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THE
SECRET HISTORY
OF THE
Rye-House Plot:
AND OF
MONMOUTH'S REBELLION.

Written by
FORD Lord GREY,
In MDCLXXXV.

Now first published from a Manuscript sign'd by
himself, before the Earl of SUNDERLAND.

The SECOND EDITION.

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Advertisement

THE curious and interesting Narrative, contained in the following sheets, has hitherto escaped the notice of all our writers. The public, therefore, will think itself obliged to those who have now for the first time, brought to valuable memoir to light; as it explains, at full length, all the most secret particulars of what is commonly called the Rye-House Plot; and of the preparatory steps spread to Monmouth's Rebellion, which happened a few years after.

This account of both these most remarkable transactions was written by the famous Lord Grey, who had been a principal actor in both, and while he was a prisoner in the Tower for the part he acted in the latter. It is printed, without the least variation, from a manuscript which is a faithful transcript of the original, signed by him before the Earl of Sunderland, Prime Minister to King James the Second: And his Letter to that Prince, which accompanied the Narrative.

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Narrative, is here prefixed. It would be impertinent to say any thing in recommendation of this anecdote; which every intelligent reader will be eager to see, both on account of the subject, in itself extremely affecting; and of the writer, who was twice in danger of losing his head for the share he had in the conspiracies he describes.

May it please your Majesty,

I have, in obedience to your Majesty, given you the fullest account
 and in my heart do sincerely repent
 which I was unfortunately engaged
 his rebellion against your Majesty (in
 mouth held in England, in order to
 correspondence the late Duke of Mon-
 time, the late King; and with the
 rebellion in your Majesty's brother's
 with all I know of the designed re-
 in writing acquaint you
 Lord Lumley, that I should
 Majesty's command by my
 MAJESTY received your Ma-



Lord GREY's Letter
T O
KING JAMES II.

May it please your Majesty,



HAVING received your Majesty's command by my lord Lumley, that I should in writing acquaint you with all I know of the designed rebellion in your Majesty's brother's time, the late King; and with the correspondence the late Duke of Monmouth held in England, in order to his rebellion against your Majesty (in which I was unfortunately engaged, and in my heart do sincerely repent of) I have, in obedience to your Majesty, given you the fullest account I
can :

can : and call God to witness (in whose hands I am) that I have not wilfully concealed any thing from you, that I think of the least importance for your Majesty to know; and this I have done to make the best reparation I can both to God and your Majesty, for my sin against him in my rebellion against you. Had the fear of death been an inducement to me, I should have followed the example of those who have made discoveries; but I did not think it became me to treat with your Majesty, nor to ask that of you which I could have no pretensions to. If the shedding my blood can be for your Majesty's interest, I shall be very willing to part with it; and only desire I may have the satisfaction to know that it will be an atonement for the crimes I have committed against you: but if your Majesty, out of your great clemency, shall think fit to save me, I hope you will believe

believe that (besides the ties of honour, justice, and gratitude) my own inclination will ever oblige me to sacrifice the life you give to your service, when you please to command it. I lie, Sir, at your Majesty's feet, where tho' I cannot expect, yet it is a pleasure to beg for mercy: the consideration of myself destroys all hopes of that kind, but the observation of your Majesty's universal goodness affords me many. I pray God bless your Majesty with a long and happy reign over your people; and may all those perish that ever lift up a thought against your Majesty's life, or for the disturbing of the peace of your government.

Your Majesty's most unfortunate subject,

believe

FORD GREY.

THE

CONFESSION

FORD LORD GREY.

SOME short time after the bill of exclusion had met with the late declaration in the house of lords, the duke of Monmouth, my lord Shaftsbury, my lord Russell and myself, being together at that time (as we often were about that time) there began a discourse amongst us upon the rejecting that bill; and tho' it be impossible for me to repeat what each man said, yet I well remember it was the opinion of all, that the king would never suffer that bill to pass the house of lords, unless compelled to it; and that all those who had appeared for it, in the two houses of parlia-

FORD LORD GREY.

THE
CONFESSION
OF
FOR D Lord GREY.

SOME short time after the bill of exclusion had met with the fate it deserved, in the house of lords, the duke of Monmouth, my lord Shaftsbury, my lord Ruffel and myself, being together at Thonet house (as we often were about that time) there began a discourse amongst us upon the rejecting that bill; and tho' it be impossible for me to repeat what each man said, yet I well remember it was the opinion of all, that the king would never suffer that bill to pass the house of lords, unless compelled to it; and that all those, who had appeared for it, in the two houses of parliament,

ment, were marked out for destruction, if ever your majesty came to the crown. After some discourse of that kind I remember my lord Shaftsbury expressed himself to this purpose: That it was our own faults, if we did not obtain that bill, and several other things, of the king, which the people of England had set their hearts upon; for there was a great ferment in the kingdom, occasioned by the many prorogations, and dissolutions of parliaments, and other artifices used to stifle the popish plot, and prevent the execution of justice on those concerned in it; and by the lords throwing out the bill of exclusion; which all thinking men looked upon as the king's act, and did believe him to be in all parts of the popish plot except the murder of himself, which he did not think was intended, knowing the papists were well assured of his zeal to their religion: That we had committed a great error in being so long a screen between the king and the house of commons, who once were ready and willing to have laid him open to his people, and had done it, if they had not been prevented, and that chiefly by himself (of which he heartily repented) but that being over, it was now time to look forwards,

forwards, and think of saving ourselves, and those that had been concerned with us in the prosecution of the popish plot, and the bill of exclusion: That he thought it no difficult matter, if the duke of Monmouth, my lord Ruffel, and others of quality and interest in the kingdom, did jointly apply themselves to the taking up of arms; which infallibly would have this consequence (without any danger to us) that the king would condescend to a compliance with the desires of his people in parliament, and sacrifice a hundred brothers rather than hazard his crown, so well was he acquainted with the temper of the king. This sort of discourse we often heard from my lord Shaftsbury, without intending ever to follow his advice, and did divert ourselves with the pains he took to incline us to a rebellion. who gave him no encouragement, at that time, to expect it from us. The first time that ever we entered upon methodizing an insurrection, was (to the best of my remembrance) occasioned by the news of the king's second sickness at Windsor, which came to the duke of Monmouth at Locket's, by Mr. Pope, who was just come from Windsor. Sir Thomas Armstrong and myself were then

at

at dinner with the duke of Monmouth, and we all three went immediately to my lord Shaftsbury's, where we had several discourses, what we should do if the king died. It was at last resolved we should meet again in the evening, and that my lord Russel should be appointed to be there: and in the meantime my lord Shaftsbury undertook to discourse the leading men in the city, and to acquaint us with their thoughts and resolutions. Accordingly about seven o'clock that night, the duke of Monmouth, lord Russel, Sir Thomas Armstrong, and myself came to my lord Shaftsbury: his lordship assured us he had discoursed many of the eminent men in the city, who were all willing to rise if the king died, provided the duke of Monmouth, my lord Russel, and himself would assist in the city with them; for, they said, the whole force of the court would be upon them, and therefore all our strength ought to be there also. While we were discoursing, major Manly came from Wapping, where he had been by order of my lord Shaftsbury, and gave his lordship a good account of their readiness to rise. I cannot remember the many proposals were made, as to the manner of our rising, but the result of all was,

that

that we should rise with our friends in the city, in case the king died; and declare for a parliament to settle the kingdom, and to declare the descent of the crown; till which time we would continue in arms for the preservation of the protestant interest, and safety of ourselves, and those in arms with us. It was also resolved that a messenger should constantly go between London and Windsor, to give us an account of the king's condition (which my lord Shaftsbury undertook to manage) and that the duke of Monmouth, and all of us, should lodge that night in the city privately, and constantly do so during the king's sickness; but all day appear publickly as at other times. Whether that resolution was followed or not by the rest, I know not, I lay constantly at home; but this I am confident of, that the duke of Monmouth's arms were sent to one Mr. Bateman's a chirurgeon, whose house my lord Shaftsbury recommended to the duke of Monmouth for a lodging. The king's recovery put an end to our design, and to our further continuance at that time. Now whether the king's sickness (which occasioned these our discourfes and resolutions) happened before the Oxford parliament, or after, I cannot determine; I think

think it was before, about the latter end of February, or beginning of March, just before the Oxford parliament. The duke of Monmouth writ to me in Suffex, desiring me to come immediately to town, for that he had some business with me of importance. Upon the receipt of his letter I went to London, and waited on him: he told me that his sending for me, was to acquaint me, that my lord Shaftsbury, my lord Macclesfield, my lord Ruffel, and himself, did not intend to be at the opening of the Oxford parliament, but resolved to continue in London; and desired that I would also stay with them. I asked him the reason of this resolution; he answered, they were all well assured, the king did design to secure us at Oxford, and several others; but if we staid in London, it might make him change his intention, or if not, and he did attempt to seize us there, we had friends enough to stand by us. I asked him how he could be sure of that; he replied he was fully satisfied of it, and when I saw my lord Shaftsbury, I would be so too. In a day or two after I waited on him, to my lord Shaftsbury's, where my lord gave me the same account the duke of Monmouth had done, and

added

added further, that he had bestirred himself in the city, and was well assured of several thousands there, whenever the duke of Monmouth, my lord Russel, and himself, appeared with their swords in their hands, and brisk boys they were too. I asked my lord, if he thought his brisk boys (as he called them) and those who must raise them for him, would venture their lives, when there was no necessity for it, to save only four or five men? My lord answered me (his words I cannot undertake to repeat, but the substance of his reply was to this sense) that it would not be only the cause of the duke of Monmouth, himself, and four or five more, but the cause of all England; for he and others knew the liberty of parliaments would be invaded at Oxford, for that the king did resolve not only to secure us, but all the eminent men of the house of commons who had been zealous in the prosecution of the popish plot, and for the bill of exclusion; but, he believed, if we continued in town, the king would be alarmed, and would not have courage enough to venture upon our friends. I told his lordship, if he were of that opinion, I wondered at his stay in London; for if it proved true, and that the king was deterred

terred by our continuance in town, from a violent seizure of our friends (as he imagined) there would be no occasion given for the rising he intended, and then we were exposed to danger enough; for that the king would certainly industriously enquire into the cause of our staying, and in all probability discover it, among such a number as unavoidably must be trusted in an affair of that nature. My lord replied, I did not see the bottom of his design (in that I agreed with his lordship,) nor know all the reasons and intentions of our staying in town, and therefore he would acquaint me; which he did to this effect: That a great number of those gentlemen who had been for the bill of exclusion, in the Westminster parliaments, were chosen for that which was to meet at Oxford, and that most of the landed men amongst them were determined not to be dissolved, but when they found a dissolution nigh, to adjourn to London, where we should be ready to stand by them. That they intended to begin the sessions with the bill of exclusion, and to resolve to proceed to no other business, till they had obtained that bill, there being nothing else which could secure the protestant religion after his majesty's

Majesty's life. This bold step of theirs, and our continuance in London, his lordship said, would frighten the King into a compliance; but if it did not, the house of commons could not break with the King upon a better point, and they would make it good at London. Many discourses and arguments did arise upon what my lord had said, which I cannot remember, but the substance of the Oxford design at that time I have repeated, I mean, all my lord told me of.

A few days after the duke of Monmouth told me the intention of staying in London was altered, for that my lord Shaftsbury, my lord Russel, and the rest of our friends, were apprehensive that when the house of commons adjourned to Guildhall, it would be very difficult for them to get thither, the King intending to send to Oxford a considerable number of horse and foot guards, and therefore it was better to make ourselves as strong as we could at Oxford, by drawing thither as many gentlemen, and others; who were our friends, as we could, to the end that if some of the lords, and a good number of the commons, had courage enough to sit after a dissolution (as my lord Shaftsbury did assure him, and he did believe

lieve they would) we might stand by them. Soon after this discourse, the duke of Monmouth, my lord Macclesfield, myself, and many others (and I think my lord Harburt) went down to Oxford together. The parliament had sat three or four days before we came. While we continued there (it is not, I believe, unknown to your Majesty) the duke of Monmouth, lord Bedford, my lord of Essex, and many other lords, kept a public table, to which we every day invited several of the house of commons, and by that means had often opportunities of discoursing with them without great observation. What passed between them at the many conferences they had, I know not, nor was I inquisitive to be informed, till one morning my lord Shaftsbury gave me an opportunity: I lodged in the same house with him, and waiting on his lordship, in his chamber, the morning before the dissolution, he told me with great joy, that the rejecting the impeachment of Fitzharris, and the intention the house of lords visibly had to discharge my lord Danby without a trial, were the two happiest things for us, which could have happened; for they had so fired the house of commons, that very many of the

members

members had assured him, they would venture their lives rather than lose their right of impeaching, and were sure the generality of the house would stand by them; and if the King (upon the heats, which were likely to arise between the two houses) should dissolve them, there were enough in their house would fit, if but a small number of the lords would do the like. I told his lordship, I was not so delighted with the project, as he seemed to be, believing it would be the destruction of us, and might be of very ill consequence to the kingdom; for the King having a considerable force in and about Oxford would soon pull us out by the ears: upon which my lord said, he knew I could not be afraid, and therefore wondered I was so cool, when there was such prospect of success. I told him, I thought I was as little acquainted with fear as any body, however, was not fond of a hot-headed action. My lord replied, he knew the King better than I did, and was sure he would run from Oxford, as from a house on fire, if we had but resolution enough to sit after a dissolution: but supposing him to have courage enough to attack us, we were twice as strong as he was, having drawn a great number of gentlemen

hither with their servants; that the parliament men had many servants; the townsmen were all well inclined to us, and the scholars of the university (who were not generally our friends) had left their chambers for the use of the members; that amongst the foot guards, he was sure, there were many who wished us well; and most of them would be afraid to meddle with us, when we took upon us the authority of a parliament. I seemed satisfied with my lord's reasons, which ended our discourse for that time: but the same day in the afternoon (which I take to be a Sunday, but am sure it was the day before the dissolution) I was sent for to the duke of Monmouth; when I came in, I found there the duke of Monmouth, my lord of Essex, my lord Shaftsbury (and I am very confident my lord Salisbury;) they were discoursing upon the same subject my lord Shaftsbury had entertained me with in the morning. I cannot repeat their several discourses, but I remember it was the opinion of all, that the heats, which would be between the two houses, must occasion a dissolution in four or five days; and that the house of commons were warm enough to fit afterwards, which they were

were well assured of by several of the members, and were also of my lord Shaftsbury's opinion, that we had strength enough in Oxford to support us, and that the King would never make trial of it, but leave Oxford as fast as he could: it was therefore resolved by us, that we would continue in our house, if the commons kept their words with us (which we did not doubt) and we did believe a good number of lords would stay with us; but we thought it inconvenient to propose it to many of them till the time. The duke of Monmouth was desired to engage Mr. Montague (who could bring in Sir William Jones with him) which he undertook, and to the best of my remembrance, did that evening discourse with him in his chamber upon it. The next morning the dissolution surprized us all: however, pursuant to our resolution, we got several lords to stay in the house, under the pretence of signing a protestation against the rejecting Fitzharris's impeachment, and, as we managed it, were near an hour about it. During that time, several messengers were sent to our friends of the house of commons, to let them know we were in our house, and expected the performance of their words; but most of

them could not be found; those that were, answered us only with shaking their heads, and soon after we heard the commons house was empty: upon which we went away.

