

KING CHARLES I AND WINCHESTER COLLEGE.

By MARGARET TOYNBEE, F.S.A.

THERE could be no more striking illustration of the extremes of fortune experienced by King Charles I than that afforded by the two known occasions on which he came into contact with Winchester College. On the first of them his personal government was at its zenith : on the second he stood at bay, a prisoner in the Isle of Wight. These polar contrasts are vividly reflected in the attitude adopted towards the King by the College authorities in 1636 and 1648. Neither incident has been recorded in full detail before : it is the purpose of this paper to attempt to supply that omission.

We will consider first the story of 1636. As is well known, although the peripatetic habits of mediaeval Royalty had been modified by the 17th century in favour of a more stationary style of existence, movement between the numerous palaces in the neighbourhood of the capital was still common except in the depths of winter. Moreover, each year in full summer there took place a regular progress further afield, often extending over several weeks, during which the hospitality of his wealthier subjects was freely enjoyed by the sovereign. This annual progress was primarily regarded in the light of a holiday, and was much occupied with hunting, though affairs of state could not, of course, be completely laid aside, more especially during the period of conciliar rule : a meeting of the Council was usually held every Sunday. To these activities there was added from time to time another feature, which has become the predominant function of Royalty in the modern world, the visiting of institutions and the gracing of special celebrations, academic and other, with its presence. All these elements were prominent in the progress of 1636, which embraced a call at Winchester towards its close, and which, for reasons shortly to be explained, was of a character unusually varied, extensive, and prolonged.

While the progresses of Queen Elizabeth I and King James I have been the subject of exhaustive studies by John Nichols,¹ those of Charles I, unlike his later military marches, have received little attention. They have, therefore, to be pieced together from evidence of all descriptions, some of which, although contemporary, is by no means reliable. For instance, among the Conway Papers preserved with the State Papers in the Public Record Office,² is

1. *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, 3 vols. (1788-1821); *The Progresses, Processions and Magnificent Festivities of King James I*, 4 vols. (1828).

2. S.P. 16/329, f. 2. "Table of the King's progress, extending from this day when he left Theobalds for Royston, to the 21st of September, when he returned to Hampton Court."

a sheet endorsed "Gests 1636" which purports to give the King's itinerary, with the dates and number of nights spent in each place, from July 18th to September 21st. Such a table must always have been drawn up before a Royal progress, and Nichols prints several examples culled from various sources. Copies were often sent to important towns on the route. The plan outlined for 1636 seems to have been followed with only minor changes up till the end of August, when it suddenly diverges completely from the course of what in fact we know from other sources to have been Charles's movements. Thus the visit to Winchester does not figure in the "Gests." Again, the reports of the Venetian ambassador, Anzolo Correr, who, as is certain from his explicit statements, accompanied the Court, give a wildly misleading account of the region covered in the earlier weeks of the progress, if we are to believe that the names of the places supplied by him have been correctly rendered by A. B. Hinds, the editor of Volume XXIV of the *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*. From Anzolo Correr's topography one would imagine that the King, after a (wholly mythical) call at Oxford on August 6th (N.S.), was making a tour of Wiltshire, visiting Salisbury and Bradford-on-Avon, instead of, as was actually the case, a group of Midland counties. No wonder that Hinds more than once in his notes comments on the impossibility of making the King's moves as reported by Correr square with those detailed by English correspondents or the Florentine ambassador, Salvetti. One of our best sources is to be found in the letters despatched to Rome by the Papal agent, George Con, who arrived in England just as the progress was beginning.³ From these and from a variety of other letters and documents we are able to construct an accurate and fairly detailed picture of the movements of the King and Queen from the middle of July until the middle of September.

The length of the progress of 1636 was in great measure due to the fact that London suffered that year from a particularly severe outbreak of the ever-recurrent plague.⁴ For some weeks before the start of its summer travels, the Court had been in residence at Hampton Court, Oatlands, Bagshot, and finally Windsor. The continued unhealthiness of the immediate neighbourhood of the capital in August may have been one of the reasons which induced the King to change his plans for a return thither at the beginning of September and decide to go instead to Winchester, and on to Lyndhurst for further hunting in the New

3. For transcripts of these, see British Museum Add. MS. 15,389, and Public Record Office 31,9/124.

4. Charles Louis, Elector Palatine, writing to his mother, the Queen of Bohemia, from Theobalds on June, 23rd, 1636, says: "The plague increaseth yet at London, and the town is very void of company" (*Bromley Letters*, p. 74). On July 28th Salvetti, the Florentine ambassador, speaks of "la cattiva influenza del Contagio di Londra" (British Museum Add. MS. 27,962 G. Salvetti Correspondence, Vol. VII, 1633-6, f. 337).

Forest, but we do not know how far ahead this alteration was made. By a curious coincidence, exactly the same thing happened in September 1603, when the plans of James I and Anne of Denmark were disarranged, partly by the plague and partly by public business, which necessitated another unscheduled visit to Winchester. Correr, writing from Oxford on September 5th (N.S.)—one wonders if this should not be September 8th—reports: "His Majesty has arrived again here with the intention of staying some time, both because the air is good and the plague has not yet made itself felt. . . . He will pass from here to the place which will be considered best for health."⁵ On September 12th (N.S.) he writes: "The king went last week to Oxford with the intention of proceeding thence to Windsor or some other place nearer the city, but on hearing that the plague is making considerable progress not only there but in all the villages and other places around, he decided to resume his turn at a considerable distance still."⁶ It is, however, difficult to believe that this was such a last-minute decision. If Correr is to be trusted, the progress had been dogged by the plague, at least one hasty removal being made in consequence.

A visit to Winchester College in the autumn of 1636 was in any case eminently appropriate, for the year had been remarkable for a series of Royal acts of patronage to learning—the grant of the Great Charter to the University of Oxford in March, the conferment upon it of the Laudian Statutes in June, and the state reception there by the city and university of Charles and Henrietta in August. Moreover, the King may well have welcomed the deflection of his progress on account of the presence in England of his two eldest nephews, Charles Louis, the Elector Palatine, and his brother Prince Rupert. It is not improbable that the earlier covering of a wide range of country in the east and west Midlands had been partly designed with a view to giving these boys an opportunity of seeing as much as possible of their uncle's kingdom, to which end the Hampshire excursion would still further contribute.

