou wilt be pressed to send these men into the west, for the strengthening of my son's army, and if it were not for this my design it were most counsellable; but now I assure thee that, even for the prince's security, their landing where I have told thee is absolutely the best. Besides, thou must know that, whether they come or not, I must venture upon this design: now my danger is least the rebels should so press upon me as not to give me time to make myself ready, which they will not be able to do if the 5,000 men come over as I have said, but if not, then it will be likely that I shall be so prest as not to stay long in this kingdom, and then all is lost. In a word, never any man's preservation depended so visible upon anything as mine doth upon the seasonable coming of these men, every circumstance which I have mentioned having full right; for which, having said thus much, I know there needs no more persuasion to thee to do what is possible.

Now, for the Scotch treaty, it is not so much worth as to spend many words about it; in short it is all fourbery;<sup>a</sup> for now I can assure thee that it was no secret in the Scots army before I knew it. Besides, why should Montrevil go into Scotland, since he knows that they will do nothing for me? Wherefore thou must excuse me if I believe that both they and France hath juggled in this, and so long

<sup>a</sup> There is a marginal note, "knavery."

as Watt. Mountague<sup>a</sup> is fast I shall still think, but say no more. Yet it may well be that they would be loath to see me quite sunk, for which cause I am not out of hope to have some seasonable supply from them. So desiring a speedy answer of this letter, I rest eternally thine,

C. R.

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VIII.

Oxford, Feb. 8th, 1645-6.

DEAR HEART,

There is news that makes the strength and constancy of thine affection more visible to me than ever, that the prejudice of false glosses upon my actions hath no power to diminish thy love at all, tho' thou hast too much submitted thy wonted judgement unto them. For I desire thee seriously to consider what a strange argument it is, for me to promise the doing of a thing directly against my conscience, because of a probability, and that but a weak one, that I shall not be put to it; and can'st thou think that (who would have thought it?) is a sufficient excuse for breach of conscience, it being scarce odds that it will not fall out, for is it not likely enough that rogues, who look most to their own ends, will submit to anything (though it were to the Alcorun) when they foresee a great storm threatening them with the loss of all? Besides, suppose the event to be as is laid down to thee, I do not understand how the Independents' wilfulness against Presbyterian government can free me from my promise to the Scots, especially since their assistance to me is grounded on my promise to them concerning that particular. So that I should esteem myself obliged to the alteration of church

<sup>a</sup> Walter Mountague, a younger son of Henry Montague earl of Manchester. He went over to the Church of Rome early in the reign of Charles I. and was a very busy person in the intrigues of that period. Standing high in the favour both of the queen regent of France and of Henrietta Maria, he was promoted to the abbacy of Nanteuil, and afterwards to that of St. Martin near Pontoise.

government, whensoever it were in my power, in case I should join with them upon the conditions desired by them.

But though this be reason at Oxford, whether it will be found so at Paris I know not; wherefore, neither desiring victory in argument, nor yielding to that reason I do not understand, I propose that, so thou wilt accept of my protestation, as likewise the Q. Regent and cardinall, that I will not be engaged for the alteration of episcopal gover[n]ment here in England (more than a toleration of conscience to the Presbyterians), notwithstanding any agreement that shall be made with the Scots. I totally refer the conditions to thy making, for I know thou wilt neither abandon Mountrose, nor any of my friends; now this I will peremptorily say, that this my proposition must be accepted, or else my arguments must be confessed to be good.

As for Ireland, I know not from whence it can be said that I have abandoned it by my answer to Montrevil, the words only being—“W<sup>h</sup> by the business of Ireland, and otherwayes w<sup>ch</sup> his Ma<sup>tie</sup> hath invented (w<sup>ch</sup> upon debate hee doubteth not but to make appeare very faisable), hee is most confident to give them full satisfaction therein;”—after I had mentioned the queen of France’s willingness to interpose with them, for their contentment in that point of their arrears. And I do as much wonder that the freedom of my letters should be so interpreted, for therein I cleared my intentions to be, not to make use of Ireland that way, except there be no other for saving of England. But by this I fear that my last messages to London will be much more mistaken, wherefore I desire thee seriously to recollect, upon what condition, and with what cautions, I offered to take their advice for the peace of Ireland; for observe, my engagement therein is meerly subsequent to a peace here; not [nor?] that neither, unless I first know by an express how my word is engaged in Ireland; not [nor?] so much as that, until my personal treaty be granted on my own conditions. And the truth is, but for one reason I had done none of this, which is, that infallibly the peace of Ireland will be absolutely concluded or broken, before I can agree with the rebels at London so much as to send the mentioned

expresses. And certainly, in point of generosity, I am as little obliged to the Irish as I can be to any nation. For all this last year they have only fedd me with vain hopes, looking upon my daily ruin, which they might have daily hindered. But, instead of that, they only trifled with, or at least not accepted, those conditions, which no reason could warrant them to refuse. But it is no wonder that these passages should be misinterpreted to thee, since some have the impudence to tell thee that Marq<sup>a</sup> Ormond \* has declared for the rebels, and the L<sup>d</sup> Digby prisoner.

As for my trusting of thee, whensoever there may be occasion for it, I shall run faster to it than thou canst propose; and, howsoever I know not how to apply it to this Irish treaty (thy proposition being grounded upon misinformation), yet, that it may not fail on my part, I send thee herewith a note, which tho' it be not a new thing, but known to the Lord Muskerry,<sup>b</sup> yet it is the farthest favour I can shew them in point of religion; giving thee power, if thou find it fit, to promise the performance of it in my name, in case they will conclude the peace before I be further engaged to those at London, of which I believe there is little danger, being certainly informed that they will seek to make me pass seven bills before they will hear of my personal treaty, which I assure thee I will not do, nor anything else that shall make thee ashamed of him who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

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IX.

Oxford, Feb. 19, 1645-6.

DEAR HEART,

Albeit that my personal danger must of necessity presede thine, yet thy safety seems to be hazarded by my resolution con-

\* The marquis Ormonde, it will be remembered, was at this time lord lieutenant of Ireland.

<sup>b</sup> Lord Muskerry was one of the chief of the confederate Roman Catholics. In that character he was a party to the treaty concluded by Glamorgan.

cerning church government. I am doubly grieved to differ with thee in opinion, though I am confident that my judgment, not love, is censured by thee for it. But I hope, whatsoever thou mayest wish, thou wilt not blame me at all, if thou rightly understand the state of the question. For I assure thee, I put little or no difference between setting up the Presbyterian gover[n]ment, or submitting to the Church of Rome. Therefore make the case thine own. With what patience wouldest thou give ear to him who should persuade thee, for worldly respects, to leave the communion of the Roman church for any other? Indeed, sweetheart, this is my case; for, suppose my concession in this should prove but temporary, it may palliate tho' not excuse my sin. But it is strange to me how that can be imagined, not remembering any example that concessions in this kind have been recalled, which in this case is more unlikely (if not impossible) than any other, because the means of recovering it is destroyed in the first minute of yielding, it being not only a condition for my assistance, but likewise all the ecclesiastical power so put in their hands, who are irreconcilable enemies to that government which I contend for, as I shall never be able to master. I must confess (to my shame and grief) that heretofore I have for publick respects (yet I believe, if thy personal safety had not been at stake, I might have hazarded the rest) yielded unto those things which were no less against my conscience than this, for which I have been so deservedly punished, that a relapse now would be insufferable, and I am most confident that God hath so favoured my hearty (tho' weak) repentance, that he will be glorified, either by relieving me out of these distresses (which I may humbly hope for, tho' not presume upon), or in my gallant sufferings for so good a cause, which to eschew by any mean submission cannot but draw God's further justice upon me, both in this and the next world. But let not this sad discourse trouble thee (for, as thou art free from my faults, so doubtless God hath blessings in store for thee), it being only a necessary freedom to shew thee, that no slight cause can make me deny to do what thou desirest, who am eternally thine,

CHARLES R.



For God's sake, as thou lovest me, see what may be done for the landing of the 5,000 men, at the place and by the time as I wrote to thee the 1st of Feb., and with them as much money as possibly thou canst. I assure thee that the well-doing of this is likely to save both my crown and liberty.

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X.

Oxford, Mar. 3, 1645-6.

DEAR HEART,

Amongst all the difficulties against which I have struggled in this unparalleled rebellion, none hath been more prejudice nor of half that vexation to me, as the causeless stumblings and mistaking of my friends; yet whilst I was rightly understood by thee, I despised them all; but, since from whence my chiefest comfort comes, I am now most mistaken, it may easily be judged how my misfortunes are multiplied upon me, and—which is worse—how I am deprived of means for the supporting them; and really I should sink under my present miseries, if I did not know myself innocent of those faults which thy misinformed judgment condemns me off. However, I shall not want a greater affliction than the power of the rebels can inflict upon me, until I have satisfied thee concerning those things mentioned in thine of the 23d of Feb.; wherefore I conjure thee, as thou lovest me, to read what follows, with patience and without prejudice.

I am blamed both for granting too much, and yet not yielding enough, which shows, I confess, to be no contradiction, yet it must be a strange unluckiness for a man to be guilty in both kinds upon one occasion; but I plead Not Guilty to both. For the first, I will not seek an excuse from a clause in thy letter—"Je vous counseille de faire paie [paix] à queleque prix que ce soit,"—for I know it was never thy meaning by it to persuade me either to go against my conscience, destroy monarchy, or forsake my friends; but my ground is, that these foundations being preserved I cannot overbuy

a peace, my condition considered;—which likewise I confess to be the true intent of that clause of thine which I have cited. Now, that I have observed this rule, thus I prove it:—

First, for my friends; I have exposed none to ruin, nor so much as waved the protecting of any, in any kind, who will not abandon themselves; that particular concession concerning officers of state and judges, being wrung from me by the importunity of those who are chiefly concerned by it, their safeties being the great argument which they used to me for it. As for monarchy; I will positively say that the root is left entire, and (with God's blessing) infallibly to spring up again as fair as ever, though, I confess, seven years must be given for it, which I see not how much to mend, though we had all other probable riches, for all is but loppings, no rooting up, and being to return as entirely to the crown, after the prefixed time, as if I had entered London at a breach.

Now, as for conscience; it must lead me to the second branch, of not yielding enough, for I believe none will accuse me in this for having granted too much.

But in this I can say no more to thee, than what is contained in my two letters of the 8th and 19th of Feb. only I must repeat to thee, that indeed thou mistakest the question, for it is not whether I should lay by the bishops for a time (like the militia, for seven years), but whether I should alter my religion or not. And for God's sake remember, that I love thee so much, that thou wilt far sooner hinder me, than I will shrink, from hazarding or loosing anything for thy sake; and, believe it, thy contentment is so dear to me, that I will not vex thee with contradiction, in such a point as this, upon probability, where I see not a clear certainty for my assertions. But consider, that if I should quit my conscience, how unworthy I make myself of thy love.

And now I come to answer the particular concerning the E. of Glamorgan,<sup>a</sup> the conclusions whereof are so strangely raised upon

<sup>a</sup> See before, p. 9, as to the transactions here alluded to.

the premises that I know not what to say to them, they are so much against the way of my reason. For must I be thought an enemy to the Roman Catholicks, because I will not consent to the destruction of the Protestants in Ireland; or, because I have disavowed that which is directly against my constant professions, am I therefore likely to disavow thee? In a word, my answer is this, that the same reason which made me refuse my consent to the establishing of the Presbyterian government in England, hath likewise made me disavow Glamorgan in his giving away the church lands in Ireland, and all my ecclesiastical power there, besides my exposing all my friends to ruin, both being equally and directly against my conscience, which when I shall forfeit, by giving up the Church of England to either Papists or Presbyterians, I must not expect to be esteemed by honest men, or (which is worse) ever to enjoy God's blessing.

Now I come to answer thy advice, which is twofold:—First, to agree with the Scots, and [in order to?] that to give them their desire concerning bishops. Secondly, to make the Irish peace.

For this last, I have reason to hope that it is concluded by this time; however, I assure thee it shall, if the Irish be not unreasonable or impertinently slow.

For the Scots, I promise thee to employ all possible pains and industry to agree with them, so that the price be not giving up the Church of England, with which I will not part upon any condition whatsoever. For God's sake, consider well if in this I have not reason, for since thou sayest—“*Que vous avez donné au rebelles la royauté pour 7 ans, en vous dépossédant du pouvoir qu'il falloit plustost périr quedele faire [sic]*”—is not the perpetual forfeit of my conscience more than the suspension for 7 years of any government?—although in this thou art much mistaken, for I assure thee that the temporary granting of the militia, in the terms that I have done, is far from the dispossessing me of my royalty. Besides, the nature of Presbyterian government is to steal or force the crown from the king's head. For their chief maxim is (and I know it to

be true), that all kings must submit to Christ's kingdom, of which they are the sole governors, the king having but a single and no negative voice in their assemblies, so that yielding to the Scots in this particular, I should both go against my conscience and ruin my crown, either of which I know thou canst not persuade me to do.

Notwithstanding this my constant resolution, I desire thee not to despair of the Scotch treaty, for I cannot believe they will so visibly hazard their own ruin, for insisting on a pretence of conscience (which is really no more), when they see that I will not yield to it. But I heartily wish for W. Murray's coming (though I think his detension may prove for my service), for I am most confident to make thee, by his conversation, clearly perceive how truly my resolutions are grounded, and by his persuasions to his countrymen to have a good issue of the treaty.

To conclude, though sometimes thy words or style may vary according to thy informations, yet I know that thy love to me is firm, wherefore, dear heart, consider well what I have written to thee, and let not the false paraphrases upon my actions (by those who have hitherto given thee but words instead of deeds), lessen my estimation<sup>a</sup> with thee, which is the greatest comfort of his life who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

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XI.

Oxford, March 12th, 1645-6.

DEAR HEART,

Whatsoever may make thee mistake my actions, yet nothing can make me doubt of thy love, nor alter my way of kindness and freedom to thee, notwithstanding any variation of the [thy?] stile to me, and I am most confident that upon second thoughts thou wilt be very far from blaming me, as concerning the Scotch treaty; my main ground—which is the saving of the church wherein I have been bred—being so infallibly good, that thou must commend me for it.

<sup>a</sup> "estimations" in MS.

Albeit we differ in matter of religion, yet thou must esteem me for having care of my conscience.

Concerning which, the preservation of the Church of England, being now the only question, I should think myself obliged to seek out all possible lawful means for maintaining it. Wherefore, remembering what I wrote to thee last year, upon the 5th of March, by Pooly—(thou wilt find it amongst those letters of thine which the rebels have printed<sup>a</sup>)—I think it at this time fit to renew that motion unto thee. My words were then (which still I will make good) that I give thee power to promise in my name (to whom thou thinkest most fit) that “I will take away all the penal laws against the Roman Catholicks in England, as soon as God shall enable me to do it, so as by their means I may have so powerful assistance as may deserve so great a favour, and enable me to do it.” And furthermore, I now add that I desire some particular offers by or in the favour of the English Roman Catholicks, which, if I shall like, I will then presently engage myself for the performance of the above-mentioned conditions. Moreover, if the pope and they will visibly and heartily engage themselves for the re-establishment of the Church of England and my crown (which was understood in my former offer) against all opposers whatsoever, I will promise them, on the word of a king, to give them here a free tolleration of their consciences. I have now (which formerly I did not) named the pope expressly, to desire thee to deal only with him or his ministers in the business, because I believe he is likely upon these conditions to be my friend, and wish the flourishing of my crown again, the which I think that France nor Spain will be sorry to see. I would have thee likewise make as few acquainted with this as may be, secrecy being most requisite in this business (until it be so ripe that the knowledge cannot hurt it), for everybody thinking it be deserted, it would much prejudice me if untimely it should break out again.

<sup>a</sup> Note in the MS. “Letter the 22nd.” It is the eighth letter in the King’s Cabinet Opened, printed at p. 7 (edit. 1645); but has the number 22 at the top of it, which was its number in the series of the king’s letters to the queen written in that year.

Thou mayst possibly imagine that this my renewed offer proceeds from my inconstant humour, or out of a desire to please, but I assure thee that neither are the causes, though I shall not be ashamed of the latter whensoever there is occasion, for in this I do only persue my constant ground, of preserving my conscience and crown, not being ignorant of the great inconveniences (not without some hazard) which the tolleration of divers sorts of God's worship bring to a kingdom, which is not to be suffered, but either for the eschewing of a worse thing, or to obtain some great good;—both reasons at this time concurring to make me admit, nay desire, this inconvenience.

For, by this means, and I see no other, I shall hope to suppress the Presbyterian and Independent factions, and also preserve the Church of England and my crown from utter ruin, and yet I believe I did well in disavowing Glamorgan (so far as I did); for though I hold it not simply ill, but even most fit, upon such a conjecture [conjuncture?] as this is, to give a toleration to other men's consciences, that cannot make it stand with mine to yield to the ruin of those of mine own profession, to which if I had assented, it then might have been justly feared, that I, who was careless of my own religion, would be less careful of my word. Whereas now, men have more reason to trust to my promises, find[ing] me constant to my grounds, and thou that I am eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

Upon my word, I neither have nor intend to acquaint any with this business but Ashburnham, wherefore I desire likeways to know of thee whom thou wilt intrust with it, that if anything come out we may know whom to blame. Besides, I offer to thy consideration, whether it be not fit that all the English Roman Catholicks be warned by the pope's ministers to join with the forces that are to come out of Ireland.

