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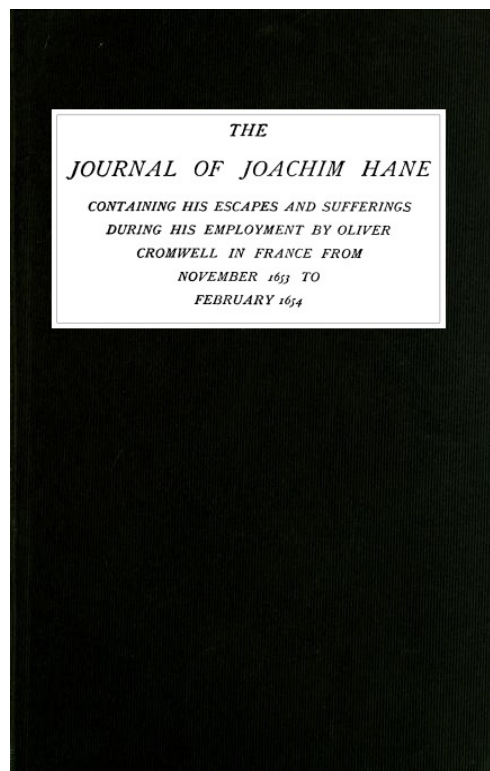
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THE JOURNAL OF JOACHIM HANE

***CONTAINING HIS ESCAPES AND SUFFERINGS
DURING HIS EMPLOYMENT BY OLIVER
CROMWELL IN FRANCE FROM
NOVEMBER 1653 TO***

FEBRUARY 1654

**EDITED FROM THE MANUSCRIPT IN
THE LIBRARY OF WORCESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD**

By C. H. FIRTH, M.A.

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INTRODUCTION

JOACHIM HANE, the author of the following journal and the hero of the adventures recorded in it, was a German engineer in the service of the Commonwealth. During the Civil War there were many foreign soldiers in the armies both of the King and the Parliament. Readers of Carlyle's *Cromwell* will remember 'Dutch Dalbier,' from whom, according to Carlyle, 'Cromwell first of all learned the mechanical part of soldiering'—a soldier who first served the Parliament but met his death at St. Neots in 1648 while heading a royalist rising against it. Another Dutchman in the Parliament's service was Vandruske, who like Dalbier went over to the royalist cause, and ended by seeking his fortune in the service of the Czar. A third of these foreign adventurers was Sir Bernard Gascoyne, or Bernardino Guasconi, a Florentine, condemned to death with Lucas and Lisle at Colchester, but spared to be rewarded by Charles II and to be employed by him as English envoy at Vienna. There were many others of less note in the two armies, but it was not merely as fighting men that the services of foreign soldiers were desired and valued. What made officers bred abroad necessary to both parties was their knowledge of the scientific side of warfare, a subject of which home-made royalist and parliamentary colonels knew little or nothing. Each party found these scientifically trained soldiers indispensable as engineers and commanders of artillery. When the king first established his headquarters at Oxford, and proceeded to fortify the town, he appears to have had no qualified engineer in his army. According to Wood the first fortifications about the city 'were mostly contrived by one Richard Rallingson, Bachelor of Arts of Queen's College,' who was rewarded by Charles with promotion to the rank of M.A. Such amateur engineers might be employed at a pinch, but the chief engineer in the service of Charles I was Sir Bernard de Gomme, another Dutchman, whose career is excellently sketched by Mr. Gordon Goodwin in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The plans of the castle at Liverpool and the citadel he designed for Dublin, with his diagrams of the battles of Newbury and Marston Moor, are now in the British Museum.

Dutch and German engineers also abounded on the parliamentary side. One of the best known is Lieutenant-Colonel John Rosworm, who fortified Manchester for the Parliament, helped to capture Liverpool Castle, and wrote a narrative called *Good Service hitherto ill-rewarded*, setting forth his difficulties in obtaining his pay. In Essex's army Philibert Emmanuel du Boys held the post of Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, whilst in the New Model Peter Manteau Van Dalem was Engineer-General. The names of Cornelius and Chrystoph Van Bemmell appear in the Parliamentary Army Lists in 1648, and in 1649 Joachim Hane begins to be mentioned.

Fortunately, the English portion of Hane's career can be traced with tolerable fullness. He was born at Frankfort on the Oder, and was therefore by birth a subject of the Elector of Brandenburg. In his army, or in some other foreign army, Hane obtained his military education. Probably he was one of the many soldiers cast adrift by the disbanding which followed the peace of Westphalia, and obliged thereby to seek employment outside Germany. He appeared in England first in 1649, and was employed by the Council of State to report on the fortifications of Weymouth with a view to the building of a citadel there. He was also sent to Yarmouth to consult with the governor and the officers of the garrison on the erection of a fort^[1]. In the following year Hane seems to have accompanied Cromwell in his expedition to Scotland, and he remained in Scotland with Monk when Cromwell marched into England. The surrender of Stirling Castle to Monk was mainly due to Hane's skill as an artilleryman. On August 13, says the diary of the siege, 'the mortar-pieces were planted, and Mr. Hane, the engineer, plaid with one of the mortar-pieces twice. The second shot fell into the middle of the Castle, and did much execution. Afterwards he played with the other great mortar-piece and did execution.' On the 14th the garrison, who were not accustomed to shells, mutinied and forced the governor to surrender. Again, a fortnight later, at the siege of Dundee, the same narrative records that 'Mr. Hane, the engineer, plaid the mortar-piece.' December following Hane was sent to Inverness to report on its possibilities as a fortress, and returned with the news that it was 'not fortifiable without a great deal of charges, nor tenable without a greater number of men than the town can possibly provide accomodation for.' The result was that instead of fortifying the town itself a fort large enough to hold 2000 men was built close by it. In 1653 Hane was again in England, though Colonel Lilburne, the Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, was writing letter after letter to the Lord-General to demand his return. Many officers, complained Lilburne, have been absent a long time from their charges: 'and in particular Mr. Hane, the Engineer, of whom wee have an exceeding great want, and I doe wonder hee should neglect this duty soe much as hee does, his absence being the losse of some hundreds to the State, and if wee should have any occasion to make use of a mortar-piece without Mr. Hane, there is noebody to undertake that businesse that is fitt for itt^[2].'

But the Lord-General turned a deaf ear to Lilburne's appeals. He had chosen Hane for a business of much more difficulty than planning forts, and of much greater danger than playing a mortar-piece. He was kept from his professional duties in Scotland to play a part in one of the obscurest and least known episodes of Cromwell's foreign

policy. On October 11, 1653, Hane set sail for France on his mysterious mission, and spent the next five months in struggling with the dangers and privations related in this journal.

At that time the relations of France with England were still strained and unfriendly. It was still uncertain whether England would ally itself with Spain against France, or with France against Spain. Charles II was a pensioner at the French Court. In 1649 Louis XIV had prohibited the introduction into France of all woollen stuffs or silks manufactured in England, and the Republic had replied by forbidding the introduction into England of wines, woollen stuffs, and silks from France. French corsairs had made prey of English merchantmen, and English ships armed with letters of reprisal had retaliated on French commerce. At the close of 1651 war with France seemed much more probable than war with Holland. The Dutch war had aggravated the situation still further by leading to the confiscation of many French ships on the ground that they carried Dutch goods or contraband of war. In September, 1652, Blake captured a small French fleet sent to relieve and provision the garrison of Dunkirk, and that place in consequence fell into the hands of the Spaniards. At last, in December, 1652, Louis XIV, driven by necessity, recognized the English republic and sent M. de Bordeaux to negotiate with its rulers.

But in spite of this recognition the possibility of English intervention in the civil struggles in France was not ended. In September, 1651, the third war of the Fronde—the 'Fronde Espagnole'—began. Condé raised the standard of revolt in Guienne, and Bordeaux became the headquarters of the rebellion.

Not until August, 1653, was the royal authority re-established at Bordeaux. The rebellion was prolonged by Spanish help and by the hope of aid from England. Both Condé and the city of Bordeaux sent agents to London to solicit English intervention, and from time to time both Cromwell and the Council of State seemed inclined to accede to their requests. Condé's agents offered free trade with Guienne, certain favours towards the French Protestants, and even the cession of the island of Oléron. The City of Bordeaux instructed its agents 'to demand of the Commonwealth of England, as of a just and powerful State, assistance in men, money, and ships to support the city and commons of Bordeaux, now united with our lords the Princes; and not only to shelter them from the oppression and cruel vengeance which is in store for them, but also to effect their restoration to their ancient privileges, and to enable them to breathe a freer air than they have hitherto done. And as the said lords of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England will probably demand of them reciprocal advantages, they will let them first explain their pretensions, and afterwards, if necessary, they may grant them a port in the river of Bordeaux, where their vessels may find retirement and safety, such as Castillon, Royan, Talmont or Pauillac, or that of Arcachon if they wish, which they may fortify at their own expense. We may even permit them to besiege and capture Blaye, in which our troops will help them as much as possible. They may also make a descent upon La Rochelle and capture it if they please^[3].' Besides appealing to the desire of the English Government for commercial advantages and territorial gains, Condé's emissary appealed to the desire which some of the statesmen of the Republic cherished to see free institutions established amongst their neighbours. 'What a great honour will it be for the Commonwealth of England,' said M. de Barrière, 'after it hath so happily and so gloriously established the precious liberty at home to send their helping hands unto their craving neighbours for the same, whose obligation for that shall be eternal and the acknowledgement of it real and perfect^[4].'

There was a wide belief that the foreign policy of the English Republic was influenced by a general hostility to monarchy and a general desire to propagate republican institutions in Europe, which found expression in rumours of the sayings and the intentions of the heads of the Commonwealth. The English royalists talked of a design for the ruin of the kings and sovereigns of the earth, of which Cromwell was the author, and predicted that he would begin with France. When he returned from Ireland there was a rumour that he and his army would effect a landing in France. One report which Croullé, Mazarin's agent in London, sent to the Cardinal, represented Cromwell as saying that if he were ten years younger, there was not a king in Europe whom he would not make to tremble, and that as he had a better motive than the late king of Sweden, he believed himself still capable of doing more for the good of nations than the other ever did for his own ambition^[5].' Marvell's verses to Cromwell on his return from Ireland prophesied similar exploits—

'As Caesar, he, ere long, to Gaul,
To Italy an Hannibal,
And to all states not free
Shall climacteric be.'

But Cromwell had been obliged to turn his arms against Scotland instead of against France, and hardly was the Scottish war over, when all the resources of the Commonwealth were strained to the utmost by the war with Holland. In July, 1653, negotiations had begun, and the war seemed nearing its close, but at the same time Bordeaux was nearing its fall. Barrière, Condé's agent, wrote to the prince that the Republic would come to no resolution till it saw how the treaty with the Dutch ended^[6]. It was still believed that as soon as Cromwell's hands were free he would intervene in France. 'Our General,' said a letter from England, 'conceives it not good for his army to be longer idle, and therefore hath told some of his myrmidons that if he could be assured the prince of Condé would aim at liberty really, as he calls it, he would within this month land his army in France^[7].' In October, 1653, when Joachim Hane sailed for France, the negotiations between England and Holland had not yet been brought to a successful conclusion. The position of affairs had been altered by the subjugation of Guienne and the surrender of Bordeaux, but Condé had not made his peace with Louis XIV, and a revival of the revolt in Southern France was still a possibility.

Before Hane the English Government had sent similar emissaries to France, with the double object of finding out the real strength of the opposition and entering into communication with the disaffected. Thomas Scot, who had the management of the foreign intelligence during the Republic as Thurloe had during the Protectorate, drew up at the restoration a short account of his proceedings for the information of the Government of Charles II.

'I sent one Lewis de Bourgoyne (reteined by me as a domesticke to have helped me for the French tongue) into France, to view and returne mee the strength of all the ports usward. Hee began at Callis and went through all the Wash (?) to Bourdeaux, and there staid some time to dispose that people who then favoured the Prince of Condé's interest in contradistinction to the crowne of France, and likeliest to have given a footing to the English had there been occasion ministered of attempting them by land. Wee had some correspondence with the Prince of Condé by

credentials to Monsieur Barrière, and from Bourdeaux by some commissioners they sent over express, who came but a few weeks before our interruption, 1653; but that which to mee look'd most hopeful and important I was just then beginning a correspondence with Cardinal de Retz, commonly called the Coadjutor, Mazarine's rivall and antagonist, who pretended to fancy and favour the Commonwealth of England, as so; some lettres past, but not much donne beyond mutuall credence, and that also perish'd after Bourgoine's returne from Bourdeaux. Coll. Saxby (the old Agitator) was sent to Bourdeaux on the same errand by Gen. Cromwell and myself upon joint advice with good summes of money, but what harvest he made of his negociations Gen. Cromwell or his ministers could only tell who overturn'd us and succeeded in those concernments.'

Of Bourgoyne, beyond this mention of Scot's, nothing is known, nor is much to be gleaned from other sources concerning this correspondence with de Retz. A passage in the Cardinal's memoirs states that 'Vainc, grand parlementaire et tres confident de Cromwell,' came to see him with a letter of credence from Cromwell, and told him that his defence of liberty and his reputation had inspired Cromwell with the desire to form a close friendship with him. This emissary has generally been identified rightly or wrongly with Sir Henry Vane, but the identification is at least doubtful. Nor is it easy to fix the date at which this interview took place. It is placed in the narrative of the events of 1650, but is said to have occurred soon after the return of Charles II to Paris, that is about the end of October, 1651. Of Sexby's mission more is known. For a delicate diplomatic mission he was a very singular agent. A Suffolk man by birth, he had served four years as a private in Cromwell's own troop of Ironsides and in Fairfax's regiment of horse. He became notorious in 1647 as one of the leaders of the Agitators and as the spokesman of the extreme democratic party amongst the soldiers. He left the army for a time, but seems to have entered it again in 1649 and obtained commissions as captain and governor of Portland. Then he raised a regiment of foot and served for a short time under Cromwell in Scotland with the rank of Colonel, but in June, 1651, he was cashiered by a court-martial. The charge which lost him his commission was that he had detained the pay of seven or eight of the soldiers of his old company who refused to enter his new regiment; and though it was urged that 'as to his own intentions he did it for the public service,' it seemed a sufficient breach of the articles of war to secure his condemnation. His offence could scarcely have been considered as a mere act of embezzlement or he would not have been employed again. In a petition which Sexby presented to the Council of State in 1654, he gives a brief account of his mission. A secret committee of the Council of State, consisting of Cromwell, Scot, and Whitelocke, sent him to France in 1651. He was instructed 'to give an account of the state of that country, and the affections of the people, in order to prevent danger and to create an interest.' He took with him four gentlemen, was to have a salary of £1000 a year for himself and them, and stayed in France twenty-three months^[8].

Of his doings in France the petition says nothing, but a curious illustration of his zeal for democracy has survived amongst the papers of Mazarin and Condé—a draft of a republican constitution drawn up in the name of the Princes of Condé and Conti and the City of Bordeaux^[9]. On examination it proves to be a French translation of the *Agreement of the People* which Lilburne and the leaders of the English Levellers had published in May, 1649. It bears the title of *L'Accord du Peuple*, and the difference between it and its English original consists in the introductory engagement of the subscribers not to lay down their arms till they have obtained the liberties it defines and in the list of grievances to be redressed. It was intended to serve as a manifesto for the republicans of Bordeaux and Guienne, but a constitution too advanced for England had no prospect of acceptance in France. Lenet, Condé's confidential agent, endorsed it 'Memoires données a son Altesse de Conti par les sieurs Saxeabri et Arrondel que je n'approuve pas.' 'Saxeabri,' or 'Saxebery,' evidently denotes Sexby, and 'Arrondel' is one of his companions.

The two were back in England, as Barrière's letters prove, in the autumn of 1653. Arrondel's return is mentioned in a letter of October 24, and Saxeabri's in one dated December 12. Both had doubtless returned before Hane set out.

It was now Cromwell's turn to send confidential agents to inquire into the state of France. Unlike Scot and the republican fanatics, it is evident that he cared little for the propagation of republican principles. What he cared about was the condition of the French Protestants and the propagation of the Protestant religion.

