

II.—THE VISITS OF CHARLES I. TO NEWCASTLE IN 1633, 1639, 1641, 1646-47, WITH SOME NOTES ON CONTEMPORARY LOCAL HISTORY.¹

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In 1633, Charles visited Newcastle on his way to Scotland for his coronation. The last royal progress towards the north had been in the year 1617;² elaborate preparations were therefore necessary for Charles's reception. The justices of the several counties through which his journey would carry him were required to examine and report on the condition of the bridges and highways. As early as March 13th, the justices of Northumberland had reported to the council that a careful survey had been made, and that the roads and bridges would be in a sufficient state of repair by the time Charles arrived.³ On

¹ The materials upon which this attempt to piece together the story of an obscure period of local history has been constructed have been provided, to some extent, by the collections of seventeenth-century pamphlets in the possession of this society and of the public library of this town, but chiefly from the invaluable 'King's Pamphlets' in the British Museum. The corporation records have yielded some items which had escaped the notice of Hornby, while certain minutes published by him have gained an additional meaning by corroboratory details from other sources. The accounts of St. Mary's, Gateshead, and of the Trinity house, have furnished a few details, as also the State Papers and the reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. I am further indebted to Mr. Richard Welford, M.A., and to Mr. C. J. Spence, for permission to consult their valuable collections of local literature.

² Brand, *Hist. of Newcastle*; on this visit to Scotland the Scotch ship the 'Vanguard' of 'Kincollie' had been chartered to transport the royal buckhounds from Harwich to Scotland. *Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1631-33, p. 590.

³ *Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1631-33;

Right honorable and other very good Lords:

Upon the receipt of yo: Lorships L^res dated at Whitehall the 16th day of January, 1632, wee appointed a meeting that we mighte consulte together how to devide ourselves within our hon^{le} devisions, accordinge to yo^r hon^r comande; for the speedy and present repaire of the bridges and highways. Att which meetinge we gave order for an exact survey and view of the bridges and wayes deficyent, and have nowe accordinge to our best iudgmente, taken speedy course for their present repaire. And wee doubt not but before his Ma^{ty} shall come down, they wilbe sufficiently repayred, according to yo Lo^{ps} comande, which with all due obedience wee shall ever be readie to execute.

And soe we humbly take our leves, and shall always reste.

Your Lordships, ready to be commanded.

John Fenwick.

John Deland.

William Carnaby.

Cuthbert Heron.

Jo: Barring.

William Widdrington.

Morpeth in Northumberland
the 13th of March, 1632.

March 19th, the justices of Durham made a similar report.⁴ The accounts of Gateshead parish church bear testimony to the manner in which the order of council was carried out in that town.

1633. It. paid to William Bankes for laying 48 yeardes of new stone for repaires in the bottle banke, 8l. 8s. 6d.

It. pd. to workmen for making the streats even at the king's coming, 18s. 4d.

It. pd. to — for paueing the streat, 5s. 7d.

It. pd. for pulling doune the middle stales, 1s. 8d.

It. pd. to the piper for playing to the menders of the highwaies several Daies, 3s. 4d.

About ten o'clock in the morning, on Monday, June 3rd, Charles left Durham and arrived at Newcastle in the evening, accompanied by the earls of Northumberland, Arundel, Pembroke, Southampton, Holland, the marquis of Hamilton, Dr. Laud, and others.⁵ Sir William Selby's house was provided for his accommodation.^{5a} Neither in Gateshead nor in Newcastle is there any record of Charles's reception beyond the usual minutes for the expenses of ringing the church bells.⁶ His coronation day had been celebrated on March 27th, in Newcastle, on which

⁴ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1631-33;

Right Honorable:—

Upon the receipte of yo: Lordships letters of the sixteenth of January last, wee his Ma^{tyes} Justices of the Peace of this Countye of Durham have mett together and taken care for all the high wayes and bridges lying in the high roade, and speciallye in the great high roade lying betwene the southern and northern partes, which (God willing) shall be in sufficyent repayre as soone as the season of the yeare shall permitt, and before the tyme of His Ma^{tyes} coming into this Countye, and thus we humbly reste.

Your Lorshippes to be commanded.

Thomas Tempest.
George Long.
John Barnley.
Francis James.
Thomas Lydkett.
Chr: Fulthorpe.
Ferd: Morecrost.
Hughe Wrighte.
Jo: Richardson.
Edward Wrighte.
Thos Riddell.
Jo: Robson.
Jo: Cosin.

Durham. March 19th 1632.

⁵ Bourne, *Hist.* vol. ii. p. 229, on authority of Echard. ^{5a} *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.) 1633-34; No. 36 i.

⁶ St. Mary's, Gateshead, Accounts: 'Pd. to Ringing these severall Daies, 9s. 4d.' All Saints', Newcastle, Accounts: 'paid for ringing att the kings Mat^{ie} his coming to tounne, 6s.'

occasion the loyal citizens had burnt tar-barrels to the value of eight shillings and two pence, while an extra payment of six shillings and two pence had been made to the mayor and aldermen 'for a banquet.'⁷ It can only be inferred that the celebrations at the king's arrival on June 3rd were not less adequate. On June 4th, Charles dined with the mayor, Ralph Cole, and conferred the honour of knighthood upon him.⁸ On June 5th, he made an expedition down the Tyne to Tynemouth,⁹ accompanied by the master and brethren of the Trinity house.¹⁰ The records of that corporation contain a minute relating to this event:—'Spent goinge to rowe the barge twice 4s. Spent at Robart Younges for vitalls and drinke when the king went doune to Sheeles 10s. for wherie hier that daye the king went downe, 2s. 6d.'

The steersman of the royal barge on that day was Edward Bulmer, a member of the Trinity house, who used the opportunity to present to the king a petition or certificate, drawn up by the master and brethren. Before April 17th, 1634, Bulmer found it necessary to address a petition to Charles on his own behalf, setting forth that his action on June 5th, 1633, had brought him into serious trouble. Not only had he been fined in a suit against him to the amount of 500 marks, but he had also been unjustly accused of participation in a riot which had preceded the king's arrival in the town.¹¹ On May 22nd, 1633, the Trinity house at Deptford had

⁷ 'Paid for tarr barrells burnt on the Sandhill, the 27th of March, being the day of his Ma^{ties} entrance to the crown, 8s. 2d. Paid more for a banquet to M^r. Maier and the aldermen on the Long Pentice on the same day, 6s. 2d.' Corporation Records, under date April, 1633 (printed by Hornby). The Gateshead accounts have, 'Item pd. to Ringing on Coronation day 1s. 6d.'

⁸ Brand, *op. cit.* ⁹ *Ibid.* The Tynemouth Parish Register, under June 5, 1633, has 'King Charles was at Tinnmouth Castell.' It was not the last royal visit as stated in *Arch. Ael.* xix. p. 208.

¹⁰ Welford, *Hist. of Newcastle and Gateshead*, vol. iii. p. 311.

¹¹ *Cal. of State Papers (Dom.)*, 1633-34;

To the Kings Most Excellent Majestie.

The humble peticion of Edward Bulmer, Maryner. Sheweth,
That he beinge one of the Societie of the Trinitie house of Newcastle upon Tyne, and being Steersman of yo^r Ma^{ties} Barge, to carie yo^r Ma^{tie} and divers of the Nobilitie, downe the River of Tyne, he did then shewe unto yo^r Ma^{tie} and the Lords a Certificate from the whole Trinitie House, of the great abuse, concerning the said River, the Coppie wherof is herunto annexed, for which relation and not other cause that yo^r petitioner can imagine, the Maier and Aldermen havinge proprietie in the Staithes and Kayes, whence the abuse ariseth, have taken for great and inveterate malice against yo^r petitioner, as that in his absence, in a suite at Yorke, followed by the Towne of Newcastle there, they procured him to be fined in 500 marks as being one of those who animated the boys to the late pulling down of a house and lime kiln there,

written to secretary Coke to inform him of the action their corporation at Newcastle proposed to take when Charles visited the town in June.¹² At the same time, the master and brethren of the Trinity house at Newcastle forwarded a certificate stating that the staiths or quays on the river were then in the possession of sir Robert Heath, sir Peter Riddell, Thomas Liddell, Ralph Cole, Arthur Alvey, the assigns of sir Robert Mansell, at the Glass house, and the mayor and corporation; and that the rubbish shot from the quays was choking the river to the detriment of the river-channel.¹³ On May 23rd, 1633,

the evidence against yo: petitioner being only some lewd persons that the petitioner had before punished for some foule offences at Sea. And the petitioner in his answer expressed upon his othe he was inocent thereof, yet not soe satisfied, they doe use other uniuist persecucons againste him seekinge his undoinge for discoverie of the truth to yo^r Ma^{tie} and the Lords.

The p' misses considered, yo^r petitioner most humbly beseetcheth yo^r Ma^{tie} to remitt the said fyne of 500 Marks to yo: Ma^{tie}, or to refer the same and the cause to the right honorable, the Lords Comissioners for the Admiraltie to doe therein as they upon examinacon shall thinke fitt.

And yo^r petitioner as in duty bound will daylie praye for your Ma^{ties} long and happie Raigne.

Enclosure.

Whitehall. Aprill 17th 1634.

Wee desire M^r Vice President and Secretary of the Council at Yorke (who we understand are now in London) to consider of this Petition, and to certify us (Commissioners for the Admiralty) the truthe thereof, and yf the proceedings in this cause against the petitioner and the ground and prooffe upon which the sentence against him is laid.

Frances Cottington
Frances Windebank
J. Coke

¹² *Cal. State Papers*, under date May 22, 1633.

¹³ *Ibid.* (Dom.), 1633-34;

To the honourable Lords of his Ma^{ties} most honourable privy Counsell.

The humble advertisement and certificate of the Master and Societie of the Trinity house resideing in the towne of Newcastle upon Tyne.

Wherein they humbly shew unto your honors that there are diverse Kayes and Staithes whereon the Ballast which the Shippes that come to Newcastle for coles are cast and laid and they are built below Newcastle Bridge towards the Sea Eastwards upon the laud close adioyneing to the River of Tyne, for thatt at a full sea the water is almost equall height of the Kayes and Staithes. One of which Kayes and Staithes is in the possession of Sir Robert Hethe, knight, Chief Justice of the Comon Pleas att Westminster, an other in the possession of Sir Peter Riddell of Newcastle, knight, another in the possession of Thomas Liddell and Raiph Cole, Aldermen of the said Towne of Newcastle, an other in the possession of Arthur Alvey, gent: and one other in the possession of the servants or Assignes of Sir Robert Mansell, knight, who attend and are employed about the Glassehouse and the makinge of the glasse there, and one other in the possession of the Mayor and Aldermen. And wee doe further advertise your honours, that there hath, and daily doth fall such a quantity of the said ballist and rubbish from the said Kayes and Staithes into the said river of Tyne, that yf by your honors wisdom and authority there be not some speedy order taken that the said Staithes and Kays may be so sufficyently built and kept in good reparations that noe quantitye of rubbish or ballist doe fall from anie of the

Heath wrote to Coke to tell him that he had recently, at the suggestion of a kinsman at Durham, commenced building a new 'ballast-shore' at South Shields. To this, however, though at first it had given its consent, the town of Newcastle was showing some opposition. Sir Robert added, that though he had entered upon the

said Kayes and Staithes, and the said Kayes and Staithes themselves from sinking and falling into the said river of Tyne, that in our judgments the said river of Tyne will in short time be so choked that noe shipp of anie more then ordinary burthen will be able to come upp to the Towne of Newcastle, as usually heretofore they have done, whereby his Ma^{ties} will receive great damage in his Customes and yearely Revenues now received for sea coles.

George Errington.
George Cooke.
Thomas Lambe.
Humphrey Clinett.
Anthony Wilkinson.
Thomas Stobes.

May, 1633.

The two following certificates also bear upon the matter :—
Newcastle upon Tyne.

To the right honourable our verie good Lords the lords of his Ma^{ties} most honourable privie counsell.

A certificate of the proceedings of the Maior and Aldermen of the towne and Countie of Newcastle upon Tyne, his Ma^{ties} Commissioners especially appointed for the Conservacie of the River of Tyne, from the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel 1632, until the Feast of Easter then next followinge, Which we the said Maior and Aldermen doe in all humilitie retorne and certefie :

Imprimis, We doe humbly certifie yo^r hon^r that since the laste certeficat made in this behalf to yo^r Lordships, sundry persons have bene presented unto us for severall offences don by them, to the hurt of the River, as well by M^{rs} of Shippes repaireing to this harbour for suffering their ballast to be cast forth of their shippes, without a sufficient stadge, and also by others in casting their ballast and other rubbish without any warrant accordinge as in such cases is granted for the safety of the said River. And likewyse against others for suffring their steithes and wharves adioyning nere unto the said river to decay and ruinate. Against which persons wee have proceeded by imposing severall fynes on them, which they did undergoe, as the quality of their severall offences did require, for examples sake to others not to offend in the like or in any other kinde againste the said River. Wee have also caused the said offences to be amended.

Item. Wee doe further certifie yo^r hon^{rs} that one Clement Maxwell and Thomas Leash hath bene sundry times presented unto us for working a Quarry contrary to your hon^{rs} former orders, and suffering the rubbish thereof to fall into the River, which Quarry likewise was complained of by us before, and was ordered by yo^r hon^r to be demolished. But the said Clement Maxwell and Thomas Leash (after they were thrice summoned) did appeare and then being commanded by us to lay downe their fynes for their said offences, they (not having their Fynes then about them) desired they might have liberty to appeare the next Courte day and bring in their fynes. Which condiscended unto, the said Maxwell and Leash, though it be many Court days since, and though often summoned to appeare before us and bring in their Fynes have neglected so to doe.

Item. Wee doe further certefie your honors that John Wright, Keeper and overseer of a shoare at South sheeles belonging to Sir Robert Heath, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and one Christopher Blackett keeper of a shoare lately belonging to Mr. Henry Chapman deceased, have upon their severall shoars taken unlawfull ballast, the Walles of the said Shoares not being sufficiently built, to the great dammage of the River ; and contrary to expresse commande given them by ourselves.

speculation with a view to making some provision for his second son, yet he admitted the interests of the river as paramount, and while he hoped that Charles would not interfere if the shore were found to be well built, he would be better pleased if Coke could persuade the king

Item. Wee doe certifie yo^r honors that we have sounded the Barr of this Porte, and we find that a sande lying on the South side of the River called the Hirde, is growne more to the north than formerly, it was so that the Barr is growne more narrow and of lesse water by a foote then it hath bene within these three or foure yeares, which we conceive to be greatly occasioned by want of land floods and Ice which are the ordinary meanes to scoure the River. And thus we certifie unto yo^r hono^{rs} our proceedings in this service since the last certifiat and humbly rest and take our leaves with our utmost services, at yo^r honors Command.

Your honors humbly to be commanded,

Lionell Maddisoune, Maior.
 Peter Riddell.
 Henry Maddison.
 Thos. Lyddock.
 Alexander Davyson.
 Robert Bewick.
 John Claveringe.
 Robert Anderson.
 Ralph Cole.

At Newcastle upon Tyne, the 11th day of May, 1633.

To the right honourable, our very good Lords of his Ma^{ties} most honourable Privie Counsell.

A certificate of the Maior and Aldermen of the Toune and Countye of Newcastle upon Tyne, his Ma^{ties} Commissioners especially appoynd for the Conservacie of the river of Tyne, from the Feast of Easter 1633 untill the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel, then next after which we the said Maior and Aldermen doe in all humilitie retourne and certifie.

Imprimis we doe humblye certifie yo^r honors that since the last certifiat made in this behalf to your Lordships, sundry persons have bene presented unto us for severall offences done by them to the hurt of the river as well by M^{rs} of shippes repairing to this harbour, for suffering their ballast to be cast forth of their ships without a sufficient stage, and also by others offending by casting their ballast without any warrant at all according as usually in such cases is granted for the safety of the said river, and likewise against others for suffering their steithes and wharves adioyning neir unto the same river, to decay and ruinate, against which persons, we have provided by imposing severall fynes on them which they did undergo as the qualitie of their severall offences did require, for preventing abuses to be done against the said river, and for examples sake to others not to offend in the like, or any other manner. And also have taken bonds of some others who have since our last certifiat builded keayes within the river, that the same keayes shall not at any tyme hereafter be prejudiciall to the river.

Wee do further certifie your honors that we did enforme this honorable bord of Clement Maxwell, Thomas Leash, John Wright and Christopher Blackett for sundry offences by them committed against your honorss orders, since which tyme the said Clement Maxwell and Thomas Leash have bene againe presented unto us, for working a quarry which was by your honors ordered to be demolished, and the said John Wright as keeper of Sir Robert Heaths, Lord Chief Justice of the Com'on Pleas, his shoare, and Christopher Blackett as keeper of a shoare now in the possession of one Arthur Alvey, have bene againe presented unto us, for taking unfitting ballast, contrary to your honors orders, to the hurt of the river.

to determine the matter in council rather than at Newcastle.¹⁴ Charles's visit to Shields on June 5th, was clearly connected with this dispute. It lingered on, however, and was not adjusted until May 27th, 1640.¹⁵

Yet another local dispute claimed the king's attention. On June 4th, a petition was presented by four burgesses, claiming to represent the views of about seven hundred of their fellow-townsmen on a

And thus we certifie unto your honors our proceedings in this service since the last certificate, and doe humbly rest and take our leave with our utmost services at your honours commandes.

Your honours humbly to be commanded,

Lionel Maddisone, Maior.
Peter Riddell.
William Warmouth.
Alexander Davyson.
Robert Bewicke.
Ralph Cole.

From Newcastle upon Tyne, the nyynth day of October, 1633.

¹⁴ *Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1633-34;

Sir Robert Heath, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas to Sec : Coke.

Right Honorable.

At the motion and by the incoragement of a kinsman of my name at Durham, I have undertaken the building of a ballast shore at the South Shields, near the mouth of the River of Tyne. The Towne of Newcastle gave their consent, but have often quarreled with it, and by their poure in that p'lace, and their pollicy, have given many impediments to the work, yo' hono', amongst the rest of that hon^{ble} Board, have been often troubled with them on both sides. Now I hear that the Towne have a purpose to possesse the King at his being at Newcastle with the inconvenyency therof. W'her I nor any for me can be herd. I hope, notwithstandinge the many interruptions, the shore will be found well built, and if it be not good for the publike, and for the safety of Shippinge and for Navigation, I will not desire it to be continued. If it be, I am assured of His Ma^{tie}'s goodness and Justice, that the Towne for any private endes of ther owne, or any of ther members shall not destroye it. My own interests, which I have intended for my second son is not a thing considerable. But the safety of your great shippes trading to that port is of moment, and that I rather refer to those who better understand it, and who are bold by their humble lettres to yo : Honor to declare their opinions.

My humble suite to yo' honor is, that if ther be any occasion you will be pleased soe farre only to interpose with his Ma^{tie}, or any other, that the Cause may be hearde at the Board, accordinge to former address, and what soon shall be then determined: upon hearing of all parties and the reasons I shall humbly and readily submit unto, and if his Ma^{tie} would himself hear it, he is the best judge. The Towne shall propose nothing that is reasonable for them for the government or trade which may not be provided for, and shall not readily be obeyed. I humbly begg yo : hono : pardon for this my boldness, I know not to whom to addresse myselfe in this case soe fitly as to yo : hono : whose care and trust for marine affaires, I have soe much experienced of, soe I humblye remaine,

Your honours ever readye to be commanded,

R. Heath.

23 May, 1633.

¹⁵ *Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1640, pp. 191, 240. See also Welford, *op. cit.* vol. iii.

matter which had already been referred to the council at York.¹⁶ On June 11th, while at Berwick, Charles replied, confirming its relegation to the council.¹⁷ The petitioners stated the following grievances :—(1) The refusal of the mayor and aldermen to hear the complaints of burgesses at the guild meetings and general assemblies ; (2) the sale of corporation offices to the benefit of the mayor for the time being ; (3) the discontinuance of the dinner heretofore given to the auditors of the chamberlain's accounts ; (4) the practice on the part of the mayor and aldermen of putting their own kinsmen on the common council ; (5) the licence to ' un-freemen ' to trade within the liberties of the corporation ; and (6) the desirability of making some alteration in the number required to form a quorum on the town council.¹⁸ On August 28th, the Council at York reported^{18a} on the petition as follows :—

¹⁶ *Cul. State Papers* (Dom.), 1633-34 ;
June 4, 1633.