On Monday, July 18th, the date specified in the "Gests" for the King's departure from Theobalds to Royston, Charles held a Council at Windsor.⁷ On the 19th he was due for two nights at Kimbolton in Huntingdonshire, the seat of Henry Montagu, first Earl of Manchester, *en route* for a five days' visit (July 21st-26th) to Apethorpe. This splendid Northamptonshire house, belonging to Mildmay Fane, second Earl of Westmorland, was a favourite stopping-place on Royal progresses and had been much frequented

5. *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, Vol. XXIV, 1633-6, p. 61.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

7. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1636-7, p. 66. On July 13th/23rd Charles Louis reports: "The King hath changed his resolution of going to Theobalds, because the plague is thereabouts, but Monday next he goeth to Bagshot, and from hence beginneth his progress" (*Bromley Letters*, p. 76).

by James I whose statue was erected there.⁸ It was while staying at Apethorpe in 1631 that Charles I had sent over to Little Gidding for the loan of one of the Scripture Concordances and had thus inaugurated his fruitful association with the Ferrar family. The King and Queen were established at Apethorpe in 1636 by Saturday, July 23rd, for on that day Con, having arrived at Windsor too late to find them, caught up on the progress by travelling post to Tansor, a village a few miles south-east of Apethorpe, the manor of which belonged to Lord Westmorland.⁹ He was rewarded for his pains by a gracious reception from Charles and Henrietta on Sunday, the 24th. On Monday, the 25th, the King and Queen temporarily separated, Charles and his nephews embarking on a series of hunting expeditions, while Henrietta and her ladies (followed by Con) betook themselves for a quiet month to Holdenby House.¹⁰

The route followed by the King comprehended visits to Grimsthorpe in Lincolnshire (the seat of Robert Bertie, first Earl of Lindsey), Belvoir, Newark, Rufford (where the entertainment afforded by Sir William Savile was particularly appreciated),¹¹ Nottingham, Derby, Tutbury, Tamworth, and Warwick. According to the "Gests," Charles was not due to arrive at Warwick Castle until Monday, August 22nd, but a proclamation signed by him from there on Saturday, the 20th, shews that his timetable had been pushed forward.¹² The next move, to Hanwell in Oxfordshire, would accordingly have been made on the 22nd, and it must have been here, as fellow-guest of Sir William Cope, the second baronet, that Henrietta rejoined her husband.

From Hanwell the immediate Royal objective was Woodstock, but on the way the King and Queen deviated slightly from their course in order to fulfil the first public engagement of the progress when, on Tuesday, the 23rd, they honoured Thomas Bushell with a visit to his waterworks at Enstone, and Henrietta, in truly modern fashion, gave permission for a rock to be called by her name.¹³ This call had certainly been planned well beforehand: one of the effusions offered on the occasion tells

"Of the Joy there hath beene
Since the King and the Queene
Daigne to say
They would pay
A visit to this cell."

8. James stayed there in 1603, 1605, 1612, 1614, 1616, 1617, and 1619. He gave timber for building part of the house.

9. P.R.O. 31, 9/124, ff. 12-14. Con calls Tansor "Tansworth."

10. *Ibid.*, f. 14.

11. *Clarendon State Papers*, Vol. I, p. 609. Secretary Coke to Secretary Windebanke, Rufford, August 3rd, 1636: "His Majesty, God be thanked! is in very good health; so is the Prince Elector, his brother, and all the Lords: and here we are most nobly entertained by Sir William Saville."

12. *A Bibliography of Royal Proclamations* . . . 1485 - 1714, ed. R. R. Steele, Vol. I (1910), p. 208.

13. *The Severall Speeches and Songs, at the presentment of Mr. Bushells Rock to the Queenes Most Excellent Majesty*. Aug. 23: 1636.

At Woodstock the Royal party remained until Monday, the 29th, Charles combining business with pleasure by holding a meeting of the Foreign Committee while there.¹⁴

The memorable stay at Oxford under the aegis of Archbishop Laud from August 29th to 31st has been well described as "at once the crowning mark of royal favour to the University and the climax of a Chancellorship of unprecedented activity."¹⁵ Its details have been preserved for us in three contemporary accounts and are familiar to all students of the period. It is not, however, the elaborate plays or the Archbishop's lavish feasts which leave the most lasting impression upon the reader, but rather Charles's appreciative visit to the Bodleian Library, the note of which was set by his unassuming manner of approach. "The King accompanied with th' archbishop came on foote from Christ Church through Cat Street into y^e Divinity Schooles."¹⁶

After Oxford, Winchester. Here, alas, by comparison, documentation is scanty. No description of the visit has been preserved, and the only unofficial reference to it is contained in the *Diary* of Thomas Crosfield of the Queen's College. Although Charles and Henrietta had been subjected by the University to a programme as gruelling as any endured by present-day Royalties, the demands of the progress necessitated an early start from Christ Church on the morning of the 31st. "The day following being Wednesday," writes Crosfield, "y^e King and Queene departed about 9 a clocke and went to Winchester, y^e Queene to Henley that night. . . . Then Dr. Jackson and Mr. Provost being to wait that moneth went to Winchester after y^e King."¹⁷ From this statement one might conceivably suppose that Henrietta, after breaking her journey at Henley, proceeded by a roundabout route to join her husband again at Winchester. This, however, was not the case. While the Queen, who was expecting her sixth child in March, adhered to the original scheme of the "Gests" for August 31st—"Wensday to Henley"—preparatory to taking up residence at Oatlands, the King and at least his elder nephew made the southern tour by themselves. Presumably their journey to Winchester was taken direct, by way of the Berkshire Downs and Newbury, and most likely in one day. But no evidence exists on this point, nor on the more interesting one as to where in Winchester or its neighbourhood the Royal party was lodged. Of one thing we may be pretty certain, namely that it cannot have been at the Deanery: otherwise it would be impossible to account for the absence of any

14. *Clarendon State Papers*, Vol. I, p. 634.

15. A. J. Taylor in *Oxoniensia*, Vol. I (1936), p. 151.

16. *Diary of Thomas Crosfield*, ed. F. S. Boas (1935), p. 92.

