

XXVI.—*Memoir on the Practice of Banishment, as it obtained in the Reign of James II. among those who were sentenced to death for their Participation in the Rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth.* By GEORGE ROBERTS, Esq.

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Read Dec. 18, 1851.

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AT the time I was engaged in collecting materials for my “Life, Progresses, and Rebellion of James Duke of Monmouth,” in 2 vols. 8vo. published in 1844, scarcely any detailed information could be procured respecting any of the exiled followers of the duke. The fate of only four individuals was actually ascertained; and the intimate personal history of no one, much less the general treatment, transportation, and return of any, could be learned from whatever quarter. A lady wrote to me, and obligingly supplied what is to so many an object of great interest, in the shape of a MS. narrative of the transportation, sale, and labour of John Coad; which I advised should be forwarded to Mr. Macaulay for his then expected work. An imperfect copy was accordingly sent, which has since been printed, the deficient part being supplied before the issue to the public from, I believe, the copy lent to me. Another of the kind contributors to my labours was one of the family of the late John Frederick Pinney, Esq. of Somerton Erleigh, who searched amongst old family papers, and has had the gratification of having produced for my use matter important to general history and biography.

Each of these two correspondents furnished the perfect portraiture of one individual, a type as it were, of the two several classes under which the exiles naturally fall. All were sentenced to death, and all were afterwards given away by the court or government of James II. The great distinction between them may be drawn thus, under two heads:

I. Those entirely destitute of means, who were conveyed from the county gaol on shipboard by their owners, and upon their arrival at the prescribed port in the West India islands were sold to the highest bidder by auction, like slaves or cattle.

II. Those exiles of the wealthier class—few in number—who, by a money payment, concluded all their slavery, and whose penalty consisted in a banishment from their native country for ten years to a distant tropical climate.

The Duke of Monmouth’s rebellion having been suppressed, the “Bloody

Assize" followed, with its often-quoted horrors—a portion of history which does not fall within our province. Our subject leads to the time when the gaols of the west of England were crowded with men under sentence of death—partisans too guilty to be pardoned, too numerous to be executed. A market existed for such individuals: the demand for the commodity was so great that frauds and many wicked arts were practised to kidnap men as labourers for the plantations in the West India islands and America. Hungry courtiers knew that persons concerned in the Salisbury rising of Penruddock and Grove had been sold for 1550 pounds weight of sugar a-piece, according to their working faculties. They had been treated in every sense as slaves. The Covenanters taken at Bothwell Bridge who would not promise to live peaceably were transported, and were all lost on their voyage to the plantations. The planters procured also those of Argyle's followers who exhibited the greatest degree of hatred to the King's authority. Some had a piece of their lug (ear) cut off by the hangman, and the women were burnt on the shoulder, that if any returned they might be known and hanged.

William Penn applied to have a few of the Monmouth men that were sentenced to be banished sent to Pennsylvania, where the climate was salubrious, and their offences would not be regarded as heinous.\* His application was not complied with; but certain courtiers, some of whom were connected with the West India islands, proved successful in their applications; 849 of the prisoners were given to them.

Sir William Booth had 200 prisoners; Ieronymo Nopho, Secretary to the Queen when Duchess of York, had 99; Sir Christopher Musgrave 100; to the Queen's order (or perhaps to Capt. James Kendall, M.P., a needy retainer of the court) 100; Sir William Stapleton, who had been governor of the Leeward islands, and had been sent to assist the Duke of Beaufort with his military experience, obtained 100; Sir Philip Howard 200; William Bridgeman, Esq. secretary to Lord Sunderland, or Capt. John Price (who perhaps purchased them from him) 50.

These persons were all divisible into the two classes which I have before indicated, and I am enabled to prove the mode of treatment to which they were subjected by one example derived from each of those classes.

I. JOHN COAD, of Stoford, near Yeovil in Somersetshire, was a carpenter. He was a Dissenter, a man of active mind and body, as his narrative sufficiently proves. He obeyed his summons to join the train-bands, and marched to Chard, loathing the conversation of his fellows, but determined to risk all for the cause of religion.

