

Royalist Prisoners in Windsor Castle

By SIR OWEN MORSHEAD

THE Civil War provided the last occasion on which the castles of England were put to a military purpose. At its outset both sides seized such fortresses as lay within their regions of predominance. These served as strong points, as garrisons, armouries and stores; and as prisons too, for each side became overburdened with prisoners, whose accommodation, security and provisioning proved a standing embarrassment. The Parliament were the better placed, for having imprisoned the archbishop and deprived the bishops they were able to avail themselves of Lambeth Palace, Fulham Palace, the London residences of the bishops of Winchester, Lincoln and Ely, and the deanery of St. Paul's: Gresham College and Lord Peter's house, as well as numerous hulks lying in the river Thames, were also pressed into service as gaols.

As the conflict wore on and the King's fortunes waned, Parliament took to giving orders for the "sighting" of such castles as they had captured, or needed no longer for their own use, or wished to deny to their opponents. This process involved destruction which might be partial or complete, even to the levelling of walls and defences. It is our good fortune that Windsor Castle, the natural focus for insurrectionary fury, should have survived intact, and this from the fact that it became the headquarters of the parliamentary army. It is true that they turned into cash a quantity of church treasure and furnishings out of St. George's Chapel; but of the 300 angels' heads in stone, the numerous carvings in wood, the alabaster tombs and the metalwork grilles, none was defaced or removed. We must respect their restraint in circumstances where damage would have been easy and must have been tempting.

One trace only of their long occupancy remains, in the prisoners' carvings illustrated here. They are preserved on the walls and in the window-embasure of the prison chamber over the Norman Gateway, now the study of the Lieutenant Governor, by whose courtesy they are here reproduced. It is the purpose of this article to establish the identity of these prisoners and to discuss the conditions of life within the castle during this interlude in its history.

The story opens in August 1642, when King Charles the First set up his standard at Nottingham. The Civil War had begun. In September he moved to Shrewsbury, whence he struck diagonally across the kingdom in a march upon London. There ensued the indecisive battle of Edgehill on 23 October, disengaging himself from which the King resumed his descent upon the capital. It was at this moment, on 28 October, that Colonel Venn was detached from the parliamentary army to occupy Windsor Castle. In it he remained as its Governor until June 1645.

John Venn, a past Warden of the Merchant Taylors Company, was at 56 a substantial citizen of London, which he represented in

Parliament. He would not have been assigned to Windsor had he been other than a vigorous administrator, holding opinions unlikely to commend themselves to his opponents. We need not be surprised to find him derided by royalist writers out of reach of his strong arm. Prominent among the regicides, it was given to him to meet a peaceful death before the fate which, after the Restoration, overtook his fellows.

His religious views reflected the heady preaching of his friend Christopher Love, whose church he had been in the habit of attending in London. At the age of 24 Love accompanied Venn as chaplain to his regiment, and their association continued at Windsor, where the young minister was installed in Venn's house. Anthony Wood records that in his Oxford days, while yet he was a poor scholar, it had been Love's habit to spring up into the pulpit of St. Peter-in-the-Bayly and "hold out prating" for above an hour. Such is the figure whom we should have in mind in weighing complaints about the facilities for worship accorded to the castle prisoners. He left Windsor in 1645, when Venn did. Six years later he was convicted of holding correspondence with the widowed Queen Henrietta Maria in France ("Love's Plot") and brought to execution by his own party upon Tower Hill.

Although the Parliament had London, the King, deprived of the central organ of government, could draw upon reserves of loyalty among the landed proprietors. It was this class that operated the defence mechanism of the countryside, the High Sheriffs in particular; it was their duty to execute the Commission of Array, which called upon all able-bodied men to take up arms in defence of their own county. The King had, so far as possible, seen to it that young and active men, of his own way of thinking, were appointed to these key posts; and not a few of them, marked men to the Parliament, presently found themselves in trouble with a price upon their heads.

Such a man was Sir Edmund Fortescue, of Fallowpit in Devon, who at the age of 32 had only been Sheriff for a week or so when the day of trial came upon him:—

The New Sheriff of Devonshire, Sir Edmond Fortescue, had lately assembled the trained bands and others, to the number of 2,000, to Modbury in the same county, to assist Sir Ralph Hopton; which Captain Pym and Captain George Thompson hearing of issued with about 4 troops of horse and some Dragoners to the number of 500 out of Plymouth, and fetching a compass about over Roborough Down, came suddenly upon the said town of Modbury and put all the soldiers to flight, and apprehended the said sheriff and others to the number of 20, all of which they have sent up to London by sea, to receive their doom from the Parliament; and thereby they have secured Dartmouth, which otherwise by the malignity and cowardice of the inhabitants was ready to yield.¹

Sir Ralph Hopton, for whose succour this party of countrymen had been convened, describes in his narrative how he went over to

¹*England's Memorable Accidents*, Dec. 12–19, 1642.

Modbury to observe his new draft, "hoping to have found it consisting of regiments of foot well armed; but though there appeared a great concourse of people, yet it was rather like a great fair than a Posse, there being none but the gentlemen that had any kind of arms or equipage for war. Sir Ralph Hopton could not procure above twenty men armed, nor so much as a patrol of twenty horse to ride out. All the gentlemen of the country [were] so transported with the jollity of the thing that no man was capable of the labour and care of discipline".¹

Such were the raw levies that were dispersed in confusion and their leaders shipped from Dartmouth. In London they arrived on December 29, and there we will leave them, in Lambeth House, while we see what was happening in the neighbouring county of Somerset. Here a prominent royalist figure was Sir Francis Dodington, whose arms may still be seen in the little village of Dodington (14 miles N.W. of Taunton), both on the outside of the church and in the manor house. An older man than Fortescue, he had been Sheriff of Somerset as early as 1630. "On the breaking out of the civil wars he was the first that executed the King's Commission of Array in this county", we are told:² and he must have been one of the first to be captured too, for he appears among the prisoners at Lambeth simultaneously with Sir Edmund Fortescue's party. The arms of each may be seen in Plates 1, 2, 3 and 4.

A third group remains to be rounded up, this time from Sussex, where Edward Ford, of Uppark, Petersfield, had just been made Sheriff, in November 1642, at the age of 37. A thrusting young man, he at once undertook to raise the county in the King's cause; and had his military experience equalled his zeal he might have cut a more notable figure. But confronted with Sir William Waller, a seasoned and spirited general, he soon found himself bottled up in the town of Chichester and forced to surrender on December 29th. Himself the brother-in-law of General Ireton, he took no harm from this escapade; indeed he lived to surrender Arundel (again to Waller) a year later, having been knighted by the King at Oxford betweenwhiles. But it was otherwise with his troops:—

The chief prisoners taken by Sir William Waller at Chichester were on Monday and Tuesday last brought to London, being in all about four score of them, all commanders and gentlemen of good worth; and for the present they were all committed to Lambeth House. But that prison was conceived to be too little to entertain them and the other prisoners before committed thither. The Houses of Parliament agreed upon an order that Lord Peters his house in Aldersgate Street should also be made a prison, and a part of the prisoners from Chichester are to be removed thither.³

¹*Bellum Civile: Hopton's Narrative of his Campaign in the West*. Somerset Record Society, Vol. XVIII (1902).

²Collinson's Somerset (1791), iii, 519.

³*A Continuation of Certain Special and Remarkable Passages &c.*, January 2-6, 1642/3.

