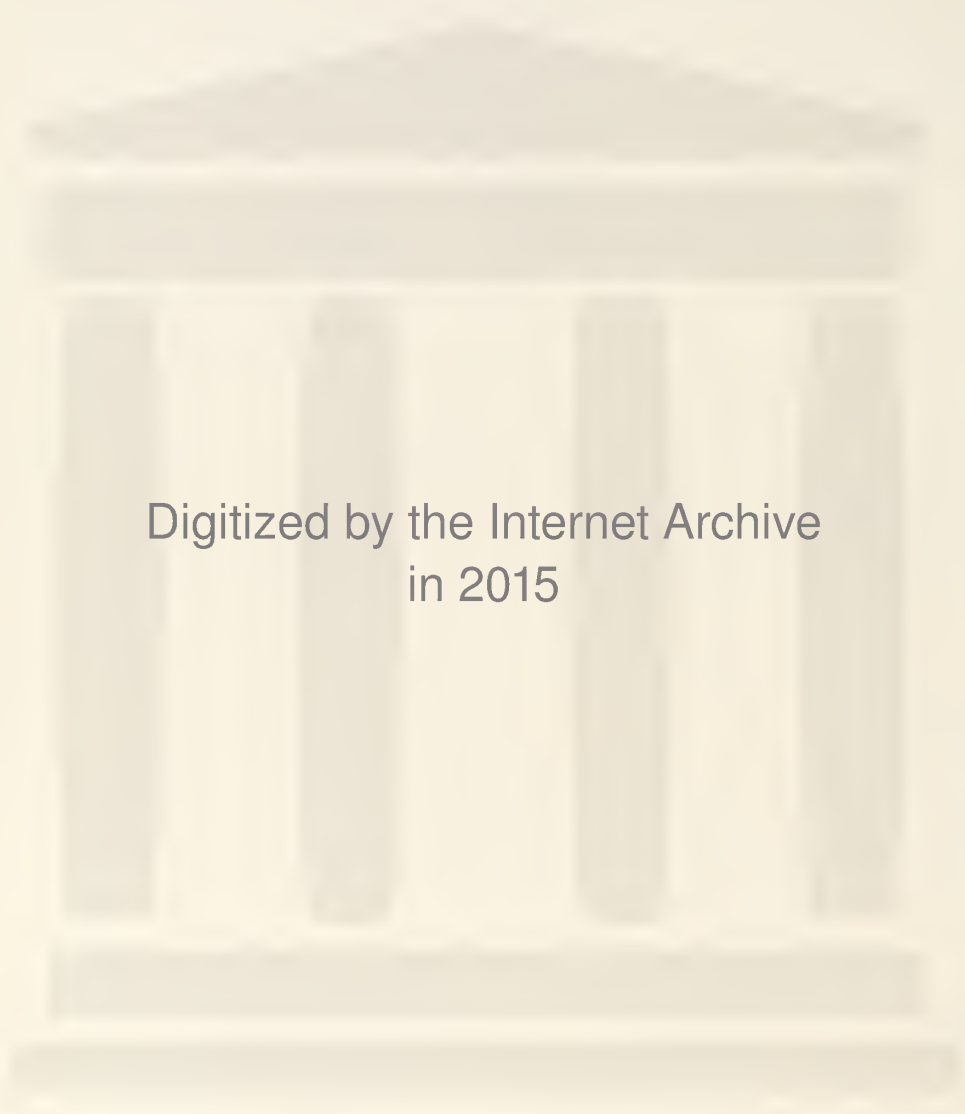




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DIARY  
OF  
HENRY TOWNSHEND  
OF  
ELMLEY LOVETT,  
1640—1663.

EDITED FOR  
THE WORCESTERSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BY  
J. W. WILLIS BUND.



Printed for the Worcestershire Historical Society,  
By MITCHELL HUGHES AND CLARKE, LONDON, W.

1915.

Jan. 17, 1900



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1920.



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## PREFACE.

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**H**ENRY TOWNSHEND of Elmley Lovett, a Magistrate for Worcestershire, kept an Account of current events from 1640—1663. This account gives in detail a large number of the public orders and notices affecting the County, especially his own parish of Elmley Lovett, and also a fragmentary diary.

The Diary is not in chronological order, the first part includes ten months, April 1640 to February 1641; the second nearly four years of the Commonwealth, April 1653 to January 1657; the third part the Restoration, April 1660 to April 1663; and the last and most important, an account of the siege of Worcester in 1646. Townshend was in Worcester during the whole time of the siege, and his narrative is a most interesting record of that struggle. It is the only full account that has come down to us, and so far has not been published in full. Nash, in the Appendix to his History, gave a condensed account, but like most abbreviations it left out a large number of most interesting local details. This part of the manuscript is here published in full. This has only been possible by the generosity of Mr. Dyson Perrins. After passing through several hands, the MS. became the property of the late Sir Thomas Phillips, and was included in one of the periodical sales of his manuscripts. There was a well-grounded fear that this manuscript might be bought by some American collector and so lost to the county. The Worcestershire Historical Society brought the matter to Mr. Dyson Perrins' notice, and he at once purchased the MS. and placed it at the disposal of the Society for publication. The thanks, not merely of the Society but of

the whole county, are due to him for enabling so important a source of Worcestershire History being made generally available.

An attempt has been made to arrange the different documents contained in the manuscript in chronological order, and to add a few explanatory notes, so as to make the Diary an account of the county during the Civil War and Commonwealth periods from the civil side, omitting all mention of military matters and the fighting except the siege of Worcester in 1646.

Townshend's entries of matters during the Commonwealth are most fragmentary, and to have attempted to develop them into a story of the county during that period would have been quite inconsistent with editing the Diary. It may, however, be of some use to whoever undertakes a much-needed task in the history of Worcestershire—a full account of the county from the surrender of the city in July 1646 to the restoration of the King in May 1660.

The frontispiece to this Volume—a drawing by Marlow of the old Bridge at Worcester which was pulled down when the present Bridge was completed in 1771—is, it is believed, the only drawing there is of the old Bridge looking down stream. It was exhibited at the visit of the Archæological Institute to Worcester in 1862. The only other view of the Bridge is one looking up stream, a vignette on the title page of Green's "History of Worcester," 1796. The Society are also indebted to Mr. Dyson Perrins for presenting this plate.

SHIRE HALL, WORCESTER.

*September, 1920.*





*Emery Walker pht.*

*Old Worcester Bridge  
by  
William C. Harlow*



# INTRODUCTION.

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NOTE.—A reference to Part I. is shewn by I., and Parts II. and III. by II.

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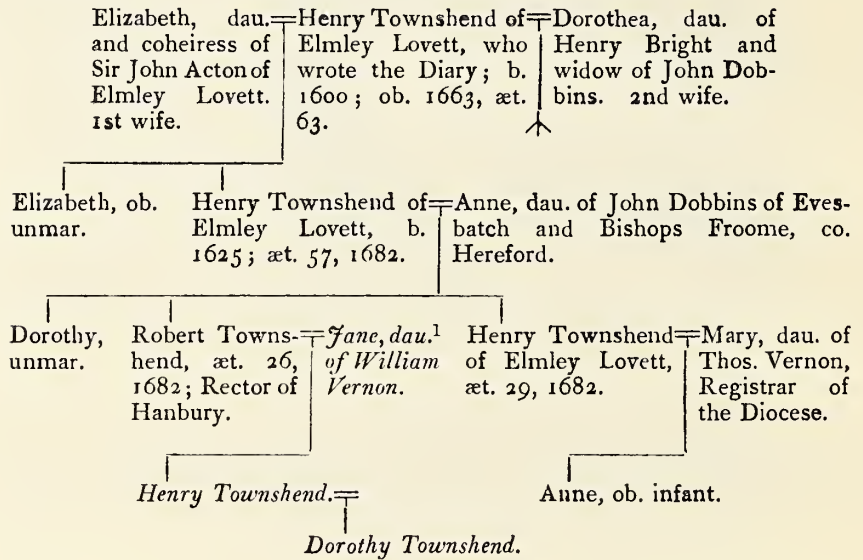
The so-called Diary of Henry Townshend of Elmley Lovett in the county of Worcester, now published in full for the first time, is an important record of the state of the county during the Civil War period. There is very little of the diary about it. Beginning in April 1640 at the time of the Scotch War, it gives us a slight insight into the way Charles raised his troops and their want of discipline. The first part roughly extends from 29 April 1640 to 24 February 1641. It is mainly taken up with accounts of what took place in Parliament, and in this respect does not add much to what was already known. Townshend was not himself a member of Parliament, so all he states on public affairs was second-hand information, and it reads, as it probably was, a collection of extracts from the newspapers or newsletters then in circulation. Still there are a few domestic incidents that are of interest. He tells us when his stable was pulled down, and when rebuilt, of stocking some of his water with fish—carp, bream, tench, gudgeon—and the price he paid for them. Store bream cost 10*d.* the hundred, breeding bream 3*s.* 4*d.* for four, tench are 3*d.* each. He states the price of hay, 60 cwt. £14 10*s.* His stable was pulled down on 29 April 1640, and the new one was finished on 3 August. He gives the price of articles for the house lately built: the wainscot of the dining-room cost 3*s.* 4*d.* a yard, the chimney-piece 50 shillings, the total cost being £36.

Matters of much greater importance than these entries are contained in the book. Townshend made or caused to be made copies of a large number of miscellaneous county documents, some of which are not now to be found elsewhere. It is these documents that give the Diary its real importance. From this source we get a picture of the state of the county which only such documents can supply, so by the help of these and with other papers it is possible to construct a fairly impartial account of what was done, and by whom it was done, in the county during the civil war.

A word should be said before dealing with the matters the papers disclose as to the position occupied by Henry Townshend in the county, and the condition of things when the Diary begins.

Elmley Lovett is a parish in the Hundred of Halfshire on the road from Droitwich to Kidderminster; it contains some 2,365 acres, of which about 700 belonged to Townshend at the time of the Diary. The parish had formed part of the great estates of the Earl of Warwick, and on his attainder in the reign of Henry VII. (1499) they passed to the Crown. Henry VIII.

granted Elmley Lovett to Sir Robert Acton, whose descendant Sir John Acton died without male issue, leaving four daughters, one of whom, Elizabeth, married Henry Townshend; of the other three, Eleanor married Thomas Thornborough, Anne married Walter Colles, and Penelope John Lench. The pedigree up to 1683, as given in the visitation of that year, is as follows:—



Colonel Forester, M.P. for Wenlock, married Ann, daughter and coheirress of Robert Townshend. George Forester, their second son, assumed by Royal Licence the name of Townshend. He was of The Lodge, Elmley Lovett. He died without issue, and in 1859 the Elmley Lovett property was sold to W. Orme Foster of Stourton, and afterwards of Apley Park, Shropshire. He was succeeded by his son Captain James Foster, who in 1918 sold the estate in lots, so that the property is now broken up.

The Diary contains some very important documents as to the government of the county. The first is a memorandum stating the mode in which any sum the county was to raise by way of tax should be levied. At that time some of the statutes that imposed a tax stated the total sum each county was to raise. For instance, the statute of 16 Car I., c. 32, which required a total sum of £400,000 to be raised, gave what sum each county was to provide towards the total: Worcestershire's contribution was £5802. It does not appear how and when these totals were fixed, but they seem to have been the accepted sum for each of the counties. To raise

<sup>1</sup> The names in *italics* are not in the Visitation pedigree of 1683.

the money a definite sum was placed on each hundred. How these sums were arrived at does not appear, but a varying charge was placed on different occasions for the share of each hundred. It is said to have been fixed by a jury impanelled for that purpose 24 September 1638, but it does not appear who impanelled it, under what authority, nor the mode by which the amount was arrived at. Townshend gives the scale as follows<sup>1</sup> :—

2“ The Hundred of Oswaldslow pays for every tax one third part through-  
out the county.  
Doddingtre pays one eighth.  
Blakenhurst a twelfth.  
Persore a fourth.  
Halfshire a fifth and two shillings over in every pound.”

The rule as given by Nash<sup>3</sup> states : “ Oswaldslow pays one-third, Persore and Blakenhurst one-third, Halfshire and Doddingtre one-third. To raise the Persore and Blakenhurst third, Persore pays  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the sum and Blakenhurst  $\frac{1}{3}$ . To raise the Halfshire and Doddingtre third, Halfshire pays  $\frac{2}{3}$  and Doddingtre  $\frac{1}{3}$ . For the Halfshire  $\frac{2}{3}$  the hundred is divided into two parts, Bromsgrove division and Kidderminster division. Bromsgrove pays  $\frac{2}{3}$  of  $\frac{1}{3}$ , and Kidderminster  $\frac{1}{3}$  of  $\frac{1}{3}$ .”

Nash gives an example :<sup>3</sup> If for a year's aid the county was charged with £2400 it would be raised in these proportions—Oswaldslow  $\frac{1}{3}$ , £800 ; Persore and Blakenhurst £800, of which Persore paid £640 and Blakenhurst £160 ; Halfshire and Doddingtre £800, of which Halfshire paid £500 and Doddingtre £300. The Halfshire £500 was again divided into Kidderminster division £300 and Bromsgrove division £200. It does not appear how and when these divisions were made.<sup>4</sup> The sum that any owner had to pay depended on the part of the county in which his property was situated. Elmley Lovett was in the Bromsgrove division of the Halfshire hundred, and so had to raise its share of £300. This had to be divided among the parishes that made up the Bromsgrove division. By this mode the sum required from the parish of Elmley Lovett was for a single subsidy £4 16s., and this the parish had to raise in three ways by assessing

- (1) All the landowners on the value of their lands as fixed by the assessment.
- (2) All the persons who had goods over £3 in value.
- (3) All Roman Catholics at 1s. a head.

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 284.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. Worcestershire Introduction, p. lxiii.

<sup>4</sup> A note of Townshend says : “ The rates of the Hundred of Persore agreed according to an order of Sessions made 6 October 22 Jacobi as followeth : Persore and Blakenhurst Hundreds to bear a third part of the county with 3 parts subdivided, Blakenhurst one part and Persore 3 parts in 4.”

No such order now exists among the Sessions papers for 1624, but all the miscellaneous papers for that year except some jury lists are missing.

The assessment of the parish was £24 10s., of which £21 10s. was from land, £3 from goods, and 2s. from 3 papists. 19 persons contributed—15 landowners, 1 from goods and 3 papists. Townshend was by far the largest landowner. He was assessed at £4 and paid 16s. One other landowner, John Bourn, was assessed at £2 and paid 2s.; another assessed at £1 10s. paid 6s., nine assessed at £1 each paid 4s. each, and three at £1 10s. each paid 6s.. While Tyner, who was assessed at £3 in respect of goods, paid 8s. The three papists paid 8d. each. The total making £4 10s., being the sum the parish had to raise.

It is rather difficult to see how the sums are arrived at. Townshend was charged 4s. in the pound, and so were the other landowners. But Thomas Tyner, who was assessed on £3 for goods, only paid 8s. instead of 12s., as he would have paid if the 4s. rate the landowners paid had been maintained throughout. The papists only paid 8d. each. A document of 1629<sup>1</sup> entered in the Diary is of great interest on this point. It is entitled "The assessment of the Hundred of Halfshire," and gives the names of the parishes in the hundred, the sum they had to pay for a single subsidy in 17 Car. I., 1641 and in 1642. The left-hand column gives the sum that a single subsidy would raise, the middle and right-hand columns what a double subsidy produced. It would be expected that possibly the only changes would be if some man with a large estate in goods changed his residence between the dates, or that the number of papist recusants residing in or leaving the parish between the two dates would have made the differences; but they cannot all be accounted for in this way; for instance, Bentley Pauncefoot for one subsidy yielded £4 9s. 4d., but for two £21 14s. and £20 13s. 4d. King's Norton in the single subsidy paid £24 11s. 4d., in the two double subsidies £8 19s. 4d. and £8 17s. 4d. Elmley Lovet is put down as paying £7 12s. 8d. for a single subsidy, while the real figure for this was £4 16s.; a double subsidy is given here as £9 12s. and £9 8s., a difference which an alteration in the residents might well account for.

Some light is thrown on the position of the county with regard to the matter of ship money. Possibly no other English county gave such support to the levy of this celebrated imposition as Worcestershire. Three of her leading men—the Solicitor-General, Sir Edward Lyttelton, who argued for the Crown in Hampden's case, Mr. Justice Berkeley of Spetchley, who was one of the judges who gave judgment for the Crown in the same case, and the Lord Keeper Coventry, who did his best to persuade and convince the twelve judges of its legality—were strong upholders of the charge, and, in spite of all that has been said and written as to the illegality of the Crown's action in this case as opposed to the Crown's right in certain cases to impose the levy, it would be difficult on authority to prove they were legally wrong. One curious fact remains. The number of the Worcestershire families who took a leading part in the struggle between Charles and his Parliament and who

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 3.

still hold the estates that their families then held may be counted on one's fingers, but of those that still do so the three most conspicuous now were in favour of the legality of ship money.

Under Charles ship money was first levied in 1634, but in that year it was confined to the ports and coast towns. In 1635 the tax was extended to the inland counties on the principle that as all were interested in the defence of the realm all should bear their share in the cost of defence, so writs were sent to the sheriffs of each county ordering them to raise their share of the sum of £208,900, the amount required to provide a fleet. The legality of this levy was contested in Hampden's case in respect of Buckinghamshire. This contest, although decided in favour of the Crown, caused a great delay in payment of the tax.

John Savage of Elmley, who was the sheriff, wrote to the Privy Council that to raise the £4000 he had thus assessed the county: the Hundred of Oswaldslow was to raise £1181 os. 3½*d.*; the Hundred of Pershore £885 11*s.* 9½*d.*; Halfshire £272 3*s.* 6¼*d.*; Doddingire £393 16*s.* 4¼*d.* and Blakenhurst £236 10*s.*; the City of Worcester £266; the Borough of Evesham £84; Bewdley £70; Droitwich £70; Kidderminster £30; the Bishop and Clergy £110 13*s.* 8*d.* The sheriff had received £2100 and proposed to give a final account and hand over the matter to the incoming sheriff, Sir William Russell, but Sir William did not accept his offer.

There seems to have been the greatest difficulty in getting in the arrears for 1636. All sorts of excuses were put forward. The Mayor of Worcester sent up the names of the rectors of the various churches in the city who were assessed for ship money and the sums at which they were assessed. This had but little effect and the Council kept urging Sir William Russell to get in more of the arrears. He replied that he had waited at the city of Worcester upon this service, but received little or no money but on distresses taken or they that are refractory committed. That he had in his possession distresses he had taken which he was unable to sell, and which were unfit to be disposed of in the other way suggested by the Council—sending them to the victualler of the Navy for provisions for the fleet. Like the mayor he complained of the negligence of the clergy, and asked for directions for quickening them.

The resistance kept increasing, especially as to paying the arrears. A further demand was made in 1637, when a fresh sum of £1250 was asked for and also the arrears of 1636. Sir William Russell was reprimanded by the Privy Council for not getting more money paid. He had complained that the bailiffs of the Hundreds of Oswaldslow and Pershore would not distrain for ship money when he required them to do so, and asked what he was to do. The Council told him to quicken the constables and send up the names of the bailiffs for the Lords to take order with them. An incident then occurred that shews the difficulties the sheriff was under. The borough of Bewdley had to make up their £70. They had paid £50 11*s.* 9*d.* and declared they could pay no more. Sir William pressed them as instructed, and in

order to help them out of the difficulty he lent their bailiff Boylson £10 10s. 3d. to clear off the balance. This Boylson promised to collect and pay at once; instead of doing so he resigned the office of bailiff and said he had not had the money from those liable to pay and could not enforce it, so he could not pay it. This was too much for Sir William, who was a hot-tempered man, and he at once reported it to the Privy Council. On receipt of Sir William's report they immediately made an order that if Boylson did not "within three days after sight of the order pay the said sum of £10 10s. 3d. to Sir William Russell, Boylson should attend their Lordships on the 20th June 1637 and not depart until further order."

Worcester had an escape from paying their arrears of ship money which they regarded as the direct interference of Providence. In June 1637 the plague broke out in Worcester and lasted for about a year. It is said that between June 1637 and April 1638 no less than 1551 persons died of it. It was a very real danger. Three parishes then in the county, now wholly or partly within the city, reported to Quarter Sessions: Claynes—"That during this dreadful visitation unlicensed ale sellers might be suppressed." St. John's—That they allowed "no loafers to go unpunished." St. Michael's—That William Davies, who kept a common lodging-house, might be brought up and punished because "he took in all vagrant people, diseased or not diseased, in despite of us." The Privy Council were too much alarmed at the risk of spreading infection to send for defaulters to come to London to be dealt with, and so the arrears or some of them were treated as, at all events for a time, irrecoverable. They did not, however, finally desist, as on 23 June 1638 there is an acknowledgment by Mr. Secretary Nicholas that he had received from Sir William Russell's clerk, Edward Fenn, £20 on account of arrears of ship money for 1636.<sup>1</sup>

The sum asked for in 1638 was £1250, but, in addition to this, the outstanding arrears for 1637 were demanded. Townshend gives a copy of the sheriff's warrant to the constable of Hampton Lovett for the payment of these sums.<sup>2</sup> The actual sum Elmley Lovett had to pay in 1638 was £6 3s. 1d. A single subsidy on that parish produced £11 4s. 0d., so that for this year the ship money charge was about half the amount of a single subsidy. The writ winds up with a threat that if the constables did not gather

"by way of distress or otherwise all the money that is yet in arrear and unpaid within your said constablewick towards the ship money in this last year in the time of Mr. Dingley's Shrievalty, and therof to make speedy payment likewise unto me, wherein if you remise or neglect any longer you will be assuredly bound over to answer the same to the Lords of His Majesty's Privy Council, when no devices or pretences will be accepted."<sup>3</sup>

Gardner points out<sup>4</sup> that the threat contained at the end of this warrant is

<sup>1</sup> S. P. Domestic, 1638, p. 527.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> II., p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Hist. England, viii., 280.

the result of the judgment in Hampden's case, and that the Government were now prepared to enforce the tax vigorously. When the judgment was pronounced the arrears of ship money were no less than £78,000; by the end of October £30,000 of this had been paid into the Exchequer. This is also shewn by the sums received from Worcestershire in 1639. The amount required to be paid was £3800, the sum actually received £3189. In 1640 the sum Worcestershire had to pay was £3500. Townshend's note on this is :—

“The ship money for the year 1640, John Winford, esq., High Sheriff, is £3500, whereof Elmley Lovett is taxed at £19 3s. 4d. I am to pay £4 thereof.”<sup>1</sup>

This makes it fairly clear that the charge of ship money on the county was in effect the same sum as that raised by a single subsidy; the sum that Townshend had to pay was £4 in both cases. It would therefore seem to be that the effect of Hampden's case in Worcestershire was that the King could at his own pleasure charge an annual sum on the county equal to the produce of a single subsidy, and that there was nothing more than the King's supposed apprehension of danger necessary to enable him to raise any sum of money he thought fit. There was no fetter on his royal ideas of danger; on his allegation of this he could take from the subject such annual sum as he pleased.

It remains to state how the county was affected by ship money. The sums sought to be levied were :—

	£
1635 . . . . .	4000.
1636 . . . . .	3500.
1637 . . . . .	1250.
1638 . . . . .	1250.
1639 . . . . .	3800.
1640 . . . . .	3500.

An average of £2866 a year as nearly as can be made out. It amounts for Worcestershire to a halfpenny rate imposed solely by the King's arbitrary will without any reference whatever to any controlling authority.

Although these figures do not appear very serious, and were much less than were afterwards charged on the county in other ways equally illegal, yet there never seems to have been such an outcry against a tax as there was against ship money. It was not as much as a penny rate at the present time (1920) produces,<sup>2</sup> yet we have got so accustomed to taxing that Government departments, without any specific authority from Parliament, think nothing of forcing an expenditure on counties that Charles in his wildest dreams would never have imagined.

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> A 1d. rate now (1920) produces £5737.

The Short Parliament met on 13 April 1640. They were face to face with an invasion from Scotland, and steps had to be taken to meet it. Charles asked for twelve subsidies.<sup>1</sup> The House refused, and demanded to be free from ship money, coat and conduct money, and other such military charges as pressing, coating and conducting soldiers who had been ordered to assemble at certain places; who, if they failed to attend, would be taken by force. Orders were issued for pressing men and sending them on to Scotland now war had become a certainty. The Diary opens with an entry:—

“600 pressed for supplies in the Trayned Banns for Scottish wars; 4 out of Elmley: Henry Powell, Richard Crow, Roland Edwards, Christopher Stutty; only 3 went, Crowe went not.”<sup>2</sup>

Very special directions were given to the Lords-Lieutenant of the different counties as to levying these men. They were to cause the Deputy-Lieutenants to meet and to distribute the number of men to be raised in each hundred, and to take good care that a very good choice was made of the men out of the trained bands there, that they be of able bodies and years meet for the employment. To help in the choice of men the Earl of Northumberland, who was the Lord-General in command at Newcastle, was to send officers to assist the Deputy-Lieutenants. The men were to be paid by the King as soon as they left their county. The Deputy-Lieutenants were to take care that these men were coated and clothed at the cost of the county before they left it, as also for their keep as long as they remained in the county.