## XII.

Oxford, March 16th, 1645-6.

DEAR HEART,

Although my condition, without any addition of circumstances, may too justly challenge any sad thoughts from me, yet I confess, considering for what I suffer, and how justly in respect of my former weakness (which now to second with more concessions against my conscience would be according to human reason unpardonable), I should be at very much ease of myself if thy misconstruction of my actions did not give me a new and unexpected cause of grief; but this lies so heavy upon me, that it were a total abandoning of myself and cause if I did not seek without ceasing to ease myself of it. Wherefore, I cannot but still harp upon this string, until I shall have rectified thy judgment concerning my proceedings in the Scotch treaty, wherein I believe my niceness to mention matters of religion to thee, because of the oath I took not to seek to convert thee, hath been of great prejudice to me. But, as upon better thoughts I have begun to speak freely to thee (even of this subject also), knowing that I may open my conscience to thee without breach of my oath for not altering thine, so now I think it fit to proceed upon this point, by desiring thee rightly to understand upon what grounds in religion I go, which being known to thee will I hope satisfy and clean [clear?] all this misunderstanding concerning me, which are—

That the reformation of the Church of England hath no relation to the reformation of any other church, and albeit she is unwilling to censure any of her neighbours, yet none of her true children who rightly understand themselves, can with a safe conscience so far communicate with any of the Calvinists as to receive the sacrament of the Eucharist with them, there being none of the reformed churches abroad (except the Lutherans) that can justify the succession of their priests, which if this could not undoubtedly do, she should have one son less for me.

Next, I believe that bishops are *jure divino*, because I find as

much authority for them as for some articles of the creed; and for the Presbyterian government I hold it absolutely unlawful, one chief (among many) argument being, that it never came into any country but by rebellion. In a word, a congregation of men that hath form and calls themselves a church disagrees less with my conscience than the Presbyterians.

Now, adding unto this (which yet needs not) my coronation oath, must, I think, change thy blaming into commending my constancy, wherein, if I should prove faulty, thou might justly suspect me (which, by the grace of God, thou shalt never have cause to do) in my profession of being eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

I received thine and Jermyn's of the ninth of March so late yesterday that I cannot yet answer thee.

● XIII.

Oxford, March 18th, 1645-6.

DEAR HEART,

I have now no more time than to tell thee that Montrevil came hither late last night, that even now I have received thine of the 16th of March, and [one?] of the same date from Jermyn, of all which the queen shall have a full account by my next, from him who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

XIV.

Oxford, March 22nd, 1645-6.

DEAR HEART,

Ill success, mean spirits, and Montrevil's juggling, have so vexed me, that I cannot give thee so clear or good account as I hoped to have done when I last wrote to thee.

I find that Sr Edw. Nicholas his gloss upon the Lord Glamor-



gan's business hath made thee apprehend that I had disavowed my hand, but I assure thee I am very free from that in the understandings of all men here, for it is taken for granted the Lord Glamorgan neither counterfeited my hand, nor that I have blamed him more than for not following his instructions, as secretary Nicholas will more at large shew thee.

As for Montrevil's negotiation, I know not what to say to thee, because he would have me believe his word before thy letters, which indeed I cannot do, and he makes such interpretations as pass my understanding. For example, he would persuade me that you will be content that the peace of Ireland should be sacrificed to please the Scots; and that to suffer my friends to be banished (his phrase is, "d'estre esloignés pour quelque temps") is no forsaking them; and in particular Mountrose must run this fortune, or else no agreement with the Scots, but this I will constantly refuse; for all other particulars (religion excepted) I will be judged by thee.

Now I come to that which I believe will trouble thee, for I am sure it doth me most, which is the message I am now sending to London, whereof this shortly (leaving the particulars at large to secretary Nicholas, and Ashburnham), that I am forced to hazard this upon meere necessity, having neither force enough to resist, nor sufficient to escape to any secure place, and yet I have not, nor (by the grace of God) will ever depart from my main grounds.

It is true that my person will not want danger, but I want not probability of reasonable good security, the chiefest of which is Pr. Charles his being with thee, concerning whom I desire, as thou lovest me, first, that thou wouldst not endeavour to alter him in religion, nor so much [as?]<sup>a</sup> trouble him upon that point. Next, that thou would not thyself, nor suffer him to be engaged in any treaty of marriage (for I believe that with the Prince of Orange his daughter to be broken) without having my approbation.

\* A copy of this passage of the king's letter was sent to prince Charles by the queen, and in that copy the word "as" occurs here as transcribed from the original. (Clarendon's State Papers, ii. 239.)



At this time I will say no more, but be confident that though treasonable misfortunes may make me pittied, yet nothing shall make me do any mean action, for I cannot forget that I am eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

Notwithstanding the way I am in, I desire thee not to relinquish that design which I wrote to thee of the 12th of March, for I believe I may have use of it.

XV.

Oxford, March 24th, 1645-6.

DEAR HEART,

This messenger gives me no more time than to tell the I have received thine of the 23rd of March, and albeit Mountrevil and I be not agreed, yet there is some hope that good may rise from the Scotch treaty. Though my present condition be so sad, that it hath forced me to send a message far below a king, nevertheless I desire the queen to be confident I shall never do so mean an action as shall make me unworthy of being ever thine,

CHARLES R.

XVI.

Oxford, March 30th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

It still multiplies my misfortunes to find that I am condemned by thee to have wilfully rejected my preservation, but I only desire (which thou canst not deny me) to be judged by thine own words, which are "ci c'estoit quelque chose de conscience, je serois de vostre costre [coté];"—if the keeping or breaking of an oath, or the maintaining the essentials of a church, belongs not to conscience, or that sacrilege is no sin, I must confess my error; but I hope that what I have written to Jermyn upon this subject will satisfy thee, and so

bring thee to that opinion thou wert of, if my memory does not betray me more than ever it did, when I had last the happiness of thy company.

As for Culpepper<sup>a</sup> I confess never to have much esteemed him in religion, though in other things I revered his judgment.

But I believe thou mistaketh Ned Hide,<sup>b</sup> for I am assured he was, and am still confident that he is, fully of my mind; and thou much mistakest me if anything hath all this while hindred my conjunction with the Scots, but their seeking to force my conscience.

Concerning which treaty, I have commanded secretary Nicholas to give thee a particular account, yet must tell thee, that if Montrevil had not trifled I had been in the Scotch army long before now, without sending my last message; but the sending of it made him open his pack, which he did for fear of my going to London, least I should there join with the Independents against the Scots. The messenger stays, and therefore I can add no more, but that I am eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

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## XVII.

DEAR HEART,

Thy proposition in the latter part of thy letter by Montrevil is a great testimony of thy love to me; but before I give thee an answer to it, I must desire thee to remember to answer me concern-

<sup>a</sup> When Charles was told that it was the opinion of Culpepper that his majesty should yield to what was proposed in the matter of religion, he coldly answered that "Colepepper had no religion." (Rebell. book x.)

<sup>b</sup> The future lord Clarendon was at this time with prince Charles. Hyde was almost, if not altogether, the only person in the confidence of the king who concurred with him on the point of religion. On the 1st June, 1646, when matters were even worse than at the date of the above letter, Hyde expressed himself against "buying a peace at a dearer price than was offered at Uxbridge," and encouraged the notion that it was the duty of the royalists to submit to a kind of martyrdom. "It may be," he remarked, "God hath resolved we shall perish, and then it becomes us to perish with those decent and honest

ing the queen's freeing me of the oath I did take concerning her religion, which, if thou wilt do, I make no question but to give thee satisfaction, not only in this but also in other particulars, which yet for want of thine answer I cannot.

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 XVIII.

Oxford, April 2nd, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

I am so surprized with the going of this messenger, that I have but time to tell thee that this day Montrevil goes to the Scotch army to prepare and adjust my reception there, I having resolved (by the grace of God) to begin my journey thither upon Monday or Tuesday next, before when the queen shall have a particular account of all, by his care who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

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 XIX.

Oxford, April 4th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

This bearer neither gives me time nor room to write much to thee, wherefore this can but only tell the, that my next by the usual way will give thee a full account of my affairs, the sum of which is, that Montrevil and I are agreed. He went yesterday morning to the Scotch army, who are to send their horse to meet me at Harborough, where I shall be on Wednesday next, resolving to go from hence the night before. I will trouble you now with no more cyphers, and the rather (that in case this should be intercepted) to vex the

circumstances that our good fame may procure a better peace to those who succeed us than we were able to procure for them, and ourselves shall be happier than any other condition could render us." (Clarendon's State Papers, ii. 237.)

rebells, by letting them know that no misfortune can take away the contentment of our mutual constant affections, it being, as is thought by many, one of the greatest torments of the wicked, to behold the beauty and reward of virtue, being excluded from attaining to it. Now, because I cannot vex the rogues elegantly, I will say no more, but that thou knowest I am eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

XX.

Oxford, April 6th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

With this thou wilt have a particular account, by secretary Nicholas, of my agreement with Montrevil, the effect of which is, that I shall be received into the Scotch army as their natural sovereign, with freedom of my conscience and honour, and all my servants and followers are to be there safely and honourably protected. Tuesday next is the precise day set down for my parting from hence, so that, by the grace of God, I hope confidently to join with the Scotch, on Wednesday, at Harborough; as for Mountrose, [and] all the rest of my friends, and upon what terms my conjunction with the Scots is to be, I refer thee to Nicholas; yet I must observe to thee, that Montrevil hath freely approved, that before my parting hence I shall impart this business freely to all my councill, which, I believe, (if I miscarry by the way,) will be a means to make the English rebells and the Scots irreconcilable enemies, for then the business will be publick. The message likewise, which upon this occasion I send to London,<sup>a</sup> is all his own, save the last words which he also fully approves.

Now I think it not amiss to offer to thee the best ways I can

<sup>a</sup> This message, prepared to be sent to the parliament, announcing the king's removal from Oxford to the Scottish camp, will be found in the King's Works, p. 112, ed. 1687. It ultimately bore date the 18th May, 1646.

think on for the improving of this thy own design (which for being so I hope much the better of), which, to say more properly, is to remember thee of what thou hast already thought on, that the French should now declare that they will assist me, by their ambassador, (desiring the Count of Tillie(r)s may be the man,) for the procuring of an honourable peace, which if by treaty it cannot be had, then to give me a noble and friendly assistance by arms; and in all this the States of Holland and Pr. of Orange to join, and in the mean time privately to assist me with 8,000 pistoles for my own use, not to be touched by the Scots, as Montrevil has promised me.

Besides this, I hold it necessary to tell thee that I find, when I come to the Scotch army, they and I shall differ upon direct points, in all which I shall refer myself to be judged by thee and the French queen. They will be the milit(i)a, Ireland, and my friends. For the two last I say nothing, because I know thou canst not do nor judge amiss in them; but for the first, I assure thee that more than what I have offered (nor do I say all that is fit) cannot be yielded to without great and irreparable loss to the crown, which I know thou wilt never consent to. As for church business, I hope to manage it so as not to give them distaste, and yet do nothing against my conscience, the keeping of which, in time, I am confident, will bring with it God's blessing to him who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

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XXI.

Oxford, April 13th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

It much troubles me that I am not parted from hence, as I told thee in my two last letters; the reason is, because I have not heard one word from Montrevil since he went. I cannot say that it is his fault (for many accidents may justly excuse him), yet I cannot but think it strange, it being ten days since he left Oxford. This I am assured of, I have very impatiently expected some return from him,

being resolved to make good my engagement religiously in every particular ; but, as I am now closed upon all sides, if I should have hazarded myself without hearing that the Scots horse were advanced to Harborough according to the agreement, I had been infallibly ruined. I have sent divers messengers to Montrevil, to show him the cause of my stay, and how ready I am to go at an hour's warning. Nay, rather than there shall be any thing wanting on my part towards this conjunction (though I shall not hear from him at all), I will not suffer any thing to stand between me and them, but what in the clear sight of all the world is an apparent impossibility of arriving at them, so very careful will I be of giving no just cause of obligation to the crown of France, whereon my whole encouragement and security in the design is fixed.

I am now sending again to Montrevil, to let him know that, in case there should happen an absolute impossibility of our joining, I am so faithful to this treaty, and so confident to find them so too, (the foundations of both our obligations being the crown of France,) that if he shall judge it necessary to have the force of Mountrose join with them, or any other assistance by any of my garisons, or my publick declaration to adhere to them and their party, I shall very readily comply with their desires therein, and will, upon the least notice from him, send orders and do accordingly. In the mean time, the Scots have Newark, I believe, before this time, given up to them as a pledge of my real intentions to them, which act, I suppose, will plainly satisfy the rebels at London of the design between us, and therefore there must be no longer dallying.

Thus thou seest my resolutions. I desire thee to be as active on thy part, and to acquaint the Q<sup>n</sup> Regent and cardinal of the state of the business, to the end they may do briskly all things in order to this conjunction, as effectually as if I were at this present in the Scots army. Their ambassador must now hasten over with all possible dilligence, and likewise a dispatch must instantly go from them to Holland, to send the like from the states there;—not forgetting the pistoles which Montrevil hath promised me.

There must be no delay in these particulars, the rebels are too full of the design.

This is all thou canst have for the present from him who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

I must not omit to remember my hearty thanks to the Q<sup>n</sup> Regent and cardinal for their nobleness to Pr. Charles, which I find in Culpeper's letters to Ashburnham; all that I shall say is, that, if ever God enable me, I will faithfully pay the great debt I owe to that crown for the kindness it hath shewed to thee and Pr. Charles; to both whom, if I should miscarry, or be taken prisoner by the rebels, in my attempt to join with the Scots, or otherwise, they will give full assistance to Pr. Charles in all kinds, as they have promised, and I as little doubt of thy gratitude, or his to them, when thou and he shall have power.

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XXII.<sup>a</sup>

Oxford, April 15th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

Since mine of the 13th to thee, not having yet heard anything from Montrevil, I find myself like to be drawn into very great streights; and being absolutely resolved, God willing, never to fall into the rebels' hands, as long as I can by any industry or danger prevent it, I have also resolved to run all difficulties and hazards that can occur, to my deliverance, and not to flatter myself in this purpose; whether [I be obliged] to go to the Scots, or what other course soever I shall be forced to take, they will be great enough to invite me to think of those things which will be of essential necessity in case I do not save myself, one of which, though not the only

<sup>a</sup> This letter has been published in Clarendon's State Papers, ii. 230, from a copy sent by Henrietta Maria to prince Charles, which is among lord Clarendon's MSS. in the Bodleian.



necessary in that case, is the having my son with thee in France. I do therefore charge thee, as soon as thou shalt receive this, if then he shall not be with thee, which I would not willingly doubt of, that thou sendest mine and thine own positive commands to him to come unto thee. And this I write to thee without any scruple, for that, in every event that my present purpose can possibly produce, this is not to be disputed, for whether I be taken prisoner, or save myself, my son can be nowhere so well, for all the reasons I have to look upon, whether in consideration of thee, myself, or him, as that he should be now with thee in France. Therefore, again I recommend to thee, that, if he be not with thee, thou send immediately for him, assuring thee most certainly that if God let me live, I will, either privately or by force, very suddenly attempt to get from hence. I have not now time to tell thee of the rest of the particulars I have in my thoughts, in case I hear from Montrevil that things are prepared for me in the Scotch army, or that I be forced to take any other course, but shall send thee an express to inform thee at large; so I conjure thee to pray for him who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

I do again recommend to thee the hastening of the ambassadour I proposed in my last, of the 13th. His being at London is, like my son's being with thee, fit at all events.

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XXIII.

Oxford, April 21st, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

I must not loose, though I cannot make much use of, this opportunity, this messenger giving but very little time. In short, the Scots are abominable relapsed rogues, for Montrevil himself is ashamed of them, they having retracted almost everything which they made him promise me, as absolutely refusing protection to any

of my friends longer than until the London rebels shall demand them, only they will give them warning enough to run away, not suffering any of my forces to join with them; and for Mountrose, banishment in their wills must be his easiest condition. In a word, Montrevil now dissuades me as much as he did before persuade my coming to the Scotch army, confessing my knowledge of that nation to be much better than his. I have not now time to tell thee the rest of this business, particularly that I intend to dispatch an express to thee to-morrow with them, as likewise to shew thee that I neither spared pains, nor would have eschewed danger, to have made this Scotch conjunction, and also what course he means to take who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

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XXIV.