Whereas it appears to his Matie that a letter of Attorneye dated the seaventh daie of Aprill laste is granted to fower Burgisses attisted under the handes of seaven hundred and more burgesses of the Towne of Newcastle upon Tyne, with power thereby to prosecute the petition and greavances delivered to His Ma^{tie}, which attornies mentioned in the said l're of Attorney have and doe endeavor to performe, and accordingly did on the three and twentieth daie of the foresaid moneth take journey to London with purpose then to have delivered the petition and grievances now delivered, but findinge the tyme not fittinge in regard of his Ma^{ties} journey to Scotland did forbear to proceed then therein, and since the deliverie of the petition and grievances at Newcastle, have repayed to Barwicke for the obtaininge of his Ma^{ties} Highnes gracious reference to the said petition, which his Highnes hath ben graciously pleased to refer to the Vice President and Counsell at Yorke, to whom they are presently to repaire, At the hearing whereof, of necessatie they must carry with them, from Newcastle to Yorke, being sixtie miles distant from Newcastle, a great number of Burgesses to proove the said grievances, and many of the said Burgesses are such as have not attested the said letter of Attorney, and yet necessarie witnesses. In consideration wherof being the charges past are great and the future like to be more, and that the Revenue of this said Towne is paid unto the Maior and Burgesses, and this being the complainte of the greatest number of the Burgesses, which they hope to proove just and true.

They humblie praie that his Ma^{tie} will be graciouslie pleased by his Highnes letter directed to the Maior, Aldermen and Common Council of the same towne, thereby commandeinge them to paie unto the said Attrneys soe appointed, suche reasonable charges as they have and shall disburse in the execution of this busines. All which the said Burgesses hopeth maye appeare to his Ma^{tie} juste and reasonable beinge that the Maior and Aldermen have their charges expended in this busines out of the townes treasure.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* under date.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 1633-34, under date June 11, 1633. See also Welford, *Hist. of Newcastle and Gateshead*, vol. iii. ^{18a} *Ibid.*

To Sir John Coke, Knight.
Right Honourable.

It pleased His Majestie in June last to refer unto the Vice President and the rest in the Commission for this Government, the examination of certaine grievances then exhibited by the Burgesses and Com'ons of Newcastle, in which busynes having now certified our opinions unto the Lords of His Ma^{ties} privy Councell (as by the reference we were required) because his Ma^{ties} pleasure in that behalfe was signified unto us by you, wee have made bolde to addresse our Certificate unto you, desyring that ytt maye receive a passage unto their Lordships by your hand. And as well, for that we know you to be a principall member of that great Bodye, as also in our due respecte towards you, we have sent you herewithall a Coppye of ytt, assuring ourselves that your wisdome will soe use it, that we shall receive noe prejudice by timelye acquaintinge you with what we have done.

In the Cause depending here by Information, concerning the great Ryott com'itted in that Towne, we can hitherto give you onelye this accompt, Thatt we are (as it becometh us) very heedfull of itt. And that itt is prosecuted with as much care and expedition as may bee, but by reason there are of late many delinquents discovered, who cannot as yet be brought in to answeare, the proceedings in it are a little delayed and forborne, to the end the Court may goe on to hearing with them all together.

Thus acknowledging ourselves much obliged unto you for your many noble favours towards us, wee will cease from troubling you any further att this tyme, and rest

Yours in all due observance to serve you,

Edward Osborne.

Jo. Melton.

W. Ellis.

Att Yorke, this 16th of September, 1633.

Right Honourable.

Whereas in June last, his Majestie was gratuslie pleased to referr to the Vice President and this Councell, the examination of certaine grievances annexed to a Petition then exhibited to his Highness by the Burgesses and Com'ons or Comonaltye of the Towne of Newcastle upon Tyne, The copy of which Reference, as also of the said Peticon and grievances annexed we do here withall present unto your Lordships. And forasmuch as wee are required by the said Reference, to certifie unto his Ma^{tie} or his privy Councell, the truthe of the complayntes conteyned in the said grievances, and also our opinions howe the same may be redressed and the governmentt settled for the continuance of due obedience and peace and for the prosperity of that Corporation, of which his Ma^{tie} is pleased to have a most gratus and tender esteme. These are in all humblenes to certifie your Lord^{ps} that wee have att severall tymes had before us as well divers Aldermen and other principall persons deputed in the behalfe of the Maior Aldermen and the rest of the Com'on Councell of the said Towne, as also a great number of Burgesses in the behalfe of themselves and the reste of the Burgesses and Com'ons there, and having spent sundry dayes in the examinacon of witnesses produced by the Burgesses and Commons for the prooffe

of their complaintes and in the perusal of some bookes, devices and Charters and in hearing the answeres and defences of the said Maior and Aldermen. Upon examination of the complaintes exhibited, and full and deliberate hearing of all parties, It appeareth unto us as followeth :—

Firste. Whereas in the firste article, complainte is made of the neglect of the Maior, Aldermen, and rest of the Com'on Councill in providing of Coles for the Com'on use of the Burgesses and Com'ons in certaine landes called the Towne Moore, and Gatesyde neare unto the said Towne of Newcastle, wherunto it is confessed the said Maior, Aldermen, and rest of the Com'on Councill were obliged, in case Coles could be conveniently gotten within eyther of the said places. And it is further objected that ther were some who would have undertaken to have gotten Coles within the foresaid Landes, for the use of the Burgesses and Com'ons, and offered to give good securitye to the Maior and Com'on Councill for the performance therof, but as the Com'ons alledge it would not be accepted, And whereas also in the same Article complainte is made that the Burgesses and Com'ons are not sufficiently furnished with water for their houses by reason that of late time, divers of the Aldermen and principall persons of the Towne have laid new pipes unto the conduits, or pantes which are to serve for the com'on use of the towne, by which they drawe awaye a great quantite of water unto their owne dwellings so that there is not sufficyent left to serve the said Burgesses and Com'ons in such sort as they heretofore have had it. To the first it is answered that in the times complayned of there were not Coles enough to be gotten to supplye the said Burgesses and Com'ons within the said groundes, but that for the most parte of the said time there were some Coles from time to time, wrought for their use, And the Maior, Aldermen, and rest of the Com'on Councill doe deny that such as offered to undertake to get Coles, did offer likewise to give good securitye ffor the performance of that they would undertake, but they further say that at this tyme there are Coles ready to be wrought in the Towne Moore which are confessed on all parts will sufficiently furnishe and supplye the said Burgesses and Com'ons for the time to come. And as touching the withdrawinge of the water from the com'on conduits or pantes by some Aldermen and others, it is answered that before the exhibiting of the said petition there was an order made in Guild for the cutting of the said Pipes, and laying of them to the toppes of the conduits or pantes, soe that the Burgesses and Com'ons might be firste served and they onelye to take the overplus of water, And it is lykewise said in the behalfe of the said Maior, Aldermen and rest of the Com'on Councill that the Plummer did accordinglye cutt all the said pipes, saving one pipe leading to the house of Sir William Selby, knyghte, which was forborne to be cutt, in respecte his Ma^{tie} in his journey into Scotland was to lodge in that house, and some other pipes lykewise which could not be cutt and taken away because they were taken from the com'on pipes, passing throughe their owne inheritance, but for all the other pipes complayned of, as also that of Sir Will^m Selbye, the Maior, Aldermen and rest of the Com'on Councill doe undertake that they shalbe taken awaye And the said Act of Guild observed, soe as the said Burgesses and Com'ons from thenceforth shall have noe cause to complayne in that behalfe.

The denyall made by the Maior, Aldermen and rest of the Com'on Councill, that such as offered to undertake to get Coles for the use of the Com'ons, did

likewise offer to give securitye for the performance of there undertaking, And that the order in Guild for the cutting of the pipes complayned of was put in execucion before the exhibiting of the said petition to his Ma^{tie}, is opposed and contradicted by divers witnesses produced on the behalfe of the said Burgesses and Com'ons, whose examination we are not by lawe inabled to take uppon othe or otherwise than upon affirmation onlye, and therefor cannot herein ground any iudiciall opinion. And although it be manifest that in divers yeares before the exhibiting of this peticion to his Ma^{tie}, the Burgesses and Com'ons had not sufficient Coles provided for their fyreing, but howe for the the Maior, Aldermen and reste of the Com'on Councell shall be thought faultye herein, will reste uppon the aforesaid proofs, and therefore we can proceed noe further in it.

Secondly. Whereas in the last Article, the Maior, Aldermen and reste of the Com'on Councell are charged with the suffering of unfreemen to trade and merchandize within the said corporation and libertyes therof, to the great preiudice of the poore freemen there, the said unfreemen being countenanced therein by some of the Magistrates, And it is further alledged by the said Burgesses and Com'ons, that wher sutes were com'enced against divers of the said unfreemen, the plaintiffs were discountenanced in their actions by the Recorder, and sometimes their actions brought in the Town Clerkes name were disclaimed by the Towne Clerke, to the great discouragement of the poore freemen of the Towne. It is answered that the Recorder did never discountenance, nor the Towne Clerke disclaime anye action brought against the unfreemen, yf by lawe they might be legally proceeded in. And it is further alledged and confessed in the behalf of the sayd Maior, Aldermen and rest of the Com'on Councell, that the growth of trading by unfreemen within that Corporation doth tend very muche to the preiudice and discontent of the poore freemen of the same, and that if there could be any course conceived whereby the said Maior, Aldermen and rest of the Com'on Councell might be inabled to give redresse therein, they would most readily and chearfully doe it, for they cannot be advised howe by lawe they cann punish them for trading, or put them oute of the towne, without one of which this complaynte can never be remedied.

As touching the undueness and inequality of Elections, misordering and ill disposall of the revenues of the Toune and all other particular complaintes comprised in the said grievances, which are in our opinions anye way considerable, the said Maior, Aldermen and rest of the Com'on Councell doe iustifye themselves, and affirme that they doe, and from time to time have done, all and every of them by vertue of Acts of Com'on Councell, (many of them subscribed by some of the nowe complaynants) and in vertue and by pursuance of their Charter and not otherwise. And whereas conceiving it to be very well conducing to the busynes wee had in hand, wee caused the Maior, Aldermen and rest of the Com'on Councell to bring hither their books of Accomptes of the said Toune, intending to have entred into a particular examinacon of the yearely revenues of the said toune, and the accompt made thereof for the seaven yeares now last past. And uppon sight of them fyndeing the yearely receiptes and revenue of the said towne to be great, and the disbursements leaving a very small remainder, yet it being not made appeare unto us, howe those remaynders were accomptd for in some of the books of the ensueing yeares accompts as they ought to have beene. It was answered by some in the behalfe of the Maior,

Aldermen and reste of the Com'on Councill, that yf they were not specified in the ensuing accompt, they were disposed of by acts of Com'on Councill and that disposall warranted by their Charter. And this being thus answered we held it needless to trouble ourselves with looking further into the particulars of their accompts. And fyndeing the most part of the other particulars complained of. wherein the Maior, Aldermen and rest of the Com'on Councill doe iustifie their proceedings by Actes of Com'on Councill and by their Charter, to be warranted as is by them before alledged, we hold that, for soe much as is soe warranted the Burgesses and Com'ons ought to reste satisfied and wee concluded from any further inquisicon. Howbeit taking into consideration how much the peaceable and quiet government of that corporation dothe importe his Ma^{ties} service in respect of the great benefitt his Ma^{ties} receiveth from thence by his customes and otherwise, and considering lykewise that the said Toune is now growne to be very populous and the farr greater parte of the Com'ons consisting partly of Mariners and partly of Watermen, Colliers, Keelmen and other people of mean condition, who are apt to turne every pretence and color of grievance into uproare and seditious mutinye, we have endeavoured to fynde out the true cause and grounde of their complaintes and haveing in debating of this busynes had occasion to look into divers peticons and complainytes in preceding yeares exhibited to the Maior and Com'on Councill by the Burgesses and Com'ons, we doe fynde that the pretences of all their complaintes and grievances seeme to be grounded upon the inequalitye and undueness (as they alledge) of their Elections as they are now settled by Charter, and the exceptions they seeme to take are these :

1.—That the Election to be made by the first twenty four which are presented by the Twelve Companyes, is not free but directorye, they beinge positivelye to chuse the then Maior and three Aldermen, if soe many Aldermen be present as att all times they are.

2.—That the Election made by those Fower is not free but directorye likewise, for they are positivelye to chuse to be conioyned with themselves seaven Aldermen and one who hath bene Sheriffe, if they be present, and for want of such number to chuse such as have bene Sheriffes of the said Toune, and for want of such to chuse the free burgesses, but there being present alwayes soe many Aldermen and Sheriffs as will make up that number none of the Commons are ever chosen to be of the twelve upon the first standing election, and upon those, all the other Elections doe depend.

Againe they alledge that the last twenty four which are yearely to be chosen out of the Com'on Burgesses and are to be added unto the Maior, Aldermen and Sheriffs to make up the Com'on Council, which Com'on Councill have the disposall, of the reveneu and ordering of all busynes of the towne are unduely elected because some of these latter twenty fower, are chosen out of some of the Burgesses of the standing Election which (as they alledge) ought not to be, but that they should be chosen out of other free Burgesses. And indeed it was confessed by those who attended us in the behalfe of the Maior, Aldermen and rest of the Com'on Councill, that some of the Burgesses of the Twenty Four, of the standing Election are sometimes chosen to be of the latter Twenty Fower to make upp the Com'on Councill for the yeare followinge. Now, if it please your Lordships, the pretences of all their complaintes and grievances seeming (as we

have said) to bee grounded upon the exceptions which they seem to take againste the Elections, as they are now settled by their Charter, And it appearing unto us that the selfsame forme of Election nowe settled by their Charter hath been confirmed by severall decrees and Charters, and continued ever since the Raigne of King Henry the eighth, it would be too high and unbecoming an undertaking for us to propounde any course for the alteration of it, yet nevertheless wee have thought fitt in a paper annexed to this our Certificate to sett down (as plainly as we cann,) the maner of the Elections contayned in the Charter nowe in being, to the ende that if your Lordships please you may consider both of it and of the exceptions made against it.

All which our doings and proceedings herein wee submitt unto your Lordships grave wisdomes, and humbly taking our leaves doe rest.

Ever ready to observe yo Lordships command.

Yorke, this 28th of August, 1633.

As to Charles's general entertainment by the town there is no record beyond the general statement in Rushworth,¹⁹ that the citizens 'abundantly shewed their Duty and Affection in a generous entertainment to his Majesty.' On June 7th, Coke writes to Windebank to say that the king's train had set forward to Berwick that morning, and that Charles intended to stay in Newcastle until the following Saturday.²⁰ On the 9th, Coke writes from Berwick,²¹ and Charles was there on the 11th.²² On July 7th,²³ he had returned to London, but there is no record of his passage through Newcastle other than an entry in the All Saints' Accounts, 'paid for ringing att his ma^{ties} return 4s. 2d.'²⁴

Charles's next visit to Newcastle in 1639 took place under very different circumstances. Late in the autumn of 1638 a general Assembly of the Scottish church had met at Glasgow, had deposed the bishops, swept away Laud's innovations and restored the Presbyterian form of church ritual and government. In February, 1639, the Scottish army had been placed under the command of Alexander Lesley and was massing on the border near Berwick. These movements called Charles to the north. At the end of April he reached Durham,²⁵ and on Sunday, May 5th, heard a sermon from bishop Morton on the familiar text, 'Let every soul be subject to the higher

¹⁹ *Collections*, vol. ii. p. 178. Franckland, *Annals of James I. and Charles I.* p. 410. ²⁰ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1633-34, under date.

²¹ *Ibid.* ²² *Ibid.* ²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Balfour, *Annales*, vol. ii. p. 194, gives a full list of Charles's train upon this expedition.

²⁵ *Cal State Papers* (Dom.), 1639, under date May 1.

powers.’²⁶ The short but interesting diary of the earl of Rutland,²⁷ who was present throughout the expedition, states that at Durham, on May 1st, ‘after prayers, was shewed the Kinge by the Lord Generall and Sir Jacob Astley a plott of Newcastell how the army should be quartered, and where the Kinge and his nobles were to lodge.’ Of Charles’s reception at Gateshead, on May 8th,²⁸ there is no record save the usual item for the expenses of the bell-ringers.²⁹ In Newcastle the All Saints’ accounts have a similar entry.³⁰ There is, however, an interesting proclamation by the mayor and sheriff on April 22nd relating to Charles’s arrival: ‘Whereas his Majesty intends shortly, God willing, to be at this town, and it is very fitting and necessary that the streets should be clean and sweet, it is therefore ordered that every inhabitant shall make the front of his house and shop clean presently and so from time to time keep the same,’ under penalty of a fine of six shillings and eightpence.³¹

Sir Jacob Astley’s despatches from Newcastle shew that considerable preparations had already been made in the town to meet the danger which threatened from Scotland. On February 7th, he writes to Windebank:—‘As concerning this place, which will be the centre of the war, here must be a train of artillery. I have sent for the brass pieces in the cellar at Tynemouth to be brought here, according to the Lords’ order, being six shooting a bullet of six in the pound, and three of three in the pound, and have already bespoken timber and workmen to mount them on carriages. Here are already six iron pieces, shooting a bullet of nine in the pound. They are not so fit for the field, but can be used upon several occasions. . . . I have sent to Capt. Legge, to send all these things specified in the inclosed note with all possible speed to Newcastle in a ship: 2,500 arms, as half pikes and half muskets, are to arm the men of the town for defence of the walls; the rest are to furnish the adjacent counties.

²⁶ *A Sermon Preached Before the Kings most Excellent Majestie.* Robert Barker, Newcastle, 1639.

²⁷ *Hist. MSS. Com.* 12th report, appendix, pt. iv. pp. 504-516.

²⁸ *Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1639, Coke to Windebank, May 9. Brand, *op. cit.* inaccurately gives May 5-17th as the extent of Charles’s stay in Newcastle.

²⁹ ‘Ringing the bells when his Majesty came to the towne, 2s.’ Gateshead, St. Mary’s accounts, under date 1639.

³⁰ Under date 1639, ‘for ringing the bells w^h the king^s maiestie came to the towne in his Northern expedition, 3s. 4d.’

³¹ Quoted in Welford, *Hist. of Newcastle and Gateshead*, vol. iii. p. 367.

Here is left a great proportion of arms in the store, as also some $11\frac{1}{2}$ last of powder. . . . Sir John Fenwick writes to me, that about the next week, all the trained bands will be stated in Northumberland, and ready to be armed. The Bishop of Durham has ordered that all his tenants in Northumberland shall be armed, and put under the lieutenancy of Northumberland, and I hope they will number about 100. They have all muskets and pikes, so as our bordering men must be so likewise, and think no more of bows, spears, jacks, and skull-caps.³² On February 13th, he writes :—‘The nine brass pieces came yesterday from Tynemouth, and I am agreeing with smiths and carpenters to have them mounted upon carriages fit for the field with all possible speed. We are still inquisitive after the faction of the Puritans, to dissolve their meetings.’³³ On the 19th, he informs Windebank, ‘twenty-one pieces will be ready to be mounted upon the walls within these three weeks, as also the nine pieces of brass ordnance for the field will be ready within a month. All the arms in store, about 1,500, will be sold in a short time to the adjacent counties. I have received 1,300 muskets, rests, and bandoliers, and complete arms for carbiniers with saddles, bits, and bridles from Capt. Legge, but there are no armours and pikes, therefore I pray the Lords to send hither 1,800 armours and pikes complete, 1,200 of which may be the worst arms that came out of Holland, because I shall leave them in store with the town, to arm their citizens upon occasion, but the rest should be very good arms. . . . Last Saturday night, many books were thrown here into houses and in the streets, and under cover of letters sent to citizens of this town. Many of them were also thrown upon the highways in Northumberland. . . . Of the carriage of the mayor and aldermen of this town the Lords will receive an account from them. We assembled the preachers, and required them to preach obedience to the people, and find one Dr. Jenison something cool, but have not a staff sufficient to question him. . . . To conclude, I pray you to present to the Lords how fit it were in these times, especially for the northern parts, that all owners of ships were commanded to provide muskets and ammunition for so many men as they set forth in their ships, as likewise for every man besides his musket

³² *Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1638-39, under date.