A further letter was sent to the Lords-Lieutenant directing them to provide horses and carts for carriage of the train of artillery. The share of Worcestershire for this purpose was £1200 to convoy 600 soldiers, and to provide 17 carts and 50 horses for the carts, a provision that shews the roads were not in the best order. Out of the £1200 Elmley Lovett paid £7 10s.<sup>3</sup>

The soldiers drilled or trained one day a week; for that they received 7*d.* which the county had to pay; for the rest of the week they worked and made what they could. The training was to go on until 20 May. 100 soldiers were billeted at Droitwich, and were to be trained there for a week. There were others quartered at Worcester, Evesham, Pershore and Bewdley.

Under these circumstances it was necessary to get rid of the soldiers as soon as possible. At first they were to march on or before 20 May. Their departure to join the army was then postponed till 1 July, but it was provided they should live at the old rate and cost till they had left, and not at the cost of the county; obviously considerable discontent prevailed. This was shewn by the action of the soldiers.

On 1 July the 600 pressed Worcestershire soldiers came to Worcester to

<sup>1</sup> Gardner, *Hist. England*, ix., 115.

<sup>2</sup> I., p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Kushworth*, iii., 1088.



march to the north with their Captains. Townshend says they had put the county to a great charge, and gives some details :—

“ 3 weeks’ training at 8<sup>d</sup> a soldier, being billeted at 100 a place, and marching and running away, fresh men arriving in, unnecessary charges might have been saved. Many running away, new supplies must be got, then the conduct money and clothing, which costs over 20<sup>s</sup> if they are well apparelled. Then, if the Deputy Lieut<sup>s</sup> do not like them, others are pressed, and this occurs sometimes 3 or 4 times after they have been pressed. Further, after they have been clothed they have to be watched to prevent them running away.”<sup>1</sup>

To make matters worse in Berkshire, at Farringdon the men on the march to Scotland mutinied and killed one of their officers, Lieut. Mohun. What was, however, worse for Worcestershire, a serious mutiny broke out in Warwickshire among the men there, which was likely to increase, as the Deputy Lieutenants shewed so much remissness and backwardness in carrying out the law against the mutineers; while on the other side Worcestershire, at Leominster, a serious disturbance between the pressed men marching to the north and the townsmen took place, when some of the soldiers were killed, many hurt, and 24 deserted. Complaints came also from other counties. At last, on 20 August, the Scotch army entered England. Townshend says :—

“ 28<sup>th</sup> August, the Scottish army, consisting of about 20,000 men and 1000 women, with some light arms and 17 field pieces, came about six miles from Newcastle upon the river Tyne, and were met by some horse and some foot, which were accidentally, as they said, training without any show of powder or shot, yet for a while the English defended themselves, at last routed, and 100 horse killed with Sir John Digby and Cap<sup>t</sup> Wilmot prisoners. The Scotch lost few, their great ordnance defending them. Upon the 30<sup>th</sup>, being Sunday, Newcastle was surrendered. The King’s army lies at York, consisting of about 15,000 foot and horse besides train bands.”<sup>2</sup>

Such is Townshend’s account of the disgraceful affair at Newburn and the consequent surrender of Newcastle. There is nothing to shew if the Worcestershire force had anything to do with it nor whether they were at Newburn, or even got as far as York, or whether they formed part of the force that Sir Jacob Astley, who commanded at Selby, where all the new levies arrived, described as the “arch knaves of the country.” It is a matter for regret that Townshend tells us no more of the 600 Worcestershire men who formed the county force. It would have been of interest to have known why they all appear to have been selected from the south of the county—Evesham, Pershore, Worcester, Bewdley and Droitwich—why places like Kidderminster and Bromsgrove were left out. The obvious reason is that the men were taken from the different hundreds, and for some reason Halfshire was

<sup>1</sup> I., p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> I., p. 6.

not selected; but as Elmley Lovett is in Halfshire, and six men were pressed from it, this could not have been the whole explanation.

The Long Parliament met on 3 November 1640. One of their early acts was to try to ascertain the number of Roman Catholics in the country. They did this by resolving on 7 December 1640 that an order should be sent to all justices of the peace in England and Wales to take steps to ascertain the number of papists in their area. The justices carried this out by obtaining from the constables for the different parishes a presentment as to the number in the county. At the Easter Quarter Sessions 1642 returns as to number of catholics were obtained from the following parishes<sup>1</sup> :—

Clifton-on-Teme, 5.	Hindlip, 10.
Birlingham, 5.	St Cross (Pershore Holy Cross), 3.
Hanley Castle, 22.	Feckenham, 1.
Birts Morton, 1.	Ripple, 3.
Claines, 11.	Dudley, 3.
Oddingley, 1.	Mamble, 1.
Inkberrow, 16.	Beoley, 7.
Bromsgrove, 30.	Powick, 1.
Redditch and Tardebigge, 37.	Stoke Prior, 6.
Huddington, 1.	Severn Stoke, 4.
Chadsley Corbett, 6.	Knighton, 4.
Yardley, 10.	Ombersley, 1.
Throckmorton, 1.	Upton Warren, 15.
Allerton, 4.	Wichbold and Dodderhill, 4.
Walcot, 1.	Or a total of 170 in all.

Parliament granted the King four subsidies. What this meant was that in Elmley Lovett, which was assessed at £24 10s., the parish had to pay £19 4s., a heavy charge; in Townshend's case his assessment was £4, and he had to pay £3 4s. Heavy as this was, the demands were still heavier. The Scotch army had to be paid, and this required according to the Scotch £850 a day.

The levy on the Hundred of Halfshire was divided between the two divisions, the Bromsgrove division paid three parts and the Kidderminster division two. If any person moved out of the division he was still to be taxed there notwithstanding his move, if he had lived for the largest part of the last year in Elmley Lovett. Townshend tried to get out of this and to be taxed elsewhere, probably because the Elmley Lovett rate was higher than elsewhere. In Elmley Lovett the sum required was 1s. in the pound on the assessment. This, however, did not produce a sufficient sum of money, so new rates of payment were set up, and the idea was acted upon that people should pay according to their rank. So, beginning with a duke, who had to pay in addition to his tax on his assessment £100, and other members of the peerage in a fixed proportion, till it reached an esquire who paid £10. All

<sup>1</sup> Sessions Records, I. (1642), 698.

persons who could spend £100 a year paid £5. A widow paid one-third of what her husband would have paid; Popish recusants paid double. If after demand the person did not pay within four days he had to pay double.

The four subsidies were not all the burden; in addition the unfortunate taxpayer had to pay poll money as well. For this Elmley Lovett had to pay £14 12s. 6d. as against £19 4s. paid for a subsidy. Kidderminster borough had to pay £84 for the poll tax, but only paid £35 for its rationed allowance. Droitwich paid £30 12s. to the subsidy, but £60 15s. 4d. for poll money. Sir John Pakington, residing at Westwood, had to pay £30 12s. subsidy and £60 18s. 6d. for poll money. A baronet had to pay over and above his ordinary payments for the subsidy a sum of £30 3s. for poll money.

These instances shew how the charges were going up and how incomes were being reduced by taxes. Assuming the figures are right for the normal assessment, £24 10s., any margin of rent disappears at once when the subsidy and poll tax are considered as well.

To give some idea as to how this compares with the state of things at the present day, the assessable value of Elmley Lovett to the county rate is now (1920) £4287, and a penny rate produces £17 17s. 4d. In 1631 the rateable value was £24 10s., and the charges were two subsidies £9 12s., and poll tax £14 12s. 6d., a total of £24 4s. 6d.

People were not very ready to pay. Sir John Pakington, who had to pay £40, had not paid, nor had Sir Ralph Clare £30, nor John Wylde £20. These were all members of Parliament. George Wylde, a barrister, had not paid his £10, as he was doubtful where to pay, in London or in the county. The sheriff, Daniel Dobyys, had not paid his share, £10, and a Mr. Hopkins was doubtful if he had to pay here or in London. In the whole the sheriff had to account for £719 16s. 8d. Whether this was owing either from favouritism of the collector or the dishonesty of the sheriff, Daniel Dobbins—he was a connexion by marriage of Townshend—or from “ignorance, forgetfulness, or sums not rightly cast up,” does not appear, but if the officers in London were right, the sheriff had been misappropriating money. The Receivers made out that the sheriff was £6 4s. 4d. in debt to the Treasury, but the Treasury made out he owed £720 3s. 2d. It is not clear, and it is impossible to make it clear from the MS. whether the Receivers or the Treasury were right. But two things must be remembered: first, that Dobbins was a near relation of Townshend's wife and was a Roundhead, and also that Dobbins was in serious financial difficulties, in which Townshend was also involved.<sup>1</sup>

When Dobyys became sheriff he induced Townshend to join in a bond for £200 to meet the expenses of the shrievalty. To secure Townshend, Dobyys authorized him to receive his Worcestershire rents. This Townshend was doing, and for a time the arrangement worked fairly well. This seems to have been the state of things at the time of collecting the poll tax. Dobyys got into difficulties, and for some reason became a Roundhead. The

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 167.

Government of that day had no mercy for turncoats, so Dobbins was denounced as a delinquent, the result of which was that all the rents of his real estate went to the Crown. Townshend had been receiving these rents, and was applying them to discharge the money Dobbins owed him for payments made during Dobbins' shrievalty. Unfortunately for himself Townshend had some rents, £70 16s. 10d., lately received in hand. The Royalist Commissioners considered that this money belonged to the Crown; they owed Francis Walker for the King's force in Worcestershire and the garrisons at Worcester and Hartlebury £244 16s. 8d., for iron guns, bullets and grenades. Walker had assigned the sum due to him to Sir Robert Howard, and he, seeing a chance of getting some of his money back, claimed the £70 as due and owing to him on account of the £244 16s. 8d., and the Royalist Commissioners ordered this to be paid, and, what was worse, ordered Townshend to pay over his money to one who had no claim on Townshend and but very little on Dobbins. Townshend, on hearing of the order of the Commissioners, was furious. He went to Rupert and put his case before him. Not only did Townshend not receive the rents, but also was left to make payments towards the support of Mrs. Dobbins and "her many small children." Rupert seems to have considered the case a hard one, and ordered the Commissioners for delinquents' estates to enquire into the matter and report to him.

There are two entries in the Diary that seem to have a bearing on the case. The one is a proclamation of the King's dated 5 August 1641 against the great charges<sup>1</sup> to which sheriffs were put by presents, entertainments and other provisions given and made to and for the judges, and fees paid to their servants, forbidding such payments to be demanded or made, and further ordering that no sheriff give any entertainment or keep house for the gentry of the county or for anyone but his own necessary attendants. The penalty is curious; anyone doing contrary to the proclamation was to be esteemed by the House of Commons as a person giving example inconvenient to the public. What followed from this is not stated. The other entry is a much longer one. The great text-book on the rights and duties of sheriffs was written by a lawyer named "Dalton," and to this day Dalton is the great authority for the law as to sheriffs. Townshend seems to have studied it very closely, and a long analysis of the book and the law and duties of sheriffs form part of the Diary. There is nothing to shew how the dispute as to Dobbins' rents ended, whether Townshend was able to reimburse himself or not. It is most probable he was not, as the public need for guns and shot would probably appeal more to the Commissioners than the private wrongs of Townshend.

The Dobbins incident closes in a rather romantic way. Daniel Dobbins, the ex-sheriff, died leaving his widow Dorothy and "her many small children," in fact there were only five. Townshend's wife, Elizabeth Acton, had also died, and the result of Townshend's management of the Dobbins matter was

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 40.

that he married the widow and became, as her husband, entitled to the Dobbyns property at Evesbatch and Bishops Froome in Herefordshire.<sup>1</sup> One of the five children of Mr. Dobbyns was a daughter Ann. Townshend had a son Henry who married this Ann Dobbyns, and on the marriage all the Herefordshire property and certain of the Worcestershire property were settled on them, and also the share of Lady Thornborough, the aunt of Henry Townshend, the youngest of the Acton coheiresses; so that, so far as property went, the Townshend family seem to have been one of the few of the Worcestershire Royalist families who came out of the civil wars richer than they were at the beginning.

To return to 1641. In October the remaining two subsidies which Parliament had voted were levied. The one list is of interest, as it gives the sum that the Popish recusants had to pay separately. The total was £440 2s. 8d.; the recusants paid £8 16s. They only appear in ten parishes:—

	£	s.	a.
Belbroughton . . . . .	0	9	4
Bentley, Tardebigg and Redditch . . . . .	1	6	0
Bromsgrove . . . . .	1	9	4
Chaddesley Corbett . . . . .	0	6	8
Elmley Lovett . . . . .	0	4	0
Kington . . . . .	0	4	0
Upton Warren and Cooksey . . . . .	4	10	8
Then come the totals—			
Subsidies . . . . .	431	6	8
Recusants . . . . .	8	16	0
Total . . . . .	440	2	8

A note follows that is instructive. Of the sum of £440 there was paid into the Exchequer £422 12s. 8d.

“Commissioners and clerks’ fees at 1<sup>d</sup> in the £. I received 35<sup>s</sup> 2<sup>d</sup>, abated 14<sup>d</sup>, and received 34<sup>s</sup>.”<sup>2</sup>

Tax collecting does not seem to have been a very remunerative occupation at that time.

Money was only one of the things that excited the Long Parliament; the other was religion, and the religious movement consisted mainly in action against the Roman Catholics and the party of Archbishop Laud, who were believed to be little better than Catholics. The Lord Keeper Littleton wrote to the Sheriff, Deputy-Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace in the county that the Popish recusants had appointed a day to assemble, and that the Sheriff, Deputy-Lieutenants and Justices were to prevent any such assembling by the force of the county.<sup>3</sup>

Whatever may have been the Government information it proved to be

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 298.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> II., p. 44.

unreliable; no such assembly took place, so it was not necessary to use any force in dispersing the people. But a petition was drawn up and brought before the Quarter Sessions at the Epiphany Sessions, 1642, for Church Government and the Liturgy. It contained a protest against

“the divers sects, schisms, and dangerous doctrines publicly vented, the government of the Church by Bishops under those religious princes of ever blessed memory, Queen Elizabeth and King James traduced as anti-christian, the Liturgy depraved and in some places neglected, which insolences and extravagances do much discomfort your petitioners.”<sup>1</sup>

It does not appear whether this petition was one drawn up for this county only, or whether it was a general petition sent down from London to all the counties to whom the Lord Keeper's notice had been sent. Whichever it was it obtained numerous signatures, but Townshend only gives the parishes in the Halfshire Hundred, and only 16 of these out of the 35. Curiously enough in Ombersley, where the influence of the Sandys family was strong, the signatures were 133, Belbroughton came next with 119, Dodderhill, Elm Bridge and Upton Warren had together 111, Tardebigg 109. None of the others—Hartlebury and Northfield singly, or the three groups of Elmley Lovett, Rushock and Doverdale, Chaddesley Corbett and Stone, and Pedmore, Hagley and Churchill—could reach 100. It is obvious that the paucity in the number of signatures was very distasteful to the Puritan party. The Speaker wrote to the Sheriff Edward Vernon, telling him that the declaration should be published and the protestation taken, and that the Sheriff and Justices of the peace should meet together and take the protestation themselves, and then

“dispersing to your several divisions you will make the Minister, the Constables, the Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor take the protestation in their presence, and make them call together all the inhabitants of the different parishes who were 18 and upwards, tender to them the protestation and make them take it in their presence, and take the names of those who refuse, and return the certificates to the local member of Parliament before the 12<sup>th</sup> March.”<sup>2</sup>

What the result was does not appear, but it is certainly a matter that does not appear in most histories, that coercive means had to be taken to get opinions expressed against the Laudian party. Unfortunately we have no return from Kidderminster itself, but that in Baxter's own district, where he had worked and laboured, and where one has been always told the Puritan element was far stronger than the Laudian, it is unexpected to find that Puritan feeling could only be manufactured under State pressure.

Parliament were shewing that they, in carrying on the government, required money just as badly as the Royalists. Further money was wanted, and Parliament had to raise it. The sum required was £400,000, and Parliament apportioned it among the counties. From Worcestershire no less than £5802 10s. 6d. was required, and for Worcester City £356 4s. 9d.

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 47.

Compared with the surrounding counties the charge on Worcestershire was moderate :—

	£	s.	d.
Gloucestershire . . . . .	9978	5	5
Gloucester City . . . . .	1108	14	0
Hereford . . . . .	7146	4	6
Shropshire . . . . .	4560	5	3
Stafford . . . . .	3743	10	3
Warwick . . . . .	5113	16	3
Coventry . . . . .	653	2	6
Worcestershire . . . . .	5802	10	6
Worcester City . . . . .	356	4	9

Only two counties are above Worcestershire, while Worcester City was the lowest of all. A curious note follows the list of the sums to be raised. The reason was Parliament went in accordance with the Book of subsidies of the 35 Elizabeth. Some counties raising themselves more than others in subsidies, brought the greater burden on them. The ease now these counties do feel who had commissioners that loved their country more than ambition.<sup>1</sup>

The sum that the Hundred of Halfshire was to raise of the £5802 was £1460 10s. 9d. The commissioners, of whom Townshend was one, finding there has been much inequality, raised Bromsgrove a 13th part more than Kidderminster, so in the tax

“ Bromsgrove paid £758 10s.

that is £62 4s. above what they had done before.

Kidderminster £382

and Lord Shrewsbury paid for Grafton a particular and privileged place of account

£20

Bromsgrove division is worth per annum with Grafton Manor

£26,770

Kidderminster division

14,050

40,820

Bromsgrove is better than Kidderminster by

12,720”

Instructions were given to the assessors as to how to subdivide the sum by parishes according to their extent and goodness. Every person who had £3 in goods or 20s. in land must be solely assessed; ecclesiastical persons are to be assessed on the tithe.<sup>2</sup>

It was agreed to divide the county into three parts :—

Oswaldslow, 3 parts.

Halfshire and Doddingtre, 3 parts.

Pershore and Blakenhurst, 3 parts.

Elmley Lovett was assessed at £950 and the sum to be paid £20. But at the end of the list there is a note, So the parish is to pay £10, and a surplusage

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 53.

for recusants of 4s. 2d. Then follows the form of the Bond that the collector of the tax had to give for Halfshire, £580 5s. and £30 for surplusage for recusants according to the equal distribution laid on the county.<sup>1</sup> Then came the warrant from the justices requiring the collector to levy, and a notification to the Treasurer, the Lord Mayor of London, that Anthony Cole of Bromsgrove had been appointed collector. Such was the machinery for getting in the money to be raised by direct taxation. Having got or rather having provided the means for getting the money, the next thing to do was to provide how it was to be spent. Here the Parliament had a great advantage. The legal way of paying the money was to the Lord Mayor of London, but the Lord Mayor of London was a strong Parliamentarian, and if once the money got into his hands there was no hope of the Royalists getting any of it; consequently the Royalists had from the outset to rely on irregular methods of getting money. Having the control of the ordinary methods gave Parliament an important advantage in the struggle.

In January 1642 the question arose who had the right to control the military forces of the country—the Crown or the Parliament? Parliament practically admitted that legally it was the King's right, as they asked him to hand over to them the Tower of London, the chief forts in the country and the whole of the militia. Naturally the King refused to agree in this; but as usual he temporized and wanted to know how and to whom the forts and militia should be disposed. As a concession he accepted Sir John Coniers in the place of Byron as Lieutenant of the Tower.<sup>2</sup> The Commons gave a list of the persons who they considered fit to be entrusted with the militia of the counties in place of the then lords lieutenant. Those for Worcestershire and the adjoining counties are as follows:—

	Actual Lord Lieutenant.	Proposed Lord Lieutenant.
Worcestershire and the city of Worcester.	Tho. Lord Windsor.	Edward Lord Howard of Eserig.
Gloucestershire and the city of Gloucester.	Lord Herbert of Raglan.	George Lord Chandos.
Herefordshire.	Lord Herbert of Raglan.	Francis Lord Dacres.
Salop.	Lord Newport.	Edward Lord Littelton, Keeper of the Great Seal.
Stafford and the city of Lich- field.	Robert Lord Brooke.	Robert, Earl of Essex.
Warwick and the city of Coventry.	Earl of Northampton.	Robert Lord Brooke.
Oxfordshire.	Viscount Falkland.	William Lord Say and Seale.

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> Rushworth, pt. iii., vol. i., p. 519.



To this demand the King gave an evasive answer.<sup>1</sup> He would allow the recommendation only in the case of the city of London and to such corporations as by ancient charter had granted unto them the power of the militia. This the Commons naturally took as a refusal. After some further negotiation, on 2nd March 1642<sup>2</sup> Parliament resolved that the kingdom be forthwith put into a position of defence in such a way as is agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament.

On 5 March they made an ordinance for the militia, and appointed certain persons lords lieutenant of some of the counties. For some reason no one was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Worcestershire, Lord Howard of Escrig now being appointed Lord Lieutenant of Bristol.

Why no one was appointed to Worcestershire is not clear. In the first list that Parliament had presented to the King it was asked that the lieutenant for Worcestershire should be appointed before Somerset. The reason for this and for afterwards leaving out Worcestershire does not appear.

The new lords lieutenant were ordered at once to assemble, muster, arm, train, array and weapon such persons as should be necessary to keep the peace, or were fit for war; to appoint deputy-lieutenants, to make colonels, captains and other officers, and to remove them. Negotiations went on for some time, but only led to the parties getting further and further apart. On 27th May the King issued a proclamation forbidding obedience to any order of Parliament for mustering the trained bands, stating that he proposed to issue commissions of array in each county, and ordering the persons named in the commission to muster, array and arm men for his service.

War was now certain, it was only a question how soon it would break out.

On 11 June the King issued his commission of array for Leicestershire to the Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Devon, Henry Hastings, Henry Berkeley and others, directing them or any three or more of them to array and train all men to arms. With the commission was sent an explanatory letter stating the King's reason for issuing the commission. Parliament at once voted the commission illegal and

“against the liberty and property of the subject, and all who put it into execution should be deemed disturbers of the peace and betrayers of the liberty of the subject.”

The King replied by a proclamation declaring the commission legal, and followed it up by another proclamation forbidding the forcible seizing or removing any magazine or ammunition in any county.

The commissions of array appear to have been issued at different dates. According to Townshend the one for Worcestershire was not issued until 23 July 1642, but it seems likely from what took place at the Midsummer

<sup>1</sup> Rushworth, iii., p. 522.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, iii., p. 526.

Sessions that some commission was issued earlier, as the instructions for putting the commission of array into force, which are given in full by Townshend, are dated 23 July 1642. This is the more probable date.<sup>1</sup> It would certainly have been flattering to the county if it could be said that its loyalty was so strong that the order to array was put off as the Parliament could do nothing in the county. Townshend only gives the heading of the commission, and for some reason did not copy it out into the Diary. This is to be regretted, for it would have been of interest to have had the names of the commissioners. We have, however, a very interesting account of one occurrence that took place, given in a tract that was issued soon after the Midsummer Sessions, and purports to describe what then occurred. Townshend does not refer to it. The following is the title:—

“A letter sent from M<sup>r</sup> Sergeant Wilde and Humphrey Salway, Esq<sup>r</sup>, both members of the House of Commons, to the Honourable William Lenthall, Esq<sup>r</sup>, Speaker of the House of Commons, concerning divers passages at the Quarter Sessions in Worcester about the execution of the Commission of Array and the ordinance of the militia, at which Sessions was the greatest assembly that hath been seen for many years past, together with the humble petition of the Grand Jurymen of that Sessions to the Knights and Justices of that county, wherein it appears they are well satisfied of the illegality of the Commission of Array with their desires of the speedy execution of the militia by those who are intrusted therewith. Read in the House of Commons and ordered by them to be forthwith printed and published. H. Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com. London: Printed by Luke Norton and John Field for Edward Husbands and John Franck, July 18, 1642.”

This tract purports to give an account of the procedure at the Sessions:—

“We hold it our duties to render you this short account of our journey into Worcestershire, which fell out to be very necessary and seasonable, for we found by the way and after our arrival here at Worcester upon Munday night last (being the night before the Quarter Sessions) that great preparation had been made for the execution of the Commission of Array on this day, and great distempers raised in the Countie by the violent prosecution of Master Sherrington Talbot (whose high contempts and oppositions against the Parliament shall be more particularly represented to you hereafter), giving us just cause to believe that there was a design, hope and probability (with reference to other parts adjoining) to have made this Countie a place of war. But (Blessed be God) our coming down by the command of the Honourable House wherof we are unworthy members hath wrought (we hope) so effectually that the Commission of Array was this day quite deserted by the whole countie. The declarations of the Parliament most joyfully and thankfully received, and the minds of the people (which before were, by mis-reports and publications of matters from York, full of anxiety and trouble) are now (we believe) fully settled, as may appear by this inclosed petition, which in a very full and great assemblie as ever we saw at any assizes or Sessions was by the Grand Jury presented to us and the rest of the

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 63.

Justices with a great acclamation of the company then present, and further intimations of ten thousand hands more to have been added to it if time would have permitted.