Oxford, April 22nd, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

Since Monday was fortnight, I have not received any letters from thee, which I only impute to the obstruction of passages, having failed of my ordinary intelligence from London, so that I am very doubtful how this will come to thee, which is the dispatch of the greatest importance, and the saddest, that I ever sent thee. Finding now my condition much worse than ever, by the relapsed perfidiousness of the Scots, which I so little suspected before Sunday last that I received account of that business from Montrevil, as I did not care what hazard I undertook for the putting myself into their army, for I resolved from hence to venture the breaking thro' the rebels' quarters (which, upon my word, was neither a safe nor easy work) to meet them where they should appoint; and I was so eager upon it, that, had it not been for Pr. Rupert's backwardness, I had tried it without hearing from them, being impatient of delay. And when the rebels' forces came so thick about, so that I found that way of

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passing impossible, then I resolved and had laid my design how to go in a disguise. And, that no time might be lost, I wrote a letter to Mountrose to make him march up and joyn with them, in case he found by Montrevil, by whom I sent the letter, that they were really agreed with me.<sup>a</sup>

Thus thou seest that I neither eschewed danger nor spared pains to have made this conjunction with the Scots, which thou so much desiredst, and which I think the fittest for my affairs; and thou will as plainly see, by what secretary Nicholas sends thee, their base, unworthy dealing, in retracting of almost all which was promised Montrevil from London, even to the being ashamed of my company, desiring me to pretend that my coming to them was only in my way to Scotland. But the pointing at their falshood must not make me forget to give Montrevil his due, who seriously hath carried himself in this business with perfect integrity (for the least slip of honesty in him had been my ruin), of which the burning of my warrant for the rendering of Newark being sufficient proof, if there had been no other.

All this doth plainly shew thee how my condition is, the difficulty of resolving of what to do being answerable to the sadness of it; but the renewing of thy advices upon all kind of suppositions hath in a manner directed me what to do. Wherefore; to eschew all kind of captivity, which, if I stay here, I must undergo, I intend (by the grace of God) to get privately to Lynn, where I will yet try if it be possible to make such a strength, as to procure honourable and safe conditions from the rebels; if not, then I resolve to go by sea to Scotland, in case I shall understand that Mountrose be in condition fit to receive me, otherwise I mean to make for Ireland, France, or Denmark, but to which of these I am not yet resolved; desiring, if it may be, to have thy judgement before I put to sea, to direct my course by. In the meantime, I conjure thee, by thy constant love to me, that if I should miscarry (whether by being taken by the rebels

<sup>a</sup> The letter to Montrose will be found printed in the Appendix.

or otherwise), to continue the same active endeavours for Pr. Charles as thou hast done for me, and not whine for my misfortunes in a retired way, but, like thy father's daughter, vigorously assist Pr. Charles to regain his own. This thou canst not refuse to perform, knowing the reality of thy love to him who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

If I should go into Scotland, though I know thou wilt be willing that I swear Mountrose of my bedchamber, yet (to be punctual in my word to thee) I desire thy approbation to it, as also to the rest of my letter, with all possible speed. If thou hearest that I have put myself into Fairfax's army, be assured that it is only to have the fittest opportunity for my going to Lynn in a disguise, if not by other ways.

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XXV.

New-Castle, May 15th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

The necessity of my affairs hath made me send Jack Ashburnham unto thee, who at this present is the most (and with the greatest injustice) persecuted of all my servants, and meerly for his fidelity to me, which is so well known to thee, that I need neither recommend him to thy care, nor take the pains of setting down the present state of my affairs, and how they have changed since I came from Oxford, and why it is so long since I wrote to thee, referring all to his faithful relation, as likewise what I desire thee to do for my assistance; so transferring at this time the freedom of my pen to his tongue, I rest eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

I owe Jack £9,200, which I earnestly recommend thou wouldst assist him in for his payment.

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## XXVI.

New-Castle, Wed. May 20th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

Albeit I may well hope that Ashburnham (who this morning went to sea) may be with thee before this letter, and therefore need say little to thee at this time, he being fully instructed in all things which concern my business, yet I must not let this occasion pass without giving thee a short account of my condition. Upon what terms I went from Oxford,<sup>a</sup> and how I came to the Scots' army, I shall leave totally to Ashburnham's report, and likewise the barbarous usage I have had ever since. First, then, know that every one here (both of the committee and army) flatly disavows any treaty, and threatens the punishment of all those who have had any hand in it; and now I can assure the queen, there is nothing the Scots apprehend more than breaking with the rebels. Of many, I will give thee but two clear evidences; and first, the Scots have quit their pretended part in the English militia; and then the Scots have hindred, by proclamation, all men to come near me who have borne arms for me, whereas I did find many of that kind protected in their army. Next, it is more than apparent that the Scots will absolutely hinder my being any more king in England than they have made me in Scotland. For this there needs but one proof, the Scots having declared that the militia should not be in the king alone, but that the two houses of parliament are to have an equal share in it; and, for my friends, I need say no more than that they declare to adhere closely to their covenant.

Thus have I given thee a short but true account of the Scots' intentions, which also shews thee clearly what my present condition is, desiring the queen to consider that her trouble for it will much

<sup>a</sup> The king quitted Oxford very early in the morning of the 27th April, accompanied by Ashburnham and Dr. Hudson. After wandering about for five days, apparently in a state of entire irresolution, he entered the Scottish camp on the 5th May. Hudson's account of their course is printed in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, ii. 350.

hinder her endeavours to bring me out of it. For which I offer the queen no opinion until Ashburnham hath made all things known unto her, only I believe that what heretofore thou judgedst me wilful in, will be found the best (if not only) means for my restitution. As for my messages, both south and north, I remit to Montrevil, promising thee hereafter a weekly account from him who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

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XXVII.

New-Castle, May 28th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

I have found it most necessary for my service that Montrevil should carry this dispatch, because I am confident he will have that credit to make clearly appear the false juggling of the Scots, and the base usage that I have had since I came to this army, which 'tis not to be expected that anybody else can have, and I desire thee to avow that the queen of England concurs with me in this advice, which is Montrevil's desire.

It were a wrong to this trusty bearer to tell thee anything of fact, wherefore I shall at this time only make my observation to thee, and the grounds of my resolution. It is daily more and more evident to me that the Scots resolve to clipp the king's power in England, just answerable to what it is in Scotland, to which end (it is vissible) they can never attain without the setting of Presbyterian government in England, for the obtaining of which the Scots care not what they quit of your [their?] particular interests, as they have begun in that concerning the English militia, and I doubt not but they will go on, by abating the greatest part of their arrears. Wherefore, as my constancy to episcopacy is best to my conscience, so, believe me, it is more counsellable in point of politice [*sic*]; for, as I formerly told thee, the difference in point of church government is not that which the Scots look more at, although they make it their great pretence, but

it is the taking away of the church's dependance from the crown, for their chief meaning is to make it independent from any civil authority ; but I believe their taking it from the king would content them for this time. Now, the foreseeing that this point would be more prest upon me, and that it was the likeliest rise for my restoration (not only for reason of state, but also in respect of God's blessing), was the cause I wrote to thee to invite the pope and other Roman Catholicks to help me for the restitution of episcopacy in England, upon condition of giving them free liberty of conscience, and convenient places for their devotions. Then I desire thee not to communicate this motion to any of the French ministers of state; but I would have thee to acquaint the cardinal with it, requiring his assistance, for certainly France is as much obliged to assist me as honour can make it: I being prisoner (I must think myself so, since I cannot call for any of my old servants, nor chuse any new without leave, and that all my friends are forbidden by proclamation to see me,) by following their advice, upon their engagement that I should be used like a king.

And, indeed, to deal freely with thee, my condition is such, that I expect never to see thee, except, by the queen's sending to me persons of secrecy and dexterity, I find means to quit for a time this retched country. Wherefore I earnestly desire thee to think of this seriously and speedily, for, upon my word, it will not admit of long delay.

I think not Pr. Charles safe in Jersey; therefore send for him to wait upon thee with all speed (for his preservation is the greatest hope for my safety), and in God's name let him stay with thee till it be seen what ply my business will take, and for my sake let the world see that the queen seeks not to alter his conscience.<sup>a</sup> As for his going to Ireland I am not for it, yet if the queen should command him to go I will avow her in it; for I know if the queen does it she

<sup>a</sup> The steps taken by the queen to enforce the king's wishes respecting prince Charles may be seen in Clarendon's Rebellion, book x. and State Papers, ii. 238-9. In the latter place will be found extracts from this and a following letter.

will have good reason for it. All my letters must close, as I mean to end my life, assuring that I am eternally thine,

C. R.

I desire thee to shew this to Ashburnham, that he may remember thee of the particulars in it, which I desire thee to do.

I have desired Montrevil to tell thee some particulars concerning the Pr. of Wales and me, which I have not time to write.

### XXVIII.

New-Castle, May 28th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

This is the second letter that I have written to thee by the London post since I came here, besides those by Ashburnham, Hudson, and this day by Montrevil, which is so full that I hope the shortness of this will be excused. I have had no letter from thee since I came to this army, but 3 from Jermyn; to wit, of the 20th of April, the eleventh and fifteenth of May, this last being delivered to me the ninth day after the writing of it. So, desiring thee to command Pr. Charles to wait upon thee speedily (for I think him not safe in Jersey), I rest eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

### XXIX.

New-Castle, June 3d, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

Though I dispatcht Montrevil upon Thursday last, yet he went but this morning out of this river, which makes me fear that he will not come time enough for forming the ambassadour's instructions, who is to be sent to me; but I hope there may be additional sent after



him, if reason be found to alter them upon hearing Montrevil. In the mean time, I earnestly desire thee that whosoever is sent may come to me before he go to London (for the first impressions are of much importance), assuring thee that they will be most falsely given at London; and also that Montrevil may be sent to me again, with or presently after the ambassadour.

The answer to my messages is not yet come from London; wherefore I have little to say of any publick business, only I find these people very firm in their way, still careful not to displeas the London rebels, never going about to oblige me, unless it be by making all men far the worse that I take notice of, and doing the contrary in whatsoever I advise; so that I cannot but expect the worst of events, unless the gathering of a storm from abroad make them alter their minds. I find that their stile somewhat changes whensoever they speak to me of the Pr. of Wales, expressing a great desire that I should have the comfort of his company, which, God knows, is not for my sake, but for their own ends. I clearly see that they much apprehend his being in France, which is the place I think the fittest for him to remain in (all things considered), whether it be for contributing to an happy peace or a gallant warr; wherefore now command him, in my name, to wait upon thee, and not to go to Denmark.

Now, for myself, know that none are suffered to come about me but fools or knaves (all having at least a tincture of falshood), every day never wanting new vexations, of which my publick devotion[s] (which ought and used to be a Christian's greatest comfort) are not the least. This being my condition, and (as I have already shewed thee) not like to mend, I believe that thou wilt not think it strange that I desire to go from hence to any other part of the world (as I wrote to thee by Montrevil); but I assure thee, sweetheart, I would never think of this, but that I know my personal preservation is desired by thee, and that I may the better shew myself eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

## XXX.

New-Castle, June 3d, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

Albeit I have written to thee this morning, I cannot omit this opportunity, which I shall make use of only to press to thee the necessity of what I then wrote;—that, concerning the Prince of Wales, France is the place I think the fittest for him to remain in, all things considered, whether it be to the contributing to an happy peace or a gallant war; wherefore now command him in my name to wait upon thee, and suffer not thyself to be persuaded to the contrary by any pretence whatsoever. For the safety of me and my affairs is so much concerned herein, that I must needs make a judgment of thy affection to me, more from this particular than any other that can happen. Insomuch that, if this finds any opposition at the place where he now is, I would rather have thee endure the trouble of going to fetch him thyself, then to suffer him any longer to be absent from thee, it being the thing which in the whole world I conceive to be most necessary for the safety of him who is eternally thine,

C. R.

## XXXI.

New-Castle, June 10th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

These two last weeks I heard not from thee, nor any about thee, which hath made my present condition the more troublesome, but I expect daily the contentment of hearing from thee. Indeed I have need of some comfort, for I never knew what it was to be barbarously baited before, and these five or six days last have much surpassed, in rude pressures against my conscience, all the rest since I came to the Scotch army; for, upon I know not what intelligence from London, nothing must serve but my signing the covenant

(the last was, my commanding all my subjects to do it), declaring absolutely, and without reserve, for Presbyterian [*sic*] government, and my receiving the Directory in my family, with an absolute command for the rest of the kingdom; and if I did not all this, then a present agreement must be made with the parliament, without regard of me, for they said that otherways they could not hope for peace or a just warr. It is true they gave me many other fair promises in case I did what they desired (and yet for the militia they daily give ground); but I answered them, that what they demanded was absolutely against my conscience, which might be persuaded, but would not be forced by anything they could speak or do. 'This was the sum of divers debates and papers between us, of which I cannot now give thee an account. At least [last?] I made them be content with another message to London, requiring an answer to my former, with an offer to go thither upon honourable and just conditions.<sup>a</sup> Thus all I can do is but delaying of ill, which I shall not be able to do long without assistance from thee. I cannot but again remember thee, that there was never man so alone as I, and therefore very much to be excused for the committing of any error, because I have reason to suspect everything that these advised me, and to distrust mine own single opinion, having no living soul to help me. To conclude, all the comfort I have is in thy love and a clear conscience. I know the first will not fail me, nor (by the grace of God) the other. Only I desire thy particular help, that I should be as little vexed as may be; for, if thou do not, I care not much for others. I need say no more of this, nor will at this time, but that I am eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

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<sup>a</sup> The message was dated on the same day with this letter. The king proposed that he might come to London, where "he resolves to comply with his houses of parliament in every thing which may be most for the good of his subjects." (Works of Charles I. p. 560.)

## XXXII.

New-Castle, 16 June, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

Having not heard from thee these last 3 weeks (albeit I lay it to nobody's fault, but my own misfortune), my impatience hath made me find out this express to go unto thee (thou knowing him so well that I need say nothing of him), that I may have the more ways of hearing from thee.

Argyle<sup>a</sup> went yesterday to London with great professions of doing me service there; his errand (as is pretended) is only to hasten down and moderate the demands which are coming to me from thence, of which one is that no mass may be said in my house, to which I will never consent, except (as I believe thou wilt not) thou shouldst advise to yield to it, for the meaning of it is meerly to debar thee the liberty of thy conscience, which, though it be differing from mine, yet I will maintain to the last drop of my blood, being thereunto doubly bound;—first by oath, then by love.

I am glad that Montrevil arrived in France 10 days ago (though I have heard nothing from Jack Ashburnham, who went hence long before him), which makes me hope to have shortly a full dispatch from thee; wherefore at this time I will only desire (as thou lovest me) to let me hear often from thee, and to give me a particular answer to the 2 last clauses in my letter to thee from Montrevil, for to-morrow I shall write again to thee by London, which will be the first that I have sent thee that way since I came hither, who am eternally thine,

C. R.

I think fit to send thee my answers to Argyle's queries, because it is an epitome of all our main business. The letter which it mentions that I have written to Ormond is only to stop further treating there, after the receipt of it, but meddles nothing with what was done

<sup>a</sup> Archibald Campbell, ninth earl and first marquess of Argyll.

before. Remember that I trust none here, wherefore let this bearer know no more than thou carest. But use him him well and return him full of gazette news. Absolute necessity made me admit Dumferling<sup>a</sup> to wait in my bedchamber; but he is not, nor shall be sworn without thy free consent, which I desire to know.

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XXXIII.

New-Castle, June 17th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

I think it fit, for change, to give thee a particular account of the several humours of the Scots. I divide them into 4 factions; Moutroses, the neutralls, the Hamiltons, and the Campbells. The second hath no declared head, but Calander<sup>b</sup> may be said to be chief of them; as for the other, it is ignorance to ask who were theirs. The three first seem to correspond, the two last are avowed enemies, the second keeps fair quarter with all, and none of them trusts one another.

At the committees in Scotland the Hamiltons are strongest, but here the Campbells. Most of the nobility are for the Hamiltons, because they correspond with the first; but most of the ministers, gentry, and towns, are for the Campbells, so that in voting these are strong enough for the other three, the first being totally excluded, and many of the second. Now, for the particular persons. They all seem to court me, and I behave myself as evenly to all as I can.

<sup>a</sup> Charles second earl of Dunfermline. He had taken the side of the covenanters from 1639, and therefore was out of favour with Charles, but he was nevertheless sincerely attached to monarchy, and after Charles's decapitation went abroad to wait upon Charles II. (Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, i. 482.)

<sup>b</sup> James first earl of Calendar was second in command of the army raised by the covenanters under general Lesley in 1639. He held the same position in Hamilton's ill-fated attempt to rescue Charles in 1648. Although he had seen much service abroad, his generalship in Scotland and England did little credit to his military skill. (Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, i. 304.)

The Lord Chancellor <sup>a</sup> of Scotland hath more satisfied me than I expected. If he truly act for Mountrose's party, as he hath promised (he being now where he may do it), I shall give some belief to his professions. Argyle is very civil and cunning, but his journey to London will shew whether he be altered or not (if he be, it must be for the better), being gone with much professions of doing much for my service. Lannerick <sup>b</sup> and Lindsey <sup>c</sup> (I mean the Scot) brag much to me, for having done great services to several of Mountrose's friends, of which they have indeed given me some good proofs. Calander is discreet and cautious, but he hath given me very good advice, which is to trust no one farther than I see their actions.