³³ *Ibid.*

a half pike, so that the ships trading to the Tyne and other places may be able to defend themselves and their ships, which, at low water lie upon the ground; sometimes two or 300 ships come into the river.' He recommends, further, that a force be stationed at Newburn. 'There is,' he adds 'a common ford by this town, and it would be a great help if a bridge were formed by the many boats or keels used for transport of coals. Also, for a train of artillery, the place affords many horses, which they use in their coal mines, that upon a sudden occasion could be employed for his Majesty's service.'³⁴ On February 26th, the Council approves of the suggestion of a force at Newburn.³⁵ On the 28th, Astley writes that the large daily supply of rye and malt to the town puts the thought of any want in the garrison beyond question.³⁶ On March 7th, there is an order for '100 snaphaunces formerly ordered' to be sent to Newcastle from Hull, and on the 8th, colonel Francis Trafford received orders from Charles to proceed to Newcastle to organise six regiments from the 600 dragoons furnished by 'the tenants of our consort the Queen, of the Earl Marshal, the Lord Admiral, and other lords of lordships in that county.'³⁷ De Bois, the engineer, was in the course of April ordered to Newcastle to supervise the fortifications,³⁸ and in the same month a command was issued to the Lords Lieutenant to see that horses and carters were provided there by June 15.³⁹

Of Charles's entertainment in Newcastle, there are but fragmentary references in Rushworth⁴⁰ and Nalson,⁴¹ to the effect that the hospitality offered to the king was magnificent, and that the spirit of the town was high against the Scots. The earl of Rutland's diary and the State Papers add a few details of the visit. On May 4th, the lord general reached Newcastle from Durham,^{41a} and on the 5th, the Sunday before Charles's arrival, the royal proclamation to the Covenanters was read in St. Nicholas's in the presence of the lord general, the earls of Essex, Holland, and other commanders. Orders were

³⁴ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1638-39, under date.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1638-39.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Cal. State Papers*

(Dom.), 1639. ³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Rushworth, *op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 921.

⁴¹ Nalson, *Impartial Collection* (1682), vol. i. p. 218.

^{41a} *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1639, under date.

issued for all to be in readiness to attend the king 'and to take up their lodgings as he doth (*i.e., will*), in the fair fields *sub dio*.'⁴²

On May 8th, 'Sir William Saville past through the towne of Newcastle with his regiment al clad in redd coates, and the men were very much commended, but their armes indifferent.'⁴³ The lord general, writes Edward Norgate, rode before them 'gallantly mounted and vested *à la Soldado*, with his scarf and *panache*, with many brave attendants, who brought the foot to their first quarter a few miles hence.'⁴⁴ On the same day there arrived 'a beggarly Scot, who kissed the king's hand; at his back was a fiddle, wherein were letters pretended to be brought by this fellow with great secrecy, and danger of interception by the Covenanters, from a son of the marquis of Huntly . . . but the day after came this young lord himself hither, and it was reported that the two came in one boat together; that the fellow was sent before to get a reward. . . . The fiddler is here to our great comfort, and it is hoped he may get a doublet; for he has already got an old pair of velvet sleeves, and breeches will accrue hereafter, but he treads tenderly, for his poor feet are defective. . . . Hence we must on Wednesday next, the king to his tents and those that have any, the rest be indued with patience instead of a rug-gown.'⁴⁵ On May 9th, proclamation was made in the town forbidding the export of butter, lest the army should be left without adequate supply.⁴⁶ On May 10th, the king reviewed three regiments of foot and a regiment of horse. Their colours were 'orange tawny and white,' 'skye cullor and whyte,' and 'greene and white.' Charles 'sawe them all passe by his Court Gates at Newcastle' on their march towards Berwick.⁴⁷ On the same date, the earl of Roxburgh was committed to the custody of the mayor, his son having joined the Covenanters.⁴⁸ On May 11th John Marley writes to Hamilton:— 'The Ipswich Puritans have so wrought with the ship men, that for six weeks I did not load one chaldron of coals, so that my staiths are so full that they are like to fire. I had one fire last year. . . . My wife remembers her service to you, and has sent you these small

⁴² *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1639, under date May 5.

⁴³ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, twelfth report, appendix, pt. iv. pp. 510-512.

⁴⁴ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1639. ⁴⁵ *Ibid.* ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Hist. MSS. Comm. op. cit.*

⁴⁸ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1639, under date May 11, 1639.

toys, which she entreats you to accept. If her store had been better, she would have sent more, viz., one keg of sturgeon, 10 capons, two turkeys, six dried neats' tongues, and one haunekin of bacon.⁴⁹ On May 12th, Edward Norgate writes:—'We have a printer here, and this day I made ready for the king's hand a proclamation for the importation (*sic*) of butter; it is now printing, so are 400 of the former proclamations of pardon to the Scots.' He adds:—'To Morpeth is our first remove, thence to Alnwick and Belford, all poor, contemptible villages. . . . And here is no safe stay, where a pestilential fever reigns, and small-pox everywhere. . . . This afternoon the king rode out to see the foot companies that came from cos. Oxford, Cambridge, Hertford, Warwick, and Huntingdon, about 4,500 men; I think Europe cannot show braver fellows in person or arms.'⁵⁰ On the 12th also, the Scottish lion king-at-arms arrived in Newcastle, and was handed over to the sheriff for having failed to publish Charles's proclamation to the Covenanters at Edinburgh.⁵¹ On May 14th, the earl of Rutland writes:—'It pleased the Kinge to discourse of the Covenanters. . . . The Kinge was pleased to say that ther was never a livinge in Scotland which was not worth above £30 nay £40 per annum.'⁵² On the same date proclamation was made that if the Scots approached within ten miles of the border their action would be construed as an act of war.⁵³ For the 15th, the following minute occurs in the Trinity House Records:—'Pd. which was spent by the M^r. and Brethren when we went to Sheelds about the Kings business, 15 May, 1639.' A further minute, in May, 1639, 'Pd. M^r. Baker the Lawyer for drawinge a petition about the Trinity House business, 6s.,' suggests that, as in 1633, that corporation took the opportunity of the king's visit to approach him in its own and the river's interests.

On May 16th, Charles summoned the lords present in Newcastle, and thanked them 'for comminge so freely to serve him.'⁵⁴ A letter from Bevill Grenville,⁵⁵ dated from Newcastle on May 15th, adds a

⁴⁹ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1639, under date May 11. 1639. On May 11, a warrant to Sir William Uvedale was issued from the 'Court at Newcastle.' A list of the officers, troops, and their pay is in *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1625-49, p. 606. ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, for 1639. ⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Hist. MSS. Comm. op. cit.* ⁵³ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1639.

⁵⁴ *Hist. MSS. Comm. op. cit.*

⁵⁵ Thurloe, *State Papers* (1742), vol. i. p. 2.

few particulars:—‘The town,’ he writes, ‘is full with as many as it can hold, the rest billeted in the country about. . . . Our army is not yet very stronge, nor such as will become the majestie of soe great a monarch to march with into a countrey where he is sure to meete blowes. But the king’s household . . . are of a body apart . . . we consist of divers troopes of horse, but the most glorious in the world. . . . There is a regiment of foote also appointed for the guard of the king’s person We are not certain of our abode here in this place, but as soon as things can be ready, we shall march to Barwick, where we are threatened with bad entertainment in a very barren country.’ Towards the army Northumberland contributed 250 pikemen, 250 musketeers, 100 dragoons, and a subsidiary quota of 282 musketeers and 125 pikemen. Newcastle was called upon for 250 pikemen, 250 musketeers, and 350 dragoons,⁵⁶ and the earl of Newcastle furnished a troop of horse at his own expense.⁵⁷ The Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland contingents were, however, not to ‘march into the Field but upon special Direction.’⁵⁸ On Thursday, May 23rd, Charles left the town for the ‘abbey of Alnwick,’ orders having been issued on the 15th regulating the northern march of the army. On the 18th or 19th the artillery had set forward. The foot had followed on the 20th. On the 21st, the horse guards left the town; and on the 22nd, the king’s tents and household.⁵⁹

In the midst of these warlike preparations, Charles appears to have had leisure to examine into the condition of the Newcastle churches, and to see how far they conformed to the standard of ‘decency and order’ which Laud required. Both in St. Nicholas’s and in All Saints’ churches orders were given for the removal of the galleries which obstructed the view of the chancel and altar.⁶⁰ The All Saints’ accounts record the expense of carrying out this injunction: ‘To the Joiners for takeing doune the gallery over the Quire, by the Chancelo^s

⁵⁶ Franckland, *Annals of James I. and Charles I.* p. 772.

⁵⁷ Franckland, *op. cit.* p. 777.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* p. 772.

⁵⁹ *Cal. State Papers*, 1639. In the new *History of Northumberland* (ed. Bateson), vol. i. p. 400, is a reproduction of a rare engraving by Hollar. It presents ‘The Severall Formes How King Charles his Armeie enquartered in the feilds being past New Castle on the march toward Scotland Anno Domini 1639.’ From this plate it appears that Charles encamped at ‘Bocking feild moore’ on the 21st; at ‘Rock moore’ on the 22nd; at Detchant on the 23rd; at ‘Gossick moore’ on the 24th, proceeding on May 27th to ‘the Grand Leaguer.’

spec. directions, 5s.’⁶¹ During his stay also, Charles conferred the honour of knighthood upon the mayor and Thomas Riddell.⁶² He also addressed three letters to Hamilton in Scotland, one on May 8th, wishing him ‘good luck’ in his enterprise; a second on May 17th, announcing his hope of being at the border in eight days’ time; a third on May 22nd, warning him of the rumoured strength of the Scots army under Lesley.⁶³

The visit of 1639 has another element of interest. It would appear that up to this time Newcastle had possessed no printing press. On April 20th, 1639, while the army was on its northward march, the earl of Arundel had written to the secretary of state: ‘His Majesty would have you with all expedition send down a printer with a press to set out his Majesty’s daily commands for his court or army, and that to be done by more than ordinary diligence, the want being daily found so great. I conceive a waggon by land the surer way, to change horses as often as they will, by express warrant to take up teams daily.’ In obedience to this urgent order, Robert Barker, one of the firm of king’s printers, distinguished as the publishers of the ‘breeches’ and ‘wicked’ bibles, was sent up to the north, preceded Charles’s arrival in Newcastle, set up his press and issued as his first publication, at the king’s command, bishop Morton’s sermon preached at Durham on May 5th.⁶⁴ His next considerable publication⁶⁵ was a pamphlet of twenty-seven pages, containing the proclamation which was made to the army on May 16th. The cover of this pamphlet bears the title, *Laws and Ordinances of Warre, For the Better Government of His Maiesties Army Royall, in the Present Expedition for the Northern parts and safety of the Kingdom.* It forms an exceedingly minute and severe code, interesting as inculcating ‘a severity of

⁶⁰ *Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes*, p. 327.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* quoted.

⁶² Rushworth, *op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 921.

⁶³ Rushworth, *op. cit.* vol. iii. pp. 925, 930. Further correspondence between Charles and Hamilton is in *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 11th report, app. pt. iv. pp. 102-104, and in Burnet *Memoirs of the Hamiltons*, pp. 127-137. The *Verney Papers* (Camden Society) contain letters from sir Edmund Verney, dated from Newcastle between May 9-22 inclusive. They contain little beyond rumours of the approach of the Scots, and details of Sir Edmund’s project for the regulation of hackney carriages.

⁶⁴ For the foregoing facts I am indebted to Mr. Richard Welford’s pamphlet on *Early Printing in Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, 1895.

⁶⁵ See Welford’s pamphlet for other publications on which Barker was engaged.



discipline, and an attention to moral and religious duties, which we have not been in the habit of connecting with the army of Charles I.'⁶⁶ In addition to clauses regulating the religious and moral observances of the army, it contained such details as that 'Every soldier shall diligently observe and learn the distinct and different sounds of Drums, Fifes, and Trumpets,' and 'whosoever shall have taken or received from the enemy or Rebell, any lawful Spoiles or Prizes above the value of ten shillings shall make the same known to the Lord Generall.' A record of such spoils was to be kept and they were to be sold by common auction in camp or garrison 'and not elsewhere.' The military oath was subjoined to the pamphlet, in which each soldier was required to express his assent to the code 'without any equivocation or mental reservation whatever.'⁶⁷

Into the further progress of this elaborately planned expedition it is not permissible to enter here. As Lilly puts it bluntly in his *Observations*, 'I never heard so much as one louse killed by either army.'⁶⁸ On June 24th, a vague and indefinite pacification was concluded at Berwick. Charles returned to Newcastle in September, on his way south towards London. It may be some indication of the town's disappointment at the fruitless result of the expedition, that the bell-ringers of St. Mary's, Gateshead, received exactly one-half of the amount paid them upon the king's arrival in May.^{68a}

When Charles next visited Newcastle, in 1641, the town was in possession of the Scots. Much had happened in the interval. The dissolution of the Short Parliament in May, 1640, had been followed by the Scottish invasion of Northumberland. The battle of Newburn had been won on August 28th, 1640; on the 30th the Scots had been received into Newcastle, and were soon in almost complete possession of Northumberland and the bishopric pending a definite pacification. That, however, was delayed until August, 1641, Parliament judiciously using the presence of their allies on English soil as the lever by which to force concessions from the king. Pre-

⁶⁶ Hodgson-Hinde, in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. vi. p. 226.

⁶⁷ *Laws and Ordinances of Warre*, pp. 15, 20, 26.

⁶⁸ Printed in Maseres, *Select Tracts* (1815), vol. i. p. 158.

^{68a} 'Ringing the bells when the Kinge came from Barwick, 1s.'

parations for the evacuation of Newcastle and the north of England had been for some time in progress before Charles's visit in August.⁶⁹

Charles reached Newcastle on August 13th.⁷⁰ Of his reception at the hands of Lesley and the Scots a contemporary pamphlet⁷¹ gives a quaint and interesting account: 'Generall Lasley being aduertised of the time of his Maiestes comming to New-castle, that he might as well appeare in his own art and luster as in his dutie and loialty to his Soueraigne (hauing first made his choyce of fitt ground) hee drew out his whole forces both horse and foot with the Artillerie and the better to expresse the souldiers salute and welcome of their King, hee rallied his men into two diuisions of equall number ranging them in great length with an equall distance betweene them of about eight score (yards) which rendred, them the more conspicuous and with the brauer aspect to the beholders, through these the King was to passe, whither being come the Generall alighting from his horse (which was presently taken by two of his footmen) Hee prostrated

⁶⁹ 'Setterday, 15th May [1641] aue proclamation maid at the cross of Abirdein, forbidding transportatioun of any more victuall to our army at Newcastle, quhilk was good newis to the countrie people . . . bot the army was weil seruit, and send bak to Leith sum of these victuallis' (*Memorialls of the Troubles*, Spalding Club, vol. i. p. 44). On May 21, 1641, Parliament voted £300,000 to the Scots out of which they were to satisfy their debt to the counties from which they had drawn supplies since their occupation (*Cal. St. Papers* (Dom.), 1640-41). On June 19, Parliament voted in regard to the £300,000, that £100,000 should be paid at Michaelmas 1642, and the balance at Midsummer 1644 (*Ibid.*). By July 3, therefore, Lesley was withdrawing his troops from the Bishopric towards Newcastle (*Cal. St. Papers* (Dom.), 1641-43). By July 8th, the Scottish Commissioners were on their way to Newcastle to superintend the evacuation of the town (*Ibid.*). On Aug. 9, the Scots admitting £33,888 as the amount levied from Newcastle, Northumberland, and Durham, the House of Commons ordered that the balance for their 'brotherly assistance' should be paid to them (*Ibid.*). On Aug. 22, Vane writes from Edinburgh, 'The moneys are now come to Newcastle for disbanding the Scotch Army' (*Ibid.*).

⁷⁰ Brand gives August 10th as the date. Charles, however, left London on that day, and was in Edinburgh on the 14th. The 13th was therefore probably the date of his arrival in Newcastle. He apparently proceeded on his journey the same day, after dining with Lesley. 'His Majestie . . . saw generall Leslies army lying at Newcastle. He receaved aue welcum of fyre wark. Lesly welcumt also his Majestie as becam him; he intreatit him to dynner, with whome the King went. Thairefter he had sum schort conferrens with Leslie, syne went to horss, where his Majestie had aue uther fyre wark voly, and therefra cam be post touardis Scotland' (*Memorialls of the Troubles*, vol. ii. p. 61).

⁷¹ *His Maiesties Passing Through the Scots Armie*. Printed in the yeare 1641. Vane writes from Edinburgh on Aug. 22, 'At Newcastle he [Charles] took a gracious view of the Scotch army, being drawn forth into a body to present themselves unto him, which they did in a posture full of obedience and zeal to his person' (*Cal. St. Papers* (Dom.), 1641-43, p. 101). Thomas Wiseman writes on Aug. 26, to remark 'what gallant entertainment Leslie gave the King, as he passed by the Scottish army, at dinner, at Newcastle' (*Ibid.* p. 105).

himself and service before the King upon his knees, his Majestie awhile talking to him and at his rising gave him his hand to kisse, and commanded his horse to be giuen him, whereon remounted, he ridd with the King through the Armie.' A description of the formation and equipment of the army follows: 'In the first place stood Highlanders, commonly called Redshankes, with their plaides cast ouer their shoulders, hauing euery one his bowe and arrowes with a broad slycing sword by his side, these are so good markesmen that they will kill a deere in his speed, it being the chieftest part of their liuing, selling their skins by great quantities and feeding on the flesh; next were Musketeers interlac't with Pikes and here and there intermix't with those dangerous short gunnes inuented by that their famous engineer Sandy Hamilton, and were for the sudden execution of horse in case they should assaile them, then againe bowes muskets and pikes for a good distance on both sides, in the mid-way the Artillery was placed by Tiers, consisting of about 60 pieces of Ordnance, the cannouiers standing in readines with fired linstockes in their handes, the horsemen were here placed on both sides, which served as wings or flankes of the whole Army and so forward in the same order, but disposed with so goodly a presence and posture, with such sutable equipage and militarie accomodations that they appeared ready to give or take battaile And as the King passed along they gave forth such true fyre as it is beleueed since the inuention of gunnes neuer better was seene or heard, they discharged wondrous swift but with as good a method and order as your skilfullest Ringers observe with Bels, not suffering the noyse of the one to drowne the other, the King receiued such contentment that whereas his dinner was appointed and prouided at the Maior's of New-Castle, hee yet went and honoured Generall Lasley with his presence at dinner.' There can be little doubt that this reception was accorded Charles upon his entering into Gateshead. After the battle of Newburn, the Scots had their camp at 'Reidheuche above Newcastle,'⁷² and had immediately commenced the fortification of the south side of the town, which Conway had neglected.⁷³ These outworks were demolished immediately after

⁷² *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1641-43, under date Sept. 8, 1641.

⁷³ *Ibid.* Newport to Windebank, Sept. 11, 1641.

Charles had left the town;⁷⁴ the ammunition and military stores in the town were, however, left behind at Charles's solicitation.⁷⁵

Of the king's further reception in Newcastle there is no record beyond the usual entries for bell-ringers' fees.⁷⁶

On August 21st he was followed by the Scots' army.⁷⁷ 'The Scots when they marched out of Newcastle, their Artillerie being mounted vpon their carriages, aduanced forth with the Cannoniers and other officers thereto belonging and some troopes of horse, then most of the regiments of foot, after them prouision baggage and carriage, then followed the rest of the foot, and all the rest taking their leaves in a most brotherly and freindly manner, being gone some foure miles from the Toune their generall hauing directed them to march forwards he returned to Newcastle with some few of his officers, causing the Toll Bell to be rung up and downe the Toune proclaiming that if any of the Toune were not yet satisfied for anything due to them from Officers or souldiers, let them bring their Tickets and hee would pay them, which he did accordingly, to the great content of the Townes-men, and much applause of the Generall and his Armie, and after a solemne taking of his leave he followed the Armie, going all the way along with them in the Reare as they marched and not anything taken from any man in all that Iourney to their singular Commendation and gayning the good esteeme of all that passed by.'⁷⁸ By August 25th the Scots were out of England.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* under date Aug. 26, 1641.