“Meanwhile Master Sherrington Talbot, having the night before at his house peremptorily refused to obey the arrest of the messenger, as the messenger can testify with other his speeches and actions, and coming hither to the citie in a daring manner to have executed the Commission (finding his hopes fail and his apprehension like to follow), secretly fled away, and, as we hear, is gone again towards York with menaces in his mouth, leaving the Lord Dudley (one of the chief Commissioners) to manage the worke, who, being not seconded by the Commissioners whom he expected (or any other), the same day quitted the place leaving the citie and county (thanks be to God) in good peace and quietnesse, wherein we hope that by God’s blessing it will continue faithfull and firme to the King and Parliament. And of other passages we shall be willing to give the House a more particular account at our returne, which we intend (God willing) shall be very speedily. Meanwhile and ever with our due respects and best service presented to you, we take our leave and rest

“Your most humble and

“affectionate servants,

“John Wilde.

“Humphrey Salway.

“Wednesday, 13 July 1642.”

The tract then gives the following:—

“To the | Right Worshipfull | The Kings Majesties Justices | of the Peace | of the County of | Wigorn. | The humble petition of the Grand | Jury which doth now serve at this present Quarter | Sessions of the Peace holden this 12 of | July 1642

“Sheweth

“That with all thank | fulnesse even from the bottom of our hearts we acknowledge the exceeding great favour the Parliament hath beene pleased to shew unto us in declaring the illegality of the Commission of Array intended at this present to be executed among us. And we do most humbly beseech those to whom the Ordinance of the Militia for this Countie is intrusted that they would be pleased speedily to put the same in execution that so His Majestie’s Royall person, the Parliament and Kingdom may be secured, which (as we are now fully persuaded) are in great danger by reason of the plots of a malignant party and Persons ill affected to the King and State.

“And we shall dayly pray, etc.”

This very self-laudatory letter shews how anxious the Parliament was to keep Worcestershire quiet. Sending down the two members for Worcestershire must have had some effect upon the county, but whether the success expected it is not easy to say.

That the Grand Jury was packed appears obvious from reading the list of names that are given by Townshend.<sup>1</sup> Only 17 instead of 23 were empannelled, and although the names of some of them are those of families

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 65.

still remaining in the county, yet they are all names of men in inferior position. Townshend adds a note: "To this petition there was not one gent. of the Jury." And it would seem he was very nearly right. The curious thing was that the sheriff Edward Vernon of Hanbury was in no respect a strong Royalist, but his under-sheriff Thomas Bund was a strong Parliament man, and quite capable of acting under Wylde's instructions. Whatever was the reason, the Royalists took active steps to disassociate themselves from the petition and the politics expressed in it. The Sessions had been held on 16 July; a fortnight later, 3 August, the Assizes were held, and the freeholders then assembled, headed, according to Townshend, by the sheriff Edward Vernon, who must have been responsible for calling the previous Jury, joined with Lord Coventry, the Baronets, Knights and gentlemen then assembled in disavowing the Petition, and stating it had been "framed by persons ill affected to the peace of the County."

The Commission of Array met on 1 August before the Assizes, and treated the Grand Jury's protest as a nullity; they proceeded at once to issue their warrant to the different High Constables of the Hundreds to send for all the petty constables, giving them notice and requiring them to give warning to all the trained, freehold and clergy bands, both horse and foot, to appear with their arms on Pitchcroft, the great meadow adjoining Worcester, completely arrayed.<sup>1</sup>

This order was issued from a well-known public house in Worcester, the "Talbot" in Sidbury, which then might be called the head-quarters of the Royalist party in the city. The reason being not that it was particularly noted for its loyalty, but that it was, if not the best, almost the only public house within the city walls which was in the jurisdiction of the County Justices, being in the parish of St. Michael's in Bedwardine, a county parish. Townshend or some owner of the Diary has carefully obliterated the names of the Commissioners who signed the warrant to the High Constables of the Hundreds directing them to take steps to call out the trained bands. Possibly it was too dangerous for those strong Royalists to allow it to be known how far their loyalty led them. They went a step further, and directed a certain number of gentlemen "to bring in such horses as they had, with arms and array, to the great meadow called Pitchcroft near the city, so that a full and exact review might be taken of the horse, and if necessary, they should be trained and exercised." Only 12 of the Commissioners signed the order as against 13 who had signed the presentment at Sessions. Like the Sessions signatures these also have been very effectively obliterated.

Charles must have found himself in great difficulties. As has been pointed out, all the money raised by taxes went to Parliament. When the King left London he cut himself off from all the trained forces and also from all the untrained, as he was absolutely without money to pay any troops or to provide arms and ammunition. Some writers blame Charles for his delay

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 66.

in beginning the war and wasting the time between leaving London in March and beginning fighting in September. The truth is that one of the most wonderful things in the civil war was how Charles without money, without stores, without troops or ammunition was able to raise an army that could not merely hold its own, but do more against the Parliament with its trained troops and its supplies.

This could only be done by the loyalty of the country gentry, conspicuous among whom was that Lord Herbert, who afterwards as Lord Glamorgan gave rise to so much controversy. During this period, from the time Charles left London to the time of the advance to Edgehill, Herbert is said to have found no less than £100,000.

Charles was naturally very anxious to learn how matters were progressing, and the Secretary of State wrote inquiring what progress had been made in Worcestershire. The Commissioners of Array sent to find out what were "the first fruits of their obedience."<sup>1</sup>

On 3 August the Assizes for the County were held, and the Sheriff, Lord Coventry, the Baronets, Knights, Justices of the Peace, Gentlemen and Freeholders of the County agreed on a presentment that <sup>2</sup>

"if His Majesty would preserve the Freedom of Parliament and its just rights and privileges they would use all lawful ways to put the County in a posture of arms for the defence of His Majesty and the peace of the kingdom, and to adventure their lives and fortunes in defence of His Majesty."

Then, referring to the presentment of the Grand Jury at the last Sessions, they say <sup>3</sup> :—

"That as to their petition about the Militia, they utterly disavow it as not agreeable to the intents or desires of us or any considerable number of the County, and declare that by the information they had received from several of the persons on the Grand Jury that it was not their own framing, but contrived and prepared for them by some persons not well affected to the peace and quiet of this County."

No less than 66 persons signed the declaration; no doubt the Royalists packed the Assizes just as the Parliament, or rather, as Sergt. Wylde had packed the Sessions Grand Jury.

A paper appears to have been shewn to the Grand Jury by Sir William Russell giving the details of what stores there were in the county for the King. The total amount in the county was 44 barrells of powder, 1½ tons of lead, and 2276 lbs. of match.

Wylde so distrusted the citizens of Worcester that he got the Sessions to make an order removing from Worcester to Droitwich all the ammunition in the Worcester magazine, and this is probably the reason why in his memorandum Sir William Russell left out the City of Worcester. Steps were being taken to refill the magazine there.

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 68.

On one important point we have no information. Were there usually magazines at the five places mentioned, and, if so, what was supposed to be the proper quantity of ammunition to be kept in each?

The Worcester magazine seems to have been by far the largest. If all the barrels were the same size it had as much powder as all the other places together, and, although it had not so much match as all the others, it had considerably more than any other. It had also what none of the others had, a stock of 500 lbs. of lead. If Wylde's order had been carried out and the magazine removed to Droitwich, the supply at Worcester was far greater than is usually supposed.

To provide themselves with arms the Commissioners of Array issued warrants to search suspected houses for arms, and if they found any, or more "than were fitting for the rank and quality of the owner of the house, to take the said arms."<sup>1</sup>

They also required all Royalists to state what number of horses the signatories would agree to find. Lord Coventry heads the list with 10, Sir Thomas Littelton, Sir John Pakington, and Sir Edward Sebright 6 each. Sir Rowland Berkeley and Samuel Sandys 4 each, and John Washbourn and John Nanfan not over 2 each. Townshend himself and 21 other persons found only 1 apiece.

This return is very instructive: 41 persons undertook to provide 95 horses. If the King had to rely solely on what horses the county would supply his cavalry, it would not have proved very efficient, especially having regard to the conditions that the horses were to be disposed of within the county, and only to be provided for three months from 14 August 1642. Most probably the horses were more for transport than for cavalry, as all the transport when not done by bullocks had to be by horses.

Notwithstanding all the efforts of the Royalists, it was not so much supplies, ammunition or horses they required, as men. The gentry were "very forward" to come to the King's help. Not so the working men, the labourers, the countrymen—their experience in the march to the North against the Scots in 1640 seems to have prejudiced them against military service. All sorts of proposals were made to supply the deficiency. At a Council at Worcester on 17 August it was proposed to make every trained soldier bring a fresh soldier<sup>2</sup>

"for supply in his room for neighbouring service, and that such persons as would voluntarily offer to serve the King should be enrolled and receive pay as the rest of the soldiers in the King's army."<sup>3</sup>

Certain most important questions were raised at this meeting, and the lords and gentlemen, while apologising for asking the questions, urged that they might have a reply at once. The questions went to the root of the matter, and

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> II., p. 72.

prove better than anything else how just a month before hostilities actually began the Royalists had not so far completed their preparations as to be able to say what the pay of their men should be, what arms they could be supplied with, and where they could get them from. It was not the fault of the Commissioners. They had only, thanks to Wylde's interference, been at work a little over a month, and while they had been searching houses for arms and providing horses and making suggestions for procuring men, they were in ignorance what pay they should give, when the pay should begin, how the men could be armed, and with what arms.<sup>1</sup>

It was time they took some steps, for at the meeting of 17 August a letter dated 11 August from the Warwickshire Commissioners of Array was received saying what Warwickshire had done, offering to join with Worcestershire, and stating that<sup>2</sup>

“certain forces were already upon the march from London towards these parts in opposition to His Majesty, his Royal authority, and the peace of the Kingdom, and urging Worcestershire to raise and have in readiness all their forces, trained bands, as other for their common safety.”

They add in a postscript that “they had heard from York that the King would be there by the end of the week with considerable forces.”

The Worcestershire reply was not very encouraging. They said

“they had put right the bad impression created by the proceedings at Sessions, that they recognized the danger and were willing to attend in person upon lawful warning for the King's service and safety of their neighbours.”<sup>3</sup>

Warwick replied promptly on 15 August<sup>4</sup>:—

“The forces mentioned in their last letter were approaching nearer. Great numbers of men had gathered in a warlike manner, and were approaching Coventry, a place of great strength, waiting for fitting opportunity to join others, which might prove of dangerous consequence to the Kingdom in general, and begged Worcestershire to raise at once such forces of Horse and foot as might yield them aid therein.”

Charles, who was then at Stoneleigh Abbey in Warwickshire, thought that more disarming should be done in Worcestershire than had taken place, so issued an order on 20 August directing

“search to be made in the City of Worcester, and all arms found in the hands of recusants to be seized, and also to seize the arms of all persons who ought not to have arms, and the arms of all factious and disorderly persons who despised his authority and yielded any power over the militia not consented to by the King.”<sup>5</sup>

II., p. 71.   <sup>2</sup> II., p. 72.   <sup>3</sup> II., p. 73.   <sup>4</sup> II., p. 74.   <sup>5</sup> II., p. 79.

The power thus given to the County Commissioners seems to have been in consequence of their request to the King to give them the same power he had given the Mayor of Worcester, who with the City Sheriff were directed to assist the County Commissioners.

The next day, 21 August, Charles sent again from Stoneleigh to the Commission of Array for Worcestershire, thanking them for raising a troop of horse and promising to raise some foot for his service, and asking them to send with all possible diligence the gentlemen's troop of horse to the Earl of Northampton and Lord Dunsmore to help him, and also if possible some foot to Warwick.<sup>1</sup> As neither of these were done, this may have been the cause of the King's retreat to Nottingham on that day.

The King now met with a serious check. Parliament had sent to Lord Brooke, the Lord Lieutenant of Warwickshire, some guns for the defence of Warwick castle—those guns Lord Northampton had intercepted. But the postscript to the Warwick letter states: "No reply made for the Earl of Northampton removed from Warwick to the King."<sup>2</sup> Probably this withdrawal made Warwickshire more insistent for Worcestershire help, as Brooke had taken possession of Warwick Castle, and when Charles appeared before Coventry and demanded admission he was refused, unless he was prepared to enter alone. While trying to force an entrance a sortie was made from the town, which drove off his men and some were killed.<sup>3</sup> Charles then retreated to Nottingham. On the 22nd he set up his standard at Nottingham, the act which marks the actual beginning of the war. The next day, 23 August, the Worcestershire Commissioners wrote to the Secretary of State detailing their "weak and imperfect endeavours which had more fervent affections than power for his service."<sup>4</sup> They again state plainly that unless the King supplied them in some fit proportion "and speedily with arms and ammunition they would be unable to serve him in that useful way which was agreeable to the occasion and their desires." This was plain speaking, but it was the simple truth; they had no arms or ammunition, and most important of all no money, and therefore were helpless. That was not the worst. They go on to point out that their neighbours by putting the ordinance of the militia into operation, the approach of the London forces to their borders, and the King's withdrawal from Warwick Castle had put such fear into the Commons of the County that no confidence could be raised out of them. Another thing that discouraged them was that the King had given the Mayor of Worcester power to seize the arms of Papists and disaffected persons, but had not given them the same power; in fact everything seemed against them. They had, however, done what they could. Five officers had been appointed to exercise the recruits, but for some reason not in all the places where there were magazines. At Bewdley, Capt. John Clent's Company, the number of men is [blank] were to be exercised on 22 August before three of the Commissioners, whose names are obliterated.

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 79.<sup>2</sup> II., p. 74.<sup>3</sup> Gardiner, x., 218.<sup>4</sup> II., p. 75.



Capt. Philip Brace's Company and Capt. Richard Pitt's Company were to be exercised at Worcester, Capt. Brace's before 6 gentlemen, whose names are obliterated, Capt. Pitt's Company, which was for the Clergy, were to be exercised at Worcester before such of the Commissioners as were at Worcester.<sup>1</sup>

Capt. John Speite's company was to be exercised at Pershore before 5 gentlemen, and Capt. Scudamore Pytt's at Droitwich before 4 persons ; in both cases the names are obliterated.

As already stated, while all the magazines had powder and match, and the five magazines a ton and a half of lead divided among them, Worcester had 500 lbs. to itself.

The Commissioners made a further attempt to get arms. They issued another warrant, ordering search to be made in the houses of the persons named in the warrant, who they had reason to believe were in possession of more arms than their rank entitled them to have, to seize such arms and keep them pending an order from the Commission of Array.

The Commissioners continued to do what they could. They issued a revised list of persons who would find horses. This time 82 persons agreed to find 76 horses, an increase of 35 men, but a decrease of 19 in the number of horses.

But neither more vigorous searches nor even increased numbers of men were any use unless there was money provided for pay, and this was not only the great thing lacking but the one thing needful, and the last thing that Charles ever dreamt of supplying. He informed the Commission of Array that he heard that ill-affected persons in the county were able to get arms and ammunition from London, but that his friends were not able to do so, and what they had were taken from them, and their persons imprisoned and detained. The Commissioners were therefore directed to raise such further forces as were convenient for the preservation of the county from rebels now quartered not far from it, and from the ill affected persons in the same. They were also told if they wanted a further commission to raise forces to write for it and they should have it at once. Then came the great point. They were to employ the utmost care, industry, and interest to encourage all the King's good subjects to such a voluntary contribution as might suffice to pay the forces so raised as long as should be necessary for the general safety, and to appoint a Receiver for the same. The King would order such monies as the clergy of the county should be willing to contribute to be paid to the Receiver, and he had written to the Bishop on the matter.

On the receipt of this letter the Commission asked that all or any three of them might be authorized to raise volunteers.<sup>2</sup>

Pending further orders from the King the Commissioners tried to enter into a working arrangement with the city. They asked<sup>3</sup>

1. To be allowed to billet in the city such horse as should be thought fit for the safeguard of the city and county.

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

2. What armourers the city could supply for making arms, the iron plates for the arms being brought in weekly.

3. That no Papists or recusants should be allowed to take Houses or remain in the city. If 1000 men were raised for defence of the county and city, what number could be billeted in the city.

4. What number of volunteers would the city provide at the same pay as the King paid his soldiers ?

No answer appears to have been sent to these proposals. The city seems to have desired to be neutral, and no steps were taken to put the city in a state of defence.

To meet the difficulty the King proposed that some of the counties should associate, and a proposal was sent that the counties of Lancaster, Stafford, Worcester, Hereford and the four counties of North Wales should associate for the common defence. The money difficulty came in, how the associated forces should be paid, and it was proposed that all the counties should provide a fortnight's pay.<sup>1</sup> For some reason, probably the liability to provide an unknown sum of money for pay, the association was not carried out. The Worcestershire Commissioners gave another reason. "The ill entertainment of the City of Worcester have so scattered our thoughts that they cannot be so suddenly recollected."<sup>2</sup>

The King on 5 September, being still at Nottingham, sent to the Worcestershire Commission of Array power to levy such number of volunteers as should seem necessary for the defence and safety of his good subjects inhabiting his good county of Worcester.

The King at once appointed Sir Thomas Littleton the commander of the county volunteers.

In this Commission the initial letters of the names of the Commissioners of Array are given. The following attempt has been made to identify them.

Prince Charles	afterwards Charles II.
E. E. Dud.	Edward Earl of Dudley.
T. L. Co.	Thomas Lord Coventry.
Sir T. C.	
Sir J. P.	Sir John Pakington.
E. S.	Sir Edward Sebright.
W. R. B.	Sir William Russell, Baronet.
Sir E. L. B.	Sir Edward Littleton, Baronet.
Sir R. C.	Sir Ralph Clare.
Sir H. H.	Sir Henry Herbert.
Sir J. R.	Sir J. Rouse.
Sir R. B.	Sir Rowland Berkeley.
Sir H. S.	
J. L.	J. Littleton.
W. C.	William Child.

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 84.

E. P.	Edward Pitts.
J. N.	John Nanfan.
H. T.	Henry Townshend.
S. S.	Samuel Sandys.
J. W.	Joseph Walsh.
E. V.	Edward Vernon.
S. T.	Sherrington Talbot.
F. F.	Francis Finch.
H. I.	Henry Ingram.
T. S., esquire	Thomas Savage.

By virtue of this Commission Sir Thomas Lyttelton became in fact the Royalist commander-in-chief of the King's forces in the county.

So far as appears nothing was done to put the county in a state of defence. The trained bands searched nominally for arms, but really for plunder, and the houses of persons suspected of any anti-monarchical leaning were searched for what could be carried off. One instance, not of the Worcester but the Parliament trained bands from Gloucester, which occurred about this time will serve to shew how these searchers worked. They entered a house at Castlemorton. The owner, Mr. Bartlett, asked what they came for. The leader replied to search for arms. Bartlett said the house had been already searched and the arms carried off. The leader then searched Bartlett's pocket and took his money, between £2 and £3. He then asked Bartlett where he kept his plate. Bartlett would not say, so the housekeeper was seized, and the soldiers pricked her with their swords. She escaped and left the house. They then went over the house, methodically breaking open what they liked, taking what they fancied. This is most likely a fair specimen of how searches for arms were carried out; possibly when done by Rupert and his men they were still more organized robbery than that of the Gloucester amateurs.

Worcester was not quiet; the "faithful city" was shewing a very unfaithful aspect toward the King. The citizens made various proposals to the Mayor, which shew that the Worcester citizens cared more for themselves than for the King. They asked the Mayor to grant the following<sup>1</sup>:—

"1. That all Delinquents and Papists which were or should come in be disarmed and put forth from the city.

"2. That Troopers and adherents to the Commission of Array be kept from the city, and the drum be no longer beaten for volunteers against the King or Parliament.

"3. No soldiers be entertained or billeted in the city.

"4. Such arms as can be spared be delivered into the hands of able and sufficient men of the city, whereby they may be exercised and disciplined so as to defend the city against a sudden assault.

"5. That watch and ward be kept at every gate of the city and at the quay head, and all passengers and carriages by land or water be examined."

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 87.

The Mayor replied:—

- “ 1. That Lord Lovelace and M<sup>r</sup> Stanford, declared to be delinquents, shall be required to depart.
- “ 2. That the Commission of Array shall be asked not to hold their meetings in the city.
- “ 3. That if it could be prevented, no soldiers be billeted in the city.
- “ 4. That the Mayor had no power to compel citizens to deliver up their arms, but as the right has been granted to many Corporations, an attempt be made to get it.
- “ 5. Watch, ward and search shall be carried out.”

The Commissioners of Array agreed to hold their meetings outside the city, and not to further resort to the city upon the business of the array.<sup>1</sup>

On 17 September 1642 Parliament ordered that Worcester be put into a state of defence under Captain Rea, a citizen, who was to command and to take all magazines and arms remaining in the city or about the Cathedral Church, and particularly the arms, money and plate of Lord Coventry. Within a week from then Essex advanced, took the city, and it felt what it was to be a captured city. It was not until the middle of November that the Royalists regained Worcester.

The capture of Worcester in September 1642 ends what may be termed the preliminary act of the civil war. It is marked by several distinctive features:—

1. The total want of preparation in the county for anything like an armed resistance. There were really no Royalist preparations until the King issued the Commission of Array; even when he did, nothing was done. There was no one to give any orders or take any steps towards putting the county into a state of defence. Such preparations as were made were almost entirely upset by the action of Wylde and Salway at Sessions on 13 July; this was not put right until the Assizes on 3 August. Then the time was too short to do much, and the Parliament had in the interval been able to check the progress of the Royalists.

2. The attitude of the City of Worcester. It seems to have done everything that it could against the King, and on no occasion to have rendered the Royalists any real help. It shewed very clearly that it favoured the Parliament more than the King, and it had its reward.

3. The greatest force prevailing against the Royalists was the want of money, and consequently the inability of those who were really Royalists to do anything to help on the cause. No arms were in stock, money was wanted to buy them; insufficient provisions for the garrison, and no money to buy any; a lot of armed robbers straggling about the county devastating and plundering. There was no money in hand with which to pay the troops, no money coming in, nor the prospect of any, so the Commissioners of Array abandoned Worcester and left it to its fate. The Byron occupation was only an accidental incident. If money had been forthcoming it might have been possible

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 89.

to have put up a fight; without it nothing could be done. The matter cannot be better put than it was by Lord Herbert to the King on 9 September 1642:—

“Much lieth at stake for want of a little money. Given £20,000 with what you have I would further your Majesty’s designs to a most hopeful condition, for want whereof your Majesty is enforced to dally, though you will never yield, and at the present you offer that which is worth £100,000 for £50,000, besides my Lord Capel, Sir William Savile and others of good estate do also offer themselves for security.”

Herbert then states the conditions on which his father would make an advance:—

“No want or occasion can make your Majesty press my Lord who hath already done so much, but if he and his friends would procure £10,000 your Majesty would suddenly if it pleased God to restore you see it repaid, and would presently in token of thankfulness send my Father the Garter to put on when he pleased, and also having the great seal in your Majesty’s own custody you would pass a patent of Marquiss of what title my Father should desire, and keep it private as long as he thought fitting.”<sup>1</sup>

The last act in the war opens in the last half of November 1642, when the Royalists re-occupied Worcester and held it until the end of the war. The first thing done was to appoint a military governor of the city, and to this very difficult post Sir William Russell of Strensham was appointed. He had no money except his own, yet he was expected to put Worcester in a state of defence, and fit out an army for the King’s use.

How he collected his troops and what number he was able to get does not precisely appear, but in December he began to make payments which seem to shew that the troops were there either at the end of November or the beginning of December. The earliest paper<sup>2</sup> now extant is as follows:—

“Received of Sir William Russell the sum of one hundred pounds towards the payment of my Regiment. I say received the said sum the 24<sup>th</sup> of December 1642.

John Burn.”

This raises the question what was the force Russell had, and what were the rates of pay. Another document<sup>3</sup> throws some light on this. It is as follows:—

“Captain Francis Blount’s account from the 4<sup>th</sup> December 1642 unto the 29<sup>th</sup> April 1643.

	£	s.	d.
Imprimis for the entertainment of 150 men at 3 <sup>s</sup> a man	22	10	0
Item for the soldiers’ pay from the 4 <sup>th</sup> of December unto the 10 <sup>th</sup> of Dec <sup>r</sup> as by the account appears . . .	23	8	0
Item for the soldiers’ pay from the 10 <sup>th</sup> of December unto the 17 <sup>th</sup> of December as by the account appears . . .	25	10	0

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS. Com., 13th Rep., App. ix., p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Russell MSS.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

Item for the soldiers' pay from the 17 Dec <sup>r</sup> unto the 24 <sup>th</sup> Dec <sup>r</sup> as by the account appears . . . . .	£	s.	d.
	29	2	0
Item for 53 men horsed from the 24 <sup>th</sup> Dec <sup>r</sup> unto the last of December . . . . .	27	16	6
Item for 51 men unhorsed from the 24 <sup>th</sup> Dec <sup>r</sup> unto the last of December . . . . .	15	6	0
Item for 53 men horsed from the last of Dec <sup>r</sup> unto the 7 <sup>th</sup> of January . . . . .	27	16	0
Item for 60 men unhorsed from the last of Dec <sup>r</sup> to the 7 <sup>th</sup> of January . . . . .	18	0	0
Item for 53 men horsed from the 7 <sup>th</sup> Jan <sup>y</sup> unto the 14 <sup>th</sup> of January . . . . .	27	16	0
Item for 69 men unhorsed from the 7 <sup>th</sup> Jan <sup>y</sup> unto the 14 <sup>th</sup> of January . . . . .	20	14	0

From henceforth I attorned to my Colonel 24 soldiers, which made up a full muster of 100 horse.