London was however becoming too full, and only a week later it was reported as follows:

Some of the cavaliers that were brought from Chichester and committed to Winchester House are privily gotten out from thence and escaped. Whereupon the Parliament hath sent 60 prisoners out of Winchester House and Lambeth House to Windsor Castle, to be kept there in safe custody, where they will be under the guard of Colonel Venn's regiment, consisting of 1,000 Dragoniers, who will look a little better to them than only a few negligent persons have done.¹

Because Windsor was 'not so well fitted for the safe keeping of them as is requisite (the quality of the persons considered)', Colonel Venn was allowed £50 for the improvement of their accommodation. They could be carried to Windsor in coaches provided they were willing to pay, and there they might have beds and other necessities at their own charge. Upon their arrival Venn was to collect an entrance fee from each according to the following scale: lieutenants, cornets and ensigns 26s. 8d.; inferior officers and ordinary persons 20s.; knights, captains, esquires 40s.; colonels, lieutenant-colonels, sergeant-majors (i.e. majors), or any persons of high degree 5 marks (i.e. £3 6s. 8d.). In addition, each was to pay some reasonable allowance weekly according to the nature of his accommodation. They were not to leave the castle, nor speak to visitors, nor receive or send letters.²

To these prisoners from Devon, Somerset and Sussex were soon added a few more, this time from Norfolk, where a suspected rising had been promptly handled by Cromwell, already a promising provincial commander:—

By letters from Suffolk of the 15th present it was informed that on Tuesday last Captain Cromwell, with about a thousand horse, having notice of a great confederacy held among the malignants at a town called Lowestoft in that county, being a place of great consequence, came upon them unawares and gained the town, with small difficulty and no shot, took prisoners Sir Thomas Barker and his brother, Sir John Pettus, Mr. Thomas Knyvett, two of the younger Catlings, Captain Hammond, Mr. Cory, Mr. Turrill, Mr. Preston and about twenty others of good worth; and if the business had been delayed but one day longer there was listed to have met (as afterwards appeared) as many more knights and gentlemen, but the Cock-a-trice Egg is broken, and 'tis believed hath so discouraged their party that Norfolk and Suffolk will be very strong for King and Parliament. This was the best piece of service that hath been done a long time, for both the counties will now be freed of their fears of the malignants. There was also taken in the said town divers clergymen of the confederacy.³

This Norfolk contingent was but a handful, but to the Parliament they were important, being persons of influence in their country district. To us too they have a special significance, for it is through one of them, Thomas Knyvett of Ashwell Thorpe, near Norwich, that we owe a description of their life at Windsor, whither they had

¹*England's Memorable Accidents*, 12 Jan., 1642/3.

²*Commons' Journals*, 10, 11, 16 January and 2 February, 1642/3.

³*A Perfect Diurnall*, 18 March, 1642/3.

been sent after a brief confinement at Cambridge. To his wife he wrote:—¹

From our Pallas at Windsor Castle,
22 April, 1643

Dear Heart,

I know my sudden remove from Cambridge hath been a greater affliction to thee than to me; for, cheer up thyself, I humbly thank God I was not in better health since I saw thee than I am now. And though the malice of our own countrymen thought us in too good condition at Cambridge, yet, maugre their spite, God hath given us more favour in the eyes of strangers here than we could reap from those that owe it to us. . . . We are now agitating our remove to London. Make all things fit against this day fortnight to set forward; by that time I hope I shall meet thee there.

You may now write Lady, for we are all Poor Knights of Windsor. They have lodged us in their houses. Poor men, they have turned them out and put us in, and ere long we shall be as poor as they. We had but two rooms for 7 of us the first night, and one bed for us all. I hope you will now say we lay like Pig-hogs indeed. We are since better accommodated, thanks be to the good women here, who are full of courtesy; yet still 7 to our rooms and house of office.

We are now become housekeepers, and got good things about us; for our bodies we shall do reasonably well. And for our souls God hath so provided for us as we never wanted a divine amongst us since our restraint. Dr. Young, a prebend of Norwich, is our chaplain; our fellow-prisoner, a patient, quiet, sober man.² We had the liberty to go to church, forenoon and afternoon, here in the Castle, where we heard wonderful sermons.

I was forced to leave all my clothes at Cambridge, so I fear I shall be lousy before I get any change; but 'tis all our cases. Good dear Mother, be hearty and merry, and pray to God. For the rest, God Almighty bless and keep you all there, and us here, and send us a happy meeting. Commend me kindly to all thou thinkest love me. Farewell,

Thy faithfullest friend living,
T.K.

My fellow prisoners present their service to you, by name

Sr. Will: Deny
Sr. Th: Barker
Sr. John Pettus
Mr. Holl
Mr. Hamant
Mr. Cattlin
And thy dear Bully boy
A knot of male contents.

To his dear wife, Mrs. Katherine Knyvet
at her house at Aswell Thorpe Norfolk
give these.

¹*The Knyvett Letters*, ed. Bertram Schofield, Constable 1949, pp. 114–116.

²Dr. Edward Young. He did not long remain in confinement, for on 21 September he was installed (not merely appointed) Archdeacon of Exeter, to which was added a canonry of Exeter three months later. In plurality with these and his canonry of Norwich he held the rectory of Hadstock in Essex. After the Restoration he became Dean of Exeter, when he resigned his Norwich canonry; but he died within a year (1663). (Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy* (1714), II, 25.)

Among the same Knyvett Papers is the following inventory of the domestic articles assigned for their use:—

The copy of the particulars to wh. wee subscribed wch. I have in my custody.
Jo. Pettus.

a feather bed, 2 bolsters, 2 pillowes, 2 blankets, a rugg, a bedsted, a matt(ress), a cord, curtaine rodd, curtaines & valence, 2 chamberpotts, & a stool. One other feather bed, 1 bolster, 1 pillow, 1 blanket, one coverlett, a matt(ress) & cord. 2 pairs of sheets, 2 pillowbears (i.e. pillowcases), a towel, 2 napkins, a bason, a skillet, a brasse candlestick, a short forme.

W. Deny, T. Barker, J. Pettus, Th. Knivet, Aug. Holl., H. Hamond, T. Catilen.

Thomas Knyvett presently achieved his remove to London, whence he rallied his wife in a letter which opens as follows:—

London, 11 July, 1643

How now, Mistress,

What a scolding so soon as ever you come home. Fye! 'tis not noble to insult upon calamity; because a prisoner, therefore a slave. And indeed I never knew myself a captive till I came into this feminine custody. I had no such language in Windsor Castle; they were better bred gentlewomen, and more tender hearts, that would melt into tears of compassion in our arms. Take heed of sending me thither again. . . .

The Poor Knights of Windsor were no doubt inconvenienced by this imposition of prisoners upon them, but they were sympathetically treated by the Roundheads. Their pay was continued out of the confiscated Chapter livings,¹ and they were allowed either to "abide in their houses, or else have the allowance of the profit that is made by keeping prisoners in them".² When the fighting ceased, in 1655 or thereabouts, their revenue was settled afresh, "and several of Cromwell's old Trojans were now tituladoed with this pensionary honour, and none else to be admitted".³

Less fortunate were the Dean and Canons, whose livelihood was taken away and their houses given over to other uses. To this day there remains an inscription scratched on the Tudor fireplace of one of their houses (No. 4, Canons' Cloister); it takes the form of the classical tag *homo homini lupus* (man, wolf towards man). May we not perceive in it the sorrowful sighing of one of Cromwell's captives?

It has already been seen that the Chichester contingent were "all commanders and gentlemen of good worth", and further evidence is not lacking that the Castle was for the most part reserved for the better class of prisoner. After the fall of Colchester, for instance, it was "the Lords, with two men apiece, and twelve other officers" who were selected to go to Windsor. According to a

¹State Papers Domestic, 1654, p. 362.

²Lords Journals, 24 June, 1643.

³Heath's Chronicle, edn. 1676, p. 372.

royalist journal¹ civilians too, of substantial standing, were taken to the castle:

No less than sixteen citizens of London, most of them eminent for their loyalty, all of them for their possessions, have been fetched out of their beds at several times this last week (their surprisers scarce tolerating them to put on their clothes) and hurried away to Windsor Castle, where they are kept close prisoners, not so much as their wives nor any of their children suffered to give them a visit.

The misfortunes of Edward Pitt of Stratfield Saye in Hampshire, one of the Tellers of the Exchequer, may be followed in his correspondence book in the British Museum.² On January 19th 1642/3, he was brought a prisoner to the castle and there detained until late in the following November. His offence, according to his own account, was that his undergraduate son at Oxford, without his consent or knowledge, had joined the King's army. When he asked to be allowed out in the town of Windsor on parole, Venn replied that he knew there was but one way to purchase liberty. Six of his houses were confiscated, twenty-six horsemen billeted on him without payment, his tenants forbidden to pay him rent, his plate seized and Stratfield Saye twice plundered. His undergraduate son died of sickness, and in the course of the summer his wife died too, leaving eleven surviving children. To his sister he wrote. "I am here in safehold, and under the hands and custody of the most uncharitable and unchristian-like wretch that breathes upon the face of the earth, or else should not have been denied (upon good bail and security offered) the liberty of performing the last duty to a dying wife". "After a long time of imprisonment", wrote his brother William Pitt, "there appearing no just grounds, nor any proofs of his delinquency, he was by order enlarged, and within one week after died". His monument is in Stratfield Saye church.