17. *Ibid.*

allusion to the visit in the *Diary* of that loyal churchman Dean Young.¹⁸

Our evidence for the visit of 1636 is derived from three sources. The first of these is the MS. Payments out of the Coffe, 1628-1661, belonging to the Corporation of Winchester, the relevant entries from which have been most kindly communicated to me by Mrs. Carpenter Turner, Honorary Archivist to the City. Under date September 9th, 1636, occur these items :—

"Taken out thirteen pounds thirteen Shelings and 4^d and delivered to Mr. Mayor towards the King's officers."

"Taken out of the coffe to deliver to John Baggs for carying of packetts at the King's beinge in the country the sum of ten shillings."

Again, on April 26th, 1637, we read :—

"Taken out of the coffe for payment of the King's servants, £33. 10s. 0d."

A fourth entry, dated September 25th, 1637, runs :—

"Taken from out of the coffe £3. 5s. 0d. which was delivered to Mr. Mayor for the King's officers at his Majesties being here."

Mrs. Carpenter Turner's conclusion is that all four entries may refer to the Royal visit of 1636, since it was quite usual to make payments on account by instalments for expenses incurred by town officials. At the same time, since Charles was again at Lyndhurst in August 1637,¹⁹ the possibility that the final disbursement relates to this latter occasion cannot, in my opinion, be overlooked.

The second source for our knowledge of the Royal visit of 1636 is the Bursars' Accounts, 1624 - 1644, of Winchester College. The following payments occur under the heading *custus capellae et librariae* for the fourth quarter of the year which ran from September 18th, 1635, to September 16th, 1636 :—

3s. "pro emundando [sic] templo in adventum regis."

1s. 4d. to an individual called "Mun" "pro ligandis libris Domino Regi et principi Palatino datis."

5s. "eidem pro byssino tegmine ad librum principis."

2s. 6d. "eidem pro ligamentis ad libros predictos."

Under the heading *custus necessariorum cum donis* for the same quarter, the following payment is entered :—

"item dat. buccinatoribus regijs ex gratia, 10s."²⁰

18. The two windows on either side of the south window in the Long Gallery at the Deanery, one a panel of the arms of King Charles I, the other those of Queen Henrietta Maria (this panel includes the initials C.M.) are not considered to present any evidence for a Royal stay at the Deanery (see J. D. Le Couteur, *Ancient Glass in Winchester* (1920), pp. 55-6, and Plate XIX). In this connexion reference may be made to the wooden crossing vault of Winchester Cathedral, the central device of which, a shield bearing a cross, is encircled by an inscription which yields the chronogram 1635. Surrounding bosses bear the initials C.R. and C.M.R., while the most striking of all displays the portraits of Charles and Henrietta Maria in a round medallion, also encircled by an inscription (see C. J. P. Cave, *The Roof Bosses of Winchester Cathedral* (1935), pp. 21-22 and Plates 43 and 46).

19. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1637, pp. 374, 379, and 387; *Royal Proclamations*, p. 211.

20. See *The Wykehamist*, No. 506, July 30th, 1912, where these extracts are printed in a letter from "H.C." Mr. John Harvey, Consultant Architect and Archivist to Winchester College, has most kindly checked for me these extracts with the original entries and made some corrections. I am deeply indebted to Mr. Harvey for the generous and invaluable help which he has given me over many points in this paper: acknowledgment is made *seriatim*.

As we learn from these extracts, both the King and the Prince Palatine received gifts of books from the College. The absence of any reference to an offering for the sixteen-year-old Prince Rupert makes one wonder whether he did not, as one would have expected, go to Winchester. Perhaps he received some gift other than a book, such as the pair of gloves bestowed upon him at Oxford, where he had figured quite prominently. Charles Louis presumably took his present back with him to The Hague when he left England : in all probability it ultimately found a place in the castle library at Heidelberg. The King's book happily still survives and constitutes the third and most important piece of evidence for his visit.

Among the Royal MSS.²¹ belonging to the British Museum is a small volume measuring $8\frac{3}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches and consisting of thirty-eight pages numbered 1 to 19, entitled "*Musae Tripudiantes in Optatissimo Aduentu Illustrissimi Regis Caroli Ad Wintoniam.*" Unfortunately, it has lost its original binding, the cover being stamped "G.R. II 1757." This beautifully-executed little book is made up of a number of Latin, and a few Greek, poems composed by Winchester scholars—*Musae Wicchamiae*—in honour of King Charles, prefaced by a prose Latin prologue. The collection includes an acrostic, four anagrams, and three chronograms, these last revealing in each case the year 1636. No precise date for the King's visit to the College is stated (Thursday, September 1st, would seem to be the most likely day), but one poem is headed "*Quod in Augusto mense Rex advenit*" (f. 10) and two others are entitled respectively "*Quod in Autumno advenit*" (f. 10) and "*Quod in Autumnali tempore venit*" (f. 14), while there are various references to the bounty bestowed by Autumn in bringing the King. Another topical allusion is to be found in the references to the absence of the Queen. A whole poem (f. 7v) is devoted to the subject, while the lines (somewhat premature under the circumstances) "*Cynthia nostra parit*" and "*Nostra Maria parit,*" proclaim its cause in no uncertain terms. Nor does the visit to Oxford go unremembered : "*Post Academicorū plausus,*" pleads the prologue, may the boys of Winchester also be allowed to kiss the feet of Majesty.

In the note of fulsome flattery which it strikes throughout, "*Musae Tripudiantes*" is a typical product of its period. At moments indeed the sentiments of extravagant loyalty which it is designed to express are couched in language verging on the blasphemous, as when Charles is addressed as "*Magne Deus*" or invoked "*Aestatem praetes, quae sine fine manet.*" Many complimentary allusions to the Fleet and England's mastery of the seas are cunningly worked into the poems. None the less there is a

redeeming grace and freshness about these schoolboy effusions—particularly charming is the repetitive device employed in “Echo in Adventu Regis” (f. 4v)—while the concluding touch with its plea for more holidays and its prayer for the King’s return (f. 19v)—“Vt tua rura iterumq3, iterumq3, iterumq3 revisens, Progressus facias huc sin fine Tuos”—is wholly natural. Indeed, as one lays down the little book, it is not the rarified atmosphere of the sixteen-thirties which strains belief; what seems incredible is that on Charles’s final revisitation of Winchester twelve years later, he should have been a captive on the way to trial and a violent death.