Item for 100 men horsed from the 14 <sup>th</sup> January to the 21 <sup>st</sup> January . . . . .	52	10	0
Item for 100 men horsed from the 21 <sup>st</sup> January to the 28 <sup>th</sup> January . . . . .	52	10	0

Similar entries are given for the same sum each week up to 29 April—13 weeks—making a total of £1050. For the pay from 14 January to 29 April in the original, the total of the payments is given as £1025 8s. 6d.<sup>1</sup> When later Sir William Russell's accounts were disputed, the payments as to Francis Blount's troops are stated as follows:—

“That Captain Francis Blount for 150 men from the 4<sup>th</sup> December to the 6<sup>th</sup> January at 6<sup>s</sup> a man per week, being 6 weeks, cometh to £237 18s., and afterwards for 100 of the said men, being mounted dragoons, for 18 weeks at 10<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup> per week, cometh in all to £945, whereof received £843, remains in arrears £339. More due to him for muskets £6 16s.<sup>2</sup>

Another entry appears as to Captain Francis Blount:—

“That Cap<sup>t</sup> Francis Blount hath received of Sir William Russell £48 from September 8<sup>th</sup> till October the 17<sup>th</sup> for the raising and towards the paying of a troop of horse, but what number they were or whether at all mustered we know not.”<sup>3</sup>

As to these horse Captain Francis Blount's own account continues:—

“Imprimis for the rise of 100 horse . . . . .	£250	0s.	0d.
Whereof			
The s <sup>d</sup> Colonel commanded to Bridgenorth . . . . .	30		
And none returned.			
Lost in the pursuit of the enemy and commanded away into strange hands by the Prince, which were at the same time . . . . .			20
Dead and lost since <sup>1</sup> . . . . .			10

<sup>1</sup> Russell MSS.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 150.

<sup>3</sup> II., p. 154.

## INTRODUCTION.

xxx1

	£	s.	d.
Paid for stocking, securing and fixing arms . . . . .	5	0	0
Paid for collars by the Colonell's appointment . . . . .	1	2	0
Paid for meat for cattle at . . . . .	0	9	6
Paid for bringing in a coach . . . . .	0	2	6
Paid for bringing in Cattle from Pershore . . . . .	0	2	0
	<hr/>		
	6	16	0
	250	0	0
	1025	8	6

The total of the charge disbursed . . . . . 1282 4 6

	£	s.	d.
Received of Newton Russell about the 20 <sup>th</sup> December . . . . .	50	0	0
Received about the 24 of Dec <sup>r</sup> . . . . .	20	0	0
Received the 7 <sup>th</sup> of January . . . . .	50	0	0
Received the 4 <sup>th</sup> of February . . . . .	50	0	0
Received the 10 <sup>th</sup> of February . . . . .	20	0	0
Received of M <sup>r</sup> Joyner of Tenbury . . . . .	30	0	0
Received the 8 <sup>th</sup> of March . . . . .	80	0	0
Received the 20 <sup>th</sup> of March . . . . .	10	0	0
Received to pay soldiers that went to Bridgenorth . . . . .	20	0	0
Received about Easter when we went to Parshawe . . . . .	20	0	0
Received of M <sup>r</sup> Richardson . . . . .	50	0	0
Received of the Mayor . . . . .	50	0	0
Received 31 <sup>st</sup> March . . . . .	30	0	0
Received 24 April . . . . .	50	0	0
Received by myself and Cornet . . . . .	50	0	0

Total received is . . . . . 580 0 0

	£	s.	d.
The disbursements . . . . .	1282	4	6
The receipts . . . . .	0580	0	0
The remainder . . . . .	702	4	6

Allowance for the Cap<sup>t</sup> for 21 weeks.  
 for the Lieutenant 21 weeks.  
 for the Cornet 21 weeks.  
 for the Quartermaster 21 weeks.  
 for 2 Sergeants 21 weeks.  
 the Drums 21 weeks.  
 the Clerk 21 weeks.  
 the farrier 21 weeks."

Such is Francis Blount's account. It is an instructive document; it gives some items of interest. The allowance for food, or, as he calls it, entertainment, is 3s. a man; taking the present value of money as three times what it then was, this makes the allowance 9s. a day. Then comes the rate of pay for a man without a horse: it was 3s. 4d.; if he had a horse 10s. 6d. Unfortunately the allowances for officers are left blank.

There is another statement as to pay. It is endorsed on the back: "Captain Colt's account." It goes to shew that the payments made by Russell to the

different troops in the garrison were, if not identical, very nearly so. It is as follows:—

"Mustered on St Steven's day being Monday, on the Saturday fortnight being the 7 <sup>th</sup> of Jan. 1642. Received of Sir Will. Russell for the pay of my troop	}	7 <sup>th</sup>	.	50	00	00		
		14 <sup>th</sup>	.	50	00	00		
		21 <sup>st</sup>	.	50	00	00		
		28 <sup>th</sup>	.	50	00	00		
		Feb. 1642		11 <sup>th</sup>	.	100	00	00
				18 <sup>th</sup>	.	050	00	00
		Advance forage		21 <sup>st</sup>	.	100	00	00
				25 <sup>th</sup>	.	025	00	00
		March 1642		4 <sup>th</sup>	.	025	00	00
				11 <sup>th</sup>	.	020	00	00
		18 <sup>th</sup>	.	030	00	00		
April 17 <sup>th</sup> , 1643, at several payments since the 4 <sup>th</sup> of March 1642	}	17 <sup>th</sup>	.	050	00	00		
600 00 00								

Unpaid 8 weeks on Saturday the 29 of April 1643 paid ten weeks."<sup>1</sup>

Other receipts for pay are:—

" 16 Feb. 1642.

Received then of Sr W<sup>m</sup> Russell, Baronet, Governor of Worcester and Tewkesbury, the sum of £20 for payment of his own company of dragoones here at Tewkesbury, I say received the sum of . . . xx<sup>li</sup>.  
Thomas Mayland.<sup>1</sup>

21<sup>st</sup> April 1643.

Received this day and yeare above written of Thomas Prichard the full and just sum of forty eight pounds six shillings and twopence for and towards the payment of my Governor's own Troopes. . . £48 6 2  
p. me John Harris, Q<sup>ut</sup> Mr.<sup>1</sup>

9 die Maij 1643.

Received then of Sir William Russell, Baronett, Governor of the City of Worcester, the sum of twenty pounds towards the payment of Colonell Begmonts, Payment I say rece<sup>d</sup>. . . . . 20 lb.  
John Beaumont."<sup>1</sup>

Justice has never been done to Russell for all he did for the King. He was not a rich man—a country gentleman fairly well off. Charles seems to have considered that it was the duty of such men who were Royalists to maintain the King's garrisons at their own cost, and when they did so and came to the end of their money, instead of being thanked they were treated with coldness, if not more.

Russell had, in addition to paying his men, to lay in a stock of cannou shot and powder. He lost no time after becoming Governor of Worcester in doing this. His first receipt is 31 December 1642:—

" Ultimo die Decembris 1642.

Received the day and year above written of Sir William Russell, Baronet, High Sheriff for the County of Worcester, the sum of five pounds towards the casting of shot for His Majesties service, I say received . . . . . 5<sup>li</sup>.  
p. me William Duddeley."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Russell MSS.



This was followed by :—

“ Die quarto die Januariæ 1642.

Received the day and year above written of Sir William Russell, Baronett, High Sheriff for the County of Worcester, the sum of seven pounds towards the casting of ordinance for His Majesties service in the said County, I say received<sup>1</sup> . . . . . 7<sup>li</sup>.  
p. me Brian Newton.

10<sup>th</sup> die Feb<sup>r</sup> 1642.

Received the day and year abovesaid of Sir William Russell, Baronet, the sum of forty shillings for casting of Iron Ordinance. I say received the sum of<sup>1</sup> . . . . . 40<sup>s</sup>.  
Brian Newton.

Decimo octavo die Februarii 1642.

Received then of Sir William Russell, Baronet, High Sheriff for the County of Worcester, the sum of five pounds towards the casting of ordinance. I say received by me<sup>1</sup> . . . . . 5<sup>li</sup>.  
per me Brian Newton.”

Some idea as to where the money came from that enabled Russell to make these large payments is given us by Townshend. In the month of October, 1643, a dispute between Russell and the Commissioners of Array took place. The Commissioners charged Russell with dealing unfaithfully with His Majesty and the county in his accounts.<sup>2</sup> This led to Russell producing an account of his receipts and payments, a most interesting document, as it shews us, at all events in part, how the Royalists obtained monies for carrying on the war.<sup>3</sup>

The chief item is a contribution made by order of Quarter Sessions of £3000 a month levied on the county ; it was afterwards for a short time paid at £4000. Out of this varying sums were paid for the maintenance of the garrison at Worcester. These sums appear to have been in 1642-3 :—

	£	s.	d.
January . . . . .	2343	10	1
February . . . . .	2055	17	7
March . . . . .	1361	0	0
April . . . . .	54	1	2
	5814	8	10

It seems that the city was being defended at the cost of the county, so that it was well paid for its so-called fidelity.

2. When the Parliament troops held Worcester from the end of September 1642 to the middle of November 1642, the Earl of Essex, who was in command, imposed a heavy contribution on the city. When Essex retreated to Gloucester the whole of the contribution had not been got in. Russell made the citizens pay up the outstanding arrears, which produced £28 13s. 4d. This probably added to the ill-feeling.

<sup>1</sup> Russell MSS.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 131.

<sup>3</sup> II., p. 139.

The clergy of the diocese agreed to pay the cost of raising a troop of horse, and paid for the purpose £270.

Russell was not above plundering delinquents when he could do so under colour of the law, and he was able to extort from "delinquents," that is, prominent Parliamentarians in the adjoining counties of Gloucester and Warwick, a sum of £267.

The Parliament shewed they were not particular in getting money as long as they did get it. On 8 December 1642 an order was issued by Parliament empowering deputy lieutenants to raise such sums of money as should be required to pay the Parliament's forces. The methods to be employed in raising it are not stated.

Russell placed a small force in Tewkesbury in the early part of 1643, after it had been taken by Prince Maurice, and occupied it for a short time. Waller compelled him to abandon it; but the people of Tewkesbury were made to pay the cost of keeping Maurice's men while they occupied the place. For this Russell received £460. A small sum of £106 was received from some persons for wood, malt and iron. Mr. Bacon paid the cost of his regiment of horse and foot, £1325 7s. 2½*d.* Russell extorted £494 6s. from delinquents, mostly Papists, in the county, and by some means or another extracted £52 out of the Worcester citizens. These sums in the whole amounted to about £400. The majority of the payments were made or alleged to be made for pay to soldiers—no less a sum than £300. In addition there was paid a sum of £68 2s. 11*d.* to the canoneer of the city, and the matrosses and others belonging to the artillery. The matrosses were Firth, 427.

persons attached to the artillery, two to each train, whose duty was to attend to the drying of powder that was decayed in summer, helping to remove the tents, collers and cordage, and to keep them in good condition, and to help the commissary to deliver out ammunition to those that came to receive it. £152 was paid by Russell<sup>1</sup> for making saltpetre, £55 11s. 5*d.* to the three powder makers, and a general figure without details of £798 18s. had been paid for ammunition, casting and boring canon, making carriages, and a further sum to guides, scouts, messengers and intelligencers, and other disbursements for his Majesty's service. By this account, the total of which was £15,901 6s., it appeared Sir William Russell had spent £3338 15s. 3*d.* more than he had received. He at once suggested that the persons who had made the charges against him should investigate the accounts. Three of the commission were appointed to do this, Francis Finch, Joseph Walsh and the author of the Diary, Henry Townshend, and they found a balance due to Russell of no less than £3305 18s. 4½*d.* They add that some of the Commissioners would take exception to the account.

The disputes between Sir William Russell and the Commissioners enable some idea to be formed of what the garrison of Worcester consisted, and what was its strength.

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 140.

There appears to have been at one time or another during 1643 quartered in Worcester eight troops. Their commanders were <sup>1</sup> :—

Sir William Russell's own troop.  
 Capt. John Blunt.  
 Capt. Joseph Walsh.  
 Capt. George Colte.  
 Capt. Francis Blunt.  
 Capt. Dennis.  
 Sergt. Major Henderson.  
 Sir James Hamilton.

The numbers of each troop appear to have varied from 70, which was the lowest number of a full troop, to a hundred.

Taking them at 60 each, the garrison would have been 480, or in round numbers 500, and that probably would fairly represent the strength of the garrison. It was at times stronger from troops that were marching through staying for a time, but it may be assumed that 500 would be about the regular strength. They had not only to do garrison duty, but had also to make raids into the country whenever required, and it would appear that it was seldom that the full garrison was in the city.

It was not merely paying the troops for which the Governor had to be responsible. If any important person came and ran short of money the Governor had to help him. Prince Maurice was sent down to the county in 1643, and when he arrived he wanted money. The person who had to lend him money was the Governor. The following receipt is among the Russell papers :—

“Received of Sir William Russell, Governor of Worcester, ye summe of two hundred pounds, April 14, 1643. £200 os. od.  
 Maurice.”<sup>2</sup>

Another certificate is only a fragment—

“Ultimo die Aug.  
 Whereas Sir William Russell's Regiment of Horse did quarter in Alberley in May and                   unto me constable  
   said town out of the  
 fourteen pounds ten shillings and ninepence in discharge thereof.  
   John Ford, Constable.”

The want of money was most severely felt by Sir William Russell. Nothing serves to shew this more than a message the King, who was then at Oxford, sent Russell.<sup>3</sup> The King states, 17 December 1642, that

“certain of his forces were in Worcestershire for its defence against the violence and plundering of the rebel army, and that as the King's revenue was detained from him he was disabled to pay them and therefore feared that the soldiers would commit some violence on the county, which the King was most anxious to avoid. Russell was therefore

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Russell MSS.

<sup>3</sup> II., p. 90.

ordered to cast up what was due to the soldiers as the necessary charge for their maintenance, and to cause it to be equally divided in the best and most satisfactory way throughout, so that every division, Hundred and parish might be rated for its share and a time and place appointed for its payment, and require that they should willingly pay the same as they tendered his Honour, safety and his own defence and preservation, and as they expected that the King's officers should contain their soldiers under such discipline that they should commit no outrage for want of necessary subsistence, and that acquittance be given to the county for the money so received so that the King might pay it punctually as soon as God enabled him, which he promised to do."

Five days later, on 21 December 1642, came another letter from the King to Sir William Russell stating how much the King was affected by the forces of the rebels and the damage they were doing to his good subjects, and in some degree from the forces he had been constrained to raise for the defence of the country.<sup>1</sup> The King ordered Russell

"to make it known to all the Gentry, Clergy, Freeholders and others his good subjects of the county, that he took in very good part their affection to him, and his compassionate sorrow for all the difficulties they had sustained by reason of this desperate rebellion, and to assure them that nothing would prevent his governing according to the true laws of the realm and that they might have the most perfect enjoyment of their liberty and property in the most happy condition that might be freed from such breaches of the law which nothing but the necessity of the war (and that to his great grief) had brought upon them, and hoped that God would shortly enable him to defend and protect them from the violence and unnatural opposition of the rebels, and that the interrupted peace of the Kingdom might be re-established. The King therefore ordered & required all officers and ministers of justice of the said county to have a special care for the execution of the laws, especially such as had been made for the punishment of drunkards, profaners of the Lord's Day, sorcerers and for the relief of the poor."

The Royalist leaders in the county took this appeal of the King to heart and proceeded to endeavour to raise some money, which was certainly urgently needed. There was no regular sum coming in to provide the regular outgoings. The pay of the Worcester garrison alone was at least £2400 a month. There were also garrisons at Dudley, Bewdley and Evesham, all of which required payment. Something had to be done. The Sheriff, Edward Vernon, accordingly issued a writ to the High Constable of each Hundred ordering him to require the constable of each parish in his Hundred to summon all freeholders, copyholders and able men to appear at Worcester on 5 January 1643-4 to consider

"the raising a voluntary aid for the defence of His Majesty's person, the Protestant religion, the laws of the land and the privileges of Parliament."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 93.

There is a very significant note at the end of the summons :—

“ If there be any whom you ought to summon are unable to appear you are to receive their willing aid to his Majesty and this service and to return it.”

The meeting does not appear to have been a success—the freeholders seem to have given a very substantial answer to the demands. In Russell's accounts it was said the gentlemen of the county had lent the King £31,018 *os. 9d.* between 10 December 1642 and 15 May 1643, and naturally were tired of these appeals for voluntary aid. A petition was drawn up, either at the meeting or soon afterwards, to the Parliament stating that

“ such had been the county's sufferings by that great army raised by the contrivance of that malignant party so often mentioned and complained of by His Majesty in his several declarations and sent forth from London, that they could not forbear to make known how contrary the conduct of the army had been to the ends that were pretended, the true Protestant religion by them abused, the book of common prayer slighted, the churches profaned, His Majesty fought against, his Kingdom and person endangered, his subjects plundered at the will and pleasure of the soldiers, the Kingdom involved in a bloody and unnatural war which must produce ruin to the Kingdom unless God in His great mercy gives a speedy end to the unhappy distractions and their present sufferings. They beg Parliament to address the King in all humility with such propositions for peace as may tend to the settlement of the Protestant religion, His Majesty's honour, the just rights of the Crown, with a care to the privileges of Parliament, the just liberty and property of the subject—the only means to make the King glorious, the Kingdom happy, and a blessed union between him and his Houses of Parliament.”

As might have been expected, the petition was treated as waste paper, but the Justices at Quarter Sessions took more effective steps to aid the King.

At the Epiphany Sessions the Grand Jury made a presentment, of which unfortunately only a fragment remains.<sup>1</sup> It runs :—

“ Payment of the money unto Colonel Sandys, all of which we have in the [? hands] of His Majesty's Commissioners appointed for the safety of the County of Worcester. We likewise think well that Mr. Kimberley should have fifteen shillings out of the three pounds which is in the fund.”

This is signed by fourteen persons, presumably the grand jury, one of whom was Kimberly—whether the man who was to have the 15*s.* does not appear, neither is there anything to shew what the fund was or by whom it had been raised.

<sup>1</sup> Sessions Papers 1642-3, no. 45, p. 700.

Some light is, however, thrown upon it by a presentment of the Grand Jury at the Easter Sessions 1643<sup>1</sup>:—

“The Presentment of the Great Inquest at the General Sessions of the Peace held for the County of Worcester upon the 11<sup>th</sup> day of April 1643. Whereas at the last General Sessions of the Peace for the County aforesaid it was agreed by the then Grand Jury that the sum of £3,000 should be raised and paid monthly towards the payment of His Majesty’s Forces sent and raised for the defence of this County of Worcester, which money for the most part is yet unsatisfied, as appeareth by a note in writing produced unto us by John Baker, gentleman, collector appointed by the then Grand Jury to receive the same and to pay it over to Sir William Russell, Baronet, High Sheriff of the County aforesaid and Governor of the City of Worcester, as by order made at the Sessions appears.

“And whereas at the present Sessions motion was made in open court for the continuance of the payment of £3000 a month for a longer time. Thereupon we of the Grand Jury, taking it into our consideration, do think fit the same should still be paid according to the said order for three months longer until further order be taken herein at the next general sessions of the peace by the Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of the County. Further, we of the Grand Jury do . . . that the outmost parts of the County which be . . . nearest unto danger may speedily be se[cured] by Troops of Horses and other necessary assistance, and that we may be freed from giving free quarters, hay or provender without money, and that in assessing the said £3,000 the same shall be assessed according to the taxing of the £400,000 by act of Parliament, and according to the order of the . . . , and we also desire that Sir William Russell may forthwith give an [account] to the Commissioners for the defence of the county, how he has disbursed the money by him r[ecieved] according to the former order and His Majesty’s instructions.

“And whereas it was ordered by the R[ight] Hon<sup>ble</sup> Arthur Lord Capell and the Councill of War that the £3000, and what other money was formerly collected or due for horses, coat and conduct money in the county, with the putting out of which Sir [Walter] Devereux, Sir William Russell and [Sir John] Rous were entrusted for the County . . . now due to the county by bond from . . . Hill, surveyor, shall together with the in[terest] thereof owing be forthwith paid to C[olonel] Samuel Sandys towards the payment of . . . several billets and debts of his Regiment and the maintenance of his soldiers, and that the . . . Sir Walter Devereux, Sir William Russell and Sir John R[ouse] . . . stand thereof utterly discharged as by order . . . produced to us appeareth which said or[der] we approve of, and do desire the same . . . at this Sessions be so ordered, and that the Clerk of the Peace shall deliver up M<sup>r</sup> Hill’s bond. . . .”

Here the document unfortunately ends, but it gives very important information as to the position of things in the county when Worcester was retaken on Essex leaving it in November 1642 and Russell took possession of it for the King. Although he had to pay seven Regiments, each of which cost about £400 a month, he had no regular source on which he could rely for money for the purpose.<sup>2</sup> According to his accounts he had to live from hand to mouth. Between 10 December 1642 and 16 May 1643 the gentry of the county

<sup>1</sup> Sessions Records, p. 710.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 138.

advanced to him the sum of £31,018 os. 9d. He received from the levy of £3000 a month the following sums<sup>1</sup> :—

	£	s.	d.
January . . . . .	2343	10	1
February . . . . .	2055	17	7
March . . . . .	1361	0	0
April . . . . .	54	1	2

a total of £5813 18s. 5d.

As soon as the order of Sessions was made in January the usual steps were taken to raise the money. Francis Walker, the Clerk of the Peace, sent to the High Constables of each of the five hundreds an order directing them to raise the sum named in the order. This would appear to have been about the following sums :—

	£	s.	d.
Blakenhurst . . . . .	250	0	0
Oswaldslow . . . . .	1000	0	0
Pershore . . . . .	750	0	0
Doddingtree . . . . .	375	0	0
Halfshire . . . . .	600	0	0

For the month of January 1643 the parish of Elmley Lovett had to raise £10 8s. 3d.,<sup>2</sup> of which Townshend had to pay £2. Thomas Tyrer paid £1; all the rest, 50 in number, paid under £1, the smallest being 6d., which was paid by four persons. The total number of persons paying was no less than 52.

On hearing what the county had done Charles wrote and thanked them for

“ their lively expression of the true zeal and loyal affection to us and our service, and to return them all due and hearty thanks, which he required Russell to give to them, and to assure them he most gratefully accepted and embraced the same.”<sup>3</sup>

He also directed that the agreement to raise the money should at once be put in force. In this Charles was clearly right, for the state of things in the Worcester garrison from the non-receipt of their pay nearly approached mutiny. This is well shewn by the behaviour of an officer named Hide.

To celebrate the New Year the Mayor of Worcester, Henry Ford, gave an entertainment, to which he invited the officers then in Worcester, among them Hide. On sitting down to the food Hide turned up his trencher, and finding nothing, called out, “ Mr. Mayor I expected a New Year gift,” and went on to use some very strong language, that he could not get his pay, and would have thrown his trencher at the Mayor if he had not been stopped. Sir William Russell appealed to Hide to behave himself, but his misbehaviour increasing, he put Hide under arrest, and ordered him to be taken to his quarters. On the way they met two women, one of whom Hide wounded in the head, the other in the arm. Hide went back to the Town Hall, accompanied by one of the women, who complained of the way Hide had treated her. Russell again

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 99.

<sup>3</sup> II., p. 102.

ordered him back to his quarters, and directed another officer, Sir James Hamilton, to see him home. When they arrived at Hide's quarters he began to abuse Sir William Russell, and reproached the soldiers for obeying such a coward. Another officer, Capt. Dennis, interfered, but Hide seized him by the beard, and tried to drag him downstairs. He wanted to get his sword and pistols for a fight, but they had been taken away; he tried to get a knife, but his servant removed it; a guard was put over his house, but he broke through, ran to the main guard, caused an alarm to be sounded, and at last was with difficulty put under arrest.<sup>1</sup> Hide was sent to Oxford to be tried by court martial, but was discharged from the non-appearance of the witnesses against him. If Hide was a fair sample of the Worcester garrison it is not to be wondered at that the Royalist troops soon became most unpopular in the county and city.

The garrison of Worcester at this time, the spring of 1643, appears to have consisted of six regiments—

Capt. Francis Blount, 100 strong.

Capt. John Blunt.

Capt. Dennis.

Capt. George Colte.

Capt. Joseph Walsh and

Sir William Russell's own troop.

It is not quite clear if these were all the troops regularly quartered in the city; these certainly were, and continued to be so. Taking 100 as the proper strength of each unit, this would give 600 as the garrison; this does not include troops temporarily stationed in the county or passing through it and remaining in it for short periods. Nor does it include the artillery. While it is only a guess, and the materials are wanting to make it more reliable, it seems most probable that the number of the garrison must have been close on 1400 strong.