Here and there his letters yield crumbs of information. To Mr. Chambers, a subordinate of Lord Essex, he wrote on March 9th that if Chambers could procure his release upon payment of a fine, "this shall in gratitude and plain English be 7 pieces to you. But if not, my next suit is for the liberty of the town and park, which obtained shall be 5 pieces to you. And because half a loaf is better than no bread to an hungry prisoner, I shall account the liberty of the Castle better than to be penned in a close room; and that piece of a courtesy shall return you 2". It was with "Sir John Bathurst, my fellow-prisoner and chamberfellow" that he was penned. Some prisoners received visits from their wives, for on June 14th first-hand news of his own wife came to him from a Mrs. West who had come to the Castle to comfort her husband. Other wives were evidently allowed to share their husband's confinement, such as Sir William

¹*Mercurius Pragmaticus*, 5-12 September, 1648.

²Captain R. P. Adair has kindly drawn attention to this volume (Addl. MSS. 29974, folios 361 to 409): as also to S.P. 28/126 in the Public Record Office, extracts from which follow.

Denny's lady, whose dangerous fever is more than once alluded to in the correspondence. Indeed at that time (it was August 16th) Pitt was living in hopes of being joined by his wife, but she must have a care: "here have been some escapes and some disorders that have caused a more strictness in the castle. The Gents that escaped are Colonel Cockerine, Sir Edmund ffoscue (Fortescue), and Sir Francis Dodington".

Where were these persons of quality, whether military or civilian, quartered in the Castle? The lodgings of the Poor Knights were taken for the purpose; and we shall presently see that Sir Thomas Peyton, the leader of the Kentish rebellion, was confined in Winchester Tower. We read of padlocks and staples being furnished for those residences¹: they would only need securing on their inner flank, for the curtain wall of the Castle was at that time unpierced by windows. Then there were the gatehouses; these were always regarded as places of security, partly because they would in any case be guarded by sentries, and partly because, having no ground-floor accommodation, access to their rooms was confined to an easily-controlled turret staircase. The Castle provided several such gateways: King Henry VIII Gate; the Inner Gate (demolished in 1671) at the top of the Lower Ward; and the Norman Gate in which are inscribed those names and arms here illustrated.² There was also the Rubbish Gate (destroyed by George IV), which is known to have contained a prison. Writing a hundred years after the Civil War, Pote records that the Devil's Tower was 'formerly set aside for state prisoners';³ this tower, known to-day as King Edward III Tower, adjoined the Rubbish Gate at the south-west corner of the Upper Ward. And lastly there was the ground-floor accommodation in the Curfew Tower, where still to-day six roughly scratched coats of arms witness to its occupancy by upper-class prisoners; five are to be seen upon entering, at the foot of the steep wooden staircase, and the sixth is in the entrance to the sally-port.⁴

But Common Prisoners also were probably housed in the Curfew Tower, in the roomy and dry basement; for a Common Prison there was and it is difficult to see where else it can have been. Reference is occasionally made to these captives, as for instance after the battle of Preston, when "four bargefuls of Scots prisoners came

¹Record Office, S.P. 28/126.

²It is probably the prisoners in the Norman Gate who scratched their initials (dated 1656 in one instance) upon the wall outside, where they would normally take the air. It is the north wall of the Royal Library, near the steps down to the North Terrace. The height of these *graffiti* is due to the lowering of the roadway in the early nineteenth century.

³*The History and Antiquities of Windsor Castle*; Joseph Pote (1749), p. 43.

⁴The shields may be blazoned as follows. 1. Barry dancetté, a canton. 2. A bend charged with two roundels. 3. A chevron between three crosses potent. 4. (Probably unfinished; perhaps identical with the preceding); a chevron. 5. (Presumably unfinished); a plain shield divided quarterly. 6. (In the sally port); three chevronels, as for Christopher Lewkenor in Plate 9.

from Windsor to Gravesend, to be put into ships to be transported".¹ A fragmentary portion of Colonel Venn's accounts yields a little information about them.² Upon an unstated date eleven coaches, at £2 apiece, brought prisoners from London; a load of straw was furnished for them, and coals for their first night to make them a fire. Locks and bolts, as well as iron spikes for doors, were fitted. As to food, in addition to an allowance of beer, the Poor Prisoners received a daily issue of biscuit, cheese and butter to the value of threepence; and from this it is possible to compute their number. During the first sixteen months of the war (and the account goes no further) it varied from 20 or less to as many as 130 during more active periods; once, for only a day or two, it touched 165. They lay upon straw 'in the common prison'. The Chirurgeon was issued with tow, calico, a ream of paper, and medicine, 'to dress wounded men from the army' (it is not stated which). The Marshall was once paid £3.1.8 'for shrouds to bury 30 common soldiers which died in prison'.

But when all is said the problem of accommodation must have been acute, for the Lower Ward could not be crowded with "malignants" without adequate troops to look after them. Perhaps these guards were billeted in the town. Certain it is that even after the Restoration the innholders and victuallers of Windsor represented to Parliament that they were still not free from the quartering of soldiers. They had "6, 8, 10 or 12 in a house, to whom they have to lend 6d. a day and allow fire, candle, dressing of food, and lodging, so that they have few or no spare rooms, and the incumbrance will be their ruin".³

The war had been in progress for some months before the Court at Oxford launched its journal *Mercurius Aulicus*, under the editorship of John Birkenhead of All Souls. Its third weekly issue (January 20th, 1642/3) carried a heartening account of dissensions at Windsor, where Venn was Governor of the Castle, but the Earl of Essex (the General in command of the whole Parliamentary army) had established his headquarters in the Round Tower.

By letters bearing date Reading January 19 it was this day signified that there came thither the day before a Lieutenant who, with his Captain, had escaped out of Windsor, where they were held prisoners, having been taken long since at Egham as they and divers other gentlemen were coming to his Majesty's service. By whom it is affirmed for certain that there is a great discontent among the soldiers of that place for want of pay, government, and the Common Prayer Book; and that upon the Court of Guard they oftentimes fall out about it. And also that the Earl of Essex (who hath a long time had a mind to be master of Windsor Castle but could never yet effect his purpose) did, not long since, cause a muster to be made of all Venn's regiment in the park: and in the mean time sent Sir Edward Peitow to enter the castle with 60 firelocks under pretence of bringing some timber for the use of the artillery. But Venn had ordered his

¹*Perfect Occurrences*, 23 September 1648.

²Record Office, S.P. 28/126.

³State Papers Domestic, 1660/1, 357.

matters so that the gates should not be opened to him, nor he suffered to enter. It is further certified in the said letter that the Earl of Peterborough, on some discontent, called Venn *a base rascally broken citizen*.

The taunt is repeated a week later:

This day there came a drum to Court about the exchange of prisoners, sent from no worse a man than the great Captain Venn, who, having a command in the Castle of Windsor, conceives he may capitulate on equal terms with the lord of the castle. So soon has he forgotten that he was lately called *a base rascally broken citizen* by the Earl of Peterborough, and the coarse usage which he had of late from the Earl of Essex.

We have seen how, during the first quarter of the year 1643, Windsor Castle had received parties of prisoners from Devon, Somerset, Sussex and Norfolk, and the Knyvett letters have partially lifted the veil upon their manner of life there. Simultaneously, from March 20th to April 13th, parliamentary Commissioners had been conducting negotiations with the King at Oxford; and here, on the other side, is what Parliament was told about the treatment accorded to their prisoners within that city:

This day the House was informed by a good hand, and one that was prisoner at Oxford, that although when the Committee for the Treaty was there the prisoners of the Parliament's forces had liberty to take the air in the castle yard, and to have friends visit them and necessities brought them; yet as soon as the Committee was come away, Smith, the Provost Marshal, locked them up into close, stinking dungeons, not suffering anybody to come at them, being allowed but five farthings a day in bread and water; into which it is more than probable some poison was put, for eight captains and gentlemen of good worth died within this fortnight, many of them being well overnight and dead next day.