⁷⁵ Bourne, vol. ii. p. 231. *Commons Journals*, Aug. 24, 1641. They took however their surplus food supplies. *Memorials of the Troubles*, vol. ii. p. 65.

⁷⁶ All Saints' Accounts, 1641: 'ffor ringing at the king's ma^{ties} going into Scotland (Aug.), 4s. 6d.'

⁷⁷ *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 347.

⁷⁸ *His Maiesties Passing*, etc. *Britanes Distemper* (Camd. Soc.) p. 35, says of this visit of 1641, 'The king came that way, they being all drawin up in battell, and as he passed by, with a most humble submission they lay downe there armes, and follows him peaceable to Scoteland, where they ware licensed to dissolue.' On Aug. 27th, Leslie dismissed his army on 'the lynkis of Leith,' to which place there came from Newcastle 'diuers barkis with victuall, send for the armies provision, and wes sauld bak againe' (*Memorials of the Troubles*, vol. ii. p. 65). On Aug. 28, Leslie had an interview with Charles at Edinburgh (*Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1641-43, under date), and on Nov. 6, Charles 'sittand in plain parliament put the croune of ane Earle upon his [Leslie] head' (*Acts of Pt. of Scotland*, vol. v). Writing on Aug. 22, from Edinburgh, Vane says that 300 or 400 of the Scottish cavalry 'are to keep together about the town until the fully settling of the affairs of the state' (*Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1641-43).

⁷⁹ *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, *ibid.*

The effect of the departure of the Scots from Newcastle in August, 1641, is

On his way from Scotland in November Charles stopped at Newcastle on the 19th and 20th.⁸⁰ Sidney Beere gives, in a letter on November 25th, the only detail of the king's visit:—'At Newcastle, Secretary Vane was commanded to deliver up his staff of Treasurer [of the Household], which was conferred at York upon Lord Saville.'⁸¹

A few words only of introduction are necessary to preface the story of Charles's detention in Newcastle in 1646. In the same month which saw his return from Newcastle in 1641, Parliament had, under Pym's guidance, proceeded to formulate the Grand Remonstrance. In August, 1642, Charles set up his standard at Nottingham, and in September, 1643, Parliament had entered into the Solemn League and Covenant with the Scots. Newcastle had fallen to them, on October 19, 1644, after a stubborn siege, and their army was before Newark when Charles, at the lowest point of his fortunes, threw himself into their hands. With their prize the Scots hurried north.

On the day of their arrival at Durham, a certain captain Adam Shipperson fell in with David Buchanan, and enquired of him 'why

described in *Exceeding True Newes From Newcastle*, May 17, London, Printed for G. Horton, 1642.

'And first touching their Distractions, Merchants are distracted for want of Traffique, they are in such a pittifull rage, that they have sworne not to carry Coales for any man, they sweare, that since the Peace was concluded, Coales are fallen at least sixe pence a Bushell, which makes them curse Peace and fall together by the eares amongst themselves, likewise your Gunsmiths begin to bounce and breake with a powder, for since the Army marcht away they have had nothing to doe but to make Key-Gunnes for which they curse peace likewise, and make the blacke Pots flue (*vic*) one against the other, they are all to pieces on that side too. The Citizens wives that had decrepid Husbands, they are distracted for the losse of their loves honest Gentlemen Troopers Your Alewives and Tapsters likewise, are distracted to see their Ale soure for want of good fellowes, their Beere converted to Vineger, they likewise curse Peace till they are a dry; drinke til they are mad, then let the rest about the Cellar, then run Tap run Tapster, all's gone, nothing left but the empty Hogs-head for the Brewer to make him a Helmet on to cover his Logger-head.

The Baker that in the time of Warre made his bread of halfe wheate and halfe sand, now cries out that his bread is dowe bak't, he sweares he had rather have stood in the Pillory then to have had Peace concluded, for now he makes his bread but two ounces to light in a two penny loafe, and then hee made it foure ounces two light, yet now his bread lies on his hands, which makes him pray for warre or a decree yeare, and then the mealey mouth Rogue sweares he will make them pay for it.'

There are two more paragraphs which are too coarse for publication.

⁸⁰ All Saints' Accounts, 1641: 'ffor ringing the 19th and 20th Nov'. at his Ma^{ties} return from Scotland 5s.' The Gateshead Parish Accounts record the following payments for 1641: 'Pd. the Bellman for ringing on the Coronation day 4s. ;' 'Pd. for ringing when his Ma^{tie} came from Scotland 1s. 6d.'

⁸¹ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1641-43, under date Nov. 25, 1641.

they brought the king in such haste with their whole army northward?' Buchanan replied that 'the Parliament had abused the King in denying him liberty to come safe to London,' and that 'the Scottish Army would protect the King against the Parliament and stand upon a defensive war against them.'⁸² Buchanan's opinion was neither official, nor was it entirely accurate, but it did very correctly represent the view which England was inclined to adopt in regard to the conduct of the Scots. Leven thought it necessary, therefore, to publish a vindication of his action. On May 13th, proclamation was made at Durham,⁸³ doubtless at the king's departure for Newcastle, commanding 'all officers and souldiers under my command to forbear to have any dealing, or entertaine any correspondence, or have any company upon the march, or in any the quarters with any person whatsoever, formerly in service against the Parliament of England.' The proclamation of this order at Durham 'did no little vex the Malignants,' but 'blessed be God' adds the pamphlet from which these details are taken, 'the Cockatrices were crushed in their shels!' Leven, also, 'made many faire and full expressions (before hee left Durham) of the integrity of the kingdome of Scotland towards the Parliament of England,' and by order of the Scottish Estates 'discharged all persons whatsoever, to seek or receive any Gift, Pension, or mark of honour from his Majestie, and appoynted, that no other desire be propounded to him, but to satisfie the joynt desire of both Kingdomes, insetling of Religion and peace.'⁸⁴ Charles, on his part, was already closely attended by the Scottish divines and had apparently held out hopes of sanctioning the Covenant on his arrival at Newcastle.⁸⁵

Since the siege of Newcastle in 1644, Northumberland and Newcastle had been in the hands of the Scots. Henry Ogle, writing to sir John Fenwick on May 20th, 1646,⁸⁶ describes the county as in a pitiable state from their depredations. 'We have,' he writes, 'a

⁸² *Hist. MSS. Comm.* thirteenth report, appendix, pt. i. p. 360. See also pt. iv. p. 400, for a letter from Henry Marten on this matter.

⁸³ *A Declaration Published in the Scots Army, Proclaimed by Order from Generall Leven at Durham, May 13, 1646.* London: Printed for Matthew Walbanck, May 21, 1646.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* ⁸⁵ *Perfect Occurrences*, for week ending May 22, 1646.

⁸⁶ *Hist. MSS. Comm.* thirteenth report, appendix, pt. i. p. 363

regiment lately come in from Scotland. . . . They are very oppressing to our country, going up and down, burning towns, as the soldiers phrase it, receiving £3, £4, £5 and more, according to the bigness and littleness of the towns, and where they quarter at night, they demand, as I am told by a preacher, their own countryman, who is sorrowful for their demeanour, for a captain 12s., for a lieutenant 6s., ensign 4s., and for common soldiers 2d. a man, which they levy before their departure from their quarters. Their usual march is 5 or 6 miles a day, and not directly forwards neither. . . . The committee is about to write to the General to certify him . . . and hopes from him to get relief, else our county will be undone.' The following minutes from the Gateshead parish accounts tell the same story:— March 1645-46, 'Pd to captaine Grey a fine which the Committee did lay upon the Toune and for his and his mens charges when they came about the fine £11 15s. 0d.' March 1645-6, 'Pd to the Skotts to redeame the great new gate which they had taken away and carried to their leager; which gate did hang at the entering into the Toune fields 1s. 2d.' June 1646, 'Pd to men for assisting us to drive the Fell and watching the beastes when they were pinded (but James Towers of Newcastle procureing assistance of the Skotts came violently and tooke them away by force) his beastes being in number 79, also ther was at that tyme 90 of another man's 9s. 3d.'

Charles entered Newcastle about five o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday, May 13th. Brand, quoting Bourne,⁸⁷ states that 'he was caressed with bonfires and ringing of bells, drums, and trumpets.' The statement is quite inaccurate. From Gateshead to his residence the road was lined, by order of sir John Lumsden, the governor, with musketeers and pikemen.⁸⁸ Charles's immediate escort consisted of '300 horse, or scarce so many.'⁸⁹ An eye witness⁹⁰ gives the following interesting and minute account of the scene:—'Some that attended upon his Majestie rid before all bare. Then his Majestie marched with the Generall, and some other Scottish officers, divers of whom also that were neer the King, rid bare. There went none out of the

⁸⁷ Chap. 14. ⁸⁸ Rushworth, *Collections*, vol. ii. pt. iii. Lumsden's appointment as governor had been ratified on March 6th, 1645 (*Acts of Pt. of Scotland*, vol. vi. pt. i.). See *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1645-47, under date April 11, 1645.

⁸⁹ *A Declaration Published in the Scots Army.* ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

Toune of New-Castle to meet his Majestie, neither the Scottish Lords that were in the toune, nor the Deputy-Mayor thereof; nor any other, either inhabitant or other. His Majestie was not received in triumph (as some would have had it to be done), nor did they in any solemne manner take notice of his Majestie. The King rid in a sad coloured plaine suite, and alighted at the General's quarters (now the Court). There were no guns discharged, neither by land, nor by water, by way of triumph. There was no acclamation by shooting with muskets, sounding of trumpets, or beating of drums, and yet there were both Kettle-drums, and trumpets good store in New-Castle; yet were they so far from any publike way of triumph, that they did not sound or beat so much, as when one troop of Scottish Horse march into Newcastle.' Yet another eye-witness⁹¹ of Charles's entry describes it as being 'In a very silent way, without bells ringing, or bagpipes playing, or Maior and Aldermen, not as at Doncaster.' A single shout only was raised as Charles entered the gates of the court, a demonstration which at once drew from Leven a proclamation forbidding Charles's adherents to have access to him.⁹² Among those who entered the town with Charles, who were denied his presence by this order, were major Gilbert Errington of Denton and lieutenant-colonel Carr.⁹³ At the same time, his arrival, or that of the Scots, caused considerable alarm among the adherents of the English Parliament, and the commissioners of the excise at Newcastle and Shields had hurriedly fled.⁹⁴

⁹¹ The *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 150, for May 19-25, 1646.

⁹² The *Weekly Account*, No. 21, for May 13-20, 1646.

These accounts of Charles's reception in Newcastle on May 13, are confirmed by the following:—'From Newcastle by Letters that came this day we are informed that the King is brought thither, neither Drum, nor Trumpet, nor guns, nor Bells, nor shoots of people once heard, but brought in far more like a prisoner than a King.' (The *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 149.) The *Scottish Dove*, No. 134, states 'all the while there was not so much as a gun shot off nor bell rung.' The *Weekly Account*, No. 21, quotes a letter from Newcastle, 'there was not any extraordinary concourse of people, neither was there any noise, or sounding of Trumpet; only when his Majesty arrived at the place that was prepared for Him, those that were held to affect the Parliament the best made a shout.' Montreuil in a dispatch to Mazarin of May 15-25, 1646, writes: 'the Mayors of Durham and Newcastle were prevented from coming to receive his Majesty officially, as is the custom; so that the Scots not only failed in paying the honours required of them, but they prevented other subjects from rendering those they owed to him.' (*Scottish History Society Publ.*, vol. xxix. p. 195.)

⁹³ The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 63, for May 14-21, 1646.

⁹⁴ *Perfect Occurrences*, for week ending May 22, 1646.

Very particular precaution was taken both by Leven and the town's authorities to secure the king. His escort having withdrawn after his arrival at the court, he was left in charge of the mayor.⁹⁵ A guard of musketeers was mounted,⁹⁶ and 'inhabitants of trust' were appointed to act as sentries round the king's residence.⁹⁷ Leven also ordered 'that some of the ancient men of the Inhabitants of the Toune should constantly sit at every passage to examine and take notice what persons came in or out,'⁹⁸ and 'Proclamation was made by beat of Drum and sound of Trumpet, That although His Majesty was come thither, All persons should yield obedience to the Ordinances of Parliament.'⁹⁹ No Scotchman could enter the town without a pass from the Estates, nor any Englishman without the sanction of the Parliament, the English commissioners, or the deputy-mayor.¹⁰⁰ Charles was in fact a prisoner. His letters to the queen on May 20th, 28th, and June 3rd, express his indignation at this unlooked for treatment.¹⁰¹ He seemed 'melancholy, and is very gray with cares,'¹⁰² and a careful observer of his appearance noted that 'The Haire of His Majesties Face is not shaven (as some have writ), but cut round both on the Chin, and upper Lipp also; His Lock is cut off, and his head rounded.'¹⁰³

Tradition has always regarded Anderson Place, the 'Newe House' of Speed's Map of 1610, as the residence of Charles in 1646-47. Brand mentions a room in it which, about 1789, bore the name of 'the king's bed-chamber.'¹⁰⁴ Sykes, writing in 1833, speaks of a bed, which had been used by Charles, having been sold as lumber by 'an incurious domestic' during Major Anderson's residence abroad.¹⁰⁵ Gray, in the *Chorographia* of 1649, while he describes it as a 'princely house,'¹⁰⁶ gives no hint of its association with Charles. Barnes^{106a} is equally uncommunicative. It would appear to have been the same

⁹⁵ The *Scottish Dove*, No. 134, for May 13-20, 1646.

⁹⁶ The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 64, for May 21-28, 1646.

⁹⁷ *A Declaration Published in the Scots Army*.

⁹⁸ The *Weekly Account*, No. 21, for May 13-20, 1646. ⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ *A Declaration Published in the Scots Army*.

¹⁰¹ *Charles I. in 1646* (Camden Society). See also Ashburnham's *Narrative*, vol. ii. p. 149, and *Scot. Hist. Pub.*, vol. xxix. p. 195.

¹⁰² *Mercurius Civicus*, No. 155, for May 14-21, 1646.

¹⁰³ *Perfect Occurrences*, for May 15-22, 1646. ¹⁰⁴ Vol. ii.

¹⁰⁵ *Local Records*, vol. i. p. 100. ¹⁰⁶ *Chorographia* (ed. 1813), p. 24.

^{106a} *Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes* (Surtees Society).

house as that which Charles occupied in 1639, from the gates of which he reviewed the troops on their march towards Berwick.¹⁰⁷ That it was not one of the houses in St. John's parish is proved by the fact that the commissioners who were lodged there in January, 1647, are described as being 'a good distance from the Court.'¹⁰⁸ In the newsletters and pamphlets of 1646-47, it is specifically described as the house or residence of sir Francis Liddell,¹⁰⁹ and was assigned to Charles by order of Leven and the commissioners.¹¹⁰ It had, until recently, been the residence of the governor, sir John Lumsden, and his wife had to provide her self 'otherway,' when on May 6th, orders arrived to prepare it for Charles's reception.¹¹¹ Since it is also spoken of as being Leven's quarters,¹¹² it is clear that it was utilized as the official hostelry, as it were, for the high guests whom those stirring times called to Newcastle. One may venture the suggestion, that the putting of Anderson's mansion to that use dated from sir Francis Liddell's shrievalty in 1639; that he, as sheriff, was called upon to provide a house for that purpose, and that it still retained his name when in 1646 Charles occupied it.

Of Charles's life at the court, and of the arrangements made for his comfort, very little information is forthcoming. His letters to his wife¹¹³ are almost destitute of personal details; nor do sir Robert Murray's¹¹⁴ letters yield much information on the matter. He was

¹⁰⁷ *Hist. MSS. Com.* twelfth report, pt. iv. pp. 504-516. Lesley was occupying it, no doubt, in 1641 when Charles dined with him. In 1633 Charles had resided in Sir William Selby's house.

¹⁰⁸ *A Letter from Newcastle.* London: J. Coe, 1647.

¹⁰⁹ The *Scottish Dove*, No. 136, for June 17-25, 1646, Charles 'keepes his Court at the House of Francis Liddell, Esquier.' *The King's Answer to the Commissioners.* London: J. Coe, 1647, 'His Majesty quarters at Mr. Liddells house in Pilgrim Street.' It is also described, in the *Weekly Account*, No. 20, for May 6-13, 1646, as 'one of the bravest houses in the Town.' The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 62, for May 7-14, 1646, calls it 'Baronet Lidels house.'

¹¹⁰ The *Scottish Dove*, No. 133, for May 6-13, 1646.

¹¹¹ The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 62, for May 7-14, 1646, where the house is spoken of as 'formerly the residence of the governour, at present of his Lady.' The *Weekly Account*, Nos. 20 and 21, state that Charles had been expected in Newcastle since May 8th, and that 'great preparations' were being made for his entertainment.

¹¹² *A Declaration Published in the Scots Army*, etc., 'the Court (viz. the generalls quarters where his Majestie still is).'

¹¹³ *Charles I. in 1646.*

¹¹⁴ *Hamilton Papers*, 1638-50 (Camden Society). Montreuil's despatches (see note 136) are equally wanting in local atmosphere. Various letters to Charles I. in 1646 are in *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 11th Report, app. pt. iv. pp. 110-113, and in Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, pp. 273-313.

allowed the attendance of 'Noble and fidele gentlemen,'¹¹⁵ lord Lanark acted as his secretary,¹¹⁶ and the earl of Dunfermline slept constantly in his bed-chamber;¹¹⁷ Will Murray was in attendance upon him throughout the greater part of his residence.¹¹⁸ A groom of the privy chamber, Tobias Peaker, is mentioned, as also a page of the back stairs, Levitt by name.¹¹⁹ His diet is described as 'princely,' and consisted of '15 dishes of English diet every meale.'¹²⁰ Dr. Francis Crosse, in his examination on June 8th, 1646,¹²¹ however, put the king's expenditure at the moderate amount of £100 per month. The records of the corporation show that the town was at part of the expense of providing the king, and also Leven and Lumsden, with coals—a fact which possibly supports the suggestion that official connexion existed between the corporation and the house occupied by Charles.

Under date November 30th, 1646, the following minute occurs in the corporation records:—'Mr. George Dawson Alderman made report to the Com'on Counsell that he had been with Sir Thomas Ridd, Knt. about the Coles for his Matie And that the Answer of Sir Thomas was he could not afford them under 3d. the Bowle water measure 21 bowles to the Chalder, the Maior and Burgesses are to paie three halfpence the Chalder (? Bowle) his Matie his Excellencie and the Governour the other three (? halfe) pence. His Matie, etc., are to have tenn Chl. everie weeke till further order.' The emendations suggested in this minute make it tally with the statement in the *Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes*,¹²² that the corporation were at half the expense of providing Charles, the governor, and the general with coals.

A further minute in the corporation records is under date January 16th, 1646-47:—'Pd. for coals for his Matie the general and the governor from Sir Thomas Riddells Pit, 33s. 1½d.' Hornby¹²³ adds

¹¹⁵ *The Scottish Dove*, No. 134, for May 13-20, 1646.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* No. 136, for June 17-25, 1646.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*; the *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 64, for May 21-28, 1646.

¹¹⁸ *Charles I. in 1646*, under date Sept. 7, 1646.

¹¹⁹ Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. ii. p. 368-370.

¹²⁰ *The Scottish Dove*, No. 135, for May 20-28, 1646; *ibid.* No. 134, for May 13-20, 1646. *Mercurius Civicus*, No. 155, for May 14-21, 1646.

¹²¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm.* thirteenth report, appendix, pt. i. p. 369.

¹²² *Surtees Soc.*, vol. 50, p. 53 n.

¹²³ *Extracts from the Municipal Records* (Richardson Reprints).

a further minute under date March 30th, 1646-47 :—‘Pd. Sir Thomas Riddell for 32 fother Coals for his Matie, the General, and Governor at 10½d. a fother, 28s. 5d.’ The only minute which appears to suggest that the corporation was at the expense of providing the king with other than coals occurs under the date August, 1647 :—‘Pd. — Sherwood for one brase Pote for his Majie use, weighing 25¼d. at 10d. p.d.’ A later hand has added the words, ‘which was lost.’