One thing seems certain about the Worcester garrison, they never received the full sums due to them; it was always a payment on account. This is made very clear by the report on Sir William Russell's accounts.<sup>2</sup>

For Sir William's own troop there was due £1755; he received only £1073, and £682 remained due.<sup>2</sup> To Capt. John Blunt the sum due was £1252; he received £789 6s., leaving a balance of £462 14s. remaining due. To Capt. Joseph Walsh £1252 was due; he received £811, and £441 remained due. To Capt. George Colte £1000 was due; he received £74, and £926 remained due.

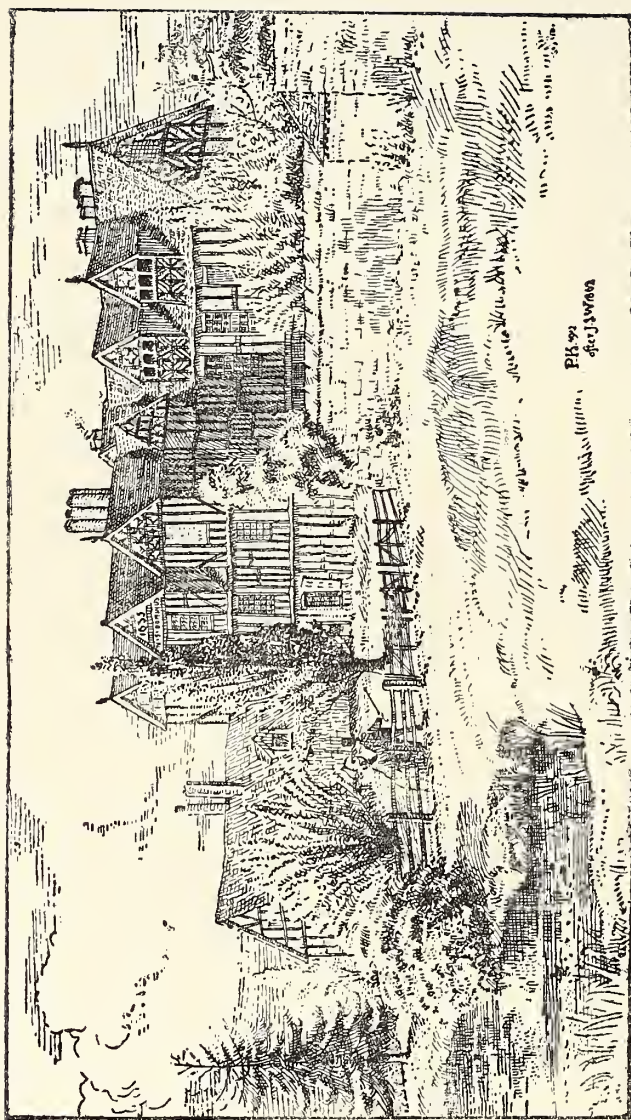
So it runs through all the accounts. Sir William was never able to clear off the ever accruing amounts of pay, and this was so notwithstanding he made large payments out of his own pocket. That he made such payments is admitted; the only question was how much was due to him. Russell said

<sup>1</sup> Webb's Civil War, i., 220.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 150.







THE LODGE, ELMLEY LOVETT, BUILT IN 1635. PULLED DOWN IN 1890 AS IT HAD  
BECOME SO RUINOUS AS TO BE PAST REPAIRING. ANOTHER LOCAL REASON WAS  
THAT IT HAD BECOME SO HAUNTED BY GHOSTS AS TO BE UNINHABITABLE.

£3338 15s. 3d.,<sup>1</sup> one set of investigators said £3305 18s. 4½d.,<sup>1</sup> the others £8471 10s. 2d.,<sup>2</sup> while a third set of investigators, those most hostile to Russell, alleged on their reading of the accounts there was a balance due from him of no less a sum than £5165 11s. 10½d.<sup>3</sup> It is impossible to say who was right or who was wrong in this dispute, but it seems more than probable that the receipts were over-estimated; for instance, one of the items of receipt was a monthly contribution by the county of £3000, and it was assumed that Russell had received it, or but for his neglect might have received the whole of it, an assumption that seems very improbable. It is alleged that he should have received from 1 January 1643 to 15 May 1643 the whole of the monthly contribution of £3000 a month, that he only actually received £5836 12s. 10¾d.,<sup>3</sup> leaving up to 15 May an arrear of £7663 7s. 1¼d., due to the neglect of Sir William Russell and his officers, as he alone had power to collect the same. That as after 15 May 1643 a treasurer was appointed to receive the monies due from the monthly contribution, and as the parties of Sir William's horse who gathered the monies had not accounted to the Treasurer, he had been charged with the whole sum. It is therefore clear that it is hopeless to arrive at anything like a solution of what was due from or to Sir William Russell.

The contribution is a point of some interest whatever was the exact sum Russell received. The difficulty appears to have arisen in this way. At the Epiphany Sessions, 1643, the Royalists having once more got the upper hand in the county, the Grand Jury agreed that a sum of

Sessions Records, i., p. 710.

£3000 a month should be found by the county towards the payment of the King's forces that had been sent and raised for the defence of the county. As far as it is possible to make out, £3000 if paid in full would not have been sufficient to pay the troops then quartered in the county. The monies, when collected, were to be paid to a treasurer (in one place called John Baker, in another John Bacon) who the Grand Jury had appointed to receive and pay over to Sir William Russell. At the Easter Sessions, on 11 April 1643, the treasurer certified that the greater part of the money was still unpaid. The Worcester troops were clamouring for pay, and the county was feeling more and more the necessity of a strong garrison, for Massey, from Gloucester, was beginning to carry out that series of raids in the southern part of the county to the west of the Severn that made all life and property insecure. The Grand Jury seem to have felt that protection was absolutely necessary, and they were willing to pay for it, so they agreed to continue the payment of £3000 a month until the Midsummer Sessions. But they directed that the outmost parts of the county that lie nearest unto danger, that is, the area of the modern District Council of Upton and so much of the area of Newent District Council as lies in

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 157.

<sup>3</sup> II., p. 154.

Worcestershire, might speedily be secured by troops of horse and other necessary assistance. In consideration of paying this sum, the Grand Jury stipulated that they should be relieved from giving free quarters to troops or providing pay and provender unless it was paid for, and they also stipulated that the assessment of the contribution should be made in the manner directed in the Statute of 16 Charles I., c. 1, under the order of the Court made at the last Sessions.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately no trace of this order appears among the existing Sessions records. Townshend only helps indirectly. He gives an assessment of Elmley Lovett in 1644, which would appear to be made under that Act, and which shews that the new assessment raised Elmley Lovett's monthly contribution from £10 8s. 3d. to £14 7s. 4d.<sup>2</sup>

The Grand Jury also requested that Sir William Russell might be ordered to give an account of how he had dealt with so much of the money as he had received under the order of the Epiphany Sessions, nominally some £9000 to £10,000.<sup>1</sup>

Lord Capel appears to have ordered that the £300 and other monies that had been received under the engagement of the gentlemen of the county to provide horses, and the order of the Commissioners of Array as to the number of horses the persons named in the order were to provide,<sup>3</sup> and the monies received from the freeholders of the county for coat and conduct money, which sums had been entrusted to Sir Walter Devereux, Sir William Russell and Sir John Rouse, and were due to the county, should be paid over with interest to Col. Samuel Sandys towards the payment of his billets, the debts of his regiment, and the payment of his soldiers.<sup>1</sup> The Grand Jury also considered they had gone to the limit of their powers, as they add "all of which we leave to the consideration of the Commissioners (of Array) appointed for the safety of the County of Worcester."

A clause is added that does not entirely raise our opinion of the Grand Jury. They express a desire that Mr. Kimberley should have 15s. out of the £5 in his hands. Mr. Kimberley appears to have been one of the Grand Jury. It is somewhat difficult to see what right the Grand Jury had to impose a rate on the freeholders of the county for its defence. If the King could not—and Parliament had just declared that the King had no power to levy ship money for the defence of the whole realm—it is hard to see what power a Grand Jury, who were acting in the King's name, had to tax all the freeholders of the county for the purpose of enabling one part of the King's subjects to carry on war against the other part.

The charge that the £3000 a month imposed on the different parishes was increased by the new assessment and the added £1000 is given by Townshend.<sup>4</sup> It raised the Hundred of Halfshire's contribution from £606 17s. 9d. to £813 17s. 9½d. a month.

Townshend gives the assessments of the county to the last imposition, and

<sup>1</sup> Sessions Records, I., p. 710.    <sup>2</sup> II., p. 163.    <sup>3</sup> II., pp. 70, 77.    <sup>4</sup> II., p. 112.

it gives some idea of what the Royalist charge on the county during the war was:—

Hundred of Halfshire.		£	s.	d.
Bromsgrove division at £3000 a month	.	389	15	8
„ „ at £4000 and 2d.	.	513	6	4
Doddingtree paid	. . . . .	375	0	0
Blakenhurst „	. . . . .	380	0	0
Pershore „	. . . . .	725	14	0
Oswaldslow „	. . . . .	1000	0	0

There is some doubt as to the exact accuracy of these figures, which have been obtained by adding up the sums stated to have been allotted to each collector. Whatever may be the exact figures, these will serve to shew what a serious charge there was on the county and how great was the increase.

Unfortunately we do not know the sums that were raised by the Parliament. They must have been considerable, and, when added to the Royalist levies, give some slight idea of how a wretched freeholder was robbed during the war by both sides. In local rates the calls of both sides must have reached a sum not perhaps equal to our present day extravagance, but what must have been a most serious burden on the owners of rateable property in the county. It does not appear that anyone has as yet worked out the total charge that landowners were liable to pay to the State during the Civil War.

In the spring of 1643 Prince Maurice arrived to take up a command in the county. He came to Worcester, and, if he did not ask for, he received a sum of £138—why does not appear—in addition to £200 for his life-guard and £100 for himself.<sup>1</sup>

Waller, who was then (in April 1643) in command at Gloucester, threatened Worcester. The Commissioners of Array became alarmed, and directed the Sheriff, Sir William Russell, to call out the *posse comitatus*, that is, every male capable of bearing arms between 16 and 60. He directed them<sup>2</sup>

“to assemble on the great meadow called Pitchcroft on the 2<sup>nd</sup> May to join with the Sheriff in suppressing notorious assemblies and rebellious forces.”

Whether this was a success does not appear, but on 28 May Captain Samuel Sandys addressed an order to all constables, petty constables and others in the county, stating<sup>3</sup>

“that a multitude of armed men were come into the county against the City of Worcester this 29<sup>th</sup> day of May to the great disturbance of the

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 121.

<sup>3</sup> II., p. 122.

County and hazard and loss of the city. The Constables were therefore with all haste to summon all persons between 16 and 20 to repair with all such arms and weapons as they had to the City of Worcester to help assist and defend the said city and county from all opposition whatever, and every person was to bring with him three days' provisions at the least."<sup>1</sup>

This was supplemented by an order to the parish constables to provide forage and food to the City of Worcester. Townshend gives the order to the constable of Elmley Lovett, which may be taken as a sample. It was<sup>2</sup>

"forthwith to provide within the parish one load of Hay, one quarter of oats, six cheeses, six loaves of bread and two bushels of meal, and deliver the same at the Foregate for the relief of His Majesty's garrison within the City of Worcester, and if he failed to do this he must expect to be dealt with as one disaffected to His Majesty's cause."

Waller's attack on Worcester in June 1643 was a failure, but it brought to light some very unpleasant facts. As Waller retreated some prisoners were taken, who informed the Governor that there were "many citizens of Worcester and likewise County men in the Royal army who did assist the Parliamentarians." They gave in the names, and Russell caused these "faithful citizens" to be arrested.<sup>3</sup>

For the soldiers there was some excuse, they were greatly in arrear in their pay. It appears from the King's proclamation that there was, therefore, great disorder and discontent, and the soldiers made raids from the city committing spoil and robbery. To put a stop to this the King ordered that the high and petty constables be made to take steps at once to get in the monthly contributions. Every week the high and petty constables were to be interviewed, asked what they had done during the week in collecting the contribution, and inflict such punishment on those who had been slack in collecting as should be thought meet.<sup>4</sup>

A new scale of pay for the foot soldiers was also issued—at first sight it seems to be a reduction among the higher ranks. The Colonel, Lt.-Colonel, Sergeant-Major and Captain, who had formerly received rates varying from £2 a day to 15*s.*, were now all to receive a uniform rate of 7*s.* 6*d.*<sup>4</sup> Whether they were to get the balance out of the unfortunate people in the county does not appear.

For the horse the old pay is not given, but the new pay is said to be £16 10*s.* 6*d.* per week per officer, and 12*s.* a week for every common trooper.<sup>5</sup> Each of the officers were allowed a certain number of horses a day except the trumpeter, surgeon and smith, who were only allowed one each. The Colonel was allowed twelve. No fixed number was allowed to the ordinary trooper.

Matters seem to have gone on without any very great change in July and August, except that Charles ordered the county soldiers, both horse and foot, to join him in the siege of Gloucester, and on the siege being raised and Charles retreating to Evesham, he sent 700 of the Life Guards to defend Worcester should it be attacked. The parishes bordering on the river

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 122.    <sup>2</sup> II., p. 123.    <sup>3</sup> II., p. 124.    <sup>4</sup> II., p. 125.    <sup>5</sup> II., p. 126.

had a bad time; they were said to have been "miserably vexed" more by the spoil the soldiers made than by the meat the army consumed.<sup>1</sup>

The King had difficulty as to feeding his army. When encamped at Hinton near Evesham he issued on 12 September a proclamation to the Commissioners of Array requiring them to at once issue warrants to all parts of the county except the vale of Evesham, which would be dealt with by the Commissary of the King's army, commanding the people to bring in 50 lbs. of bread and 50 lbs. of cheese daily, and to distribute the warrants so that each town, hamlet, village, parish, Hundred and other divisions should bear their proportion. The bread and cheese was to be brought either to Worcester or to the magazine in the Townhall, Evesham, and from thence to be conveyed to the Royal camp, and horses and oxen were to be impressed to carry the food to the King's camp. The King directed that the persons from whom the provisions were taken should be told that His Majesty would take care that they were duly paid for out of the estates of those persons in the county, who, by assisting this present rebellion, had brought that burden on the county. It was also ordered that strict watch should be set on all passages and bridges in the county, all straggling soldiers of the Royal army who were met with were to be sent to the King's camp to prevent any disorder being committed by them to the prejudice of the county, and that soldiers who had committed disorders and quitted the army to avoid punishment should be punished as they deserved.<sup>2</sup>

The Commission of Array met at once and apportioned the bread and cheese among the different parishes in accordance with the proportion the parish contributed to the monthly contribution, but before any levy could be made Essex had set out for London, and Charles marched off to get between him and London, so the warrants were countermanded.<sup>2</sup>

Charles tried to put another burden on the county. Not only did his troops want food, they also wanted pay. He therefore proposed to raise £7000 for one week's pay for his foot soldiers. For some reason that does not appear it was proposed to make the City of Worcester pay £4000 out of the £7000, and the county the balance, £3000. The city at once protested that they could not raise such a vast sum; the clothing trade had decayed; the weekly burden and taxes were very great; making fortifications and scouring ditches were very serious, but they would see if they could raise £2000, and therefore taxed each ward.<sup>3</sup>

The county said they could not raise £3000 more; they were already raising £3000 a month, and had done so for the last six months to maintain a garrison of horse and foot in the county.<sup>3</sup> That cattle were dead and no sale of provisions. That they had so many extraordinary taxes, such as carrying ammunition to Oxford, providing ammunition, giving free quarters to soldiers, it was impossible to lay any general tax on the county. All they could do was to think of some persons who were deemed moneyed men, and others that might be able to lend money, and see what sum they could raise. In

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 128.

<sup>3</sup> II., p. 129.

accordance with this the Commissioners sent letters to divers men to appear before them.<sup>1</sup>

Charles objected to this course as it interfered with his own plans. He at once wrote to the Commissioners to say he had already sent letters to divers of his subjects of good ability in the county asking for loans from them, but as his necessities were increasing he had sent the Master of the Rolls, Sir John Culpepper, and Ashburnham to the city of Worcester to treat with them for such sums as should be agreed upon, and directing the Commissioners to assist by their good endeavours and example, and warrants had been directed to such persons to appear before the Master of the Rolls and the Commissioners on 19 and 20 September. The King now ordered the Commission to treat with all the persons, and demand loans of such sums of money as were mentioned in the letters. The Commissioners were also to get any other people to lend such sums as they might fix having regard to the King's great necessity, and also to tell the people of the vast sums the rebels imposed upon all persons in their power, and the horrid and rigorous courses they used to force the sums to be paid, and that the King desired the money for the support of an army to defend his subjects from this tyrannical and arbitrary power. The King gave the Commissioners power to give any one who advanced money a mortgage on any of the King's lands in the county or adjacent counties, and if they could not make the people pay the whole sum asked, to take any less sum as was in their power to lend. But if they refused to lend anything they were to be ordered to attend at the Camp or city of Oxford that their refusal might be inquired into.<sup>2</sup>

On this the Commissioners examined a number of persons; unfortunately there is no list of the names. Many of them lent such competent sums as they could spare. None were pressed for more, and although some offered to give the money to the King, it was always refused and only accepted as a loan.<sup>3</sup>

These proceedings lasted till about the beginning of October. The Commissioners were urged to find the King more money and could not find any way to do it until a bright idea occurred to some of them. The Grand Jury in their presentment at the Easter Sessions 1643 had asked that Sir William Russell might be ordered to give an account of how he had spent the monies he had been paid for the defence of the county. The Commissioners were divided into two parties, one the rampant Royalists in whose opinion all the King did was right, the other the constitutional Royalists who wanted to keep within the law, and who seem to have considered it their duty to ascertain how the monies received by Sir William Russell, who was acting as Governor of the city of Worcester and also Sheriff of the County, had been applied, and it may be who also thought that more money could be got out of Russell if pressure was applied. So on one ground or the other they determined to ask Russell for the account of his receipts and disbursements which had been ordered by the Court of Quarter Sessions.

Accordingly on 20 October 1643 the Commissioners of Array, or the majority of them, brought certain specific charges against Russell.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> II., p. 131.



The charges mainly come to this, that Russell had acted on his own authority, and in many cases not consulted the Commissioners, and even when he did consult them, did not follow their advice.

Russell replied to the charges by bringing counter charges against various of the Commission. He begins with Sir Ralph Clare, who he charges amongst other things that although appointed a Commissioner of Array he never came near them, and never lent the King any money. Col. Sandys Russell accuses of the same. Both the charges against Russell and his counter charges against Clare and Sandys appear to be, in the words of the Commission, as to Russell's counter charges to be "charges of malice rather than truth." Both parties had a good deal to say against the charges; doubtless Russell was arbitrary—possibly the fact of his being not only Sheriff but also Governor may have turned his head—but on the other hand he had done much good work, and done it under circumstances of great difficulty. However, it was quite clear that both he and the Commission could no longer work together, and as soon as possible he should give up one or other of his offices. He could not give up the Shrievalty so he gave up the garrison.

Charles for once recognized the value of a loyal officer's services and intervened on Russell's behalf.<sup>1</sup> He directed five gentlemen to examine Russell's accounts at once, but it was one word for Russell and two for himself, as the great point they were to inquire into was the monthly county contribution, and whether it was possible that the King might get something more out of it. So they were to make very particular inquiry how the contribution had been received from the first agreement, by whom, what still remained due, and from what places and persons, and that speedy care might be taken for the collection thereof. They were further to inquire particularly as to the exact strength of Russell's regiments in foot and horse at that time, what numbers there had been and how they had been paid, making particular distinction as to monies paid for levies and advances, and monies disbursed for payment of soldiers. As Russell had promised that his regiment was to march from Worcester in a fortnight they were to report within that time. In order to secure a report against Russell, the King appointed as one of the five to examine the accounts Russell's great enemy Sir Ralph Clare, the man whom Russell had expressly charged with having prevented the soldiers of Russell's regiment receiving their pay.<sup>1</sup>

The other Commissioners were Edmund Pytts, Townshend, Joseph Walsh and Henry Finch.

Sir Ralph Clare and Edmund Pytts do not appear to have taken part in the examination of the accounts, as the certificate giving the result of the examination of the accounts is signed only by Finch, Walsh and Townshend. They found in Russell's favour that all the disbursements had been manifested by acquittance or attestation *viva voce*, and for aught yet made to appear Russell had received no more than mentioned in his receipts and books, and that he

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 138.

paid over and above what he had received £3305 18s. 4½d.<sup>1</sup> They, however, added that some of the Commissioners alleged they would speedily send in exception to the accounts, but what they were they did not know, and up to 9 December 1643, when Russell left Worcester, none of the exceptions had come in. Afterwards what appear to be the exceptions were sent in, and Townshend sets them out at length.<sup>2</sup>

Two instances may be mentioned. They admit he did not receive all the contributions, but allege it was entirely his own fault, as he had full powers to collect and a party of horse to enforce the collection.<sup>2</sup>

They complain that Russell paid the officers on too high a scale, Lieut.-Col. £1 15s. 0d., Sergt.-Major £1 4s. 0d., Captain 15s., whereas the King only allowed half that pay at the most.<sup>3</sup>

The final finding is curious. The Commissioners found £8492 10s. 8½d. due to Sir William Russell, but they found that sums were due from him, £8471 10s. 2d., or a balance due to him of £21 0s. 6d.<sup>4</sup>

No accurate account of the state of the county can be given that merely records the illegal shifts and expedients to which the Royalists resorted to find men and money to carry on the war. The same difficulties were experienced by the Parliament, and very much the same illegalities used in dealing with them, with this exception, that, while the Royalists gave general directions to raise money, the Parliament gave specific. An order of 11 February 1642-3 appointed Waller Major-General of the counties of Gloucester, Wilts, Somerset, Worcester and Salop, directed him to raise five regiments of horse and five of foot, and to raise their pay out of the estates of delinquents, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, Prebendaries and Pluralists.

A further order of 11 February 1642-3 directed Nathaniel Fiennes to raise a regiment of horse out of the counties of Gloucester, Worcester and Oxford and seize the required horses and arms. Another order on 24 February provided for raising money to pay the army by weekly payments for three months by levies on the following counties:—

	£	s.	d.
Gloucestershire . . . . .	750	0	0
Gloucester City . . . . .	62	10	0
Hereford County and City . . . . .	437	10	0
Oxford . . . . .	650	0	0
Salop . . . . .	375	0	0
Stafford . . . . .	212	10	0
Lichfield . . . . .	5	0	0
Warwick . . . . .	562	10	0
Coventry . . . . .	37	10	0
Worcestershire . . . . .	550	0	0
Worcester City . . . . .	16	13	0
	3,659	3	0

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> II., pp. 142, 145.

<sup>3</sup> II., p. 146.

<sup>4</sup> II., pp. 155, 157.

Aliens and Papists were to pay double the sums that others were required to pay.

For each area County or City Commissioners were appointed to make the levies.

For Worcestershire the Commissioners were Sergeant Wilde, Henry Salway, Edward Dingley, Edward Pitt, Thomas Geers, William Jeffryes, Ambrose Elton and Sergeant Creswell. For the City of Worcester the Commissioners were Henry Foord (Mayor), Roger Seaburn and Henry Philipps, Aldermen, John New, gentleman. It was expressly provided that all those who were liable to contribute and who unjustly escaped were to pay treble, a provision that would enable the Parliament Commission to take from every Royalist who was so unlucky as to have his person or property in the power of Parliament three times as much as could be taken from a staunch Parliamentarian.

In March 1642-3 Parliament made an order for an assessment in every parish in England for the relief of maimed soldiers, widows and fatherless children.

The money apparently did not come in as fast as required, so on 27 March 1643 Parliament made a further order sequestrating the estates of notorious delinquents and appointing Commissioners for the purpose. The first notorious delinquent selected for sequestration in Worcestershire was John Prideaux, the Bishop. The Commissioners to execute the order were John Wilde and Richard Creswell, Sergeants-at-law, Humphrey Salway, Edward Dingley, Edward Pitt, Thomas Greer and William Jeffereys, Esqs. Still the money did not come in, so another order was made by Parliament on 7 May 1643 to tax those who had not contributed, or who had not contributed in accordance with their ability.

The same Commissioners, with the addition of Ambrose Elton, were appointed for the county, and the same as before for the city.

On 1 June a further order was made making additions to the Committees in the different counties and cities for raising the monies. No additions were made either in Worcestershire or the city. It may be possible that no other honest Roundheads beyond those already serving could be found in either area.

On 3 August 1643 a further ordinance was made for raising and levying money for the maintenance of the army by weekly assessments. Worcestershire was to raise £550, the city £16 13s. The Committees for the county and city were the same as before.