After the dissolution of the Oxford parliament we were all very peaceably inclined, and nothing passed amongst us that summer of importance, which I can call to mind: I think my lord Shaftsbury was sent to the Tower just before the long vacation; and the duke of Monmouth, Mr. Montague, Sir Thomas Armstrong, and myself, went to Tunbridge immediately after his lordship's imprisonment, where we laid aside the thoughts of disturbing the peace of the government, for those of diverting ourselves. The November following, my lord being released, I thought our former spirit of rebellion would be revived; but whether it was in others or not, I cannot say, being the remainder of that winter confined to my own house by a fit of sickness. The summer following I was told by Sir Thomas Armstrong, that my lord Argyll had been in town, and had seen my lord Shaftsbury, and that they had discoursed of a rising in England and Scotland, and that my lord Argyll had demanded thirty thousand pounds, and afterwards

afterwards fell to fifteen, with which sum
 he would undertake to make sufficient pro-
 visions for a war in Scotland; but that these
 proposals ended in nothing, my lord Shaft-
 sbury being all that time suspicious of my
 lord Argyll. The same intelligence was after-
 wards confirmed to me by the duke of Mon-
 mouth, and my lord Shaftsbury. Nothing
 worth mentioning came under our considera-
 tion that summer (that I know of) till
 about the time of electing the sheriffs for
 London and Middlesex; whether just before
 or after, I cannot say, but I think it was after
 Midsummer day, that the duke of Mon-
 mouth, lord Shaftsbury, lord Russel, Sir
 Thomas Armstrong, and myself, had a
 meeting at Thanet house, where several dis-
 courses passed of the great heats in the city,
 and of the sheriffs who were to be imposed
 (as our phrase then was) upon it; upon
 which it was said (and I think by my lord
 Shaftsbury) that it was happy for us, our
 friends in London now saw their necks in
 danger, and that there was a necessity of
 having recourse to arms, if they would
 save themselves. I remember I saw plainly
 at that time, that my lord Shaftsbury, the
 duke of Monmouth, and the lord Russel
 did

did resolve industriously to apply themselves to an insurrection, thinking seriously that they were in great danger, and that their friends in the city were not less apprehensive of their own. We had many meetings after this, tedious discourses, and innumerable proposals, but at last the method they agreed on for putting their design of a rebellion in execution, was as follows: That my lord Shaftsbury and my lord Russel should discourse the leading men in the city of our party, and find how they were inclined to a rising, upon the assurance of being seconded in other parts of the kingdom; that my lord Russel should try the inclinations of Sir William Courtney, Sir Francis Rowles, Sir Walter Young, Sir Francis Drake, and (by the means of Mr. Freake) how the gentry of the western counties stood affected to the taking up of arms, upon the supposition of London's doing the like; that the duke of Monmouth should go a progress into Cheshire, under the shelter of some fair pretence, where he might be advised by my lord Macelesfield, my lord Delamere, that then was my lord Brandon, and Mr. Booth, what gentlemen of their country were to be intrusted with our secrets, and would assist

us in our undertaking, and accordingly discourse with them; that I should go into Essex, and be assisted by colonel Mildmay and Mr. Rotheram in preparing those we could trust for the seconding of London. I refused the employment, and told them, I would venture my life with the duke of Monmouth, wherever his post should be, but would not expose it in Essex, where there was not five gentlemen I could trust; that for colonel Mildmay, he was a formal timorous blockhead, who desired nothing in this world, but being knight of the shire; and would never venture his person beyond a riot, nor in that neither, but to carry his election. My lord Shaftsbury pressed me all he could to a compliance, and proposed other persons in Essex to me, but I absolutely refused to concern myself there, and kept my resolution. We all agreed at parting, that when the duke of Monmouth returned from Cheshire (by which time my lord Russel would be able to give an account of the West) we would fix the time and manner of our rising, and which place should begin first. Pursuant to the resolutions above mentioned, my lord Russel spoke with Sir Francis Rowles, and Sir Walter Young,

Young, and found both of them as forward to engage as himself: Sir Walter Young he sent to Sir William Courtney, and to Sir Francis Drake: Mr. Freake was also directed by him to discourse Sir Francis Drake, and other western gentlemen, but who they were I know not; the duke of Monmouth either sent to, or spoke with Mr. Trenchard, who undertook to raise 1500 men at least, in and about Taunton. The several answers of these gentlemen, and the account Mr. Trenchard afterwards gave of Taunton, I shall speak of in its proper place. About the beginning of September, the duke of Monmouth went for Cheshire, and in his return to London about fourteen days after, was seized by a messenger; which I heard first from Sir Thomas Armstrong, who came to me the morning he came to town, and told me the duke of Monmouth was a prisoner, and had sent him to town before him, to get him a *Habeas Corpus*; that he had also business of great importance with my lord Shaftsbury, my Lord Ruffel, and myself, which he was commanded by the duke of Monmouth to impart to us. I went with him immediately to my lord Shaftsbury's, where we found his lordship in his garden and colonel Rumsey with

with him. Sir Thomas gave them the same account of his coming to town, as he had done me, and delivered this following message from the duke of Monmouth: That he was commanded by him to acquaint my lord Shaftsbury, my lord Ruffel, and me, that he had been most extraordinary well received by the gentry of Cheshire, and that those he had discoursed with, had given him full satisfaction, and as good an account of that country, as his heart could desire; and that at the time of his being taken a prisoner by the messenger, all the gentlemen who were with him, offered to draw their swords and rise with him instantly, but he prevented them, and that with great difficulty, being resolved to do nothing of so great importance, without the approbation of his lordship, and those he had sent to: That he intended to travel slowly towards London, that he might receive their advice, whether he should come on, or make an escape from the messenger, and return into Cheshire, and rise there. My lord Shaftsbury replied, the duke of Monmouth was an unfortunate man, for God had thrice put it into his power to save England, and make himself the greatest man in Europe; but he had neglected

neglected the use of all those opportunities; one was in Scotland, when he was General, the other in the West; and now in Cheshire. His lordship spent some time in discoursing of the advice he had formerly given the duke of Monmouth, when he went for Scotland, and into the West; but being desired to look no longer backward, but think what was to be done at present, and of his answer to the duke of Monmouth, he said he would send for my lord Ruffel, and that himself and my lord would go into the city, and discourse with their friends, and meet us at Southampton house, at seven o' clock that evening. Sir Thomas replied, he should not stay in town so long, having found me, but return with the *Habeas Corpus* (which he was to receive at three o' clock) with all the speed he could; for that the duke of Monmouth commanded him to desire me, if I were in town, to bring him the opinions of my lord Ruffel, and his lordship; and that he would pretend to be sick at St. Albans till I came, if I could not be dispatched so soon as he expected; that he also commanded him to assure us all, that we might depend upon his acting according to the advice sent him, as soon as received; and therefore

desired

desired we would consider well, and not think of a second message to him, for that would be too late, after he had made an escape from the messenger. Colonel Rumsfey was present at this discourse, and, I am confident, cannot but remember it.

I accepted of the employment the duke of Monmouth was pleased to bestow upon me. Sir Thomas returned the same day, and in the evening I met my lord Shaftsbury, and my lord Ruffel, at Southampton house, at the time my lord Shaftsbury had appointed. My lord Shaftsbury began with this account of his success in the city: That he had spoke with many of the most considerable men, who were all of opinion, that the duke of Monmouth should go back into Cheshire, and rise; and had promised him they would rise also, provided my lord Ruffel would head them: that the city was never so generally disposed to an insurrection, as at that time; and that they believed a happy occasion would be given them for it, when the King heard of the duke of Monmouth's being in arms; for then he would attempt to disarm the city, which opportunity they would lay hold on; but if he did not venture at it, they would wait till he sent some of his
forces

forces from London, which they thought he would be necessitated to do; and then they would rise. My lord added farther, that he had several thousands ready at his command at Wapping, and he would come at the head of them to my lord Russel's assistance: upon the whole matter, his lordship said, it was his opinion, the duke of Monmouth should go back into Cheshire, and rise; and that was his advice to him. My lord Russel opposed it, and said, he had also spoken with his friends; that some were of one opinion, others of a contrary; but that which weighed most with him was, that he had not yet received a full account from the West, and he thought it madness to run headlong into such an affair, without taking our whole strength with us, and perhaps all little enough too; that we had made no provision of arms, ammunition, or money; and that London did not want those necessaries, yet he believed Cheshire was bare enough, and was sure the duke of Monmouth could not be supplied there from London, after he was in arms: that the most necessary thing of all, in our undertaking, had not yet been thought on; and that was, a Declaration, which ought seriously to be considered, and consented to

by

by those noblemen and gentlemen who were to be concerned with us; and perhaps when we came to debate the heads of one, we might not agree; for he had heard his lordship say, that his men were for a common-wealth, and if that were intended, he would not meddle; for he thought the English government the best in the world, and meant not the least hurt to the King's person; and therefore to enter into a war before these things were settled, and without being able to acquaint the world with our reasons, and in what it should end, was to rise by ourselves, to be beaten and laughed at for hot-headed fools; for these reasons, his lordship said, he could not advise the duke of Monmouth to go back into Cheshire. My lord Shaftsbury argued for some time with great heat with my lord Russel, but neither of them changed the advice they had given; whereupon I told them I would acquaint the duke of Monmouth with their different opinions, and their several reasons, and did not believe the consequence of it would be his coming to town; and so I left them: but my lord Shaftsbury followed me out, and taking me aside, expressed himself in these very words: My lord Russel is too wary and timorous

morous a man for such an undertaking as
 ours; and if the duke of Monmouth follows
 his advice, and comes to London, he is a
 lost man, for I know he will be sent to the
 Tower, and never come from thence; there-
 fore, my lord Grey, if you wish well to the
 duke of Monmouth, to the protestant interest,
 to yourself, and all us that are concerned,
 you must cheat the duke of Monmouth this
 time, and tell him, it is the advice of my
 lord Ruffel, myself, and all his friends
 in the city, that he go back into Cheshire:
 nothing but that can save England, and it
 now depends upon you. I was strangely
 surprized at my lord's discourse, but made
 him this answer: That (as he said) the pre-
 servation of the protestant interest, the good
 of England, safety of ourselves, did depend
 upon the message I should deliver the duke of
 Monmouth, they were sufficient arguments
 to me for the speaking truth; for then I
 could neither reproach myself, nor be con-
 demned by others, whatever the event were;
 and that being trusted by the duke of Mon-
 mouth, I would not deceive him in any thing,
 much less in a matter of that weight, if I
 thought it were to his own advantage. My
 lord was very angry with me, and I am con-
 fident

fident never forgave me after. I parted from
 his lordship (whom I left in a great heat) and
 went to the duke of Monmouth's stables,
 where his servant John Gibbons waited for
 me. We two went down that night to St.
 Albans: there I found the duke of Mon-
 mouth, and gave him an exact account of
 all before mentioned, except my lord Shaft-
 bury's private advice to me, which I con-
 cealed, believing my lord designed it a secret,
 unless I followed it, and success attended it.
 The duke of Monmouth, Mr. Leveson
 Gower, and other Cheshire gentlemen, went
 the next morning for London: and what
 followed thereupon, I suppose, is well known
 unto your Majesty. Soon after the duke of
 Monmouth had his liberty, my lord Ruffel
 and I waited on him to my lord Shaftbu-
 ry's, I know not exactly the time, but I
 think it was very near the end of September;
 but this I am sure of, that I never saw my
 lord Shaftsbury after that time. My lord did
 then acquaint the duke of Monmouth with
 the trick he had advised me to play him
 (believing I had done so before, which in-
 deed I had not) and did justify the advice
 he had given for the duke of Monmouth's
 return into Cheshire, saying, that if he had
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risen there, he would have seconded him in London with ten thousand men which he had ready at his command; but that now the opportunity of Cheshire being lost, we must depend singly upon a rising in London, of which there was an immediate necessity; unless we were willing to see our whole interest dismayed, and at last be hanged ourselves. My lord Russel being a little moved, desired to know what his lordship meant, by hurrying us on thus to an insurrection in London, without the concurrence of the country, as was formerly agreed by us; and said, that he had received but a doubtful answer from Sir William Courtney, and had therefore sent to him again: that all our friends in the western countries were not yet prepared for action, but would be in a short time; therefore he desired his lordship to have a little patience, and not to let his fears so far transport him, as to ruin himself and friends. My lord Shaftsbury (in the greatest passion I ever saw) replied, that patience would be our destruction, and that if we did not rise in a week at farthest, we were all undone, for that he had made such preparation for a rising in London, as would infallibly be discovered if time were lost; therefore

therefore he was resolved, since he saw himself forsaken by us, to stand upon his own legs, act by himself, and have the honour of saving the kingdom. Upon which I remember the duke of Monmouth whispered me in the ear, and said, my lord's acting would be running away; and asked my lord where his ten thousand men were quartered. My lord answered, he would tell no man that, but he should see them at Whitehall gates before he was many days older. After many other discouries, and rallying my lord with his invisible army (till he was extremely angry with us) we left him, and did seriously conclude him to be half distracted, but not so mad as to rise by himself. A few days after this meeting, I heard my lord was withdrawn from his house, and did believe he was gone beyond sea, till Sir Thomas Armstrong told me he was privately in London, and he believed with a design to rise. About the latter end of October, the duke of Monmouth told me lord Shaftsbury would undo us all; for he found he did seriously resolve to rise, and would not be put off from it, and therefore we must come in to him; and in order to it, he thought it necessary for us to view the passage into the

city; which accordingly himself, Sir Thomas Armstrong, and I, did, from the lower end of Fleet-ditch next the river, to the other end of it, by Snow-hill. A short time after this Sir Thomas Armstrong came to me (it was either at the end of October or the beginning of November) and told me the duke of Monmouth desired I would meet him, and my lord Russel, that evening at a friend of theirs in the city, one Mr. Sheppard's, and that he would conduct me thither. I consented to it, and Sir Thomas directed me to go to a linen-draper's over against the Temple, and enquire for Mr. Trenchard, who lodged there (I did not know before he was in town) and desired me to be in his chamber between six and seven o' clock, at which time he would call upon me. I went according to his directions, and found Mr. Trenchard in his chamber, who entertained me with a good account of our affairs in the West and particularly about Taunton, where he said there was a general inclination to an insurrection. Sir Thomas came to us near the time appointed, and by his discourse with Mr. Trenchard I found he knew of the meeting that was to be that night at Mr. Sheppard's, and had promised to be there: he