By Saturday, September 3rd, the King had reached Lyndhurst, as we know from a letter written by him to Wentworth on that day.²² In his communication of September 12th (N.S.) from Southampton, the Venetian ambassador, whose topography at last begins to make sense, says that Charles had arrived there the day before yesterday (i.e., September 2nd, O.S.). Correr goes on to relate an adventure of Charles in the hunting field which exhibits him in rather an unexpected light and which helps to explain how it was that this fastidious connoisseur proved so stout a campaigner. “Yesterday when out on his usual pleasures of the chase he came near losing his life. He was following a stag at full speed when he unexpectedly came upon a deep bog, which was disguised by being covered with fresh grass. He plunged so deeply into this that his horse was completely submerged, while only his head and the top of his shoulders remained above ground. He was in danger of being swallowed up also, if those at hand had not rescued him by their agility and at the risk of their lives. The horse remained dead on the spot, but the king, undismayed, as if no accident had occurred, changed his clothes with the first person he met, at once mounted another horse and decided to continue the chase.”²³

It is disappointing that no allusion to the Winchester visit is made by Correr, nor by Lord Newburgh in a letter written to Lord Middlesex on September 5th in which he alludes to the King being in the New Forest.²⁴ Charles Louis is also silent on the subject in two letters despatched to his mother, the one from Lyndhurst on the 8th,²⁵ the other from Oatlands on the 11th²⁶ after the finish of the progress the previous day. Both Newburgh and the Prince refer to the entertainment at Oxford.

22. *The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Despatches*, ed. W. Knowler, Vol. II (1739), p. 32.

23. *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, Vol. XXIV, 1633-6, p. 64.

24. Sackville MSS., Series II, bundle 5. I have been allowed to consult this letter by kind permission of Mr. R. L. Atkinson of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

25. *Bromley Letters*, pp. 80-1. In this letter Charles Louis asks his mother “to pardon my negligence of writing during this progress, which was caused by a perpetual hunting and changing of lodgings.”

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 82-4.

We must now pass to the incident of 1648. Only a slender link connects it with the episode of 1636. During the Civil War Warden Harris had sent Jones, the auditor, to the King at Oxford to solicit his protection for the College.²⁷ Among the muniments²⁸ there is preserved a letter from Charles I supporting William Miles a scholar of Winchester, for admission to New College, Oxford. The letter is inscribed on a double sheet of water-marked paper, each leaf measuring $11\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{3}{8}$ inches. This has been further folded for despatch and is addressed on the outer (back) leaf of the opened letter :—

“To Our trusty & welbeloved/ye Wardens of Newe Colledge in/Oxon, & of St Mary Colledge/neere Winchester, & to the rest/ of those Societies whome it/shall or may concern.”

There is a papered seal.²⁹ The recto of the first leaf of the opened letter is headed by the autograph signature “Charles R.” and the following communication in the hand of Sir Edward Walker³⁰. (Plate I) is set out below :—

“Trusty & Welbeloved Wee greete you well : Whereas William Myles/naw a Scholar of S^t Mary Colledge neere Winchester hath (as Wee/are informed) made good Progresse in his studies, & is capable of a place in S^t Mary Colledge of Winchester in Oxford Wee are gratusly pleased to afford him these Our Reco^mendatory Letters, praying you/that when a place shall fall voyd in that Colledge to choose & elect him/Fellow thereof So reco^mending him to your care Wee bid you farewell/from our Court at Newport in y^e Isle of Wight this 18th of No-/vember 1648/.”³¹

The place³² and the date speak for themselves. The negotiations between the captive King and a body of Parliamentary commissioners, known as the Treaty of Newport, were drawing to a close. In ten days time the commissioners would leave the Island : in twelve Charles would be seized by the Army and carried off to rigid confinement at Hurst Castle. The day on which the letter about Miles was written, Nicholas Oudart who, together with Walker, (Sir) Philip Warwick, and Charles Whitaker, were acting as secretaries to the King, entered in his Journal of the Treaty : “Saturday, 18 Novemb. 1648. Before Noone, no Meeting. In

27. T. F. Kirby, *Annals of Winchester College* (1892), p. 332. Kirby wrongly describes Jones as the steward. Mr. Harvey informs me that the steward of the College manors from 1639 to 1651 was Edward Harris of the Inner Temple, a nephew of Warden Harris, and that Jones was the auditor.

28. Domus II. A. 3.

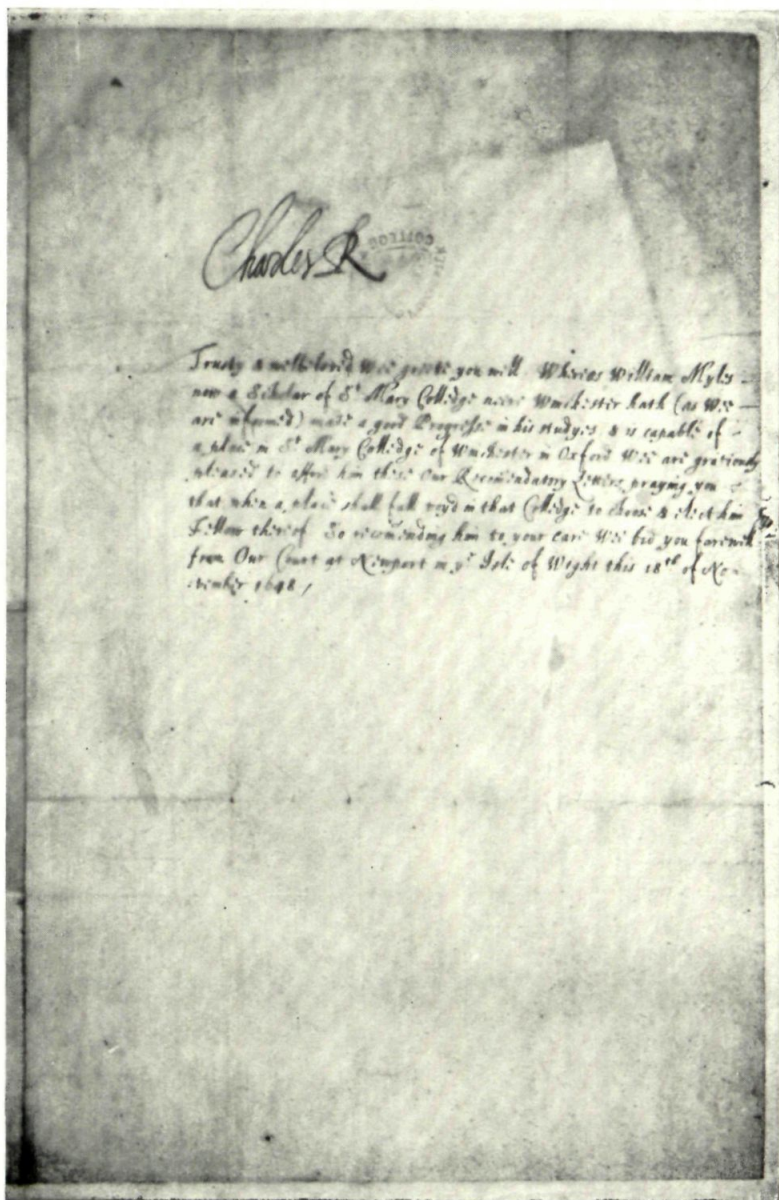
29. I owe this information to the kindness of Mr. Harvey.