To Cromwell, as to most of his party, one of the worst sins of Charles I was that he had induced the Huguenots to revolt against Louis XIII, and then left them to be crushed by his forces. Englishmen abroad were accustomed to be taunted with their desertion of their co-religionists. 'I have heard,' wrote John Cook, 'fearful exclamations from the French Protestants against the King and the late Duke of Buckingham for the betraying of Rochelle; and some of the ministers told me ten years ago that God would be revenged of the wicked King of England for betraying Rochelle^[10].' One of the arguments which agents of the Huguenots of Guienne used when they appealed to Cromwell was 'that the churches of these parts have endured a very great brunt by the deceitful promises which have been made to them by the former supreme powers of Great Britain^[11].' To this argument Cromwell was particularly accessible. He said that England had ruined the Protestant party in France and that England must restore it again^[12]. In the twenty-second article of the draft-treaty which he proposed to Mazarin in July, 1654, he demanded the right of superintending the execution of the edicts in favour of the French Protestants and seeing that they were scrupulously observed—a demand which naturally met with a refusal from Mazarin^[13]. To obtain information of the condition of the French Protestants and of their political attitude Cromwell despatched to France about the close of 1653, or early in 1654, a Swiss who is often mentioned by Burnet, namely, Jean Baptiste Stoupepe. Burnet describes him as 'a Grison by birth, then minister of the French church in the Savoy, and afterwards a brigadier-general in the French armies: a man of intrigue but of no virtue.' Condé, continues Burnet, had sent over 'to offer Cromwell to turn Protestant: and if he would give him a fleet with good troops he would make a descent on Guienne, where he did not doubt he should be assisted by the Protestants; and that he should so distress France, as to obtain such conditions for them and for England as Cromwell himself should dictate. Upon this offer Cromwell sent Stoupepe round all France, to talk with their most eminent men, to see into their strength, into their present disposition, the oppressions they lay under, and their inclinations to trust the Prince of Condé. He went from Paris down the Loire, then to Bordeaux, from thence to Montauban, and cross the south of France to Lyons: he was instructed to talk to them only as a traveller, and to assure them of Cromwell's zeal and care for them, which he magnified everywhere. The Protestants were then very much at their ease: for Mazarin, who thought of nothing but to enrich his family, took care to maintain the edicts better than they had been in any time formerly. So Stoupepe returned and gave Cromwell an account of the ease they were in, and of their resolution to be quiet. They had a very bad opinion of the Prince of

Condé, as a man who sought nothing but his own greatness, to which they believed he was ready to sacrifice all his friends and every cause that he espoused. This settled Cromwell in that particular. He also found that the Cardinal had such spies on that prince, that he knew every message that had passed between them: therefore he would have no further correspondence with him: he said upon that to Stoupepe *stultus est, et garrulus, et venditur a suis cardinali*^[14].'

Burnet's account of Stoupepe's mission seems tolerably accurate^[15]. The attitude of the French Protestants was such as he describes it to have been. The want of secrecy with which Condé's intrigues were conducted was a real obstacle to the negotiations. In his letters to Condé, Barrière himself says as much, and in one dated Aug. 14, 1654, he relates that Cromwell had complained to the Spanish Ambassador that Bordeaux was well acquainted with all his negotiations with Condé's agents.

But the story that Condé offered to become a Protestant can scarcely be true. It was rather Cromwell who suggested that he should convert himself to Protestantism as a step to the political headship of the Huguenots. In a conversation on the affairs of the Protestants in France the Protector, according to Barrière's report, had said: 'A! s'il y avoit moyen que M. le Prince se fist de nostre religion, ce seroit le plus grand bien qui peust jamais arriver a nos eglises, car pour moy je le tiens le plus grand homme et le plus grand capitaine non seulement de nostre siecle, mais qui aye esté depuis longtems: et il est malheureux d'estre enguagé avecque des gens qui ont si peu de soin de luy tenir les choses qu'ils luy ont promis^[16].' Some eighteen months earlier Condé was reported to have spoken in somewhat similar terms of Cromwell, drinking his health openly at Antwerp, 'as the wisest, ablest and greatest commander in Europe^[17].' But it may well be that the reports of the views of the French Protestants which Stoupepe brought back from France changed Cromwell's views, and that a more intimate knowledge of French politics altered his estimate of the prince's capacity.

The history of Joachim Hane's mission is still more obscure than that of Sexby or Stoupepe. One of its objects probably was to communicate with the French Protestants. Slingsby Bethell, the only contemporary who mentions it, in a discussion on the policy of the Long Parliament towards foreign Protestants says that they treated with the deputies of Bordeaux on a plan for the ruin of popery and the advancement of the Protestant religion. But Cromwell, 'usurping the government did not only overthrow the design, but probably betrayed it to the French King with the lives of some engaged in the business; for Mr. Joachim Haines (by birth a German) general engineer to the army, and one of his own emissaries employed in that affair, who after Cromwell and Mazarin were agreed was pursued through France, and escaped miraculously, did believe he was discovered by Oliver, his errand being known only to himself and his confident^[18].' Bethell's accusation against Cromwell deserves no credit. There is no trace of this belief in Hane's narrative, or in Hane's later conduct. Oliver and Mazarin did not agree till eighteen months after Hane's return from France. It is simply an example of the vague slanders which the extreme republicans circulated against the ruler they regarded as an apostate. Ludlow tells a similar story about Cromwell betraying Sexby to the French, probably confusing Hane and Sexby, and echoing Bethell's charge^[19].

Hane himself says nothing of the nature of his mission in his narrative. When he was examined he stoutly denied that he was anything more than a gentleman travelling for his pleasure; but as he justly observes 'to speak the truth in all things did not consist with my safety at that time' (p. 9). Amongst Thurloe's correspondence there are two letters which may have been written by Hane^[20]. Both are signed Israell Bernhard; one is dated Paris, October 25, 1653, the other Rochelle, November 15. Hane was at those places on the dates mentioned, and the second letter contains a still more remarkable parallel. The writer says, 'I intend to go two days hence to Bordeaux,' that is presumably on November 17. Now Hane's narrative states that he went from Rochelle to Bordeaux on November 18. It is very improbable that Thurloe had two correspondents in France whose movements tallied so exactly with those of Hane. In each letter the writer assumes the character of a merchant, and begins by giving various details about the state of trade. The first ends with a rather enigmatical reference to the proposed purchase of a house. 'I long to heare whether your neighbour Mr. Smith still hath a mind to buy Mr. Rob. tenement, that layeth towards you from his other house; if he intends to build such a house upon as he talketh, he had need of 6 or 7000 pound to begin withall, and then he may have a habitation to spend 2000 pound a yeare in it; but I am sure he will not perfect the building in so short a time as he was speaking to us, for he will have but a few materials neere hand, and there is not so much as a hedge about the garden, but he will be forced to make new hedges round about. I would have him take good advise before he medle with the bargaine.' In the letter from Rochelle he says, 'All things hereabouts are pritty quiet; the prince's party being sufficiently silenced, so that we hope they will not rise in hast again. We are perswaded, that the government of our towne is in surer hands than it was three yeare ago, when we were betrayed with a corrupted governor, who kept the two towers next the haven for the prince de Condé, and did much annoyance to the towne from off them; the which after they were reduced, one of them was burned downe, and the other is now repairing againe, so that we hope we shall feare no more such bustling as formerly we have had^[21].' The passage from the first letter probably refers to some French port, to the state of its fortifications, and to the cost of repairing them, while the second gives important facts as to the present state of the fortifications of Rochelle. At the moment information on that subject was of some importance to Cromwell. About October, 1651, there had arrived in England a person named Conan, whose object was to negotiate for a due pecuniary consideration to the persons concerned in the reception of an English governor into that town. He is frequently mentioned in Barrière's letters to Condé. In a letter dated October 24, 1653, Barrière relates an interview which he had with Cromwell the previous day. He found him, he said, well disposed to assist the prince. 'Ce à quoy j'ay trouvé plus de disposition s'a esté à l'affaire de La Rochelle; et pour sest effect il me demanda de luy faire voir Conan, qui présentement est avecque luy. A son retour je vous manderay ce qu'il luy aura dit, car en me séparant de luy, il me dit que quant il auroit veu sest homme là, il me diret ce qu'il pourroit faire.' On a later page, after mentioning Conan's intended departure for Spain, he adds: 'Monsieur de Conan vient tout présentement de parler à Cromwel, qui l'a fort questionné sur les moyens de faire réüssir l'affaire dont il est question, et a tesmoigné désirer avec passion qu'elle se peut exécuter; mais pourtant luy a dit qu'il ne ce pourroit enguager à rien jusques à ce que l'on eust des nouvelles d'Espagne, et que lorsqu'il auret de l'argent, on fourniroit toutes les choses necessaires, luy a recommandé de revenir le plus tost qu'il pourret, et que peut estre a son retour les affaires auroyent changé de face et, que, sela estant, luy, Cromwel, et tout ce qui gouverne en Angleterre estoyent entièrement portés a sela pour le soulagement du peuple et pour le service de Son Altesse.'

A letter written on November 14 from Madrid by the Comte de Fiesque to the Prince de Condé adds: 'La resolution est prise icy de ligue offensive et deffensive entre l'Angleterre et l'Espagne, pour laquelle il sera porté expressément qu'ils attaqueroent ou la Guyenne, ou la Normandie, ou qu'ils descendront a la Rochelle, selon ce qui sera jugé a propos pour le bien du party, et cela dans le mois d'Avril prochain^[22].'

The projected league between England and Spain came to nothing, but the existence of these schemes at the time when Hane was sent to France and the indications afforded by Hane's letters explain the objects of his mission.

A minister like Stoupe was an admirable choice when the main object was to learn from Huguenot preachers and Huguenot politicians what their views of the political situation were. If, however, Cromwell was to intervene in France and send an army to Guienne, as he was asked to do, he required also some trustworthy information about the Huguenot strongholds and the coast seaports. The state of the defences of Bordeaux and La Rochelle, and the comparative military value of the different places which Condé's agents and the agents of Bordeaux offered him, were questions on which the opinion of a skilled engineer would be of the greatest value. It is probable that Hane's mission was more military than political, and that he was rather a spy than a political intriguer.

Whether spy or political intriguer his peril was much the same. The tortures with which the hangman of Bordeaux threatened him were employed impartially to extract the truth from either. One of Sexby's four companions had been arrested on suspicion in Languedoc. 'He was put in prison,' says Sexby, 'and after racked to make him confess with whom he had correspondance, but God inabled him to keep secret what he knew, though the torture and paine he suffered cost him his life^[23].' It was only by a miracle that Hane escaped a similar fate. The story of his escapes and his wanderings is so vivid and picturesque that it seemed worth rescuing from entire oblivion, even though it throws little light on the dark places of Cromwell's foreign policy.

Hane's services and sufferings were not unrewarded. Before he started the Council of State had voted that £100 a year in Scottish lands should be settled upon him 'to encourage him and his family to settle in this nation.' On November 1, 1653, Mr. Moyer, on behalf of the Council, moved Parliament to give effect to this recommendation. He reported 'that there is one Major Hane, by birth a foreigner, who hath performed many eminent services in the war of Scotland; hath very great skill in fortifications and all matters relating to the profession of an engineer, and is of very great use at this time in services of that nature; that he is a person eminent for godliness, and of undoubted affection to this commonwealth.' Parliament, however, in a fit of economy, or because it knew nothing of the nature of Hane's services, negated the vote without a division^[24]. This was merely a postponement of his reward. On June 26, 1654, Cromwell's Council of State voted that an ordinance for naturalizing Hane should be prepared, and agreed to another ordinance settling lands to the value of £120 a year upon him. Eventually the naturalization ordinance was made to date June 26, 1654, and that conferring the lands July 27 of the same year, and both ordinances were confirmed by Cromwell's second Parliament on April 28, 1657^[25]. Hane meantime had returned to his duties in Scotland, where he no doubt superintended the erection of those forts at Inverness, Leith, Ayr, and Inverlochy, which were built to bridle the Scots. It is not improbable that the plans of those forts, which still exist in Worcester College Library, were drawn by Hane's hand. William Clarke, the owner of the plans in consequence of his position as secretary to General Monk, was necessarily acquainted with Hane; and the narrative of Hane's adventures in France was doubtless copied by Clarke from Hane's original manuscript. The copy is dated as begun on October 14, 1657, which proves that Hane must have committed his story to writing within a very short time after the events had occurred.

In the summer of 1657 Hane was called to a new sphere of action. Cromwell had allied himself with France, and 6,000 English soldiers had been despatched to Flanders. In September Turenne and Sir John Reynolds laid siege to Mardyke, for which purpose the Protector had promised to provide artillery and mortar-pieces. Hane was sent for from Scotland to take part in the siege. He had just obtained leave from Monk to go to England, on account of the dangerous illness of his wife, and Monk's messenger overtook him at Alnwick and brought him back to Scotland. Before he could sail however Mardyke had fallen. On September 29, 1657, Monk wrote to congratulate Thurloe on its capture, and in the same letter announced Hane's departure: 'You may acquaint his Highness that Mr. Hane sett sayle from hence on Saturday morning last the wind being very fair. Hee had his tackling fixt, and everything ready to play his mortar-piece, as soone as a platforme should be layd for it; being hee could not gett those materialls there, which hee carried with him, wee thought fitt to provide him heere, and wee hope hee was there on Monday last.' He was immediately sent back to England to report to the Protector the state of his new acquisition. Lockhart wrote on October 3 to Thurloe that in order that his Highness 'might want no informatione that can be given him concerning that place, Mr. Hains, the ingeneer (who hath visited the place and consithered all the defects of it), will be with his Highnesse before these can come to your lordships hands.' When Dunkirk fell Hane was again summoned to inspect and add to its fortifications, but he was taken ill immediately after his arrival. On August 11, 1658, Lockhart informed Thurloe of his death. 'Mr. Hains the ingeneer is dead. I endeavoured all I could to cherish him, both before and during his sicknesse; but the poor man was so desperately mallancholly, as I could not perswade him it was possible for him to live^[26].' He had survived all his perils and borne them with a stout heart, only to die a commonplace death and to have it attributed to lack of resolution.

The Journall of Mr. Joachim Hane his Passages in France in the yeare 1653.

A SHORT Relacion of the severall wonderfull passages which I did meete withall in my jorney into France.

When by the Lord's providence who disposeth of all the wayes and actions of man, I had undertaken a jorney

into France upon some private occasions, Anno. 1653, tending towards Rie, where being come I found a ship ready to goe to Rouen, in Normandie, which I made use of for my transportacion thether. Having set sayle on the 11th of the same wee crossed the sea with a faire wind, and came upon the coast of France on the 12th of October by day breake in the morning without any impediment, and entred the River's mouth. Wee met with a small man of warr, which being licenced to robb by a comission from the Scottish King, made an attempt upon us even within the River of Seine, having noe regard at all to the nation right of the King's dominions; but wee made all the resistance wee could, changing some shotts with him for the space of halfe an houre, till hee dispared of his enterprize, and wee were carried upp by the floud farther into the land. Being thus free from the pirate, wee arrived at Quillebeuf that day. There I left the ship and went by land on horse back to Rouen, from whence after three dayes rest I directed my course to Parris and after to Orleans, where I tooke boate and went downe the River of Loyre to Nantes, vissing by the way the Citties of Bloys, Amboys, Toures, Saumeur, and Angeirs. From Nantes I went to Rochell by land with the messenger, and thus farr I had reasonable good suceses in my intended jorney.

But when the Lord intended to carry mee through a faire tryall, wherein I might more experimentally learne to know his power and strenght, his knowledge and wisdome, his love and care over his children, and his faithfullnes to all those that put their trust in him, hee suffred the malice of some pernicious sperits to worke upon me. The beginning whereof happened in this manner. Being come to Rochell I went to inquire of a marchant of whom I was to receive a sume of monny by bill of exchange. And among the rest I mett with a companie of 6 or 7 persons, most of them being Flemings, standing together in the publike meeting place, where the merchants as upon the Exchange at noone and in the evening use to come together. In this companie, as I was enquiring of them for the said marchant, there was found a Scott, who whilst I was receiving instruccion of a Fleming to find out the merchant, looked very earnestly upon mee; and at last tooke an occasion to aske mee whether I was not an Englishman or noe: 'for I am very confident,' said hee, 'that I have seene you at Edinburgh or with the English army.' I replied I had indeed spent some time in England, where perhaps hee might have seene mee, but for Scotland I never had beene there. He againe answered, that yet for all that he durst lay a wager that I have seene you there, though you deny it. And so I declaying to have any further discourse with him we had no more words together, nor did I ever speake with him any more after that tyme.