Louthian <sup>d</sup> and Balmerino <sup>e</sup> (who are Campbelins) I will say nothing off, but leave their description to Montrevil. Dumfermling, who is a neutral, makes me believe that I govern him, and I verily think he tells me all he knows.

My opinion upon this whole business is, that these divisions will either serve to make them all join with me, or else God hath prepared this way to punish them for their many rebellions and perfidies. I hope God hath sent me hither for the last punishment that he will inflict upon me for my sins, for assuredly no honest man can prosper in these people's company.

So, longing to hear from thee, and that Pr. Charles is safe with thee, I rest eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

<sup>a</sup> John first Earl of Loudoun.

<sup>b</sup> Lord William Hamilton, brother of the marquess Hamilton, appointed secretary for Scotland and created earl of Lanerick in February 1640-1.

<sup>c</sup> John tenth lord Lindsay of the Byres and earl of Crawford-Lindsay. He was sent from Scotland to the king, with Hamilton and Cassilis, to entreat his majesty to agree to the propositions of the English parliament.

<sup>d</sup> William third earl of Lothian, a zealous covenanter, but no less zealous protester against the trial and execution of the king. He and the earl of Cassilis were the bearers of the invitation of the Scottish parliament to Charles II. to come to Scotland in 1649.

<sup>e</sup> John second lord Balmerinoch, a principal leader amongst the covenanters. As the adviser of the letter to Louis XIII. he was of course unpopular with Charles. He followed Argyll in his opposition to Hamilton's rising, known as "The engagement."

## XXXIV.

New-Castle, June 24th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

I cannot express the contentment I had by thine of the 22<sup>d</sup> of June<sup>a</sup> (which I received Saturday last), it telling me, in a few words, almost all which (for the present) I would know, for the queen hath secured the prince, and made a full dispatch to me of my business. Albeit my misfortunes be such as make my friends mistrust my constancy, yet thy securing [?] their doubts does me no little service; as for the queen's letters and cyphers, all day they are about me, and all night under my head, and what I cannot so keep, upon my word, shall be burnt.

The first of the two things which the queen desires of me (which is to keep myself from engagements till I shall hear from the queen by Montrevil), I shall precisely observe, but except thou, by thy kind frequent letters, assist to preserve my health, I shall not so well answer to the queens [queen?] for it.

For seriously, without compliment, thy love preserves my life, and I tell thee that those words of thine, "tout ira bien a la fin," and "nous encore," did extremely cheer me, because I hope the queen had some reason to write it, besides her desire of comforting me. Yet I desire her not to mistake my condition, for the best I can expect is to have propositions from London (wherein the Scots will only join in point of church government), such as I can never yield to, as the militia for twenty years, and many others as ill; and now it is a folly to think they will go less<sup>b</sup> so long as they see none to resist them, knowing that the Scots will not; so that all my endeavours must be the delaying my answer (till there be considerable parties visibly formed), to which end I think my proposing to go to London, if I may be there with safety, will be the best put-off, if (which I believe to be better), I cannot find a way to come to thee. I refer

<sup>a</sup> See note post, p. 52.<sup>b</sup> See p. 4, note <sup>a</sup>.

me freely to thee to judge which of these are best, or whether there be a better; but be confident that my business cannot be done here, where, if I stay any time, I am lost. I earnestly desire thee that thou wilt freely admit Ashburnham into all counsils which concern my business, and fully intrust him therein, that he may be ready at an hour's warning to be returned to him who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

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XXXV.

New-Castle, July 1st, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

I had the contentment to receive thine of the 28th of June upon Saturday last. The same day I got a true copy of the London propositions, which ('tis said) will be here within ten days, and now do assure thee that they are such as I cannot grant without loss of my conscience, crown, and honour; to which, as I can no way consent, so, in my opinion, a flat denial is to be delayed as long as may be, and how to make an handsome denying answer is all the difficulty. For which I shall take the advice of Montrevil and the French ambassadour, delaying my answer (if it be possible) until one or both of them come; but if I cannot, I intend to make my delay upon my going to London (upon condition I may be there free and in safety), there to be better informed with the reasons of their propositions, and to make mine own.

Concerning Prince Charles, I have fully declared my resolution formerly; yet, least there may be need (hoping there will not), I do enjoin thee, as thou lovest me, to command him expressly to wait upon thee, and stay with thee, 'til he shall receive my further orders, and all his council and servants that they assist him to obey this my command, as likewise that he do nothing without the queen's advice, knowing that the queen will encourage his council to debate things, as they used to do, the better to prepare her judgements. For



Ireland, I promise to do nothing till I speak with Montrevil; in the meantime, all I can say is, that when he comes, I shall therein give thee full satisfaction.

But I must not forget the king. Assuredly my case will be, that I shall not be admitted to London, nor will the Scots (upon any termes) declare for me, but will retire their army, and restore their garrisons very speedily. Now, when this shall come to pass (as I am very confident it will within six weeks), how I shall [shall I?] dispose of myself? Here I cannot stay without being a prisoner; and, for going to Scotland, I can only do it, as I am ready to die, for the queen, but not otherways. Wherefore, if the queen shall counsel me to take some other courses, believe me she must very speedily, and quickly go to prepare things to that end. Trust me, sweetheart, I have very truly stated my case, whereupon I desire to have thine opinion as soon as may be, for it will fully satisfy him who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

Assure Digby that he still stands right in my opinion, and all my other friends that I am and will be ever constant to them.

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XXXVI.

New-Castle, July 8th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

Upon Friday last I had letters from the queen, Digby, and Jermyn (by the way of Amsterdam), all dated the 8th of June, and the next day I had thine of the 6th<sup>a</sup> day of July by the ordinary, in both which all thy advice, whether negative or affirmative, is fully to my sence; and albeit, that (since I grant all) I need not answer any particulars, yet I cannot but speak of the covenant, because it is much mentioned to me; the which I hope thou hast named rather to

<sup>a</sup> The queen's letters were dated by the new style, the king's by the old style, in accordance with the general custom of the countries in which they wrote.

confirm than for any fear of me, and by this the queen may see her former error in pressing me to give way for Presbyterian government, for then, of necessity, I must have done this (which the queen rightly judges to be my ruin, if I do it), or the doing of that would have done me no good, for it is daily plainly told me, that nothing can content Scotland but my commanding all my subjects to take the covenant (which I esteem all one as doing it myself), without which all other things are nothing.

I have not written to thee concerning the yielding of Oxford,<sup>a</sup> not having been fully (as now I am) informed thereof; but now I must make my observations to thee upon it. In a word, all that had any directing power (except the governor, secretary Nicholas, Dorchester, and lord Hatton<sup>b</sup>), did look only upon themselves, without regard to my honour or interest; but this mean fayling in friendship looks so scurvily, that it rather animates then discourages me in being firm to all who will not forsake themselves, of which there was, I assure thee, many in Oxford. It is the confident opinion of all men here (according to your [our?] best and latest intelligence) that any delaying answer from me to the London propositions will be taken for a denial, in which case the rebels will go to all extremities, and that upon no condition the Scots will break with the English rebell parliament; wherefore, I both earnestly desire thee to be confident, that I will never yield to these base propositions, and also that the queen would sadly and speedily consider how to counsel me in this case to dispose of myself, for in England I cannot stay, and I would sooner chuse the farthest part of the world than go into Scotland,

<sup>a</sup> On the 10th June, 1646, the king ordered the governors of Oxford and the few other places in his possession, to surrender the towns in their charge, and to disband the forces under their command. The reason assigned for this order was that his majesty had resolved to "comply with the desires of the parliament in every thing which may be for the good of his subjects." (Works of Charles I. p. 113, ed. 1687.)

<sup>b</sup> Henry Pierrepont second earl of Kingston, created marquess of Dorchester 25 March, 1644, and Christopher Hatton, the heir of sir Christopher, chancellor under Elizabeth, created baron Hatton 29 July, 1643, are the two peers thus distinguished. They retired from England on the surrender of Oxford.

where I can never expect to see thee, and which I shall abhor until they do evidently and heartily repent of their perfidious rebellion. And, for God's sake, do not flatter thyself to think that my condition is anything better than what is now told thee by him who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

Thursday, July 9th.—Montrevil is newly come, but I must remit thee to my next for answer to what he brought, for I have not now time.

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XXXVII.

New-Castle, July 15th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

Albeit I wrote to thee yesterday by an express, yet I cannot omit this way also to acknowledge the contentment (tho' I cannot express it) which I received by the several testimonies of thy love that Montrevil brought me from thee, of which I will say no more, to eschew the saying of much too little, but I desire thee to thank, in my name, the Queen Regent and cardinal for their expressions of friendship to me, for really I am very well satisfied of what I have heard of the embassadour's instructions, which is only by relation.

Marquis Mountrose is not yet disbanded, in which business if there be any error committed (upon my word), it shall not be mine alone, for I will do nothing therein but by Montrevil's advice, as likewise concerning Ireland; and have dispatched to Marquis Ormond, as thou wilt find by my letter yesterday.

I expect the London propositions upon Saturday next, to which I promise thee to make no concessions but such as (I do not say all that) the French ambassadour shall advise me to. And now I earnestly desire thee (even as thou lovest me) not to be startled or do anything, for the threatning of the rebels concerning my person, which may be to the dishonour or prejudice of Prince Charles in respect of that kingly authority to which he is born. Excuse me, sweetheart, if in this only I can suspect the queen's courage, but

shall trust to her promise, which I expect, for it will be of very great satisfaction to him who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

## XXXVIII.

New-Castle, July 23rd, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

Saturday last did recompence the former week's failing, for then I received the dispatch of both, which gave me the more pains; but that was fully recompenced by reading thy letters, being thereby confirmed (but I assure thee not altered) concerning my op[in]ion of the London propositions, and be confident that no importunity nor threatning shall stagger my constancy.

This day the London lords will be here, but I will use all possible industry to differ their audience, to expect the French ambasadour, and those particular advices which were promised me by the letters that Jermyn, Culpepper, and Ashburnham wrote to me by the queen's command.

As for the things which thine of the 12th of July accuse me of, I only say this; I believe the queen will find, upon good examination, that I have not erred, unless it were concerning Ormond, for which I have since made amends. I have sent such commands to Pr. Charles as the queen desires; and for any other particulars, my former letters have answered them all, and tell Jermyn, from me, that I will make him know the emminent service he hath done me concerning Pr. Charles his coming to thee, as soon as it shall please God to enable me to reward honest men. Likewise thank heartily, in my name, Culpepper, for his part in that business; but, above all, thou must make my acknowledgements to the queen of England (for none else can do it), it being her love that maintains my life, her kindness that upholds my courage, which makes me eternally hers,

CHARLES R.

## XXXIX.

New-Castle, July 30th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

Albeit thou dost hear that I am strangely and barbarously threatned, for God's sake be not disheartned; for I do not believe that the Scots dare do what they say, for already they begin to be more calm. And though the worst should come, yet I conjure thee to turn thy grief into a just revenge upon mine enemies, and the repossessing of Pr. Charles into his just inheritances.

I pray thee thank the Queen Regent, from me, for sending me so affectionate a man to my service as Monsieur Bellieure,<sup>a</sup> who hath much obliged me by his coming here post, upon my desire, by whom the queen will receive a copy of my answer to London, which he likes, and so I hope wilt thou. Within two or three days the queen shall have a full dispatch from him who is eternally hers,

CHARLES R.

## XL.

New-Castle, Aug<sup>t</sup> 3rd, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

It was a great comfort to me to find by thine which I received Saturday last, that I shall not be condemned by thee for my answer which I have made to the London propositions, for indeed it would have broken my heart if thou hadst thought me wilful, as every one here doth; and now I know thou wilt not want thy assaults for yielding, of which though I am obliged to warn thee, yet I noways fear that they will have any operation upon the queen, since I find by her last dispatch that thou hast a true sence of my honour.

<sup>a</sup> Mons. Pomponne de Bellièvre, grandson of the ambassador to Elizabeth of that name, patron of Montreuil, and a man no less distinguished for philanthropy than as a judge and a statesman, was the ambassador sent to England on this occasion.

As for the French ambassadour, if I had not found him out before, thy advertisement had come too late; and yet do not wonder at him, for, believe me, thou canst not imagine what impudent, importunate threatnings and persuasions has been used to him and me; but I found it easy to rectify him, for I made him at first confess that it was only number, not reason, that was against me, so that now I believe he does as I would have him.

Having fully instructed Montrevil, I will trouble thee no more at this time, but only to desire thee to ask him what I have bidden him tell thee concerning cyphers and letters—disposing of myself—why and how a second message—the making of an answer in particular [to] the propositions for church—great seal—and Ireland—also a draught for my demands—Duke Hamilton—Dunfermling—Percy—Byron—S<sup>r</sup> James Hamilton—Will. Legge—Walker—Nicholas;—these being the particulars which he is to speak to thee at large about, from him who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

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XLI.

New-Castle, Aug<sup>t</sup> 5th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

Upon Saturday last I received thine of the 2nd and 3rd of August, in answer to which I dispatcht Montrevil with full instructions Monday last,<sup>a</sup> but the wind yet staying him, I will mention some things. I find the queen is informed that the Scots will be content with Presbyterian government without pressing the covenant, which may be true, that is to say, for my personal signing and sealing it; but if ever they were, or will be, content without having my consent for the forcing it upon all my subjects (until they see a powerful formed party for me to make them hear reason), say that I abuse thee, or that (upon my faith to thee) I shall be able, either to

<sup>a</sup> Monday, 3d August, 1646.

make them serve me without extirpation of episcopacy in England; for less will not serve them than the establishing of the covenant in all my kingdoms (which, if it be, will ruin this monarchy), desiring thee to believe that I would not (for all the world) thus positively affirm this to thee, unless I knew it to be assuredly true.

For this French ambassadour, as the queen did warn me of him, so I must now do the same to thee, for I suspect that he hath given hope of procuring thee to persuade me to grant most of these damned propositions, the which if either the queen or he do (but formally) I am ruined: wherefore, as I am confident that the queen will not, so I desire thee to take care, that the cardinal not only refuse to persuade me, but also send brisk instructions to this French ambassadour, in case either of the nations declare against me, or put affronts upon him who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

If thou see Pr. Rupert tell him that I have recommend him to thee, for albeit his passions may sometimes make him mistake, yet I am confident of his honest constancy and courage, having at least [last?] behaved himself very well.

I have dispatcht to Ireland as the queen desires.

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XLII.

New-Castle, Aug<sup>t</sup> 8th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

If this bearer, colonel Blague,<sup>a</sup> had not been hurried away from hence, I would have imparted many things to him to have spoken to thee, but as it is, I can only recommend him to thee as one that hath served me with courage and fidelity, for which thou knowest that I have given him a place in my son's bedchamber

<sup>a</sup> Governor of Wallingford, which at this time he had just surrendered to the parliament. He was father of Mrs. Godolphin, whose life by Evelyn was published in 1847, under the editorship of the bishop of Oxford.

wherefore I desire thee to command his admittance therein, and because I believe him but a slow messenger, I will neither trouble thee at this time with cypher nor business, but only concerning my son; that as I am confident thou wilt not suffer him to loose his time in idleness, so that thou wouldst command somebody to give me a particular account how he employs his time. My next (which I believe will be spedier than this) will be a full dispatch; from him who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

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XLIII.

New-Castle, Aug<sup>t</sup> 12th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

The taking of Montrevil will give us more trouble at this time than otherwise needed. One of the chief things that I bad him tell thee was, that the ambassadour and Montrevil so importune me for a second message (in case the other should not be admitted), that I could not refuse them, it being only to promise them a particular answer to the propositions by the 15th of September.<sup>a</sup> This, I believe, had been rather well than ill done, if confiding men had carried it, but (considering the persons) I was not for it, fearing they would labour more for my second than first message. But I was loath to displeas the ambassadour in a circumstantial point; wherefore I desire thee to assist me with thy opinion (as soon as thou mayst), in making of my particular answers, wherein I conceive no concessions are to be made, but hope given, that when I shall come to London more may be expected from me. Likewise that thou wouldst draw a draft of demands for me, which is almost of as much importance as the other, and within two days thou shalt hear again from him who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

<sup>a</sup> The King's Works contains only one of these messages, dated 1st August, 1646, p. 114, ed. 1687.



## XLIV.

New-Castle, Aug<sup>t</sup> 19th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

Thine of the 16th of Aug<sup>t</sup> gave me great contentment, finding that my answer to the London propositions will not displease thee, promising to satisfy thee by my letters if I came to London, as I have done here; but I wonder to hear that my letters by Ashburnham's man are lost, for this French ambassadour did tell me that he understood by one Dubose, valett-de-chambre to the Queen Regent, that I had sent the queen the copy of a letter of Augies to the party, which is true, for it went in that dispatch which is said to be mist, as also to one [one to?] Pr. Charles without cypher, which was an order to him, which I am sure would not displease thee, which makes me chiefly desire it may be received, as I hope it may, by what I have now written.