Russell was succeeded as Governor of Worcester by Sir Gilbert Gerrard. As there were no less than eight Colonels named Gerrard in the Royal Army, it is not easy to say with accuracy which of these carried out any particular work. The new Governor was face to face with the same difficulties that had beset Russell—providing money and providing supplies. The monthly contribution of £3000 was still continued, but it was in no way sufficient. In February 1644

Rupert came to Worcester, a consultation of the Royalist officers was held, and Rupert was plainly told that as £3000 a month did not keep down the expenses, more money must be found. Rupert's methods of finding it were simple and effective; he ordered the monthly contribution for the next three months to be raised from £3000 to £4000. It is true he promised it should at the end of three months go back to £3000, but those things did not usually go back. Rupert, however, made one very important change: the contribution could be paid half in money, half in provisions, the choice as to which was to be with the county.<sup>1</sup> From the effect of this change on Elmley Lovett we can get some idea how raising the monthly payment of £3000 was felt in the county. The contribution of that parish was £10 8s. 3d.; on raising the contribution of £4000 it was £14 7s. 4d. Townshend's own payment was raised from £2 to £2 15s. 4d.

But this was far from being the only change Rupert made. He agreed that 2000 foot and 500 horse should be maintained in the county for its defence, and that, with the exception of troops on the march, all free billeting and free quartering should be abolished, and any soldier who tried to enforce free quarters would be tried by court martial. Pressing or plundering horses and cattle was abolished; any soldier doing either was to be tried by court martial. Weekly court martials were to be held at Worcester to try offenders—a fact that shews how common the practice had become. If anyone failed to pay for his billet the Treasurer would deduct the proper amount out of his pay to be paid the person where the man was billeted.

Anyone who would arm himself at his own cost should be entitled to do so, and if he gave in a list of his arms they were not to be taken from him.

The different parishes in the county were allotted to the different garrisons in the county to keep up the fortifications of the garrison. Each person was allotted to some garrison, and was not obliged to work for or send help to any other. A price on the provender and provisions was fixed so that it might be easily known what quantity would have to be handed over if the person charged elected to pay in kind. The rates are of interest. In the following table the rates fixed by Rupert are given in the first column, and, taking the present value of money as three times what it then was, the modern price is given in the second column:—

Hay per tod <sup>2</sup>	. . .	4d.	. . .	1s.
Oats per strike	. . .	1s. 6d.	. . .	2s. 6d.
Peas and Beans per strike	. . .	6s.	. . .	18s.
Grass per horse	. . .	2s. 6d.	. . .	7s. 6d.
Straw per load	. . .	5s.	. . .	15s.
Cheese per cwt. at 2½d. the lb.	23s.	4d.	. . .	67s.
Cheese, common, per lb.	. . .	2d.	. . .	6d.

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 162.

Butter per lb. . . . .	iiii½d.	. . . . .	1s. 1½d.
Bacon per lb. . . . .	iiid.	. . . . .	1s.
Beef per lb. . . . .	iid.	. . . . .	6d.

These prices contrast very favourably with present day prices. If a horse soldier was billeted on anyone the person was paid 8s. a week, and for this the payee had to give the horse a peck of provender. A foot soldier paid 2s. 6d. a week for his billet.

No horse or foot soldier was to quarter in any house in the county without payment in ready money according to the above rates, nor was to take more than house room with such fire, candle and salt as the family used for themselves, no more soldiers were to be billeted in a house than it could conveniently receive. The local officers should see to the quartering of each soldier. No women, boys or children were to be quartered unless the master of the house consented.

Not merely had the county suffered from soldiers who were passing through living at free quarters, but in the parts of the county bodies of soldiers had been almost permanently quartered. One of these forces was under the command of Lord Chandos, who had had his headquarters at Sudeley, had made continual excursions in the districts round Cirencester Broadway and Tewkesbury. The other, under Sir William Vavasour, tried to keep the side of the county next Herefordshire free from raids by Massey and other Parliamentary leaders. All parishes, villages and houses which had incurred loss by reason of the soldiers of either of these leaders were promised, if they would make out and send in their claim for damage, that they would be paid. On the other hand, if any parish or person failed to pay the monthly contribution either in money or provisions, on the receipt of his name from the Constable the Commanding Officer of the place to which the contribution belonged was to be at liberty to send a party of horse or foot to collect it from the certified person.

All provisions paid under the order were to be delivered to the City of Worcester on every Saturday, to Evesham and Hartlebury every Monday to the Commissioner appointed to receive them by the respective Governors, who were to enter into their books what sum was paid in cash and what sum was represented by the provisions received. It is noteworthy that for some reason Rupert made no provision for the Dudley garrison.

It is interesting to compare the rates fixed for provisions in Worcestershire with those in Shropshire:—

Worcestershire.		Shropshire.	
Hay, per tod . . . . .	4d.	per cwt.	1s. 8d.
Oats, per strike . . . . .	1s. 6d.	per strike	1s. 4d.
Peas and Beans, per strike . . . . .	6s. 0d.	. . . . .	. . . . .
Grass, per pan . . . . .	2s. 6d.	. . . . .	. . . . .
Straw, per load . . . . .	5s. 0d.	. . . . .	. . . . .
Cheese, per lb., best . . . . .	2½d.	. . . . .	. . . . .

Worcestershire.		Shropshire.	
Cheese, other . . . . .	2 <i>d.</i>	. . . . .	2 <i>d.</i>
Butter, per lb. . . . .	4½ <i>d.</i>	. . . . .	4 <i>d.</i>
Bacon, per lb. . . . .	4 <i>d.</i>	. . . . .	3 <i>d.</i>
Beef, per lb. . . . .	2 <i>d.</i>	. . . . .	2 <i>d.</i>
Wheat and Rye Straw, per thrave	—	. . . . .	5 <i>d.</i>
Barley Straw, per thrave . . .	—	. . . . .	3 <i>d.</i>
Barley, per strike . . . . .	—	. . . . .	2 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i>
Malt, per strike . . . . .	—	. . . . .	2 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
Rye and Muncorn . . . . .	—	. . . . .	3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>

These rates, fixed by Rupert, were far from securing universal approval, as both the Quarter Sessions and the Commission of Array required some modifications.<sup>1</sup>

The officers were in the habit of drawing more pay than the men they actually had serving were entitled to receive. They did this by insisting on being paid on old lists of men; to put a stop to this practice the Treasurer who received the weekly contribution was to be supplied each week with a copy of the men actually serving in each regiment and the total pay due to each garrison.

Every Wednesday the Commissary of each garrison was to account with the Treasurer of the contribution as to the amount of the provisions supplied each week, and if the provisions came to more than the stated rate the excess was to be deducted from the next week's pay.

The allowance to the Governor of Worcester for his board was £20 a week; this the city had to pay, and also to find £100 a month. This last sum Rupert allowed to be used in paying the garrison and the artillery. But if it was not enough to pay for replenishing the stock of ammunition, as well as paying the officers, any deficit above the £100 was to be paid by the county out of its monthly contribution.

Officers and soldiers were to be careful of giving offence by language or otherwise to the county Commissioners, as that emboldened people to be backward in payment, disheartened the King's ministers and disparaged his service.

Certain Commissioners were appointed to inspect the musters, both horse and foot, of every regiment and of every garrison as often as necessary; all musters were to be certified by some of the Commissioners, nor should any sum out of the monthly contribution for any garrison to which it was allotted go to maintain any new forces.

Contributions in money were to be paid to the Treasurer, contributions in kind to the Commissaries of the garrison, every week; if any soldier, horse or foot, went out to collect contributions they were to take the Constable of the parish with them, who was the only person entitled to receive the contribution, and he was to pay it only to the Treasurer.

If parties of horse or foot were ordered out of their own quarters to other

<sup>1</sup> II., pp. 165, 166.

parts of the county, the parts where they were actually stationed were to pay for them and deduct such payment from their monthly contribution, on a certificate by their Commander stating the number of men, the sum payable, and the length of their stay. If the sum payable exceeded the monthly contribution payable by the place where the troops were quartered, the surplus was to be paid by the Treasurer out of the general contribution and not charged on the locality.

The Grand Jury requested that men willing to appear in arms for the Crown might arm themselves, and select as their own officers such of the county gentlemen as they should desire. Rupert gave his word that they should not be deprived of their arms or made to serve outside the county. He also promised that when the contribution was paid no officer or soldier should take free quarters and that the contribution might be paid half in money, half in provisions.

Rupert made two other concessions to the county:—

1. That unarmed soldiers should be duly made to work on the fortifications, so that they might not be idle and do nothing for their pay; and
2. That at every Council of War any of the Commissioners of Array who liked might sit and vote, except in cases of discipline and the punishment of soldiers.<sup>1</sup>

Had these rules been strictly carried out they would have gone far to allay the general discontent that was so rapidly increasing against the King. But they only applied to the Royalists, and much of the plundering was done by the other side. Probably the summer of 1644 was the worst time the county experienced in the war. The Parliament forces following up the King plundered wholesale. The King following up the Parliament plundered universally, for if they found a house intact they concluded it was only because it was friendly to the Parliament. In cases of doubt as to the views of the owner of a house both sides plundered him. So bad did the state of things become, that on 21 July 1644 the King issued a proclamation<sup>2</sup> which, after reciting that officers and others belonging to the army had without direction or authority issued warrants for victuals and money which prevented the King's warrants being executed so that the Royal army was exposed to want, forbade the issue of any warrant or order for any sum of money, victuals, corn, or horse meat, and that all legal warrants in future should only be signed by the Commissary-General of foot and horse or a Commissioner of Array.

The state of things had now reached such a pitch that some more drastic measure than a proclamation was required. The day after the date of the proclamation a meeting was held at Droitwich, at which there were present Sir Gilbert Gerard, Governor of Worcester, Sir Rowland Berkeley, Sheriff of the County,<sup>3</sup> and the Commissioners of Array. They were called to take the state of the county into consideration, and if possible to find some remedy. Their first step was to decide to have only two regiments in the county instead of a number of small bodies of men, each of which was capable of doing a good deal on

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 170.

<sup>3</sup> II., p. 171.

their own account when collecting supplies. All the infantry were therefore placed in one regiment, and all the cavalry in another. The infantry was to be 1000 strong, the cavalry 400, the contribution not being sufficient to pay a larger force including the artillery than 1400 men. Even in those times and among the Royalists there were some democratic ideas: all the men were to be paid before any of the officers received any; no infantry were to be quartered anywhere in the county but by a warrant signed by Gerrard; no cavalry except by a warrant signed by Col. Samuel Sandys; no free quarter was to be taken by any soldiers, foot or horse, from anyone who had paid his contribution. If any soldier took free quarters, robbed, plundered, or offered violence to any man, that soldier's commanding officer was made answerable unless he punished the soldier.

In each parish the assessment for the contribution had to be made within six days after the receipt of the warrant. If the assessor neglected this, the contribution of the parish should be charged to him. Tenants were to deduct their contributions out of their rent. No one was to be plundered for contributions except on the warrant of Gerrard himself.

Sandys was authorized to collect all arrears of contribution for the first twelve months in the parishes assigned to the garrison of Evesham while he was Governor, and to pay them to the County Treasurer.

It appeared that there were arrears of the 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th and 15th months of the contribution, that would be from October 1643 to March 1644. These were to be paid at once, half in cash, half in provisions at the choice of the person paying; no officer was to refuse receiving payment in provisions.

All troops and soldiers found wandering from their colours were to be apprehended as felons and dealt with according to martial law.

The orders were to be published in every parish in the county on the Sunday after the Constable received them.

It might have been thought that these rules were sufficiently strong to put a stop to all plundering and free quarters. Such, however, was not the case. At the Michaelmas Sessions the Grand Jury again complained to Gerrard and the Commissioners of Array.<sup>1</sup> From these complaints we learn something of the way in which the former orders were evaded. Doubts were raised as to who made the orders, and it was agreed that in future they should be certain and published.

No man's goods were to be taken except under a warrant signed by the Governor or by four of the Commissioners of Array.

Soldiers should be only quartered in garrison towns unless marching through the county.

If a person did not pay the contribution he only should be molested, not his neighbour as well, and he alone should pay the whole charge.

Persons defending their estates from rapine and plunder should not be liable to be tried by a council of war, but only by the ordinary courts of the land.

No out county force should remain in the county more than a night, if

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 175.



they did the forces of the county, after notice given by the Governor or the Commission of Array, might compel them to move on.

If any soldiers, horse or foot, commit robbery or violence the county might rise on them and bring them to justice.

No soldier or officer should send for hay or corn or provender, but should pay for it in ready money, unless it was in a parish properly assigned for the support of the particular troop to which the officer or soldier belonged.

The assignment of troops to parishes appears to have been first made in August 1644.<sup>1</sup> For this purpose the 400 cavalry were divided into seven troops, Colonel Sandys' troop 100 strong, the other six troops 50 each.

1. Colonel Sandys for his troop of 100 had the following parishes for his and his troops' support: Ombersley, Bromsgrove, Grafton, Alvechurch, Northfield, Cofton Hackett, Rushock, Pedmore, Old Swinford, Stourbridge, Frankley, Hagley, Churchill, Doverdale, Salwarp, and the Shipston parishes.

2. Colonel Knotsford had Mamble, King's Norton, Yardley, Dudley, Cradley, Wordsley, Ludsey and Wolverley.

3. The Reformado's troop, that is, the troop of disbanded soldiers who had re-enlisted and who included among them most of the undisciplined men in the army, had Tardebigge, Redditch, Bentley, North Piddle, Upton Warren, Cooksey, Wick juxta Pershore, Hill Croome, Earl's Croome, Crophorne, Netherton, Charlton, Elmley Castle, Bricklehampton, Birlingham, Nafford, Harvington, Church Lench, Hampton Great and Little, Atch Lench, now known as Abbott's Lench, and Sheriff's Lench.

4. Sir Rowland Berkeley, the Sheriff, had Bushley, Poole, Queenhill, Berrow, Holdfast, Estington, Redmarley d'Abitot, Castle Morton, Welland, Pendock, Little Malvern, Upton on Severn, Cotheridge and Howson, Broadwas, Hanley Castle, Bewdley, Bredon, Overbury, Broadway, Alderstone and Goldicot.

5. Sir Gilbert Gerrard, the Governor of Worcester, had Blockley, Tenbury, North and Middle Littleton, Church Honeyborne, Poden and South Littleton.

6. Captain Breereton had Droitwich, Evesham and Bengeworth, Ripple, Eldersfield, Longden, Chaseley and Staunton, but not Birtsmorton.

7. Captain Fitter, who had 100 dragoons at 7*s.* a week, had Beoley, Inkberrow, Feckenham, and Upton Snodsbury. This produced £313 19*s.* 4*d.*

Sir Gilbert Gerrard's company had only £100; this was to be made up by an addition of 900, and for that purpose had the following parishes assigned to it: St. Michael's in Bedwardine, St. John's in Bedwardine, Wick Episcopi without Howson, Wichenford, Hallow, Grimley, Holt, and Shrawley. This came to £241 19*s.* 10*d.*

Colonel Gerard had 100 men and with them the parishes Martley, Areley, Suckley (without Cotheridge), Pinvin, Lenchwicke and Norton, Broughton Hackett, and Oddingley.

Sergeant-Major Bishop, with 80 men, had Battenhall and Sidbury, Kempsey, Norton, Stoulton, Pirton, Spetchley, White Ladies Aston, Churchill, Bredicote, Throcmorton and Bretforton.

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 176.

Every captain with 80 men had £16 a week or £64 a month. Officers had per week £8 8s. *od.*, per month £33 12s. *od.* Said to be a total of £97 12s. *od.*

The remaining Worcestershire parishes do not appear to have been specifically assigned to any one: Clifton on Teme, Lindridge, Knighton, Great and Little Compton, Suckley, Peopleton, Fladbury Hill and Moore, Wyre Piddle, Wickhamford, Badsey with Aldington, Claines, Martyn Hussingtree, Abbot's Morton, Kington, Dormston, Rouse Lench and Hoblench, Bishampton, Abberton, Huddington and Crowle; but Walcot, Sedgeberrow, Grafton Flyford, Flyford Flavel and Severn Stoke, which produced £97 4s. 10*d.*, and Hanbury, Tibberton, Kidderminster Borough and Maddersfield, producing £95 15s. 4*d.*, appear to have been retained in hand to meet further requirements, as it is stated that the keeper of the magazine at Worcester, Scarlet, had 10s. a week, and to provide this Himbleton and Hampton were assigned.

Richardson, the powder maker, £5 per cent. for powder which was received from Powick and Bransford and Great Malvern.

Captain Cassin, the match maker, £3 10s. per cent. secured by Leigh and Mathon.

And the officers of the staff of the Governor of Worcester, who had their allowance secured on Abberley; this, less the sum paid to the Hartlebury garrison, completed the provision for Worcester.

Several points of considerable importance arise on this return. It is almost the only information we have as to the assessment of each parish in the county at the time of the civil war.

Elmley Lovett is the only parish there is by which a comparison from the information now stated can be made, but having regard to it the assessment of the parishes seems fairly high. For the monthly contribution of £3000 Elmley Lovet was assessed at £10 8s. 3*d.*;<sup>1</sup> for the £4000 it rose to £14 7s. 4*d.*<sup>2</sup> For this payment it was reduced to at least £11 4s. 0*d.*<sup>3</sup>

Some of the variation in value of the parishes is most striking. Kidderminster Borough was £32, Kidderminster Foreign £37 4s. 4*d.*, Droitwich £38 13s. 0*d.*, Evesham and Bengeworth £50 6s. 11*d.*

The garrison of Worcester seems to have consisted of Colonel Sandys' Regiment of Horse divided into the above seven troops. The Colonel's own troop was 100 strong, and the other six troops 50 each. The commanders of the troops were Col. Sandys, Col. Knotsford, Sir Gilbert Gerard's (the Governor) troop, Capt. Breereton, Capt. Fitter, Sir Rowland Berkeley, and the Reformados.

The pay works out fairly accurately on this basis: Col. Sandys' troop consisted of 100 men and received £371 2s. 0*d.* Col. Knotsford had 50 men and received £192 2s. 4*d.* Sir Rowland Berkeley, 50 men, £188 11s. 2*d.* There seems also to be a supplemental payment of £19,210 10s. 0*d.* charged on other parishes. Col. Knotsford got £19 2s. 4*d.* for his 50 men, the Reformados £190, Sir Gilbert Gerard £191 4s. 0*d.*, Capt. Breereton £196 7s. 8*d.*

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> II., p. 180.

We have no evidence as to the way the different parishes were assigned to the different troops. It is only a guess, but it might have been that as each troop was to receive a certain fixed sum the parishes were broken up, so as far as possible to find a certain number of parishes whose aggregate contributions would raise the required sum, but beyond the accounts themselves, which seem to shew that about £97 a week was required for 80 men, it appears that the parishes were grouped without any regard to locality or situation, but merely to get the required sum. Thus Tenbury was put with the Littletons, Martley with Pinvin, Lenchwick, and Oddingley.

What may be called the regular garrison of the county was now fixed at 1400 men—400 horse and 1000 foot. This was all that the monthly contribution would pay. The whole of the monthly contribution was exhausted by the divisions. Quarters unassigned would seem to shew that a small balance, £167 2s. 4d., was kept in hand and not assigned to any troops. Worcester and Hartlebury appear to have been the only places where regular garrisons were provided, for nothing is said about Evesham, and this gives rise to a doubt if it was ever a regular garrison town, but only had a force placed there temporarily when occasion arose. It is supposed to be a Royalist garrison until August 1645. No mention is made of Dudley; why it is hard to say. It can hardly have been that the fact of the Castle being in Staffordshire freed the county from the cost of providing for it. But it is difficult to suggest any other reason. To us a body of 1400 men seems almost absurd as the regular defensive force of the county, but that was the extent of the permanent force; if any trouble arose troops were marched in from other places. The fixed garrison of the county during the greater part of the Civil War was not much if at all above these figures. Its numbers seem to have been wholly regulated by the sum the County would raise for its defence, and as a permanent charge Worcestershire could not count on raising above the £3000 a month, a sum that barely sufficed to pay the 1400 troops. It will be noted that even this was hardly enough. One troop of 100 dragoons, Capt. Fitters,<sup>1</sup> could only raise £146 17s. 0d. To this note is added: "The rest to be got out of Warwickshire Quarters unassigned." One wonders if any of the neighbouring counties made in their accounts a similar note as to Worcestershire.

It will also be observed that only provision for the keeper of one magazine is made, and that presumably the one at Worcester. Whether any charge was made after the removal of the magazine from Worcester to Droitwich, or when the magazine was restored to Worcester, does not appear.

This so-called settlement of Rupert did not give satisfaction to the county. At the Michaelmas Sessions, 1644,<sup>2</sup> the Grand Jury made a presentment in favour of Rupert's proposals, but it was only a conditional acceptance, the condition being that all plundering should cease, and that any plundering might be lawfully resisted. In November, 1644, a meeting attended by the Nobility,

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 174.

the Governor of Worcester, the greater part of the magistrates and gentry, and the principal Grand Jurymen and freeholders was held at Worcester to take some steps to stop the extreme pressure and intolerable grievance in the county by the daily incursions, plunders, rapine and murders committed by the forces raised by the Parliament.<sup>1</sup> It was resolved to hold a Special Sessions on the 6th December to consult on some speedy course of removing this grievance. All ministers of the different parishes were required to read the order for the Sessions in all churches and chapels throughout the county on the next Sunday in the forenoon. The Special Sessions on the 6th December was numerous and influentially attended. The Earl of Shrewsbury took the leading part; he was supported by no less than 21 Justices, 15 Grand Jurymen, and 4 Clergymen. Among the supporters were the Sheriff, the Governor of Worcester,<sup>2</sup> Sir John Pakington, Sir Edward Dingley, Sir William Russell, Sir Ralph Clare, Sir John Winford, Townshend himself, Habington and Pytts, Wylde and Acton. In fact, even at the present day a more influential and representative body of Justices could hardly be collected. It will be noted that it consisted not only of Royalists like Berkeley and Pakington, but of Parliament men like Pytts and Wylde. They resolved to petition Parliament to try and make peace on honourable terms. They also petitioned the King to try and make peace. Parliament does not appear to have taken any notice of the county's petition. Charles answered it at once, thanking the petitioners and the county for their loyalty, courage and affection which he could never forget, and which his posterity would remember with the same value and estimation.

Nothing came of it. It could hardly have been expected anything would; the fight had to be fought to a finish, and the end was not yet, however great the suffering of the whole commons of the realm.

Another document,<sup>3</sup> the last of those of 1644, casts a curious side-light on the position. The assessors for the Elmley Lovett contribution had been never less than seven, and they "rather bred a confusion than a settlement of any business that came before them." The Commissioners of Array had to muster before them, and reduced the number of assessors to five. The order shews the importance attached to Townshend. He and a Mr. Leach appear to have been the Lords of the Manor of Elmley Lovett, and whatever the assessors proposed, if they could get the assent of Townshend and Leach, was to be reputed and held as the assessment of the parish.

Bad as the position of the Royalist party in the county was becoming, that of the Parliament was but little, if at all, better.

In May 1644 the Parliament passed an ordinance for raising and maintaining sufficient horse and foot for the garrison of Gloucester, and the county was supposed to contribute. In June 1644 came an ordinance for raising money in Worcestershire to maintain the Parliament force raised in Salop, and on 25 September 1644 an ordinance for raising and maintaining horse and foot for reducing and continuing the county and city of Worcester into and under the obedience and service of the King and Parliament.

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 182.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 184.

<sup>3</sup> II., p. 187.

As usual commissioners were appointed to carry out these ordinances. The list of names is a remarkable one for two reasons: (1) most of the great names are those of men who were not connected with the county, and (2) names of the new men, the military supporters of the Parliament, like Dobbins, Tinker Fox called Col. Fox, Thomas Milward, the future Governor of Worcester city, now appear for the first time. The names are Basil Earl Denbigh, Edward Lord Howard of Escrigge, the Lord Lieutenant, appointed by Parliament, Sir Walter Devereux, Knight and Bart., Sir Robert Harley, Knight of the Bath, Sir Thomas Gascoigne, Knight, Sir Giles Overbury, Knight, Sir William Acton, Knight, John Wilde and Richard Crishold, Serjeants, Humphrey Salway, Capt. Daniel Dobbins, Nicholas Edward Rouse, Samuel Knightley, John Nash, John Davies, Thomas Milward, Thomas Cooke, George Wilde, John Penrice, Esqs., Col. John Fox, Major Richard Salway, Major Edward Smith, Capt. Charles Chester, Capt. Samuel Gardiner, Henry Hunt, Thomas Young, Edward Young, John Gides of Ashley, John Fownes, William Moore and William Collins.

As if there were not a sufficient number of assessments and commissions already in existence in October 1644, Parliament set up another to raise money for the maintenance of the army in Ireland—the commission was to raise from the county £91 13s. 4d. a month, the city £2 15s. 6d. The Commissioners were practically the same as those last mentioned, except that the names of Lord Denbigh and Lord Howard of Escrigge were left out.

It is not certain whether this was the last straw, if it was not it was very nearly the last. The county was getting sick of commissioners and assessments. It is almost impossible to speak with accuracy, but it is clear that the unfortunate people in the county had to pay assessment that amounted to not less than £4000 a year, assuming that all were regularly levied and paid.