It is a grievous thing that these gentlemen should suffer in this inhumane manner, while those that are taken prisoner by the Parliament's forces are drinking and feasting, and in their healths drink to the confusion of the Parliament.¹

But Birkenhead continued from Oxford to scold Colonel Venn at Windsor. In his *Mercurius Aulicus* for December 21st, 1643, he wrote:

As the Members do lord it at Westminster, so doth Master Venn in his Castle at Windsor; where, if you chance to die, there is no Christian burial. For Colonel Shelley (who, for his loyalty to His Majesty in the business of Chichester, hath been prisoner there above a twelvemonth) desired Venn to allow Christian burial to a gentleman that died there; to whom Venn returned this very answer, here inserted from the original under Venn's own hand.

Sir,

You know I am not willing to deny you anything reasonable; but what you mean by Christian burial I understand not. Sure I am it is Christian burial to have Christians to accompany the corpse to the earth; and not to have prayers said over the dead. I am sure this is papistical burial; and to have this done, I denied it to a captain's wife lately buried, and to all of our side; for it is against the covenant we have taken, and therefore I must crave excuse. Only this I shall afford you, that I do afford to ourselves; you shall have your request in this, that some of your officers shall carry him to the grave, if ye do it in the daytime.

John Venn.

¹*A Perfect Diurnall*, 20 May, 1643. See also *Commons Journals*, 3, p. 84.

Is not this a champion for the Protestant religion, who hath the face to give it under his hand that Christian burial according to the Church of England is expressly against their covenant? But Mistress Venn affirms it; and we are bound to believe her, who, good lady, professed to her husband, "She could not sleep or take any rest in any part of Windsor Castle but only in the Queen's lodging".

Bruno Ryves is a man to whom we may now turn. He was vicar of Stanwell, some ten miles from Windsor, and had been chaplain to King Charles I for two years when war broke out. A month before hostilities opened he was, with his wife and children, bundled out of his vicarage, his goods seized and himself driven to lie all night under a hedge. Little wonder that he voiced "the Countries Complaint of the Barbarous Outrages committed by the Sectaries of this late flourishing Kingdom" in a sequence of nineteen issues of his journal *Mercurius Rusticus*. The King in 1646 appointed him Dean of Chichester, although in the circumstances he was unable to avail himself of the preferment. More to our purpose, at the Restoration he became Dean of Windsor, where his portrait hangs in the deanery and his body lies in the chapel.

Bruno Ryves' polemical articles were subsequently published anonymously in a book called *Mercurius Rusticus*. From the edition of 1685 (pp. 99-102) the following passage relevant to Windsor is sufficiently interesting to be quoted in full:

There is none so insolent and intolerable as a base man started up into command or authority. We cannot give you a greater instance than in that beggarly Captain Venn, citizen of London, made Colonel and Commander-in-chief of Windsor Castle, who not only doth assume to himself the propriety of his Sovereign's house, dating his letters to Jezebel his wife *from our Castle at Windsor*, and building some additions to the Dean's lodgings, as if he meant to make that his habitation, when no place in that royal castle is fit for such a couple but the Colehouse, and even that too good for them: but he doth use the gentlemen and soldiers, taken by the rebels and sent there, with that cruelty and inhumanity as if they were Turks, not Christians; for the gentlemen that are prisoners there are not only kept from church, nor permitted to receive the sacrament (neither from their own preachers nor from any friend whom they could procure to do that office for them); nay they were not permitted to join together in devotions in their private lodgings, but each man apart; and if this petty tyrant could have hindered that intercourse which every particular devout soul enjoys with his God, this atheist would have hindered that too.

And because the sedentary, solitary lives which they led there were prejudicial to their healths, they earnestly entreated Venn that they might recreate themselves in the tennis-court near the Keep, and offered to be at the charges of a guard, if those high walls and the many guards about them were not thought sufficient to secure them, but yet were denied.

Nay, when the sheriff of Sussex¹ was brought prisoner from London to Windsor, very lame, though his chirurgeon offered Venn to be deposed that on the least neglect his leg was like to gangreen, yet after he came to Windsor he was forced to lie with the rest of the knights and gentlemen on the ground many nights. At last, shewing his leg to Venn, he confessed that he never saw a more dangerous lameness, and promised to acquaint the Earl of Essex with it. And the sheriff himself, being acquainted with the Earl, presuming on some interest in him, wrote unto him to acquaint him with his condition, and earnestly

¹Presumably Sir Edward Ford, after the siege of Arundel.

entreating him that he might be sent to London and disposed of, though in a dungeon, for a week, that he might have the assistance of his own physician and chirurgeon, offering to give him any security and be at any charge to assure him of his safe return, to render himself true prisoner; but neither the sense of his misery nor his earnest solicitations could prevail with His Excellency.

And if the knights and gentlemen, who had money to bribe that compassion which they could not entreat, found no better measure at their hands, what then, think you, were those heavy pressures under which the poor common soldiers groaned? There were in the Castle eight poor soldiers to whom the sheriff of Sussex allowed eight shillings a week. Yet notwithstanding, because they refused to take the wages of iniquity and serve under the rebel colours, and fight against their Sovereign, they starved them; insomuch that being released (that they might not die in the Castle), coming into the air, three of them fell down dead in the streets; three more recovered as far as Eton, where a good woman, for five shillings a week given for their relief by the sheriff of Sussex, gave them entertainment: and when the sheriff made his happy escape he left them alive.

There was a poor man living near Moor Park¹ whom Prince Rupert (when in those parts) commanded to shew him where the pipes lay which conveyed water to the Castle; for this cause they apprehend him and commit him prisoner to the Castle, where they fed him with so slender diet that they even starved him. And when (upon his wife's tears and lamentable cries that she and her children were like to starve at home while her husband starved at Windsor, they having no subsistence but what he got by the sweat of his brows) he was released, he was not able to stand on his legs; and whether dead since we have no information.

There was at the same time within the Castle one Lieutenant Atkinson,² prisoner, who, suffering under the same want of necessary food, sent to his father, humbly petitioning for relief. His father, though a man of good estate, returned answer that unless he would take proffered entertainment from the parliament he should lie there, rot and starve, and be damned for him. He, finding no pity from his father, where nature and religion bade him expect it, petitioned the gentlemen in the Keep for bread, as many others daily did; and on his petition had monies sent him, but died starved two days after.

The initial novelty having worn off, little is heard of the daily life of the prisoners. In the governorship of the castle Venn was succeeded in 1645 by Colonel Whichcott. Over the countryside quiet winter periods alternated with bursts of activity. The year 1648 in particular produced a notable crop of uprisings, in consequence of Parliament's resolution to treat no more with the King nor suffer others to do so. In March their own Colonel Poyer raised the standard of revolt against them in Wales; the month of May brought the Kentish rebellion under Sir Thomas Peyton, ending in the bitter siege of Colchester in August; in July the King's cousin, Duke of Hamilton, led the Scots into the northern counties, to meet defeat at Preston in August. Of these great events it must suffice here to say that the royalist leaders were in each case brought to Windsor. As the fateful year drew on tension mounted within the castle, where those who had already been confined for four and even five years were joined by fresh bands of eager prisoners, many of whose names were familiar in the mouth as household words.

¹Blackmoor Park, in the parish of Winkfield, where the water supply for the Castle came from.

²He was one of the Chichester contingent.

On October 26th it was announced in *Perfect Occurrences* that the Headquarters of the Army was to move to Windsor on the following day; but on the 30th the order was countermanded as being imprudent, "considering the straitness of quarters at Windsor, and the many prisoners there likely to make addresses to his Excellency".

Christmas brought a portent of the climax which the new year held in store. The King himself was among them, here in the castle to pass the last month before his end. The governor had received only one day's notice, in the following letter from Cromwell and Ireton:¹

Sir,

Captain Brayfield with his own and two other companies of foot are ordered to come to you, and to receive orders from you for the better securing of the Castle and the person of the King therein. You may quarter them in the town and in Eton (if not in the Castle). Colonel Harrison is also to appoint 3 or 4 troops of horse to remain near Windsor, and keep guard by a troop at a time within the Castle.