Now whilst I was inquireing for my marchant, and discoursing with the Scott after the manner expressed, there was also a Frenchman in the number of the company who was a familiar acquaintance and constant companion of the Scotts, for all the weeke after I continued there I never saw either of them aloane, but alwayes both of them very intimatly conversing together. This Frenchman being but of a meane quallity, and in the judgment of my further experience a man of a hungry condition, after he had heard both my inquiry for the marchant and the questions the Scott putt to me, went to the said marchant on purpose to learne what my expeditions were with him, what sume of money I had to receive of him as also the progresse of my journey: namely whither: when: and by what occasions I would goe from Rochell. For being void of all suspition of tretchery I did freely aske councell of my marchant which way I might with most safety goe from Rochell to Burdeaux; who because he could not retourne my money to Burdeaux by Bill of Exchange, advised me to take the said money in gold, and goe by water from Rochell to Burdeaux by the way of Mornack and Regan where there was no danger to be feared. The which councell I did embrace, and went accordingly on the 18th of November from Rochell to Burdeaux on a small hoy wherein there were severall other passingers: and amongst the rest this Frenchman, the Scotts companion formerly mentioned, who undertooke the journey from Rochell to Burdeaux on purpose to try whether either by order or by any other action he might gett advantage against me; to which end he had drawne three others of the passengers more to his side, that his designes against me might be carried on with more strength and authority. These compliants oft shewed themselves very active along the journey; first by insinuating themselves into my company by various discourses, and by diving into my affairs with all manner of subtile questions, and afterwards by frameing and deviseing many frivolous and groundless accusations against me; though neither of my discourse nor of my carriage they could borrow any more matter of suspetion, then the Frenchman formerly mentioned had instiled into them aforehand. After we were come therefore upon the River Garonne, and got soe hie as Blaye (which is a small towne with a cittadell where the cheife Governour of Bourdeaux doth reside, and where all customes for importacion and transportacion are discharged) myne adversaries, which were now increased to the number of foure more, went to the Governour of the place, desiring a gaurd from him to conduct mee as a suspect'd person to prison, the which was granted them; whereupon I was taken out of the hoy that I came thether in, and was placed with the gaurd and myne adversarye into a greate open boate to goe directly for Bourdeaux.

Heere I came to know those whome had a hand in myne accusation, who otherwise before that in all the jorney caried themselves very courtiously towards mee, but now began their trecherous malice against mee openly, all their former complements and courtious usage being now degenerated into mockings and scoffings and spightfull langage. For all the way up to Bourdeaux they used all possible endeavours to agravate to the highest measure the afflictions of my mind by all manner of reproches and affronts they put upon mee. They contryved as it were a comidy, or rather a tragedie, whereby they laboured to set forth to the life my future suffrings, introducing severall persons, whereof some acted the hangman's part, some the condemned prisoner's, some bore other officers parts, making the mast of the boate for a payre of gallowes, while I perforce was the sad subject of their hopes, I was to undergoe both in my torture and finall execucion, making continuall repetition of such lamentable cryes and dullfull exprecions as I should use if I came to feele the unsufferable torments of racking. And more over they would perswade now and then that I was engaged to them for their insolences; for said they 'all the paynes wee take in our play are intended for your learning.' They called upon all the people they met upon the River, desiring them that if they had a mind to see an English saint hanging on the gallowes they should repair to Bourdeaux within two or three days.

With such and the like pastime wee arrived at Bourdeaux about 4 of the clock in the afternoone, where the gaurd that came with mee from Blaye was discharged, and I carried to a greate house in the City, which I tooke to be a house of entertainment because a great supper was their prepared for my sake, though without myne order, and likewise three of mine adversaries being Rochellers intended to lodge there. But before we came to the house, because they would spare no meanes to increase my terrors they called the hangman, because our way fell out by his doore, recommending me to his care; who very courteously received me, promising and engageing to me all his abillities to be ready for my service. After I was lodged and sufficient care taken for me in the said house, myne accusers were very busye in provideing all necessaryes for my examination; wherupon severall persons to the

number of seaven or eight did appeare their an houre before supper tyme, and went into a roome by themselves to advise upon the questions they intended to put unto me. And againe by the tyme that we had made an end of our supper the hangman came also, with two of his servants or attendants bringing his instruments along with him. After supper was done I was called to those eight men that were come to try me; for they continued their ever since they came, and supped also in a roome by themselves, but I and myne accusers supped in another roome. And when I came in unto them they demanded of me from whence I came, whither I intended, what my expeditions were in Burdeaux, what my acquaintance were that I had their, item what countryman I was and of what profession, whether I had skill in the Lattine tongue, whether I had beene long in France? Other frivolous questions they put to me, viz. where I had beene in such a yeare and at such a tyme of that yeare, what my busines had beene their, where my parents lived; and many other trifling demands they asked me. Myne answers to all these questions they tooke in writing, on purpose to propound them againe to me in the midst of my tortures, where in case I had not answered according to trueth they thought it would be impossible (as indeed it would have falne out so, for to speake the trueth in all things did not consist with my safety at that tyme) for me to remember the same expressions to all those questions they had made to me, that so having found me in severall tales they might have the stronger grounds of their suspicion against me.

Thus haveing made an end of this examination of myne they replied, that those answers of myne had no conformity with those informations which upon sufficient grounds they had received concerning me; for said they, I had endeavoured to deny my native country, affirming myselfe to be a Germain, notwithstanding that I was an Englishman. Item that I denied that ever I had any relation to the English army, although they were assured without contradiction that I was an officer of that army, and had beene upon service with the same in Scotland. Item that I had denied to have any correspondence with any of the inhabitants of Burdeaux and Rochell, whereas it was not possible that I should travaile to so far a country without some recomendation at leastwise to some marchant; and since I had refused to relate the trueth in these things I must of necessity be guilty of some great designe or conspiracy against their country, the which to prevent they did hold it their duty both to their kinge and country to bring me to a cleare confession by all possible meanes. Whereupon they desired me to resolve unto them without fraud or deceit these following questions. By whom I was sent thither? 2^{ly} what myne instructions were for my expedition? 3^{ly} what correspondency I had in Rochell and Burdeaux? 4^{thly} what charge I had in the English army, and lastly in whose hands those 1200 livres were which according to their well grounded information I had at my disposeing at Burdeaux? This last query was meerly devised by my accusers on purpose to begett in the coveteous magistrate a more earnest desire to afflict me with the more cruell torments, which might (as it often happeneth) cause me to confesse even such things as perhaps I was not guilty of, and so to be willingly condemned to dye rather then to suffer the intollerable greife and anguish of tortureing, which neverthesse in themselves without any further condemnation would have prooved destructive to my life; for they myne accusers were after my conviction to have all the meanes that I had about me for their good service they had done in betraying of me, although in myne examination they were never brought in to confront me for all that I earnestly begged it.

After that I had given them answers to every one of their questions and suffittiently argued the groundless charges they had conveyed against me, they refused to reason any longer with me, but desire me to repaire into the other roome where I was afore, saying that I should finde another examiner, unto whom I should be more ready to reveale the trueth then I had beene to them. Thus I returned into the said roome where I found the hangman making his instruments ready for the worke, and myne accusers; who being ravished with joy because they had brought their designe to an expected end, continued to increase the sadness of my spirit with many insolent and hart breaking expressions, and drinking an health to my confusion, another to my speedy journey to the gallows. Now the temptations of that day (which was a day of distresse and unspeakable greife to me) came to their height; now fearfullnesse and trembling came upon me and horror overwhelmed me; here the sorrows of death incompassed me and the paines of hell gott hold on me; here I was to goe through the fire and water, and to make choyce of destruction for myne inseperable companion. To describe the heavinesse of my spirit and the sorrowes of my hart I was in at that instant I know not where to begin, nor where to conclude, nor where to finde signeficant words to make a true and propper expression of the matter; only I say they were such as that I cannot without astonishment of heart thinke of them, nor reflect upon them with my mind in a serious consideration without teares of joy.

Now when I was past all humane helpe and comfort, wanting both time and place and the use of myn understanding (which was then wholly suppressed and stupified by hellish feares) to thinke upon any project for an escape, I leaned myselfe out of a window, having noe other place or conveniencie for any private meditacions, and tooke myne onely refuge to him who is an helper to the oppressed, a protectour to the forlorne, and a saviour of them that are without helpe, with confident perswacion that hee was both able and wise enough to deliver mee out of the hands of myne enemies, though they were never soe many, and though noe hope at all appeared in my sight for my deliverance, if it seemed good in his eyes to doe soe. But if by his eternall decree, I was to drinke this bitter cup of affliction, my onely request to him was then, that with his strenght hee would appeare in my weaknes, and worke a conformity betweene mine and his owne will, that with a contented minde I might take this cupp from his hands, and glorifie his name for his dispensacions.

I had noe sooner withdrawne my selfe from the window, but God, who had given eare to my crys, sent an instinct into my mind to try whether I could gitt privatly downe the stayres whilst all the companie in the same roome were tryumphing and rejoyceing in my mesiry. The which motion I went immeadiatly to put into execucion, and made foure or five turnes up and downe the roome, taking every time in my walking alsoe the lenght of a long gallery which crossed the roome running stretght out of the doore, wherby I conteyned myself in every turne a little while out of there sight, which afterwards caused a carelesnes in them not to looke presently after mee when I went for good and all. At length I tooke the oppertunity to walke downe the stayres silently, and coming downe I found the gaurd that was apoynted to attend mee in the kitchin, making merry with drinking liberally upon my cost, not suspecting my coming downe. By reason whereof I was not discovered as I passed by the kitchin doore, but without any further let I came to the streete doore, which was not locked yet, but onely boulded with two bolts, and having unboulded it I went out, making what hast I could to the Citty gates. But it being late, about 10 a clocke at night, all the gates were shut.

Then I bent my course to the Citty walls, and ran about the same soe long till I came to a place where the battlements with some parts of the wall were broaken downe, whereby the wall in the same place was become six foote lower then the rest of the wall. But before I was gott soe farr I heard the cryes in the streetes made by my

persecutours, which doubtles were sore grieved and vexed that I was gone out of their hands without taking leave of them; therefore being senceable of that cruell intertainment which was prepared for mee in my unfortunate quarters I durst not goe farther about upon the walls for feare of my approaching ennemys, but resolving to cast myselfe upon the same God who had torne me but then out of the Lyons mouth, beseeching him with all earnestnes that he would alsoe carry mee out of the same enemies sight, and send and assist mee in that dangerous but nessesary attempt of myne, which I was forced to make by leaping over that wall formerly mentioned, which was yett about 17 or 18 foote high from the ground. Thus having made another experiment of the wonderfull mercy of God I came on the ground on the other side of the wall without any hurt at all, save one small spraine I perceived in my right heele, which was by straying a vaine as I thought. Yet was the same soone cured with the joye I was ravished withall, because of the seasonable and unexpected deliverance. Being without the wall I had a deepe moate or graffe to passe through yet before I could march any further. And seeking a passage where with most ease I might gett through I went about an houre round about on the foot of the wall, which was on dry ground, till at length I found a place where formerly their had beene built a water bearer crosse the graffe but now was broken downe, only some ruins of the foundations left yet, some above water and some under water, so that I could passe over the water upon the said ruins wading not above knee deepe.

Now I counted myselfe at full liberty, and being transported even above myselfe with unspeakable joy I returned praise unto the Lord for his wonderfull dealings towards me, and resolved to march some seaven or eight leagues towards the sea side, to try whether I could meet their with any shipping wherby I might get from thence. And as I was marching on that night I lost my way, and was drawne by degrees into the middle of a great morast some two English miles broad, being misled by a supposed foot path, which had beene of use in the dry Summer tyme but none in Winter when it was altogether unpassable. Here I was wading up and downe to my middle, backwards and forwards all the rest of the night, even to the danger of my life, not knowing whether I went because no starrs appeared. Then I wrought myselfe through and came on dry land againe about nyne of the clock in the morning. My strength was wholly spent by this night's worke so that I was not able to goe any further before I had rested myselfe some two or three houres under a hedge. In the meane while I dried my cloaths againe as well as I could, and made a paire of shoes of my bootes, cutting of the leggs of them, and makeing the feet servisable for shoes, that so I might be able to march with more agillity then I could with boots on my feet. Then having recollected some strength by a little rest, and refreshing my spirit with a draught of cold water (for better accomodation I was affraid to seeke in any house) I betooke me to my journey againe, in hopes that night to gett to some of those little townes which lay over against Blaye, before hue and cry after me could come thither. For their I intended to hire a boate that should have carried me by night to some of the shipps which were rideing over against Blaye.

At night an houre after sun set I got to Pullitor (which was one of the little townes I aimed at), and being tyred above measure both in body and spirit, by reason of the hard travills that I had endured both that day and the night before, I was ready to faint for some refreshment. I was fasting all that day, not dareing to aske releife of any body by the way. I was forced theirfore to venture into a taverne in that towne and aske for a pott of wine with some bread, which was brought me accordingly, not feareing in the meane tyme that the inhabittants of that place had gotten any notice of my escape from Burdeaux. But before I had eaten and drunke my fill a guard of the townsmen came to secure me, haveing received a compleat discription of my person with an order to apprehend me before I came thither. By these townes-men I was kept all that night in the same house I first came into. In the meane while they sent to the next garrison, which was Blaye on the other side of the water, givinge intimation to the Governer their of my captivity, and desiring him to take care of my examination and tryall.

Wher upon the next morning about nyne of the clock their were sent from thence for that purpose two officers, fouer comon soldiers with fyerlocks, and another hangman with two servants (for as I learned afterwards the magistrate of every place where I was apprehended was to have all my estate I had in France), and mention being made in the hue and cry after, that I had 1200 livers in some bodys hands in Burdeaux, I was by their privelidges to be tryed in the same towne, or in that jurisdiction where I was taken. The two officers tooke up their lodging in the next house, but the foure soldiers and the hangman with his crue were ordered to beare me company in the same rome where I was.

The evening or the beginning of the night being appointed for my tryal, the hangman made all manner of preparation in the same roome before myne eyes; and when I prayed him to be as favourable as he could to me and I would resigne all what I had about me, he promised me upon his faith I should not be hanged before I was sufficiently tortured. Such and the like comfort I received from him and all that were neare me. Now my terrors was multeplyed againe, and my sorrows brought to the same height they were at before, I finding myselfe forsaken of all the world, and seing no less grounds of feare and dispaire then I did two dayes before at Burdeaux. I heard through out the whole day no other discourse of all that was neer me but augmentations of my greife. I laid most part of that day upon my bed, sighing and crying unto the Lord that he would not withdraw his presence from my fainting spirit. And truly giving over all hopes of life I could not solicit the Lord for another deliverance, for I thought it a vaine thing to beg for impossibilityes; therefore all the scope of my supplication was only for spirituall comfort, for increase of my wearyed patience, and for a joyfull resolution to take up my crosse, and to carry it without murmuring after my Saviour. All that weere about me tooke occation at every carriage of mine to mock and scoffe att my calamity, in so much that when somtymes they perceived my whispering upon the bed they would saie 'harke, hearke, he is very earnestly preaching and praying, let us see if he can pray himselfe out of our hands.'

The day being thus spent and the night drawing on, the hangman seeing me in a fainting condition (because I refused to take either meat or drinke all the day) was very fearfull that I should faint under his hands when he should come to worke with me at night. To that end he devised this pollisie, to perswade me to sitt downe to supper with him and the rest, and to take some refresh of meate and drink, wherby my spirits might be revived againe. Halfe an houre before supper tyme he came in suddenly from the street, telling me their was an order come from the Governer of Blaye that I should be carried from thence to Rochell the next morning, their to be kept in custody for further examination. This designe of his, because it semed at least wise to delay the evill expected, though it could not altogether free me from the feares of it, tooke such effect upon me that my hart being eased theirby in some measure of the heaviness it was in, I rose presently from my bed; not suspecting any deceit in the project, for it appeared very probable to me that I should be carried to Rochell, because most of my accusers dwelled their, being in hope in the meane tyme, if my tryall weere suspended for the present, that God would work perhaps some meanes for my deliverance. In this perswation I satt downe to supper betweene seaven and eight of the clock, and fell to my

meat with a good appetite.