which exposed him and the whole said,

said, he supposed we should not come to a resolution, and at the next he would not fail us. Sir Thomas and I left him, and went to Mr. Sheppard's, where we found colonel Rumsley, Mr. Sheppard, and Mr. Ferguson. About half an hour after us came in the duke of Monmouth and my lord Ruffel: after some general discourse among us, of what had pass'd at my lord Shaftsbury's the last time we had a meeting there, Mr. Ferguson began a discourse to this purpose: That he had the honour very lately to see my lord Shaftsbury, who had commanded him to put us in mind, that some time ago, when the duke of Monmouth, my lord Ruffel, his lordship, and myself, had a meeting at his house, we did agree to apply ourselves to the causing three insurrections in this kingdom, one in London, another in Cheshire, and the other in the West; that London was assigned him as his province, and in pursuance of that agreement he did make such preparation for a rising in London, as he thought very formidable, and did often acquaint us with it, but observed we gave little credit to him; that in the management of this affair, he had been necessitated to trust his life in many, which expos'd him and the whole

interest to the danger of a discovery, if action were long delayed, and to it he found great coldness in us, the last time he saw us, our whole discourse tending to nothing but delaying the time longer, and that too without any certainty of rising at last; therefore he had withdrawn from his house, resolving to hazard his life upon the interest he had in the city, which he thought sufficient for his purpose; but above all things did desire there might be a perfect good understanding between us all; and that we would come in to his assistance, which would make the success more certain, otherwise he should be forced to act without us. The duke of Monmouth and my lord Ruffel both told Mr. Ferguson, they were very willing to engage with my lord, if the strength he had was considerable enough for such an undertaking; that they had often heard of my lord's ten thousand brisk boys, but did not know where to find them; and therefore desired him to acquaint them what number of men my lord was sure of to begin his business, and where they were; and how they were provided with arms. Mr. Ferguson replied, it was impossible for him or any man to name where every individual man lived of
such

such a number, unless they were a formed force and enlisted, but that being impracticable in our case, the method my lord Shaftsbury had taken was this, his lordship had fifteen or sixteen gentlemen of his acquaintance, in and about the city (on whose honesty and words he could depend) who had undertaken to bring in so many hundreds each man (at such a time as should be agreed on) which number being cast up, amounted to five thousand men; and that he thought a sufficient number to begin withal, and did not doubt but in few hours after to have five times as many more: that several of those gentlemen who were engaged with my lord (and had promised the assistance of men) were known to his grace, and my lord Russel, and should wait on them, and give them the same assurance, if they distrusted the account he had given, or desired to speak with them upon it: that for arms, they had got some, and knew where to have more; that he himself had purchased several cannon and three field carriages which were all buried; he added farther, that if we thought fit to assist my lord, we must agree upon a time, and that speedily; for my lord was ready for action, and very
 doubtful C 4 impatient.

impatient. After some consideration, many questions and answers, the duke of Monmouth, my lord Russel, and myself, resolved to engage with my lord; and that all the strength we could make should be with us in the city, except our western interest: and then we began to discourse the manner and time of our rising, and how we should get our men together. Many proposals were made, but this resolution fixed at last, that the next Sunday night but one should be the time of our rising, and that Sir William Courtney should have notice of it, and Mr. Trenchard be sent down to Taunton, to the end that he and Sir William Courtney, and the rest of our western friends, might prepare to keep time with us in our rising; for we considered, that if we were repulsed at London, we might play an after-game in the West. We pitched upon Sunday night as the properest for this reason, that on that night all shops are shut, and the streets fuller than any other night, many people returning late home from visiting their friends and other diversions; so that our men being unarmed and in small parcels, might be conducted to the several places, where we designed to arm them without great observation: which were these,

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the duke of Monmouth's in Hedge-lane, Northumberland-house, Bedford-house, and four or five meeting-houses in the city. The duke of Monmouth undertook for Northumberland-house, and my lord Russel for Bedford-house: into those two places and Hedge-lane we resolved, as soon as it was dark, to begin to draw in our men by fours and fives at a time, till in all we had lodged five hundred. Into the meeting-houses in the city we did intend to do the like, and did reckon they would hold some thousands. The first alarm we designed to give was to be between eleven and twelve o'clock at night, by attacking the train-bands at the Exchange: with our men from the meeting-houses we did not doubt dispersing the train-bands very soon, possessing ourselves of Newgate, Ludgate, and Aldersgate: the first two gates we did not design to defend, unless we were beaten from Fleet-bridge, and Snow-hill, where we intended to post ourselves as advantageous as we could, and receive the first attack of the King's guards. At Snow-hill we intended to make a barricade, and plant three or four pieces of cannon upon ship-carriages; at Fleet-bridge we designed to use our cannon upon the land-carriages, and

and to make a breast-work for our musketeers on each side of the bridge next us; and to fill the houses on that side the ditch with men who should fire from the windows, but the bridge to be clear. We intended also at the same time to possess ourselves of London-bridge, to cut off the correspondence between Whitehall and the Tower. These three posts we thought we could keep with two thousand men, till the rest were got together and in order, and then we intended to send a thousand foot and such horse as we had, under the command of my lord Macclesfield (for whom the duke of Monmouth engaged) who should march through Smithfield, Red-lion-fields, and down St. Martin's lane, and fall upon the rear of the King's forces. We intended also that as many more men as we could spare, should march over London-bridge, through Southwark, and at Lambeth be carried over in lighters to Westminster, which we thought would give a great alarm at Whitehall if the guards had been lessened there to attack us the stronger at Fleet-bridge and Snow-hill: but we hoped there would be no great need of this last detachment, and that our men in

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Hedge-lane, Northumberland House, and Bedford-house, would prevent the guards getting together; for that end, they were to be placed there, and ordered, that upon the first alarm they should fall upon them at Fleet-bridge and Snow-hill. We concluded that the King in this conjuncture would be advised to go for Portsmouth, and would follow it, which we thought would so dishearten his forces, that in few hours we should be masters of London.

This is all as to the time and manner of our rising, which I can at present remember was agreed on. There was a discourse begun by Sir Thomas Armstrong, about viewing the guards at the Savoy and Mews, which all thought necessary, but no body was ordered to take that employment upon them. Colonel Rumsey and Mr. Sheppard were both present at the time of this discourse, and did both of them assist very often with their opinions, as to our possessing ourselves of several places in the city, which they knew much better than we did. Before we parted we agreed to meet again next week; and fixed a day, three or four days before our rising, but what day it was I have forgot. Our next business was speaking with Mr. Trenchard, who was soon after sent

sent by the duke of Monmouth, to his house in Soho-square, where I was desired to give him an account of the resolutions we had taken at Mr. Sheppard's, and what part belonged to him. Mr. Trenchard was strangely surprized at our near approach, and said he was not in that forwardness at Taunton, and therefore desired a fortnight or three-weeks time to prepare himself and friends, for they could not be ready sooner, if so soon. I asked him why he did not say so the last time I saw him, which was the night I went to Mr. Sheppard's, and then he gave Sir Thomas Armstrong and me a very different account of the Taunton affairs, yet knew about what we were to meet at Mr. Sheppard's better than I did at that time. He made me no reply, or one not worth remembering, and shewed more fear than ever I saw in any man before or since: but at his going away, he promised the duke of Monmouth to go instantly to Taunton, and to make his preparations for rising, with all possible speed; and to acquaint him in a few days, at what time he should be ready. The duke of Monmouth, Sir Thomas Armstrong, and, I dare almost swear, colonel Rumsey were present at our discourse, but if colonel Rumsey was not

by at the time, I am sure he came in presently after, and had an account of it; for I perfectly remember, he laughed with us at Mr. Trenchard's cowardliness; and said he would undertake to surprize Bristol with two hundred horse, if Mr. Trenchard, or any other, would come in after to his assistance.

A few days after, being with the duke of Monmouth, and Sir Thomas Armstrong, the duke of Monmouth proposed viewing the guards that night, that we might give an account, at our next meeting, in what posture they were. Accordingly about twelve o'clock we went to the Mews gate, and the duke of Monmouth went in; what pretence he made to the sentry I know not, but when he came out he laughed, and said it would do; afterwards went to the horse guards: the gates were shut, and I remember the duke of Monmouth said he would have an order for them. From thence we went to the Savoy, where the duke of Monmouth talked with the centinel before he went in, and stayed so long afterwards, that Sir Thomas Armstrong and I were in some apprehension for him when he came back he seemed well pleased and gave some account of the remisness of the guards, which I have forgot. The ap-
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pointed time of our meeting at Mr. Sheppard's, we went thither as before, Sir. Thomas Armstrong and I first, and the duke of Monmouth and my lord Ruffel came after: colonel Rumsey was not present at our first coming in, but Mr. Sheppard, and Mr. Ferguson were. The duke of Monmouth gave my lord Ruffel and the rest an account of viewing the guards, and of the careless posture he found them in; and also that Mr. Trenchard's preparations at Taunton were so backward, that he could not be ready for an insurrection, under a fortnight or three weeks. This disappointment put a great daunt upon all of us, and we had many long discourses about it; at last, when we had debated till we were all weary, whether we should continue our resolution of rising at the time appointed, or defer it till we heard from Mr. Trenchard and others my lord Ruffel had sent to in the West, we concluded on the latter, but did not intend to lay the rising aside, as has been reported, and I fear sworn. Towards the end of our discourses, colonel Rumsey came in, to whom we gave an account of what we determined, and the reason of it; but I do not remember that he brought any message from my lord Shaftsbury:

bury: perhaps he might, and I not hear it; nor do I know of any message sent to us by my lord by colonel Rumsley; but I do not doubt but my lord had an exact account constantly of all that passed, both from colonel Rumsley and Mr. Ferguson. At our parting, we agreed to meet again ten or fourteen days after, according as we heard from Mr. Trenchard; and I remember the duke of Monmouth ordered Mr. Ferguson to get four more field-carriages made against that time.

Mr. Alderman Cornish was to have been of our cabal, and was at one of our meetings, but did not stay with us while we debated any thing about our affair, having friends at home who waited for him, which he used as an excuse for leaving us. I have been often informed that he knew of, and was to assist in our design; but I cannot say so of my own knowledge, tho' I am fully satisfied it is true. There was at one of our meetings a paper read, which Mr. Ferguson brought; it was designed for a Declaration, but who gave order or instructions for it I know not, nor can I now repeat all the particular heads of it. I remember it began with some account of the ends of government in general, and then enumerated

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the many grievances and oppressions (as he called them) which the nation lay under, and the several arbitrary steps the King had made (so was the expression) in order to absoluteness; and declared the cause of our taking up of arms was to redress those grievances, and to deliver the King from the evil counsels of those about him, who advised him to such actions, as tended to the destruction of the government: and the consideration of all things therein mentioned was referred to the wisdom of a parliament, which was required speedily to be called. It concluded with a solemn protestation that we did not intend the least hurt to the King, nor any considerable alteration in the government, but drew our swords to support it, and to preserve the royal person of the King.

In a short time after this meeting, my lord Shaftsbury went beyond sea, and, as I have since heard, the reason of it was our sending him word from Mr. Sheppard's, that we could not rise with him, and he must be contented. I am very confident there was no such message sent him, for we did only intend, at our last meeting, to defer our rising till we heard farther from Mr. Trenchard, Sir William Courtney, and others in the West;

West; but did not think of laying our design of rising in London aside, tho' we were failed in the country; for we thought ourselves in too much danger, and that we had proceeded too far not to go forward: but perhaps my lord Shaftsbury looked upon our delay to be a civil refusal to assist him, and thereupon took a fright, and went away.

After my lord and Mr. Ferguson were gone, it was impossible for us to act, they having managed the greatest part of our city affairs, and knew all those considerable men (as they called them) who were to be heads of the rest, and had not acquainted the duke of Monmouth, or my lord Russel, with many of them, as they promised, so that our design must fall to the ground, as it did, and we expected every day to be hanged, as we had reason. I thought it proper to give this last account, having often heard the following arguments were urged against the belief of that plot: That there could be no necessity of laying the London rising aside (if it were intended) because Mr. Trenchard had disappointed us of fifteen hundred men at Taunton; and that if we were prepared for a rising in London before my lord Shaftsbury went away, his departure could not prevent our putting it

D in *William Courtenay and others in the*

West

in execution, all the service he could do us, being but premature action. I think what I have said before, does fully answer those new objections. After my lord Shaftsbury's departure, all treasonable practices were thought on no more (as I enquired.)

In February at Chichester the duke of Monmouth acquainted me, that my lord of Effex, lord Howard, lord Ruffel, colonel Sidney, Mr. Hambden, and himself, had been contriving insurrections in several parts of this kingdom, and designed to engage some in Scotland to do the like; that he was to have a meeting, at his return to London, with the persons above named, but believed it would not be long before they disagreed, for he feared my lord of Effex, colonel Sidney, and Mr. Hambden intended a commonwealth, which could not be without the destruction of the King; and if that was their intention, my lord Ruffel, and himself were resolved to quit them entirely, and to think of saving themselves; for they would both rather lie at the King's mercy for what was passed, than that his life should be endangered, or his liberty taken away, which was next to death. He concluded to desire me to come to town, for my lord Ruffel

and himself were resolved to be no longer of their cabal, unless I came into it, and then we should be as strong as they; for my lord Howard, he thought, was zealous for no government but that under which he could get most. I desired the duke of Monmouth to excuse me, for I was very unwilling to enter into such counsels with men, when I knew beforehand I should fall out with them. He replied, they were as little desirous of my company, as I could be of theirs, for they looked upon me as his friend, and for the same reason would be quit of my lord Ruffel were they able to act without him. I refused going with the duke of Monmouth to London, but being extremely importuned by him, promised him, that if he found, at his next meeting, a probability of agreeing with those, whose ill intentions he suspected, I would wait upon him if he sent for me.