As to Charles’s amusements, such leisure as was allowed him from his heavy correspondence, his constant interviews with various deputations, the frequent, long-winded and often violent sermons, appears to have been spent in golf, an occasional visit to Tynemouth, and sometimes a game of chess. Ambrose Barnes,¹²⁴ who is responsible for the statement that Charles received greater consideration in Newcastle than elsewhere, has also, so far, been the chief authority for the tradition which, at this early period, connects the game of golf with the town of Newcastle. There are, however, constant references¹²⁵ to Charles’s predilection for golf during his detention in Newcastle, and one¹²⁶ which shows that golf, or at least a species of garden-golf, was played in the grounds of the court itself. Incidentally these authentic references raise an interesting point. The records of golf in Scotland go back to very much earlier times ; but in England, though a golf club was probably in existence at Blackheath soon after James I.’s accession,¹²⁷ these authentic references to the game being played in Newcastle enable the town to claim one of the oldest golf records in England.

The immediate result of Charles’s arrival in the town was a large flocking of his adherents to Newcastle.¹²⁸ Soon after his coming he ‘sent private messages to all his old officers that were at Newarke’ to attend him.¹²⁹ On May 16th Leven found it necessary to issue a

¹²⁴ *Memoirs*, p. 54.

¹²⁵ *Perfect Occurrences*, for Oct. 16-23, 1646. *A Continuation of Papers from the Scots Quarters*, London, 1646. *Papers from the Scots Quarters*. London, 1646. *Mercurius Diutinus*, for Dec. 29 to Jan. 6, 1646-47. *A Letter from Newcastle*. London : J. Coe, 1646-47.

¹²⁶ *A Continuation of Papers*, etc. Whitelock, *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 82.

¹²⁷ Article on ‘Golf’ in *Encyclopædia Britannica*. If not played earlier in Newcastle, golf was probably introduced by the Scots in 1639 or 1644.

¹²⁸ *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 64, for May 21-28, 1646.

¹²⁹ *The Kingdome Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 150, for May 19-25, 1646.

proclamation against 'Papists and other evill affected persons repairing to this garrison.'¹³⁰ The proclamation proved effectual, and a week later it was reported that there was 'Not an English Malignant to be seen in Court, nor in the Town of Newcastle.'¹³¹

On the date of Leven's proclamation, and also on the Monday following, May 18th, an enquiry was conducted at Newcastle before Henry Dawson, deputy mayor (who had been confirmed in that office by a resolution of the House of Commons on March 31st, 1646),¹³² Leonard Carr, Thomas Ledgerd, and Thomas Bonner, regarding the escape of the king's faithful henchman, Jack Ashburnham.¹³³ Ashburnham had incurred the wrath of the English Parliament for his share in planning Charles's escape from Oxford. Together with Dr. Michael Hudson, he had come to Newcastle with the king. It was feared, however, that the Scots would yield to the solicitations of the English Parliament and give him up. On the 16th, therefore, he effected his escape. Having accepted an invitation to dine with sir Henry Gibb¹³⁴ at Jarrow, Ashburnham and his host came out of the court gates about six or seven o'clock on the morning of that day.¹³⁵ They proceeded to John Dobson's shop, where Ashburnham endeavoured to purchase a 'Mountere' cap. John Dobson could, however, not supply him, and instead he bought a 'Monmouth' cap. From thence Ashburnham and Sir Henry went to the French envoy Montreuil's lodgings, and about an hour later 'returned down the street,' where they met Hudson, and shortly after left the town.¹³⁶ Later in the morning, by Hudson's direction, Brown, a St. Ives inn-keeper, and John Pearson, a barber, both of them in Ashburnham's employ, took some horses across the bridge to the 'Crown' inn at

¹³⁰ *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 64.

¹³¹ *Ibid.* *Mercurius Civicus*, No. 157; for May 28-June 4, 1646.

¹³² *Commons Journals*, under date, 'Resolved, etc., That this House doth approve Mr. Henry Dawson, Alderman of the Town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, to be Deputy-Mayor of the said Town, during the absence of Mr. Blakiston, a Member of this House, and now Mayor there.'

¹³³ The depositions of witnesses are in Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. ii. lib. ix. See also Hudson and Crosse's depositions, made in June, in *Hist. MSS. Comm.* thirteenth report, appendix, pt. i. See also Ashburnham's *Narrative*.

¹³⁴ *The Kingdoms Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 150. *The Scottish Dove*, No. 135, for May 20-28, 1646. ¹³⁵ Peck, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 350.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.* The valuable correspondence of Montreuil or Montereul 1645-47 is in the *Scottish History Society's Publications*, vol. xxix. An excise had been laid on 'Monmouth' and other caps, on July 4, 1644 (*A Collection of Acts*, 1658.)

Gateshead, (possibly the house of William Watson, who is mentioned as a Gateshead vintner in 1639,¹³⁷) with orders to stay there until his arrival. Hudson, however, while on the bridge making the best of his way to the 'Crown' with a message to Ashburnham from Charles, was apprehended by Henry Dawson and taken to the latter's house a prisoner.¹³⁸ After dinner, Dawson and the aldermen waited upon Charles, who requested that Hudson might be sent to him at the court. The deputy mayor and his companions at first undertook to do so but, presumably after an examination of the various witnesses whose depositions are dated May 16th, it was agreed to send Hudson out of the town forthwith. On the following morning, Sunday, May 17th, he was brought out by the captain of the guard, and sent on his way to London, where he arrived on June 1st.¹³⁹ Ashburnham, some four days after leaving Newcastle, succeeded in obtaining a passage in a ship bound for Holland.¹⁴⁰

On the Sunday morning which saw Hudson's departure, Charles listened to the first of a long series of sermons of the same burden and advice. Mr. Douglas preached before him in his dining room at the court, 'and spake home to him, and advised him to dispose his spirit to peace and unity.'¹⁴¹ On the following Thursday, May 21st, 'His Majesty attended by Lord Lothian, Lord Dunferling, Balmerino, and others, with 24 captains to wait upon him, went in a Barge to Shields, and dined with the Governour of Tinmouth-Castle, and came back by land.'¹⁴² He was treated with the barest ceremony, 'the most solemnity of his entertainment, were three pieces of Ordnance fired at the Castle, and some fired by the Collier ships that rode in the Harbour both as his Majesty went and returned.'¹⁴³

On Friday, May 29th, Charles addressed the first of that remarkable series of letters¹⁴⁴ to Alexander Henderson who, with sir Robert

¹³⁷ *Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1638-39, p. 486.

¹³⁸ Peck, *op. cit.* vol. ii, pp. 350-352. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, p. 377.

¹³⁹ Peck, *op. cit.* p. 361.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid. Hist. MSS. Comm.* p. 377. Ashburnham's *Narrative*. On May 25, 1646, the House of Commons sanctioned the payment of £50 to the deputies of the sergeant at arms for the apprehension of Ashburnham and Hudson.

¹⁴¹ *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 64. ¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ *The Kingdoms Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 153, for June 16-23, 1646.

¹⁴⁴ *The Papers that Passed at Newcastle (1649)*. The letters are also printed in the appendix of Aiton's *Life and Times of Alexander Henderson (1836)*.

Murray, had arrived in Newcastle on May 16th.¹⁴⁵ Into this well-known controversy it is not permissible to enter here. The correspondence proceeded leisurely from May 29th to the middle of July.¹⁴⁶ As early as June signs of a breakdown in Henderson's health appeared.¹⁴⁷ On August 3rd it is stated that he was too ill to continue his attendance upon Charles, and that Mr. Blair had taken his place as chaplain.¹⁴⁸ On or before August 10th Henderson left Newcastle by sea for Scotland.¹⁴⁹ Charles visited him on his departure, and the dying man 'wept to his Majesty, and desired him to hearken to counsel.'¹⁵⁰ On August 19th, he died at Edinburgh.¹⁵¹

Throughout June, while the Scots were pressing the covenant on Charles, they were also strengthening their hold on Newcastle and the north of England. Early in the month fresh regiments were on their way into England,¹⁵² and Northumberland was 'sadly suffering by horse and foot.'¹⁵³ At about the same time a ship from Stockholm had arrived in the Tyne with ammunition for the Scots.¹⁵⁴ John Dobson, the Newcastle haberdasher, in his evidence given on June 1st regarding Ashburnham's escape,¹⁵⁵ deposed that 'Since the king came to Newcastle he heard that a ship laden with ammunition and arms was brought to Newcastle from

¹⁴⁵ The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 64. Sir Robert Murray's valuable series of letters from Newcastle dated August 8, 1646, to January 24, 1647, are in the *Hamilton Papers*, 1638-50 (Camden Society). Aiton, p. 588, gives the date of Henderson's arrival as May 15.

¹⁴⁶ Charles's letters are dated May 29, June 6, 22, July 3, 16; Henderson's on June 3, 17, July 2. ¹⁴⁷ Aiton, p. 594.

¹⁴⁸ The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 74, for July 30-August 6, 1646.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.* No. 75. ¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.* No. 77. ¹⁵¹ Aiton, p. 598.

¹⁵² The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 65, for May 28-June 4, 1646.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.* No. 67. ¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.* Nos. 65 and 66.

¹⁵⁵ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, p. 366, *op. cit.*

The Trinity House Pilotage Receipts (catalogue No. 201) give the following ships as entering the Tyne in 1646:—

April 25, 1646	...	...	The Whitlyon of Lubeck.
June 3, "	...	...	The Margrett of Anser (?)
" 12, "	...	...	The Seaman of Lubeck.
" 23, "	...	...	The (?) of Lubeck.
" 23, "	...	...	The John of Dantzig.
July 7, "	...	...	The Jacob of Christiania.
" 8, "	...	...	The John of Bargamie.
" 10, "	...	...	The Peter of Bargamie.
" 14, "	...	...	The (?) of Kirbadine (?)
Aug. 20, "	...	...	The Pylliran of Hamburg.
Sep. 3, "	...	...	The John of Lubecke.
Nov. 6, "	...	...	The Justice of Breene (?)

beyond seas ; and he saw some round shot, part of that ship's lading, carried into one of the public magazines upon the Bridge at Newcastle.' The fortifications of the town were also being repaired, and on July 9th it was reported that its 'defensive posture is as good as completed, new wheeles for the sand-hill guns are perfected.'¹⁵⁶ Charles was not without adherents, however, in Newcastle, for the deputy-mayor was contemplating, in the first week of the month, sending 'one Price, with others of the same stamp' to London.¹⁵⁷ Lumsden, meanwhile, was winning golden opinions, carrying himself 'very fairly and lovingly' to the Tounsmen of Newcastle, and merits much honour.¹⁵⁸

On or about the 15th of the month certain of the Scottish lords had an interview with Charles.¹⁵⁹ With tears they besought him to accept the covenant. He retired to his bedchamber weeping, whither the deputation followed him with renewed supplications. On the 26th, Leven and about one hundred Scottish officers presented him with a petition to the same effect,¹⁶⁰ and on the following day there arrived a deputation of ministers from the Scottish assembly.¹⁶¹ It consisted of Mr. Cant, Mr. Douglas, who had already preached before Charles on May 17th, Mr. Blair, already referred to as chaplain at the court, Mr. Andrew Fairfold, and others.¹⁶² On Sunday, July 5th, Mr. Andrew Cant preached before the king. His text was Psalm ix., verse 7, in close proximity to the previous verse, of which the preacher made use also, 'O thou enemy, destructions are come to a perpetual end ; and thou hast destroyed cities, their memorial is perished with them.' A specimen of Mr. Cant's oratory is fortunately recorded. Addressing the king personally he more than once declaimed, 'Thou peece of Clay, where thou sittest, think of thy Death, Resurrection, Judgement, Eternity.' Allusion was also made to the many lives which the war had sacrificed in Scotland. The sermon closed, however, 'in a most compassionate way, with

¹⁵⁶ *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 71, for July 9-16, 1646.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.* No. 66, for June 4-11, 1646. ¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.* No. 67.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.* ; Dugdale, *Diary and Correspondence* (1827), under date June 21, 1646. *Scottish History Soc.* Publ., vol. xxix., p. 212.

¹⁶⁰ *A Letter from Newcastle*. London, 1646. *The declaration of the Lord Generall, the Generall Officers and the rest of the Officers and Souldiers of the Scots Armie, New-Castle, 27 June, 1646.* Edinburgh, 1646.

¹⁶¹ *A Letter*, etc. ¹⁶² *Ibid.*

offer of mercy upon repentance.' Mr. Cant's auditors were moved to tears, and the king was observed to change countenance more than once as he listened to the preacher's vigorous onslaught.¹⁶³ After the sermon Charles invited Mr. Cant, Mr. Blair, and the other Scottish divines to attend him to discuss 'a case of conscience which he would put to them.'¹⁶⁴

The surrender of Oxford, on June 24th, brought a considerable number of Charles's adherents to Newcastle. On or about June 26th, sir Edward Walker and a colonel from Oxford arrived to give the king an account of the city's surrender.¹⁶⁵ During the first and second weeks of July, they were followed by many others;¹⁶⁶ indeed, from this period to the end of the king's stay, Newcastle and the surrounding district contained an increasingly large number of royalists. On July 6th, letters were received in London from the deputy-mayor, stating that he had prevented several of them from having access to the king, and the House of Commons approved his action.¹⁶⁷ On the same date, Vincent Babington, the king's barber, was only granted a pass from London to Newcastle on the stipulation that he carried 'nothing prejudicial to the state.'¹⁶⁸ On July 20th, the resort of 'Malignants' to Newcastle was again brought to the notice of Parliament, and on July 22nd, the House of Lords passed a resolution for restraining them from having access to Charles.¹⁶⁹

The chief event of the month was the arrival of the commissioners bearing the propositions from the English Parliament to Charles 'for a safe and well grounded Peace.'¹⁷⁰ They reached New-

¹⁶³ *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 71, for July 9-16, 1646. *The Kingdoms Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 157, for July 14-21, 1646. For Cant, see *Scottish Antiquary* for September, 1892, Jaffray's *Diary*, and Guthry's *Memoirs*, p. 136.

¹⁶⁴ *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 71.

¹⁶⁵ *A Letter from Newcastle*, London, 1646. Ashburnham's *Narrative*, vol. ii., p. 163.

¹⁶⁶ *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 71. Montreuil returned to Newcastle on July 9, having been away since May 28. (*Scot. Hist. Soc. Publ.*, vol. xxix., p. 217.)

¹⁶⁷ Whitelock, *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 47.

¹⁶⁸ *Lords' Journals*, under date July 6, 1646.

¹⁶⁹ Whitelock, *op. cit.* vol. ii. pp. 52, 53.

¹⁷⁰ They are printed by Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 309, in Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. ii. and in *Commons Journals*; also in pamphlet form as *The Propositions*

castle on the afternoon of Thursday, July 23rd,¹⁷¹ 'a little before the Post came away.'¹⁷² They were received with no more ceremony than had been accorded to Charles in May,¹⁷³ and were accommodated in the house which had been used by the Scottish commissioners in May and June,¹⁷⁴ doubtless in the same house in St. John's parish in which the English commissioners were lodged in January, 1647.¹⁷⁵ The corporation records contain the following minutes relating to the town's entertainment of them, under date August, 1646 :—'Pd. Thomas Errington which he disbursed when he was sent to meet the Commissioners, 8s.' 'Pd. Mr. George Dawson for a piep of Canarrie Sack, £22 ; half a ton of French, £11 ; pd. for carriage 8s., for four gallons Rennish wine, 32s., which was sent as a present to the Right Honbl. the earell of Pembroke and the other Commissioners who were sent by the Plement with the Propositions to the King's Matie, £35.'¹⁷⁶

Leven called on the commissioners soon after their arrival,¹⁷⁷ and in the course of the evening they received notice from Charles that he would grant them an audience on the following afternoon.¹⁷⁸ He was already aware of the nature of the propositions. On July 17th, Hamilton had reached Newcastle, in the course of a violent thunder-storm, in advance of the English commissioners.¹⁷⁹ In the *Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes*,¹⁸⁰ a detail is preserved of the interview between Hamilton and the king : 'When he had just kissed the king's hand, his Majesty and he blushed at once, and as the Duke was retiring

of the Lords and Commons for a safe and well grounded Peace. Sent to His Majestie at Newcastle. London: Printed for John Wright at the King's Head in the Old Bailey, 17 July, 1646. ¹⁷¹ Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 319.

¹⁷² The *Scottish Dove*, No. 144, for July 22-31, 1646.

¹⁷³ The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 73, for July 23-30, 1646.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ 'A fayre house in St. John's parrish,' *A Letter from Newcastle.* London: J. Cole, 1647.

¹⁷⁶ Hornby has printed this minute. I have supplied the word 'piep,' which is almost obliterated in the original. The total also appears to be £35, and not £34. See *Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes*, p. 53.

¹⁷⁷ Whitelock, vol. ii. p. 54.

¹⁷⁸ Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 319.

¹⁷⁹ Guthry, *Memoirs*, p. 182.

¹⁸⁰ P. 53. *Britanes Distemper*, p. 197, describes this episode: 'In the werie moment when he tooke leau of the kinge, a flash of lightening seimed to fill the wholl roume, efter which followed a terrible cract of thunder, the lyk wherof was newer heard of in the island; for as it beganne there at that werie instant, so it spreid from thence to the south and north, owerall the ill, continuing without intermissione not onlie the rest of that day, but the wholle night, and the nixt day till tuelf accloak.'

back, with a little confusion, into the crowd that was in the room, the King asked if he was afraid to come near him; upon which they entered into a conversation together.' Argyle also, who arrived in Newcastle shortly after Hamilton, experienced a similar thunder-storm.¹⁸¹ About the same time, as appears from a letter¹⁸² written from Newcastle on July 24th, by 'D.N.,' the full text of the propositions reached Newcastle in pamphlet form, no doubt the publication issued on July 17th, from the 'King's head in the old Bailey.'¹⁸³ Charles was engaged in their consideration even before the visit of the commissioners and had almost entirely given up his golf.¹⁸⁴

On Friday, July 24th, about two o'clock in the afternoon, the commissioners, with their chaplain, Mr. Marshall, accompanied by Argyle and Loudoun, proceeded in their coaches to the court. They were received in 'a large Chamber of Presence,' and after their public reception followed the king into another room. Mr. Goodwin read the propositions, and Charles undertook to give his answer within the ten days allowed the commissioners by Parliament for their mission.¹⁸⁵ On the same day the commissioners heard a sermon¹⁸⁶ from Samuel Kem, a navy chaplain, whose ship was stationed at Tynemouth.¹⁸⁷ Charles heard a sermon from Marshall, the commissioners' chaplain, on the following Sunday, July 26th, and remembering, probably, his experience at the hands of Mr. Cant, sent for the preacher twice and thanked him for a discourse which was 'peaceable and not personal.'¹⁸⁸ After a series of interviews with the king on July 27th and 31st, and August 1st and 2nd,¹⁸⁹ the commissioners left the town at the early

¹⁸¹ Guthry, *ibid.*

¹⁸² In *The Kings Majesties Receiving the Propositions for Peace at Newcastle*. London: Jane Coe, 1646. ¹⁸³ See note 170 above.

¹⁸⁴ *Papers of some Passages between the King and the Commissioners*. London, 1646. Montreuil and Bellièvre, who reached Newcastle on July 25, were closely engaged with Charles (*Scottish Dove*, No. 145).

¹⁸⁵ Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 319. *Copy of a Letter from Newcastle from the Commissioners about the Propositions for Peace*. London, 1646.

¹⁸⁶ *A Sermon Preached before the Commissioners of both Kingdoms the same day they Delivered the Propositions to the Kings Majesty for a Safe and Well-grounded Peace*, by Samuel Kem, Batchelour in Divinity. London, 1646.

¹⁸⁷ See note 328.

¹⁸⁸ Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 319. *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 75, for Aug. 6-13, 1646. His text was Isaiah 32, verse 17.

¹⁸⁹ *Commons Journals*, under date Aug. 12, 1646. *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 75. *The Kings Answer to the Propositions for Peace*. London, 1646. *Copy of a Letter from Newcastle*, etc.

hour of five on Monday morning, August 3rd.¹⁹⁰ Leven, Lumsden, Argyle, Dunfermline, and the officers of the Newcastle garrison accompanied them as far as Durham, where Leven and Lumsden dined with them, and after dinner 'parted in love.'¹⁹¹ Their departure was followed, about August 17th, by that of the Scottish nobility in the town.¹⁹² Henderson, too, had gone, and Charles enjoyed some leisure which was not disturbed until the arrival of the Scottish commissioners in September.