I am assured by a long letter from Digby that the peace is made and proclaimed in Ireland, which will infallibly hinder all accommodations here.

I say this meerly that the queen may know how to manage business where she is, for be confident that no danger shall make me revoke or disavow that peace. That were to break my word with thee, which, by the grace of God, shall never be done by me, who am eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

That the London dispositions may be the better known to thee, I send this inclosed letter, which I assure thee shall nothing alter me.

## XLV.

New-Castle, Aug<sup>t</sup> 24th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

Since mince [mine], which was upon Wednesday last, I have little to add, the ambassadour's packet of this week having no

letters to me from thee, or from any about thee, yet I will not omit the occasion, if it were but to tell thee, that Ashburnham's man is returned with thine of the 8th of August, and a duplicate from Jermyn's, Culpepper, and Ashburnham. What more I have to say is, that I am daily more and more threatned from London, yet nothing is resolved on; but, be assured, that they can neither say nor do anything, which (by the grace of God) shall shake my constancy. I have returned two messengers into Ireland with my aproving the peace there, to which I shall fi[r]mly stick.

I have now no more business to trouble thee with, but, I believe, my next dispatch will be of great importance; so farewell, my dear heart,

CHARLES R.

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XLVI.

New-Castle, August 26th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

I cannot but give thee the continual trouble of recommending every one to thee whom I send to wait upon my son Charles, and therefore I advise this my honest and faithful servant, Doct<sup>r</sup> Stewart,\* unto thee, desiring thee to command that he be admitted to wait on my son in the same place as he did on me (which is dean of the chapel), until I may recall him to wait upon me, and that thou wilt protect and countenance him, because I believe few about my son knows him, and that now-a-days churchmen are despised by most; for I assure thee that he is a discreet good man, and much esteemed by him who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

\* Dr. Stewart was a great authority with the king in all ecclesiastical matters. Clarendon says, he "was a very honest and learned gentleman, and most conversant in that learning which vindicated the dignity and authority of the church." (Life, part vi.) He served Charles II. as dean of the chapel until he went to Scotland; after which Dr. Stewart transferred his services to the duke of York. The letter in which the king recommended Dr. Stewart to the prince, of the same date with this letter to the queen, is printed in the Clarendon State Papers, ii. 253.

## XLVII.

New-Castle, August 31st, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

Albeit the Irish peace will take away the question whether Presbyterian government shall be granted by me or not (for, as I did formerly tell thee, that alone hinders all accommodations infallibly), yet I cannot but return thine own words upon thee, which is, to desire thee not to let the queen be surprized by false hopes, that if the Scots be satisfied in religion they will make me a great and glorious king; for, believe me, they care nothing for religion but as it makes for their damnable ends, for proof of which I will remit thee to my next. Only I must tell thee, that the queen will break my heart if she any more undertake to obtain my consent for Presbyterian government (to which end I know all possible art and industry will be used); for if she once should openly condemn me of wilfulness, but in one point, I should not be able to support my daily miseries.

I expected by this time to have given thee intelligence of great ill news from London, but yet there is nothing resolved, at least publicly, of importance about me, which I do not take as a good sign, because it is said that the parliament means to do their work without any more taking notice of me. This I believe to be the likliest of many several reports, for it is the best way of eschewing to drive the Scots upon extremities, and yet secure enough to the obtaining of their wished ends, knowing that the Scots, indeed, dare not break with them. Now, if we can make use of this delay of time to persuade France and others of my friends, to resolve, and ready to prepare, with speed, for my restitution, then, and not before, there will be life in my business. For do not expect that the Scots will declare for me, upon any condition whatsoever, until they see a strong formed party (which, I conceive, must begin beyond sea) made for him who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

I give thee power, and desire thee to fill up blanks, either for the Turkey business, or for the Irish, as the queen shall find fit for my service.

I send thee this inclosed paper to make thee judge the better of the Scotch intentions.

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 XLVIII.

New-Castle, Sep. 3rd, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

This is only to recommend my lord to thee, which I do very heartily, for he has served me most faithfully, having lost (for the present) a great estate for my sake, and is a man of right foundations; indeed, for his particular suit to be of my son's bedchamber, albeit I promised to name it to thee, I will not absolutely say it is fit, but leave it to thy judgment; however I desire thee to find out some way whereby the world may see that we esteem him, and that he may live out of contempt; but I will not hold thee longer on this subject, for I know one word is enough to make thee countenance honest men who have suffered for their fidelity to him who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

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 XLIX.

New-Castle, Sept. 7th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

I am freshly and fiercely assaulted from Scotland for yielding to the London propositions, likewise Will. Murray is let loose upon me from London for the same purpose: yet I desire thee to be confident in my constancy, for I assure thee, that (by the grace of God) nothing can be said or done to me which shall make me quit my grounds; as, for instance, neither to grant the London propositions

as they are (without great amendment), or sign or authorize the covenant, without which, I must again tell thee, I am more and more assured that nothing can be expected from the Scots; besides, I find the Irish peace angers them much. It is true I want not hope that the earl of Calander, with some others, may be persuaded to preserve my liberty, in case I should be demanned [demanded?] by the English; but I have too much cause to believe that the Scots will only be desired by the English to keep me safe, which will be granted, so that I shall be an absolute prisoner, and yet it will be denied; and, in that case, Calander, I doubt, will do nothing for me. Wherefore, if this (as is most likely) shall be my condition, I earnestly desire thee to consider what is to be endeavoured; now, all which (for the present) I can propose is, that the queen should persuade the French to demand my liberty from the Scots, powerfully, by the French engagement.

I have now no more to write, but concerning some particulars; the first is, that the secretary of my Portugal ambassadour hath complained to me against his master, the particulars of which Ashburnham will shew thee; another is here enclosed about the Turkey company; both which I desire thee to determine as thou shalt find best for his service who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

Believe not that I have made offer, or will come to London, on base conditions, or that this French ambassadour hath said that he hath or will persuade me to grant the London propositions.

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L.

New-Castle, Sep. 14th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

I have now resisted all the assaults which my last letters mentioned, and they say that I shall have no more by any publick way.

This is no compliment but threatning (which is the only phrase used to me now), albeit duke Hamilton brags that he hath hindred much, and particularly that their boastings were not made authentick by writing, but for this (nor the truth of any of his actions) I will not answer, nor any that I can speak with, but those who are absolutely his creatures, and Will. Murray less than any (for he plainly inclines more to Argile), concerning whom I cannot make a clear judgement, but leave it to thee, upon what I shall now inform thee of him. He hath been so far from pressing me to a total compliance (as I did expect), that he protests against breaking the Irish peace and abandoning my friends. He presses even those too many points of religion and the militia more moderately than any have yet done, for he confesses that I must not sign or establish the covenant, and that I ought not totally to abandon the militia; and as for religion, he and I are consulting for the best means how to accommodate it without going directly against my conscience. Two things I have made him grant, that the Scots are not to be satisfied without the covenant, then that the monarchy cannot stand with Presbyterian government; for we are consulting to find such a present compliance as may stand with conscience and policy, which are in this case undoubtedly inseparable; but, albeit he hath [not?], I have hope that there will be time given to reap the fruit of our councells; however, it is likely (but not yet resolved) that I shall send him to London, to try what may be done; yet I must observe to thee, that I find this to be his design before he came hither, which he still conceals from me, and therefore I cannot answer so freely for him as otherwise I would, for, as the French ambassadour says (without whose advice I do nothing), whether he be honest or not, he should in discretion do as he doth. However, I am confident to make very good use of him.

I have thy letter of the 14th of Sep., with the draft of an answer to the London propositions, to which I cannot answer until my next, but only desire thee to believe I can better than any body inform thee of the Scots' dispositions, being now with them, where I hope the queen

will not believe any informations concerning what will content them,  
at least better than his who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

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LI.

New-Castle, Sept. 21st, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

I never desired, nor was in more expectation of, any man's coming than I am of Montrevil's; in the mean time all that I can tell thee of my business is, that the Scots have not yet fully concluded their bargain with the English, nor have they entred upon any publick debate concerning me; and I am confident that the chief cause which hath made the Scots hinder all this time any sharp declarations against me is, to make the better conditions for themselves; but that which is now the likeliest course that will be taken with me, is to send a kind of summons to me, by commissioners only enabled with some arguments to persuade me to grant the propositions, and upon refusal (which will be so taken if I shall deny any thing, albeit I should consent to most,) to secure me, either by the Scots delivering me to the English, or by sending me to Scotland to be made fast there.

Will. Murray and I have not yet concluded upon our private treaty, but by the next the queen shall hear a particular account of it. In the mean time I have but one thing more to trouble thee with, it is, that I have received lately a letter from my Lady Osbourne, which tells me that her husband,<sup>a</sup> who is governor of Gurnsey, is in much want and extremity, but yet without my leave will not yield up his government; wherefore she hath earnestly desired me either to shew him some hopes of relief, or to give him

<sup>a</sup> Sir Peter Osbourne. For the transactions in Guernsey and Jersey at this period reference should be made to "Charles II. in the Channel Islands," by Dr. S. Elliott Hoakins. 2 vols. 8vo. 1854.

leave to make his own conditions. To this I have answered, that I would (as I do) recommend his relief heartily to thee, commanding her to direct her husband to observe ~~the~~ the queen's orders.

So, praying God to bless thee, and longing to hear from thee, I rest eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

## LII.

New-Castle, Sept. 26th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

I have but this day received thy first English letter, of the 21st of September. I hear of Montrevil, Davenant,<sup>a</sup> and Lesley; but none of them are yet come. I cannot (as I thought) give thee account of my treaty with Will. Murray, because I have not seen him these four days. Colonel Bamfield is come newly from marq<sup>s</sup> Hertford.<sup>b</sup> All these will swell my next dispatch, and be a just excuse for the shortness of this.

I hope the queen will easily excuse my many recommendations for servants to the prince, it being all which, for the present, I can do

<sup>a</sup> Sir William Davenant arrived soon afterwards. His mission was extremely unsuccessful. He chanced to speak of the church of England as if its establishment were not of sufficient importance to weigh down the benefit which would result from the peace which the king could make by conceding the ecclesiastical question. "His majesty," says Clarendon, "was transported with so much passion and indignation, that he gave him more reproachful terms, and a sharper reprehension, than he ever did towards any other man, and forbad him to presume to come again into his presence. Whereupon the poor man, who had in truth very good affections, was exceedingly dejected and afflicted, and returned into France to give an account of his ill-success to those who sent him." (Rebell. book x.)

<sup>b</sup> Colonel Bamfield was the person who in 1649 contrived and effected the escape of the duke of York, who fell into the hands of the parliament on the surrender of Oxford. From the present notice of Bamfield, and the subsequent allusion in this letter to a scheme for the duke's escape at this time, it may almost be inferred that Bamfield was already engaged in this service, and that he was recommended for the purpose by the marquis of Hertford.



for such who have freely suffred for me; but my meaning was not to burthen thee with more charges, but that most of them should only have the honour of waiting upon him, and that they might be favoured by thee as occasion shall serve.

I have not told thee, nor had yet but that the French ambassadour tells me that he hath acquainted the cardinal, of my design to send the Duke of York to thee, for things of this nature if they hit are ever well, and I was loath to make thee expect so uncertain a business, the secrecy of which is earnestly recommended to thee by him who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

LIII.

New-Castle, Oct. 3d, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

I must needs begin by telling thee that kindness came never more seasonable to man than thine to me this week, by thy dispatches (sent by Montrevil, Lesley, Davenant, and Moubray), the various expressions of thy love clearly shewing the excellency of thy affection; and at this time, when I am generally condemned of wilfulness, and even by thyself, yet to be still the same to me doth infallibly demonstrate the excellency of thy affection; and I hope to make it evident to thee, that I am neither faulty nor singular in my opinions, except other men's base fears be a good argument against me (I do not by this mean any who are with thee), and I am sure the queen will not like me the worse, that threats have no power to persuade me against my reason or conscience.

Now, as for my answer to thine by Montrevil. First, I thank thee for taking the pains to put it all in cypher thyself, then I give thee order to treat for any of those three marriages for Prince Charles which you mentioned, as thou shalt find best for my business, upon consultation with Jermyn, Culpepper, and Ashburnham. Next,

whereas the queen says, "I assure you, mon cher cœur, que si ri estoit [n'estoit?] la passion que j'ay pour vous, I should desire to retire myself from all business, estant trop franche dans mes opinions, but I will endure all if you think it for your service," these being the queen's own words, I do not only thank thee for the kindness of them, but must also bind thee to the promise in them, for I assure thee, both I and all my children are ruined, if thou shouldst retire from my business; wherefore I conjure thee, by thy love to me (if I knew a greater I would name it), that thou wilt never retire thyself from my business, so long as I have a child alive, whatsoever becomes of me; and that thou wilt give me the contentment to be confirmed in the assurance of this by thy next letter to me. As to the latter part of it, I remit thee to this inclosed note, which I desire thee to decypher thyself.

Prince Charles hath desired me to make S<sup>r</sup> Geo. Carterett his vice-chamberlain,<sup>a</sup> which I think reasonable if thou dost; so give order for it; otherwise it shall pass in silence for me, because of thy desire that I should put none about the prince without thy advice. Before the next I cannot give thee my particular resolution concerning the great business, but thou shalt have it several ways from him who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

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LIV.

New-Castle, Oct. 12th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

Not having been able before this day to make Will. Murray's dispatch, I cannot, until the next post, send thee my answer to the propositions. Will. seems to me to be very right set concerning all my friends in general, and even to those who he conceives have not

<sup>a</sup> Sir George Carteret had the command of Jersey under lord Jermyn. He defended it bravely until 1653, when the valour of Blake annexed all the Channel Islands to the dominions of the protector. (Dixon's Life of Blake, pp. 178—184.)

obliged him (albeit he names them not to me, I think he means Digby, Culpepper, and Ashburnham), saying, because he knows them faithful and useful servants to me, he thinks himself obliged to serve them for my sake, and that if he were not confident to get me satisfaction concerning them he would not deal at all in this business.

The Irish misfortunes trouble me more than any one particular, and yet I hope it is not so very ill as is said, for I have been excessively (indeed unmannerly) pressed by the marq<sup>s</sup> of Argyle to persuade Ormond to submit to the parliament, which I have absolutely refused, as he did me to send to Ireland for my right information of my affairs there.

I have now no more to trouble thee with, but only to conjure thee to believe, that as there is nothing in this world I love equal to thee, so that it is really matter of conscience (and no superficial scruple) which hath hindred me from fully complying with thy desires, (as I have at large expresst to Jermy n and Culpepper, whose opinion, in points of religion, I will no ways submit to), yet thou wilt find I have used all my invention to comply with thy judgment, with which if thou be not satisfied, I am the miserablest man in the world. But I know thou canst not be so unjust or unkind to him who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

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LV.<sup>a</sup>

New-Castle, Oct. 17th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

As I know thou canst not doubt of my perfect, real, and unchangeable love to thee, and that there is no earthly thing I study more (indeed none so much) then thy contentment (for it must always return to me with interest), so it would infinitely add to my afflictions if thou shouldst not be satisfied with that account which Davenant and this inclosed copy will give thee; nor can I doubt but

<sup>a</sup> Printed in Clarendon's State Papers, ii. 277.

thou wilt, when thou considerest that if I should forsake my conscience, I cannot be true to or worthy of thee; nor should I forgive myself, if by misinformed or strait-laced conscience I should prejudice thy just ends. Wherefore I assure thee, that the absolute establishing of Presbyterian government would make me but a titular king, and this is confessed by both the Wills. (Davenant and Murray); but then they say, that a present absolute concession is the only way to reduce the church government as it was; but I hope this argument will not be thought good by Jermyn and Culpepper, for they confess that a flower of the crown once given away by Act of Parliament is not reduceable, and if the supremacy in church affairs be not one; I know not what is. For thou must understand that (which I find absolutely mistaken by you all in France) the difference between the two governments (Episcopal and Presbyterian) is one of the least disputes now among us, even in point of religion; for, under the pretence of a thorough reformation (as they call it), they intend to take away all the ecclesiastical power of government from the crown, and place it in the two houses of parliament (and of this there is no question). Moreover, they will introduce that doctrine which teaches rebellion to be lawful, and that the supreme power is in the people, to whom kings (as they say) ought to give account, and be corrected when they do amiss.

This, I am confident, will satisfy thee that I have reason, (besides that great argument of conscience), to endure all extremity, rather than to suffer (by my consent) the absolute establishing of that government which brings with it such great and ruinous mischiefs; and certainly, if they will be content with any thing less than the destruction of the essential of monarchy, I have done that which must satisfy them, and make them declare, in case my offer be refused at London, which I expect.