In March following I received a letter from him, wherein (under the cant of going to Northampton plate, and diverting ourselves there) he acquainted me all things were to his mind, and desired me to come up to London, which I did in a day or two. After I had been some short time in town, my lord Ruffel and I being with the duke of Mon-

mouth, they gave me this following account, of the proceedings of the cabal; That they had met four or five times, and after some disputes and jealousies came to this resolution: That there should be three insurrections in England, and one in Scotland; that in order to that in Scotland, they had sent for my lord Melvin, Sir John Cochran, and some gentlemen of my lord Argyll's relations; that by them they might be informed how Scotland was inclined; and if my lord Argyll was assisted with money to buy arms and ammunition, whether they thought they could be strong enough to master the King's army there: that the places of rising in England were London, Chester, and the West, and that Sir William Courtney had engaged to my lord Russel to rise, and Mr. Trenchard had recovered his fright, and was very forward now to be in action: that they had agreed to raise a sum of money for to begin the war, and to assist my lord Argyll with ten thousand pounds, which was the sum he now demanded to make preparations for the war in Scotland; but they would hold their hands till they had a good account from thence, which they hoped for by the gentlemen who were coming, and had adjourned their

their meeting of their cabal till their arrival, for fear of observation, and being resolved to apply themselves in the first place, to the Scotch affair, that it might receive a quick dispatch, their intentions being that the war should first break forth in Scotland. They told me also it was agreed by the cabal, that I should be one of the number, and the duke of Monmouth was desired by them to bring me thither at their next meeting. After this resolution I remember my lord Ruffel said, that though things went on so smoothly with them now, yet he foresaw there would be danger of a disagreement when we came to debate the heads of a Declaration, and what power should be intrusted to our General, and therefore he had waved disputes of that nature till I came into his assistance, whom he had always found concurring in opinion with the duke of Monmouth, and himself, as to the continuance of the government, and safety of the King's person; but he feared my lord of Essex, and colonel Sidney, had set their hearts upon a common wealth, and once apprehended they had engaged Mr. Hambden, but now that fear was over, and we should be strong enough for them at the next meeting. Many

discourses of this kind have passed between the duke of Monmouth, my lord Russel, and myself: we were often together, and did firmly resolve, that if my lord of Essex, and colonel Sidney, could not agree to such a Declaration as that read at Mr. Sheppard's we would have nothing to do with them: we thought a war begun upon such quarrel as the Declaration should set forth, would soon end in a happy accommodation between the King and his people in parliament; and that imagination was the greatest inducement to us to think of an insurrection: perhaps the duke of Momouth might flatter himself with the hopes that a parliament so called might secure the crown to him after the King's life; but that was never mentioned among us that I know of. As for my own part, I do solemnly protest to your Majesty, that if I thought the duke of Monmouth, or my lord Russel, intended the destruction of the government, or the least prejudice to the King, I should have abhorred them; but believing the contrary, I loved them and engaged with them to my own ruin and destruction. It was in March (to the best of my remembrance) that I received the account before mentioned of the cabal's

cabal's proceedings, after which I heard nothing of importance, till I returned with the duke of Monmouth from Northampton (where I had rid for a plate) which I think was in April.

About the latter end of that month (as I take it) (the duke of Monmouth, and my lord Russel came one morning to my chamber, and told me the Scotchmen were come to town, and that they had seen Sir John Cochran, who had given them a better account of Scotland than they could have expected, and that they had prepared him (and would do the rest) to give such an account of the inclinations of Scotland to monarchy, as should destroy all the hopes and provokes my lord of Essex and colonel Sidney could have to a common-wealth; that Sir John Cochran had a great desire to speak with me, hoping to prevail with me to assist them in Scotland with some Northumberland horse, for they had none worth any thing in their own country. I was very unwilling to meet Sir John Cochran (whom I had never seen) and the more so being resolved to refuse him the assistance he designed to ask of me; but upon the importunity of my lord Russel, consented to meet him at Southampton-house, which I did a day or

two after, my lord Russel being present. Sir John gave us a tedious account of the condition of Scotland, and how he would have the war managed; but all he said is so little worth the mentioning (if I could repeat it) that I did not endeavour to remember it, and did not half an hour after I had left him. All that I can call to mind of his discourse is, that he used many arguments to persuade me to assist them with some horse, and the most remarkable one was, that he would undertake the first news the King should have after rising should be, that Scotland was lost. Many other extravagant expressions I heard from him, and I think in my whole life-time I never met with so vain a man. I never had any other meeting with him in England, nor did I intend it, tho' never so often pressed to it.

The Scotchmen being now come to town, it was thought necessary there should be a speedy meeting of the cabal, which was appointed to be at Southampton-house, and my lord of Essex (who was then in the country) was sent for to be there, which he promised. A day or two before the time, the duke of Monmouth, my lord Russel, and I met, that we might prepare ourselves for the debate we intended upon the heads of a Declaration;

ration; and also consider how we should introduce the discourse of a General, and the power he should have, and in what hands the management of the war should be placed, whether in a General or in a Council. It was at last agreed, that I should begin these discourses, it being probable that a proper opportunity would be given me by my lord of Effex, or some of them, who would think it proper, at my first coming among them, to acquaint me with the end of our meeting, and the several steps they had made. When this was settled, I desired the duke of Monmouth and my lord Russel not to take it ill if I refused to go to their meeting, unless it could be contrived that one of their company should be absent, which was my lord Howard, of whom I could have no good opinion, tho' they had thought fit to trust him with their lives; that I had yet never put mine in his power, and should with great unwillingness run that venture now. The duke of Monmouth replied, he thought no better of him than I did, but had trusted him too far long ago to disoblige him now; and knew not why or how he came to do so, my lord having by degrees so wrought himself into his affairs; but we intended upon the heads of a Decla-

but as for me, he thought I should be in no danger of him, believing he would not be at the meeting, having been absent the two or three last times. My lord Ruffel said, he was confident my lord was not in town, or if he were, he would not send for him, but perhaps colonel Sidney might; and there was no speaking to him to forbear it, he was so much my lord's friend. The same night we had this discourse, or the night after, I went with the duke of Monmouth to colonel Rumsfy's, where colonel Rumsfy, Sir Thomas Armstrong, and Mr. Ferguson were. I could not imagine the end of this meeting for a great while, but after the duke of Monmouth had given them all a full account of the several meetings and resolutions of the cabal (as he had done before to me) and also of the several heads which my lord Ruffel and himself did intend to debate next, and had desired me to begin the discourse of, I found the intention was, that I should be instructed by Mr. Ferguson, and furnished with arguments to encounter my lord of Essex, and colonel Sidney, at the next meeting. Accordingly Mr. Ferguson did very learnedly teach me my lesson, as colonel Rumsfy can inform your Majesty, if
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he pleases, for he was present at the time; I am sure he was when the duke of Monmouth made the resolution above mentioned, and I believe if he be asked, can remember this particular. I enquired of them if my lord Howard was in town or not, and Sir Thomas Armstrong answered, he was confident he was, for but a few days ago his lordship being informed Mr. Ferguson was come from Holland, asked if he were come over to anoint John; at which expression I remember colonel Rumsey laughed, and said, he supposed we knew who was meant by John. The day of meeting at Southampton-house being come, I went thither at the appointed time, where I found the duke of Monmouth, my lord Russel, colonel Sidney, and Mr. Hambden; my lord of Essex was expected every moment, but did not come to town till so late that evening, that we were gone. Colonel Sidney addressing his discourse to me, began with a long prologue, of the necessity we were reduced to, of taking up of arms, and of the lawfulness of it, and from thence descended to a particular account of their several proceedings and resolutions, since the first time of their meeting (I shall forbear to repeat all

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of them, having exactly mentioned them before) and went forward to this purpose. That he looked upon a rising in Scotland to be of infinite advantage and security to us, both as it would give a diversion, and be a place of retreat to us if we met with ill success in England; that the oppressions there were so grievous, that (as he was informed) the hearts of all the common people were set upon an insurrection to shake off their yokes; and nothing could prevent the attempting it, but assurances of assistance in some short time; that if we did not assist them, and engage some men of quality of their own country to head them, they would miscarry, as at Bothwell-bridge, which might be fatal to us also: that no men of quality or interest, who had common understanding, would undertake such an affair, without a provision of arms, and other necessaries for war, which the gentry of Scotland being poor, were not able to make, and therefore we must assist them with money, which had been agreed to, and some methods proposed for the raising it, but none agreed on; that my lord Argyll had been treated with, and had undertaken with ten thousand pounds to furnish himself in Holland with sufficient provision

vision for the war, that they of the cabal
 had sent into Scotland to some considerable
 men of that kingdom to come to London,
 that there might be a conjunction of coun-
 sels, in order to the beginning and carrying
 on the war in both kingdoms; and that
 those gentlemen were come to town, were
 willing to engage with us, and had given
 so good an account of their country, that
 the success of an insurrection was not to be
 doubted. That our preparations in Eng-
 land were in a great forwardness, my lord
 Russel having been industrious about the
 Western rising, and others for one in Lon-
 don, and that for Cheshire, the duke of
 Monmouth had undertaken to engage my
 lord Macclesfield, lord Brandon, and Mr.
 Booth, who were able to manage another
 there; but the Scotch design moved slowly,
 because it required a sum of money, with-
 out which it would end in nothing but the
 destruction of those poor people, who would
 certainly rise, and as certainly be beaten if we
 did not provide for them; therefore it was
 his opinion we take immediately into our
 consideration the manner of raising money,
 that that affair might receive a dispatch with
 all possible speed.

When colonel Sidney had ended his history and his reasons upon the several heads of it (which I have cut as short as I can) I told him I observed they had made a great progress in their undertaking, and was well satisfied with their inducements thereunto, but I could not see yet what they intended at last, and had for some time expected that account from him, thinking it as reasonable to resolve in what a war should terminate, as to consider whether the reasons upon which it was to commence were justifiable; and therefore I imagined he had forgot to acquaint me with the heads of their Declaration, which I supposed was ready drawn. He answered, No, there was none drawn that he knew of, but he thought we were of one mind. I said I hoped so, and that if we could as well agree what we were for, as what we were against, I should willingly venture my life with them; and therefore I desired before we entered upon the thoughts of raising money, we might consider of a Declaration. Colonel Sidney muttered to himself some time, and truly what he said I know not; all I could distinctly hear was, that my lord of Essex and my lord Howard not being there, it was not a proper time to talk of a Declaration; but

but if we would have his opinion of one, he thought we must tell the world how the King had broken the laws and his own oath, and secure the settlement of the kingdom to a parliament, which if we were successful would know how to provide for the safety of themselves and the people. I replied, I hoped he was not out of charity with the King and government, tho' he had not mentioned the preservation of either; and that tho' there had been that failure of justice in the administration of it, which he had mentioned, yet that was not the defect of the constitution, nor did it lie directly upon the King to answer for it, the law having provided otherwise, and made only those obnoxious to punishment, who by the wrong use of the King's authority should misapply the laws: that, for my part, I thought the King a good and merciful prince ill advised, and the government the best in the world, and therefore would not draw my sword for the destruction of either; and that if they were of the same opinion, I thought it our interest to say so in our Declaration, and then we must expect great assistance, and the war might end in a happy accommodation, between the King and his people. The duke

duke of Monmouth, my lord Ruffel, and Mr. Hambden, who had been silent all this while (and heard me preach their doctrine which before was agreed on) declared, they were all of my opinion; upon which colonel Sidney said he had heard, when wise men drew their swords against their King, they laid aside the thoughts of treating with him; but he would talk no more of that matter since we were all of one mind. When this discourse was ended, and several others, I asked colonel Sidney in what hands they had resolved to place the management of the war; he said, they had not resolved that, but he thought it would not be in any others, than those persons who made up our little Council, and one or two more who might be thought on. Then I desired to know what power the General should have, and whether he should act according to his own judgment, or receive his instructions and be governed by the orders of our Council. Yes surely, said he, for we being the principals in the war, ought to govern it, and no wise General, but will desire it may be so for his own justification. I told him many inconveniencies might arise from thence; for if a General had no power but what he derived from

from a Council, he would be despised by his officers, and lose many opportunities of fighting to advantage for want of orders, which might happen by the absence of the Council, or some accident; and that if ever the reserving that power to a Council could be necessary, it must be when the conduct of the General was suspected; and one so qualified, I thought, would not be chosen: if his integrity were the apprehension, the tying up of his hands would be of little use, for whoever had the command of any army in such a case as ours, might do what he pleased with it, if once he were beloved by it; and of that he had seen an example in the late times. Colonel Sidney replied, he knew but of one General we could have, and that was the duke of Monmouth, whose conduct or integrity he did not doubt, and therefore was not for tying up his hands, as I called it; but if he might advise him, he should go to Scotland, which would make the success of that war more certain; there he would get good footing, be at the head of a conquering army, and then might treat with his father, for that was all he found us inclined to. I told him I would give the duke of Monmouth the same advice, if I desired

never more to see him in England. My lord Ruffel and Mr. Hambden both opposed the duke of Monmouth's going to Scotland, and said there would be an end then of the Western rising; for Sir William Courtney and others in the West would not have engaged to rise, but upon the promise of the duke of Monmouth's being with them; so that put an end to colonel Sidney's proposals. After that we had many discourses more tedious (if possible) than those I have related, but at last we came to this resolution: That we should chiefly apply ourselves to the affair of Scotland, till it was dispatched: that at our next meeting we should discourse the heads of a Declaration, and agree on a method for raising of money; that the ten thousand pounds should be lent to my lord Argyll with all speed, that, if possible, the Scotch rising might begin before the end of June: that a messenger should come from Scotland (as soon as ever they were in arms) to London, where one should be ready to carry the news to the duke of Monmouth at my house in Suffex, where he was to be privately a week before the rising, that he might not be secured, if there were any suspicion of it, and they would be ready on the

first

first notice, to ride away to Taunton, where he was to be received by Mr. Trenchard. That my lord Macclesfield should have the same intelligence given him in Cheshire. It was not determined, where my lord Russel's post should be, whether in London, or whether his lordship or Sir Francis Rowles should, with a good number of horse, make their way to Taunton, which was designed as their general rendezvous in the West, and known by vast numbers there, as Mr. Wade can inform your Majesty. This is all I can remember at present was agreed upon at that time.

About a week or ten days after, there was another meeting: I was not at it, being prevented by some accident, which I have forgot; but at the duke of Monmouth's my lord Russel gave me this account of it: That they had agreed upon a Declaration, which would be to our minds, and that my lord of Effex and colonel Sidney had undertaken to draw it: that as to the raising of money, they thought it safest for all of us to lay it down, as much as we were able, lest by collecting money, we should be discovered; but that Mr. Hambden and himself had ventured to speak to some friends in the city, who had promised them to assist

us, and he did not doubt but in a short time to return my lord Argyll a good sum to begin withal. That as for himself he was no moneyed man, however should be able to lay down two or three thousand pounds, and hoped I would do the like; which I promised to do, if I could get so much without giving suspicion, for I had not such a sum by me; a bigger sum was never proposed to me, tho' I hear it was reported I had promised ten thousand pounds. My lord told me also, that the cabal would not meet again in a good while all together for fear of observation.

In a short time after this discourse I was brought before the Council for the arms found in my house, which were bought long before, and very publickly, and lay so in my house to the view of all my servants for near two years, and were not bought with any other intent but to furnish my three houses in Essex, Suffex, and Northumberland; however they gave such suspicion (tho' but fourscore in all) that I was obliged to enter with my sureties into a recognizance of 20000 pounds for the keeping of the peace. After that I was unwilling to stay in town, and went down into Suffex, where I thought there was no great danger of forfeiting my recognizance before the time of our rising, and if that succeeded

succeeded to our expectations; I should hardly be sued upon it. The day before I went out of town, my lord Ruffel came in the morning to me, who knew of my going, and my reasons, and did not disapprove them. I told his lordship I had not the money by me I had promised to lay down; but if he would procure three thousand pounds, I would confess a judgment for that sum, or give any other security desired upon a day's notice, whenever he sent for me to town; and that I would not give his lordship that trouble, if I could raise the money without suspicion. My lord was very well satisfied, and undertook to procure me the money. He took his leave of me, and it was for ever, for I saw him no more.