In the midst of our supper my maister the hangman called for a cup of wine, the which was filled and given him by his man; and as he was putting it to his mouth, before he drunke he remembered himselfe, and asked his man out of which pot it had beene filled (for their stood two potts on the dresser); and when he shewed him which pot the glasse had beene filled out of with his finger, the hangman fell to cursing, and rebukeing the fellow for his carelesnesse, in so much that he threwe the glasse with the wine into the fyre. Hereby I came to be sensible of my delusion, remembering some words that weere spoken that afternoone as I lay upon my bed; for the hangman had sett a little skellit with faire water upon the fyre, and as in the boyleing theirow he putt somthing into it, his wife bid him put a greater quantety of that ingredience that the water might be the stronger; but he answered her saying, 'by no meanes if you put in any more you will kill him altogether, this is enough to bourne him to the hart.' These words, together with the other passages that happened both at and after supper, were a sufficient argument to me of their intentions: namely the hangman had prepared a potion for mee, which was to procure unto mee greate gripings in the belly, that soe the outward torments being added to the inward paines it might make mee confesse the secretts of my hart. My eyes being thus opened by the wonderfull worke of God, I refused to drinck any wine but what I filled my selfe out of the potts which I saw others drinking out of before me. Now the hangman saw himself frustrated in his hopes hee perswaded mee presently after supper to goe to my rest into my bed betymes, because the shipper with whom I was to goe to Rochell would call mee early in the morning. But I being sufficiently convinced of his designe could give noe eare to his perswacions, but spent my time by walking up and downe the roome; till at lenth about 9 or 10 a clock hee suspected my fears (for hee would faine have made mee gone to my bed before he should have medled with meef, that soe hee needed not throw mee downe perforce). Therefore to remove all grounds of suspition I had of him, hee bid us all good night, and tooke his leave of all as though he was going to his rest into the next house, where the two officers lay, which were to bee present at my tryall; but being gone downe the stayers, and one of the gaurds with him, unto whom hee gave order to send him word whensoever I was gone to bed, that hee might come with the officers to finish the worke that they had in hand with me.

In the mean time, notwithstanding his pretences, I kept walking up and downe the roome full of feares and suspitions till eleven of the clock, and then I layd myselfe downe upon the bed in my cloathes. I was noe sooner layd but those that gaurded me sent a boy to the hangman, who because it was soe late returned this answer: that the officers who were to attend my tryall were fallen asleepe, but they would bee ready to come with him about 3 a clocke in the morning; hee desired them therefore to bee very vigilant and carefull of mee till then, least I should escape there hands. The gaurd according to these instructions used all means to keepe one another from sleeping; if one did but slumber a little the other would presently waken him againe to my greate greefe. All this while I lay in a hellish paine and anguish, expecting with horror and trembling that dreadfull howre but lately mentioned which was drawing one apace. Neverthelesse about one of the clock I felt within my selfe (doubtlesse by the Lord's instigacion who would further declare his wonderfull love to mee) a strong conceipt and an undeniable perswation that I should make another escape, althow the meanes how to perfect the same was not as yet aparent to mee. Where upon I began againe to consult with my selfe after what manner with most probability to accomplish my desires; and seeing, that unlesse my watchmen that were with mee in the roome were asleepe, it would be altogether vaine to make any attempt, I besought the Lord of all might that hee would with his alsufficient power to cast them into a sleepe while I should indeavour to gitt from amongst them. Thus I lay in expectation with a watchfull eye, I making all signes of them of sleepe, till the Lord was pleased to answer mee gracefully.

About two of the clock I found them all fast asleepe, both the fowre souldiers which sate about mee before the fire, and the two servants of the hangman which lay on a bed in the other end of the roome. As soone as I perceived it, I hasted to make use of this oportunity, and took both the sheetes of the bed, tying them together with the two corners, and slitting the other corner of the sheete assunder, that with the more conveniency I might tye it about the middle frame of the window (for the lower end of the pertition of the windows in these parts have wooden suttters without glassing). Having thus prepared the way, I stept out of the window in the name of the Lord, and let myselfe downe by the sheets, having my shooes in my mouth, till I came to the ground. Here I would make noe long stay soe much as to put on my shoos, but betooke myselfe presently to my heeles, and ran as hard and as long as breath would hould out. I was not gon full muskett shott from the house, before I heard the cry and alarem in the towne after mee. Suspecting that I was gone towards the River to looke for shipping, they persued mee up and downe the River side, as I could guese by the barking of the doggs in those townes and villages which lay in the water side. But the night being darke and I taking my course directly to the land side, I perceived none to come after mee that way, soe I marched peaceably all that night towards Bourdeaux againe, with an intencion to try whether I could gitt in some evening tyme, and find out a shipper with whome I might agree to take mee along with him beyond sea for a sune of mony.

In the morning after breake of day I lodged my selfe in a wood, and continued there till 2 a clock in the afternoone. But being weary of fasting, and thinking the inhabitants which lived soe farr from the water side would not have had any notice concerning mee, I put of my gray coate (which was mentioned in the hue and cry) and carreing it under my arme, I ventured out of the wood, and kept on my way till about 4 of the clock to an open village which was about 4 leagues from Bourdeaux. There I went into a taverne, and called for a pot of wyne with some bread to refresh my tyred body withall; the wyne was brought to me presently, but as for the bread I was to stay for it till they had fetched the key, which was some where in the towne. But insted of fetching the key they went to fetch halfe a dozen troopers that were quartered in the same towne, and some of them in the same house (for I saw five greate sadle horses standing in the stable) for to aprehend mee whilst I was staying for the bread. Not having forgotten yet my former miscarriages, I mistrusted by the wispring of those that were in the house, that there was a new plott preparing against mee, the which suspition caused mee to pay for my wine, and soe hasten out of the house.

As soone as I came out in the streete, I saw five of the troopers coming downe the towne. They called to me desiring me to stay, but I taking noe notice of their calling, went on a strong pace, yet without running, till I came about the corner of a close; then I ran in hast behind a hedge, where I made a version of my waye, and turned quyt back againe, till I came to the end of the towne where I first came in. There I went into a garden, and kreetpt (as I thought unknowne to any body) into the bottome of a hedge. The troopers before I gott to this hedge, were gotten on horse backe serching for mee with great rage. They crossed the fields thereabouts till darke night, and having missed their ayme after this manner, they caused all the villages within a league round about to watch and keepe a

gaurd that night, barricading with carts and ladders the highways in all places where there was any considerable passage, for the fields were all inclosed with thick and unpassible hedges. I lay in the meane time securely in the hedge bottome, thinking that noe body had knowne of my being there, till there came a lustie cuntry man, who having seene mee to creepe into the hedge walked all the while I was there in the garden, taking noe notice of mee in the hedge; and as soone as it was darke, hee approached towards mee, and thrusting mee with a staffe desired mee to come forth. Soe when I came forth, I besought him to lett mee goe, and I would give him all that I had. Hee being willing to grant my desire asked mee presently, where my goods were? I tould him in the bottome of the hedge; for having seene mee to carry a bundle under my arme, which was my short coate, hee thought that the richest plunder that I had would bee in the bundle, by reason of that he bad me goe whither I pleased, he would be no hinderance unto me. While he went to looke for his booty I hasted away. Then I went all that night out of one close into another, not being able to get through, the guards weere so strictly kept upon all the high wayes.

About breake of day I betooke myselfe to a ruinous chappell wherof the walls were only standing, the ground within in most places was overgrowne with nettles, which weere my shelter for all that day till the afternoone. About two of the clock, being ready to starve for cold because of my thin cloathing, and having perceived no body all the day to come to so sollitary a place, I went forth out of the corner in which I had hid myselfe till then. I went into the middle of the chappill where I had place to walke by short tournes, therby to gett some heate into my quakeing body. As I was walking in the middle of my walking their came a countryman with a short crooked bill in his hand; him I prayed after many other discourses, that he would be a meanes to conduct me to the water side, which was within a league, from thence to transport me on the other side the River, and I would give him tenn pistolls for his paines, if he would not betray me. This man did seme to like my motion well, and promised me with many oaths to be faithfull to me, desiring me not to stir from the place till at night, as soone as it was darke, he should come to fetch me. After this fellow was gone I began to consider within myselfe that I could looke for no reall dealing from him, but that he intended either to deliver me into the custody of my persecutors, or else to destroy me privately in the night, and so to make a prey of me for his owne profit; for if I had put myselfe after this manner into his power, wherby all that I had in my custody became to be at his disposeing, he could not but hope to reape a greater game by killing me then by keeping his promise with me. Therefore not thinking it safe for me to continue their till night, I resolved an houre after he was gone to seeke some other hideing place.

Thus deserting the said chappell I fell into a high way, which of necessity I was forced to keepe, by reason of the thick hedges and deep ditches on both sides of the way. Before I had gon far I mett with a barricade cross the way, made with carts and ladders the night before, but now it was without any guard. Seing this I concluded that their was not so strict watch kept for me by day as by night, the which emboldened me to continue my march in hopes to passe all the inclosed feilds before night, to reach the champion country, where I could not bee blocked up in the maner I used to bee among the hedges and ditches. Now when I had even overcome those difficult wayes among the hedges, and was now upon the brim of a large champion country, I sought about the hedges for some hiding place where I might be obscured till darke night. But before I could find a place fitt for my turne, I was discovered by a contry man coming from the feild, who dwelled hard by where I was; who as soone as hee gott a vew of mee hee came rounding towards mee with a long crooked bill, and made mee to goe along with him to his house, where I saw never another man, but fowre or five women, whereof one was his mother, who did curse and revile mee in a most abhominable manner. A maid was presently sent to some officers in the parish for more helpe, for his house stood by it selfe in the field far from neighbours. In the meane time the good man gave mee a glasse or two of wine, and a little crust of bread, which after two dayes fasting, was some though not considerable refreshment to mee because it was noe more. Taking noe delight of the ayre in the house I could not have patience to sitt downe, though much intreated, but sought to walk up and downe rather without the dores then within. After that I had bin there about halfe an howre, the maid that went for more helpe, returned with news, that some more men would be there immeadiatly. Now the day and night were even parting, darkenes increasing apace, whilst I still continued to walke, with many intreaties that hee would dismis mee, promising him 20 pistolls for his reward, but I could not prevaile with him. At length the ould woman came forth full of indignacion, rayling and chiding him for walking in the darke without armes in his hands. The good sone, taking his mother's witt for the best, willingly yeilded to her instructions, and prayed her to stay with mee till hee went to fetch his fowling peece; thus having resigned me to his mother's care, he went to fetch his gun in the house. I kept in the mean time of his absence a slow walke while the ould woman full of jealousy followed mee close at the heeles mandring, and when I guessed what tyme her sone might be got up the stayres, I made use of my leggs on a suddaine, and ran into a plaine champion feild, which was on one side of the house, with all possible speed, leaving the ould woman behind in a distracted and raging condition, clamering and taking on as one out of witts. Before her good sone could gitt downe to see what his mother ayled, I was out of reach of his gun, and out of sight, making soe many crooked turnes in my passage that they might not know where to follow mee.

Thus being at liberty again I made full account to bee at Bourdeaux against the next morning. To which end I marched all the night, making noe stay in any place, but in the morning when I thought my selfe to be neere Bourdeaux, I perceived my selfe to bee two leagues directly backward further from Bourdeaux, then I was in the evening before I made myne escape. And finding my selfe in a wood through which I had passed two dayes before, because it was an extraordinary thick misty night, which was a meanes that I knew not how to deserne the east from the west by moone or starrs whereby I might have directed my course according to my intentions, the day being at hand I durst not venture to march farther for feare of being discovered, but lodged my selfe in a greate thicket of thornes, for I feared to be discovered in the wood. I lay hiden till about two of the clock in the after noone some cattle came neere mee, which following an ould over growne path for grasse, and forcing through directly upon me, made me run forwards out of the thicked, for I feared the boyes that kept the cattle would follow them in the reare, and the thornes and bryars were soe thick and soe closely growne together that it was impossible for mee to creepe through on eather side. Soe being driven by these brute beasts out of the private receptacle into a more perspicuus place, I fell presently into the vew of some boyes that looked to the cattle, whereof some went presently to make knowne that I was in the wood. Not long after the wood was besett, and all the high wayes, by which unavoydably I was to pass whensoever I should offer to gitt out from thence, were strongly gaurded by the countrymen living thereabout.

Now I found myselfe as bad as taken againe; for though I could not be easily found out and apprehended in the wood, by the many impassable thicketts therein, yet could not I hide my selfe from hunger and cowlde, which were

now my greatist enemyes following mee close whether soever I went or turned my self. I went all the night from one end of the wood to the other, trying all the passages round about, whether I might nott make my way through any of them, butt the guards being soe stronge and vigilant I wearied my self to noe purpose that whole night. In the morning I retired myself into the thickest and most retired parte of the wood, and continued there till evening, nott appearing to anybody all that day, except some hounds which belong'd to the lord that lived close to the wood side came hunting to mee, but having looked upon mee with silence they went away. The night drawing on the gaurd about the wood were sett as strong and as many as the night before, wherby I was deprived of all hopes of escape; and seeing before mee in case I continued in that condition any longer, nothing else but present and unavoydable distruction both of health and life, because I had bin without releefe both of meate and drinke now about the space of fowre dayes, I thought it more expedient for mee to make myne escape by some desperate meanes, though there were never soe little probability in them, rather then to yeild my selfe to those of whom I could expect noe comfort then what those cruell and most exquisit torments they had prepared for mee accompaned with a most ignominous death would have afforded mee. I resolved therefore to cut two bundles of bulrushes upon which I could presume to swim over the river of Garrone which was about two English myles from the wood. But before I came to the River I was to pass through a greate moras about halfe a myle broad, running all along close by the wood side, which side was not gaurded by the contrymen, because the morast it selfe tho unknowne to mee was a sufficient gaurd to keepe mee from running away. Thus I tooke two bundles of rushes, and went into the said morast; which though it proved soe deepe and soe difficult that I sunck to my midle in the quagmire, where I should have bin past getting out againe if it had not bin for the bundles of bulrushes which supported mee whilst I recoverd myselfe, yet could I not be diverted from my resolution, till after I had wrought my selfe almost through the midle of it, and soe was forced to returne from whence I came.

Being come to the wood againe, wet to the midle and exhausted all my strenght, I sate under a tree, examining and bewayling my mesirable and hopeles condition. I counted my selfe reduced to that extreimity wherein infallibly I should have perisht, being oppressed with hunger within and seeing the whole creation against me without, soe that in naturall reason I could not see how or by what meanes I might have the least hope, either for my restoration or for my present sustenance. I sent up to heaven many earnest and importunate requests that the Lord would bee pleased to shorten my mesiry or else to worke some meracle for my dileverance and present releife. Now although I earnestly wished and confidently expected my disolution, which I thought would have befallne mee that night or sudenly after, in soe fainting a condition I was in (for besides the failing of my strenght being hindred soe long from sleep both by feare and cowlde, I was not onely incapable of my reason, but alsoe careles and altogether weary of my life), yet would I, I know not by what naturall instinct, seeke to gitt some ease for my almost senseles body, as long as occation would give way to it.

Knowing therefore that under the wood side at the end of the said morast there stood a lord or gentlemans house which had some stabling about it, I endeavored to repaire to one of the stables for some shelter, whereby I might defend my selfe from the extreimity of the ayre, which was very sharp then; and coming into the stables I went round about groaping and feeling all along the wall for a private place to hide my selfe. At length I met with a scaffold in the corner raised a foote and a half from the ground, and climing upon the same I passed likewise along the wall till I did tread with my foote upon a little bagg wrapped up in an ould coate, the which after I had taken up and unwrapped I perceived to be a bagg full of scrapps or crusts of bread as are used to bee gathered of the table after meales, weiging some 4 or 5 pounds. This singular providence of the Lord had such a reflection upon my body and sperritt, as that whereas before I might have bin counted halfe dead, now I received a new life againe. Now having gott both bread to sattisfie the rage of my hunger for three or fowre dayes, and covering to defend my selfe from the vehement cowlde, I could not bee overjoyed of the sight of this wonderful mercy of God without which, in my conjecture, I was absolutely to perish. This unexpected releife gave such comfort to my drooping spirit as that I was confidently assured there by that the Lord had thoughts of peace and not of distinction to mee, however hee suffered mee to bee under the cloud of affliction at present, having found such a booty. Taking away the said things theirfore I went with a light hart to the wood againe, takeing along with me a burthen of straw wrapped into the coate least by scattering of it I should be dogged out againe; and when I had fetched another burthen of straw I lodged myselfe in a private place in the wood, and pulling of my wett cloaths I wrapped myselfe into the long coate I had found in the stable. In this manner I made a poore shift to keepe my selfe from starving that night.