\* Hepworth Dixon's *Life of William Penn*, who quotes a letter to Thomas Loyd, p. 301.

He joined the Duke of Monmouth at Axminster, when Ferguson was engaged in prayer, after which Major Fox delivered a charge to the army against swearing, thieving, and plundering. Our God-fearing carpenter was wounded at Philip's Norton fight, but lived to be removed to Ilchester Gaol, and was condemned to death at Wells.

Coad's sister came to him in Ilchester Gaol with the news that an officer had arrived to call out 200 men for Jamaica. The two privately offered a fee to have Coad entered on the list. The officer refused this, but told him that when he called a man that did not answer, Coad might answer to his name and step in. The conscientious carpenter scrupled at this suggested simulation, by which thirty were at that time saved; but a poor woman, observing a man unwilling to be transported, so great were its terrors to some people, pulled Coad towards him, who hastily shifted himself out of the string and put Coad in his place. The party took ship at Weymouth, Oct. the 17th, 1685. The horrid cruelty (anticipating the "Black Hole" of Calcutta) of shutting ninety-nine exiles in one cabin, without allowing any to go on deck, soon produced small-pox and fever, which speedily swept off twenty-two of the Monmouth men, and many of the passengers and crew. Upon a report of these horrors, the merchants of Jamaica refused to freight the ship home, and all vied with each other in kind attention to the miserable, half-starved objects, who were confined at night in a stable, but were allowed to walk out by day.

The exiles were consigned to a merchant, Mr. Christopher Hicks, a fellow Dissenter, who from conscientious scruples refused at first to sell them, and ultimately looked out as purchaser for Coad a Mr. William Hutchinson, an attorney, in charge for Colonel Bach, a God-fearing proprietor. When Coad went to his place of service, forty miles from Port Royal, Colonel Lyne and Lieutenant Harkes Garbrand came to meet and welcome him in spite of their difference in rank; so zealous were these gentlemen in the cause of religion, that Coad was prevailed upon by them to undertake the office of preacher.

Coad had occasionally to work with negroes; he and one other of the banished men having a desire to visit some friends and fellow-sufferers at Port Royal, went thither, when a letter was sent to his master as if they had deserted, which drew forth a reprimand, and their friends were forbidden to entertain them. The motive which prompted this visit to Port Royal was to submit evidence to a justice of the peace that the term of four years for which they were sold had expired. Thus the sums paid at the sale are not to be received as expressing the value of each Monmouth man, but the value of his services for four years. Fresh sales or agreements were again made for other terms, so that these exiles proved a valuable property,

probably not less in the whole than 35,000*l.* or 40,000*l.*; Judge Jeffreys estimated that the worth of each of them would be 10*l.*, if not 15*l.* The convicts thought that when their first term had expired they should be at liberty to work for themselves, but this happened only to a few whose services were worthless. Many of the poor men sank under this disappointment of their hopes.

The news of the glorious revolution now reached the ears of the exiles; one of their task-masters called it a new rebellion. The Earl of Inchiquin arrived at Port Royal as Governor the last day of May, 1690. Coad sent a man to try and learn how it was likely to go with them. He returned with the news that two banished men who had been to the new governor, had been publicly whipped and put in prison the whole night. How this happened is not explained. When Coad made his appearance at Port Royal, his master, Hutchinson, elated at what had occurred, bade him speak to the governor. Coad did so. His excellency told him at once that he had an order to set all the Monmouth men free, and that the King had given directions for their coming home. The governor bade them pay their respects to their masters, and promised that in two or three days their business should be accomplished. The poor Monmouth men ran about in a delirium of joy, and but for Coad would have roasted an ox in the street. It was some time, however, before they got away from their place of banishment.

A dozen of the masters of the banished men hired a sloop to convey a petition to the King and Parliament, stating, that if these men were taken from them they must throw up the island. The council aided the masters by delaying to publish the King's order. Captain Frankmor, of the ship of war which was to convey the convicts home, died from the effects of his convivial life in the island. The next in command did not sail till September 6th, the merchants being anxious to receive an answer from England. Colonel Bach, the proprietor of Coad, promised to pay him wages after the expiry of the first term of four years. Coad made out his bill, amounting to 36*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.* Just as he was going aboard a merchant vessel, in which he had taken his passage, he was paid 10*l.*, with which he reached home Dec. 4, 1690.