The Parliament had felt the difficulty of raising men and money from an early date, and had taken special means of meeting it by combining counties together so as to give a wider area for both recruiting and taxation. As far back as December 1642 the Parliament had passed an ordinance for forming an association of the counties of Leicester, Derby, Rutland, Nottingham, Huntingdon, Bedford and Buckingham, and had followed it up by another ordinance of the same month associating Norfolk, Essex, Suffolk, Cambridge, Isle of Ely, Herts, and the city of Norwich, and yet another on 31 December associating Stafford and Warwick and placing them under the command of Lord Brooke. Early in January 1642-43 instructions to these associations were issued, and the result was to bind the Eastern counties into a union for the Parliament. It was not that there were no Royalists there, for the war shewed that there was a strong Royalist feeling in East Anglia, but the fact of association and uniting together gave the Parliamentary party a cohesion and a hold on the counties that they kept successfully during the war, and one of the factors that lent strength to the Parliament was the existence of the

association, while one of the weaknesses of the Royalists was that they trusted to separate counties and had no cohesion among themselves.

The misery of the county was steadily increasing, and led the Worcester Royalists to put forward at the Special Sessions in December 1644 the Parliamentary idea of "associating" with other counties. This idea had had a sort of approval in the King's reply to the Petition sent up from the Sessions :—

"That he doubted not that many counties would associate,<sup>1</sup> and this he particularly and especially recommended to the counties mentioned in the Petition, and urged the expediting this association with all possible and convenient speed, in which they should receive all assistance and encouragement."

This led the Justices when they assembled at the Epiphany Sessions on 30 December 1644 to appoint a committee to endeavour to associate with the counties of Stafford, Salop, Hereford and Monmouth, the counties named in the petition, the only counties with which association could effect any good result. The Committee were Earl of Shrewsbury, Sir William Russell, Sir Ralph Clare, and the Sheriff-elect Henry Bromley of Holt. These gentlemen sent a message to the Councils of Stafford, Salop and Hereford asking them to enter into a common league for the sake of mutual protection. At first the selection of the counties seems peculiar, as the two counties that encircled more than half Worcestershire on the east and south, Warwick and Gloucester, were omitted. But Warwick was already associated with Leicestershire for the Parliament, so any idea of a Royalist association was hardly possible, while as long as Massey remained at Gloucester the Royalists of that county would be unable to give any material help. This left Stafford, Salop and Hereford the only counties it was possible for Worcestershire to associate with, but Stafford was already associated with Warwick for the Parliament. Hereford was so closely mixed up with Monmouth that wherever the one went the other might have to follow. The Sessions accordingly resolved to send letters to these three counties, Stafford, Salop and Hereford, asking them to join in these joint endeavours—"most considerable to His Majesty's service and their own preservation,"<sup>2</sup> and proposing to hold a meeting at Ludlow on 9 January 1645. For some reason that does not appear, Monmouth dropped out of the proposed association. She was being much harassed at the time, and possibly would have found difficulty in sending representatives to Ludlow. The representatives of the three counties met and resolved that if the King would consent

"to arm themselves in such a powerful way that the counties should be secured by their own powers, and be in readiness when His Majesty's occasions brought him into any of the counties to have such an army as would be able to encounter the strongest and most able bodies of his enemies."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 190.

<sup>3</sup> II., p. 192.

Their plan was—

To raise a force of every man in the four counties between 16 and 60, who should assemble armed to the best of his ability on summons from the Sheriff.

That the Prince of Wales should be the General-in-chief, but that the force should have leave to select their colonels, lieutenant-colonels, sergeant-majors, captains, lieutenants and inferior officers.

That they were not to be subject to martial law nor “drawn forth” of their respective counties.<sup>1</sup>

That in the absence of the Prince of Wales such person who might be presented to the respective counties should have full authority to regulate the forces, and to be a member of the Prince of Wales’ Council in all things concerning the association. That they have power to exchange prisoners. No free quarters, and if any attempt was made to take free quarters it should be lawful to resist.

That to encourage the payment of the monthly contribution, frequent muster be taken of all soldiers in garrison in the counties, and if more pay is demanded than payable, according to the number of soldiers found to be present, the officer be proceeded against. That the rents and profits of all delinquents’ estates be paid for the support of the public service, and grants of such rents and profits made to any particular person should be revoked. That all protections granted to persons who were in rebellion should be revoked.

That no officer or soldier arrest any man or seize his goods on pretence of delinquency unless he at once brings the person and goods before the chief garrison in the county and properly enter the cause of such seizure, and if any officer or soldier act contrary to this he be treated as a thief and a robber, and be delivered over to the common law to be tried.

That no governor of a garrison, commander, officer or soldier should send any letter or warrant for any sums of money or imprison any person until they paid it, and if any of them in any of the associated counties takes any householder who pays his contribution, the Commission may send for such person and cause him to be tried by the ordinary courts of law. That any officer or soldier who should put any affront or insolence on any of the Commissioners of Array, Justice of the Peace, or officer employed in the King’s service in safeguarding the county, such person should be held a disturber of the Peace, and have such public and exemplary punishment as the King should allow the Commission to inflict.

These proposals were submitted to the King. They shew the great causes of complaint, plunder, and lawlessness, the idea that the military were superior to the civilian, and could treat him as they pleased. But it is not a little remarkable to find the magistrates and gentry of four counties asking the King to fix the punishment for robbery and violence at his own pleasure, in fact doing away with the existing law of the land for assault and violence.

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 193.

As might be expected the King received the petition favourably, and set up five gentlemen to carry out such of the powers asked for as he granted and to enforce the law. These five men were for Worcestershire: John, Earl of Shrewsbury, the Sheriff of Worcestershire, Henry Bromley of Holt, Sir William Russell, the late Governor of Worcester, his bitter enemy and opponent Sir Ralph Clare of Caldwell, and the fifth Edward Pytts of Kyre the father-in-law of the Sheriff, Henry Bromley of Holt, who was a strong Parliamentarian. Substantially the King appeared to grant most of what was asked for, but it was so carefully safeguarded that it would be very easy to say that any particular thing that caused dispute was not granted, and the Commissioners were exceeding their powers.

To give the association a good start the King on the 26th February 1645 issued a Proclamation<sup>1</sup> "for regulating His Majesty's soldiers in the associated Counties of Salop, Worcester, Hereford and Stafford, and the cities of Worcester, Hereford and Lichfield;" for some reason that is not apparent neither Shrewsbury nor any garrison in Shropshire is mentioned.

The proclamation first provides the punishment of any officer or soldier who presumes to affront or put any insolence on any Commissioner, Justice of the Peace or officer employed in His Majesty's service, or should injure any of His Majesty's subjects in the said counties or cities in their persons or estates. Such person should have public and exemplary punishment of death or otherwise, according to the strictest discipline of war. Any soldier or soldiers straggling without furlough or ticket from the Governor of the garrison, or his colonel, should be proceeded against by the common law without respect to his quality as a soldier.

It does not appear to what extent the King's proclamation was enforced, but it would seem that while it gave, as it was intended to give, protection to the county gentleman, the large landowner and the substantial farmer, the small men, the yeomen, the labourer, and even the smaller farmers were still robbed and oppressed, and following the example of their betters they determined also to associate, and so formed themselves into bodies for mutual protection that became known as "Clubmen."

Meanwhile the magistrates and gentlemen took steps to make their position known. At the Epiphany Sessions 1645 they repeated their former presentment as to grievances in somewhat greater detail. They set out in full the presentment they had made at the Michaelmas Sessions 1644 to Sir Gilbert Gerrard, the Governor of Worcester, and the other Commissioners. They agreed if their complaints were redressed that the 19th, 20th, and 21st months' contributions should be levied at the rate of £3000 a month, one half in money and one half in provisions, according to Prince Rupert's orders, and they added this proviso<sup>2</sup>:—

"Provided always that these propositions be performed, otherwise the contribution to cease."

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 199.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 202.



They also provided<sup>1</sup>

“that no Soldier or officer should send for any corn or provender but should pay for the same ready money, according to Prince Rupert's order, unless in the parishes which were assigned for their quarters.”

They then proceeded to ask Rupert's confirmation of their presentment, that the same might be read and published in all churches within the county of Worcester, and copies sent to all High Constables and by them to every Parish Constable in the county, so that it might be read in all parish churches and chapels of the county, which was performed accordingly. So that the inhabitants of the parishes might know what was to be done by them, and be better encouraged to pay their monthly contribution. It was further stated that the Grand Jury had presented as one of the grievances<sup>2</sup> of the county that their former presentment had not been carried out by some of the officers, as some of those who had regularly paid their monthly contributions had been made to give free quarters to soldiers, not merely to those who were appointed for the defence of the county, but also to others who did not belong to the county, and no allowance had been made to such persons, and further, that some of the captains refused to receive the contributions half in money and half in provisions, it was therefore desired that the presentment should be confirmed and put in force. The Court ordered this to be done.

It was one thing to order that the decisions of the Court should be carried out, it was quite another to get it done. The Court seem to have been quite in earnest as to this. So much so, that they agreed that some person should be appointed to call up the force of the county when wanted, and also to take charge of the army and ammunition when the force was not called up, and to assist the Sheriff in carrying out his duties for the defence of the shire. Such person was to report to the Court after each Quarter Sessions, and to state the quantity of powder and match in stock. The Court also agreed that steps should be taken to appoint a magistrate who should at each Quarter Sessions give an account of the strength of the musters, and pay the allowance accordingly. They then proceeded to make the appointments, and selected Townshend for the place of muster master of the county. He was to see to all the men who received pay from the county, to take care of the magazine of powder, match and bullet, and give an account of his proceedings at every Sessions.

What work Townshend might have done it is impossible to say; he never really had a chance of shewing his administrative ability. Charles or his advisers at last saw how important the county was to the Royalist cause, and how necessary some special steps should be taken to secure it, so in January 1645 Rupert's younger brother Maurice, a young man of 25, was appointed Lieut.-General of Worcestershire and the adjoining counties, with his headquarters at Worcester.

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 203.

Maurice's record was not one to give much confidence to the Royalists of the county. His previous Worcestershire experiences had not been particularly fortunate. His command in 1643 had won the battle of Ripple for the King, but it was of no real importance, and he had shewn that he, like his brother Rupert, was inclined to make the great object of his command to support himself and his officers.

His first act was to order the Commissioners of Array to peruse all the orders made at Oxford or by Rupert or by Quarter Sessions, to extract from them all that was necessary for the peace of the County, and to add such as the town required. His next was a personal one. Worcester was his Headquarters, and so the city had to make proper provision for his food. What he considered proper is shewn by the following order<sup>1</sup>:—

The City of Worcester to provide Prince Maurice his diet for the table as followeth:—

	£	s.	d.
1 fat mutton . . . . .	0	12	0
1 lamb . . . . .	0	6	0
1 veal . . . . .	0	10	0
30 lbs. of beef . . . . .	0	5	0
3 couple of pullets or capons . . . . .	0	6	0
6 couple of pigeons . . . . .	0	2	0
6 couple of chickens . . . . .	0	4	0
8 dozen of white and brown bread . . . . .	0	8	0
6 pound of candles . . . . .	0	2	6
2 hogshheads of strong and small beer . . . . .	1	0	0
	<hr/>		
	3	15	6
	<hr/>		

There is nothing to shew who were the officers and others who dined at Maurice's table, but it must be admitted that his ideas on rationing would not have disgraced a modern ministry of food.

The orders that Maurice drew up give the best information we have of the condition of the county at that time.

The monthly contribution of £3000 was continued payable one-half in money, one-half in provisions. With it there was to be maintained 1600 foot, 16 companies of 100 each and 400 horse, 5 troops of 80 each with their officers' pay, and also the officers of the staff, 16 cannoniers, 16 matrosses, match and gunpowder. A common soldier was paid 3s. 6d. a week, a trooper 10s. A matross was

“a man whose duty it was to remove the tent-rollers and cordage, to keep them in good condition, to help the commissary in delivering out ammunition to the officers that come to receive it;”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 215.

<sup>2</sup> Firth, Cromwell's Army, p. 427.

not a very pleasant duty. This gives some idea as to how far it was possible to make the monthly contribution suffice for the pay of the troops.

1600 foot soldiers at 3*s.* 6*d.* a week.  
 400 horse at 10*s.* a week.  
 16 cannoniers.  
 16 matrosses.  
 . . staff.

This gives a total of about £500, and as under Rupert's order one-half of the £3000 a month was to be paid in provisions, assuming, which was not likely to be the case, that the whole £1500 was regularly paid, the result was:—

Total pay required, £2000 a month.  
 Total receipts, £1500.

It is therefore clear that the proposed reforms would not give any real redress, and that the makeshifts adopted were bound to fail and cause greater dissatisfaction than ever.

The county was now theoretically no longer subject to any free quarters or billets except for one night, when the King's soldiers were marching through it. There were at this time three garrisons in the county, Worcester in the centre, Hartlebury in the north-west, and Evesham in the south. If the soldiers marching through the county stayed more than the one night, the governors of those garrisons, with the Commissioners and the county forces were to compel the troops to "move on." The commander of the out county troops was made personally liable, and was to be tried by court martial for any infraction of the rules. Soldiers might only quarter in any house if they had an express order from their commanding officer; if they did it or tried to do it without such order they were to be brought to trial before the commanding officer of the nearest garrison. A like rule was laid down against plundering, and a weekly court of law as opposed to a court-martial was to sit at Worcester to hear cases.

The following scale of payment was laid down for officers or men who were billeted for their food:—

Captain, 10*s.* a week.  
 Lieutenant and servant, 7*s.* a week.  
 Inferior officers and troopers, 3*s.* 6*d.* a week.  
 Foot soldiers, 2*s.* 4*d.*

If this was not paid by the man billeted, the Treasurer of the County was to stop it out of the man's pay and satisfy the person on whom the officer or soldier had been billeted. Provisions were to be delivered at Worcester on:—

"Saturdays, at Evesham and Hartlebury on Mondays.

"No parishes allotted to any garrison were to be bound to send labourers to repair the fortifications in any other garrison.

"Parishes assigned to Horse Regiments were to bring in as well as provisions, hay, oats, peas, beans and straw. Parishes assigned to the Foot, cheese, butter, dry bacon, bacon and beef."

A trooper and his horse billeted at 7*s.* a week was to have a strike and a half of oats. Oats were 18*d.* per strike. A foot soldier at 2*s.* 4*d.* was to be content with diet and entertainment fit and reasonable for such allowance, and they were both to pay for all other things they used. A billet only gave the soldier house room and such fire, candles and salt as the family used. No more soldiers were to be billeted in a house than it would conveniently receive. No one was to be billeted in the house of a Commissioner, Treasurer, or Collector, and no women or boys or children could be billeted except the master of the house consented.

Various other provisions were made for the protection of the inhabitants and their property, and, what would not have been expected, the Court of Quarter Sessions were to have the orders laid before them and asked for their approval of them. The Sessions considered them carefully and made various alterations and suggestions, one of the most remarkable being that no troops were to be quartered in the houses of Grand Jurors, Commissioners for delinquents' estates, the Sheriff, Under Sheriff and the Clerk of the Peace.

One of the articles had provided that the contributions should be levied upon a new basis. The old way was: the parish was made up of so many "yard lands," that is, upon the various copyhold strips of land in the common fields in each parish. It was proposed that in future it should be taken upon the rents paid in respect of all the lands in the parish at 4*d.* in the £, that is, by the modern method. The result of the change is shewn by Townshend's own case. In 1644 he paid towards the £3000 monthly contribution £2. In February 1645, when he was "sessed" after his rent and not on the yard lands, he paid, at 4*d.* in the £, £1 10*s.* 0*d.*

In January 1645 Gerrard retired from the Governorship of Worcester. Nothing appears in the Diary to shew why this was. The appointment was not immediately filled up, and the next record there is of a Governor is that the Col. Samuel Sandys, who had been Governor of Evesham, had become Governor of Worcester. The position was by no means an enviable one, for, in spite of all that had been done to regulate the collection of the contribution and supplies, there were still great complaints. The danger came from a new quarter. The Sessions, by exempting all the chief houses in the county from free quarters, had practically thrown the liability on the yeomen and smaller landowners. Doubtless they had it before, but the action of association had increased their liability by diminishing that of their landlords and richer neighbours. This had shewn that there was a way to escape, and the farmers and small landowners thought that what had freed the one class could also free the other. So in the Spring of 1645 the farmers and labourers joined together to defend their property. The movement, it is believed, originated in Herefordshire, but it was felt in Worcestershire as well. Early in the year a meeting was held at Pershore, and this was followed by a meeting on 5 March 1645 on Woodbury Hill on the borders of Worcestershire and Herefordshire.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Charles Nott of Shelsley, a Worcestershire parish on the

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 221.

Teme, presided over the meeting and a statement of their objects and intentions was drawn up.

This states that they have long groaned<sup>1</sup> under many illegal taxations and unjust pressure, contrary to the orders presented to His Majesty by advice of the Lords and Commons assembled at Oxford and ratified and published by His Majesty's gracious proclamation. Nevertheless finding no redress to their grievances, but that they, their wives and children have been exposed to bitter ruin by the outrages and violence of the soldiers threatening to fire our houses, endeavouring to ravish our wives and daughters, and menacing our persons, we are now enforced to associate ourselves in a mutual league for each other's defence, and declare to the world that our meetings have been, are, and shall be to no other intention or purpose.

They then set out their objects, which among others provides for carrying out, enforcing and quickening the execution of Maurice's "wholesome orders."

Their resolutions were sent to Bromley the Sheriff, to whom alone as His Majesty's Vicegerent they held they were bound to render an account of their doings.

The farmers and labourers were opposed to plunderers as such without reference to whether they were for the King or for Parliament; the fact that they were plunderers made them enemies, no matter what their objects or to what party they belonged. But the association was a Royalist body, and one of its results was to cause active opposition to it by the Parliamentary party. Among others the ministers and constables of Stock and Bradley received the notice to bring in the names of all men between 16 and 60, so that they might be called on to serve the King. Feckenham district, close on the Warwickshire border, had always been a Parliamentary stronghold. To prevent the people being deluded with specious Royalist pretences, five Parliamentary justices signed a warning to the constables not only to—

"premonish but also to charge and command the ministers and constables to forbear and to give notice or to 'list' the inhabitants if they would avoid imprisonment and bringing their estates under the ordinance of sequestration."<sup>2</sup>

The five signatory justices were all strong Parliamentarians: Edward Rous of Rous Lench, one of the family who sheltered Baxter; Thomas Milward, was afterwards the Parliamentary Governor of Worcester; Fownes of Bromsgrove, a member of one of the strictest Puritan families; Henry Hunt, who has left his name to the county in "Huntend," a place near Bradley, and John Giles. What was the result does not appear, but this is a good instance of the difficulties anyone in a public position found himself. If he did not carry out his instructions the party that gave him the orders would punish him for disobedience. If he disobeyed the orders the other side would give him no mercy. This shews better than anything else the need there was of a body of men who belonged to no party but who would be strong enough to stand up against

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 224.

illegal orders by either side, in fact it more than justified the appearance of the Clubmen. This notice was dated 3 March 1645. The Royalists were beginning to make preparation for their Summer campaign on 3 April 1645. Maurice began to collect provisions for His Majesty's army, "who would make their rendezvous in the county very speedily." To fill up the Worcester magazine with foodstuffs, great stores of biscuit bread, specially provided out of this county (one wonders if Worcestershire corn was better than the Cotswold barley), 3000 bushels of good, sound and marketable wheat out of the towns in the Hundred of Oswaldslowe other than Hartlebury and Wolverley, which was reserved to supply Hartlebury Castle. In addition 500 pickaxes, shovels and spades were to be provided. Maurice was somewhat peremptory in his orders. He says<sup>1</sup>—

"If backwardness therein shall happen to draw any hard pressure upon them they will be left without excuse and thank themselves for the same."

Townshend, as Muster Master, had to see to keeping up the stock of provisions in the different garrisons. He has left a memorandum, without date, which apparently gives us his ideas as to what should be the stock of provisions necessary to keep 2000 men during a six months' siege.<sup>2</sup> It runs as follows:—

8000 Bushels of Bread corn of Rye, muncorn or wheat at 3s. 4d. per strike . . . . .	£1333	06	8 <sup>d</sup>
2000 bushels of white and grey peas at 2s. per bushel . . . . .	200	0	0
1000 bushels of oats in oatmeal at 2s. per strike . . . . .	100	0	0
20,000 lbs. of cheese at 2d. per lb. . . . .	166	13	04
10,000 lbs. of butter at 4d. per lb. . . . .	166	13	04
200 beefs at £3 . . . . .	600	00	00
20,000 strike of malt at 2s. 6d. per strike . . . . .	2500	00	00
Hotwaters ( <i>sic</i> ) . . . . .	100	00	00
Fire for the Guard . . . . .	100	00	00
2000 bushels of salt at 2s. 6d. . . . .	250	00	00
Money at 4d. per diem per soldier . . . . .	1200	00	00
	6716	13	04

It does not appear whether Townshend made any attempt to store the quantity of provisions in the Worcester magazine or whether it was merely his idea of what should be there, but it is a document of some interest as giving the basis as to how a garrison of 2000 men should be kept for six months.

As the Royalists were preparing supplies for the Royalist advance, so the Parliament were doing their best to prevent the collection of supplies.

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 228.

Fourteen justices, two of whom were William Lygon and Nicholas Lechmere, issued an order, dated Warwick, 7 April 1645—

“forbidding on pain of imprisonment any person executing any Royalist order for wheat, provisions, shovels, spades, pickaxes, or providing Teams, Horses, Carts or Carters for the King’s service as they were immediately destructive to true religion, law and liberty.”<sup>1</sup>

To make matters worse the Royalists, in addition to all the new demands, still required the £3000 a month. This in April 1645, the 37th month in which this payment had been demanded. It was to be paid up in 10 days from the date of the order. A new penalty was imposed, the collectors were to pay a fine of £5 for each month they refused to collect, while those who had to pay were made to pay double if they neglected their payments.<sup>2</sup>

Maurice determined to make sure of those who were on the King’s side. He had a protestation drawn up to be made by all the County and City of Worcester. All mayors, bailiffs, high constables, ministers, vicars, curates and churchwardens were to make it, and administer it to every inhabitant of every town, parish and village in the county; persons who refused were to have their names at once certified to Maurice. The protest, among other things, stated that the Earls of Essex and Manchester, Sir Thomas Fairfax, Sir William Waller, Col. Massey and all others who had taken up arms had become actual rebels, and ought to be brought to condign punishment. That the person making the protestation would never bear arms in their quarrel, but would discover all designs against the King’s armies or for surprising or delivering up the cities of Worcester or Hereford or any other of His Majesty’s forts, that he would hinder all populous tumults, risings, rendezvous, meetings, confederacies and agitations of the people, towns, hundreds and counties not warranted by the King’s commission.<sup>3</sup>

This protestation Maurice required to be taken without exception by “all commanders, soldiers, gentry, citizens, freeholders and others within the County or City of Worcester.” This proposal was too much even for Townshend, strong Royalist as he was. He tells us<sup>4</sup>:—

“Some being commanded by Prince Maurice to take the Protestation said it was not needful nor necessary to press the same in a general way but only upon such as were mistrusted and jealous of their loyalty, and if they had any such thoughts of me with such exception and explanation as I made of some ambiguous terms they would for a testimony of my fidelity receive it. But told the Prince and the rest that I desired to be excused hereafter for meddling with any service as being held in jealousy and suspicion. The Governor, Col<sup>l</sup> Sam Sandys, and the High Sheriff, M<sup>r</sup> H. Bromley, said: ‘They were jealous of all, and thought I was not to be trusted nor fit to live in the garrison if I refused it.’ Thereupon I said: ‘To take away the temper and suspicion I would take it, but conceived I had merited a better opinion in all the passages of my service to the King and good of the country.’”

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 230.

<sup>3</sup> II., p. 232.

<sup>4</sup> II., p. 233.

Townshend's protest probably represents the feelings of a large number of the Royalist gentry of the county. They had and would support the King to the utmost of their power, but they would not be made to sign declarations of loyalty; to try and force them to do so only served to convert a strong Royalist into a lukewarm supporter, and could not bring about any useful end. At the moment when Charles was about to make his last great effort for victory, thus to alienate his best supporters as his nephew was doing by this Protestation was but the madness that precedes disaster. Townshend had his punishment speedily. His reasons for not signing the Protestation is dated 17 April 1645. The next month the King and his army came into the county, and on 11 May 1645 the King's commissioners and Prince Maurice's gentlemen had free quarters in Townshend's House at Elmley Lovett!

On 30 June 1645 Maurice issued an order from the Guildhall, Worcester, for raising a further 2000 foot and 50 horse for the requirements of His Majesty's army. (This was due to the rout at Naseby.) Maurice ordered further that the monthly assessment of £3000 should be paid in 10 days for paying the said 2000 foot and 50 horse, and for no other purpose whatever. How the Worcester garrison, unless it was destroyed at Naseby, which does not seem to have been the case, were to be paid in the future is not stated.

A Royalist army was a heavy infliction on the county, but it was as nothing to "the howling herd of hungry Scots" which had now to be endured. On 8 July the Scots reached Alcester. On the previous day Maurice, who was now thoroughly alarmed, issued an order to the constables of the different parishes to send into Worcester<sup>1</sup>

"all able persons of body between 16 and 60 with competent provision for their maintenance, and all sorts of tools, spades, mattocks, shovels, axes, bills and pickaxes, upon pain of death to be executed on them."

The Scots however passed on to Hereford, and the county remained as before.