It is thought fittest that the horse guard, or part of it, be kept within the upper Castle, and that at least one company of foot at a time be upon guard there; and that the bridge betwixt the Castles (if you think fit) be drawn up in the night, and kept drawn ordinarily in the day.² Also that no other prisoners be lodged in that part of the Castle besides the King, unless Duke Hamilton in some close rooms where he may not have intercourse with the King; and he rather to be in Winchester [Tower], where Sir Thomas Peyton was, if you can safely dispose of the other prisoners elsewhere. But the King (by all means) must be lodged in the upper Castle in some of the safest rooms; and those gentlemen who are appointed to assist in the immediate watching about the King to be also lodged (if it may be) in the upper Castle, or at least within the [Round] Tower.

It is thought convenient that (during the King's stay with you) you turn out of the Castle all malignant or Cavalierish inhabitants (except the prisoners), and as many others of loose and idle persons as you can well riddle out, and to stint the number of prisoners' servants to the lowest proportion you well can. You are desired also to restrain any numerous or ordinary concourse of unnecessary people into that part of the Castle, of whose affection and faithfulness to the public there is not good assurance, or who have not necessary occasions there; and to suffer no public preaching in the Chapel, or any like occasion for concourse of people.

'Tis good the prisoners, this while, be strictly kept in, and withheld from intercourse or communication with one another; and that the guards at the gates of the upper-castle have a list of the King's allowed servants, as also of the officers and gentlemen of the army that are to watch the King (with their servants), that those guards may know whom they are ordinarily to let in; and the guards at the outer gate of the lower-castle to have knowledge of the same list, and of all other dwellers and lodgers within the lowest part.

The Lord be with you and bless you in this great charge. To his good pleasure I commend you and it.

Your faithful friend and servant,

Westminster,
22 December, 1648.

OLIVER CROMWELL
HENRY IRETON

For Colonel Whitchcott, Governor of Windsor Castle, haste these.

¹*Clarke Papers*, (Camden Soc., 1894), II, 142-144.

²The "bridge betwixt the castles" was a gatehouse with drawbridge at the top of the Lower Ward. It was demolished in 1671.

The issue of *Perfect Occurrences* for December 29th, 1648, recaptures for us the scene of his arrival:

The manner of His Majesty's coming in to Windsor Castle, 23 December, about 3 in the afternoon.

Major-General Whichcott, Governor of Windsor Castle, having received intelligence His Majesty was to come that day thither, made ready what strength he had in the castle to make a guard for His Majesty. . . .

As soon as the King had lighted off his horse the Governor, with Colonel Harrison, attended him (with divers other officers and gentlemen) to his chamber. After he had looked about him he spoke to them merrily, "I promised you a short way", meaning from the place they came from last, "but not a fair way"; for indeed it rained almost all that afternoon.

Then the King went to make a choice of rooms to lodge and eat in &c., which was fitted accordingly. He then enquired of the Governor what prisoners he had in the castle: he told him he had Duke Hamilton, Colonel Brownbushell, and Sir John Owen that killed the High Sheriff of the county where he lived. The King asked him if he had not Major-General Brown, nor any of the Members; he answered he had not.¹ The King then went to his chair that was near the fire and leaned his arm on the backside of it, standing in a melancholy posture. A while after he went to supper, and after supper to his lodging chamber.

Tuesday, 26 December. This day the Lord General (Fairfax) gave a pass to the King's tailor to carry the new clothes (so much talked on) to the King at Windsor.

Wednesday, 27 December. The King is pretty merry and spends much time reading of sermon books, and sometimes Shakespeare,² and Ben Johnson's plays. And his discourse is much upon what hath happened in several engagements in the wars, and how himself commanded at such and such times and ordered the battles, and what effect there was of it. . . .

The King is in a very secure place in the Castle, and strong bolts and guards are for the night about the chamber; but he will not allow any to lie or be in the chamber with him. He saith they use him very civilly, and assures them that he will not by any underhand way attempt to make escape. . . .

¹The King was alluding to the five Members of Parliament, four of whose portraits appear in Plates 11 to 14. They had been arrested 12 days earlier. "This day Major-General Brown (Sheriff of London) was apprehended by the army: and he and Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Colonel Massey and Colonel Copley were sent prisoners to St. James". *Perfect Occurrences*, 11 December, 1648.

These four portraits were formerly in the collection of Lord Cromwell at Sprotborough Hall. They are now in the National Portrait Gallery where it is held that the one lettered Sir William Lewis represents in fact Sir Edward Massey. Each bears the dates 1648, 1649, 1650, 1651. They are here reproduced by courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.

²The 2nd folio from which he read it is now in the Royal Library. Inscribed *Dum spiro spero*. C.R., it was given by the King to Sir Thomas Herbert, who attended him to the scaffold.

Repeatedly during the King's confinement, both in Hurst Castle and at Windsor, the public were informed that he passed much of his time reading plays, a practice for which Milton, even after the execution, took him to task in *Eikonoklastes*. He did not share the abhorrence of his captors for the stage. While they were discussing where his trial should be held (and deciding against Windsor on the ground that it would divide the army) their news-sheet announced that the soldiers had "surprised the players in Salisbury Court and Drury Lane, and brought them prisoners to Whitehall in their attire, fools in theirs and the King in his; but took the crown off his head, yet sometimes put it on again". (*Perfect Occurrences*, 1 and 12 January, 1648/9.)

The King, though the cook disappointed him of mince pies and plum porridge, yet he resolved to keep Christmas; and accordingly put on his best clothes, and himself is chaplain to the gentlemen that attend him, reading and expounding the scripture to them.

The King goes not out, only walks sometimes upon the terrace and on the galleries. The King touched some of the Evil as he came, as before; but now there are none admitted to come to him with the Evil.

The King passed 26 nights at Windsor before being moved to St. James' Palace on January 18th. On January 30th the axe fell. On February 8th his body was laid to rest in St. George's Chapel with the same economy of outward form as Venn had enjoined upon Colonel Shelley.

The King disposed of, example was made of others who had incurred the particular displeasure of Parliament: Colonel Poyer, for instance, who had deserted to the King's side and in doing so had been joined by Major-General Rowland Laugharne—another Roundhead, who had started life as a page to Lord Essex himself. These two, together with Colonel Powell, a third leader in the Welsh rising, were taken together from Windsor to their trial in Whitehall, and were alike condemned to death. Poyer, an observer reported, "is very poor, and had a little used some practice of his glover's trade while he was prisoner there [Windsor]; and now rid without boots, in a pair of coarse grey cloth stockings and shoes, with a pair of spurs upon his shoes".¹ As an act of clemency they were allowed to draw lots to determine which individual of the three should go to the block. It was Poyer.

The arms of Laugharne and Powell are to be seen in Norman Tower (Plates 5 and 6): together with those of Stradling of St. Donat's, one of a trio of Welsh brothers distinguished for their championship of the King's cause. No doubt Bowen, too, came with them (Plates 7 and 8). Their exploits are recorded in J. R. Phillips' useful book, "Memoirs of the Civil War in Wales and the Marches" (1878). Another Welshman execrated by the Parliament was Sir John Owen, who was brought from Windsor to his trial at Whitehall on a charge of murdering the High Sheriff of Merioneth.

Mr. Lloyd the Sheriff had seven wounds, and Owen promised him upon his honour that he should have care taken of him, for curing his wounds; yet nevertheless a guard was set upon him, and he was carried up and down from place to place, his wounds bleeding about the streets, and no surgeon admitted to dress him. And at last stript and thrown upon the ground, where he lay till he bled to death.²

¹*Perfect Occurrences*, 14 March 1648/9.

²*Ibid.* 10 June, 1648.

Though Owen too was condemned to death, his life was likewise spared.¹ It will be remembered that he was one after whom the King, on his first arrival in the castle, had especially enquired. Another was Browne Bushell; and since his arms appear in Plate 9 we may consider the case of this strange buccaneer. His grandfather, Sir Hugh Cholmeley, held Scarborough for the Parliament, and he himself was of the garrison: not only that, but when the grandfather surrendered the castle to the royalists Browne Bushell recaptured it and continued to hold it for the Roundheads. But only for a season, after which he in turn resigned it to the royalists, and was duly summoned to London to explain his conduct to Fairfax. From the interview he surprisingly emerged as captain of a fine new vessel, which he presently handed over to Charles II in the Downs. For this he spent three years in Windsor Castle, where however the governor was instructed "to provide for him as necessary for one of his quality", and he was given a special allowance of five shillings a day. But Parliament, simultaneously with the execution of the luckless Poyer, resolved that "Captain Browne Bushell, the great Sea Agent against the Parliament" should be exempted from mercy, and he was eventually executed on April 26th, 1651.