II. Let us now view the case of an exile of a superior class, whose history has been drawn from genuine family documents never examined till 1843. These have acquired a great interest from the mention of a name upon which an argument has been founded for the clearing up the character of an eminent historical worthy.

Mr. AZARIAH PINNEY was a gentleman of Bettiscomb, a parish of Dorsetshire, on the confines of Somerset, at the foot of Pillesdon Hill, seven miles from Lyme, and about the like distance from Crewkerne.

He was the son of the Rev. John Pinney, who held the living of Broadwinsor during the Protectorate. At the Restoration Dr. Thomas Fuller the historian came to take possession of this sequestered vicarage, and heard the Rev. John Pinney preach. Delighted with what he had heard, Fuller told the people afterwards that he would not deprive them of such a man. Though episcopally ordained in 1662, Pinney was ejected under the Bartholomew Act, as Calamy informs us, and experienced the fate of ministers in those times, fines and imprisonment. The same author adds that he was much of a gentleman, a considerable scholar, and an eloquent, charming preacher.

The Rev. John Pinney's eldest son Nathaniel was private secretary to the Hon. George Booth, officially employed as secretary by his brother the celebrated Earl of Warrington, while the latter was one of the Lords of the Treasury in the reign of William III. When the Earl of Warrington retired into private life Nathaniel Pinney returned to settle at Bettiscomb, his father having property in that neighbourhood. This property has partly descended (with his papers) to the Pinneys of Somerton Erleigh; but other property which came into the family from the Hon. George Booth was inherited by the predecessors of the present John Azariah Pinney, Esq. of Blackdown House, co. Dorset.

To return to the special subject of this memoir, Mr. Azariah Pinney. He was of an ardent spirit, and embraced the seeming opportunity for procuring religious liberty under the Duke of Monmouth's banner.

Having been sentenced to death, Mr. Azariah Pinney was given to Ieronymo Nopho, or Jerome Nipho, Esq. secretary to the Queen when Duchess of York. This unfortunate follower of Monmouth had a wife and infant son when, at the age of twenty-four, he received his sentence. Mr. Nipho, in this instance, incurred no expense in sending away Mr. Aza. Pinney. He received at once the sum of 65*l.* for his ransom. The island of Nevis was the assigned place of the prisoner's destination. The ransom being paid, and the transportation to the West Indies having been effected at his own expense, Mr. Azariah Pinney became his own master, and could employ his time for his own benefit. The exile joined the house of Mr. Merewether, sugar merchant, Nevis; goods were soon shipped for him from England, evidently for sale, and he ultimately became a flourishing and successful man. Some of his family joined him, and made the place of his transportation a home. His son, the child whom he left behind in England on his transportation, became Chief Justice of Nevis. After 1688, Mr. Aza. Pinney returned several times to England. He died in London in 1719. His letters, which are still preserved, are full of complaints of storms, hurricanes, earthquakes, with an account of a ruinous invasion of the French. His valuable diary, kept for the information and

improvement of his son, is unfortunately lost. Mr. Aza. Pinney's son became father of John Frederick Pinney, who represented Bridport in Parliament; and the present head of the family, William Pinney, Esq., after representing Lyme Regis in Parliament for many years, now sits for the Eastern Division of the county of Somerset.

An account book of Nathaniel Pinney, elder brother of Azariah Pinney, is still preserved at Somerton Erleigh; and, apart from the interest attached to it as connected with Monmouth's Rebellion, is important from its containing the name of GEORGE PENNE, Esq. as that of the person who received the money paid for Mr. Azariah Pinney's ransom. This fact was first published in my *Life of Monmouth*. It afterwards engaged the attention of historical writers, and the general suspicion was, that the christian name of George Penne was a mistake, and that the person alluded to was no other than the celebrated William Penn, the Quaker. Mr. Hepworth Dixon, in his *Life of William Penn*, has cleared the philanthropic founder of Pennsylvania from the heavy charge of pardon-mongering in the West, and has shown from the State Paper Office that there was a certain George Penne, who was a hanger-on of the Court, and solicited the monopoly for twenty years of a Royal Oak Lottery in the plantations, as a reward for his services.