The next morning I imployed my tyme in drying my cloaths againe in the sun, which did shine very bright all that day longe. The night followeing I went againe round about the wood, trying the guards how I might secretly slip by some of them, which I found to be very difficult, till after midnight I percieved the watchmen of one post were asleepe, or by reason of the cold altogether departed from their station, because I heard none of them (for to be silent or stand still without acting some apish tricks is an impossible thing for most men of that nation, which often tended to my advantage to keepe me from falling into their hands unawarrs in the darke); then I made bold to steale through, and once more gott an enlargement of my restraint in which I had bin for those 3 dayes.

Now I was free, and intended to hold my former course. I mistooke my way againe, going too much west of Burdeaux, because of the cloudie ayre which deprived mee of the sight of the moone and starres, soe that after I had marched the quantity of 4 leagues, I was neverthesse as farre as I was the day before from Burdeaux. And as it hapned all alonge that all my troubles were soe chaine-like linked together that the end of one calamitie was alwayes the beginning of another, soe heere did providence keepe the same method in exercising my patience with further trials^[27]. For before daylight I fell in my march uppon a great plaine-heath, which after itt was light I found to bee 4 or 5 miles broad. Now when I was in the middle the day broake in uppon mee, wherby I was exposed to the sight of all that mett mee; yett was I arrested by none till I came over the plaine, then even as I was to leave the great comon and entering into the inclosed feilds againe, my way fell thorough a small village, wher as I passed through I saw two or three boores or paisants standing in a doore. These men taking notice of my habit (the discription wherof they had learned out of the hew and cry) called after me, but I not mooved by their call kept on my pace till some of them gott on horse back others following on foote they overtooke me before I could hide myselfe in any convenient place. I ran for feare into a ditch full of water, but they pulled me out from thence with great cruelty. Having me thus at their mercy they tooke first all my money from me, which was about eighty pistolls in gold besides what I had in silver coyne. Suspecting that I had hidden some in the water out of which they tooke me, setting their fowling peices often to my brest theirby to make me confesse whether it were so or not, and when they could finde no more money about me they fell to strip me of my cloaths, and takeing so much as the shirt from my back they left me naked in the feilds

as I came into the world, telling me that naked I came and naked I must goe out of the world againe. One of them presently putt on my worsted coate and drawers, flinging away his owne drawers and wastcoate that were of thin canvas ragged and torne. Another, which tooke away my hat, resigned unto me his old bonnet. Of these leavings I was forced to make use of to cover my nakedness withall, though it was an habbit very unsutable for the season, for their had bene a hard nipping frost ever since my escape from Pulliac, and continued so for two weekes together.

So parting one from another we went every one his way, they towards their houses and I towards Bourdeaux, though it had bene better for those villands to have knocked me on the head then to have dismissed me, for it was their duty to carry me according to order to the safe keeping of the next magistrate, only for that they should not keepe all the booty to themselves they let me goe whether I would without restraint. Because I was now become a worme and no man, a scorne to all that saw me, I thought that now no body would count me worthy of takeing, theirfore I returned to march openly by day. But the mallice of these rogues that robbed me was such and so great that rather then I should escape they would make an alarum (though it should be to their owne hurt) by sounding the horn, wherby they tooke the alarum from one towne to another, so that before I had marched a league hearing the alarum behinde and before and round about me, I was forced to fall into the bottom of a thick hedge to save my selfe from being taken againe. Their I continued from nyne till two of the clock of the afternoone till the cold and frost had so benumbed all my members of my body that I was incapable of any motion, and noe more senceable of any greate and sharp cold but onely inclining to a fainting sleepe, soe that I was affraid if in case I continued fowre howres longer there till I might march at night againe, I should be past ever rising againe. Therefore when I saw a plaine contry man not farr of from mee passing I made bold to call him, with an intencion to promise him a good some of mony if he would take me into his house, and keepe mee there private for fowre or five weekes till I might git some letters of credit from my frinds by way of Bourdeaux. But when hee came to see mee even spechles by shaking and quaking for cold, the owld man seeing my condition desired mee to come home with him to his house, which was hard by in a little village consisting not of above 12 houses. Having brought mee to his house hee made mee presently a good fire to gitt life into my starved joynts againe, and gave mee some bread and drinke such as his house afforded for my refreshment.

Whilst I thus refreshed me by the fire side there came severall of the neibours to looke upon mee in my comfortles condition, whereby some conjecturing that I was the man concerning whom they had received the hue and cry, presently sent for the Justice of the peace, which lived not farr from thence. He came about five of the clocke to waite upon mee, and was overjoyed that he had gott such a bird in his nett whose feathers hee thought would be at least 1200 livers in his way. Having variously discorsed with me and earnestly enquired in whose hands in Bourdeaux I had the 1200 livers mentioned in the hue and cry, hee tooke mee along with him into a larger house, where himselfe alsoe lying he caused mee to bee kept by a gaurd of contrymen. The next morning, because I could not give him a satisfactory answer to his demands especially concerning the 1200 livers, hee sent a messenger to Bourdeaux which was some 3 leagues from thence, for a confessor as he termed it to bee there against the next morning for to begin the same processe againe with mee as those at Bourdeaux and Puliack would have done, if God had not prevented it. In the meane while the gentleman being willing to gitt as much by my ruine as could bee went to consult with some of his frinds that were there, how hee might gitt some of the monies that I had lost the other day within his jurisdiction. Finding hee was not like to compasse his ends, he began to carry himselfe more affable to mee then before with all manner of faire promisses, namely that hee would helpe mee to my cloathes againe and to halfe the mony which I had lost, if soe be I could find out the men that robed mee or their houses. Wher upon, though I was sufficiently convinced that onely his and not my profit was concern'd in the plott, yet being altogether in his power, I could not chuse but yeild myselfe to his desires, and promised to goe back the same way I came the day before, and not returne before I had found out the houses of those men that had robbed mee. Then he provided a gaurd of fowre men with fowling peeces to goe along with me, and two greate doggs with a little one which were to attend my returne, which would bee in the night, least I should ever slip in the wood through which wee were to march. And because my feete being very much spoyled by the frost I indured before, I could make but small hast to follow my leaders, they furnished mee with a lame horse, on which I might make some shift to keepe pace with my gaurd, and yett not to run away from them neither.

In this equipage wee began our march about 2 of the clock in the afternoone, and found the house wherein the robbers lived within an howre and halfe after our departure. But before wee were come halfe the way to them, least the theeves wee sought for should conceave any suspition, and so absent themselves if from farr they should see mee come in their companie, wee went into a farmers house that lived by the way, and borrowing a long coate from him made of a thick white frize, they put it about mee, therewith to disguise me. This pollisie of theirs did exceedingly rejoyce mee, because it not onely comforted my naked body for the present, but it spoke moreover to mee that the Lord thereby was preparing new meanes for my deliverance, for by the helpe of this coate I thought my selfe in a capacity to lye out of dores againe in the field, which otherwise it was impossible for mee to doe for want of cloathes. I began therefore to make provision for a new jorney by filling my bosome with bread where and whensoever occasion would serve mee, for both in the farmers, and severall other houses they made my gaurd (and me for my gaurds sake) wellcome, by setting alwaye a pott of wine and a greate houseould loafe before us, by which meanes I gott as much bread as did serve mee two dayes after. At length when wee had found the place where the robbers dwelt, three of my gaurds went into the house and would not suffer mee to goe with them, but left mee in another howse with one of the gaurd, giving to the people of the house a strickt charge besides to looke to mee least I should make an escape. Having dispatched their Masters arrand, and returned into the house where they left mee, I asked them whether they would not helpe mee to my cloathes againe according to their promisse. They replied that I should find a man at home that would keepe me warm enough without cloathes, meaning the hangman, which was sent for him from Bourdeaux to be their against our returne.

The night coming on a pace we prepared for a martch againe, and tooke our leave from the house we were in. Coming forth those of my guard went two before and two behinde keeping close to my horse heeles because it was very darke. When we weere gott againe so far as the farmers house where they borrowed my longe coate, they desired me to restore the coate to the owners againe. In the meane while the farmer himselfe came forth of the house entreating my guard to come into the house, and being entered the men that gaurded me set themselves round about a table while I was walking up and downe the roome with the borrowed coate on my back still. And seeing by and by the attentions of the men taken up with their cupps, and the doggs which were taken along on purpose to observe my motion in the darke striving about the warmest place in the chimney corner, I thought it to be

the season for which I had looked with great expectation ever since I gott the coate on my backe. I made bold theirfore to step out of the roome with leasure as though I had some private businesse to doe without, and assoone as I was gotten out I pulled of the coate, and taking it under my arme I went in hast to try once more my heeles, which though they weere lame before yet now they were become as light as ever they were. I ran with all speed towards the open plaine feild which was on one side of the house. I was not gott halfe musket shott from the house before they came to looke for me, and finding me to be gone, they called presently forth the doggs, and sett them with a great and impetuouse storme against the wood which was on the other side of the house, suspecting that I had taken that wood for my refuge rather than the open feilds. But I being gon the cleane contrary way, and the doggs amazed and confounded with the rageing cry of six or seaven men so that they could not take notice of me as I ran on, the poore men lost their labours and I gott my libberty by the assistance of God, together with a good warme coate to my back.

In the end of the game, to take all possible heed from falling into their or any mans hands againe, I steered my coarse directly back againe, to a wood which I knewe formerly being stripped not far from thence. There I intended to conceale my selfe, and not to goe from thence till hunger should force mee, for I feared because of the nessesity they knew that I was in, I must goe to Bourdeaux for releife, that now they would raise for mee more then ever they did, but if it were soe that I could be some where in secritt two or three dayes till the heat of their fury against mee were some what cooled, then I supposed their gaurds would bee either more careles, or altogether removed, that soe I might with more safety gitt throw to Bourdeaux by night. And coming into the wood, I found in the same a Church with an empty parson's house, and continued there, for the space of two dayes. The first night I lodged my selfe in the oven for feare of any bodyes coming into the house, for I knew not in the darke that I was soe far from neighbours. But the next day when it was light, I chose for my habitation a great come chest which stood upon leggs a foote and $\frac{1}{2}$ high from the ground, and was in all about seaven foote deepe, and there I spent the rest of the time, as long as I stayed there, onely in the night I went forth to squench my thirst, out of the trench that went about the church yard. This was the best lodging that I had since I leaped over the wall at Bourdeaux; for in the morning after I first came in I found in a corner an owld sack full of wooll of about 15^{lb}. weight, which being most in great fleeces was of singular use to mee in supplying the want of cloathes, for I contryved to wrap my whole body to the knees into itt, putting the wooll to my skin and tying my canvas wastcoate and britches on the tope of it whereby I became as warme although not soe fashionably clad as ever I was.

The stoare of my provision being totally exhausted, I was now nessesitated to quitt this place, after I had sojourned there two dayes and two nights. In the 3^d night I undertooke to march againe towards Bourdeaux, which was some 4 leagues from thence. Upon my march I found the gaurds through the whole night to bee strickly kept in all the villages, yet I made shift to pas them all by the heelp of the great and continuall noyse the watchmen continually made, which gave me allwayes sufficient warning to goe by tims about, and soe avoyd the gaurds that layd waite for me. Yett for all that I could not reach Bourdeaux undiscovered, for when I came with in a league of the Citty, there was I met in the morning about 4 of the clock in a plaine place (where two wayes met) by a man that was one of the cheif of those that gaurded mee when I made my last escape, and which was also the principall authour of my borrowing my long coate. He desired mee to make hast to goe with him to Bourdeaux, though hee had noe armes at all. At lenght his patience being tired, and thinking infallibly I must come to Bourdeax for releif both of meate and cloathes, hee went before, out of an intention to lay waite for mee through others, either by the way or at the Citty gatts. Now I was againe possessed with a new fright, for to goe directly without any delay into the Citty would bee my present mine, and to tarry without in the feilds did threaten noe less, because I wanted both food and rayment; yet counting it my best to make choyce of the lesser evill, I resolved to keepe my selfe in the feild, soe long as I might bee able to subsist without meate (for though I had lost my warme coate againe, yet could I make some shift to endure the weather by reason of the wooll where with my whole body was covered after the manner expressed). Soe thinking it a greater happines to perrish by hunger and frost (if it had soe pleased unto God) then to have yeilded my selfe to myne adversaryes crueltys, I tooke up in this beleefe the bottome of an hedge for my bed within an English myle from Bourdeaux and remained two dayes.

Again the 3^d day before it was light I drew neere to the towne into the suburbs, to the end that I might with more expedition gitt to the water side in the beginning of the next evening before it would bee toe late; and having layin hidden in the ruines of an owld house all the day long I went soe soone as it was darke, and came to the water side, where the shippers are used to have their constant meetings. There I first met with an Hollandish merchant of a shipe, unto whom I made knowne my desire to goe along in his ship, engaging my selfe to pay unto him the sum of 5000 livers for his reward, where and whensoever hee should land without the kingdom of France. But this man, because I was not able to speake plaine Hollandish without mixing some English amongst it, tould me that I was an English rogue, and hee would rather bee a meanes to helpe me to the gallowes then to carry mee in his ship. Thus taking my answer from this inhuman Hollander I went to another man that was master's mate of a great Lubeckish ship, which was ready to sett sayle the next day. This Lubecker having received my complaints was mooved with compacion, and tooke mee on board, where both hee and all the men of the ship expressed greate love to mee, and put mee into another habitt againe with ould cloathes, furnishing mee among themselves with dublitt, britches, long coate and other nesisaryes, soe that I looked now like a rationall man againe, whereas in my former habitt I seemed to bee a distracted person. As for passage they doubted not but they should prevaile with the master of the ship who did lye one shoare that night, but came the next morning on shipboard, in the meane time they entertayned mee with the best accomodation they had.

Being thus tenderly entertayned that night, when I wakened the next morning, I found my feete in which I had felt noe warmnes many dayes before, soe much swelled, and soe full of paine, after this warme lodging, that I was not able to stand upright without greate greefe, nor to abide my shoes upon them. Now as soone as the master came, all the men in the shipp made intercession for mee to gitt his consent for my passage, and my selfe promised him as much as I did the Hollander for my transportation before mentioned; but he being of a dogged surly disposition would give no eare to my complaints nor take to hart my woefull mesery, pleading for the safety of his ship and goods, which by my being their would be exposed to the danger of confiscation, in case said he that I weere found theirin by the searchers. Yet he said if so be that I could get so far as Blaye, and shew myselfe their on the shore side, his men should fetch me into the ship after it had beene searched, and so I might then goe along with him to Lubeck. Here my sorrowes were multeplied againe in an unspeakable manner, because as all my former endeavours even so this project which I had taken for my last refuge was fruitlesse. As much as my hart was refreshed the day

before, when getting on ship board I came from dispaire to some hopes of a deliverance, so much and farr more was I now dejected, being reduced from hope to dispaire againe. For although the maister of the ship made some promisse to take me along with him if I could get to Blay, yet being altogether deprived of the present use of my feet, I could not conceive any hopes to gett thither and so to enjoy the comfort of his promisse neither. This desperate condition of myne gave so sad a spectacle to beholders in the ship that it fetched teares from their eyes when they saw me tourned into the boate againe, for they looked upon me as one that was going to a wofull and miserable end.

Now when I was carried on the shore againe the men in the ship, who was much greived with the maisters obstanacy, made a collection among themselves, and furnished my pocket with a French crowne in money, and giving me five or six dayes provision of bisket and pootered beefe they landed me on the other side of the river, with an earnest expectation that I should strive to the utmost of my power to get to Blaye, which was eight leagues from thence, and their they would watch for my coming to fetch me on ship board.

Being set on shoare about two of the clock in the afternoon, I did force myselfe to march, though my feet raged as if they had beene full of needles, and every step I sett was like a knife run through my heart, yet to strive for my life I would hazzard the losse of my feete, and have endured the greatest paine in going to Blaye then to fall into the hands of mine enemyes againe. Thus I marched in great paine all that day and the night following, without any obstruction because I was unknowne of that side of the water. The next morning about tenn of the clock I was met with a younge ugly looking country fellow, who hearing by my tongue that I was a stranger, bore me company, till he met two men of his acquaintance, then he together with them fell upon me, and tooke the crowne from me, and most part of the bisket which the seamen in the ship had bestowed on me, pretending that I was a spy left behind by the Spanish fleet which was lately in the river, and so my cloaths being not worth the taking they lett me goe. But within halfe an houre after upon better consideration they made an alarum after me by sounding the horne, which was presently taken round about, wherby I became subject to as much persecution as I had beene on the other side of the water, for although I had other habit yet did all the country take me for the man that was discribed in the hue and cry the two weeks before, seing that all that came to speake with me reviled me for an English trator. The alarum was so great that the troopers which quartered their abouts went the rounds on the high wayes till evening, and at night the countrymen kept their guards as strictlie as those did on the other side of the water.