The night before I went out of town I walked with the duke of Monmouth in Soho-square till break of day; he told me, he found my lord of Essex, colonel Sidney, and all of them, should agree in every thing; and he was confident that when we were in arms, and the King saw how strong we were in several places, there would be little blood shed, for all would end in an accommodation between the King and a parliament; but my lord Macclesfield, he said, had made a bargain before the King's return, and it was

succeeded

barous proposal, which was the murdering your Majesty, for that, my lord said, would frighten the King into a compliance. The duke of Monmouth expressed himself with the greatest abhorrence of such an action, that can be imagined, and said he would not consent to the murdering the meanest creature (tho' the worst enemy he had in the world) for all the advantages under heaven; and should never have any esteem for my lord Macesfield while he lived. He promised me at parting, that if any thing happened worth my knowing, I should hear from him (but how he kept his word I shall mention presently) and that he kept his resolution of coming down to me a week before the rising.

I went next morning into Suffex, which was in the month of May, and there I continued till the discovery of the plot, without hearing one word from the duke of Monmouth, my lord Russel, or any body, how their affairs went forward: so that what passed among them, after I left London, I know not, but as I have heard from Sir Thomas Armstrong at Clives. When I heard that colonel Rumsley had delivered (himself, after having been in a proclamation for

for high treason, I did conclude (as well I might) that he came in to be a witness; and had no great reason to expect he should spare me; however would not provide for my own safety, by running away (tho' I could then have made a secure escape) knowing that flight is the greatest presumption of guilt, and that mine would confirm the truth of Rumsley's evidence, which might be the destruction of the duke of Monmouth, and my lord Russel, if they were taken, and both of them I loved equally with myself, tho' indeed I had little reason at that time; for neither of them took care to acquaint me with Rumsley's coming in, nor with what resolutions they had taken upon it. The intelligence I had, I owe to Mr. Everit, who shewed me a letter on the Monday morning, that gave an account of Rumsley's being come in on the Sunday night before; so that I had timely notice to go away if I pleased. On the Tuesday following I went to London, being summoned to appear in the King's bench, to be fined for the riot I was found guilty of, in the city (tho' I was not there at the time of its being committed, as I made appear by several witnesses, for the truth of which I appealed to Mr. Attorney General.)

In my journey thither I was taken by a messenger, who shewed me a warrant he had to seize me for high treason. I could then have made an escape with ease, the messenger being alone, and I had several servants with me well armed, but I would not for the reasons above mentioned; besides I was in hopes that Mr. Sheppard would not make a second witness; but these soon vanished when I came to Whitehall, where I saw him, and made such observations as satisfied me I had nothing but death to expect, unless I would discover my friends. When I was examined before the King, concerning the duke of Monmouth and my lord Russell, I denied I knew any thing against them, and at that time would not have accused them, to save my own life: the escape I made afterwards none can imagine I foresaw, unless they will suppose I had the spirit of divination, or had agreed with the messenger for it, which I protest to God I had not, nor ever proposed it to him; if I had, I must have offered him a sum of money that would have maintained him beyond sea, better than his place here; and if such a bargain had been between us, I should not have gone to the Tower-gates, nor would he have stayed there
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behind me. The deliverance I had from thence I owe entirely to the providence of God, and have made so ill use of it since, that I acknowledge his justice in delivering me into your Majesty's hands, to whom I have forfeited my life by the laws of the kingdom; and I pray God direct you, Sir, in your disposal of me to your own advantage; and whether that be to life or death, I hope I shall submit to it, as becomes a man and a Christian.

I have several times heard the duke of Monmouth and my lord Macclesfield discourse about the London and Cheshire risings; and I particularly remember, that at a time when we intended a rising in London only, the duke of Monmouth and my lord Macclesfield agreed to dine in the city, and discourse of it there; which accordingly they did at the George and Vulture; there was the duke of Monmouth, my lord Macclesfield, my lord Branford, Sir Gilbert Gerard, Sir Thomas Armstrong, and myself: we had several discourses about the manner of the rising in the city, and I remember the duke of Monmouth and my lord Macclesfield did extremely dispute about it. I have not yet forgot several of my lord Macclesfield's proposals. My lord Russel has often told me, that Mr. Shep-
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pard was to return over the money to my lord Argyll, and would, in a vessel of his own, send over the Scotch gentlemen for Holland, which should also assist my lord Argyll in transporting from London his arms and ammunition, or his company. Sir Thomas Armstrong has also acquainted me, when we were beyond sea, that Mr. Sheppard had received some thousands of pounds from my lord Russel, to transmit to my lord Argyll, just before the discovery of the plot; and used it as an argument to me of Mr. Sheppard's being an unwilling witness at my lord Russel's trial, that he did not mention the receipt of that money from my lord Russel, which would have been an overt act of his treason; besides he could have given a fuller evidence against my lord Russel than any of the witnesses, having very often discoursed with my lord upon the plot, and advised him what men in the city were to be applied to for money; and had contrived with him the manner of the city rising, and could, if he would, accuse several of our best and ablest friends there, which he had not done; and therefore Sir Thomas did infer from this his management, that fear only made him own what he did, which was also little; that if I were taken, he said, I should

be in no great danger of a trial, colonel Rumsey being the only witness besides, that could be brought against me. I have heard in Holland, from some who came out of England, that Mr. Sheppard had found out a very convenient way of getting money, which was the borrowing of it of some persons in the city, who durst not refuse him for fear of being accused by him: alderman Cornish was one he treated so kindly; and I have heard another named, but at present cannot remember the person. My lord Brandon, Sir Thomas Armstrong, and myself have a hundred times discoursed of most of the affairs before related; and I never saw a man so zealous for a rebellion, that kept his word and engagements no better, than my lord Brandon, when he had the opportunity he wished for. He has often consulted with Sir Thomas and me how to surprize a castle or fort, which I think his lordship said was in Chester, or I am sure very near it; but am confident was more pleased with talking of it, than he would have been with executing his design, if he had been ordered to attempt it. Mr. Charlton was also acquainted by Sir Thomas Armstrong and me with all our affairs, and did advise us about the management both of the
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City and Cheshire risings, Major Bremon was discourfured by me (by order of the duke of Monmouth) about the poffibility of surprizing Portsmouth; but it came to nothing, for he faid it could not be done. This is all I can at prefent call to mind of our treafonable practices before I left England, but it is poffible I may have forgot feveral things.

About the latter end of June 83, I made my efcape out of England, and went in July following to Cleve; the latter end of Auguft, or beginning of September, Sir Thomas Armftrong came to me: we were both fo well pleafed with the place, and the kind reception we met with, that we refolved to continue there till God's providence fhould otherwife difpofe of us. As for my own part, I laid afide all thoughts of England, but fuch as were for my fupport, and held no corre-fpondence with any in it, but about my own private affairs, till fuch time as monsieur Fucks was fent Embaffador, by his mafter the elector of Brandenburgh, to the States of Holland; who in his way thither refted fome days at Cleve, where by the means of fome friends I became acquainted with him (which to the beft of my remembrance was the next fpring after my coming over.) Our acquaintance

in a short time grew to so great a friendship, that I received many proofs of his, and was encouraged by them to beg the assistance of his interest in procuring an employment for Sir Thomas Armstrong in his master's service; which he very readily promised, and had performed, if Sir Thomas had lived to go to Berlin. About this time I found by news letters and gazettes, that although the duke of Monmouth had his pardon, yet he lay concealed; and, having no correspondence with him, could imagine no other reason for his doing so, but the avoiding being a witness at Mr. Hambden's trial, or some other, which for all I knew might be coming on; which if true, I thought he would soon leave England, and be very glad of some honorable employment abroad; whereupon (after such discourses as I thought necessary to prepare a minister for the proposal I had to make) I proposed to monsieur Fucks the duke of Monmouth's coming into his master's service as his General; or if that could not be obtained, as Lieutenant General. Monsieur Fucks was so well pleased with the proposition, that he immediately writ to the elector, and at his return from Holland shewed me his answer, which to the best of my remembrance was to
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this sense; that he was not at present engaged in any war, but did believe it would not be long before he should have occasion to use his arms; that when he had, the duke of Monmouth might be sure that he should be very glad of his service, and in the mean time did desire above all things to see him at Berlin; where he might promise himself as kind a reception as he could desire. With this answer (and all the steps that I had made in this affair) I immediately acquainted major Wildman (by the means of a friend) whom I thought most likely to convey it to the duke of Monmouth; which he did, and returned me this answer.

That the duke of Monmouth would be very willing to accept of either of the employments, but would not leave a certainty for an uncertainty. What was meant by the certainty I knew not then; nor could I find out what part of the answer was thanks to me for the pains I had taken to serve him. Immediately after these transactions with monsieur Fucks, Mr. Ferguson comes to Cleve, and discoursing with me, began with a long preamble of our sad circumstances, and with the heavy oppressions, which, he said, the three nations groaned under; and at the end of his

harangue

harangue told me, that some on that side the water had held a correspondence with Scotland, in order to a rising (notwithstanding the difficulties we at present laboured under) and that the people of that kingdom were so generally disposed to it, that nothing could prevent their being in a flame in a short time, but that my lord Argyll himself, and others, were afraid it would prove a second Bothwell-Bridge business, unless men of more prudent understandings, and greater quality, did engage in this, than did in that. And therefore his business with me was to persuade me to send for the duke of Monmouth, and to procure a meeting, and good understanding, between him and my lord Argyll. When he had ended his discourse (which was very tedious) I told him, that from my leaving England to that time I had held no correspondence with the duke of Monmouth; that I did believe I knew how to send to him, but would not about such an affair as that was; and that if my lord Argyll had any thing more to say to me, I thought myself obliged to hear him. Mr. Ferguson left me upon this answer, but told me, when he had spoke with my lord Argyll I should hear from him, for he was sure my lord would desire to speak with me;

but

but I never heard afterwards that he did, nor did I believe any thing of Mr. Ferguson's story, but looked upon it as an imaginary rebellion of his own brain: but had I given credit to it, I would not at this time have drawn my sword against the King, tho', by doing so, I had been sure of restoring myself to my former condition in England: and my reason was this; I had some considerable time before been told by one Mr. Steward, who lived in Utrecht, that the King in his demands to the States of that province had excepted the duke of Monmouth and myself from being delivered by them into his hands, tho' he required the delivery of all others within the proclamations fled thither for protection. Whether my intelligence was false or not, I know not, but I looked upon it as true, and the generous compassion of the King bestowed on one, who so little deserved it, made that impression upon me, that I repented at my heart the having been engaged in so many rebellious designs for disturbing the peace of his government. I hope I may be believed in this, since it is no excuse for the crimes I committed before or since, and therefore can be of no advantage to me to tell such a lye, even if it were so.

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Some time after my discourse with Mr. Ferguson, the duke of Monmouth came publicly to Brussels, which, as near as I can remember, was about the time of Luxembourg's being besieged. Sir Thomas Armstrong had just before received a promise from Berlin, of the employment before spoken of; and upon the news of the duke of Monmouth's being at Brussels, resolved to wait on him, and to persuade him (if possible) to quit the Spanish service, for the employment we thought he might have in the elector's, at the expence only of a journey to Berlin. Sir Thomas used many arguments to persuade me to accompany him, which I refused, telling him, that after all I had suffered for espousing the duke of Monmouth's interest, and the service I had done him abroad, even without his direction, I had met with a very ungrateful return from him, having then been near a year out of England, and in all that time had not received a letter, or so much as a civil message from him; and therefore I resolved to concern myself no further with him nor his affairs; and I wish from my heart I had kept that resolution. Sir Thomas went his journey, and I continued at Cleve till he returned from Brussels to Rotterdam, from
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whence he writ to me, and desired very earnestly to see me there; for that he intended to go from Amsterdam to Berlin, and not by the way of Cleve. Upon the receipt of his letter, and having business of my own at that time in Holland, I went to Rotterdam, where Sir Thomas delivered me a letter very complimentary from the duke of Monmouth; but by the sense and expressions in it, I found I was more obliged to Sir Thomas than him. Sir Thomas Armstrong and captain Matthews (who was with him) pressed me very earnestly to go to Brussels, and offered to go with me; but the letter from the duke of Monmouth making me no such invitation, I refused going for the same reasons I did before at Cleve. I found by Sir Thomas that the duke of Monmouth had no thoughts of going to Berlin, believing it might prejudice him in England, to be where either of us were who were then outlawed. Sir Thomas and I left Rotterdam in two or three days, designing for Amsterdam: but in our way thither, were both seized at Leyden; the particulars of that I think I need not relate. After my escape thence I returned to Cleve, and in a short time after, my lord Argyll with several English outlaws came thither; during my lord's