Thus, I hope (whatsoever becomes of me) to have this comfort, that I shall not in any kind be lessened in thy opinion, which is the only thing that can make him truly miserable who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

## LVI.

New-Castle, Oct. 24th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

I cannot tell thee more concerning my answer to the propositions then what I have done until the next week, not having heard from Will. Murray since he came to London. Indeed, from War [Ware?] he wrote me a fine epistle, being only full of unjust accusations, and seeking more powers; but, though I satisfied him in the one, I gave him nothing in the other, which I find was chiefly to make me give way for the establishment of the covenant, with which opinion Davenant goes fully persuaded, but not to the satisfaction of the French ambassadour, he and I being still constant against it, and nothing could trouble me more than to find the queen's judgment debauched in this particular.

The parliament of Scotland being shortly to sit, I have offered and desired, but am refused, to send a commissioner thither, only for fear of breaking their league with England; albeit I have no question with them concerning any business of that kingdom. Their intentions to assist me are easily seen, but most of all (in my judgment) by their rigid sticking to the covenant, which Sr Rob. Murray told me (not above five days ago) was ever meant in his treaty with thee; and all the reason he gives me why it was not mentioned is because it was thought needless, as being necessarily understood, so that it will be easily seen that my conscience is neither the only nor chief impediment of their joining with me.

I find that the business concerning the Duke of York is suspended until the queen's advice be had; but if there had been no wiser than I, it should have been done before her opinion was asked; but since her opinion is requisite, I desire thee to hasten it.

My Lady Aubigny\* hath desired me to recommend her business

\* The celebrated *intriguante* in state matters lady Catherine Howard, married first to lord Aubigny and afterwards to the young lord Newburgh. Her interference in plots brought her on one occasion into great danger from the anger of Cromwell. (Clarendon's *Rebell.* books xi. and xii.)

to thee, which I do heartily and earnestly, because I think it very equitable. It is to hinder (what thou mayst) my lord Lodovick from selling the lands of Aubigney, and that her children (for the omission of some formalities) may not be put by from succeeding to their father, who died in my service just yesterday four years.

I cannot end without lamenting that these two weeks I have had no letters from thee, and this last none at all from France. For it is the queen's kindness that keeps him in heart, who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

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LVII.

New-Castle, Nov. 1st, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

I send thee herewith the draft of an answer to the propositions sent me by the Scotch commissioners at London (they not suffering Will. Murray to deliver that which I sent by him), chiefly to shew thee what a fine king they would make me, and that it is not only my strictness of conscience which hinders the Scots to joyn with me, hoping that the queen cannot suspect my approving of this, either concerning the militia or my friends, besides divers other particulars. They also tell me from London that they will neither declare against monarchy nor my posterity, but meerly against my person; and I believe the vote of the higher house (where it was resolved that I should not be disposed of but by consent of both kingdoms) was to induce the Scots to join with them against me, which I think will be no hard work, for neither the Hamiltons nor Campbells will warrant to protect me, unless I establish the covenant.

I hope thou wilt excuse me for not having immediately addrest the propositions to thee, which I have made in my letter to Jermyn, Culpepper, and Ashburnham, thinking it fitter for others to express to thee my melancholy thoughts than myself, because thou art so

far from being the author of them, that without thy kindness I should be sunk by them. And this I will say, that even in those sad expressions, the juncture of my love to thee is most evident, which I assure thee doth and must necessarily be seen in all my actions, who am eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

I thank thee for thy kind encouraging letter of the 19th of October, which I received but yesterday, being much joyed to find thy judgment so right concerning the covenant, assuring thee of my constancy in all those other particulars which thou mentionedst. But, for God's sake, let no man's information make thee believe that ever the Scots were content, or are likely to do any thing for me without the establishing of the covenant.

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LVIII.

New-Castle, Nov. 7th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

Albeit it trouble me (more than I will express), to find that nothing I have written hath given thee any satisfaction concerning our divisions here about religion, that herein I am so condemned by thee as that my rigidness will be the ruin of all that is dear to me, yet I will not dispute further with thee in it, hoping that my last week's propositions will, without more ado, satisfy both our opinions, only I cannot but tell thee that the queen very much mistakes the state of the question; for it is the whole frame of religion (the difference between the governments is but one, and I may say the smallest part, as mine of the 17th of October hath particularly expressed), and therefore I will only desire thee to consider well that letter of mine, assuring thee, upon my faith to thee, that what I have [stated?] therein is punctually true. Hoping (whatsoever thou think'st of my judgment) thou believest that I will not abuse thee with any

false informations, which indeed I will not do to save my life, much less to gain an argument; nor in this must I be excused by mistaking, for I esteem it as much as a lye to take upon me to understand what I do not, as if I told thee that I were now at London.

But I know thy love to me is much steadier than so to suspect him who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

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LIX.

New-Castle, Nov. 14th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

Will. Murray being returned without having made any publick use of what I sent by him to London, he pretends that the cause was, that the Scots comm<sup>rs</sup> hindred him to do any thing therein, for the little hope he could give them of my ratifying the covenant; whereupon he thought fit to return, being useless there without new and absolute instructions from me, which he thought impossible for me to give him (for my best advantage) without he gave me that account he durst not write, which is:—

That he finds none of the English Presbyterians do care for the covenant, and that they have some fear of the Scots joining with me, so that if the English might have something to say for religion, and reasonable security concerning the militia, he is confident that a considerable prevailing party will declare for my coming to London with honour, freedom, and safety (of this I desire thee not to speak to any). How much of this is true I will not answer for, there being none that I do or can treat withall here, who, in my opinion, are to be trusted no farther than one sees. Yet there is a necessity that such for the present must be employed, and with seeming confidence. Wherefore, finding it necessary for me to make an answer to the propositions, thereby either to put business in a better way, or (at least) to make their proceedings appear the more (as they are)



damnable, I thought it most fit to frame a new answer, wherein I have sought to content Will. Murray what I may without going from my grounds, as thou wilt find by the copy herewith sent thee, of which I will only observe, concerning Ireland, I think not fit to contradict him, because it is believed how that Ormond hath submitted totally to the parliament; nevertheless, having [hearing?] yet not certainly neither from thee nor Ireland concerning it, I will not (unless I find it absolutely necessary for my business) engage myself in it before I know thy opinion, which I desire thee to send with all possible speed to him who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

I cannot but recommend the lord Cottington and secretary Nicholas earnestly to thee, being two who hath faithfully served me and suffered much; not to have any thing from thee, except thy favour, but to try if thou canst get some supply for their necessities from the Queen Regent, until I may restore them to their own.

I have received thine of the eighth and of the 10th of November, to both which I cannot answer until my next; yet I must now tell thee that I find some of thy opinions grounded upon misinformations, and assure thee that I will never quit my right in the militia, abandon my friends to the unjust justness of the parliament, nor take or authorize the covenant, desiring thy estimation of me but according to my constancy in these.

I desire thee to send me word what answer I shall make concerning the Turkey company, for I am daily importuned with letters from them, and to say nothing does prejudice me in that particular.

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LX.

New-Castle, Nov. 28th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

Whatsoever chiding my wilfulness (as the queen may think) may deserve, for God's sake leave off threatening me with thy desire

to meddle no more with business; and, albeit I am confident thou doest not really intend, because I know thou canst not in any kind forsake me (of which this were a sort), or leave to love me, as thou lovest me give me so much comfort (and God knows I have but little, and that little must come from thee) as to assure me that thou wilt think no more of any such thing, otherwise than to reject it; and I pray do this as cheerfully for me, as I have written that letter to Prince Charles which thou hast desired; heartily thanking thee that thou wilt put me upon any thing which may comfort thee; assuring thee that I will refuse to do nothing to content thee, but of such a nature as if the queen should be desired to renounce all spiritual obedience to the pope.

As for thy London intelligence, I hope thou believest nothing concerning me but from me, for I am so far from concealing any thing from thee (that if necessity of time does not otherwise force me), I consult all things first with thee; at least thou art truly advertized of all, and to this instant, there is not a tittle whereof thou hast not had notice. Whereby thou wilt find that I have made no such offer as is informed thee concerning Ireland. Wherefore I hope thou wilt not hereafter give the least trust to such intelligence; and excuse me to tell thee, that I believe the queen would not have so much condemned me for what I have not done, if she had not given too much credit to misinformations, as chiefly touching the Scots' intentions of assisting me, concerning which (albeit I have always told rightest) yet I find thou hast thought I have been deceived.

I now come to advertise thee of that which (I believe) thou partly knowest already by secretary Nicholas, it is, that Hudson<sup>a</sup> (he who was my guide to the Scots army) was sent expressly to assure me, that most of the eastern, western, and southern countries [*sic*] are resolved to rise in arms, and declare for me, with putting a great body of men into the field, and possessing all the important places. They propose to themselves the ending of this parliament and my

<sup>a</sup> The fate of Hudson's endeavour to effect a rising in favour of the king, which did not come off until June, 1648, is detailed in Peck's *Desid. Curiosa*, ii. p. 378.

restitution, for which they have desired my approbation by commissioners, the disposing of my rents for the maintaining of their armies, pardon to all who now recant having been formerly rebels; and that (upon my restoration) I would ease my subjects from the excise, and all other unlawful taxes, not to bring in forreign forces, not to dispose of delinquents' estates to private uses, nor that the Scots should come over Trent. Lastly, that Prince Charles should be your [their?] general. To all this I have sent away Hudson well satisfied. Only for the last I told him, that I thought fittest to hazard the king before the prince, but that he should come over when I saw a good foundation well settled, but not before, and in the mean time (as soon as they could give me a place of safety) would endeavour to come unto them. With this answer he is, and says all my friends will be, fully content.

Now I assure you, I neither have nor do build any thing on this design (though I could but embrace it), for I go on in my affairs as if this were not. I desire thee not to take notice, only command Sr Tho. Glemham<sup>a</sup> to come to Lynne as soon as he can, where his friends and mine will tell him what to do. The French ambassadour knows of this, but will promise to impart it to none but the Queen Regent and cardinal, conjuring thee also with secrecy.

I desire thee to command Ashburnham to give me a particular account from time to time how Pr. Charles observes my directions in that letter which I now send him, for it is said that every one's business is never well done. This is all for this time from him who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

I have received, but have not time to answer, thy two letters of the 23rd and 30th of November.

---

<sup>a</sup> Sir Thomas Glemham had served the king throughout the war, and had finally been governor of Oxford at the time of its surrender. His answer to Fairfax's summons is printed in the Fairfax Correspondence (Civil War), i. 292.

LXI.<sup>a</sup>

New-Castle, Nov. 30th, [21st?] 1646.

DEAR HEART,

Albeit, in writing to thee, preambles according to the ordinary use of obtaining a favourable attention are not needful, yet, before I answer to thy two last letters, I assure thee that I clearly see it is thy love to me which makes thee press me to do that which is so unpleasant unto me. Wherefore be confident, that no man can study any thing more than I have, and shall always do, to give thee contentment, for if my judgment were as perfect as my love to thee, I might with reason pretend to infallibility. However, I hope my errors in the former will be excused by the latter, yet I am confident that it is only misinterpretations or mistakings which causes in most things our differing in opinion; for, am I not misapprehended, when the queen thinks I have but little esteem of the militia? Must my heightening the cause of religion be the abasing of the other? No, sweetheart, for I will defy the cunningest sophister to prove by any of my letters I ever shewed any, the least, inclination to yield any thing about the militia more than the queen would have me. Indeed I am still of the opinion that, unless religion be preserved, the militia will not be much useful to the crown; nay, without that, this will be but a shaddow. For though it be most true, that the absolute grant of the militia to the parliament dethrones the king, yet the keeping of it is not of that importance (I am far from saying none) as is thought, without the concurrence of other things, because the militia here is not, as in France and other kingdoms, a formed powerful strength, but it serves more to keep off ill than to do much good; and certainly if the pulpits teach not obedience (which will never be if Presbyterian government be absolutely established), the king will have but small comfort of the militia; but my resolution is firm, never to part with the least title of right, or to admit any co-partner with me in the militia.

<sup>a</sup> See post, p. 82, note <sup>a</sup>.

Also, I am much mistaken about my three years' concession of Presbyterian government, for neither was it wrung from me by importunity, or by the finding out of the discovery of a new necessity, nor have I thereby abandoned the great and not to be forsaken argument of my conscience. For, upon my faith to thee, my earnest desire of satisfying thee was the chief and (I may say) the only cause, that made me find this way to shew thee, and as I thought demonstratively, that the Scots will not joyn with me but upon conditions destructive to monarchy; for, if it were not for adhering to the covenant, this could not but satisfy them.

Then, for my disclaiming the argument of my conscience by this offer, it is so strange a construction that I think either at London, Edinburgh, or this place, none makes it, but rather than [that?] my constancy to religion is by this more believed, and I never heard that any right was yielded so long as the claim was kept up, which is done clearly in this case, by having a debate of divines how the church shall be governed, the determination being still free to me and the two houses; so that if my conscience be wrong'd, I can blame nothing but my own want of courage.

Now, for what thou and I do fully concur in opinion, as not abandoning my friends, and not taking the covenant. I hope the naming is enough to assure thee of my constancy, seeing thou art only affraid that I may be couzen'd in them, as I was concerning the perpetual parliament. Indeed, with grief I must acknowledge the instance, nor can I promise not to do the like again, when I shall (as I then did) suffer myself, to sin against my conscience; for the truth is, I was surpris'd with it instantly after I made that base sinful concession concerning the earl of Strafford, for which, and also that great injustice to the church in taking away the bishops' votes in parliament, though I have been most justly punished, yet I hope that God will so accept of my hearty (however weak) repentance, and my constant adhering to my conscience, that at least [last?] his mercy will take place of his justice. But a new relapse, as my abjuration of episcopacy, or my promise without reserve for the

establishing of Presbyterian government, will both procure God's further wrath upon me, as also make me inconstant in all my other grounds, such a careless despair must, in such a case, possess my spirit; wherefore (dear heart), altho' thou mayst be sorry for my persuasion, yet I know that what I have said will make thee desire me rather to be constant than to change my resolution.

And the rather because the queen will find what she desires me to do will not produce the expected effects, for (if I can judge of any thing) the Scots will not engage for me, except I promise to authorise the covenant (and in this opinion the French ambassadour and Montrevil fully concur with me), to which I hope the queen will not persuade me. This is the reason which hath made me (as the queen hath observed), make my answer rather conducing to a peace than to please the Scots, who (confidently) will not assist me, but upon conditions destructive to regal authority; so that, under favour, I think I have not swerved from my foundations, the contenting of the Scots being only in order to their assisting me.

All this I have said, rather to clear my conscience to thee, than out of much hope of making thee of my opinion, or freeing myself in thy judgment from the heavy censure of destroying by my wilfulness all that is dear unto me. Upon which consideration I have prest the French ambassadour to go to the Scotch parliament, in pursuance of that way which the queen hath laid down to me; but, indeed, [with?] the condition that I shall have nothing to do with the performance of any capitulation he was to make, more than to give Pr. Charles full power to exercise my authority; this he hath absolutely refused, not having power to engage for any body but myself. Besides, that it is against his opinion, that I should on any terms put off my authority, though it were but for a time.

Now, upon this, my very earnest desire to thee is, either to get the French ambassadour a command to accept this my offer, or else thou wilt heartily join in my way without more dispute. And really I shall be glad for the trying of thy own way (so I may sit by), because I am most confident that within a very small time I shall be

recalled with much honour, and all my friends will see that I have neither a foolish nor peevish conscience, whereas otherwise I shall (I know not how long) lye under (excuse me to say) an unjust slander.

I cannot end this long letter without conjuring thee, by all that is dear unto thee, that thou wilt seriously consider all that I have written unto thee, being confident that, as thou canst not mistrust my love, so at last thou wilt not much blame the judgment of him who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.<sup>a</sup>

I have received, but [have] not time now to answer, thine of the 16th of November.

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LXII.<sup>b</sup>

New-Castle, Dec. 5th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

Thine of the 23rd of Novem. did much comfort me to find thy judgment of affairs so right in all foundations, not without some wonder that in some particulars the queen can be so mistaken; for, whereas she rightly perceives that she is likely to be made use of to my hurt, it is strange she sees not how, which to me is very vissible, there being nothing they can work by in this kind, but only the

<sup>a</sup> This letter is printed in Clarendon's State Papers, ii. 297, from the king's original draft, with the date of November 21. From a consideration of its contents, and a comparison of them with the king's letter of November 28, printed at p. 76, and the queen's letter of December 14, printed in the Appendix, I am inclined to conclude that the date really was November 21, but I have thought it right to print it with the date and in the order assigned to it in the MS. which is my authority.

<sup>b</sup> Printed in Clarendon's State Papers, ii. 304, from the king's draft, between which and our MS. there are considerable variations, consisting mainly of such alterations of phrase as would be likely to be made by the king when writing out his final copy to be despatched to the queen.