Above his arms may be seen two nameless shields, one displaying three chevronels, the other a fesse between eight billets. Both represent men of noted Sussex lineage, included among the original batch of prisoners from Chichester. The former, Christopher Lewkenor, was both Recorder and M.P. for Chichester. Expelled from the House in 1642, it was he who was appointed by the King to receive contributions of money and plate for the royal cause. The other shield is that of William May, of the same Sussex clan and generation that produced both Baptist May, Privy Purse to Charles II, and his brother Hugh May who built for that sovereign the present State Apartments at Windsor. The wavering fortunes of these and other Sussex prisoners may be conveniently followed in G. N. Godwin's *The Civil War in Hampshire* (1882) and Dallaway's *Sussex* (1815-32).²

To the name of Antony Bayly which appears in Plate 10 can be added no more than that he was evidently among those who survived the siege of Colchester and that he must have reached Windsor by

¹When sentence was pronounced "he made the court a low reverence and gave the court his humble thanks. . . . He neither solicited for a pardon, nor was any petition offered to Parliament in his favour. Ireton proved his advocate, and told the House 'that there was one person for whom no-one spoke a word; and therefore requested that he might be saved by the sole motive and goodness of the House'. In consequence mercy was extended to him, and after a few months imprisonment he was, on his petition, set at liberty. He died in 1666 and was interred in the church of Penmorva in Caernarvonshire, where a small monument preserves the following epitaph. . . ." (Thomas Pennant; *A Tour in Wales*, 1778, p. 265.)

²Lt.-Col. Peter Young points out that another list of the Chichester prisoners occurs in B.M. E.84 (22).

September 8th. He was in good company, for the *Perfect Diurnall* of September 4-11 tells us that "on September 8th the Lord Goring, Lord Capell and Lord Loughborough, and other prisoners taken at Colchester, passed by London towards Windsor, where they are to be kept prisoners until further orders". Of this notable band of Malignants the gallant Capel (together with the Duke of Hamilton) paid for his loyalty with his head on March 9th, and Lord Goring was only saved by the Speaker's casting vote from the executions which followed the King's beheading. As for Lord Loughborough, he managed to escape from Windsor Castle to find sanctuary in Holland until the Restoration. He had been another of the King's youthful Sheriffs, having been appointed to Leicestershire in July 1642 at the age of 31. In most of the leading engagements from Edgehill to Colchester his banner was to be seen, emblazoned with a furnace and the legend *Quasi ignis conflatoris*: as a consuming fire. It was at his own request that he was eventually buried in St. George's Chapel, "where the body of my great-uncle Edward, Lord Loughborough, lies".

These Royalist Sheriffs seem as a group to have been fortunate in their end. Ford, who owed it to his resourcefulness that he escaped in time from captivity, bent his ingenuity in later years to inventing a machine for coining farthings, a fire engine, and a method of curing smoking chimneys. Sir Edmund Fortescue (Plates 1, 2, 3) also escaped, as we have seen, after only seven months in the Castle; he was then at once bidden by Prince Rupert to fortify Salcombe fort, which he held for 18 months. As a condition of its honourable capitulation he was allowed to withdraw to Delft, where he died in the following year, still only 37 years of age. Of them all, the most detested by the Parliament was Sir Francis Dodington (Plate 4), to whose harshness writers such as the royalist Waller as well as the roundhead Ludlow alike bear witness. Since he has escaped the net of the D.N.B. it will not be amiss to see what they record of his methods.

Wardour Castle, in Wiltshire, was beleaguered for 3 months in the Spring of 1643; Edmund Ludlow held it for the Parliament, Dodington besieging it for the King. Recalling the scene of the surrender, Ludlow wrote:

In the mean time Sir Francis Dodington had caused the two men that he had taken at Wardour to be hanged, upon pretence that they had run away from him; and having brought some pieces of cannon before Woodhouse, made a breach so considerable in the wall that the besieged were necessitated to surrender at mercy: but they found very little, for they were presently stripped of all that was good about them.

And Sir Francis Dodington, being informed by one Bacon, who was parson of the parish, that one of the prisoners had threatened to stick in his skirts, as he called it, for reading the Common Prayer, struck the man so many blows upon the head, and with such force, that he broke his skull and caused him to fall into a swoon. From which he was no sooner recovered but he was picked out to be one of the twelve which Sir Francis had granted to Sir William St. Leger to be hanged. These 12, being most of them clothiers, were hanged upon the same

tree. But one of them, breaking his halter, desired that what he had suffered might be accepted; or else that he might fight against any two for his life. Notwithstanding which they caused him to be hanged up again; and had proceeded much further had not Sir Ralph Hopton sent orders to put a stop to their butcheries.¹

Even Sir Edward Walker, Dodington's fellow-royalist, comments drily that "Sir Francis did not compliment, but used them as rebels, and presently hung up about 14 of them, and could hardly be induced to spare the rest, who at length were sent prisoners to Bristol".² The widow of one of the victims testified later that Dodington had "hung up her husband and their son Edward after barbarously mangling them alive".³

It is not surprising that his name appears upon the select list of seven arch-Malignants who were to be, as the phrase went, exempted from mercy. More unexpected is it to find that he too by-passed the Commonwealth, to enjoy a gentle old age (and indeed to become the grandfather of George Bubb Dodington, Lord Melcombe).

Upon the destruction of the royal party he fled into France, and there maintained himself several years by selling English knives and buckles; till at last a French widow took compassion on him and married him, and by her he had two sons, both bred up in the French army.

After the Restoration he lived privately at Dodington; and though his estate had been greatly wasted by what he did in the civil war, yet he could never be prevailed upon to ask anything of the Crown, having engaged himself (as he always declared) on a mere principle of conscience.⁴

Anyone who reads the parliamentary journals and weekly newspapers of the period can without difficulty compile a roll of some 150 prisoners whose place of confinement chanced to be Windsor, but this can be but a fraction of the total number. Mention has already been made of some of the more interesting characters; the Appendix hereto must suffice for the rest. Lacking neither time to tell nor leisure to listen, they must have had many tales to exchange, often between former foes, for not a few had seen service in both camps. Thus at Arundel Sir William Lewis and Sir William Waller (whom they called William the Conqueror) were blockading the town while Sir Edward Ford, Christopher Lewkenor and others were inside. What, in the Lower Ward, did his fellow-prisoners make of Lauderdale, who, wrote Macaulay, "loud and coarse both in mirth and anger, was perhaps under the show of boisterous frankness the most dishonest man in the whole Cabal"? Of his years in the castle one incident may be rescued from oblivion. He received one day a visit from a certain George Evans, a zealous Presbyterian. The friendship which ensued led Lauderdale to

¹*Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow* (1771), p. 51.

²*Historical Discourses* by Sir Edward Walker (1705), p. 40.

³*Calendar of Compounding*, 2172.

⁴John Collinson, *History of the County of Somerset* (1791), III, 519.

procure for Evans at the Restoration a canonry of Windsor, which brought him no less than £5,000 in fines and £200 a year in rent. But the old man had not all been put away, for 'at the King's coming he was against bowing to the altar; whereupon the King expressed his resentment and anger, saying "if he will not bow to God, let him not bow to me": and this made him more supple next day'.¹ One is reminded that Pepys, when he visited the chapel on February 24th, 1665/6, noticed "great bowing by all the people, the Poor Knights particularly, to the altar".