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continuance, I neither made nor received a visit from him, nor had any discourse with him. A little before my lord's departure, Mr Richard Goodenough (who was very conversant with my lord and his company) walking with me began a discourse much to the same purpose as Mr. Ferguson's, which I have before related; but with this difference, that the duke of Monmouth's being sent for was not proposed; and he only mentioned as a person who might be very serviceable in such an undertaking. I made the same answer, as near as I can remember, to Mr. Goodenough, as I had done before to Mr. Ferguson: upon which he replied, that all our friends on that side the water were very sensible of the duke of Monmouth's ingratitude, but thought me the greatest instance of it, and therefore wondered I would not act without him; that they were confident he held a correspondence with the King, and had told all he knew to him; but as for his own part, he had a more charitable opinion of him. After a long discourse, too tedious and insignificant to relate, he asked me, if a rising were intended in England, whether I would engage in it. To which making him a very dubious reply, he pressed me

further with this question; that if Sir William Courtney and several other gentlemen of quality, who were of my acquaintance, were engaged in a design to take arms, and should make such a proposal to me, whether I would then engage with them. To which I answered, that if Sir William Courtney, or the other gentlemen whose names he did conceal, should make such a proposition to me, I should not want an answer for them; and so our discourse of that kind ended; and I hearing no more from them, did believe the uneasiness of their condition had put them upon forming rebellions in their own imaginations, which they knew not how to put in execution. My lord Argyll and his company left Cleve in a few days after my discourse with Mr. Goodenough, but he continued there till I received a letter from monsieur Fucks, wherein he told me, that letters from the duke of Monmouth, directed to him, were taken in Sir Thomas Armstrong's pockets; that they had made a great noise in the court of England, and that not only Mr. Godolphin (now my Lord) had made a complaint against him to the elector's envoy, for assisting the King's enemies, but that the King had also complained, that the elector gave protection

tion to some who had been in a conspiracy against his life; therefore he desired of me, in the elector's name, that all such persons would leave his territories. Upon which, Mr. Goodenough, his brother, and Mr. Nelthorpe did; but I thinking my case different from theirs, did distinguish between them, in a letter to monsieur Fucks, and desired him, that if the elector doubted the truth of it, to send it to the King, who I was sure had too much justice to contradict what I therein affirmed. Whether my letter was sent to the King or not, I do not know, but I had leave to continue at Cleve. During the time of this intercourse by letters with Mr. Fucks, Bryan, a servant of the duke of Monmouth's, comes to Cleve, who at first I thought was sent with a letter or message to me; but I found I was obliged to the servant, and not the master, for the honour of the visit, his business being at Berlin with monsieur Fucks, to whom he had letters from the duke of Monmouth, and orders to take the nearest way thither. I was much surprized at this extraordinary journey; (and the more so, that I had no account from the duke of Monmouth of his business there. I did not imagine it did relate to the employment I had

before procured him some assurances of; for if he had thought of that, I promised myself the satisfaction of being acquainted with it, having managed that whole affair myself, and with success, without his orders or instructions, with no other intent but to serve him: but I soon found myself mistaken in my charitable opinion of his kindness and civility to me, and that the only intent of that journey was to procure himself the employment by his own management; lest if he owed it to me, he should be obliged to give me an employment under him, which he thought would injure him in England. This was discovered to me many ways, but beyond all contradiction by a message I received from him, by a friend of mine, to this effect: That if I did come to Berlin, it was what he could not help; but receiving a visit from me, or paying one to me, was in his power, and it would injure him if he did either; therefore he desired me not to do one, nor expect the other; he desired withal, I would believe he had as great a love and kindness for me as ever; which indeed I did do him justice in, by thinking I had then the exact measure of it. But to return to Bryan, whom I suffered to continue his journey, which I could

It could have prevented, had I acquainted his master with the posture of affairs at that time at Berlin; but I confess I had malice enough to desire that I might not be the only one deceived: so Bryan went to Berlin, and delivered his letters to monsieur Fucks, who was so alarmed with the reports of the letters which were taken with Sir Thomas Armstrong, the complaints made against him by the envoy in England to the elector, the noise it made at Berlin, and the frequent discourses the French Embassador monsieur Rabinniac had with him upon that subject, that nothing was so terrible to him as the name of the duke of Monmouth, which made him dispatch Bryan away in great haste; and so the project failed.

About the latter end of August, or beginning of September, Bryan returning from Berlin, took Cleve in his way to Dearing, where his master then was, to whom I sent a letter by him; the substance of it was, that I having been twelve months out of England, without having once the honour to see him, and being now resolved to take a long journey to settle in a place from whence there was little probability of my returning, I did desire to wait on him to bid him farewell. The country I intended to settle in was Switzer-

land, where I heard I might live cheap, which was a very necessary inducement to one in my circumstances, who had little for a support, and less to expect from the duke of Monmouth, who tho' he should have the good fortune to obtain a considerable employment abroad, did not design me one under him; which were hopes I did once flatter myself with, till his obliging message undeceived me; and his grateful treatment of me in many things, which I forbear to relate, plainly shewed me, that he thought me no longer capable of serving him; and therefore was to be laid aside like other usefess animals, when they become so.

In November following, the duke of Monmouth appointed me a meeting at Runcum, three hours from Dearing; at his leaving Dearing, he pretended to go for Bruffels, but gave his servants the slip, and came to the appointed place, where we met. It would be almost endless and insignificant to give an account of our tedious discourses, with which we were both tired; but in the end he prevailed with me to think no more of Switzerland, till his return out of England, whither he was then going, as he told me, to make suit of his right in the manor of Spalding; and

and did also intend to wait privately on the King, and to use his utmost interest with him in my behalf; which I extremely doubted, he having once forgot it before. I accompanied him as far as Utrecht in his way to the Brille, and from thence returned to Cleve. At our parting he promised me, I should hear from him so soon as he came from England; how well he kept his word with me I shall mention in its proper place.

A little before Christmas, some friends of mine at Cleve, who were going to the court of Berlin (where they were very considerable) discoursing me of my own affairs, and commiserating my condition, offered me to employ their utmost interest with the ministers, to procure me a regiment of horse in the Elector's service. I thought the attempt at that time very unlikely to meet with success; however consented they should try; and knowing most of the German courts to be very poor, and the ministers by consequence generally very mercenary (of which crime I must acquit monsieur Fucks, who is the most generous man I ever was acquainted with) I told them I could procure two thousand crowns, which being managed by them to the best advantage, might do me more service, than

all the good-natured arguments they could use. They went their journey, and soon after their arrival at Berlin sent me a promise of the employment; whereupon I employed a friend of mine to some lords and gentlemen in England (whose names I shall have occasion to use in this relation) to acquaint them I desired they would lend me five hundred pounds among them to purchase a regiment of horse in the Elector of Brandenburg's service, and that I would repay it out of the profits of my employment. I had many fair promises from them, and did not doubt the performance for many reasons; but I, who never was in the right before, was mistaken then also.

About the latter end of December, or beginning of January, the duke of Monmouth appeared publicly at Brussels, and after some stay there went to the Hague, from whence I long expected to hear from him according to his promise at our parting; but the good-natured fit which then possessed him, being over, he neglected to keep it.

A fortnight before the King's death captain Matthews came to see me, and I acquainted him with the assurances I had of a regiment at Berlin, and with my resolutions

of going thither; whereupon he pressed me very earnestly to return with him to the Hague, and take my leave of the duke of Monmouth; which I the more willingly complied with, expecting in Holland at that time bills for the five hundred pounds before mentioned. I went with him to the Hague where I saw the duke of Monmouth, who told me he had not seen the King, being advised to the contrary by his friends in England, and assured by them that there was no hopes of doing me any service with his Majesty. He acquainted me also, that the dutchess his wife had prevented his sale of his right in the manor of Spalding (for which he could have had ten thousand pounds) having obtained a grant from the King of his personal estate before he had his pardon: He was extremely enraged with his wife, and very much disturbed at his disappointment of the money. I asked him how he intended to dispose of himself the approaching summer; he replied, in the Emperor's service as a volunteer. The next morning he talked of going to Swedeland, and before night, told me, he resolved to go to the court of Zell, where the prince of Orange had promised to introduce him, intending a journey thither himself.

himself. I acquainted him with the expectations I had of an employment at Berlin, and my resolutions of going thither, and with the sum of money it would cost me; but did not ask him at that time to lend me, nor did he proffer it. I would then have taken my leave of him, but he desired me to stay some time longer, telling me there was a design laid in the Hague against his life, and acquainted me with the particulars of it.

Two days after, we had news of the King's death, which extremely surprized us all, having not heard one word of his sickness. Upon this news the duke of Monmouth took a resolution of going to Brussels, and I believe knew no more why, than he did the reasons of his so often changing his resolutions before. The next night I took my leave of him, and went to Amsterdam; I lay privately, no person but Mr Dare knowing my lodgings, who coming often to me, acquainted me, that Mr. Ferguson knew of my being in town, was very inquisitive after my lodgings, and had a great desire to speak with me; which I did not intend he should: but he had that opportunity afterwards, at a Dutch merchant's, one mon-

sieur

sieur Oylbrook, by whom I was invited to
 supper, whither Mr. Ferguson came, being
 also acquainted with him. Mr. Ferguson de-
 siring to speak with me alone, we retired
 into another room, where after a long dis-
 course of the duke of Monmouth's conduct
 during the time of his being beyond sea ; of
 the many reports which had been spread by
 himself and others to the duke of Mon-
 mouth's prejudice ; of his ungrateful de-
 portment to my lord Argyll, myself, and
 many more ; of the apprehensions most had,
 that he had constantly held a correspondence
 with his father ; he said all these suspicions
 were now to be laid aside, for no man could
 apprehend his corresponding with your Ma-
 jesty and all injuries on both sides to be remem-
 bered no more ; and that a perfect unity
 among us was absolutely necessary to preserve
 the liberties of three kingdoms, and the pro-
 testant religion in them, and by consequence
 in all Europe. And to me he recommended
 the procuring a meeting between the duke of
 Monmouth and the lord Argyll, that there
 might be an amicable end of all differences,
 and we might jointly apply ourselves to the
 redemption of our several countries.

At the end of this learned harangue, I told Mr. Ferguson, he could not direct his discourse to a more improper person than myself, for that I had taken my leave of the duke of Monmouth, had quitted all thoughts of concerning myself any more with publick affairs, and was going a long journey to settle where I hoped to live at ease; that I should be glad to do good offices between the duke of Monmouth and those he had named, but my departure would be too sudden to accomplish that work. He asked me where the duke of Monmouth was, and what resolution he had taken upon the news of the King's death. I told him he was gone to Bruffels, and that as for his intentions, I knew them not, and it was impossible any body should, he changed them so often: Upon which Mr. Ferguson in some heat said, that if the duke of Monmouth did not act speedily for the redemption of his country, there were those that would without him. Our discourse ended for that time: but after supper, as I was returning home, Mr. Ferguson overtook me in the street, and in a great passion railed at the duke of Monmouth, condemning him for great number of spirit and slothfulness, and said, tho'

he

he had been idle, there were others had been active enough. I was to have answered him, but he was so full of what he had to say, and so impatient to unload himself, that he would not hear a reply; but went on to this purpose: That my lord Argyll, and several Scotch gentlemen on that side the water, had for some time held a correspondence with many noblemen and gentlemen in Scotland; that they had resolved on a rising in that kingdom, and that in order to it my lord Argyll had bought a great quantity of arms and all sorts of ammunition for war, and had got a great many Scotch officers, which he had drawn from the service of the Prince of Orange, and several German Princes; that he wanted for no money, and that all things were in that readiness for his design, that a discovery now could not prevent the execution. And therefore once more he pressed me to send for the duke of Monmouth, that there might be a meeting between him and my lord Argyll.

By this time Mr. Ferguson was out of breath, and I had his leave to speak, and told him, that I would not send a letter to Brussels about such an affair as he had discoursed of, and to desire the duke of Mon-

mouth to come to Amsterdam ; without acquainting him with the reasons why I thought it improper : That I had no acquaintance to send whom I could intrust with such a secret, and therefore I thought he had best go to Brussels, and wait on the duke of Monmouth himself. I knew that proposal would stop his mouth, and that he would not at that time trust God Almighty with his person out of Amsterdam : and it proved so, for he refused to go, and talked no more to me upon that subject ; but a few days after told me he was very sorry that the other night he had troubled me with so long a history, in which there was nothing of truth ; and immediately fell into a great passion of railing against several of his countrymen, saying they had abused him, in assuring him of the truth of all he had acquainted me with ; which upon examination he found to be all false, and therefore he resolved to remove a great way from thence, where he was offered a very good living, and there intended to settle. I seemed to believe all he said, and appeared as much deceived, as I thought he would have me ; but did then think more than I did before, that there was some rising intended in Scotland, and that the reason of

Mr.

Mr. Fergufon's laft difcourfe was the great coldnefs and backwardnefs he obferved in me to engage the duke of Monmouth or myfelf in it.

I was confirmed in that opinion, a few days after, by Mr. Dare, who told me the Scotch had fent to the duke of Monmouth, and they received a very obliging anfwer from him, and that the duke of Monmouth and my lord Argyll would foon have a meeting, and that Mr. Fergufon had told him fo. While I was difcourfing with Mr. Dare, I received a letter from monfieur Fucks to this fense: That the Elector was very defirous to be acquainted with the prefent pofture of affairs in England, and had commanded him to defire me to expedite my journey thither, and to affure me of a kind reception, and that I might promife myfelf the having what I had defired.

This invitation had been very agreeable to me, if I had not wanted money at that time to carry me to Berlin, which I labour'd to get, but in vain, and out of friendfhip forbear to name by whom refus'd; but the hopes of the five hundred pounds, fo often promifed me from England, I ftill pleas'd myfelf with, till, about ten days

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after

after, I received another letter from monsieur Fucks (very different from the former) wherein he acquainted me, that your Majesty had sent to the Elector, and did require from him, as a mark of his friendship, the withdrawing his protection from me; and that he would not suffer me to continue within his territories. Monsieur Fucks condoled with me my hard fortune, but said, reasons of state obliged his master to a compliance with your Majesty. This was not the only disappointment I met with, for soon after I found myself deceived in my expectation of the five hundred pounds, so often promised me, which of all things that ever befel me, surprized me the most; some of those I would have borrowed it of, owing their lives to me, and money which I laid out in Holland, to send away a witness who would have hanged them; for whose sakes I had not only hazarded my life, but lost all in England I could once call my own.

I was at this time in as sad circumstances as can well be imagined: I had before me the prospect of being always a vagabond, and that a poor one too. I had lost all hopes of the employment promised me at Berlin, and also of the retreat I had formerly found

in the Elector's country: I could not go to Switzerland (where once I designed) unless I intended to starve when I came there; being disappointed and forsaken (and that barbarously too) by those in England from whom I had reason to expect a better treatment; so that I had not a place to hide my head in, except a garret in Amsterdam. This melancholy condition of mine was a very necessary preparative for the wicked undertaking I engaged in afterwards; which fell out after this manner. Captain Matthews came some short time after these my misfortunes, one morning to my chamber, and told me he came from the duke of Monmouth, to provide a lodging for him in that city, and that he would be there in two or three days: that since his own arrival at Amsterdam (which was that morning) he had been with Mr. Ferguson, who had entertained him with a long discourse; and so repeated to me the whole history of my lord Argyll's preparations for the rising in Scotland, exactly as Mr. Ferguson had told me it before; but said, Mr. Ferguson had charged him not to acquaint me with it, and assured him I knew nothing of it from him. I immediately acquainted captain Matthews with all the

discourses that had passed between Mr. Ferguson and me, which satisfied us both as to his honesty and sincerity; but his politicks we could not comprehend.

Captain Matthews the same day returned to the duke of Monmouth, and in a day or two both came to Amsterdam, where the duke of Monmouth had a meeting the next night with my lord Melvin, Sir Patrick Hume, and two other Scotch gentlemen whose names I knew not. I was present at their discourse, which was about the rising in Scotland that was intended; they discoursed of it in general; but the particular manner of it, the places of landing, the assistance expected, and what preparations were made, I found they knew nothing of; only that my lord Argyll, who would be in the town the next night, would fully acquaint the duke of Monmouth with every thing and did not doubt the giving him a full satisfaction, as to the probability of success. My lord Argyll came in a day or two, and waited on the duke of Monmouth at Mr. Dare's, where I then lodged with him; many Scotch gentlemen accompanied my lord, who, after the ceremony of a short visit, withdrew; my lord refusing to acquaint any body with the

particulars of his design; but the duke of Monmouth; upon which I retired, and left them together several hours.