30. Comparison of the writing with that of Walker's copies of the Newport documents (Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS. A. 114) establishes this conclusively.

31. By kind permission of the Warden and Fellows of Winchester College I have been allowed to have the letter photographed and to reproduce it here. It has been exhibited several times, e.g., at the exhibition of Books, Charters and Manuscripts held at Winchester Guildhall from July 4th to 14th, 1951 (No. 77), and at the National Book League exhibition “The English at School” (1949, No. 387).

32. By permission of the Warden and Fellows I am permitted to reproduce (Plate II) a bird's-eye view of Newport (c. 1600) which is among the Winchester College muniments (Cabinet 7, dr. 4, no. 8). Ink drawing over pencil sketch on vellum, shewing the manor house and watermill of St. Cross on the right, and the parish church in the left background.

PLATE I



Letter from Charles I supporting William Miles for admission to
 New College, Oxford.

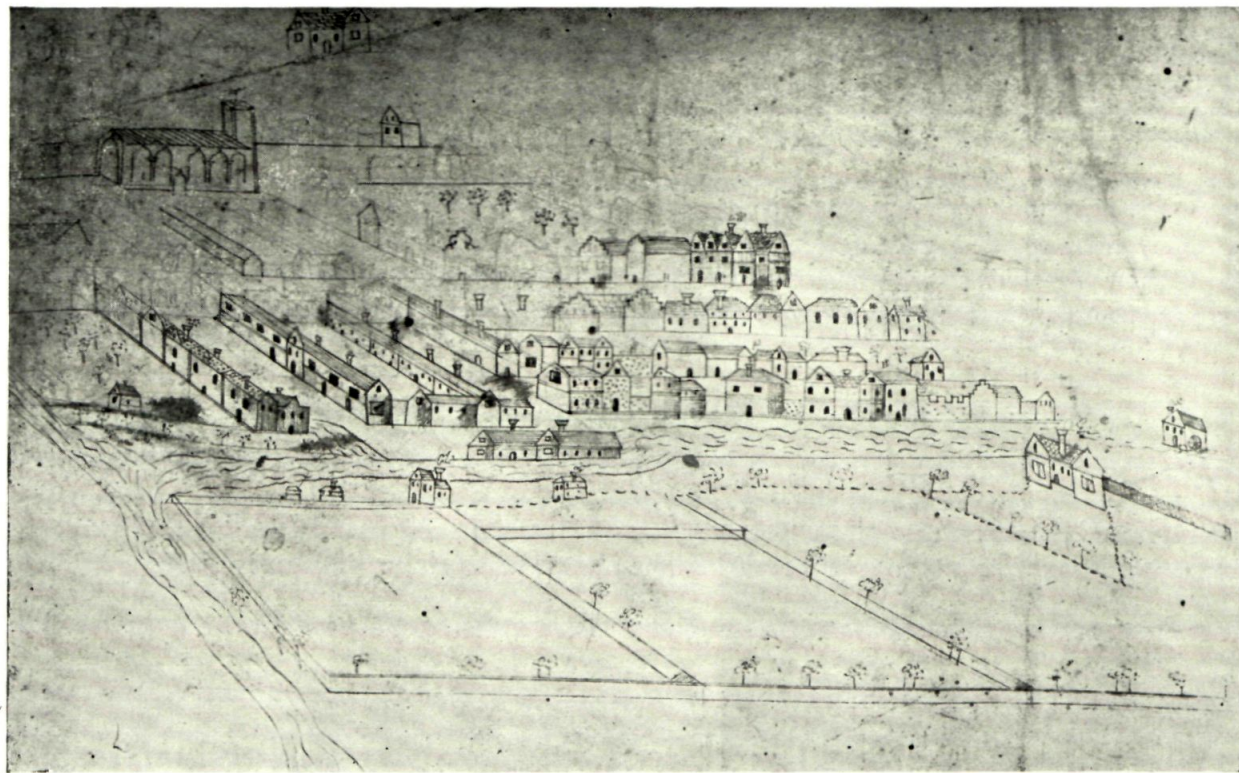


PLATE II

Bird's eye view of Newport, Isle of Wight, c. 1600.

the Evening His Majestie gave in his Answer, to the Church.”³³ It is remarkable in the extreme that at such a critical juncture, with so many weighty matters to occupy his attention, Charles should have spared time and thought for the affairs of a schoolboy. This generous action is, however, typical of the King, whose consideration for others in the years of his adversity won him, among other qualities, the passionate devotion of the most diverse kinds of people.

It is tantalising that we do not know how young Miles was brought to the notice of Charles and so gained his interest. The fact, however, that the boy came from Fareham suggests that he may have been spoken for by Thomas Wriothesley, fourth Earl of Southampton, one of Charles’s closest advisers, who was among those of the King’s friends permitted to attend him at Newport. Southampton’s house, Titchfield Abbey, is only two miles from Fareham, and he may well have been acquainted with Miles’s family.