Heere I was cast into a new despaire againe, for besides that I had lost all hopes of getting to Blay, by reason that my feete were nott onely very much swelled by the frost after the manner aforesaid, butt my soales were alsoe blistred that I was now disabled for going any more, there was moreover this block cast in my way, that I was now described and besett with guards in a waterish and inhedged country, and had yett a great river betweene mee and Blay to passe over, where without all doubt I was laide waite for in case I had bin able to goe further. Being by these meanes forced to desist from my resolution to meete the shippe att Blay, I fell into an hedge to hide mee from the rage of the countrymen and troopers which did every where attend mee. There I lay in a deplorable condition, sorely oppressed with greif both of body and minde; my feete full of raging paine were noe more able to carry mee, myne heart broke within mee with the conceit that alwayes my later calamities proved more desperate then the former, and the more that I strove to gett out of my misery that still the more I should sinke the deeper into the same. Hence I could nott butt fall into these thoughts, that the Lord had utterly rejected mee, that hee would bee favourable noe more, seing hee had sett mee as a marke into the which hee would shoote all his arrowes of anger; for when I looked for a time of healing behold my troubles increased, having bin frustrated in this attempt which I tooke for the last remedy of myne evill, I gave it for lost in regard I was now altogether disabled to make any further escape as I was formerly wont to doe when I was taken. In so hopeless a condition I spent my tyme under the said hedge that day and the night following, making an end of my provision that the robbers had left me.

The next day continuing still in the same place, because I was not able to goe nor knew I whether to goe, the hedge wherin I lay being very thin, I was discovered by some boyes that kept sheep (about two of the clock in the afternoone) their abouts, who as soone as they had seene me ran to the villadge hard by to give notice of my being their. Wher upon seing myselfe discovered, though before I was not able to stand on my feet, yet did feare so far overcome me that to shun any danger as long as possible I could make any shift to crawle a little way from thence to hide myself in a securer place. But as I was gott a quarter of a myle from the place where I lay in, it began to raine very hard; so seing a great house not far of I had a desire to try whether I could finde some shelter about the same, and coming neare it I entered into a stable one of whose doores was opened towards the feild the other into a court before the house. This stable being large was accomodated not only for cattell on the one side but also for all manner of other uses, for I found theirin a winepresse round about, their was also laid some cart loads of faggotts of greene furs betweene which and the presse I did hide my selfe thinking it a great happinesse to be out of the cold winde and raine into a dry place wherby I hoped to have a warme nights lodging. Perceiving but little company about the house, when I came first into the stable I lay their with great confidence, not suspecting any body knew of my being their, yet before I had beene their halfe an houre, the good man of the house with two of his servants came home from the feild and received information concerning me of his son, a little boy of some 13 or 14 yeares old, who see my coming into the stable and watched me ever since then, wherby he knew that I was not come forth againe. Here upon great and small come into the stable rejoyceing for to have gotten the theife for whose sake all the townes and villages theirabouts had been fame to keepe guard all the night past, and being assured that I could have no other hiding place but under the furs they sent for two longe hay forkes to remooove them all to come att me. I, in the meane tyme full of terror and trembling as soone as I perceived that I was discovered, forced myselfe under the winepress which was joyned to one side of the wall, the bed their of lay on two peices of timbre which being some five foot one from another were no thicker then my body so that with hard shift I could worke betwixt the bed and the ground upon my belly to the wall. Being crept under it as farr as I could, I tooke an old peece of wood which accidentally lay their and left it with other small sticks in the outside under the bed theirby to prevent in them all suspicion of my being under the presse. Now when they had remoooved all the furs and come to the full sight of the bed of the winepress they tooke it for granted that I could not be their, because the hollownesse between the ground and the bed was so flat in their apprehensions that they judged it altogether incapable of receiving a man, theirfore they only ran the forke into the peice of wood which I had laid out of the mouth of the hollow, and having tourned the same they made no further scruple of that place, but were taken with great wonder and amazment, being confident I had beene seene going into the stable and not coming out againe, or if I was gott out it was not by naturall meanes but by witchcraft. Nevertheless suspecting that perhaps he might be mistaken in watching my coming forth either into the feild or into the court (though both the doors of the stable were so placed that from one station he could

looke them both) because it was now darke, and their were more stables and a great deale of timber in the court where I might hide myselfe in case I were got out of the stable, the maister of the house sett his two men to watch in the court all the night over till the next morning that they might make a more exact search for me.

The two watchmen walked the round in the court all the fore part of the night, while in the meane tyme about eleaven of the clock, being weary to lye longer in so cumbersome a posture, I gott forth from underneath the winepress, where I had lye now about nyne houres flatt on my belly till all my joynts felt like dead, because being pressed close to the ground I had no roome to turne myselfe nor to make any motion with my body. Being gott out of this strait lodging I sheltered myselfe betweene the cattle that stood on one side of the stable observing the motion of the said watchmen, which having borne the labour of the day and now walked till now about midnight began to longe for some rest, because they could not perceive all that tyme the least signe of my being their abouts. They blamed the boy for making such trouble with his groundless fancies and came into the stable where I was, laying themselves downe to sleepe hard by the doore that went into the court, and after they had a little reasoned that I could not breake open the doore about the court without making a great noyse they went boldly to sleepe while I heartely prayed for their good rest. As soone as I judged them to be fast a sleepe I passed by them into the court where I found all the doors locked and the walls so high that by no meanes I could gett over them. I walked an houre up and downe devising by what shift I might get out into the feilds, at length finding no other meanes to escape I pitched upon a doore which went into a vineyard joyning to the house, and seeing this doore went not close to the threshold upon the ground but lacked so much of his full length as that I could put my fist under it, I tooke a small peice of a tree and lifted the said doore from the hinges and after I had loosened it, being both in feare and hast, I could not prevent the falling of it to the ground, wherby presently the whole house tooke an alarum, but I having now before me a great hole to get out by would make no stay to looke for the issue of that alarum but ran a pace till I gott without the bounds of that vineyard.

Thus in the midst of my greatest trouble I received comfort againe, though it was but such as in relation to a better condition was comparable to dispare it selfe, for although I had drawne my foot out of the snare yet knew not where to fix my biding but must of necessity fall into another againe. I was become like a ship that upon a tempestuous sea hath lost his rudder and sailes and can no more be guided by the discretion of the steersman to any harbour of safty, but left to the mercylless waves to be overtourned and swallowed up in the deepe, to be cast upon the rocks of despaire. Even so was I at this instant deprived of all hope and counsell to direct my course either to the right or left for safety, seing nothing but signes of unavoidable destruction round about me.

Being thus at liberty againe to seeke another hiding place I walked or rather crawled upon my pittifull feet out of one feild into another, not knowing nor careing which way I went, till against day I lit on another barne which stood by itself about a stones cast from the dwelling house. Coming to this barne I found a little haystack piled up against a wall the which, the weather being very ill, was a great invitation to me to take up my lodging on the top of it, perswading my selfe that no body would suspect or seeke me there. In this confidence I made shift to get to the top of it, and having prepared me a place wherin I might lye both secret and warme I fell presently a sleepe, not wakeing till about nyne of the clock. Being wakened I saw two country fellows at the barne doore standing on purpose to watch least I should get away before those came for whom they had sent to aprehand me. Here the comfort my last nights escape had gotten in me was tourned into dispaire againe, although I knew not by what meanes or after what manner I had beene discovered so soone, only I ghesed that either some body had seene me goe into the barne, or else the servants when they came to feed a couple of oxen which stood in a pertition made in the corner of the barne had heard me make some noyse in my hard sleepe. How ever it came these same fellows thought themselves very sure of me, mocking and jearing with my pittifull condition, and demanding of me why I would rather come to be taken in their barne then their neighbours house which was but halfe a mile from thence. I had bewitched their neighbours eyes, but I should not bewitch theirs. With such and the like jeasts they passed their tyme till the good wife of the house called them to dinner; then they went to the dwelling house, and fetched their meat, with an intent to dine without the doore that so they might both eate and have an eye to the prisoner.

As soone as they were gone I raised myselfe from my couch and perceiving in the little pertition where the oxen stood that their was a hole broken in the wall some nyne foot from the ground for to let the light in I hasted downe from the stack and went into the said stable and making meanes by a long beame to get up to the hole, after I had looked out of it, I found that it would be very narrowly overlooked by them that stood in the doore of the dwelling house. Yet because the watchmen that were at dinner saw a little more to that side of the doore where they could not give so good attendance to the hole as to the barne doore, I returned to creep out and fell into a thicket of briers which were under the hole, and on that side of the barne. Being gotten to the ground I crept in the bottom of these bryers till I came at the back of the barne, then could I goe whether I would without disturbing the watchmen, being at their dinner. Now because it was daylight I durst not venture far to seeke a hiding place for feare of being betrayed againe, I was constrained to fall into a ditch under a thick hedge near the high way that came from Burdeaux. I had not lien long their before the alarum consarning me was made as fresh as ever it was. The troopers went too and fro upon the high wayes, and all the travillers that passed by me made me the cheife subject of their discourse, giving to my hearing (because I laid on the way side) their severall judgments upon me, one counting me a crafty fellow, another tooke me for a witch by reason that I had beene so oft in hold and yet escaped as oft again beyond their expectations that had me in coustody.

All these things that I heard and saw could promisse nothing else but a finall ruine to me, neither could I since I was disapointed in my journey to Blaye think upon any way more wherby I might conceive any hopes of life; yet as every day brought forth new troubles, so new troubles led me upon new devices, new devices gave me new experiences of the wonderfull mercyes of God. Even so while I lay in the bottom of the hedge struggling for life, I began to have new consultations againe; though I had hitherto beene frustrated in all my attempts, as longe as I enjoyed breath I thought it my duty to nature to thinke upon others. However the latter project semed to be more desperate then the former. I resolved theirfore to retourne to Bourdeaux againe being no further then three leagues from thence, and to apply myselfe to some Hambrough marchants, thinking if the Lord would yet looke upon my afflictions that he was able to incline their harts towards me, and make them instruments of my recovery, and keepe me also out of the hands of my enimyes which lived their, but if he intended to bring me to a wofull end in this world I counted it as expedient for me to submit to his good pleasure their, as in the country where not the least hope of life did appeare to me.

To prosecute this resolution, as soone as it was darke I laboured to get forward to Burdeaux with as much speed

as I could. Finding the guards very vigilant in all villages I made shift to pass by them with going about where occasion served, but as I came to an open market towne within two leagues of Burdeaux I met with a small river at the hither end of the towne. Because of the low waterish grounds and deepe ditches and thick hedges, this place was so barrocaded up with carts and ladders and through all the night so strongly guarded that by no means it was possible for me to get through or by it, although I spent all the whole night in trying all manner of wayes to gett by. Against morning I went a little back to hide myselfe in a great empty barne which stood aloane in an inclosed feild, in hope that it would not be frequented much by day by any people, because their was nothing in it but some rotten and decayed straw under which I lay hid. Their I took my rest undiscovered till about one of the clock, their came halfe a dozen children which in their play running up and downe a top of the straw came to tread upon me as I lay in my sleep. Herby they presently discovered me, saying that I was the theife for whom they had watched all the last night, they would goe to tell their fathers of my being there. And so they being gon their way I thought it not safe for me to stay their till the inhabitants should come to take me with deliberation, theirfore I went forth to seeke another hiding place, but could finde none ready to my hand, because of the ditches under the hedges were brim full of water. In the meane while I came accidentally to see the barrecado which the townes men had made the night before for my sake to be without any guard (for they thought I durst not march by day in view of the people—they kept only guard in the night tyme) I resolved to make use of this opportunity, and to venture through the towne at noone day. Thus comitting myselfe to the Lord I marched with confidence through the towne whilest the people theirin least expecting my coming, because it was about dinner tyme I did not meet many on the streets, divers men looking over the doores, and seeing me goe fistling as though I heard nothing, knew not what to make of me. I went in a poore seamens habbitt, yet by that tyme I was gott through the other end of the towne they bethought themselves better, and suspected that I was he for whose sake they watched the last night, calling after me and desiring me to tarry, and I refused to hearken to their call, they cryed aloud their was the traytor we looked for the last night. But before they could be ready to come or send after me, I being now got through the towne went backward behind the middle of the towne, where I did hide myselfe againe whilest some of the townes men pursued me in the way to Burdeaux.

I continued my march the next night carrying nevertheless about me and before me the alarum all the night longe till I came to the river side, only now being in a dry country I could shunne at pleasure all their guards by goeing about, receiving always sufficient warning by the singing and clamouring they used where they were. The morning following I gott to the river side some two English miles before Burdeaux, taking up my quarters on the bottom of a steep hill overgrowne with small wood on purpose to overlooke all the conveniences how I might get privately in the evening tyme into the City, their to put my last project in practice. And when it was broad day light that I could see all about the situation of the towne and river I found myselfe in another mistake, wherby all my hopes were dashed with one blow as it were to peeces; for I was perswaded all this while that their was a bridge extant over the river into the City, over which I intended to have pased in the duske of the evening when no body would have taken notice of me, but now I was come neer the City I found no such thing, and counted myselfe to be in as great a strait as ever I was, for to desire passage over the water of any waterman I durst not venture, unlesse I would be carried by him directly into the hands of myne enemyes againe, neither had I any money to pay for my passage, and to be transported for charrity I could not expect from any in that country. I was now as neare if not neerer to despaire as the Israelites were at the Red Sea, being persecuted by innumerable enemyes that were round about, and sorely oppressed with hunger within, besides the pittifull condition of my feet. I gave over all hope of life, unlesse the Lord would work further mirracles for my deliverance as he had done formerly.

In this comfortlesse condition I kept my lodging upon the hill till night, then I went downe into the plaine which was all along the river side, to see whether I could get a peece of bread by begging in the darke (for I had beene now foure dayes without) thinking that no body would be ready to apprehend me if I fell not upon a guard. And as I came to a house, asking but in vaine for a peece of bread for God's sake, I perceived that they were making fire into a baking oven standing in an out house in the garden which together with the house was incompassed with a deepe moate round about. This same sight caused me to looke to the oven while the bread was bakeing, to that end I got into the next vineyard and made passage into the said garden with a bundle of sticks which lay in that vineyard, filling the moate with them being ready to my hand. Being by this meanes gott into the garden I watched with great longing till the bread was put into the oven, and when it had an hours baking I made bold to step to the oven, and tooke the iron shutter downe wherwith the mouth was stopped rearing it against the wall upon some cloggs of wood; then I reached forth a loafe with the bread shovill, but having got it to the mouth of the oven the iron shutter fell downe and made a very great noyse, which so frighted me that I let the shovill fall and run for my life. The man of the house came presently running towards the oven, but I was gone before he could see me, and so my designe to get bread came to nothing. Afterwards I walked about all the night, out of one vineyard into another on the water side, studdying how I might get over the water. At length my deliberations came to this result, that I intended to seek a boat some where on the river side, wherin I might endeavour to put myselfe over the river by stealth in the night tyme, though it semed very difficult to me, both for breadth of the river and for the luggish and unweildiness of the boates which were their abouts, for I could find no less then such as would carry at least three horses at one tyme, which could not be guided by one man and without a rudder too. Yet necessity compelling me to make use of such occasions as I could get, I was fully resolved to prosecute this conclusion, only as the tyde fell out I could not put it into practice before two or three dayes were past when I might have a flowing water about ten or eleven of the clock at night.