After my lord Argyll was gone, the duke of Monmouth told me he was abundantly satisfied with my lord Argyll's design, and the method he intended to use in the execution; that he had provided between nine and ten thousand Scotch arms, several field pieces, five hundred barrels of powder, a sufficient quantity of bullet, and many other things necessary for war; that he was buying three ships to transport himself, his friends, and ammunition, and should be ready to sail in a fortnight; but would stay till a rising could be contrived in England, to keep time with his in Scotland, which would be of great advantage; by dividing your Majesty's forces.

While the duke of Monmouth was giving me this relation, Mr. Wade and Mr. Tyle came to wait on him; and told him that one Mr. Smith was come to Amsterdam, being sent from England by major Wildman and others; and that if his Grace pleased, they would bring him to wait on him; which he appointed to be the next morning. The duke of Monmouth gave Mr. Wade and Mr. Tyle an account in general of my

lord Argyll's affair; but soon found they knew the principal part of it; which surprized him, considering my lord's great pretensions to secrecy. Mr. Ferguson came that night to us, and gave an account of Mr. Smith's business in general in England, and desired the duke of Monmouth's leave to bring him the next morning, that his Grace might receive a more particular relation.

The next day Mr. Smith (whose true name is Cragg) came to wait on the duke of Monmouth, and gave him this following account of his business, I being present: That he was sent from England by major Wildman (who gave him money for his journey) to acquaint Mr. Ferguson, and other outlaws in Amsterdam, that it was the desire of all their friends, that there should be a perfect reconciliation between the duke of Monmouth, my lord Argyll, and them; and that they should use their utmost endeavours to obtain it, to the end there might be a conjunction of counsels for the redemption of three kingdoms; and that he was also ordered to enquire, in what forwardness the Scotch affair was. The duke of Monmouth asked him, if he had any message to him: he replied,

those

those that sent him did not know he should have the honour to see him. I asked him who knew of his coming and business, and gave that advice he had mentioned, besides major Wildman who sent him. He answered, many knew of his being sent; but those he had spoke with at his coming away, and who gave the advice, was my lord Devonshire, Mr. Freake, Mr. Hambden, and major Wildman, and others he named of the city, whom I have forgot. I asked him, what discourse he had with them or others, about the present posture of affairs in England, and the general inclinations of the people. He answered, my lord Devonshire commanded him, when he parted from him, to assure those gentlemen he was to see beyond sea, that no man in England was more ready to draw his sword than himself, and it was also the inclination of the people. It was the opinion of all he conversed with, that if the duke of Monmouth landed any where in England, with a switch in his hand, he might march with safety to Whitehall, there was such an universal longing for him.

Upon his naming my lord Devonshire, I suspected the truth of his relation; and asked him how he came to have that intimacy with

my lord Devonshire; that his lordship should talk so freely with him; that my lord was never looked upon as one likely to engage in such an undertaking, and had not formerly been concerned with us; and that now being come to a plentiful fortune, living at ease, and in safety; it was strange his lordship should be so forward to hazard his life and estate, having never been applied to (as I knew of) in such a matter. He replied, that my lord Devonshire had received too many marks of his fidelity, to distrust it, and that Mr. Ferguson and others in Holland knew very well that he had been employed by some in London, to disperse those books which gave an account of my lord Effex's death; and that several gentlemen had been so industrious to detect that hard murder, that they had done it beyond all contradiction, having received a full account of it from one who was present at the time of its being committed, and was now safely disposed of: that he had been often with my lord Devonshire from those gentlemen about that affair, and that my lord was fully acquainted with all the particulars of that assassination; and if his late Majesty had lived but a little longer, did resolve to say it openly before him in

council, but now reserved it for the approaching parliament, and would then bring it in before the house of lords. He added farther, that my lord Devonshire's friends were in great apprehension that his lordship would be assassinated; for that it was known at Whitehall, that his lordship had fully discovered the murder of my lord Essex, and was master of all the parts of that affair, both as to the contrivance and execution; and therefore they advised my lord to keep within, or retire into the country till the parliament's sitting. He said his lordship being a brave man, would not follow advice that looked like fear, tho' he was apprehensive that his life was in danger, and that there would be attempts to murder him, to stifle the discovery, which was not likely to be undertaken afterwards by one of his quality. Mr. Smith argued upon this his resolution, that my lord Devonshire being so obnoxious at court, and in danger of his life, and formerly so zealous an assertor of the laws and liberties of England, which were now almost destroyed; it was not to be wondered at that his lordship was now so forward to engage for the redemption of his countrymen, and safety of his own person.

After this discourse Mr. Smith withdrew, and was ordered to come again another day; and I being alone with the duke of Monmouth, he asked me, whom I thought most proper for him to advise with on that side the water, about the management of the great affair he was undertaking. I told him Mr. Wade and Mr. Tyle were men of good understanding, and could give him the best account of the western counties where they had lived, and that Mr. Ferguson and Mr. Goodenough could do the like for London; but that Mr. Goodenough was then at Linnenburgh. The duke of Monmouth had not the best opinion of Mr. Ferguson's secrecy; and tho' he did not distrust his fidelity to him, yet he thought he had as many confidents as acquaintance; and therefore resolved to conceal from him his place of sending, the names of some he intended to send, and the time of his going; the other three he approved of, and sent that night for Mr. Wade and Mr. Tyle to his chamber, where none were present but the duke of Monmouth, these two, and myself. After many discourses of the time and manner of rising, and the place where we should land, we were all of this opinion, That the West was the
best

best port for the duke of Monmouth, and Lyme the most convenient part to land at; that a gentleman should be sent to our friends of the western counties, who had formerly been trusted, to prepare them for our reception; that the lords and gentlemen of Cheshire, in whom we could confide, should be also applied to, that they might rise when they heard we were landed, which would divide your Majesty's forces; and that our friends in London should be acquainted of it. They were not desired to stir till your Majesty should march from London towards us (which we were so weak to imagine) or send most of your forces thence; but above all things we resolved that our rising in the West should be as near the time of my lord Argyll's as possible; for we were in great apprehension, that if my lord landed any considerable time before us, your Majesty would secure most of our friends in England, at least all suspected to be so. Our next consideration was money; but the getting it we thought the greatest difficulty we had to encounter, and therefore 6000 l. was all we intended to demand; which together with what the duke of Monmouth could borrow upon his plate and jewels, we hoped
 had
 would

would be enough for our enterprize. The duke of Monmouth pitched upon captain Matthews, as the properest person to employ to the lords and gentlemen of Cheshire; one Mr. Bascob to the western gentlemen; and one Mr. Smith to our friends in London; of whom Mr. Wade, Mr. Tyle, and Mr. Ferguson gave (as they thought) a very good character; assuring the duke of Monmouth that he had dispersed many of the books relating to my lord of Essex's death, and had been sent over to them with money, and employed in London according to the account he had given, and in every thing behaved himself very faithfully. Pursuant to the resolutions taken, the duke of Monmouth sent captain Matthews to my lord Devonshire, lord Macclesfield, lord Delamere, lord Brandon, Mr. Charlton, and major Wildman. To major Wildman he gave him a token (formerly agreed on between the major and himself) by which he might be sure that captain Matthews came from him, and might recommend him to the persons abovenamed; the token was this, that the major had shewed the duke of Monmouth a paper indented, and gave him another which matched it, which was to be sent by him to the major

when

when he employed any one to him about
 business of importance. The instructions given
 to Matthews were as follow: That he should
 acquaint the noblemen and gentlemen before
 mentioned; that there was a perfect reconcilia-
 tion and agreement between the duke of Mon-
 mouth, my lord Argyll, and all their friends on
 our side the water; that my lord Argyll had
 given the duke of Monmouth a particular
 account of his preparations for Scotland, his
 correspondence there, of the assistance pro-
 mised him, and of all the steps he intended
 to take when landed; with which he was so
 well satisfied, that he thought in all probabi-
 lity my lord Argyll would be master of
 Scotland in a short time, if not prevented by
 forces from England: it was therefore thought
 highly necessary, that a rising in England
 should keep time with that in Scotland
 (which would give a diversion) and that
 tho' my lord Argyll would be ready to sail
 in a fortnight, yet he would stay as long as
 possible without prejudicing his design, that
 there might be preparations made for the war
 in England: that the duke of Monmouth
 thought the West the properest place for him
 to land in, and desired my lords Macclesfield,
 Delamere, and Brandon, that they would

when

not

not take it ill, that he declined Cheshire, it being impossible for him to get thither without great danger; and they men of quality and interest in their country, there was less need of his presence than in the West, where there was no man of quality great enough to pretend to command an army, and to whom the gentry would readily pay obedience; that he desired them to make speedy preparations in Cheshire for the rising there, tho' he did not desire it should be till they heard he was actually in arms in the West, that they may have time to form an army into some order before they could be attacked; and that when they were, he believed it could be but weakly, imagining the greatest strength would be sent against him: that he left it to my lord Devonshire's choice, whether he would rise in Derbyshire, and join my lord Macclesfield in Cheshire, or come to him singly in the West; but if he might prescribe to his lordship, he desired he would do the former, which he thought would be of greater use: that Charlton and his son should go into Shropshire, if it were thought they could be more serviceable there than in London, otherwise continue in town for that rising. Matthews was also ordered to desire

major

major Wildman to procure a meeting between the lords (that they might agree all things between themselves) and to assure them, if they had any advice to offer the duke of Monmouth, of his ready compliance; but of all things he recommended to them expedition, that all might be ready before the sitting of the parliament; for he thought the properest time for him to land was a day or two before their meeting, for that then most of those who would oppose us, would be in town, and only our friends, who had notice of our coming, ready in the country to receive us; that the lord-lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, and other militia officers would be in the parliament, or in London, which would prevent the militia being raised against us, by which means we should get most of their arms and horses, and have the assistance of those among them who were inclined to us. What further instructions were given to Matthews I know not, for the duke of Monmouth saw him last at Rotterdam, where I was not, and sent him away from thence by the way of Calais; but the duke of Monmouth told me afterwards, that he had ordered him to speak to Mr. Langston and one Mr. Nedly or Medly (who were officers

in your Majesty's guards) and to some other officers who were his friends; but I am not sure he named them to me, or if he did, I have forgot their names.

Immediately after Matthews was gone, the duke of Monmouth sent Mr. Badscumb for the West, but ordered him to go by London, and recommended him to Matthews, by the same token he had given Matthews to major Wildman, to the end he might be introduced by him to my lord Brandon, and by him to the other lords, to confirm what Matthews had acquainted them with. After that he was ordered to find out Mr. Freake as soon as possible, who we knew would be zealous to serve our design, and had a general acquaintance in the western counties, and particularly with most of the gentlemen Mr. Badscumb was to apply to, which were these, Sir Francis Rowles, Sir Walter Young, Sir Francis Drake, Mr. Stroud, Mr. Trenchard, Mr. Hucker of Taunton, and several others in and about that town. Mr. Badscumb's instructions were much the same as captain Matthews's: he was to acquaint those gentlemen with the Scotch affair, with the three risings intended in England, and that the duke of Monmouth's post would be in the West with
 them,

them, where he did desire they would prepare their friends for the receiving him against the beginning of May; and that for powder, arms, and all sorts of ammunition for war, he would bring them with him. At the same time Mr. Smith was dispatched for London, who was to speak to my lord Devonshire, colonel Danvers, major Wildman, Mr. Hambden, major Bremen, Mr. Disney, Mr. Thimbleton, Mr. White or Whitehead, Mr. Hopper, and many others I remember not. The instructions to Mr. Smith were generally the same as those to captain Matthews, but with this difference, that the duke of Monmouth's intention of landing in the West was not told him, for we designed that a secret to all those he was to speak to, but those whom Matthews was sent to acquaint with it; and therefore Smith, as to our landing, was ordered only to tell them, that the duke of Monmouth would certainly land before the parliament sat, in some county at a considerable distance from London, where the lords who were his friends should advise him; and that he desired them and the rest of his friends in the city, not to stir till your Majesty should march with your forces from London, or send the greatest part of them thence; and

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that

that he did design one insurrection in Cheshire, and another in some other county, where he would be himself: and to my lord Devonshire he was ordered to make a compliment from the duke of Monmouth, assuring his lordship of his entire friendship, and of the great joy he had to hear of his lordship's good intentions, and that he had sent captain Matthews to him and the rest of the lords, to acquaint them with the posture of the Scotch affair, and his own designs as to England; upon which he desired their opinions, and did engage to them, that if they gave their words to captain Matthews, that they would rise with him, he would venture his life upon them, and land as near the time he had named to them, as his preparations would give him leave. To major Wildman, Mr. Hambden, and Mr. Charlton, he was ordered to apply for the 6000*l.* and to them only. These were all the instructions given to captain Matthews, Mr. Badscumb, and Mr. Smith, to the best of my remembrance at present. If they had any other private instructions, they were not known to me: they were all ordered to make what haste back again they could. Soon after these gentlemen were gone, my cousin Henry Ireton came over from England

England to me about my own private affairs, but in a very unfortunate time for him; for before he came he knew nothing of our treasonable intentions, but was acquainted with them by us, and sent back to England by the duke of Monmouth, with the same instructions, and to the same persons that Matthews was sent, as the duke of Monmouth told me, for I was not present when he received them, nor did I see him afterwards, being at Amsterdam when the duke of Monmouth gave him his orders at Rotterdam: From thence he went straight to the Brille over for England in the packet-boat.