William Miles was the second son of John Miles, vicar of Fareham from 1627 to 1641. It is probable that John Miles is to be identified with the individual of that name who matriculated from Oriel College, Oxford, on October 27th, 1615, aged fifteen, being described as “Oxon, pleb. fil.,” and who was licensed for the degree of M.A. in 1619 and incorporated at Cambridge in 1623. Miles was appointed vicar of Fareham some time before the death of Bishop Lancelot Andrewes on September 25th, 1626. An impress of his fine seal exists at Fareham (Plate III.). It is uncertain whether he died at Fareham as there is a gap in the burial registers from 1638 to 1657.³⁴

The Fareham registers record the baptisms of seven children of John Miles, four sons and three daughters, of whom only the two elder sons, Emanuel and William himself, and the youngest son, Edward, concern us. The relevant entries are :—

“ 1629 April 12th Emmanuell, filius Johannis Miles, Vic. Nat. 8th April 1629.”

“ 1630 May 23rd William filius M^r John Miles, Vic. Nat. 17th May, 1630.”

“ 1635 October 25 Edward filius John Miles, Vic. Nat. 15.”³⁵

Emanuel Miles may have owed his name to Emanuel Badd (died 1632), who lived at Fareham and was high sheriff of Hampshire in 1627. Possibly he was the boy’s godfather. The Election Indentures preserved among the Winchester College muniments inform us that at the Election of 1640 (August 19th—24th) “ Emanuel Miles de Fareham in Com. Southt. annorum 10 ad

33. Francis Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, Vol. II, Book II, p. 22.

34. I am greatly indebted to Mr. George L. Privett for information about John Miles. Mr. Privett has most kindly had the impression of Miles’s seal photographed for me and has given me permission to reproduce it.

35. All these entries have been copied for me by the kindness of Mr. Privett.

Festum Michaelis preteritum Winton” (diocese) was placed eighteenth out of twenty-seven on the Roll “ad Winton.”³⁶ The Register of Scholars shews that he was admitted to the College on August 21st, 1641 (*i.e.*, at the very last moment before the ensuing election). At the Election of 1647 (August 28th to September 2nd) Emanuel was placed seventeenth out of twenty-one on the Roll “ad Oxon.”³⁷ The 1648 Election (September 26th—30th) contains an additional Roll of “Acta in Camera Electionis . . . 30 die Septembris Anno Domini 1648,” which notes that the number of seventy scholars had already been diminished by the leaving of eight, of whom the fifth is named as Emanuel Miles : eight candidates were forthwith elected to their vacancies. On the Roll “ad Oxon” Emanuel Miles appears as placed eleventh out of twenty.³⁸ He never got to Oxford, but we shall hear of him again.

Turning to William Miles, we find that at the Election of 1641 (August 21st—27th) : “Gulielmus Miles de Fareham in Com. Southt. annorum 9 [*sic*] ad Festum Michaelis preteritum” was placed nineteenth out of twenty-five on the Roll “ad Winton.”³⁹ At the 1642 Election (July 30th—August 4th), his age again being given as a year too young, William was placed only twenty-third out of twenty-five on the Roll “ad Winton.”⁴⁰ Nevertheless, he was admitted to the College just over a year later, on September 5th, 1643. At the Election of September 1648, his age correctly given as seventeen at the previous Michaelmas, William Miles was placed sixteenth out of twenty on the Roll “ad Oxon.”⁴¹ This was the situation when, two months later, Charles I recommended Miles for admission to New College “when a place shall fall voyd.”

Although no “constitutional” right was involved in the practice, a minor Royal prerogative permitted the sovereign to make nominations to a place on the Roll of both Colleges. Charles II employed this prerogative very widely as a means of assisting sons of sufferers in the Royal cause. The attempt was apparently made to give the King’s nomination priority over the turns of the Electors. Indeed, on November 14th, 1673, the King addressed a letter⁴² to the Wardens of New College and Winchester College in which he went so far as to claim that at the annual election “ad Winton” “it hath bin the constant custome time out of mind that the first place be bestowed uppon such person as the King shall write for, or recommend, the second upon one recommended or written for by the Bishop of Winchester, and then such to be chosen as the forsaid Electors shall every one in his order thinke fit to nominate :

36. Chest 2, No. 142. 1640-9. This and the subsequent extracts from the Election Indentures have been copied for me by the kindness of Mr. Harvey.

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.*

42. New College, Registrum Protocolorum, f. 252. I am much indebted to Mr. R. L. Rickard of New College Library for drawing my attention to this letter and for most kindly supplying me with a transcript.

And this methode hath alwayes bin observed without anye interruption untill the three yeares last past wherein (as wee are given to understand) the Electors have postponed both our Nominacion and the Bishops to their owne. Wee are not willing to entertaine a conceite that this praeposterous way of proceeding hath bin introduced with any sinister intention ; yet wee cannot but be sensible of the disrespect you have thereby shewed as well to Our Self as to your Bishop who is your Visitor, and successor to your Founder. Wee do therefore require that you presume no longer to practice the sayd innovacion”

No other instance is known of Charles I having intervened in this way : apart from one or two healings of the King's Evil, this must have been the last occasion on which he exercised any sort of Royal prerogative. It should be noted that his support of Miles was unusual, since his letter is a definite recommendation to admission, not a nomination to the Roll. Nevertheless, the case is not unique : it can be paralleled by one in the reign of the King's father.

On August 1st, 1608, James I wrote a letter⁴³ to the Wardens of New College and Winchester College on behalf of John South, a scholar of Winchester “both in his degree and sufficiency ready and fitt for preferment to Oxford,” but “an orphan utterly destitute of freinds.” Pointing out “that it is agreeable to the intent and meaning of all such foundations to releive first those that have most need being otherwise qualified,” the King proceeded to require the authorities “that at this next election you will have due consideration of him and according to his worth and merett elect him to Oxford.” Reference to the Winchester copy of the Election Indenture for 1606 shews that “Johēs Southe de Basingstoke Com. Southt. 17 Ann. Fm. Mich. p'terit.” was tenth out of seventeen elected to the Roll “ad Oxon.” In 1607 he was placed seventh out of twenty-one, but in this Roll, quite exceptionally, the order seems to be not that of “place,” ten of those elected, in quite random order, being numbered in the margin, presumably to indicate their admission to New College, and South was not among these.⁴⁴ The Winchester copy of the Election Indenture for 1608 is missing and South's name does not appear on the New College copy. On August 17th, 1608, sixteen days after King James had written his letter of recommendation, South was admitted to New College in place of John Urry (Urry or Urrie) who had been presented to a College living on the previous May 13th⁴⁵ : the time which elapsed between the presentation and installation of an

43. I have been allowed to consult a photograph in the possession of New College.

44. Information kindly supplied by Mr. Harvey from Winchester College muniments Election Indentures 1600-19. Chest 2, No. 139.