Presbyterian government. In all other things they know the queen is too clear sighted; see if ever they trouble the queen concerning the militia or my friends. I warrant thee not. But if by the queen's means they could get the Presbyterian government settled, they would be confident, and with reason, piece by piece, to work all their own ends. So that it is strange to me, that she who so wisely warns me not to loose my crown by little and little, yet is still persuading me to do that which is the only way to fall into that error which she warns me to avoid. Wherefore, I plainly see, that 'tis only misinformations which cause mistakings that make us differ in opinion; for otherwise the queen could not call my three years' concession a dispensing with my conscience, when, indeed, it is but a temporary permission to continue that unlawful possession (which, for the present, I cannot help), so as to lay a ground for a perfect recovery of that, which, to abandon, were directly against my conscience, and, I am confident, destructive to monarchy.

Now, as for thy negative counsellors, I fully approve, and will be constant to them all, being particularly glad that the queen understands the covenant so well as to know I must not authorize it; but let me tell thee, that an act of oblivion may go near to satisfy the queen's reason. But that which makes it never to be yielded unto is, that (albeit all the promissory part of it were not against honest men's consciences, yet) the frame of it is such, as the establishing of it is a perpetual authorising of rebellion.

I have done my part concerning Davenant's proposition for the sending of some from thee to me, with fit assurances for their safety, for I was fain to interpret his letter, albeit I could not read it, as well as recommend the business, because the cypher was mistaken.

I will, according to thy conjuration, not think of an escape untill the Scots shall declare that they will not protect me, and now I see the opinion (I say not thine), that it is less ill for my affairs that I should be a prisoner in my own dominions than at liberty anywhere else, for I cannot escape if I stir not before the Scots declare against me; and, indeed, it may well be so, if my friends, upon my restraint,



declare immediately and freely for my restitution; of which I know the queen will have a care, and therefore will say no more.

The French ambassadour (at my desire) hath promised to write at large to the Queen Regent and cardinall, that such offices may be done upon the conclusion of the general peace as to make all the princes know, that my case is not only mine, but that it concerns all the Christian kings to advert unto, and that somewhat may be done to oblige the King of Spain not to meddle with Ireland, desiring thee to assist these motions with the Queen Regent and cardinal in my name.

I am so pressed to send my answer to London, that my last way of denial is to send it first to my friends in Scotland, which I did yesterday, to try how far I can engage them, so that I know not how to shun the sending it to London sometime the next week, if in the mean time something from thee do not hinder me, for I much desire thy opinion concerning Ireland; and yet I have so pen'd that article, that if the Irish give me cause, I may interpret it well enough for them; for I only say that I will give full satisfaction as to the managing of the war, so that if I find reason to make peace, there my engagement ends.

I desire thee to make this my interpretation known to the Irish, assuring them that what I do is no meaning to abandon them, nor will I so long as there can be any reason to do otherways. This is all at present from him who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

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LXIII.<sup>a</sup>

New-Castle, December 12th and 19th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

I have not received any letters, or news from thee, this last week, of which I do not complain, for, as I have not mist one week

<sup>a</sup> Printed in Clarendon's State Papers, ii. 313, from the king's draft, which varies considerably from the letter as it stands in the MS. from which we print.

since I wrote first from hence, and I know that thou hast been several times two weeks without receiving any of mine, so I believe thou hast taken the pains, albeit I want the comfort of hearing from thee.

My return from Scotland is, that my intended answer to London is absolutely disliked and disapproved there; the main reasons are, that I am not found altered in my conscience, and that I will not authorize the covenant, without which (I tell the very words) all that can be offered will not satisfy: yet, for their personal duty, I have much assurance from duke Hamilton and earl of Lamerick [Lanerick]. If they make good what is promised in their name (and I will put them to it), my game will be far from desperate, but, having little belief that these men will do as they say, I will not trouble thee with particulars, until I give the (e) some more evidence than words of their realities.

December 19th.

When I had written thus far, I was desirous to stay for thy answer to my letter of the 14th of Nov., thereby the better to make my message to London, the which not receiving before Wednesday, it made me spare one week's writing to thee, which I hope thou wilt easily excuse, since it is the first. Nor shall I now make a particular answer to thine of the 11th and 14th of December, albeit it may be thou wilt think it full enough, for this assures thee that my intended answer to the London propositions is not gone, and that I have sent another message (the copy of which the queen will receive by the French ambassadour <sup>a</sup>), the substance whereof is to adhere to my

<sup>a</sup> The message alluded to is the one dated the 20th December, 1646, printed in the king's Works, and in all historical collections relating to the period. It reiterates his desire to come to London, concluding more rhetorically than had been customary in his compositions of this nature:—" 'Tis your king who desires to be heard (which if refused to a subject by a king he would be thought a tyrant for it), and for that end which all men profess to desire; wherefore his majesty conjures you, as you desire to shew yourselves really what you profess, even as you are good Christians and subjects, that you will accept this his offer, which he is confident God will so bless that it will be the readiest means by which these kingdoms may again become a comfort to their friends, and a terror to their enemies."

former answer, made the first [tenth?] of August last; so that all thy fears concerning the militia are saved, wherein I confess I thought not I had fundamentally erred, notwithstanding that the particular possession were (for the prefixt time) in the two houses, when I kept the return entire to the crown without associates, and that I still stuck to my right, which I did by the preamble, for I did, and yet do, conceive that the temporary power of managing it is meerly circumstantial, and not material. But I have done, and willingly yield the argument, when the question is of holding fast, and shall only wish that all those whose advise the queen takes in business be but as constant to foundations, and as little apt to be couzened or frightened out of them, as I shall be. For those that make thee believe any alteration can make the covenant passable can stick at nothing, and excuse me to tell thee that whatsoever gives thee that advice is either fool or knave; for this damn'd covenant is the child of rebellion, and breaths nothing but treason, so that if episcopacy were to be introduced by the covenant, I would not do it, because I am as much bound in conscience to do no act to the destruction of monarchy as to resist heresy, all actions being unlawful (let the end be never so just) where the means is not lawful.

I conclude this, conjuring thee never to abandon one particular good friend of ours, which is a good cause, be the Scots never so false, even as thou lovest him who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

By the next I will give thee a full account why I could not send my particular answer to London, and, I believe also, what may be expected from Scotland.

No security can be had for any to come to me from thee.

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LXIV.

New-Castle, Decem. 26th, 1646.

DEAR HEART,

I having nothing this week to say, but to desire thee that thou wilt publickly profess that thou wilt no more press me in matter of religion, because thou findest that I have offered as much in that point as I can with a safe conscience, which, in thy opinion, ought not to be forced upon any terms.

The reason of this I shall expound by my next (which I believe will be a dispatch of good importance), how much it concerns the safety of him who is eternally thine,

CHARLES R.

I have received, but have no time to answer, thine of the 21st of December.

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# APPENDIX.

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	PAGE
I. LETTER FROM HENRIETTA MARIA TO CHARLES I. DATED OCT. $\frac{9}{19}$ , 1646 . . . . .	91
II. THE SAME, NOV. $\frac{12}{3}$ , 1646 . . . . .	92
III. THE SAME, NOV. $\frac{29}{30}$ , 1646 . . . . .	94
IV. THE SAME, DEC. $\frac{1}{11}$ , 1646 . . . . .	95
V. THE SAME, DEC. $\frac{4}{14}$ , 1646 . . . . .	97
VI. LETTER FROM CHARLES I. TO HENRIETTA MARIA, JAN. 2, 1646-7 .	99
VII. THE SAME TO THE MARQUIS OF MONTROSE, APRIL 18, 1646 .	100



# APPENDIX.

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## I.

HENRIETTA MARIA TO CHARLES I.

[1646, October  $\frac{2}{3}$ . Clarendon State Papers, ii. 271.\*]

MON CHER COEUR,

Je n'ay point receus de vos lettres cest semaine, que me met fort en peine; car nous entendons de London que les Scots sont resolus de vous delivrer entre les mains de Parlement. J'espere toutefois que la venue de Montreull les empeschera, quand ils verront que la France prend vos interests, comme Montreull a ordre de leur tesmoigner. Il est vray que Bellievre mande qu'il les faut contenter dans ce qui touche les Evesques; laquelle chose je scay est tout-à-fait contre vostre coeur, et je vous jure contre le mien aussi, si je voiois un seul moyen de les sauver, et ne vous pas perdre. Mais si vous estes perdus, ils le sont sans ressource; ou, si vous vous pouves encore mettre a la teste d'une armée, nous les remettrons: et pour moy, si je croiois que cela n'en estoit pas le moyen, je n'en parlerois jamais. Conservez vous la Militia, et n'abandonnes jamais, et par cela tout reviendra; et Dieu nous enverra les moyens de nous remettre, comme il commence desja a y avoir quelque esperance; Car. Maz. m'ayant asseurée que la paix generale seroit faite devant Noel; et cela estant, l'on vous assisteroit puissamment. Je depeche in Irland, pour tacher y composer les nouveaux desordres qui y sont, et j'en ay tres bon esperance. Milord Craford est arrivé, qui m'a portés de fort grand offres de la part de vostre party en Scot: Nous ferons tout ce qui sera necessaire la dessus. Amb. de Suede, qui est arrivé depuis peu, m'a faites des grands tesmoignages d'amitié de la part de sa maitresse. Il y a toutes les appa-

\* These letters are printed as they stand in the Clarendon State Papers, and the notes are derived from that work, except the few signed B.



rences du mond, que si vous voules estre constant, comme vous aves esté, et comme je crois vous seres dans la Militia et vos Amis, et ne point aller a London, sans pouvoir en sortir, que nos affaires n'aillent bien. Il faut tacher a avoir les Scots pour nous, sans pourtant prendre le Covenant, ni rien faire que soit deshonnorable. Je scay les peines dans lesquelles vous estes, et j'en ay une pitie, qui me fait autant de mal qu'a vous: mais puisque que nous avons tant souffert, il faut resoudre d'achever avec honneur. Prenez garde d'accorder les propositions qu'ils vous font devant que vous pensiez la voir fait; et soies bien resolu la dedans, quoyque l'on vous puisse promettre. Mes esperances sont grands; pourveu que vous soies constant et resolu, nous serons maistres encore; et nous nous reverrons avec plus de joye que jamais. A Dieu, mon cher coeur! <sup>a</sup>

Oct.  $\frac{9}{19}$ .

A copy, by the king, probably from the original in cipher; endorsed by him, "From my wyfe  $\frac{9}{19}$  Oct. received 31 Oct."

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## II.

### HENRIETTA MARIA TO CHARLES I.

[1646, Nov.  $\frac{1}{23}$ . Clarendon State Papers, ii. 294.]

MON CHER COEUR,

St. Germaine, ce  $\frac{1}{23}$  No.

Depuis ma derniere lettre par l'ordinaire, j'ay receue une des vostres, par laquelle vous mandes que W. Murray vous demand des nouveaux pouvoirs, et vous persuade de prendre le Covenant. J'ay esté ravie de voir que vous estes si resolu a ne le pas faire. Car pour moy, je suis d'avis que vous estes ruinés si vous le faites. C'est pourquoy je vous conjure de continuer firm dans ceste resolution. Et prenez garde aussi dans autres choses de vous laisser aller petit a petit, comme sont les esperances de ceux de Londre, et s'en tiennent assureés que vous leur accorderes toutes leur propositions insensiblement. Et j'apprehende, et

<sup>a</sup> The king received this letter on the 31st October, and alluded to it in the postscript of his letter of November 1. See ante, p. 74.—B.

avec raison, que leur dessein est de se servir de moy pour nostre ruine, et de me faire travailler aupres de vous autant que se peut. Car ils sont bien assureés que je n'iray plus loin que ce que je crois ne vous peut pas faire du mal; comme j'ay fait, considerant le temps ou nous sommes. Mais eux sous ombre de cela pretendent gagner le reste de tout ce qu'ils desirent. C'est pourquoy, soies tousjours sur vos gardes, et prenes une constante resolution de ne plus rien accorder du tout plus que ce que vous aves fait par W. Murray, quoyque l'on vous puisse persuader, si ce n'est dans le gouvernement Presbyteriall; dans lequel je crois vous deues contenter les Escossois, pourveu qu'ils se veulent joindre avec vous, ou pour une bonne paix, ou pour une guerre. J'avoue que je ne le voudrois pas donner pour rien, comme vous aves fait pour 3 ans; et permettes moy de vous dire, que je crois, si je me pouvois dispenser d'une chose que je croiois contre ma conscience pour 3 ans, et pour rien, j'irois plus loin pour sauver mon royaume. Mais pour toutes autres choses, n'accordes plus rien. Vous n'aves desja que trop accordé en la donation des toutes les places. Vous devies garder cela, pour en tirer quelque profit a la fin de tout, et vous leur aves donné a cette heure pour rien; aussi que les évesques pour 3 ans. J'entend que W. Murray desire que vous autorisiez leur grand sçeau, qui est une chose que vous ne devez jamais faire; car en ce faisant vous confesses et attires sur vous les malheurs d'Angleterre: et si dans une conclusion du tout il estoit trouvé à propos de la faire, il faudroit que ce soit pour quelque chose de fort avantageux, que je ne vois point encore. Mais s'en est fait de l'un, il ne faut pas faire l'autre; et taches a remedier a ce qui est fait; qui est, de ne plus rien accorder de d'avantage. J'oserois dire que, quand vous aves fait ce message que vous aves, ne faire rien fort desavantageux pour vous, et que vous aves esté trompés. C'est pourquoy il faut avoir un grand soign. Voici le dernier coup de la parti, et sans ressource, songes y tousjours; et je repete encore, de ne plus rien accorder, et tout souffrir plustost que de donner la Militia autrement que vous aves fait; ou d'abandonner vos Amis, sous ombre de leur faire du bien, comme l'on vous pourra persuader; ni Irland (je la considere comme une ressource); de ne point prendre le Covenant; ne point approuver leur grand sçeau, ni nullifier le vostre. A Dieu, mon cher coeur!

Vous ne devez non plus imposer le Covenant aux autres, que de la

prendre vousmesme. Car tous ceux qui le prenderont jurent de punir tous ceux qui sont delinquents, et cela est tous ceux de vostre parti, et moy la premiere.

A copy, by the king, taken probably from the original in cypher; endorsed by him, "From my wyfe  $\frac{28}{13}$  Nov. received  $\frac{8}{28}$  Dec.  $\frac{8}{28}$  Nov. to be kept."

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### III.

#### HENRIETTA MARIA TO CHARLES I.

[1646, November 28. Clarendon State Papers, ii. 297.]

MY DEARE HART,

No. 20, St. Jermain.

Davenant hath given me a large account of the business where you are; upon which I must conclude with more feare then hope. Yet I may belive that if the Scots could fynd secureity in performing theire duty, they will not consent to desert you, much less basely to deliver you up to them at Westminster. That which they have proposed concerning the coming of persons from me to you (upon the occasion of giving you satisfaction, and receiving the lyke from you) may be of great use to your affaires in many respects; therefore I have appointed him (by a letter to W. Murray, who will acquaint you with the particulars) to encourage them in it; that they may again invite those persons with such assurances as are fitt for theire safty and the business. Pray doe your part therin; and it may be an ease to you to refer the consideration of other things (unfitt for you ether to grant or deny) to theire coming. The last night I received yours of the 1 of Nov.<sup>a</sup> and your other melancholy one to Jer. Cul. and A.<sup>b</sup> together with the copy of the answer to the propositions sent you from London. To the later I am very ready to give you my opinion, which is, that you were better at once to grant all the propositions than send this, it being in effect the same thing, only with this difference, that

<sup>a</sup> See p. 72.—B.

<sup>b</sup> Neither of the letters here mentioned occur in the collection.

in the other there is their ingenuity of plain dealing in asking, and your grace in granting; but in this there is the reproach of desygne to cousen you into what they would have. For by it you do no less than totally abandon yourselfe, your authority, and your frends; therefore I shall therein rely upon the promis of your constancy to those principles which alone can preserve you.

For the other (your sad proposition), it is of that nature that you must not expect any present answer. I have appointed L. Jer. and L. Cul. (for J. A. is immediately to goe to the Haghe, the jewells will otherways be lost, and to setle a frendship between P. C. and P. of Or.) to attend Car. Maz. and to take his opinion concerning that business, and then you shall heare farther from me by an express. In the mean tyme communicat it to no body else, for it may be misinterpreted. I have one thing more to ad, which is to conjure you that 'till the Scots shall declare that they will not protect you, you doe not thinke of making any escape from Eng. They are startled heere at the naming of it; and in so doeing you would destroy all our hopes (besydes the danger in the attempt) in the generall peace, which<sup>a</sup> well assure me is lyke to be made very suddainly. This is all for the present God keep you, my deare hart.<sup>b</sup>

A copy, by the king, probably taken from the original in cipher; endorsed by him, "From my wyfe  $\frac{20}{30}$  No. received  $\frac{8 \text{ Dec.}}{28 \text{ Nov.}}$  to be kept, being the advyce, not stur before," &c.

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#### IV.

##### HENRIETTA MARIA TO CHARLES I.

[1646, December 11. Clarendon State Papers, ii. 300.]