Our messengers being all thus dispatched for England, we began to consider the strength of your Majesty's forces, and the assistance you might possibly have from abroad; and some among us were afraid that the French king would send your Majesty some of his forces if you required them; but the duke of Monmouth and myself were less apprehensive than the rest, having some reasons to believe, that the French king would have his hands too full at that time to give the assistance of his forces abroad: However we did not disapprove of a proposition made by Mr. Ferguson to this purpose, that there being four of

the chiefest lords (as they call them) of Amsterdam of his acquaintance, who knew in general of the Scotch affair (and had safely inquired of him if nothing in England could be done of that kind) they should be applied to, as from the duke of Monmouth, and only in general acquainted with our design in England, and asked that if the French king should assist against us, what we might expect from their state. Mr. Ferguson named the four lords, but I remember two only, monsieur Haddaw, and monsieur Boreale the scout of Amsterdam. Mr. Dare knowing Boreale very well, was ordered to discourse with him according to Mr. Ferguson's proposition, and Mr. Ferguson undertook to manage his own project himself with the other three. The greatest advantage we promised ourselves from these lords, was intelligence of what passed at the Hague, and a connivance at our preparations, both of which we expected, knowing they wished well to our undertakings, and would be obliged by the trust we reposed in them. Mr. Ferguson in a few days brought this answer from monsieur Haddaw and the other lords, that they could not take upon them to say what the States would do in such a case as we

had stated to them, nor was it proper for them to inquire of any, but that we might well imagine, it being the interest of their state to support the protestant interest in Europe, they would not willingly see it destroyed in England, and that for their own particulars, they were infinitely obliged to us for the confidence we had in them, and wished well to us and our design. The answer from monsieur Boreale was much to the same purpose, but with this addition, that he would constantly acquaint us with the demands of your Majesty's envoy, the States resolutions upon them, and with whatever he heard that concerned us, and that we might promise our selves safety in that city, for he would execute no orders to our prejudice without giving us timely notice to prepare for him. His intelligence afterwards was of that use to us, that without it, neither my lord Argyll nor the duke of Monmouth could have sailed from Amsterdam with their provisions for war, such a prodigious noise did they make through all Holland. It would be very tedious to acquaint your Majesty with the many designs we had to apply ourselves to several princes in Germany and to the king of Swedeland for assistance, and of very

little use I think for your Majesty to know: Therefore I shall return to our messengers sent into England, who had been gone three weeks, and had given us no account of their success. At last the duke of Monmouth received a letter from captain Matthews writ after the style of a merchant; but where the visible letter ended, there began another which appeared when wetted with a water for that purpose, the substance of it was as near as I can remember to this purpose: That he had been with major Wildman, who told him there never was such a ferment in England as at that time, occasioned by the great heats at elections, and there was a general inclination in the kingdom to rise, but that some of the gentry, he feared, were not to be relied on: however he would obey the duke of Monmouth's commands, and nothing should be neglected, and did believe the affairs of Scotland would be a sufficient spur to all that were backward in England.

About this time my lord Argyll being pressed by his correspondents in Scotland to delay no longer coming, and being at a great expence in maintaining the Scotch officers he got, and many other poor Scotchmen, and finding by Matthews's letter a pretty good account of England,

England, resolved to get all things ready for his voyage, that he might have it in his power to sail in a day or two's warning if he pleased. To that end he sent for his officers and others (whom he had dispersed in several parts of Frizeland and some towns in Holland) to Amsterdam, where he had provided them lodgings by fours and fives to a house, commanding them to keep very private; but contrary to those orders they appeared so publickly in all parts of Amsterdam, and in such numbers, that they were in two or three days as much stared at and talked of, as the Bantummites when they were here, and all people in Holland discoursed publickly of my lord Argyll's expedition; upon that he resolved to be gone: but that which inclined him most to it was a message we received by Mr. Dare from monsieur Boreale to this effect: That my lord Argyll's design was so public at the Hague, that Mr. Skelton would certainly in a day or two require the States to seize his ships, which they could not refuse if any proof were made (as he heard there would be) of the expedition they were going upon; and that then it would not be in the power of the lords of the admiralty (tho' he had friends there) to delay the stopping him

above two or three days. Upon this message my lord was so alarmed, that he went on board with his friends in such haste, that he was forced to stay four or five days after in the Zuder sea, to take on board his arms and ammunition. The money my lord had to make his preparations was, as I have been informed, 7000 l. or more, from Mrs. Smith; a 1000 l. from Mr. Badcomb; near a 1000 l. from Mr. Locke; a 1000 l. from a merchant who died in Holland very lately, I have at present forgot his name, but may remember it when I hear it; what other sums of money he had I know not. Soon after my lord Argyll's departure, Mr. Dare received a letter from one in Taunton, which under a cant gave a good account of our affairs there, and another letter came to one Mr. Scroope (who lodges at Mr. Dare's) from his mother who lives near Bristol; she told him in it, that Mr. — had been in the West, and had lodged at her house; by which we imagined our intelligence from Taunton was by his directions. Upon the receipt of these letters and that from Matthews formerly mentioned, the duke of Monmouth being encouraged (and having given his word to my lord Argyll to make all the haste he could for England)

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immediately bespoke his arms and ammunition, and the buying two ships to transport them, and engaged his jewels, plate, and a great quantity of goods to Mr. Washington, for the payment of 32000 gilders; which sum he received, and thought would be sufficient till the 6000l. expected from England was returned. Soon after these preparations Mr. Smith came to us from England, the exact time I know not, but I remember he gave us a particular account of your Majesty's coronation, and said, if it had not been for the great industry of colonel Danvers and others of our friends in the city, there had been a rising at that time, which was designed by some hot headed men in London, who had drawn several of their friends from Hertfordshire and Essex to London to the number of 500, with intention to oppose your Majesty's coronation; which they had attempted if they had not been assured from good hands that the duke of Monmouth would land very suddenly, and desired to have patience till that time. From major Wildman he brought this message, that according to the duke of Monmouth's command he had discoursed with the lords and others, that they were all of opinion the people of England were generally inclined

inclined to rise, but they thought the properest time to rise would be after my lord Argyll's landing, for that would put fire in all, and your Majesty would certainly send against him some of your forces in England, which would so weaken your Majesty here, that when we landed we should meet with little opposition. We laughed at the advice, and looked upon it as major Wildman's only, whom we thought so blinded by fear at our near approach to action, that he did not see the folly of his advice, and the weakness of his argument upon it, nor the danger he was exposed to if we delayed long, after my lord Argyll's landing: as for the 6000 l. he said they could not raise it, and send it over without great danger of discovery, nor did he think it necessary for us to make any great preparation of arms, the people of England being well armed; that he advised the duke of Monmouth above all things to take upon him the title of King (and used many arguments for it too tedious to repeat) and that he should provide himself if possible of a broad seal, and threaten great severities in his declaration to all that opposed him.

The duke of Monmouth asked Mr. Smith if he had been with my lord Devonshire,

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and he replied no, but major Wildman had spoke with his lordship, and had commanded him to assure his Grace from him, that he might depend upon my lord's doing all things for his service that he could expect from him. He asked him if he had seen the rest of the lords; he said yes, at major Wildman's when he received his instructions. Charlton being bid to name who he saw there, he said, my lord Macclesfield, lord Delamere, and lord Brandon; but afterwards recollecting himself, he said, one of them was not come to town, but expected daily, and named either my lord Macclesfield or my lord Brandon as the absent person, but which of them I cannot remember; the rest he said were there. As to our friends in the city, he said they were all ready, but very impatient; however would obey the commands he had given them from his Grace, and that they had prepared above 500 men, as well horsed and armed, as the guards in London and Westminster, who upon the news of his Grace's landing should come to him, and that there was also a considerable number of horse in Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire well armed, acquainted with, and prepared for his landing, who were resolved to do the like: That Mr. Hooper

Hooper had spoke to Sir Francis Rowles, who would rise in Hampshire and join his Grace if possible; for it was believed he would chuse one of the western counties to land in; that all his friends in London begged of him to lay his commands upon Sir Robert Payton to continue in London for that rising (where he would be of great use) otherwise he would certainly come to him at his landing. The duke of Monmouth asked Mr. Smith how the 500 horse should get from London to him; their meeting together was impossible without being observed, and then they would be attacked by the horse guards: to which he answered, that when they knew exactly the time of his Grace's landing, they would a little before disperse some of them in the little towns near London and in the country thereabouts; that several should go to Epsom under pretence of drinking the waters; and that if his Grace would set a man on shore in his voyage to his port, to bring them news to London of his being upon the coast, and at what place he would land, they should have the intelligence before your Majesty, and that then those who were quartered at Epsom should surprize your Majesty's forces at Kingston, and the like should be done at Stanes

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 I have forgot, but I am sure
 Mr. ... will fill ...

and Egham, and those who were in London would agree with the others of a general rendezvous at some small distance from hence, where being all in a body, they could make their way to his Grace.

The duke of Monmouth being disappointed of the six thousand pounds he expected from England, and thinking it necessary to provide a frigate to convoy him over, treated with one monsieur de Blund, a Dutch merchant, to lend him more money on his goods in Mr. Washington's hands; which he undertook, and engaged to pay Mr. Washington the 32000 guilders, and to make that up seventy thousand guilders to the duke of Monmouth; which sum he did lend him, but desired him to increase his security if possible; whereupon the duke of Monmouth sent Mr. Bernadiston with a letter to Mr. Papillon, giving him an account of his present occasion for money, and desiring him to lend him what he could conveniently spare: Mr. Bernadiston's private instructions were, that if he could get no ready money from him, he should try if he would accept a bill for five hundred pounds, payable at three months sight to Monsieur de Blund: what answer Mr. Bernadiston had I have forgot; but I am sure no money came, nor was any bill sign'd. Mr.

Mr. Showers (Mr. Bernadiston's tutor) was also sent by the duke of Monmouth to Sir Patience Ward, with a letter to the same purpose, as that to Mr. Papillon, but with better success, for Sir Patience engaged to pay five hundred pounds to Mr. Showers, which he made over to Monsieur de Blund, as a further security for the money he had sent. The duke of Monmouth had money presented by Mrs. Smith, Mr. Lock, Monsieur Oylinbrooke, Monsieur de Blund, Mr. Bernadiston and one or two more, whose names I do not remember; nor do I know the sums that were given him.

A great part of the goods made over as a security for the seventy thousand gilders, were my lady Henrietta Wentworth's, or her mother's, but I cannot distinguish between the duke of Monmouth's and theirs. About a week or ten days after Smith's coming to Amsterdam, one Mr. Jones came to us, being sent by our friends in London; the account he gave of things exactly agreed with what Mr. Smith had told us; but the chief end of his coming was to hasten us over with all convenient speed, for it was greatly feared some hot-headed action would be attempted by some in London, which was once prevented before the coronation;

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the particulars of that design he gave the very same account of, as Mr. Smith had done, and also of the horse that were ready in London, to come to the duke of Monmouth at his landing, the manner of their getting out of town, and their intentions to surprize your Majesty's forces in the towns before named, and I think did also mention Uxbridge as another town, where your Majesty had forces, which they designed also to attack.

About a week after Jones's arrival our frigate was ready to put to sea, for which we had waited fourteen days, after all our other preparations were ready, which were as follows, 1460 suits of defensive arms; 100 musquets and bandaliers; 500 pikes; as many swords; 250 barrels of powder, besides what was provided for the frigate; a small number of double carabins and pistols, the quantity of them I cannot remember: our frigate carried two and thirty guns, and we had besides four small field-pieces.

All things being ready for our expedition, the duke of Monmouth sent Mr. Smith back again for England, to acquaint major Wildman and all the lords, and all the rest of our friends, that he would sail by that time Smith could get to them, and therefore desired they would be ready in their
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several posts; that he had followed their advice of staying till my lord Argyll was landed, against his will, being disappointed of money, but that if he could have come sooner he would, knowing that my lord Argyll intended to mention his landing in England to encourage his own countrymen; upon which he feared many in England would be secured; that he would not fail to set one on shore in his voyage to his port, who should bring them notice of his being upon the coast, and of the place where they should come to him. After Mr. Smith was gone, the winds being contrary, and very tempestuous several days, the duke of Monmouth sent Mr. Jones for England, with the same message to our friends as he had done by Mr. Smith, and gave him a paper sealed up which he obliged him to promise not to open till he was at sea, wherein he named the place he would land at, that Mr. Jones might conduct our friends from London to us. Two or three days after Mr. Jones was gone we went on a Saturday night on board two lighters at Amsterdam, which were to carry us on board our ships at the Texell. The winds being contrary and blowing very hard, we did not get thither till Saturday following, and then we
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were stopped there by an order from the States General, of which we had notice enough given us, and directions how to obey; which we observed the next morning by setting sail, though we were under arrest. The wind was so contrary most part of our voyage, that we were eighteen days between Amsterdam and Lime. The night before our landing we set Mr. Dare on shore, who was ordered to go to Mr. Speaker and give notice of our being come, that intelligence of it might be sent from thence to all our friends in that country, and to those at London; which was accordingly done.

Two or three days after our landing, captain Matthews came to us, and with him Mr. Thomas Hooper, and Mr. Legge. Matthews had promised us that all the lords had assured him to rise in Hampshire, and that there would be a rising also in and about Limington, and he thought they would join with my lord Wiltshire, and force their way to us; any other way, they all said, it was almost impossible for our friends to get to us, the country was so guarded, and all travellers so strictly examined: which intelligence we soon found true, by those who came to us scatteringly from London, and also that our longer voyage was the occasion

of the country's being so ready to oppose us, your Majesty having had notice of our being gone from Amsterdam a considerable time before we landed. Mr. Badscumb told us that Sir Francis Rowles and Mr. Stroud were prisoners, otherwise would have been with us, but Sir Walter Yonge was very cool in the matter; which we wondered at, who knew how active he had been in my lord Ruffel's time: Mr. Trenchard, he said, was gone for France. The Day we marched from two men came to us, from our friends in London, they were recommended to major Morley and Mr. Jones; their business was to acquaint the duke of Monmouth, that several thousands were lifted in London, and were to be under the command of colonel Danvers, unless his Grace appointed another head: that they were ready to rise, and could do so with great safety (as they believed) your Majesty having sent many of your guards from London, and those forces your Majesty had newly raised had many among them, several others, who were our friends; that the reason of their not rising before was, their expectations of the Cheshire rising (which they still daily assured us of) and the news of his Grace's being blocked up in
Taunton,

Taunton, and the not having received his commands to stir. The duke of Monmouth sent them immediately back again to London, and with them a servant of his own, that had formerly waited on his children; their instructions were to tell our friends, that he was assured there would be suddenly a rising in Cheshire, but however would not have them delay rising, if they could with a fair prospect of success. That he desired them to send them down Sir Robert Payton if they could spare him, and that as for colonel Danvers, he thought him a proper person to command them. At their parting from us they assured the duke of Monmouth he should hear they were actually in arms in five or six days, tho' they feared many of their spies were secured, which they had heard since they came from London, but did not know who they were.

Five or six days after, the duke of Monmouth sent his chaplain Mr. Hooke to London, with positive orders to our friends to rise, and that with all the speed they could: major Manley, Mr. Fergufon and Mr. Jones gave him tokens to those he was to speak with. A day or two after he was gone, major Manley's son, who had been in prison, came with this message to the duke

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of Monmouth from major Wildman's wife, that Mr. Indenture (by which was meant major Wildman) did assure his Grace, that my lord Delamere was gone into Cheshire to rise, and that he might depend upon it; and that our friends in London were all ready to rise also, and expected only his command; and that as for himself he was ready to be disposed of by him, how, and where he pleased. Major Manley's son came from London very near the time of the other two messengers who were returned, but whether just before or after I cannot tell. Upon receiving this message, the duke of Monmouth sent next morning major Manley for London, with orders for their speedy rising, and to assist them himself, and to desire major Wildman to do so. This was the last message the duke of Monmouth sent to London, within two or three days after God delivered us into your Majesty's hands.

F O R D G R E Y.

Memorandum. That the original of this information, being seven sheets of paper, was signed by the late lord Grey, October the 16th, 1685, before the earl of

S U N D E R L A N D.

F I N I S.