We may safely infer that this person, and not William Penn the celebrated Quaker, was the receiver of the ransom-money of Mr. Pinney. Besides this point of interest in these accounts, there are other items which illustrate the mode in which the transportation of Mr. Azariah Pinney was carried out, and I shall therefore conclude these imperfect notes with such extracts from Mr. Nathaniel Pinney's account-book as appear to me to bear upon the fate of his banished brother.

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BRISTOL, SEPTEMBER, 1685.

	£	s.	d.
Mr. John Pinney <sup>a</sup> is debtor to money p <sup>d</sup> George Penne, Esq. for the			
ransome of my bro <sup>r</sup> Aza. August, 1685 . . . .	65	0	0
For my jorney for 10 days and horse hyre . . . .	2	10	0
To 6 gall <sup>ns</sup> jack for his voiage . . . . .	1	16	0
To botles for the same . . . . .	0	5	0
To two cheeses . . . . .	0	6	0
To his horse hyre to Bristol and expences . . . .	0	10	0
To 10 days dyet and lodging in Bristol . . . . .	0	17	0

<sup>a</sup> Mr. John Pinney, not being Vicar of Broadwinsor in 1685, is not styled in any writing the Reverend—Aza. for Azariah.

	£	s.	d
To 3 p <sup>r</sup> thr <sup>d</sup> hose . . . . .	0	7	6
To 4 p <sup>r</sup> worsted . . . . .	0	14	0
To 2 p <sup>r</sup> shoes . . . . .	0	8	0
To a hatt . . . . .	0	8	6
To shifts and handcarchiffs, &c. . . . .	0	14	0
To tobb. (tobacco) and pipes . . . . .	0	9	0
To the mate and boston [boatswain] for their kindness . . . . .	0	7	6
To boate hyre to King Roade [anchorage at the mouth of the Avon]	0	6	6
To a bed, boulder, and rugg . . . . .	2	9	6
To his passage to Nevis [in the "Rose," Pink, Capt. Wogan]	5	0	0
To 2 trunks . . . . .	0	10	0
To a bible and other books . . . . .	0	6	6
To suggar, spice, &c. . . . .	0	4	6
To money given him . . . . .	15	0	0
Mr John Pinney debtor more owing brother's acct, Jan. 1685 . . . . .	100	0	0
To money p <sup>d</sup> for him and lent him in Yorke <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	1	5	0
To send his cloathes from London and freight to Nevis . . . . .	0	10	6
To making affidavit of his transport . . . . .	0	8	0
To sword-belt, rasor, shoes, buttons, &c. sent with his clothes and sword	3	4	0
1686. To a barrel beere sent Mr Scrope as a present on my brother's account . . . . .	2	12	0
To custumed freight of the same . . . . .	0	8	6
Jan. 24. To $\frac{1}{2}$ doz. tobb. and a box . . . . .	1	5	6
To making Southard's defeasance <sup>b</sup> . . . . .	0	13	6
To a fee about that businesse . . . . .	0	3	6

I may add that so late as Sept. 1701, lawyers, among whom was Major Wade, of the Duke of Monmouth's own regiment, then town clerk of Bristol, were busily engaged in interesting Members of Parliament to insert a clause in the act of grace to be passed that session for reversing the attainder of the Monmouth men.

GEORGE ROBERTS.

Lyme Regis, 11 Dec. 1851.

<sup>a</sup> The journey to York had probably reference to a personal interview with the party to whom his brother was given, viz. Ieronymo Nopho, Esq. who received the ransom.

<sup>b</sup> Southard may have been an assumed name for "Hugh Gundry, gentleman," of Broadwinsor, who married Sarah Pinney, as this part of the family also appear to have been favourable to Monmouth.