MON CHER COEUR,

Paris, De. 11.

J'ay recue vostre lettre daté du 14 No. avec vostre response aux propositions de Lond. qui m'ont fort surprisée de voir que vous avez accordé

<sup>a</sup> Here seems to be a name omitted, probably Car. Maz.

<sup>b</sup> The king acknowledges the receipt of this and the preceding letter in his letter of the 28th November. See p. 78.—B.

la Milice pour 10 ans entre les mains du Parl. et non pas selon que vous nous avions escrit si souvent; qui estoit, de leur permettre la nomination de personnes; ainsi le pouvoir eut demeuré tousjours entre vos mains, ou a cette heure ils ont tout entier. Et par cela aussi vous leur avez confirmé le Parl. pour 10 ans; qui est autant a dire, que nous [ne] verrons jamais une fin a nos malheurs. Car tant que le Parl. durera, vous n'estes point Roy. Et pour moy, je ne remettray pas le pied en Ang. Et avec le biais que vous avez accordé la Milice, vous vous esté coupé la gorge. Car leur ayant donné ce pouvoir, vous ne leur pouvez plus rien refuser, pas mesme ma vie s'ils vous la demandent; mais je ne me mettray pas entre leur mains. J'oserois dire que si vous eussies suivi nos avis, que vos affaires seroient dans un autre estat qu'ils ne sont. J'espere que vos offres [ne] les satisfèront pas a Londres; et si nous sommes si heureux que cela soit, je vous conjure pour la dernière fois, de ne plus accorder rien du tout. Si vous tenes bon, je vois une apparence de retour a nos affaires; mais absolument, il ne faut rien plus accorder que ce que vous avez fait, puisqu'il n'y a plus moyen de le rappeller. Et s'il est encore possible de rappeller la Milice hors de mains du Parl. et que ces propositions ne soient pas encore parties, ne le pas faire. Mais s'ils le sont, et soient refusés, de ne plus hazarder de leur dedonner de cette façon, quelque condition que vous puissies jamais avoir pour cela. Je vous ay escrit tant de fois la dessus, de ne plus rien accorder et insensiblement vous vous engages a le faire. Croyes vous que lors que je vois que vous estes si resolu dans l'affaire d'Evesques, et si peu dans ce qui vous concerne et vostre posterité, que je n'ay pas des grands desespoirs, apres vous avoir si souvent adverti comme j'ay fait, et que cela ne produise rien? Voici pour la dernière fois que je vous dirai encore, que si vous accordes d'avantage, vous estes perdu, et je ne retournerai jamais en Eng. mais j'irai prier Dieu pour vous. Vous demandes mon opinion pour l'affaire d'Irland: je vous en ay escrit desja plusieurs fois. Il ne faut point abandonner Irland, si premièrement vous ne voies une paix et avantageuse et assurée, mais dire la reponse que nous vous avons mandé. Je m'estonne que les Irlandois ne se donnent a quelque roy estranger; vous les y forcerez a la fin, se voians offerts en sacrifice. Je me remets a L. Jer. et L. Cul. a vous dire d'avantage, et aussi a Mons<sup>r</sup> Bellievre, qui recevra des ordres de France tres avantageuses pour vous. Et si vous voules estre aussi resolu dans l'affaire de

la Milice, que vous estes pour les Evesques, j'espere que tout ira bien encore. Pour le Covenant, je ne vous puis donner conseil de l'imposer sur personne. Je crois qu'il y a autant de mal de le faire prendre aux autres, qu'a soyemesme; et je crois que vous ne le pouves prendre sans vous perdre. Soies donc constant la dedans, comme aussi de ne vous fier a nul promesse que l'on vous puisse faire pour la seurté de vos amis, que par un Acte d'Oblivion. Je finis, ayant prise medecine, priante Dieu de vous assister. Adieu, mon cher coeur!

A copy, by the king, probably from the original in cipher.

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V.

HENRIETTA MARIA TO CHARLES I.

[1646, December  $\frac{4}{4}$ . Clarendon State Papers, ii. 303.]

The 14 of De.

This day I received yours of the 21, to which, being streightened in tyme, I shall answer in Eng. that it may be soonest put into cypher. In the first place you conclud right, that nothing but the abundance of my love could make me take upon me the harsher part of pressing things which are unacceptable to you. But where I find your interest so much concerned as it is in your present resolution, I should be faultier then you if I would suffer you to rest in such an error as would prove fatall to you. Therefore you may safly belive, that no duty which I performe to you is accompanied with more kyndness then when I oppose those opinions. I acknowledge that mistakes ar the grounds of our differences in opinion, otherwais you would not so confidently thinke that your an. to the propositions sent me last weeke grants nothing about the militia but according to the advice you have had from hence. Therin I shall refer you to the duplicat heerwith sent you, to which I will only add my desyres that you will carfully compare the draught sent you from hence with the other; and then you will find to what purpose the preamble serves, and what care there was taken here to make it and the grant to persons of trust to be of

a peice. If your message be not gone there is no hurt done; if it be, get off from this rock as well as you can, according to the advice in those duplicats, and to your resolution expressed in your letter, not to admit any copartners therein. Touching the pulpits and Pres. government, &c. I will not any more enter into disput with you, finding that arguments of that nature have nether done you nor your business any good; only I may conclud that if your offer shall not satisfy the Presbiterians, whom you desire to make yours, you must begin againe, or leave the worke undone. Nether can you expect this your subtilty in reserving the last determination, after three years, to you and the two houses will doe the feate; no, they with whom you have to doe<sup>a</sup> will be cunning enough to put you [to] explaine yourselfe. I shall rest confidently upon your resolution now expressed touching your frends, because you sufficiently know how much your honor and justice, as well as policy, is in the case. All I desyre therein is, that you recede not from your demand of [a] generall act of oblivion, for nothing less can secure you and them. The lyke was done to you in Scotland; which will be a generall president here. For the Covenant, you know my opinion; after the entire consideration of it, we both fully agree therein; nether as we are advertised from London, will it be stify insisted upon there; yet possibly if the Scots shall prevail,<sup>b</sup> and that only difference were in the case, they may consent to such alterations in it as may satisfy all of us, and confirme such a conjunction as you ought to desyre. Therfor I againe desyre you, upon conference with Will. Murray, or otherwise, to use your utmost endevurs that some [per]sons may be admitted to come privatly to you and the Scots, to see upon a full debate with them if all things may not be reconciled to your and their satisfaction. If the[y] would consent to such a meeting, I would have some<sup>c</sup> hopes of good success: for the present there appears to be poison in the pot; do not trust to your owen cooking of it. For the proposition to Bellievre, I hate it. If any such thing should be made publick, you are undon; your enemis will make a malicious use of it. Be sure you never owen it againe in any discourse, otherwais than as intended as a foile or an hyperbole,<sup>d</sup> or any otherways except in sober

<sup>a</sup> MS. you hast tell doe.

<sup>b</sup> MS. prpuereal; a mistake probably in the cipher.

<sup>c</sup> MS. such.

<sup>d</sup> MS. hoperbole.

earnest. Consider well what I have written of; away [with] your message presently without sharing the Militia, and abandoning Ireland. Strike out the 10 years out of the clause concerning offices, or the clause itself, which you will; it may be added in the close, and the naming 10 years implies that this parl. should sit so long; obtaine the admitting<sup>a</sup> of persons, and then we shall agree in the whole business; [n]either shall I then despaire of seeing you againe with comfort, which is the fullest happiness I wishe for in this world. A Dieu, mon cher coeur!

Concerning the business of Constantinople, nothing can possibly be done 'till we heare further from Sir S. Crow, to whom I have sent some papers in your name may perhaps doe him good. You must avow it, if it come to be questioned. But if Sir S. Crow be of necessety to be recald, Sir W. Killigrew[']s] pretence is next; and he writs that he shall get the consent of the company and the parl. And next to him, you are engaged for Sir R. Brown.<sup>b</sup>

A copy, by the king, probably from the original in cipher; endorsed<sup>c</sup> by him, "From my wyfe Decem.  $\frac{1}{11}$  and  $\frac{4}{14}$ , re.  $\frac{1}{8}$ , to be kept, it being the reason that part ans. went not."

## VI.

### CHARLES I. TO HENRIETTA MARIA.

[1646-7, January 2. Clarendon State Papers, ii. 324.]

DEARE HART,

Newcastell, Saterdag, 2 Jan.

I must tell thee that now I am declared what I have really beene ever since I came to this army, which is a prisoner (for the go. towld me some 4 days since, that he was commanded to secure mee, least I should make an escape): the difference being only this, that heeretofore my escape was easie anufe, but now it is most difficult, if not impossible.

<sup>a</sup> MS. miting.

<sup>b</sup> See the king's comments upon this and the preceding letter at p. 85.

<sup>c</sup> This endorsement refers to both the last letters, which are written on the same paper.



That which now is to be done is, that 351 [the queen] and 364 [Prince Charles] declare publikely that my offers hath been more reasonable, and that nether of you will persuade me to goe further, but rather disswade me, if I had a minde to grant more; because it is now cleare that the demands concerning religion are destructive as well to my crowne as conscience; assuring thee that somewhat fully to this sence (I say fully, for it must not be minced) is absolutely necessary for my preservation. For if there be the least imagination that 364 [Prince Charles] will grant more, then I shall not live long after. This is not my opinion alone, for the F. amb. and Montreull fully concur with me in it.

Having, as it is necessary, showed thee this sad truthe (which to me is nether new nor strange), I shall need to say no more. For I know thy love will omitt nothing that is possible for my freedome. Yet I cannot but conjure thee never to dispare of a good cause, and to remember that 364 [Prince Charles] justly claims from thee a never giving over care of him, even as thou loves me, who am

Eternally thyne.

The Fr. amb. goes from hence Munday next, with my approbation. For he can have nothing more to doe heere: and I belive he will be usefull to me in France; being no lesse confident of his affection to me, then of his knowledge of these affaires, of which on my word there is no doubt. Wherefore I desyre thee to give him all the countenance thou can.

A rough draught by himself, endorsed by him,  
 "To my wyfe, 2 Jan. by London."

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## VII.

### CHARLES I. TO THE MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.

[1646, April 18. Clarendon State Papers, ii. 224.]

MONTROSE,

Having, upon the engagement of the French king and queen regent, made an agreement to join with my Scots subjects now before Newark,

and being resolved upon the first opportunity to put myself into that army, they being reciprocally engaged (by the intervention of Mons. de Montreuil, the said king's resident now in the said army,) to join with me and my forces, and to assist me in the procuring a happy peace: I have thought it necessary to acquaint you herewith; (being here so close begirt as without much hazard and difficulty I cannot suddenly break from hence to come to them;) desiring you, if you shall find by the said de Montreuil that my Scots army have really declared for me, and that you be satisfied by him that there is by them [not only] an amnestia of all that hath been done by you and those who have adhered unto me, but very hearty, sincere, friendly, and honourable resolutions in them for whatsoever concerns your person and party, that then you take them by the hand, and use all possible diligence to unite your forces with theirs for the advancement of my service, as if I were there in person, and I doubt not but you, being joined, will be able to relieve me here; in case I shall not find any possible means to come to you, which shall be still endeavoured with all earnestness by

Yours,

18th Apr. 1646.

Ch. R.

A copy by Mr. Edgman.

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# INDEX.

- Allen, capt. 14  
Amsterdam 52  
Anne of Austria, queen regent of France 4, 16,  
17, 33, 34, 35, 54, 56  
Argyll, Archibald marq. of 47, 49, 65, 70  
Ashburnham, John 2, and allusions to in almost  
every subsequent page  
Aubigny, lady 72  
Augier 60
- Balmerinoch, John lord 49  
Bamfield, colonel 67  
Bellière, Pomponne de, mons. 56, and many  
allusions to in subsequent pages  
Bennet, Mr. xxiv  
Blague, colonel 58  
Blake, admiral 69  
Buckingham, George duke of 11  
Byron 57
- Calendar, James earl of 48, 49, 64  
Capel, Arthur lord 8  
Carteret, sir George 69  
Cassilis, lord 49  
Charles I. letters of, *see* "Table of Contents;"  
letters to *ibid.*; his condition in 1646 iii—v;  
the principal ultimate points between him and  
the parliament vii; his intrigues xi; transac-  
tions with Glamorgan xii; with Montreuil xiv;  
his escape from Oxford xvi; his treatment in  
the Scottish camp xviii; concessions obtained  
from him by Montreuil and Bellière xx; his-  
tory of the MS. of the letters now published  
xxii; similar collection submitted to the inspec-  
tion of lord Rochester xxiv; proofs from these  
letters that the persons opposed to Charles I.  
judged rightly of his character xxvi
- Chester 2  
Colepepper, John lord 7, 8, 30, 35, 55, 61, 68,  
70, 71, 73  
Coote, sir Charles 14  
Cottingham, John lord 76  
Courland, duke of 12  
Crawford-Lindsay, earl of 49
- Davenant, sir William 67, 68, 70, 71, 72, 83  
Digby, George lord 9, 18, 52, 60, 70  
Dorchester, Henry marq. of 53  
Dubose 60  
Dunfermline, Charles earl of 48, 49, 57
- Evelyn, John 58  
Exeter 7
- Fairfax, sir Thomas 8, 14  
Flushing 3
- Glamorgan, Edward earl of 9, 14, 18, 21, 22,  
25, 27, 28  
Glemham, sir Thomas 78  
Godolphin, Mrs 58
- Hamilton, James marq. of 48, 49, 57; duke of  
65, 85  
—— sir James 57  
—— lord William 49
- Hastings 15  
Hatton, Christopher lord 53  
—— sir Christopher 53

- Henrietta Maria, letters to, *see* Table of Contents; letters from, *ibid.*; references to, *passim*
- Hereford 2
- Hertford, William marq. of 67
- Hickman, Dr. Charles xxiv
- Hopton, Ralph lord 8
- Howard, lady Catherine 72
- Hudson, dr. 40, 43, 77, 78
- Hyde, Edward 30
- Jermyn, Henry lord 10, 15, 27, 29, 43, 52, 55, 61, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73
- Lanerick, William earl of 49, 85
- Legge, Will. 57
- Lesley 67, 68; general David 2, 13, 48
- Lothian, William earl of 49
- Loudoun, John earl of 49
- Lynn 38, 39, 78
- Manchester, Henry earl of 16
- Market Harborough 31, 32, 34
- Mary, princess, afterwards queen 5
- Mazarin, card. 1, 10, 17, 34, 35, 42, 54, 68
- Molingar, lord 1
- Montreuil, mons. de 3, and references to in almost every subsequent page
- Montrose, James, marq. of, letter to 100; allusions to 5, *et passim*
- Moubray 68
- Mountague, Walter 16
- Murray, sir Robert, 3, 72  
— Will. references and allusions to throughout
- Muskerry, Charles lord 18
- Nanteuil, abbey of 16
- Newark 34, 38
- Newburgh, James lord 72
- Newcastle-upon-Tyne, letters dated from, *see* the Table of Contents.
- Nicholas, sir Edward 11, and allusions to in almost every subsequent page
- Orange, William of Nassau, prince of 5, 9, 12, 23, 33
- Ormond, James, marq. of 9, 18, 47, 54, 55, 70, 76
- Osbourne, lady 66  
— sir Peter 66
- Oxford, letters dated from, *see* "Table of Contents;" Charles's flight from 40; surrender of 53  
— Samuel, bishop of 58
- Padstow 14
- Pelling, dr. xxiv
- Percy 57
- Pooly 24
- Radcliffe, sir George 3
- Richelieu, card. 10
- Richmond, James duke of 4
- Rochester 15  
— dr. Sprat, bishop of xxiv  
— Henry lord, xxiv
- Rupert, prince 37, 58
- Sabran, mons. de 10
- St. Martin, abbey of, near Pontoise 16
- Sinclair, John sixth lord 13
- Sligo 14
- Souza, Antonio de 1
- Stewart, dr. 61
- Strafford, Thomas earl of 80
- Tilliers, count de 6, 33
- Tuam, archbp. of 14
- Uxbridge 30
- Wales, Charles prince of, afterwards Charles II — references to *passim*
- Walker 57
- Ware 72
- William III. 5
- York, James duke of, afterwards James II. =  
3, 5, 6, 61, 67, 68, 72

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The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry should be supported by a valid receipt or invoice. This ensures transparency and allows for easy verification of the data.

In the second section, the author outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze the data. This includes both primary and secondary data collection techniques. The primary data was gathered through direct observation and interviews with key stakeholders. Secondary data was obtained from existing reports and databases.

The third section details the statistical analysis performed on the collected data. It describes the use of descriptive statistics to summarize the data and inferential statistics to test hypotheses. The results indicate a significant correlation between the variables studied, suggesting that the findings are statistically robust.

Finally, the document concludes with a series of recommendations based on the research findings. These recommendations are aimed at improving the efficiency of the process and ensuring that the data is used effectively for decision-making. The author also notes the limitations of the study and suggests areas for future research.