Until that event, the record of Charles's experiences and of events in the town becomes somewhat obscure. On August 8th, sir Robert Murray¹⁹³ speaks of the king as being in good spirits over a game of chess. Towards the end of the month, it was reported in London with some trepidation, that he was making overtures to certain of the nobility in the town and seeking to ingratiate himself with the soldiery,¹⁹⁴ who by now, even the king's guard, were in a 'ragged and naked condition.'¹⁹⁵ The presence of so many of the 'malignants' in and about the town still gave cause for anxiety, and Leven had on August 3rd issued a further proclamation 'with sound of drum' against them.¹⁹⁶ A curious episode occurred about the middle of the month. There had lately arrived from London, a pamphlet entitled *Truth's Discovery, or a Black Cloud in the North*. It was apparently a *canard* of the Independent party, and was at once condemned to be fixed to the gallows on the Sandhill for forty-eight hours, and finally to be placed within the covers of 'an old service book' and burnt by the hangman's man. Over the condemned publication the following verse was written:—

Read and behold this Pamphlet, see
 Themselves sold right Devils to be.
 A lying spirit fit to divide,
 To sheith his sword in his mother's side.

¹⁹⁰ *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 75. *Copy of a Letter*, etc. ¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² Whitelock, vol. ii. p. 63. *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 74, writes, 'His Majesty speaks of leaving Newcastle,' and in No. 75, 'its talked his Majesty hath no mind to stay much longer at Newcastle.'

¹⁹³ *Hamilton Papers*, 1638-50, p. 107.

¹⁹⁴ *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 77, for Aug. 20-27, 1646.

¹⁹⁵ *The Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 162, for Aug. 18-25, 1646.

¹⁹⁶ Whitelock, vol. ii. p. 57. *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 74, for July 30-Aug. 6, 1646, 'the town being exceedingly full of such, and great store about the town.'



This legend, too, was attached: 'Independents untruths, Knave's hatchet in Hell, produced in London, whose end is the gallows.' Further, a proclamation, stated to be 'By order of the independents parliamentary convention at Newcastle,' was signed either humourously or in contempt by

Thomas tinker and preacher there,
Ralph Dog, preacher and prophet there,
Jenkin Fidler, second speaker.
Peggy Parker, chief musitian.
Humfry Candlestick, clericus.

The proclamation is stated to have been 'fixed by three common souldiers, and taken down by an officer of the excise.'¹⁹⁷

On Wednesday, September 2nd, Charles paid a second visit to Tynemouth, accompanied by Bellièvre and others. He dined at the castle and was 'entertained there very gallantly' in 'the Great Roome, richly hung.'¹⁹⁸ After dinner several of the officers of the garrison were presented to Charles,¹⁹⁹ and he returned to Newcastle the same evening.²⁰⁰ On the following day he 'tooke a little recreation at goffe,'²⁰¹ but on Friday, September 4th, his brief holiday came to an end with the arrival of the commissioners from Scotland.²⁰² They 'were received into the Toune with much gladnesse, by many who pray that they may prevaile with His Majestie,' says a Newcastle correspondent.²⁰³ The corporation records, under date September, 1646 (second week), contain the following minute, indicative of the town's hospitality: 'Pd. William Archer for 3 great ketteles to carry wine to the Commissioners.'

On Sunday, September 6th, while two of their ministers preached before the commissioners, 'His Majesty heard wholsom doctrine preached unto him, addresses of godly Ministers, to perswade him to harken to the requests of his kingdomes.'²⁰⁴ On the 7th, probably, on

¹⁹⁷ The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 76, for Aug. 13-20, 1646, which prints the above *verbatim* 'for the excellency of the stile of the prose and verse.'

¹⁹⁸ *Perfect Occurrences*, for Sept. 4-11, 1646. Bellièvre, whose first despatch from Newcastle is dated July 30, was received there with some ceremony by the governor and officers at the town gate (*Scot. Hist. Soc. Pub. vol. xxix. p. 238*). Also, 'a fine residence' was provided for him in the town (*Ibid. p. 231*). He reached Newcastle on July 25 (*Scottish Dove*, No. 145, for July 29-Aug. 5, 1646).

¹⁹⁹ *Perfect Occurrences*, *ibid.*

²⁰⁰ *A Letter from Newcastle*. London, 1646. ²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² *Ibid.* *Mercurius Civicus*, No. 171, for Sept. 3-10, 1646.

²⁰³ *A Letter from Newcastle*. ²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

which date Charles complained to the queen of having been 'freshly and fiercely assaulted from Scotland,'²⁰⁵ on the 8th,²⁰⁶ and on the 9th,²⁰⁷ the commissioners had audiences of the king. On the 10th, Blair, Douglas, Cant, and other ministers brought their influence to bear. Their arguments failed to move Charles,²⁰⁸ and at length the uncompromising Cant broke out, 'Sir, I wish I may not say to your Majesty, as the Prophet said to Amasiah, "Refuse not counsel lest God harden thy heart to destruction."' 'You are no prophet,' replied Charles. 'But yet,' said Cant, 'I may tell you what the Prophet said to the man in such a condition.'²⁰⁸ After a further interview with the commissioners on the 11th,²⁰⁹ Charles gave his answer about the 15th.²¹⁰ It proved to be but of vague and indefinite character, and urged the desirability of his return to London.²¹¹ By the 21st, the Scottish deputation had left Newcastle,²¹² and by the end of the month most of the nobility there had proceeded to Edinburgh for the meeting of the Estates.²¹³ Newcastle was called upon to receive no further deputations until January, 1647.

Meanwhile, during September, certain events had taken place in the town which had aroused some considerable feeling. On September 11th, 'Some reasons were offered to the Commons why there hath not been an Election at Newcastle, according to a writ formerly granted :'²¹⁴ But upon debate thereof it was Ordered to be referred to a Committee who were appointed to sit in the Star Chamber on Tuesday following.'²¹⁵ It is evident that there was some division in the town in regard to the matter, and it

²⁰⁵ *Charles I. in 1646*, under date.

²⁰⁶ *A Letter from Newcastle*. Whitelock, vol. ii. p. 67. *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 165, for Sept. 8-15, 1646.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.* *A Letter from Newcastle*.

²⁰⁸ *The Copy of a Letter from Newcastle*. London, 1646. *A Letter from Newcastle*. *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 81, for Sept. 17-24, 1646.

²⁰⁹ *A Letter from Newcastle*.

²¹⁰ *Perfect Occurrences*, under date Sept. 16, 1646.

²¹¹ Whitelock, vol. ii. p. 69. ²¹² *Ibid.*

²¹³ *The Scottish Dove*, No. 152, for Sept. 13-23, 1646.

²¹⁴ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1645-47, under date Sept. 9, 1645, from which it appears that the writs were shortly to be sent down by John Blakiston. The request of Newcastle for a second member in the room of Sir Henry Anderson had been discussed in the Commons on Dec. 5, 1644, and ordered to stand over (*Commons Journals*, under date).

²¹⁵ *Perfect Occurrences*, under date Sept. 11, 1646.

culminated in October in a deputation to London to indict the mayor for his opposition to this and other measures.²¹⁶ About the middle of the month 'divers of the unreformed clergy' are reported as having returned to Newcastle,²¹⁷ while a letter from 'E. A.,' dated Newcastle, September 24th, says, 'There are many malignants that lye between the Kings Lodgings at (*sic*) Gateside, and use much to that side of the Town about Pandon Gate.; some quarter in Redhugh, and Fellin; but they use not about the Towns of Walker, Wamson, and Willington.'²¹⁸ It was reported, too, with some misgivings, that Charles, either to gain adherents or to replenish his exchequer, was conferring honours at Newcastle. Among the recipients was a Matthew Whitfield of Whitfield, who obtained the honour of knighthood at the hands of the king, but 'had no sooner receiv'd his honour but he away to his Inne, clapt his cloak-bag behinde him and away'²¹⁹ without paying his fees. On October 1st, also, there is an order to the attorney or solicitor-general to make out the grant of a baronetcy to the Newcastle alderman, Mark Milbank, 'for his constant fidelity and affection.'²²⁰ The dignity was however not conferred until after the Restoration.²²¹ On Tuesday, September 22nd, a general thanksgiving was held in Newcastle to celebrate the conclusion of the Civil War. The day was observed 'by our Brethren and all the whole town,' says the *Scottish Dove*,²²² 'by ringing of Bells and Bonefires.' Charles, who was still conferring with Mr. Blair,²²³ attended a sermon, apparently the public sermon, on the morning of that day.²²⁴ The corporation records contain a minute,²²⁵ under date October, 1646, recording the public rejoicing that was made: 'Paid for tarbarles and setting them up, 28s.; for wine, tobacco, and bisketts, 11s. 5d.; given to Mr. Mallards compinie, 10s.: at generall thanksgiving the 22nd September, 1646. £3 11s. 5d.'

²¹⁶ The *London Post*, No. 1, for Dec. 14-21, 1646, quoting a letter from 'I. P.' of Oct. 24. See below, p. 45.

²¹⁷ The *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 166, for Sept. 15-22, 1646.

²¹⁸ *Papers from the Scots Quarters*. London, 1646.

²¹⁹ The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 81, for Sept. 17-24, 1646.

²²⁰ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1625-49, p. 699.

²²¹ See genealogy in *Surtees*. Also, Welford, *Men of Mark*. ²²² No. 154, for Sept. 30-Oct. 8, 1646.

²²³ *Hamilton Papers*, 1638-50, p. 114.

²²⁴ The *Weekly Account*, for Sept. 30-Oct. 7, 1646. ²²⁵ Printed in Hornby.

Nevertheless, the counties of Northumberland and Durham still groaned under the Scottish occupation. On September 13th, the inhabitants of Cleveland drew up a letter setting forth their misery, and their example was followed on October 12th by the inhabitants of Stainton.²²⁶ The Scots, meanwhile, were making preparations for the coming winter, provisions and forage were being laid in, and it was even rumoured that the starved condition of Northumberland and the bishopric might compel them to move their quarters further south,²²⁷ pending the conclusion of the financial arrangements which were then in progress between the two Parliaments.

Throughout October there are but scattered references to Charles and Newcastle in the news-letters and pamphlets. About the beginning of the month Montreuil returned to the town,²²⁸ and, somewhat later, Charles had a visit from Davenant the poet.²²⁹ On the 8th an incident is recorded in connexion with the king's favourite pastime. A Newcastle correspondent²³⁰ writes on that date, 'Here was a woman [distracted], seeing the King at Goffe (probably set on by some body), said that it was better for the King to be with his Parliament than to be there, and being bid to hould her peace, she said that shee would not, and if they loved the King as they should they would have tould him so before now.' Whether as the result of this experience or no, the same writer, on October 28th, reports, 'The King seldome goes out to goffe,' though on 'The fast day (viz., Wednesday last), when we were at Church at humiliation, the worke of the day, there was playing at goffe at Court: which much sadded the harts of divers honest men.'²³¹ During the month there was a recurrence of the plague in the town. It broke out in the first week,

²²⁶ Both petitions are printed in *A Declaration Concerning the miserable Sufferings of the Countrie*. London, 1646.

²²⁷ *A Letter from His Majesties Quarters*. London, 1646, which speaks of this rumour as 'a great and heavy burden to the minds of many.'

²²⁸ *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 169, for Oct. 6-13, 1646. He writes from London on Sept. 26, and from Newcastle on Oct. 5. He had been absent from Newcastle since August 3. (Scot. Hist. Soc. Publ., vol. xxix.)

²²⁹ *Papers from the Scots Quarters*. *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 84, for Oct. 8-15, 1646. See, also, *Scot. Hist. Soc. Publ.*, vol. xxix., pp. 292, 314; also Ashburnham's *Narrative*, vol. ii., p. lxx. ²³⁰ 'R. Y. Cleric' in *Papers from the Scots Quarters*.

²³¹ *A Continuation of Papers from the Scots Quarters*. London, 1646. Whitelock, vol. ii. p. 82.

brought thither by a ship which reached the Tyne from London.²³² By the 8th four houses in the town were infected,²³³ and a week later the sickness was increasing.²³⁴ While disease was rife in the town, dissensions arose among the civic authorities. Early in the month the council had proceeded to the election of the mayor for the year ensuing. A writer, who signs himself 'R. Y. Cleric,' remarks in a letter, dated October 8th,²³⁵ 'Our Major for this toune is chosen, which hath beene a troublesome work ; But Master Henry Dawson is Elected Major for the yeare ensuing, and confirmed in it . . . hee is a very honest man. . . . Master Henry Rawley (Rawling) is chosen Sheriffe.' In a letter dated October 28th,²³⁶ the same writer adds, 'This Toune of Newcastle have chosen M^r. George Dawson, a very honest man, (Brother to the Major) to be an Alderman.'

Yet another cause of dissension arose towards the end of the month. A news-sheet remarks : 'The Magistrates in this Town are endeavouring to bring the Castle (which hath beene formerly a priveleged place) under the freedome of the Town (which may be usefull to the safety of the Kingdom). I am sorry to see divisions in the Toune.'^{236a} Before the 24th of the month, as appears from a letter²³⁷ signed 'I. P.' from Newcastle on that date, Christopher Nicholson—the tradition in regard to whom, as having been entrusted with the charge of Charles, is mentioned by Mr. Welford in his *Monuments and Tombstones of St. Nicholas*'²³⁸—Edward Man, and Robert Ellison set out for London, summoned thither to give evidence in regard to complaints against the mayor. These complaints are stated as having their origin in his 'indeavouring the suppressing of our Petition for another Burgesse, and obstructing other Ordinances of Parliament here.'²³⁹ On the 26th,

²³² *Papers from the Scots Quarters.* ²³⁵ *Ibid.*

²³⁴ *Perfect Occurrences*, for Oct. 16-23, 1646. The *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 170, for Oct. 13-20, 1646.

²³⁵ *Papers from the Scots Quarters.*

²³⁶ *A Continuation of Papers from the Scotts Quarters.*

^{236a} *Perfect Occurrences*, for Oct. 16-23, 1646. See Brand, vol. i., p. 163.

²³⁷ The *London Post*, No. 1, for Dec. 14-21.

²³⁸ P. 147. Nothing has appeared to confirm this tradition. The idea that Charles was, to some extent, in the care of the town's authorities, is however suggested in the *Scottish Dove*, No. 134, for May 13-20, 1646, in the statement that on May 13 the escort withdrew from the Court 'leaving the charge to the Major.'

²³⁹ The *London Post*, No. 1.

John Blakiston, whose stipend of £200 as the borough burgesse had been voted on October 5th,²⁴⁰ also left Newcastle for London. From the terms in which he is complimented by 'R. Y. Cleric' in his letter of October 28th, it is clear that the offending mayor was Henry Dawson; that his election had been carried only with difficulty, in face of his attitude upon the additional burgesse question and other matters; and that Blakiston had used his influence to calm the troubled spirits of the corporation fathers. 'Blakiston, our honest ould Major,' says the letter, 'hath done many good services in settling this place, which was carried on by him and others with much wisdom.'²⁴¹

In November, an event of large interest, both in the history of the town and of Charles's connexion with it, was the arrival of Stephen Bulkley, the printer; the commencement of a long association with Newcastle and Gateshead which lasted until after the Restoration.²⁴² On November 11th a London news-sheet²⁴³ gives the following information:—'But the greatest news is, a Printer is come from York to Newcastle with his Presse and Letters, and is beginning to work upon the large Declarations: the Mayor sent to know wherefore he came thither? he would give no answer the first time, having not consulted his pillow; the next day, being sent for, he answered, The Governour would give him answer, if he pleased to send to him. Whether it be the same Presse which was sent from London to York²⁴⁴ at the beginning of these troubles is not known. . . . By another Letter from Newcastle its certified that his Majesty sent for the Printer from York, and that his name is Buckley.' On the 16th there is further information regarding Bulkley²⁴⁵:—'His Majesty hath taken the Printer into his own Lodgings, that so he

²⁴⁰ *Corporation Records*, Oct. 1646, 'Pd. the right worshipful John Blakiston major. which was ordered by the Common Councill the 5th October, 1646, he being a burgesse of parliament for this corporation 200l.'

²⁴¹ *A Continuation of Papers*, etc. -

²⁴² Welford, *Early Printing in Newcastle-upon-Tyne* (1895).

²⁴³ *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 88, for Nov. 5-12, 1646.

²⁴⁴ Robert Barker set up his press at Newcastle in 1639, and at York in 1642. He had returned to London before 1646. It is feasible to suggest that Bulkley had been his workman or apprentice, and had continued his business in York when Barker returned to London. The last of Bulkley's Newcastle and Gateshead publications is dated 1662. Shortly after that date he returned to York and there died. See Welford, *Early Printing*, etc.

²⁴⁵ *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 89, for Nov. 12-19, 1646.

may act without controll ; likewise to avoid any difference between the Town and the souldiery, that might arise about him or his actions.' Charles, at the same time, was busily engaged in preparing matter for Bulkley's press. 'The King,' says a news-letter,²⁴⁶ 'is well, is studious, writs much, many sheets already written, conceived will be shortly printed ; the subject I know not.' A few days later Bulkley transferred himself into 'the next house to his Majesties lodgings, and hath a door into his Majesties chambers : He is printing, but hath not perfected anything as yet. His Majestic gave him ten pieces to quicken his pains and care.'²⁴⁷ His removal from Charles's immediate protection encouraged an attempt to eject him from the town. 'The Stationers and shop-keepers' regarded his establishment in the town as likely to be 'a damage to them.'²⁴⁸ Accordingly, 'the Mayor and Aldermen of Newcastle moved the Governour to have the Printer apprehended, he told them in that none should hinder them.'²⁴⁹ A sergeant was, thereupon, sent for that purpose, 'but he (Bulkley) escaped and got into the Presence.'²⁵⁰ After that futile attempt, Bulkley appears to have been unmolested. On the 28th, he was busily printing off his first Newcastle publication : 'his Majesties Printer is printing the Answer or Letter sent to the Assembly by Mons. Diodate . . . other things are to be printed.'²⁵¹ An account of this pamphlet was published by Mr. Welford in 1895 ;²⁵² an interesting problem, however, arises in connexion with it. It drew forth vigorous denials of the attributed authorship, and a vehement answer in *A Reply to a Letter Printed at Newcastle*.²⁵³ The vexed question of authorship was perhaps settled in a later pamphlet from Bulkley's press, entitled *The Kings Possessions written by His Majesties own Hand*, which contains a certificate from one of the secretaries of the Assembly attesting that the work attributed to Dr. Diodate was an 'abominable forgery.' But what was Charles's share in it ? The 'forgery' or hoax was Bulkley's first production. Charles had been busily preparing matter for Bulkley's

²⁴⁶ The *Scottish Dove*, No. 161, for Nov. 18-25, 1646.

²⁴⁷ The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 90, for Nov. 19-26, 1646.

²⁴⁸ *Perfect Occurrences*, for Nov. 20-27, 1646.

²⁴⁹ The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 90.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁵¹ *Ibid.* No. 92, for Dec. 3-10, 1646.

²⁵² *Early Printing*, etc.

²⁵³ Printed by J. C., London, 1646.

press shortly before its publication, and admittedly annotated it when Bulkley again issued it in *The Kings Possessions*. It is, in fact, interesting to conjecture, but difficult to determine Charles's share in its publication.

In the following month Bulkley issued two pamphlets, which so far do not appear to have been identified as his. Under the date December 21st, the *Moderate Intelligencer*²⁵⁴ publishes the following information:—'The Petition of some Londoners hath had the honour to be printed at Newcastle by his Majesties direction, and his own Printer there. My Lord Lowdens speeches are also printed, with an Epistle by G. A., but in the Title-Page at Edinburgh.' This is confirmed by Whitelock,²⁵⁵ 'Great use was made of a press to print the Lord Chancellor of Scotland's speeches, the London petition, and other things at Newcastle.' Whitelock states²⁵⁶ that the printing of the speeches in London had already caused some feeling in Parliament. The London petition, an abstract of which appears, after the statement of its publication at Newcastle, in the *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 94, is among the King's Pamphlets (in broadside form, and without a regular title-page), in the British Museum.²⁵⁷ The lord chancellor's

²⁵⁴ No. 94, for Dec. 17-24, 1646.