The maine question now in debate with me was how I should subsist so many dayes longer without bread, for having fasted already foure dayes I was now theirby, as also by former hardship, brought so low that to my thinking I could not be able to goe another day. But the determination of that query was so far above the reach of my reason that I could not contribute the least thought towards it. Theirfore I did cast myselfe wholly upon the Lord's providence and went against daybreake to my former lodging upon the hill againe, the lower ground next to the river not yeilding me as yet any convenient hiding place by reason of the watery ditches under the hedges. Their I sat and had a faire prospect which was very fitt to overlook the country, but not the end of my mesery. Because it was Sunday I beheld all the inhabitants merry and joviall below, while I was ready to faint for hunger and greife above. No earthly thing had place in my thoughts but bread, bread, great store of which was not far from me but to come by very hard for me. About tenn of the clock I saw both men and women to flock very thick to the Church which was neare an English mile from thence, the which sight gave me occasion to think that whilest the most part of men were at masse I might goe downe without any great danger, and try the charrity of the maids and women that were left at

home to looke to the houses, if perhaps they would take pittie on me and succour me with a peece of bread. And when I came downe I came from one house to another to beg for releife, useing all the arguments of perswation as ever any begger in the world did, yet could not stir the least compassion in any of them what pittifull expressions soever I made to them, but instead of an almes they bestowed so many heavy curses and ill wishes upon me. Whereat neverthelesse I was not daunted, but hunger helping me to beare all reproaches I continued to sollicite though to no purpose one house after another, till at the length I came at a house where no body was at home, but were all at the masse. Wherupon to try all manner of conclutions for my releife I made bold to climbe into the window, not fearing any neighbours because all the houses stood by themselves a great way asunder, and seing the chimney to have some live coales in it, I doubted not but the cubbard would also afford some bread. I broke open the window and went into the house streight way to the cubbard, not minding anything else in the house. Having opened the cubbard I found nothing else then a loafe of a peck of household bread one quarter wherof was eaten, I borrowed the rest, together with a pipkin full of fatt gathered both of boyled and roaste meate holding about a pinte. Having performed what I came in for I went out at the window againe, and being by that meanes provided by the spetiall providence of God and theirby enabled to subsist for some dayes till the tide would fall out later to carry on my designes to get over the water by night.

I went now to consider of a place where I might spend this prey in rest and safty, and knowing that all the sittuation theirabouts would not aford me a better accomodation then the presse house joynt to the same dwelling house where I borrowed the loafe, both being under one rooffe only distinguished by a partition wall in the midle, I went into the same, in hopes that the people of the house when they came home would not once suppose me to have tarried so neare the place wher I had comitted such a fact, but that they would rather perswade themselves that I was gon further to conceale my actions. This presse house was very full of lumber, and their was amongst the rest a great coupe or fat about nyne foot high and seaven foot wide. I liked this coupe so well that I made use of it for my lodging as long as I should stay on this side of the water, supposing that their I should lye in no bodys way to be discovered, because no body could get neither in nor out of the same without a ladder. But having first made provision how to get in and out by meanes of a long rope and longe notched peece of wood reared up within the tubb, went into the same and fell to feed upon such cheare as God had sent me, giving God praise both for this seasonable releife and for so necessary and convenient lodging prepared for me, for I esteemed myselfe now to want nothing having meate within the fatt with me, and their lay four hogsheads of small wine or burick (made with water wherwith the grapes are washed after they are pressed over againe) in a room which was instead of a seller under the dwelling house, but the dore of it came into the press house. Their as often as I was dry and nobody in the way I went to drinke my fill with a reed out of the bung-hole opened with an iron naile which I continually carryed about me.

I had not beene longe in the fatt before my landlord came home, who with all the rest of his household was much amazed at the honesty, yet at the boldness of the theife was offended, because he had offered to breake open nothing but the cubbard, and carryed away nothing but the bread, and the fat dripping. When he made his complaints to his neighbours of his ill fortune, they told him that I had been begging at their doores, and that I was not come back againe that wayes, but if he would finde me out he must goe forewards his house. Borrowing in the meane tyme another loafe he went to dinner with his family which consisted of two men besides himselfe and two women. After diner they went all up and downe to inquire whether I had bent my course. One of the men being wiser then the rest my foot prints were easily diserned from other folks who all both great and small made use of wooden shooes which having no high heeles make farre another print then other shooes doe, and doeing after this manner they found indeed I was come into the house, but that I was neither returned nor gon beyond the house, so they concluded that infallably I must be still in the presse-house hidden under the lumber that was theirin. They began theirfore to remove with great confidence all the lumber and empty caskes that was in the presse house, which was so tedious a worke that it kept them busy from two of clock till darke night, having not the least conjecture all this while of the great fatt wherin I lay fearing and trembleing, because they were sure that without a ladder I could not get out nor into the same. Thus having wearyed themselves with searching for me in vaine till evening they gave over searching, and I kept quiet possession of my tub till Wednesday in the morning.

I came forth somtymes for drinke and motion of my body, especially in the night tyme, but when the Lord intended to let me see another experiment of his power and love towards me, he let it come to passe that on Weddensday in the morning about day break I fell as I was in my sleepe into a violent coughing, caused by some humors falling into my throat, of which though it were for my life I was not able to refrain myselfe, so that those that were in the dwelling house came theirby to heare distinctly wher I was and had beene ever since Sunday noon; for the great tubb made such an eccho, that they presently called to me out of the window of the dwelling house that looked into the pressehouse congratulating and jearing me with my strangly conceited lodging. Theirupon the good man of the house sent immediatly his two men to guard the doore of the presshouse, and himselfe when it was breake of day went to advise with his neighbours how to send to their Justice of peace to give notice of my condition.

Now my hopes began again to faile, being falne into the hands of those who in regard of their owne wrong they had received from me would use their uttmost endeavours to look more narrowly to my coustody then ever any did before, yet considering how the Lord had owned me hithertoo with so many wonderfull deliverances I would not cast away all courage, what grounds of dispaire soever came into my way, but perswaded myselfe confidently that he would not have wrought so many wonderfull evasions heretofore if he intended to destroy me in the end. Theirfore I doubted not but that the Lord would finde some way to deliver me even from these present feares, though the manner how was hidden from mine eyes till noon. For then it came to passe that the watchmen which otherwise stood constantly at the doore of the press-house had their dinner brought them, for the eating of which they seated themselves on the ground some what to the left hand of the doore, so that I had liberty to creep out of the great fatt without their sight, and to passe by the doore without their sight into the roome where the foure hogsheads of beverick before mentioned were. Now having heretofore observed the structure of the house, and knowing their were a paire of stairs built after the Scotch fashion without the maine wall by which they went up into the dwelling roome, and that underneath the staires their was a concavity fitted for a hogstye into the which their was made a hole through the maine wall out of the roome where the drinke lay, I went whilst the watchmen minded their dinner to creepe through that hole, and being with much pains (because it was both little and high from the ground) gott through I laid close in the said hogstye till evening; not dareing to stir forth because of the watchmen standing at the presshouse which was hard by the front of the stairs, the doore of the hogsty being on the backe of the same. After

the watchmen had dined they went to their station againe in the press-house, fastening the doore, and sett themselves on jeering and mocking the theife in the tubb, not knowing the change of my quarters. Againe evening when it became dark they drew themselves to a place not far from the tubb. Their they made themselves merry with using all manner of idle talke to me as they thought in the tubb, desiring me to content my selfe with my lodging one night longer and I should be releived the next morning betymes. It being quite darke I went out of the hogstye, where I had lyen since one of the clock in great feare, because their went a foot path close by me on which much people used to walke, and could as they came along fully see me in the hogstye, which had no corner to hide me in but was only a square hole capable to receive one hogg. But by providence it began to raine very hard soon after I was got into it, and continued so till ten of the clock at night, by reason wherof they that went by had either their faces covered or were faine to look to their feet to keep themselves from slipping.

Then I made for the water side to looke for the boate that I had made choyse of on Saturday night before, and having found it I ventured about ten of the clock to goe over in it, giving myselfe to the streame which of itselfe carried me upwards being some two miles below Burdeaux, and with a strick wrought to make way to cross the River which their abouts was neare an English mile broad, and by these meanes I arived safely on the Chartrux in Burdeaux about twelve of the clock at night, discharging the boate after my arivall by comitting it to the care of the streame againe. Being landed I went to hide myselfe and take up my rest in the ruins of an house in the subbearbs on the other side of the towne. In the morning as soon as it was light I retourned to the Charterux to inquire for some Hambrough marchants, and having found two of them living in one house, I declared to them my straits that I was in, desiring them in charrity to assist and helpe me till I could get releife by letters of credit from my freinds. I durst not acquaint them with the grounds and circumstances of my mesery upon what account I had beene persecuted (for then they would have beene affraid to medle with me), only I told them that I was coming with other company from Rochell and I fell sick, wherby I was forced to stay behind for two or three dayes, and being recovered I came along with a guide, and being halfe the way betweene Rochell and Burdeaux I was set upon by three robbers who tooke all that I had from me, stripping me also of my cloaths. These gentlemen gave some credit to my complaint with much to doe, being neverthesse full of doubts whether or no I was not an imposture or vagabond run away from the Spanish or French army, yet could they not altogether withdraw their comiserations from my pittifull complaints, especially hearing of mine acquaintance with severall men of credit in Hambrough. Theirfore as the credit which they gave to my relation was mixed with doubts so they recomended me to a poore drinking house, where upon their word I had some poore entertainment mixed with sorrow. It was such as came short of that I had in the tub before I was discovered, only it served very narrowly to keepe body and soule together till I gott other releife. Very loathsom and musty bread, or livers, sheep and hoggs lights, were my best faire on flesh dayes. On fasting dayes (videl:) Frydayes and Saturdayes I was glad to be contented with sopps made of the said bread scalded with water and greased over with stinking oyle.

And with all this I should have beene contented and have counted myselfe happye might I but have enjoyed withall a kinde looke of my landlady once a weeke, but she was such an inveterate and malicious woman, desended as I thought of an infernall progenety, as that I never knew the like of her. Her humour was such that she would maunder all the weeke like a cursed dog, and if a straw crossed her the whole house trembled at her indignation, none, not the goodman of the house himselfe dareing to come into her presence till her fury was spent; and when she wanted other matter of scolding my poverty was the maine subject of her malice, because she perceived the recomendation of my freinds (the marchants that brought me thither) to proceed from a coole affection she respected me no better then a begger that is maintained for God's sake, upbraiding me dayly with the poore entertainment she gave me, and threatening oft to tourne me out of doores. So impetuous and formidable was the carriage of this Proserpina, and made me so tame and so aplicable that upon her command I served her for a scullion boy in all occations, waiting upon the ghests that came to drink their to carry their potts to the celler, and performing all manner of servile duties all the tyme of my being their. She made me tourne the spitt, the which preferment indeed was more agreable to my present habbit then my stomach, nor did the action itselfe so much greive me as the conceit to think I should not eat of the roast meat but take only the smell for my paines. In this practise I continued almost a moneth, keeping constantly within doores both for shame of my poore habbit and for feare of myne enimies, till I got releife by a bill of Exchange from my freinds. Then I changed my lodging, and put my selfe into another habbit againe.

I prepared for a journey to retourne by land to Roan, by the way of Paris. Now because I had beene so frighted with that nation I feared my journey would proove but uncomfortable to me if I should travaile without acquaintance, I made choyse of a younge man whom I had learned to know in my poore lodging but lately mentioned. This young man was borne and had his parents in Roan, but had beene for many yeares in the Low Countryes, by reason wherof he spoke good Dutch; he had beene lately taken by an English vessell and set on shoare near the River of Garrone. Having understood his desire to be at Rouen I promised to beare his charges if he would goe along with me; he was much pleased with this offer of mine only he desired to take the consent of some of his friends. Now this young man beyond my expectation had a kinsman in Bourdeaux who was a familiar friend and daly acquaintance of one that was among the number of my principall adversaries liveing in the City. Both the kinsman of my chosen companion and my adversary spoke very good English, for they had lived a long tyme in England, and when the said yonge man had asked his kinsman's advice about my proffers made to him, the kinsman was very inquisitive to know my name and my condition; then having obtained both and theirupon conferred with myne adversary, they came to finde that I was the man which was upon the stage eight weeks agoe (when I applyed myselfe to the Hambrough marchants their lay a great necessity upon me to keepe the same name by which I was persecuted, or else I could not have sent letters of credit in another name) then they went to contrive after what manner they might renew my troubles againe. Now what the reason was they did not areast me presently before I went from Burdeaux I know not, only besides the pertickular providence of God. I think it was either for feare that the English marchants living in Burdeaux with whom they had much dealings, would take notice of their mallice to the English nation, or else knowing that I intended to goe to Rochell they judged it more convenient that I should be accused and tryed where the other of my persecutors were, especially the first and cheife author of my mesery being of that number. They gave instruction to my comrade how he should betray me at Rochell to the said persecutors of mine which then would take further care of myne accusation.

In the meane tyme I was altogether ignorant of these new plotts, not having the least suspission of my comrade that he would have played the traytor with me till I came to Roan in Normandie. But the Lord who had saved me out

of all former troubles would anihilate even this device against me. For when on the 16th day of January I departed from Bourdeaux with my traytor, goeing by the water so farr as Blaye we lodged their that night, having another gentleman from Tours bound to goe the same way with or in our company. The next morning^[28] before we sett forth we met their accidentally with three horses and a guide which were to retourne to Poicters. This oppertunity happened very comodiously for our tourne, seing that I and the other gentleman might gaine a days journey in the shortness of the way to Paris, for that the gentleman from Tours and I made choice to goe by the way of Rochell was only for want of occation to goe the nearest way to Paris. Theirfore I and the said gentleman, being glad of such an ocasion to shorten our journey, compounded with the messenger from Rochell with whom we had contracted at Bourdeaux for our passage to Rochell, giving him halfe fright rather then to loose a dayes journey. My tretcherous companion, having laboured as much as he could to hinder our purpose to goe by the way of Poicters, was much discontented that by this meanes he lost all hopes of coming to Rochell their to discharge himselfe of his dutye he owed to his cousin, yet that he might not be wanting in any thing that he might reward me with an ill tourne for all my kindnesse to him all the way through France, he sent presently a letter from Blay to his cousin in Bourdeaux to give him notice that we were not like to come at Rochell, but that we were gone another way to Paris, desiring him to send further instructions how he should behave himselfe in the businesse to a certaine house in Paris, where he would call for it when he should come thither.

Thus we marched very lovingly to Paris, I having not the least jealousy of his perfidious dealings, I made him every way equall with me both for entertainment and accomodation, bearing all his charges and expences by the way coming to Paris. As soone^[29] as we were got into our lodging he went forth to looke for his directions, which were to be sent after him by the post by his kinsman above mentioned, and their he received my accusation subscribed both by my adversaryes at Rochell and of those that were of my examination at Bourdeaux, together with a letter of recommendation to a gentleman that was borne in Paris, who had a brother that kept an inne at Rouen, this gentleman was to take care of my examination and accusation according to the instructions he had received from Bourdeaux in writing and from my comrade in word of mouth. Theirfore the day following, as I and my Judas came to take horse at the messengers house, he tooke the paines to travaile with us from Paris to Roan their to execute his commission against me. Now by the way both he and those that were in our company whom he had acquainted with his designe began to put forth many merry conceits and perswations of my future troubles, yet continuing their jeasts that I could not aply any thing to my selfe openly, but only I entertained some suspition within myself not taking however any notice of their apish gesticulations, but carryed my selfe as though I had not perceived the meaning of them.

Being come to Roan this gentleman who was to mannage the businesse by letter of attorney perswaded me to take up my lodging in his brothers house, unto which, not to shew myselfe unwilling or any ways daunted, I willingly consented, still hoping that perhaps I might be deceived in my suspitions that I had collected out of their foolish mockeryes, for I could not imagine that my comrade unto whom I shewed so much love and freindshippe would have rewarded me with so perfideous dealings. Because it was darke night when we entered the citty, their could be nothing done that night, but the next morning betymes they went about their erand; being in the meane tyme perswaded that I knew not nor suspected any thing of their plott against me because I carryed myselfe with a merry countenance among them.

But the Lord, who heretofore had found out many wonderfull wayes for my deliverance, sent here also his angell to give me warning of the bloody devices they had contrived against me. For ther was a yonge man from Rochell who intended to travaile by land so far as Deepe, and had beene in our company ever since we came from Poicters. He taking to hart the cruell entertainment that was prepared for me, was mooved with compassion of my woefull misery that I was like to fall into. Very suddenly theirfore when oppertunity served, in the morning he tooke me into a private corner, and told me that I was to be examined in a rigorus way by the hangman the next day after uppon some artickles that my comrade had brought along with him from Bourdeaux, and that I might give the better heed to his words he made a circumstantiall relation to me of all what had passed at Bourdeaux with me, and what was lately mentioned concerning this new plott, adviseing me to absent myselfe if I loved my life and safety. Further said he, 'the reason that you are not yet areasted is, because your comrade told them that you are quite bare of moneys, and that you intend this day to take up some from your marchant; they will not lay hold of you till you have taken so much as you will that they may have the better booty, theirfore they let you goe freely whether you will, for they all think that you suspect nothing of their designe.'