45. Information kindly supplied by Mr. Rickard.

incumbent varied very considerably. It would therefore appear that South must have been assured of a fellowship at New College nearly three months before the Royal intervention in his favour and that this cannot have had much to do with the speeding up of his admission. Nevertheless, the fact that the King wrote for him does suggest some anxiety on South's part, at least over the delay, and it is quite possible that this might have been even longer without the King's letter. On October 24th, 1608, South matriculated (as of "Southants Pleb"). It is gratifying to know that James lived to see his protégé become regius professor of Greek at Oxford in 1622.

What was the result of King Charles's support on the fortunes of William Miles is also a debatable question. While it is certain that T. F. Kirby in his *Annals of Winchester College* (1892)⁴⁶ was wide of the mark in describing the Royal recommendation as "unsuccessful," it is equally plain that it had no swift effect such as it might possibly have had if the letter had been written when the King's star was in the ascendant. Kirby failed to realise that Miles did gain admission to New College, although not immediately. At the undated Election of 1649, William Miles was placed fourth out of seventeen on the Roll "ad Oxon,"⁴⁷ promotion which suggests that the King's letter may have stood him in good stead. Nevertheless, this advancement did not secure Miles admission in 1649: since there is a gap in the New College records at this time of upheaval it is impossible to examine the state of the vacancies there and thus to say why this was so. The third attempt, however, was lucky, and at the undated Election of 1650 Miles (his age given, as in 1649, a year too young) was placed second out of sixteen on the Roll "ad Oxon."⁴⁸ As "cler. fil." he matriculated from New College on December 9th, 1650, at the mature age of twenty.⁴⁹

At this point it may be of interest to observe that Mr. Harvey, my indebtedness to whom for the foregoing information is recorded in the notes to this paper, tells me that he has come to the conclusion that, since at the period under review, it was very common for candidates, both to Winchester and New College, to have been elected for more than one year before admission was secured, it must have been a regular practice to offer for election at a date earlier than was strictly necessary, or admission expected. Normally the crucial points were the order in which candidates were placed on the Roll and the total number of vacancies to the respective

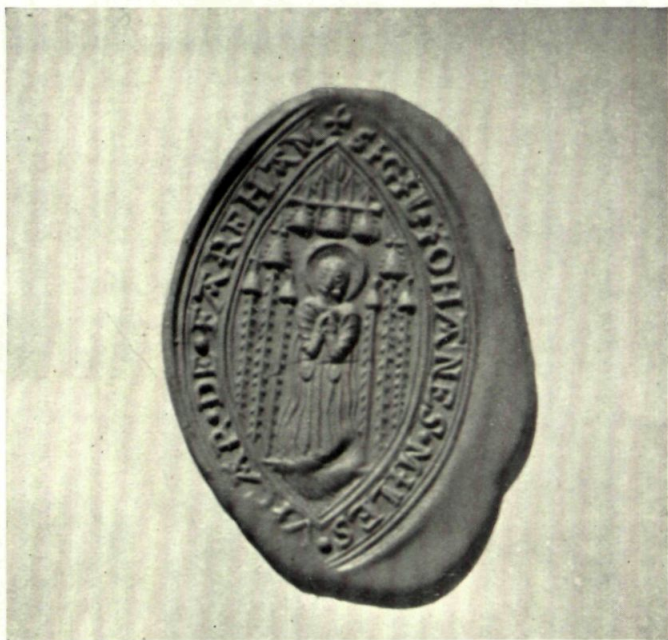
46. P. 73.

47. Winchester College muniments. Election Indentures, Chest 2, No. 142. 1640-9.

48. Chest 2, No. 143. 1650-9.

49. Research shews that it is a mistake to believe that boys almost invariably entered the universities very young in the 17th century. Moreover, the ages as given in the Matriculation Registers should always if possible be checked. I have found one case in which a youth is described as eighteen when he was really twenty-three, and another where one is described as eighteen when he was really twenty.

PLATE III



Seal of John Miles, Vicar of Fareham.

Colleges before the next election. Some candidates who were placed on the Roll, but failed to find a vacancy, were placed on the next year's Roll, others not. But, if so, their former place on the Roll had no influence on their position the second time.

Edward was the least lucky of the three Miles brothers. At the Election of September 26th—30th, 1648, he was placed nineteenth out of twenty on the Roll "ad Winton"⁵⁰ (his age also is given as a year too young) and he never gained admission to the College. Like his eldest brother, Emanuel, however, we shall meet with him later.

We must now return to William Miles. Owing to the circumstances referred to above, there is no record of his admission to New College, but we know that he graduated B.A. on April 7th, 1655. Moreover, we are not left in the dark as to his activities at Oxford: in fact, scrutiny reveals a young man with very definite talents and tastes. In the first place, thanks to the researches of Mr. R. L. Rickard of New College Library, it can be stated that Miles was a musician. In the College Bursar's Long Book Accounts from Michaelmas 1650 to Michaelmas 1651, there occurs under the heading "Solutio Facta Informatoribz Scholarium et Choristarum" for the second term (January 1st to March 31st, 1651) the entry "So: D^{no} Miles Informatori in Musicâ 1.13.4." Quarterly payments, amounting to £6. 13s. 4d. a year, continue to be made to Miles in this capacity until June 1657 when as "Infor Chor. in Musicâ" he appears in the Bursar's Roll for Michaelmas 1656 to Michaelmas 1657 for the last time. It is to be presumed that he then left Oxford.⁵¹ Incidentally, the fact that there were still choristers at New College to instruct during the Interregnum is of interest. This is perhaps the less surprising, however, when we remember that Evelyn, visiting Oxford in 1654, noted that "the chapel was in its ancient garb, notwithstanding the scrupulosity of the times."