²⁵⁵ *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 97, under date Dec. 23. ²⁵⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 76, 80, 83.

²⁵⁷ Its press mark is 190, g. 12 (83), and the text as follows:—

To the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, the Right Worshipfull, the Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Councell Assembled.

The Humble Petition of many well-affected Free-men,
and Covenant ingaged Citizens of the City of London.

Humbly sheweth,

That the deep sence of our growing miseries and approaching dangers, hath even forced us to think upon, and apply our selves to such waies and means, as whereby we might probably and comfortably hope to obtain relief; our Solemn Covenant ingageth us to persist constantly all the dayes of our lives against all opposition in the zealous pursuit of the blessed ends thereof, which chiefly are Religion, Laws, Liberties, and Union, It is to manifest how many desperate assaults are daily made upon these great concernments: We know no other means of remedy against these running mischiefs, then a diligent Application of our selves to the Honourable Houses of Parliament, in whom much of our precious interests are concerned, and since all our regular motions to Them are directed through You, the Worthy Senators of this famous City (the experience of whose free and faithfull addresses to the Parliament, especially in that of our late most memorable Remonstrance, together with Your favourable acceptation of our humble Petitions, we cannot but with all Joy and Thankfulness acknowledge.) We are greatly encouraged in confidence of Your continued faithfulness, to return again unto You.

And most earnestly to beseech that the premises being duely weighed, You would be pleased to afford not onely Your acceptance of, but Concurrence with,

speeches in one pamphlet bear the title, *Severall speeches Spoken by the Rt. Hon. The Earle of Loudoun*.²⁵⁸ No date is assigned to the speech, but from internal evidence it was delivered during the visit of the English commissioners in July.²⁵⁹ Charles's purpose in causing the speech to be printed in December is not quite clear, especially as Loudoun in it very plainly indicated the necessity for the king to yield to his Parliament. The speech had already been printed in London, in July, 1646,²⁶⁰ but the Edinburgh version does not exactly correspond with the London edition.²⁶¹

To complete, however, the record for November. On the 4th, there is an order for the public lighting of the streets :—'Lanthorns to be hung out in every ward in Newcastle. A common lanthorn to be provided for each ward. The lanthorns to be lighted at 6 o'clock,

these our Humble Desires annexed, so far as shall seem good unto Your Wisdoms, and in Your own, and our names to present them to the Honourable Houses, expressing all that zeal therein as is meet in matters of so high importance, wherein the honour of God, the Peace and Happinesse of these Kingdoms (in this and future Ages) are so eminently concerned.

And Your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

The Heads of our Humble Desires.

1. That the Solemn League and Covenant may be imposed without exception upon all with a Penalty.
2. That Religion may be settled, Heresie and Schisme extirpated acco[r]ding to the Covenant; That such may be suppress from publick Preaching a[s] have not duely been ordained: And that a competent maintenance for the Ministry may be provided.
3. That the Subjects Liberty be preserved in their right of Elections of Members to serve in Parliament,
4. That Committees (in regard of their exorbitant miscarriages) may be dissolved.
5. That the Armies may be disbanded, and Taxes released.
6. That dying Ireland may be speedily relieved.
7. That the Union of the two Kingdoms may be maintained.
8. That the Interest of both Kingdoms in the Person of the King may be preserved.
9. That notorious Delif[n]quents may be brought to speedie Justice, and Publick Debts out of their Estates satisfied.
10. That Protections may be taken off.

²⁵⁹ Edinburgh, 1646.

²⁵⁹ The speech begins 'Your Majesty was pleased on Monday last, to call the Lords of your Privy Council of Scotland, and the Committee to acquaint them with the Propositions, and told that before the delivery of your answer, you would make the same known to them.' Loudoun accompanied the Commissioners on their first visit to Charles on July 24. The Monday spoken of might be either July 20 or 27. See also Maseres, *Select Tracts*, vol. i. p. 94.

²⁶⁰ *The Lord Chancellor of Scotland, His Speech to the King in Newcastle, July, 1646.* London, 1646.

²⁶¹ The opening sentence, for instance, reads: 'Your Majesty was pleased on Monday last to call the Lords of *your Councell* and Committee.' Compare Note 259.

and to burn until the captain goes.²⁶² On the following day, the historic 5th, a minute in the Gateshead parish accounts occurs:—‘Pd. for ringing the bells on Gunpowder-treason day, 2s. 6d.’ Throughout October and the first two weeks of November, the weather had been so boisterous that the usual trade with the Tyne ports had been seriously hampered, and the price of provisions had risen accordingly.²⁶³ By the 12th the storm had moderated. On that date ‘E. N.’ writes²⁶⁴:—‘To-morrow . . . there will be neare 300 saile of ships come out of this River, most of them for London, with Coals, which hath been kept in by the Windes this 6 weekes at least.’

The storm had probably delayed an arrival for which some, at least, in Newcastle were anxiously looking. On the 21st, sir Robert Murray writes from Newcastle²⁶⁵:—‘The Prince of Orange hath sent hither a ship of 34 gunnes to do what the king commands. . . . She stays here under pretence of being careened, but will be ready, as I take it, at all times for the King’s pleasure.’ The Dutch captain, upon his arrival, ‘delivered some packets from the Prince of Orange to his Majesty, and hath treated with the French Embassadour, and the Earle of Dumfaringe, Sir James Hamilton, Vantrumpe, and Mr. Murrey, and other Agents at Newcastle.’²⁶⁶ The delivery of these despatches took place probably on the 17th, for on the following day, ‘the 18 of Novemb. Sir James Hambleton, Mr. Murray of the Bedchamber, with divers Scottish Gentlewomen, went to Tinmouth Castle in a Barge, who were saluted with three piece of ordnance from the Dutchman of war; after there went the Captain to the Castle, whom the Governour requited with three other pieces: after all of them came aboard the Captain, Sir Charles Floyd and some others meeting them; and having drank severall healths, at end of each there went off severall guns: after the Captain came to Newcastle with Mr. Murrey, the 19 the Captain was feasted by the

²⁶² *Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes*, p. 53 n.

²⁶³ *A Continuation of a Journal of Passages*. London, 1646.

²⁶⁴ *Perfect Occurrences*, for Nov. 13-20, 1646.

²⁶⁵ *Hamilton Papers*, under date. Charles had written on September 10th to request that a ship might be sent to Newcastle, (Gardiner, *History of the Civil War*, vol. vi., p. 339.)

²⁶⁶ *Diuturnus Britannicus*, for Nov. 25-Dec. 2, 1646.

Lord Dumferling and Mr. Murrey.²⁶⁷ Another news-sheet²⁶⁸ adds a detail regarding the 18th :—‘They feasted the Captaine at Tinnmouth Castle, where they dranke healths to the King, and all his friends.’

The arrival of the Dutch man-of-war was accompanied by that of a large number of the king’s adherents to Newcastle and the surrounding district. They were estimated at about five thousand.²⁶⁹ Clearly the authorities suspected, and as it proved with reason, some plot on the king’s behalf. On December 3rd, Leven and Lumsden issued a proclamation²⁷⁰ against all who had borne arms against either Parliament, among whom were certain ‘who reside in the King’s Court.’²⁷¹ The captain of the Dutch ship was also examined ; caution was given to the governor of Tynemouth castle to be on his guard, and colonel Welden was ordered to arrest ‘Master Ralph Pudsey a knowne and dangerous Papist.’²⁷²

On the Sunday following Leven’s proclamation, December 6th, there preached before Charles, apparently in St. Nicholas’s church, ‘a Scotchman newly come from Scotland ; he was very violent in his sermon, and much displeased his Majesty.’²⁷³ Charles’s resource in inducing the congregation to sing the 56th Psalm instead of the 52nd, given out by the preacher, is a familiar story,²⁷⁴ but a news-sheet²⁷⁵ adds that the congregation were so ‘overweighted by the Novelty of this great Clerke’ that ‘it’s said some did now sing who had not sung in many yeares.’ The *London Post*,²⁷⁶ however, contradicts the story, adding that ‘though the King did not sing in the Church, yet it made him laugh in his Chamber.’ On the same day Charles’s coachman, Hugh Brown, was buried in St. Andrew’s church. The fact is recorded in the church registers :²⁷⁷ ‘Dec. 6, 1646, Hugh Brown, buried the 6 day, in the Church, the kings kouchman.’

²⁶⁷ The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 90, for Nov. 19-26, 1646.

²⁶⁸ *Diutinus Britannicus*, for Nov. 25-Dec. 2, 1646.

²⁶⁹ The *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 178, for Dec. 8-15, 1646.

²⁷⁰ Whitelock, vol. ii. p. 92, The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 93, for Dec. 10-17, 1646. ²⁷¹ The *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 178. ²⁷² *Ibid.*

²⁷³ The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 93. Whitelock, vol. ii. p. 94.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.* The *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 179, for Dec. 15-22, 1646. *Joyful Newses from the North*, Dec. 28, 1646. London, which calls the preacher a ‘New Minister.’

²⁷⁵ The *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 179.

²⁷⁶ No. 1, for Dec. 14-21, 1646, ‘There was of late no such sermon preached nor was there any such Psalme.’

²⁷⁷ Quoted in Sykes, *Local Records*, vol. i. p. 100.

On the following Wednesday, December 9th, a Dunkirk man-of-war entered the river and others were expected.²⁷⁸ The captain of the Dutch ship, as also of the Dunkirk ship,²⁷⁹ would not allow any one to come on board without his express permission.²⁸⁰ The royalists, in spite of Leven's proclamation, still continued in large numbers 'very high and bold.' The mayor had, on or before the 10th, arrested some of them,²⁸¹ though Pudsey had escaped.²⁸² On the 14th, a Newcastle letter gives the following details:—'The Cavaliers increase and resort more and more thither; as if the late proclamation had rather been an invitation, then prohibition. There are many of especial quality, both Captaines, Lieutenants, and Ensignes, lately taken into Tynmouth, and all in capacity of common souldiers, such is the peoples feares, that they think this to purport some new designe: They give out harsh speeches, as that those Northern parts, in particular, Tynmouth and Newcastle must once more be in their hands; and, saith the Letter, is like to be if not timely prevented.'²⁸³ Another news-sheet²⁸⁴ gives a more detailed account of the distribution of these 'malignants'; 'there are divers Malignants that quarter about Gateside, Redhugh, Fellen, Netherworth and Overworth, on the Southside; some being gone over the Bridge to Lambton, and so to quarters further. On the Northside some are towards Walker and Willington, and so towards Tynmouth, that way lie the great ones that came from Oxford. The Major of Newcastle . . . had notice of some of the King's ould officers in St. Johns and about the King's Lodging, some about Stone Gate and other parts, that were in the Town, and uncivill, some of them were sent for and apprehended, they made meanes to send to the King for reliefe, but sent to Prison.' On the 14th, too, it was reported²⁸⁵ that the Dutch ship had 'victualled himself, and is new trim'd or drest already; he gives out he must stay five moneths longer, unlesse

²⁷⁸ *Mercurius Diutinus*, for Dec. 16-23, 1646. *Perfect Occurrences*, for Dec. 11-18, 1646. ²⁷⁹ *Ibid.* ²⁸⁰ *Mercurius Diutinus*, for Dec. 16-23, 1646.

²⁸¹ *Perfect Occurrences*, for Dec. 11-18, 1646.

²⁸² *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 93. ²⁸³ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁴ *Mercurius Diutinus*, for Dec. 16-23, 1646.

²⁸⁵ *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 93. An entry in the Trinity house pilotage receipts, on December 10th, would appear to be connected with the resort of these foreign men-of-war and of the king's adherents:—'The hoope for guard of Rinkhorne Land (ing?) 1s. 6d.'

called off by expresse order from his Admiral. There are five other ships expected there, men of war also, who are rig'd and appointed at the cost of Prince Rupert, with them certain Holland men of war are to joyn.'

A letter from 'E. N.,' dated Newcastle, December 17th, suggests that the energetic action of the mayor towards the 'malignants' was not unanimously approved by the council: 'There is much division in this Towne. The Mayor carries himself like an honest man: Since the Malignants Committed, some envy him. And now Alderman Cosens, Mr. Michaelson, Mr. Elison (the 2 last Sheriffes), and Mr. Mar, the Toune-Clarke, are coming to London, I could wish they would have had more wit, and looked to their owne businesses at home. I am sorry to see honest men fall out.'²⁸⁶

While everything points towards a project of some kind for Charles's escape, measures were being taken elsewhere for the evacuation of Newcastle and the surrender of the king by the Scots. On December 5th, an order had been made²⁸⁷ to send down £100,000 from London to York, in part payment of the £400,000 for which the Scots had agreed to compound their original claim upon the English Parliament.²⁸⁸ On the 20th, Charles had written to suggest his return to London,²⁸⁹ and on the 22nd, the House of Commons had voted his return to Holdenby.²⁹⁰ That in Newcastle the Scots were looking eagerly for the completion of their financial bargaining with the English Parliament is clear from the fact that, about December 15th, Leven and Lumsden had asked the corporation to advance the sum of £2,000 to pay the soldiery.²⁹¹ They offered the security of the customs, and repayment of the loan so soon as the money from the English Parliament arrived.²⁹² The council met to consider the request, and deferred it until December 21st, when the loan appears to have been granted to the increased amount of £3,000, of which

²⁸⁶ *Perfect Occurrences*, for Dec. 18-25, 1646.

²⁸⁷ Whitelock, vol. ii. p. 90.

²⁸⁸ Rushworth, vol. vi. pp. 323-6. See also Scot. Hist. Soc. Publ., vol. xxix. p. 259.

²⁸⁹ Rushworth, *Ibid.* p. 393. The letter was printed by Bulkley, under the title, *A Message from his Majestie, to the Speaker of the House of Peers*, etc. It is reprinted in *Collectanea Curiosa* (1726). ²⁹⁰ Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 393.

²⁹¹ The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 93.

²⁹² The *London Post*, No. 1, for Dec. 14-21, 1646.

amount alderman Cosins advanced £1,200.²⁹³ The council, at that meeting, took the opportunity to discuss the financial burden which the king's visit had laid upon the town. On that date the following order occurs:—'A particular of the Charges and disbursements which this Toune hath bin att in regard of the Garrison and also in regard of the Court since His Maties cominge hither and to be drawne upp by Mr. Wood of the Toune Chamber that it may be presented to Mr. Blakiston.' A further indication of the approaching evacuation of the town by the Scots is found in a report to Lenthall on December 23rd, that Leven had a quantity of military stores at Newcastle which he was willing to dispose of to the English Parliament.²⁹⁴

Meanwhile, Charles's adherents were of opinion that the time was ripe for the termination of his residence in Newcastle, by methods very different from those which the two Parliaments were contemplating. On December 24th, the Scottish Estates drew up a series of instructions for their commissioners at Newcastle, in which they were bidden to inform the king that it was in vain for him to look for any help from Scotland against his English Parliament.²⁹⁵ On that same day, the first step towards Charles's escape was taken. There was in Murray's employ at the court, a groom of the privy chamber, Tobias Peaker, or 'Master Toby' as he is called in one of the weekly news-sheets.²⁹⁶ On the 24th, Peaker, at Murray's direction, brought the captain of the Dutch ship from the 'Peacock' inn on the quay to the court. Details were there arranged, and later in the day Peaker was told that he would be required to carry down £100 to the captain at the inn. A back-stairs page, named Levitt, received the money from Murray, but not succeeding in finding Peaker for whom he held it, he took it back to Murray's bedroom and hid it under the head of the bed. From its hiding place Peaker ultimately fetched it, and took it to the 'Peacock' where the captain received it, and returned to his ship then lying at Tynemouth. On that evening, Peaker was sent down to Tynemouth to enquire if the wind was fair for an attempt to leave the river, presumably on the following night, and in face of any opposition

²⁹³ The *London Post*, No 1, for Dec. 14-21, 1646. The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 93.

²⁹⁴ *Hist. MSS. Comm.* Report 13, appendix, pt. i.

²⁹⁵ *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. vi. pt. i.

²⁹⁶ The *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 183, for Jan. 12-19, 1647.

which might come from the guns of Tynemouth castle. The Dutch captain, though he expressed his preference for the day-tide on which to leave the river, said he was willing and ready to do what was required of him. With that information, Peaker returned to Newcastle the following morning,²⁹⁷ December 25th.

As to what took place at court on the evening of that eventful Christmas day, Peaker either was or affected to be ignorant. He could say no more than that Levitt had told him that Charles was up very late at night, but that the project, whatever it was, was abandoned owing to the wind not proving favourable.²⁹⁸ The evidence available from other sources, if more detailed than Peaker's, is proportionately confusing. Skippon, who had ample evidence on which to base his conclusions, reported that Murray, who was at the bottom of the plot, had arranged for Charles to leave the court in disguise, make his way from the town by one of the sally ports, and once on board the Dutch ship, set sail for France or Hanover.²⁹⁹ In one news-sheet it is stated:³⁰⁰ 'Pandon gate was endeavoured to be opened, and the Sally Port adjoining, a key was set fast and broken: Mr. William Murrey was very late at Court, that night, coming downe the staires at so unusuall a time, though he gave the officer the word, yet he stayed him in the guard 3 hours untill the Governour sent for him.' In another news-sheet³⁰¹ it is stated: 'Sandgate was opened, and one in grey cloathes going thither from the Kings Lodgings was looked on with suspition (it is not directly said it was the King) but he turned about, and went back to the Kings Lodgings, and up into his Majesties Chamber.' From these accounts it appears that on the 25th an attempt was made, either by some of the royalists in the town, or by some of the guards with whom Charles seems to have been ingratiating himself, to open Pandon Gate or Sandgate. Murray left the court at a late hour, in a grey suit, which in wintry

²⁹⁷ Peaker's Deposition in Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. ii. pp. 368-70.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁹ *The Kings Declaration at Newcastle*. London, 1647. Montreuil specifically states that Charles confided only in Will Murray in regard to his projected escape. (Scot. Hist. Soc. Pub. vol. xxix. p. 402.) See note 311.

³⁰⁰ *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 96, for Dec. 31, 1646, to Jan. 7, 1647.

³⁰¹ *Perfect Occurrences*, for Jan. 1-8, 1647. Brand, *op. cit.* vol. ii. mentions it as a tradition in Newcastle that Charles attempted escape by the Lort burn, and had got as far as the grate "that is at present in the middle of the Side" when he was apprehended. The story is most improbable. The burn was little better than a sewer.

weather would render him less noticeable, in order to reconnoitre, and on his return was apprehended and detained in the guard house ; while Charles, after waiting some time for Murray's return, concluded that some accident had occurred and, in view of a possible surprise visit from Leven or the governor, prudently went to bed. Peaker's story of the wind not being favourable was either the official version which Levitt and the underlings of the court were asked to accept, or was the invention of Peaker himself as the easiest method of avoiding details which would have involved his master Murray and others.

The *fiasco* of the 25th, however, by no means exhausted Murray's resources. On Monday, the 28th, so far as can be learnt, he and sir Robert Murray met at the 'Angel' inn. Peaker was sent for to join them there, and was informed that suspicion having fallen on the Dutch vessel; it was no longer safe to attempt an escape by its agency. He was, therefore, ordered to ride over to Hartlepool with a letter to the governor, lieutenant-colonel Douglas, and to enquire what ships there were in that port, and the names of their masters.³⁰² On Thursday the 31st, Peaker started off on his new mission. He had proceeded no further than half a mile beyond Gateshead, when in his own words, he began to ponder 'the consequents of that business,' and 'not being willing to be accessory to an action which might prove so prejudicial to the kingdom,'³⁰³ he turned and rode back to Gateshead, left his horse at a smith's shop there, crossed the bridge, went direct to Henry Dawson, the mayor, and told him the whole business. Dawson at once sent for alderman Bonner, and to them Peaker delivered the letter with which Murray had entrusted him. It ran as follows :—'Noble Governour, the bearer can acquaint you with a journey I am commanded to undertake ; here is neither ship nor wind fitting. I desire therefore to begin my voyage at Hartlepoole, if there be any accomodation where you are.' After consultation, it was agreed that Peaker should fulfil his mission to Hartlepool, and return with a report to the mayor. He, however, got no farther than Durham, where he heard that colonel Douglas had come in to some horse races near Newcastle—doubtless at Killingworth, the race-

³⁰² Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, *ibid.* Lieut.-col. Douglas, then major, had been appointed by Calendar on the fall of Hartlepool on July 24, 1644 (Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 41; *Hist. MSS. Comm.* pt. i. app. p. 181).