Now I came to see the trueth of the suspition I conceived the day before upon the roade, but being acquainted with the greediness of my adversaryes, I made the use of it. When I had beene forth in the morning and taken up some money of my marchant, I returned againe to my tretcherous comrade, at my dinner tyme imparting to him that I had beene with my marchant to receive of him 500 livers, but he having not the money ready in the morning desired me to come about three or foure of the clock in the afternoon. This pollicy I used because I durst not venture to make an escape in the day tyme for feare of being watched by some body, but in the darke I thought I might goe any whether. The Lord blessed my endeavour accordingly, for this excuse of myne concerning the receiving the money was taken for a reall trueth, so that they suffered me to goe forth againe in the afternoon, not doubting my return, for to make all sure I bought in the forenoon a couple of books and some lining, and left them on the table in my chamber in the presence of my comrade with my pistolls and sword and other necessaryes in a little port-mantle.

Now when night drew on that it was a little duskish I bought another sword, a pockett pistoll, a paire of shooes, and a leather bagg the which I filled with bread. Having made this provision I crossed the river of Seine in a boate, I intending to goe on foot to Caen in Normandie, which was some 28 leagues from Roan, their to look for some English ship wherin I might be transported to England. For brevity sake I forbear to make any relation of the pertickulars of every day. Only because hue and cry followed me close where ever I came I durst not come neare any towne or house, but was constrained to keepe the open feild twelve dayes together, or for the most part in sollitary woods, dureing which tyme their was a most vehement frost, and the ground was all covered with snow wherby I was often dogged as a hart by his track. For eight dayes I could neither sit nor lye downe but where I was first faine to bestow halfe an houres worke to cleare the snow from the ground; and above all the rest the night after the fifth of February proved most pernicious to my feet, for the night and day before their was a great storme with snow and tempest, wherby the ground became so deeply covered with snow, that as I was marching the night after, every step I made I trode halfe and somtymes whole knee deep in the snow. By which meanes the snow melting upon my leggs and runing downe into my shooes, my stockins began to be frozen to my toes like as it were a cold stone before I was

awar of it; for whilst I was in motion I thought no snow could indanger me, how wet soever my feet were, but having lost all the feeling out of them, I did not presently pull of my stockings as soone as I came to sit still, and that while the frost gott such an advantage upon me that it would have cost me both my feet had I not bouried them after the sun was up in a heape of snow, wherby the frost was drawn out againe, yet the flesh about the great and little toe of my left foot being past recovering I was forced to have it cut of as soone as I had oppertunity of tyme and place.

During this progresse I had no other sustenance but what I brought out of Roan, and what afterwards I got with great hazard of my life. The provision that I carried out of Roan with me lasted three dayes, having fasted after that was spent two dayes, I ventured in the duske of the evening into a little towne called Bullie, their to buy some bread, thinking that no body would take notice of me at such a tyme in the evening. But as soone as I was gott into the towne, the townesmen being informed of my coming before hand by two travillers, which on horseback overtooke me a little before I gott to the towne, besett presently the two passages of the towne with a gaurd, while they went to consult how to lay hold on me in a more legall way. For the towne lyeing close to the river and backed with very steep and unaccessable hills had but two passages to come in and out, which being guarded though they let me goe about the towne, yet they counted me as sure in their hands as if they had had me in a safer coustody. Perceiving this, as soone as I came into the towne by the people staring and mocking me, I forgot my hunger, and could not looke for bread, but only meanes to get out of the towne againe. And it being now become quite darke I tourned up and downe in the towne till I gott out of the peoples sight, makeing towards the other passages which were a musket shott without the towne, their to try whether I could make some shift to steale by the guards (for I had beene formerly a little acquainted with the place as I travailed through it foure moneths before that tyme); but coming to the passage I found it altogether impossible to gett by, the place being so narrow and the guards so carefull, and while I was walking under the hills not farre from that passage their came two men with fowling peeces on their shouldiers from the guard upon me before I was awar of it, intending to goe home to supper and leave me to my selfe assuring themselves that I could not escape any whether. Then I went from one place to another making severall endeavours to get through, but I wearyed mysef in vaine, till about eleven of the clock at night I tooke a resolution to try whether I could try the hills (though they were such as that I beleive no body since the creation had made use of that way before me). Yet the Lord (to disapoint my enimies in their devices) carried me over the same, after I had beene climbing from one hill to another some three houres, and the hilt of my sword and my knife were the cheife meanes to get over these steep places, I could take no hold with them in the rubbish that lay upon the rocks while I crept upon my hands and knees upwards.

The Lord having thus wonderfully delivered me even out of the trap, after I had overcome the hills I lodged mysef in a wood hard by. For those hills had so exhausted me of all my strength that I was not able to march any whether that night, but I continued their that night and the next day. The night after I marched againe till I came in the morning before another market towne, where once I had marched through in the midst of the night being the third night after I came from Roan, but I was now come hither againe accidentally by a mistake caused by the cloudy weather (for having beene neer halfe the way to Caen, till I came to see the impossibility of getting through, espetially my feet being spoiled by the frost, I was now upon my back way to Roan to seek some English ship for my last refuge); and finding the conveniency of a small wood neare to the said towne to conceale mysef theirin all the day following I remained their with an intention to goe, like as I did two dayes before, in the duske of the evening into the said towne to buy some bread before any body would take notice of me, not fearing in the meane while any would be privy to my being their now.

Whether the two men that met me in the morning before day at the townes-end, or whether a boy that saw me by chance in the wood at noon had betrayed me I know not, but all the towne knew that I was in the wood, setting watchmen on the top of the hill, where they knew that I must needs come forth whensoever I left the wood unlesse I would goe through the towne (which they did not expect), while they sent for halfe a dozen of the Duke de Longevilles guard (which when I saw goe all in the Duke's livery having white crosses on their backs) on purpose to apprehend me in the wood, which might easily be affected, the wood being little and not very thick, runing up from the valley hard by the end of the towne to the top of the hill. Now before the guard came it was about sun-set, theirfore not to loose any more tyme many of the townes people great and small went with them to the top of the hill, their to begin to search for me and so continue downwards, for on the top of the hill were the thickest bushes, and their also was I discovered at noon by the boy; but being then frighted with the boy I was before evening crept downe into the valley under the banck side by the high way, and their I lay till I heard and saw the multitude with the guard to passe by me, then tarrying till they were all got to the top of the hill, and seing no body to hinder me from coming into the towne, I rose and went into the towne, buying some bread while no body was their to opose me, though all those that saw me cryed out upon me, saying 'this is the theife they seeke,' calling for those that were appointed to take me, and sending after them to the top of the hill, which required above a quarter of an houre to get up. Yet because others had undertaken the charge to apprehend me, no body would make it his proper duty to lay hands on me, especially seing me armed with a sword and pistoll. Being thus furnished with bread I went out againe as free as I came in, getting out of the other end of the towne, and having the aproaching night to friend me I stole away under the hedges before any of the said guard or catchpools could retourne from the hill and be ready to follow me.

After this wonderfull deliverance and releife I marched the same and the next night till I came before Roan againe. And being within an English mile of the towne I searched for a place to hide mysef among the bushes all the day longe till in the evening I might gett over the river, and goe into the towne, their to putt into practice my intentions before mentioned; but as I was thus busie their came by unawarrs two travillers going into the City a little before daybreake, these hearing a noyse among the oake bushes fell a running and cryed 'a theife,' 'a theife in the bushes,' all the way alonge. This accident struck me againe with such new frights that I durst not goe to the City the next evening, according to my former intentions, for feare their should be waite laid for me at my enterance into the City. So I deferred my enterance for three dayes longer, although I were sure to fast all the tyme, for my bread that I lately bought before I came so farr was neare spent. For the said reason I lay their from Saturday morning till Monday night^[30], and then I went in the name of the Lord into the towne, yet leaving my sword and cloake behinde me in the wood least they should betray me at the water side.

After I gott into the City my first care was to refresh my selfe with meate and drinke, and then I sought for a ship. The God of all comfort and Father of all mercyes, intending now to put a period to my longe continued afflictions, was pleased to prosper my endeavours, and to direct me to a man that was both faithfull and willing to

take care for my security, granting me the use of his ship for my transportation for the summe of fifty pounds sterling. Being got on ship board and come againe into warme lodgeing my feet began to be altogether uselesse to me, and full of raging paine, my frozen toes began now to rott, and were in great danger of loosing altogether, for I had hitherto no tyme for convenience to aply any thing to them, nor could I by what meanes soever recover the flesh that was cutt of the bones till the begining of May following. Because of the contrariety of windes and other impedements we were faine to lye in the River of Sceine till the 21th of March, then we set saile and came into the Downes on the 23^d of the same, the same day after I came to London againe.

Now the Lord had tourned my mourning into joy and gladnesse againe, in granting me the sight of that day wherof I had many hundred tymes dispaired of before. Great and unspeakable have beene the sufferings of my body, but farr greater and even beyond all expression have beene the sufferings of my minde. Had I had a thousand worlds in my possession I would freely have given them all for my liberty, and made choyce besides to live in the condition of the meanest beggar all the dayes of my life, if I might have beene freed from those horrid feares which at severall tymes suppressed my spirit with such a weight as if heaven and earth had laid upon my shouldiers. My burthen was so much the heavier the lesse hopes that I had ever to be eased of it, when I tasted and felt in the highest degree all the greife and anguish that poverty, nakednesse, hunger, frost, and the most tiranicall persecution that cruell enimyces could ever inflict upon any mortall body. I could looke for ease no where but from death it selfe, who would have beene my most welcome friend, so it had not beene accompanied with so cruell and exquisite torments as my enimyces threatened me withall.

But blessed and for ever blessed be the Lord, who doth great and marvellous things without number; who disappointeth the devices of the crafty, so that their hands cannot performe their enterprize; who delivereth the poore from him that is too stronge for him; he woundeth and he healeth again; he bringeth downe to the grave and raiseth up againe; he hath not suffered my foes to rejoyce over me, nor given me as a prey to their teeth; he hath beene my sanctuary, my refuge, and my stronge tower from the enimye; he hath saved me from the reproach of those that would have swallowed me up; he hath revived me in the midst of my troubles; he hath delivered my soule from death, myne eyes from teares, my feet from falling; he hath not dispised the affliction of the afflicted, neither hath he hidden his face from me, but when I cryed unto him he heard me; he hath given me my harts desire, and added a length to my dayes. To him only belongeth all praise and thanksgiving for evermore. Amen.

NOTES

P. 5, l. 20. Blaye is on the east side of the estuary of the Gironde. It had in 1876, according to Reclus, a population of 4,500 souls.

P. 15, l. 9. 'Graffe,' i.e. a ditch or moat. Richard Symonds describes Borstall house as defended by 'a pallazado without the graffe; a deepe graffe and wide, full of water.' *Diary*, p. 231.

P. 17, l. 4. Pullitor, apparently the same place as Pulliac mentioned on p. 40, i.e. Pauillac or Pauilhac, a 'chef-lieu de canton' in the department of the Gironde, on the west side of the estuary nearer the mouth than Blaye. It contained in 1876 a population of 4,150.

P. 31, l. 20. 'mandring,' i.e. maundering. Nares in his glossary defines maunder as meaning to mutter or grumble.

P. 53, l. 21. 'pootered beef,' i.e. salt or spiced beef, usually termed 'powdered beef.'

P. 54, l. 19. 'The Spanish fleet.' A Spanish fleet entered the mouth of the Gironde some weeks after the surrender of Bordeaux, and made several futile attempts to sail up to that city. It left the river about the end of October, 1653, having accomplished nothing. In Israell Bernhard's (or rather Hane's) letter to Thurloe from Rochelle, dated November 15, 1653, he writes: 'The river of Bourdeaux is wholly cleared of the Spanish fleet, as I did relate unto you in my last, dated the 8 of this month; only we live in jealousies and feares lest they should return again, to the great hindrance of all trading from these parts.' *Thurloe*, i. 578; Chéruel, *Ministère de Mazarin*, ii. 85.

P. 67, l. 13. 'fistling,' possibly whistling.

P. 70, l. 22. 'luggish.' This word is explained in Halliwell's glossary as an adjective meaning dull or heavy. The sense here seems to require 'luggishness,' i.e. sluggishness or heaviness. 'Lugge,' meaning slug or sluggard, is applied by Ascham in his *Toxophilus* to a bow which is 'slow of cast.'

P. 74, l. 18. 'burick,' compare p. 78, l. 1, 'beverick.' The word usually employed to describe this liquor is 'beverage,' which is defined in the *New English Dictionary* as: 'The liquor made by pouring water over the pressed grapes after the wine has been drawn off.'

P. 79, l. 19. 'strick.' This word probably means a flat piece of board. Nares in his glossary (ed. Halliwell and Wright) explains 'strickle' as meaning an instrument for levelling corn, &c. in the measuring, and gives the following examples:

'The *strickler* is a thing that goes along with the measure, which is a straight board with a staffe fixed in the side, to draw over corn in measuring, that it exceed not the height of the measure.'—*Randle Holme's Acad. of Armory*, p. 337.

'A *stritchill*: a *stricke*: a long and round peece of wood like a rolling pinne (with us it is flat), wherewith measures are made even.'—*Nomenclator*.

At a pinch such a bit of wood might serve as a paddle.

P. 79, l. 22. 'Chartrux.' The Quai des Chartrons?

P. 81, l. 19. 'progenety,' i.e. progenetrix.

P. 91, l. 18. 'bouried.' The reading of the MS. is 'bourned,' but the sense seemed to require the alteration made in the text.

P. 92, l. 5. 'Bullie,' probably Bully, a village in the department of Calvados, about eight or ten miles south of Caen.

P. 98, l. 13. The MS. reads: 'came into the Downes the 23d of the same, the same day after I came to London againe.'

The punctuation of the manuscript has been altered wherever the sense seemed to require it, and missing words occasionally supplied by the editor.

THE END.

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FOOTNOTES:

- [1] *Cal. State Papers Dom.* 1649-50, pp. 418, 541.
- [2] *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, pp. 2, 11, 28, 154, 157, 161.
- [3] Guizot, *Cromwell and the English Commonwealth*, i. 267.
- [4] *Report on the Duke of Portland's MSS.*, i. 641.
- [5] Guizot, *Cromwell and the English Commonwealth*, i. 212, 237.
- [6] Barrière to Condé, July 4, 1653.
- [7] *Thurloe Papers*, i. 320.
- [8] *Cal. State Papers Dom.* 1654, p. 160.
- [9] Chérueil, *La France sous le ministère de Mazarin*, i. 56; Cousin, *Madame de Longueville pendant la Fronde*, p. 464.
- [10] *King Charles his Case*, 1649.
- [11] *Thurloe*, ii. 657.
- [12] Barrière to Condé, Feb. 20, 1654.
- [13] Chérueil, *Histoire de France sous le Ministère de Mazarin*, ii. 381; Guizot, *Cromwell and the English Commonwealth*, ii. 427, 460, 470, 496.
- [14] Burnet, *Own Time*, i. 120, 133, ed. 1833.
- [15] The date of Stoupe's mission is not easy to fix. M. Chérueil first puts it in 1651, but on second thoughts assigns it to 1653 (*Ministère de Mazarin*, i. 63, ii. 81). A letter from Barrière, dated Feb. 20, 1654, seems to refer to the sending of Stoupe, and he was certainly at Paris early in that year.
- [16] Barrière to Condé, Dec. 25, 1654.
- [17] *Nicholas Papers*, ii. 14.
- [18] *The Interest of Princes and States*, 1680, p. 319.
- [19] Ludlow, *Memoirs*, i. 415, ed. 1894.
- [20] *Thurloe Papers*, i. 553, 578.
- [21] On these events see Chérueil, *Ministère de Mazarin*, i. 44-7. The royalist sentiment in the letter is assumed.
- [22] For these extracts I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. S. R. Gardiner, who has allowed me to use the transcripts of Barrière's correspondence with Condé, placed at his disposal by the Duc d'Aumale. The originals of the letters are preserved at Chantilly, and the copies quoted were made by M. Gustave Macon, the librarian and archivist of the Duc d'Aumale.
- [23] *Cal. State Papers Dom.* 1654, p. 160.
- [24] *Commons Journals*, vii. 343; *Cal. State Papers Dom.* 1653-4, p. 23. In the index to the Calendar Hane is confused with Col. James Heane, governor of Weymouth.
- [25] *Commons Journals*, vii. 524; Burton's *Parliamentary Diary*, ii. 61; *Cal. State Papers Dom.* 1654, pp. 220, 269.
- [26] *Thurloe*, vi. 525, 537, 547; vii. 306, 319, 328.
- [27] November 28.
- [28] Jan. 17.
- [29] Jan. 30.
- [30] Feb. 17.

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