Less pliant were the Fifth Monarchy Men, whose hourly expectation of the millennium made it sometimes inconvenient to leave them at large. One whom it was impossible to silence was the author of a booklet called *The Oppressed Close Prisoner in Windsor Castle*, "by Christopher Feake, in his prison watch tower, 1655". He owed his sojourn in the castle to his assertion that Cromwell was "the most dissembling and perjured villain in the world". His friend and fellow prisoner John Rogers had demonstrated from the pulpit "that Cromwell had broken the first eight commandments; and time alone prevented him from proceeding to the remaining two". No such impediment stanchd the flow of Feake's oratory, to judge by his own account of his imprisonment at Windsor, where the Governor had orders that he and his "brother Rogers should be kept asunder, having sentinels standing at their doors to keep them from coming together; [whereupon] he preached out at the windows to the guard of soldiers". The sequel, as told by him to a meeting in London on January 5th, 1656/7, may fittingly form a conclusion to our narrative.²

Then he told how he was permitted the liberty of the castle. Whereupon on the Lord's day in the morning I went (said he) to the chapel of the castle, before the time that their castle minister was to begin; and there I began to instruct such as were present. But the Governor, hearing of it, presently came to the chapel and there bade me come down, and cried out upon me, and came and haled me away out of the chapel castle, and used me most reproachfully as a vile fellow not fit to live, and carried me to a chamber where I was kept close. Then I went on preaching out of the window into the court, and so continued until the Governor and people returned from the chapel and passed; but some of the people and soldiery staying to hear me, he having notice of it came and prohibited me; nevertheless I went on. Then he caused his drum to be beaten, to drown the sound of the gospel. As soon as the drum had done, then I began to sound out my trumpet, and trumpeted out the gospel aloud. He beat up his drum a second and third time, and still I went on. Then he strictly required me to have done; I told him I would not. He said he had orders to silence me from the Lord Protector. I told him I had order from my Lord to go on; and my Lord's highness is above his lord's highness.

Then, it being high noon, he left me, and I suppose went to dinner, while I went on preaching the gospel. Strange government, that men's mouths must be stopped.

¹*Papers of Thomas Woodcock*, Camden Society (1907), p. 62. It is due to Dr. Evans to add that he proved himself a distinguished antiquary, whose materials on the history of the Chapel are printed in Ashmole's *Berkshire*.

²*A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe*, Vol. V (dealing with the year 1655), pp. 755-757.

SOME PRISONERS CONFINED IN WINDSOR CASTLE

Abbreviations

D.N.B. Dictionary of National Biography.

C.J. Commons Journals.

L.J. Lord Journals.

S.P.D. State Papers Domestic.

An asterisk indicates the initial batch sent to Windsor 11 Jan. 1642/3 (Lords Journals 5.50). "Scot" indicates Scottish prisoners sent 16 Sept. 1651 after Worcester (S.P.D. 1651 pp.432, 433).

*AMYAS, Lieut. John. (Chichester) Sussex. Col. Henry Shelley's Regt. Foot. (S.P. 29/68).

DNB ASHBURNHAM, William. Transferred from Guernsey to Windsor August 19th, 1658 (S.P.D. 57/58 p. 523; and 58/59 p. 579).

ASHBURNHAM, John. At Windsor May 19th—August 17th, 1648 (Lower's Worthies of Sussex p. 289; and L.J. 5.566).

*ASHFIELD, Lieut. (Chichester).

*ATKINSON, Capt. (Chichester).

BARGENY, Lord. Sir John Hamilton. Shared rooms at Windsor with his kinsman the Duke of Hamilton after the latter's descent into England. (Complete Peerage, I. 421.)

BARKER, Sir Thomas. (Norfolk).

BATHURST, Sir John. Chamberfellow with Edward Pitt.

BAYLY, Anthony. (Colchester).

BECKE (or Bech), Thomas. Arrested in error, with Greenbury. To be released July 19th, 1648. (S.P.D. 48/49 pp. 200, 222.)

BENNETT, Col. John. Had served Charles II at Worcester. (S.P.D. 60/61 p. 241.)

*BENNETT, Cornet John.

*BERTUE (or Bertie), Capt. Francis. (Winchester) Horse. Killed at I Newbury.

*BIRD, Lieut. Christopher. (Chichester). Lincoln. Col. Henry Shelley's Regt. Foot.

*BOOTH, Lieut. Ralph.

*BOOTH, Cornet.

BORTHWICK, Col. (Scot.) (Worcester).

BOWEN. (Welsh Rising, 1648).

*BOWLES, Sir Charles. Troop Commander. Horse. Col. Sir Peregrine Bertie's Regt. (? Bolles, of the Winchester family.)

BRAY, Capt. William. To Windsor March 19th, 1648/9 for publishing a book against Fairfax (Whitlock's Memorials 1732, p. 390.)

DNB BROWNE, Major-General Sir Richard. With Clotworthy, Copley, Lewis and Waller, at Windsor 1648-1651, when, in consequence of alleged designs upon Windsor, they were dispersed to different castles. (S.P.D. 51 pp. 81, 478; and 51/52 p. 6.)

DNB BUCKINGHAM, George Villiers, 2nd Duke of. Transferred from Tower to Windsor August 31st, 1658 (S.P.D. 58/59 p. 125.)

DNB BUSHELL, Capt. Browne. At Windsor from April 1648 until his execution 1651.

DNB CAPEL, Arthur, Lord. (Colchester).

CAREY, Elizabeth. Intercepted carrying royalist messages (S.P.D. 60/61 p. 19).

CATLYN (or Cattlin), Thomas. (Norfolk). Captain in Colonel Sir Edward Waldegrave's Regt. of Horse. Killed II Newbury (Money. 193).

CHESTER, Col. (Scot.).

CHAMBERLAIN, Col. Released from Windsor August 1643 (*Journal of Sir Samuel Luke*; Oxford Record Soc. XXIX, 1950, pp. 15, 136; and *Mercurius Aulicus*, August 10th and 16th, 1643).

CHASHALLUM (or Chisholm), Col. John. (Scot.).

CLARKE, Lieut. Col. To Windsor August 24th, 1648 (with Hill, Reyner and Rivers) for alleged plot against the City (C.J. 5.681).

DNB CLOTWORTHY, Sir John. See Browne.

COCHRANE (Cockerine), Col. Escaped from Windsor shortly before Aug. 1643.

*COLLEY, Lieut.

*COLLIS, Capt.

COPLEY, Commissary Lionel. See Browne.

DNB COVENTRY, Col. John. To Windsor July 12th, 1648 (S.P.D. 48 *passim*).

DNB CRAWFORD, 15th Earl of. (Worcester). To Windsor from Sandown November 20th, 1656 (S.P.D. 56/57 pp. 169, 215).

- CULHAM, Thomas Jnr. To Windsor August 22nd, 1648 (with Gleave, Holder, Knipe and Lowe) for corresponding with Prince Charles. (S.P.D. 48/49 *passim*.)
- DAVIES, William. Claimed wrongful detention for 9 months in Windsor: not a priest but a lawyer. S.P.D. 58/59 pp. 258, 259.
- *DAWSON, Serjeant Major. (Chichester).
- DAY, Cornet. To Windsor September 25th, 1656 for distributing seditious paper in Westminster Abbey (S.P.D. 56/57 pp. 42, 116.)
- DENNY, Sir William. (Norfolk).
- *DODINGTON, Sir Francis. (Somerset). Escaped from Windsor shortly before Aug. 1643.
- DRUMMOND, Col. Lodovick. (Scot.)
- *EDMONDS, Lieut. (Chichester).
- *ENNIS (or Ennise), Capt. (Chichester).
- *ENNIS (or Ennise), Capt. (Chichester).
- DNB FEAKE, Christopher. To Windsor (with Simpson) January 28th, 1653/54 (S.P.D. 53/54 p. 371.) Joined there March 30th 54/55 by Rogers. (S.P.D. 55 p. 598.) Fifth Monarchy Men.
- *FEAREBEARD, Capt. Groom to Charles I; long a prisoner in Windsor and tried for his life. (S.P.D. 60/61 p. 189.)
- *FLETCHER, Lieut. (Chichester).
- DNB FORD, Sir Edward. Escaped from Windsor.
- *FORD, Capt. John. (Chichester).
- *FORSTER, Capt.
- DNB *FORTESCUE, Sir Edmund. (Devonshire). Escaped from Windsor, shortly before Aug. 1643.
- *GAGE, Ensign. (Presumably Chichester).
- GARDINER, Sir Thomas. (Chalgrove). Released from Windsor after brief confinement June 22nd, 1643 (*Memoirs of the Verney Family* 1904, Vol. I pp. 247, 248).
- *GARRETT, Ensign William. (Chichester).
- *GERRARD, Capt. Edward. (? Winchester).
- GLEAVE (also Glave, Gleane). See Culham.
- DNB GORING, George, Lord; later Earl of Norwich. (Colchester).
- GRAHAM, Col. Sir James. (Scot.)

GREENBURY. See Becke.

DNB GREY OF GROBY, Lord. To Windsor March 3rd, 1654/55 (*Clarke Papers*. Camden Soc., 1899, Vol. III p. 24).