Miles was not only a musician: he evidently fancied himself as a poet. Three collections of verses published at Oxford while he was in residence contain contributions by him. The first of these is to be found in *Newes from the Dead or a True and Exact Narrative of the miraculous deliverance of Anne Greene, who being executed at Oxford Decemb. 14, 1650, afterwards revived: and by the care of certain Physitians there is now perfectly recovered. Written by a Scholler in Oxford* (1651). Prefixed to the relation are thirty-two poems in Latin and English, and one in French, celebrating this dramatic event. William Miles's poem (ten lines in Latin, signed "Guil. Miles Nov. Coll.") figures on p. 10. Christopher

50. Winchester College muniments. Election Indentures, Chest 2, No. 142. 1640-9.

51. I am much indebted to Mr. Rickard for this information and for allowing me to examine the original entries relating to Miles.

Wren was another contributor. The second effort belongs to 1652, and occurs in *Musae Sacrae : seu Jonas, Jeremiae Threni, & Daniel Graeco redditi carmine Autore Joan : Ailmer Oxoniensi Nov. Coll. Soc.* There is a dedicatory epistle to John Potenger, headmaster of Winchester from 1642 until his resignation in 1652, together with fifteen congratulatory poems in Greek and Latin. The book, which, with the exception of the work of two contributors, is a Wykehamist production,⁵² includes ten lines of Greek verse by "EMMAN. MILES Collegii Wintoniensis quondam Alumnus," and ten lines in Latin and thirteen lines in Greek "In Accuratam Authoris Paraphrasin." by "GULIEL. MILES Nov. Coll." Thirdly, William Miles contributed to *Affectuum Decidua or Dve Expressions in honour of the truly noble Charles Capell Esq. (Sonne to the right honourable Arthur L^d Capell Baron of Hadham)*⁵³ deceased on Christmas Day 1656 (1656/7 or 1657). An editorial poem by Francis Turner of New College is dedicated to Charles's twin brother Henry ("Though *Castor's* gon, *Pollux* my Patron is"). Charles Capell, who, with Henry, had been a Wykehamical commoner from 1651 to 1652, was eighteen at the time of his death. With part of the £20 given by them "studii in hoc Collegio gratissimi monumentum," were purchased the beautiful silver caudle cup and the two smaller cups known collectively as the "Capell Cups."⁵⁴ The Capell twins had contributed English poems to the second impression of *Newes from the Dead* when they were only thirteen. Both are there described as "Armig. Coll. Winton." Falconer Madan by a not unnatural mistake describes Charles and Henry as of New College, adding that Charles, however, never matriculated.⁵⁵ As a matter of fact neither of the Capells proceeded to Oxford : they could not in any case have matriculated from New College, which was then reserved for Winchester scholars. It is not obvious why poetical collaboration with university men should have been permitted to this pair of youthful schoolboys. Of the writers of the thirteen English poems in *Affectuum Decidua*, among whom was Thomas Ken, all but two were from New College. These two, Thomas Husey (or Hussey), a gentleman commoner of Trinity College, and Ken himself, then a commoner of Hart Hall, had been the one a commoner, the other a scholar, of Winchester. Madan's conjecture that the "writers are perhaps all Wykehamists"⁵⁶ is therefore correct. Miles's piece, signed "WILL.

52. Falconer Madan, *Oxford Books*, III, *Oxford Literature 1651-1680* (1931), p. 14, calls it "to a large extent a Wykehamist volume." Actually, the only non-Wykehamist contributors are William Bell of Merchant Taylors and St. John's (he had been ejected from his fellowship) and Henry Stubbs of Westminster and Christ Church. Hugh Davis of Wadham (later of New College) and John Harmer of Magdalen, had both been Wykehamists.

53. The Royalist leader, beheaded in 1649.

54. T. F. Kirby, *Annals of Winchester College*, pp. 119-20, footnote. The cups are reproduced in Christopher Hawkes, *Winchester College* (1933), p. 70, Plate 39.

55. *Op. cit.*, p. 5 and 500.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

MILES Batch : of Arts in New Coll.⁵⁷, is printed at pp. 11-12. Lastly, verses by both Emanuel and William Miles are known to have been included in the Oxford sheet almanac for 1652.⁵⁷

Between 1657 and 1660 there is a gap in our knowledge of William Miles's career. When and where he was ordained I have not discovered, but we next hear of him as being admitted a priest vicar among the vicars choral of Chichester Cathedral on December 1st in the latter year.⁵⁸ He was instituted to the vicarage of West Dean, near Chichester, on May 13th, 1661,⁵⁹ but apparently he did not at once vacate his post as priest vicar, since his successor was not admitted until January 20th, 1662/3. The Visitation records of Bishop Henry King in 1662 note William Miles as vicar of West Dean, as do also those of Archbishop Juxon in 1663. By May 4th, 1669, when the Archdeacon of Chichester visited West Dean, George Eales was vicar. The Bishop's Transcript for 1668/9 is missing, but that for 1667/8 is signed by Miles, so that it appears that he left the parish between March 1668 and May 1669.⁶⁰

Foster, in his *Alumni Oxonienses*, could only say that William Miles of New College was possibly the individual who became vicar of West Dean in 1661. An entry in the West Dean registers, however, puts the matter beyond dispute. It runs : "1664(5) 17 FEB MR EDWARD MILES, my brother was bur at Westminster, aged 29."⁶¹ An irregular insertion, doubtless, but one for which we must feel gratitude. Edward Miles left no will, but from the administration granted to his widow, Alice Miles, on October 23rd, 1665, we know that he was of the parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-West.

Miles seems to have taken his leave of Sussex when he departed from West Dean, and so far I have not traced his later preferments, the date of his death, or his will. I should greatly welcome any further information regarding him.

With this I bring to a close my observations on Charles I and Winchester College. It is a simple story, but a human one. Not only is light thrown thereby upon the character of the King himself, but we are enabled to recapture something of the atmosphere of the College three hundred years ago. William Miles, who might have remained a mere name in registers and on rolls, becomes a living personality when we piece together all the scattered scraps of information relating to him. To my mind, not least among the many rewarding labours which fall to the historian's lot, is the rescuing from oblivion of obscure figures of the past.

57. *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 393 and 556.

58. W. D. Peckham, "The Vicars Choral of Chichester Cathedral," *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, Vol. 78 (1937), p. 152.

59. *Ibid.*

60. I am much indebted for these references to Mr. B. Campbell Cooke of the Chichester Diocesan Record Office.

61. Kindly communicated to me by the present Vicar, the Rev. J. B. Hunt.