³⁰³ Peck, *ibid.*

course at which appears upon Hollar's map, 1654. Turning back, he once more presented himself before the mayor. In his absence, however, the latter had sent his brother, George Dawson, with alderman Bonner, to acquaint Leven with the facts communicated to them by Peaker, and on January 1st, Leven confronted Murray with the evidence in his possession. Murray, on the following day, accused Peaker, who had quietly resumed his duties at court, and was at the time in attendance in the presence chamber, of treachery, commanded him to return the letter entrusted to him, and to present himself again in an hour's time to hear the king's wishes. Peaker did so, and was told to go once more to the captain of the Dutch man-of-war to bid him obtain permission of the authorities to re-victual his ship, probably in order to have a pretext for bringing her from Tynemouth up the river. Peaker's courage, however, had evaporated. Leaving Murray, he once more called on the mayor, obtained his pass and rode to York, whither also George Dawson and alderman Bonner were about to proceed. There, on January 7th, he gave evidence regarding the plot before major-general Skippon.³⁰⁴

Charles's treatment, in consequence of this plot on his behalf, became increasingly severe.³⁰⁵ On December 26th, order was given for a stricter guard about the court.³⁰⁶ The Scottish life-guards were detailed for this duty,³⁰⁷ and, on December 31st, four officers from each of the Scottish regiments were summoned to perform a similar office.³⁰⁸ Charles was still allowed to go on the Shieldfield for golf, but not without Lumsden or Leven in attendance upon him.³⁰⁹ In the court itself, guards were placed even in Charles's apartments, and

³⁰⁴ Peck, *Ibid.* Montreuil informs Mazarin, on Jan. 10th, that 'a barber whom Will Murray was employing in order to manage the king's escape' had divulged the plot. Probably John Pearson, the barber who had aided Ashburnham's escape on May 16th, is referred to. Vincent Babington, Charles's barber, had licence to proceed to Newcastle on July 8th. Bellièvre, on Jan. 24th, clearly refers to Peaker: 'All generally have been much dissatisfied with the intention it is reported the King of England has had to leave England, of which they say they are at present assured on the deposition of a valet of Sir Robert Moray, which, however, contains nothing precise, according to . . . those who have seen it.'—*Scot. Hist. Soc.* vol. xxix. pp. 407, 412.

³⁰⁵ Whitelock, vol. ii. p. 100.

³⁰⁶ Sir Robert Murray, under date Dec. 27th, in *Hamilton Papers*.

³⁰⁷ *Mercurius Dintinus*, Dec. 29, 1646, to Jan. 6, 1647.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.* ³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

Guthry³¹⁰ states that he suffered considerable annoyance from 'their continual smoaking by him.' At Tynemouth, three government ships, the 'Leopard' (Captain Batten), the 'Constant Warwick' (Captain Bilson), and the 'Greyhound' (Captain Copping), were stationed to watch the Dutch ship, and to prevent any further attempt to escape.³¹¹

In the midst of these exciting events, a curious circumstance is recorded by the *Weekly Account*,³¹² 'His Majesty was told that [*sic*] a young woman at Morpeth, which gave out, that she was the Princesse which married with the Prince of Orange, she was sent for to Newcastle, examined, and found a counterfeit; yet she had some retinue. This trade she tooke up (as she said) to get money, she was whipt and sent going.'

Throughout January, 1647, the interest of both kingdoms was centred on Newcastle, and the arrival there of the money which was to take both Charles and the town out of the hands of the Scots. On December 16th, thirty-six carts containing £200,000 had set out under convoy from London.³¹³ On January 3rd, the money reached York, 'the waies being very bad, the monies overturned, the boxes dirty.'³¹⁴ In spite of bad roads, 'H. M.' writes from York on January 4th,³¹⁵ 'we got well to York with all the good gold and silver yesterday, after many a lang dayes march; yet our foot are too blithe and merry, and leap in the Churchyard after all their marching so far in the durt.' Skippon, who had joined the convoy at Northamp-

³¹⁰ *Memoirs*, p. 185. Bellièvre writing from Newcastle to Brienne on Jan. 2nd, 1647, says, 'The Scots during the past three days have kept so strict watch in order to prevent the king from making his escape, and have so increased the guard they had formerly given him, that it may be said he is now a prisoner.' P. Bellièvre writing to the same on Jan. 17th, adds, that Charles's 'guard has been doubled, both within his residence and without, and they go the rounds continually; cavalry has also been brought to Newcastle to keep guard in the neighbourhood of the town.'—*Scot. Hist. Soc. Pub. vol. xxix. pp. 385, 390.*

³¹¹ The *London Post*, No. 2, for Jan. 14-21, 1647. Montreuil writes to Mazarin on Jan. 10th, 'the English Parliament keeps several warships at the mouth of this river, and one has even been brought up the river to watch the ship that has come from Holland to take the King away.'—*Scot. Hist. Soc. Pub. vol. xxix. p. 402.* The Dutch Ship had evidently moved up the river from Tynemouth. Whitelock, vol. ii, p. 111, under Feb. 1st, says the Dutch ship had left Newcastle. She was not there on Jan. 28th; 'the Dutch ship rides still in Tinmouth water . . . two frigots of ours anchor very near her, Capt. Batten is in one of them.'—*The Kings Answer.*

³¹² No. 54, for Dec. 23-30, 1646.

³¹³ Rushworth, vol. vi, p. 389.

³¹⁴ The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 97, for Jan. 17-24, 1647.

³¹⁵ *Mercurius Diutinus*, for Jan. 6-13, 1647.

ton,³¹⁶ had, on December 11th, been appointed governor of Newcastle, Gateshead, and Tynemouth.³¹⁷ The corporation of Newcastle took the earliest opportunity of greeting him, as appears from their minute dated Aug. 1647: 'Pd. Mr. Tho. Bonner and Mr. Geo. Dawson their charges which they were [at] in Riding to Yorke to acquaint Maio'. Generall Skippon with the affaires of this Towne at the Scots marching away, 10s.' A Mr. Murrison (? Murton) and captain Errington are also mentioned as having been sent to York by the town on a similar mission.³¹⁸ Provisions for the garrison at Newcastle were being despatched from London by sea. On January 2nd, a resolution of the House of Commons orders, 'Whereas Captain Mallet, Master of the Ship called the Eagle, of Newcastle, hath contracted (with the Committee of Lords and Commons for the Army) for the transporting of 50,000 of Bisket (in bagges), 25,000 of Cheese, and 250 Ferkins of Butter from the Port of London to Newcastle, for the use of that Garrison; It is therefore ordered, That the Lord Mayor of the City of London, doe issue out his Warrant for the transporting of the same to Newcastle accordingly.'³¹⁹

At York the task of counting the money had commenced the morning after its arrival.³²⁰ By the 8th, barely £50,000 of it had been 'told,' and a week further was required to complete the business.³²¹ Arrangements in regard to the payment of the money to the Scots had already been made.³²² Five days after the money had been told at York, £100,000 was to be paid over at Topcliffe, near Northallerton, when the Scots on their part were to give hostages for their withdrawal from their positions south of the Tyne within ten

³¹⁶ Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 389.

³¹⁷ *Perfect Occurrences*, for Dec. 18-25, 1646. The *Kingdoms Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 178, for Dec. 8-15, 1646. Skippon retained the governorship of Bristol, and was granted £500 for the 'extraordinary charges' of his mission to Newcastle.

³¹⁸ The *London Post*, No. 3, for Jan. 21-28, 1647. This captain Errington is presumably the Thomas Errington who met the English commissioners on July 23rd, 1646, on the corporation's behalf. Major Gilbert Errington of Denton rode bareheaded before Charles on his entry into Newcastle on May 13th, 1646. See the *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 63, and p. 120 of this volume.

³¹⁹ *Perfect Occurrences*, for Jan. 1-8, 1647.

³²⁰ *Mercurius Diutinus*, for Jan. 6-13, 1647. On Jan. 1st, 1647, the Scottish Estates gave order 'To send such persones to York for telling of the 200,000¹¹⁰ sterling q^{1k} is coming doune from the Parliament of England.'—*Acts of the Pt. of Scotland*, vol. vi. pt. i. ³²¹ *Mercurius Diutinus*, *ibid*.

³²² See Rushworth, vol. vi. pp. 323-6.

days. The receipt for this £100,000 is dated January 21st.³²³ The remaining £100,000 was to be paid within six days after the English force entered Newcastle, and within one mile of the town; the Scots meanwhile having evacuated it and Tynemouth, and the English, on their arrival, having given nine hostages³²⁴ for the payment of the second instalment. The receipt for this second £100,000 is dated February 3rd.³²⁵ Within ten days of that date the Scots were to evacuate England, and Carlisle and Berwick were to be put into the condition in which they had been before the Scottish occupation. The remaining £200,000 was to be discharged by '12 and 12 moneths.'³²⁶

At Newcastle, commissioners from Scotland, entrusted with the duty of conducting their army's withdrawal and the surrender of the king, had arrived on January 7th.³²⁷ On the 17th, Samuel Kem, chaplain on board the 'Leopard' at Newcastle, preached at court.³²⁸ The sermon³²⁹ gave Charles considerable satisfaction. He conversed with Kem regarding it, and expressed a desire to hear him the following Sunday.³³⁰ On Saturday, the 23rd, the earl of Pembroke with the other English commissioners, who had left London on January 13th,³³¹ and their chaplains, Carroll and Marshall, arrived in

³²³ The receipt is in Peck, vol. ii. p. 370.

³²⁴ Among them was 'Master Dellavell of Seaton Dellavel, he that married Gen. Levin's daughter.'—*Mod. Intelligencer*, No. 94.

³²⁵ The receipt is in Peck, vol. ii. p. 371.

³²⁶ The above details are in the *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 94, for Dec. 17-24, 1646. See also P. Bellièvre to Brienne, in *Scot. Hist. Soc. Pub.* vol. xxix. p. 353.

³²⁷ *The Kings Declaration at Newcastle*. London, 1647. The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 97, for Jan. 17-24, 1647, puts their arrival at seven o'clock p.m. on the 6th.

³²⁸ *The Kings Answer to the Commissioners*. London: J. Coe, 1647, which shows the 17th to have been the date of Kem's sermon, in that it was the Sunday before the Scots gave their farewell sermons. The *Mercurius Diutinus*, for Jan. 27-Feb. 3, 1647, states that Captain Batten's ship, the 'Leopard,' was at Newcastle on Jan. 23rd, and saluted the English Commissioners. See note 311. In the *Kings Answer*, etc., Kem is called 'Capt. Keme chaplaine to the Vice-Admirall.' He is called 'Major Keme' in *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1645-47, p. 518.

³²⁹ *An Olive Branch Found after a Storme in the Northern Seas and Presented in a Sermon at the Court in New Castle By Samuel Kem, a little before His Majesties going to Holmby*. London, 1647. The text is Gen. 8, vv. 10, 11, and Hagg. 2. v. 9.

³³⁰ *The Kings Answer*, etc. *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1645-47, p. 518.

³³¹ Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 394.

the town.³³² 'Our journey,' writes one of the party,³³³ 'was very long and the wayes exceedingly bad; our Coaches soon tyred, our horses scarce able to hold out, and ourselves very weary . . . we were welcomed with the Cannon from many shippes, and from some Forts of this Garrison about the workes.' They were accommodated in 'a fayre house in St. Johns parrish, provided in the Commissioners quarters, where they are a good distance from the Court,'³³⁴ and the mayor and townsmen showed themselves 'exceeding ready and willing to accomodate them with Anything.'³³⁵ A corporation minute, dated August, 1647,³³⁶ bears this out: 'Pd. Mr. George Dawson for a butt of new sheries sack which was sent as a present by the towne to the Earll of Pembroke and commissioners of Parliament, with carriage and excise, and $\frac{1}{2}$ a tun of French wine also sent them, with carriage and excise, cost 21*l.* 8*s.* 0*d.* ordered by common councell 19. February, 1646, to be paid in all 33*l.* 0*s.* 3*d.*' The mayor, certain of the Scottish commissioners, and Lumsden received them on their arrival.³³⁷ Leven was in attendance upon Charles at golf, and called upon them later at their lodgings.³³⁸ On the following day, Sunday, the 24th, sermons were preached by Carroll and Marshall before the commissioners, and at court by a Scotchman and an Englishman, 'but his Majesty had as much dislike of the one, as approbation of the other.'³³⁹ In the evening an informal conference was held between the commissioners of both countries, 'but (in regard of the day) nothing was done in a publick way, save onely the workes of the day.'³⁴⁰ The conference was continued on the 25th, and on Tuesday, the 26th, at about 10 o'clock in the morning, Pembroke and his fellow commissioners presented themselves at

³³² *A Letter from Newcastle.* London, 1647. *The Kings Answer*, etc.

³³³ *The Kings Answer*, etc.

³³⁴ *A Letter from Newcastle*, dated Jan. 26th, and signed 'W. Sitrauk.'

³³⁵ *Ibid.* ³³⁶ Printed in Hornby.

³³⁷ *A Letter from Newcastle.*

³³⁸ *Ibid.* *Mercurius Diutinus*, for Jan. 27-Feb. 3, 1647.

³³⁹ *A Letter from Newcastle.* *The Kings Answer*, etc. Of Marshall, who had preached before Charles on July 26th (See p. 121), Heath's *Chronicle*, vol. i. p. 157, states, 'the King would not be troubled with his discourses, having such cause of offence at his prayers.' Carroll, too, like Marshall, was 'so unacceptable to the King that he would by no means admit either of them to preach before him.'—*Ibid.*, p. 127. The *Mod. Intell.*, No. 100, says of them, 'with great difficulty he [Charles] agreed they say grace for him.'

³⁴⁰ *A Letter from Newcastle.*

court to acquaint Charles with their mission.³⁴¹ On the 28th, after a further endeavour on that date to sound the Scottish commissioners, Charles, late in the evening, expressed his willingness to set out for Holdenby with the English commissioners on the Wednesday following.³⁴² Meanwhile, the evacuation of Newcastle by the Scots was in progress. The first £100,000, paid at Topcliffe on the 21st, reached Newcastle on the 24th, 'and now,' writes a correspondent on the 28th, 'is dividing amongst them, each one reaching out for his share.'³⁴³ The Scots had appointed their head-quarters at Morpeth, the roads had been prepared for their progress as far as Berwick, and a small force of five hundred, only remained in Newcastle,³⁴⁴ when on Saturday, the 30th, Skippon arrived.³⁴⁵ The Scots thereupon withdrew quietly, about three o'clock that afternoon—'a friendly and brotherly parting,' as Leven had enjoined.³⁴⁶ Upon his arrival, the keys of the town

³⁴¹ *A Letter from Newcastle. Mercurius Diutinus*, for Jan 27-Feb. 3, 1647. Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 87.

³⁴² Thurloe, *ibid.* Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 398. *The Kings Answer*, etc, prints a letter from Newcastle, dated Jan. 28th; 'Sir, I was making up my Letter, it being almost night, to send it to the Post. But yet I am invited to adde a line or two of newes, which is this, That just now the Kings Majesty hath resolved that hee will go with the Commissioners to Homby, and hath appointed Wednesday next to . . . set out from hence . . . Wednesday night his Majesty intends (God willing) to be at Durham, which hath much revived us; for this morning I feared you should not have had so good News.'

³⁴³ *Ibid.* ³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁵ Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 398. 'On Saturday last the Scots . . . paraded all their cavalry through the centre of this town, and before the king's residence, and left it to the English garrison that arrived about two o'clock.'—Montreuil to Mazarin, *Scot. Hist. Soc.*, vol. xxix. p. 444.

³⁴⁶ *Cal. State Papers (Dom.)*, 1645-47, p. 517. Montreuil gives however a different version: 'the English officers had considerable trouble with blows and threats, to prevent the women of the town from following the Scottish troops and throwing stones at them while they were leaving it.'—*Scot. Hist. Soc.* Pub. vol. xxix. p. 445. Skippon took the Scots' sick in Newcastle under his care. Whitelock, vol. ii. p. 113. The Scots left behind them twenty guns which had formerly belonged to the earl of Newcastle.—*A True Relation from the King*. London, 1647. On Dec. 27th, 1646, the Scottish Estates had given instruction to their commissioners at Newcastle, 'Yow must provyde shippis to transport the provisions of victuall to Scotland. For whiche purpose yow ar warranted to give ordo^r for pressing Scottis shippis. And if the wind serve not before the removeall of the garrisons from Newcastle or Tinmouth assurance most be given for their passage and safe convoy.'—*Acts of the Parlt. of Scotland*, vol. vi. pt. i. Of the Scots' departure *A Letter from Newcastle* states, 'most of them goe very willingly; especially those who are considerable, though indeed some are discontented, Gen. Leven carries himself most excellently in the managing thereof.' *The Kings Answer*, etc., gives a different account, 'The Scotch officers behave themselves very inoffensively . . . As for the common Souldiers, they have such warm quarter, that I believe they goe away very unwillingly, considering the season and the cold climate through which they march.' *The Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 100, gives the time of their departure as 3 p.m.

were handed to Skippon by the mayor.³⁴⁷ Provision was made for his entertainment and that of his forces. The allowance for coals at four shillings the chaldron was continued to the incoming garrison.³⁴⁸ The corporation records give further details in the following minutes, dated August, 1647:—'Pd. M^r Mayor what he disbursed by order of Common Councill the 15. Feb., 1646, bedding and lening pewter and other nessaries for Major Gennerall Skippon, Governor of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, his use, as per bill, 10*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*;' 'Pd. the Right Wor^d M^r Mayor, wich he disbursed by order of Common Councill, the 15. Feb., 1646, for the use of the English Armie after the Scots Armie went from thence at the request of Major Gennerall Skippon, 25*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.*;' 'Pd. George Dawson for 3 hodgheads of French Wine, which was sent as a present from the Toune to Major Gennerall Skippon, togt with exsise and carridge ordered by Common Councill the 15th Feb., 1646, 10*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.*'³⁴⁹

On February 3rd, Charles left Newcastle.³⁵⁰ Carriages and teams of horses had been requisitioned for his use,³⁵¹ and Parliament had voted £3,000 for the expenses of his journey to Holdenby.³⁵² Upon his departure, proclamation was made that none who had served in arms against Parliament should approach him.³⁵³ Accompanied by the commissioners, the nine gentlemen appointed by Parliament to attend him, and guarded by an escort of nine hundred horse,³⁵⁴ he reached Durham at about two o'clock.³⁵⁵ On February 16th³⁵⁶ a new chapter in his stormy history opens at Holdenby.

³⁴⁷ Whitelock, vol. ii. p. 112. Tynemouth Castle was surrendered to Skippon's deputy at about six p.m. on Jan. 30th.—*Arch. Ael.* vol. xv. p. 220. On Feb. 26th, 1647, the House of Commons ordered Hartlepool garrison to be 'sighted.'—Surtees, *Durham*, vol. ii. p. 103. ³⁴⁸ Whitelock, *Ibid.* p. 113.

³⁴⁹ These minutes are printed in Hornby, but with different totals.

³⁵⁰ Whitelock, vol. ii. p. 113. On Feb. 3rd, also, the second £100,000 was paid to the Scots.—Peck, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 371. Ambrose Barnes, then a Newcastle apprentice, acted as one of the tellers of the money upon its arrival in the town. He received a pair of gloves from Skippon for his services.—*Life of Ambrose Barnes*, ed. Sir Cuthbert Sharp, p. 12.

³⁵¹ *Mercurius Diutinus*, for Jan. 27–Feb. 3, 1647, states 'there comes with the King to Holdenby, the 9 Commissioners, the 9 Gentlemen appointed by the Parliament to attend his Majesty, and the Convoy of Souldery, and the Country are summoned to send in Carriages, and Teames to goe along with them, for carriage of such things as his Majesty appoints to be brought along with him.' They proceeded by short marches 'to avoid such inconveniences as might possibly befall us in travelling late in the evening.'—The commissioners to the Earl of Newcastle, in Surtees, vol. iv. p. 10.

³⁵² Whitelock, *ibid.*

³⁵³ *Ibid.* under date Feb. 8th.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁶ Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 398.