*GURDEN, Ensign. (Chichester).

*GURDEN, Serjeant Major. (Chichester).

DNB HAMILTON, Duke of.

HAMOND (also Hamant), Capt. John. (Norfolk).

HAMOND, Colonel. (Colchester). At Windsor at the time of the King's execution: was later shot (1650). (*Heath's Chronicle* 1676, pp. 226, 266.)

HARRISON, Mr. James. Confined in error for a few days only in July 1648 (S.P.D. 48/49 pp. 188, 189, 193).

HEATH, Col. Francis. At Windsor at the time of the King's execution (*Heath's Chronicle* 1676, p. 226).

HILL, Capt. See Clarke.

HOLDER, Thomas. See Culham.

HOLL, Augustine. (Norfolk).

*HONNYWOOD, Lieut. Philip.

*HOOKE, Capt. Francis. (Chichester).

HOWARD, Harry. (Chalgrove). Son of the Earl of Berkshire. (Warburton, *Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers*, pp. 211, 212.)

DNB HOWARD, Sir Robert.

HUME, Major John. (Scot.)

DNB JENKINS, Judge David. To Windsor from Wallingford November 19th, 1652 (S.P.D. 51/52, p. 499). As to paying his fine, the county committee for his native Cardiganshire sought leave to spend the money locally, or even send it to Ireland for the maintenance of parliamentary troops there: "for there is no way of sending any money from this remote county to London but by the drovers once a year, and that in August". (*Calendar of Compounding* 572.)

KEILING, Master, K.C., J.P. Delivered a legal opinion inconvenient to the Parliament (*Mercurius Aulicus*, February 9th, 1642/3).

KEITH, Col. George. (Scot.) Horse.

KEITH, Col. Sir William. (Scot.) Horse.

KENNEDY, Lt.-Col. Thomas. (Scot.) Horse.

- KING, Dr. To Windsor from near Dunstable, February 12th, 1642/43 (*Journal of Sir Samuel Luke*, Oxford Record Soc. XXIX, 1950, p. 4).
- KINGSMILL, Lieut. Daniel, of Sydmonton. At Windsor October 21st, 1643, after Newbury (B.M. Addl. MSS. 18980, f. 127).
- KNIFE, Isaac. See Culham.
- KNYVET, Thomas. (Norfolk).
- DNB LAUDERDALE, Earl of. To Windsor February 10th, 1656/7. (S.P.D. 56/57, p. 273.)
- DNB LAUGHARNE, Major-General Rowland.
- DNB LEGGE, Col. To Windsor May 19th, 1648 (C.J. 5.566).
- LERNON, Serjeant-Major. (Chichester).
- LEWIS, Sir William. See Browne.
- *LEWKENOR (or Lukenor), Mr. Christopher. (Chichester).
- *LINSEY, Capt. (Chichester).
- *LINSEY, Serjeant-Major. (Chichester).
- *LINSLEY, Col. (Chichester).
- LLOYD, Revd. Vicar of Iver; committed to Windsor for non-payment of assessment (*Mercurius Aulicus*, December 15th, 1643).
- DNB LOUGHBOROUGH, Henry Hastings, Lord. (Colchester). Escaped from Windsor after the King's execution (*Heath's Chronicle*, 1676, p. 226).
- LOWE, Lawrence. See Culham.
- MAITLAND, Col. (Scot.).
- MANWOOD, Sir H. In Windsor April 22nd, 1643 (C.J. 3.56).
- DNB MASSEY, Sir Edward. See note on portrait of Sir William Lewis.
- *MAY (or Maye), Mr. William. (Chichester).
- *MOHUN, Capt. (Chichester).
- *MORRISON, Capt. (Chichester).
- MUEE, Major-General Commissary. (Scot.).
- *NEPPER, Lieut. (Chichester).
- *OATLEY, Cornet. (Chichester).
- DNB OWEN, Col. Sir John. To Windsor July 26th, 1648 (C.J. 5.648).
- PENIEL (or Penniall), Mr. Liberated from Windsor after wrongful detention July 27th, 1648 (S.P.D. 48/49, p. 220).

- PEYTON (also Payton), Sir Thomas. In Windsor September 19th, 1648 (Calendar for Compounding 864). Returned to Windsor from Guernsey December 9th, 1658 (S.P.D. 58/59, p. 581).
- DNB PETTUS, Sir John. (Norfolk).
- PHILLIPS, Major.
- PIGEON, Edmund. Discharged from Windsor July 11th, 1648 (S.P.D. 48/49, pp. 183, 184).
- PITT, Edward.
- *PORTOR, Lieut.-Col. (Chichester).
- POWELL, Col. R. Captured at Tenby June 6th, 1648 (S.P.D. 48/49, p. 104).
- POYER, Col. (Welsh Rising, 1648).
- *PRIDGEON, Lieut. (Chichester).
- *PRODGIERS, Lieut. (Chichester).
- REYNER, Capt. See Clarke.
- DNB RICH, Col. Nathaniel. At Windsor August 14th, till October 14th, 1656 (S.P.D. 56/57, pp. 71, 130).
- RIVERS, Col. Marcellus. See Clarke.
- *ROBERTS, Capt.
- DNB ROGERS, John. See Feake.
- ROSS, Lt.-Col. (Scot.)
- RUDDOCK. Lately sent from Abingdon to Windsor, October 14th, 1656 (S.P.D. 56/57, p. 130).
- *SELLENGER, Capt. (Chichester).
- *SHELLEY, Ensign John. (Chichester). Col. Henry Shelley's Regt. (S.P.D. 29/68).
- *SHELLEY, Col. Henry. (Chichester). Foot.
- *SHELLEY, Lieut. (Chichester).
- SIMPSON, John. See Feake.
- DNB SINCLAIR, John, Lord. (Scot.) To Windsor from Hurst Castle January 17th, 1656/7 (S.P.D. 56/57, p. 586).
- SKIRROW, Ro[bert]. Name inscribed above that of Sir Edmund Fortescue.
- DNB *SMITH, Sir John. (Winchester).
- *STEVENSON, Capt. (Chichester.)
- DNB STRADLING. A John Stradling died in prison at Windsor in 1648 (D.N.B. LV., p. 16).
- STRAUCHAN, Col. (Scot.)
- STUART, Col. (Scot.)

- TAYLOR, Mr. Robert Jnr. To be released from Windsor July 14th, 1648 (S.P.D. 48/49, p. 189).
- THOMSON, Col. Sir Thomas. (Scot.)
- TRACEY, Sir Humphrey. Sheriff of Gloucestershire, 1639/40 (G.E.C. Baronetcy).
- TROTT, Mr. To be released from Windsor July 14th, 1648 (S.P.D. 1648/49, p. 189).
- DNB TUKE, Col. (later Sir) Samuel. (Colchester). In Windsor at the time of the King's execution (*Heath's Chronicle*, 1676, p. 226).
- DNB URQUHART, Col. Sir Thomas. (Scot.)
- *VALENTINE (Balendine or Bellenden), Sir William. (Chichester).
- VAVASOUR, Col. Captured at Edgehill: escaped from Windsor April, 1643: thence to Oxford (*Mercurius Aulicus*, April 13th, 1643).
- WADDELL, Archibald. Adjutant-General to the Scottish Army. (Scot.)
- DNB WALLER, Sir William. See Browne.
- DNB WEMYS, James. (Scot.) Gentleman of the Ordnance.
- WEST, Mr.
- DNB WHARTON, Capt. Sir George. Captured at Bradfield, Berks., and taken to Windsor June 16th, 1655 (*Ashmole's Diary*, ed. Gunther, p. 56). Not to be released from Windsor January 1st, 1655/56 (S.P.D. 55/56, p. 121).
- WHITE, James. (Scot.)
- *WHITFORD, Cornet.
- *WILLIAMSON, Lieut. Richard. (Winchester).
- *WILSON, Lieut. (Chichester).
- *WITHERINGTON, Lieut. (Chichester).
- *WOODCOCK, Lieut. (Chichester).
- *WREN, Capt. John. (Winchester).
- YOUNG, Prebendary Edward. (Norfolk).

To the above list Lt.-Col. Peter Young, D.S.O., M.C., has kindly added certain military details, besides supplying the names of Harry Howard and Lieut. Daniel Kingsmill.