But in spite of this escape the state of things was becoming worse and worse. The Worcester garrison appears to have taken advantage of the presence of the Scots to help themselves to whatever they could carry off in the way of plunder. An order of Maurice dated 10 October 1645<sup>2</sup>:—

"regulating governors and soldiers against seizing on men's persons, imprisoning them, seizing on their cattle, and providing that no person should be committed to or detained prisoner elsewhere than within the Marshalsea to the garrison of Worcester."

This was not all. The Parliament forces, beginning to get the upper hand in the county, were able to celebrate their victory in their own way, and this they did by imposing a monthly contribution of their own on the county, and, to make what they conceived to be a good beginning, issued warrants for what they termed arrears of this contribution.

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 237.



Townshend has preserved us one of these warrants, that for his own parish of Elmley Lovett. It is headed,<sup>1</sup> "A warrant from the committee of Parliament at Evesham for arrears of contribution." The recitals in the warrant have a touch of grim humour.

"Whereas for the times past our warrants have been neglected, and no monies hath been brought in for the months past. But when we came to gather our monies the Constable hid himself, and not only so, but gave alarm to the Castle, whereby we had like for to have been taken."

There is no precise record as to when this was, but there is an account of one of Gerrard's sorties that may well be the occasion when he dealt very heavily with one of the marauding bands of the Parliament forces, and did actually take a number of prisoners. The warrant goes on to

"strictly charge and command the assessors to assess and collect the monthly contributions according to the rate of £3000 in the shire, being £10 monthly for your township to pay."

This is hardly accurate. According to the assessments as given by Townshend, the sums at which Elmley Lovett was assessed during the Civil War were over £10 a month.

The order goes on :—

"and you that are parishioners to pay your monthly contribution which is demanded of you, and the constable and those which are officers to gather up the monthly contribution and to make payment of the same upon Saturday next, being the 17th day of this present month of October, to me at my quarters at Evesham at Mr. Heralite's House. Hereof fail not to us, as you will answer the contrary at your peril of pilaging and plundering, and your house fired and your persons imprisoned.

Given under my hand at Evesham the 14<sup>th</sup> day of October.

Jo. Lloyd.

To the Constable and Tything men of Elmley Lovett.

Your town being twelve months in arrears to us the last month being September."

Possibly the Parliament men took pleasure in compelling payment out of Townshend and his estate. What made it worse was the fact that Elmley Lovett had already paid all that was due from it on paying the £10 to the Royalists. This was therefore an attempt to make them pay double taxes. Whether it was successful or not in getting two payments out of the unfortunate parish does not appear, but it is quite certain that there was an endeavour to do so, and to regard the payments already made to the King as illegal payments. Doubtless numerous payments of this kind were forced on the unfortunate people, each side claiming the right whenever they had the opportunity of enforcing the orders of the Court of Quarter Sessions or in fact any other order for their own benefit.

Townshend<sup>2</sup> gives one picture of the state of the county in 1645. That,

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 238.

<sup>2</sup> II., 239.

perhaps, better than anything else gives some idea as to the state to which the country was reduced :—

“The country is fallen into such want and extremity through the number and oppression of the Horse lying upon free quarter that the people are necessitated (their hay being spent) to feed their Horses with corn, whilst their children are ready to starve for want of bread ; exacting free quarter and extorting sums of money from the time of their absence from their quarters, mingled with threats of firing their houses, their persons with death, their goods with pillaging.

“The barbarous seizing men’s persons and compelling them to ransom themselves with very great sums of money to their undoing, disabling them to assist His Majesty and that without order or warrant, as for instance Mr. Foley, the two Mr. Turvey, and many others, daily robberies of all market people, killing and wounding men who resist and stand on their own defence, contempt of all discipline, disobedience to all orders, quartering where they please and how as long as they list, so it be in security and without duty.

“Their opprobrious and base language of the Commissioners, intermingled with scorn and threats.

“Assaulting and seizing on the person of Sir Ralph Clare at his own house by one Major Fisher and his company without order, against whom is reserved exemplary justice and reparation. That the quarters which were assigned to the 400 horse belonging to the county being taken from them and allotted to others hath enforced some officers to give over their commands, the rest to live upon free quarter, being disabled to recruit their shattered troops.

“All the country lying between Severn and Teme and on the banks of the Severn (which are His Majesty’s only secure quarters), and also the parishes within 4 miles of the city are by free quarter of the Horse eaten up, undone, and destroyed, together with the country lying about Kidderminster and Bewdley, with their several armies passing to and fro, which should have plentifully supplied the city with all manner of provisions against the time of a siege.

“That the insolencies, oppression and cruelties have already so disaffected and disheartened the people that they are grown desperate and are already upon the point of rising everywhere, and do not stick to say they can find more justice and more money in the enemy’s quarters than in the King’s.”<sup>1</sup>

This shews the state of the county. Law had ceased to exist. The Royalist Horse had turned robbers and were practically disbanded. But whether mustered or disbanded, they went about the county living at free quarters and plundering the people.

No wonder the districts round Worcester and between the Severn and Teme, the present area of the Martley District Council, complained they had had across them—

1. The King’s army on its retreat from Leicester after Naseby.
2. The King’s troops that marched to the relief of Hereford.
3. The Scotch that came to help the Parliament.

And still worse than any, the Scots who marched across the country and besieged

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 240.

Hereford. Worcestershire was unable to say which was the worst to deal with, the stealing Scot or the robbing Royalist.

Townshend found himself in a difficulty, which probably was the consequence of his supposed disloyalty about the protestation.<sup>1</sup> Prince Maurice, as Lieut.-General of the Royalist forces in Worcestershire, quartered the Commission of Array, of which body Townshend was one, in Townshend's house at Elmley Lovett,<sup>2</sup> and assigned the rest of the parish to Colonel Wray for his quarters. Sixty of Wray's horses were thereupon turned out in Townshend's meadows. In addition Townshend was assessed by the Constable and assessors of the parish to pay the composition that was to go towards paying the cost of Wray's men. In fact Townshend was charged double. This was too much even for those times. On Townshend's protest the Commissioners ordered that he should be discharged from this payment, and it should be assessed on the other parishioners of Elmley, who should pay the sum proportionately, leaving out Townshend. It was fortunate for Townshend that being a Commissioner he could get redress; other persons were not so successful. As may be imagined, if a Commissioner could be thus treated, the uninfluential person, the small farmer, labourer, shepherd or the clubmen must have felt the hardship and been ready at the smallest notice to rise in arms in defence of their homes and property.

As already stated, a code of orders was drawn up for "the right regulating" the Association of the north-west part of the County and presented to Col. Sandys, the Governor of Worcester, on 6 December 1645.<sup>3</sup> It contained some drastic rules. A watch was to be kept in each parish and if any one was found who was a stranger, warning was to be given by shooting off a gun; if attempts were made to plunder, by beating a drum or ringing bells. Any one who refused to come and help was put out of the association and had to take his chance if arrested or plundered. Persons who were denied protection were liable to have marching soldiers quartered on them as long as their houses contained provision for man or beast.

If a horse team was taken or men pressed for service the Constable took the team of such persons in priority to those of any other, and if violence was offered by soldiers to them the soldiers were not to be resisted on pain of being excluded from the association.

Another order provided that gunpowder be freely delivered to the members of the association who might be on guard every day.

Servants of members or members of mean ability if wounded were to be kept at the cost of the Hundred in which such persons lived.

It is not recorded by Townshend, but it is a fact that two of those who nearly felt the weight of the association rules were no less personages than Rupert and Maurice. In December 1645 Maurice and Rupert left Worcester for Oxford. Sir Edward Dingley with a body of clubmen tried to intercept the two Princes on their way as they passed by his house at

<sup>1</sup> See *ante* II., p. 233.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 240.

<sup>3</sup> II., p. 241.

Charlton, but when it came to actual fighting Rupert and Maurice cut their way through the clubmen and reached Oxford in safety.

The state of the county had become most miserable, the people almost reduced to starvation by the plundering of both sides, with no force to protect them but clubmen, with at least four garrisons to be maintained and fed (Worcester, Dudley, Hartlebury and Madresfield), with no prospect of raising men and very little of raising money, it must have seemed that at last the end had come. Charles, however, decided to have one more try. In October 1645 Sir Richard Wyllis had advised him to muster all the garrisons and stake everything on one fight in the open. Charles then refused, but now, as a last chance, he resolved to try it, so on 6 December 1645 he appointed Lord Astley to the chief command of—

“His forces, Horse, foot, dragoons, trained bands, volunteers and others raised or to be raised in our counties of Worcester, Stafford, Hereford and Salop, and in our cities there, with power to impress men and levy forces.”<sup>1</sup>

A statement was made that contributions were due to the King, and also money from delinquents' estates and otherwise for recruiting forces, so the King appointed Lord Astley Lieutenant General, the Governor of Worcester, Col. Samuel Sandys, the Sheriff of the County, Henry Ingram, the Mayor of Worcester, William Evett, Sir John Pakington, Sir William Russell, Sir Ralph Clare, Sir William Herbert, Sir Rowland Berkeley, Sir John Winford, Sir Martin Sandys, Sir Edward Barrett, the ex-Sheriff of the county, Henry Bromley, Col. Herbert Price, Joseph Walsh, William Child, Edward Peverell and John Evett to be Commissioners, any five of whom could assess, levy or issue warrants for the payment of contributions. It will be noticed that in this new list of Commissioners Townshend's name does not appear, probably he was still in disgrace.

Not only were the Commissioners to enquire into complaints, they were also to take an account of all monies, plate, cattle, corn and other provisions for horse and man, arms and horses received since 10 November 1642 levied for the King or for his use, or under pretence of sequestration of delinquents' estates, or for trading to London or elsewhere contrary to the King's proclamations. And whatever was found not employed was to be collected and used for raising forces. The Commissioners were to take musters of soldiers and pay according to number. No free quarters on any county paying contributions, unless on a march, and then as sparingly as might be. No imposition above the contribution. If anyone was imprisoned by any officer or soldier, within 24 hours cause was to be shewn why. Any officer or soldier taking goods from anyone must bring them into the Public Treasury, or be proceeded against for felony and robbery.

Had these orders been given in December 1642 instead of December 1645, they might possibly have helped the Royalist cause. But this death-bed repentance—for it was really that—failed to produce any rally to the King. The evil

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 243.

had been done, Royalist and robber had become, so far as Worcestershire was concerned, synonymous terms.

In addition to these public instructions, Charles gave his Lieutenant General, Lord Astley, some secret orders.<sup>1</sup>

He was to have the keys of all forts and garrisons when he was present delivered to him, and give the password nightly.

To receive £20 a week from each of the four counties for his table.

To assist him in his duties he might appoint certain gentlemen to be helpful, yet subordinate, for Worcestershire, the Governor of Worcester, Col. Sam. Sandys and others not exceeding 18 in number.

Failing payment of contributions to him they were to be levied by parties of horse and foot.

He was to prevent all free quarters and plundering, to allow no tax or imposition on goods coming by land or water except excise; any governor, officer or soldier taking money for anything except contribution was to be punished by death, imprisonment or otherwise.

Rendezvous or tumultuous assemblies were to be suppressed by force.

Gentlemen who would raise horse or foot were to be encouraged.

No troops of Reformadoes were to be continued without special order. Those that were continued were to be enrolled in troops to watch and do duty.

The allowance and assignment to Maurice for raising a regiment of 1,200 foot to be continued. The contribution assigned to him for his Lifeguard of Reformadoes was to be used by him in raising a Regiment of Horse.

These orders shew that at last Charles or his advisers were beginning to realise the true position of things. Most of the matters as to which such bitter complaint had been made, and rightly made, were now to be redressed, and it really seemed as if the Royalists were going to reform. But it was too late. Townshend has shewn how the county suffered, how life was no longer endurable from the insolency of the Royalist soldiers; but for this insolence there might have been no associations, no clubmen, no discontent. As it was, the position was quite hopeless, and it might almost be said that Charles' surrender to the Scotch was the truest patriotism by preventing 1646 being a repetition of 1645 on a larger scale.

Money had always been short with the Royalists; it was now shorter than ever. It was said that to effect economies in December 1645 a new scale of weekly pay was put forth for the garrisons and forces in the counties of Worcester, Stafford, Hereford and Salop. It was as follows<sup>2</sup>:—

Lieut.-General . . . . .	08	00	00
Lieut.-General of Horse . . . . .	35	00	00
Commissary general of musters and pro- visions . . . . .	07	00	00
Commissaries 2 deputies, to each . . . . .	02	00	00
Master of the Ordnance . . . . .	04	00	00
Secretary to the Field-Marshal . . . . .	03	00	00

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 246.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 249.

Advocate General . . . . .	02	10	00
Quartermaster General . . . . .	03	00	00
Treasurer at war . . . . .	05	00	00
His two clerks, to each . . . . .	00	17	06
The Treasurer's assistant . . . . .	03	07	06
Provost Marshal General . . . . .	01	10	00
Scout Master General . . . . .	02	10	00
A corporal of the field . . . . .	01	00	00

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## Officers of a Garrison—

Governor of a city and the forts belonging to it . . . . .	21	00	00
Governor of a city or fort having not above 400 men . . . . .	07	00	00
Major of a garrison or city where no deputy governor is . . . . .	05	00	00
Col. Washington . . . . .	15	00	00
Advocate of a garrison . . . . .	01	00	00
Commissary of victuals for a garrison . . . . .	00	15	00
Provost Marshall in a garrison . . . . .	01	00	00
Quartermaster in a garrison <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	01	00	00

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51 15 00

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Although Townshend has given previous scales of pay it is somewhat difficult to make any comparison between them and this.

This scale was certainly less than the 1643 scale,<sup>2</sup> or that which Russell was charged with having allowed to the Worcester men in 1643<sup>3</sup> or that of 1644,<sup>4</sup> but it is very difficult to say whether, considering all the facts then existing, the pay could be called excessive. Even if so, it was most unacceptable to the Worcester officers, and did not tend to make them either more orderly or more contented.

The Royalist soldiers continued to plunder, and it is questionable whether in 1646 the pillaging of the unfortunate countrymen was not worse than it had ever been. So bad was it that at the Epiphany Sessions the Grand Jury made a presentment asking the court to take steps to relieve them from "the grievance, oppression and free quarters of the county." This produced a reply from Lord Astley, in which the grievances are admitted and a promise made of redressing them. Maurice's orders of 5 February 1645 were to be revised, continued, and any other necessary orders added for perfecting them.

It was declared necessary to go on with the works for fortifying Worcester, so if the arrears of the tax for that purpose were not paid in a new tax would become necessary. A certain number of parishes were allotted to each garrison

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 125.

<sup>3</sup> II., p. 153.

<sup>4</sup> II., p. 176.

to perfect the works with all speed. The works on the Severn Bridge were required to be speedily perfected by that part of the towns as lie in the Hundred of Doddingtree according to their engagement with Prince Maurice.

All persons of what quality soever were to have on market days free ingress, egress and regress to the City of Worcester with their provisions, horses, cattle and goods; guards would be appointed for their security.

The Treasurer of the Fortifications of Hartlebury had been twice already ordered to come to Worcester to give a true and perfect account of the parishes allotted to work on the fortifications there, the number of persons daily charged on each parish, how long they had been charged, what sums of money had been imposed on the parishes in lieu of men and teams, what sums had been received, what sums were in arrear, and what had been disbursed on the works.

The fees of the Advocate were to be made certain, as also all Marshall's fees and other charges for diet, lodging, or any other thing; if the Advocate or Marshall of the garrisons or of any regiment should exact excessive fees, severe justice would be done according to the quality of the offence.

Still further, to stop plundering Astley proposed<sup>1</sup> that two persons in each parish should be responsible for paying the contribution, so as to avoid the necessity of sending soldiers to enforce it; in order to prevent quartering horse in the different parishes, he asked that the Grand Jury would provide that a sufficient proportion of hay and oats be brought from each, that is, from the adjacent parishes in kind, and from the more remote in money; and further, that the rules of the Governor as to victualling the Worcester garrison should be carried out. If this was done, except in the case of troops on a march all free quarters in the county would cease.

The Grand Jury replied that it was beyond their power to compel any single person to pay the contribution for the whole parish, but they would point out what ease of the extraordinary pressure the parish would receive, and what a hopeful issue would follow if everyone paid his taxes, and if not, what occasion it would give for soldiers coming to collect it. That, although disabled even to poverty itself by continued taxes and impositions, yet to prevent an utter ruin of the county when they knew for what number of horse provisions were to be brought into Worcester, and for how long, what provisions there were in the magazine and what more were required, they would yield such assistance as their weakened powers would enable them to do.

To what straits the Royalists were reduced is best shewn by an order Astley made to secure provisions for the garrison at Hartlebury.<sup>2</sup> The money for their provisions had to be paid by the five parishes of Hartlebury, Elmley Lovett, Chaddesley Corbett, Belbroughton and Wolverley, and the Governor of Hartlebury, Captain William Sandys, was ordered to use his utmost diligence to force payment of the 36th monthly contribution from those parishes in the next ten days. The parishes were told that although the sum was not due until April, yet a cheerful performance of it would be very acceptable at once, and the sooner it was paid, the more time they would be given to pay

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 254.

II p. 261.

the next contribution. They were also told if they were backward in paying this instalment, they must expect to have it forced double with the strictest severity that might be.<sup>1</sup>

This order was dated on 12 March 1645. Before the next payment became due Astley was unable to carry out his threat—he and his army were all prisoners.

Townshend tries to explain Astley's action. He says <sup>2</sup>:—

“This month beforehand was for the advance of the captain and soldiers with my Lord Astley's army in the field. And whereas this is spoken of the 36<sup>th</sup> month's contribution not due until April. The Governor of Hartlebury reckons and received this month of March his 36<sup>th</sup> month, and our advance to him of April is our 37<sup>th</sup> month, and in all his parishes assigned.”

On 21 March 1646 the last Royalist army surrendered at Donnington. Astley was made a prisoner, and only a few fortified places remained to be reduced to end the war; conspicuous among these was the City of Worcester.

On 26 March 1646 Generals Brereton, Morgan and Birch, with part of the Parliamentary army, appeared before it and summoned it to surrender. The then Governor, Henry Washington, who had succeeded Sandys in the beginning of the year 1646, replied

“that until he received his Majesty's pleasure they should take no notice of any summons, but according to their duty and the trust reposed in them they would, God willing, keep this town.”<sup>3</sup>

This was signed by the Governor, Henry Washington, the Mayor, William Evett, Martin Sandys and John Knotsford from the county, Thomas Hackett and Richard Hemming from the city of Worcester. To this the Parliamentary generals replied, offering to withdraw their forces to such a convenient distance that the garrison might get more certain intelligence. To this reply two signatures were added to those of the three generals: William Lygon, who, having had his house at Madresfield taken and turned into a Royalist garrison, was wandering about with the Parliamentary forces, and Chudley Coote.

Washington replied expressing his wonder that they could suppose he was so far lost to honour and knowledge of a soldier's duty as he could be hoped to yield to an enemy inferior in numbers to him, adding that “he owed so much to the reputation he had gained, and must hereafter maintain abroad when these wars ceased, as not to be persuaded to the least unworthy action.”

On the next day, 27 March, Townshend says, “They drew off at night to Droitwich,”<sup>4</sup> and on the 28th they marched from Droitwich, Brereton to besiege Lichfield and Col. Morgan and the rest to their own garrisons.

Washington at once began to put the city in a state to stand a siege. Commencing in the north road he destroyed the new church and hospital of St. Oswald's, but left the White Ladies standing.

How far other houses outside the city walls were destroyed Townshend

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 261.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 262.

<sup>3</sup> I., p. 101.

<sup>4</sup> I., p. 102.



does not say, but doubtless a certain degree of clearing away the cover for a hostile advance against the city had been carried out. All this clearance was outside the walls. Washington's next step was to ascertain the population of the city and the provision the different families had made against a siege.<sup>1</sup> The civilian population appears to have numbered about 7013, some of whom had made the necessary provision. In addition to these, there were 1507 persons—soldiers, officers, reformadoes and troopers—to be provided for, in round numbers a total of about 10,000.

Several places having surrendered to the Parliament by the beginning of May, Fairfax sent Whalley with a small force

“to straiten the garrison of Worcester until such time as the army was at liberty to march against it.”<sup>2</sup>

So the siege began. Washington's first step was to take the following oath for mutual assistance from the Governor, Commissioners, Gentry, Mayor and citizens<sup>3</sup> :—

“We whose names are hereunto subscribed do in the presence of Almighty God solemnly swear that we will stick to and be true to [one] another. That is the Governor, Officers, Gentry and soldiers, to the Mayor, Aldermen, Citizens, Townsmen and soldiers of this City of Worcester. And the Mayor, Aldermen, Citizens, Townsmen and soldiers To the Governor, Officers, Gentry and soldiers of this City and Garrison of Worcester in the preservation and defence of this Garrison and City of Worcester and the forts and strengths thereto belonging for His Majesty's service. And will not consent to the surprisal or delivering up of the same without the mutual consent of each other. So help me God.”

A curious commentary<sup>4</sup> upon the oath is that in the first month of the siege, on the 17th June, members of the corporation of the so-called “Faithful City,” at a meeting of the Chamber proposed “that the Governor might be entreated to treat;” others wanted to know what comfort or encouragement had been received from His Majesty or from Oxford to hold out the city. A month later, on 16 July, the Governor produced a letter<sup>5</sup> sent to the Mayor from the besiegers, in which it was said that if they would surrender they could have terms, preserving the corporation and the city to be free from plunder, quiet from delinquency, no questioning for bearing arms or any act done against the Parliament in defence of the city, Lieut.-Col. Soley excepted. The latter asked that his fellow-citizens should be made acquainted with the terms, and advise among themselves in it, for the welfare of the city concerns them more in point of interest than others merely in point of honour. Townshend comments on this “as a dangerous letter to procure a division, though neither soldiers nor gentry expect better conditions.” What consequences might have followed none can tell, yet ill was much feared, for though—

“the middle and lowest sort of citizens be cordially bent for to stand out courageously, yet many of the best rank draw very backward in

<sup>1</sup> I., p. 105.    <sup>2</sup> I., p. 106.    <sup>3</sup> II., p. 266.    <sup>4</sup> I., p. 128.    <sup>5</sup> I., p. 180.

their actions than one step of advantage. Petitioning Sir Thomas Fairfax for a treaty in so humble a way shews the great abjection they have fallen into, whereas they have and as yet do carry the character of Heroic, resolute and loyal spirits, they would have made themselves the hiss and scorn of all to go out at the close like the snuff of a candle, but continuing in their gallantry to the last they have endeared the Prince and his posterity never to forget so faithful a city, that both was the first and last of cities which continued in their fidelity, nothing causing a surrender but only want and hopeless of relief."

On 16 May Sir Thomas Fairfax sent Washington a formal summons to surrender. This he refused. The Parliament army accordingly appeared before Worcester on 28 May and began the investment.

Washington considered the best thing to do was to impose a tax on the city and on all gentlemen in its garrison to raise a sum to support 1500 men at 3*s.* a week for a month,<sup>1</sup> but this was found to be so heavy a tax it was reduced to 2*s.* 6*d.* a week for each soldier whether of foot or horse. A few days later Whalley arrived and took command of the besieging army.

Townshend gives some very interesting details as to the garrison.<sup>2</sup> There were three regiments in the City—the Governor's (Washington's) regiment, Col. Sandys' regiment, and Sir William Russell's regiment. Of these three Washington's regiment consisted of 10 companies, each company comprising the officers and a "raiseable" body of men. The Governor's company had 11 officers and 95 men, a total of 106. None of the others were nearly so strong. The next in strength was Capt. William Moore's in Col. Sandys' regiment, 87, 11 officers and 76 men. The smallest number was in Sir William Russell's regiment, Capt. Calthrop's company, 4 officers and 24 soldiers, a total of 28.

The strength of the regiments was:—

	Officers.	Soldiers.
Col. Washington's regiment . . . . .	56	440
Col. Sandys' regiment . . . . .	32	240
Sir William Russell's regiment . . . . .	39	280
	127	960

or a grand total of 1087.

In addition to these were the reformadoes, 120; cannoniers and matrosses, 58.

There were also five troops of horse:—

Governor's troop . . . . .	51
Henry Ingram, High Sheriff's troop . . . . .	71
Sir John Knotsford's . . . . .	32
Capt. Armorer's . . . . .	17
Lieut.-Col. Roberts . . . . .	19
	224 <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I., p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> I., p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> Sic in MS.

Officers of the staff . . . . .	18
Total of all sorts of soldiery . . . . .	1507

besides the gentlemen and all the city bands.

The city was divided into seven wards:—

Highward.  
 St. Martin's.  
 All Saints'.  
 St. Andrew's.  
 St. Nicholas'.  
 St. Peter's.  
 St. Michael's in the out county.

A certain number of soldiers were charged on each ward, and the inhabitants had to pay each soldier 2s. 6d. a week for a month. This probably accounts for the great desire the householders of the city had for its surrender.

Washington also took steps to ascertain the number of people who were provided for, or who had to be provided for, ward by ward. The return is as follows<sup>1</sup>:—

	Provided.	Unprovided.	In family.
Highward . . . . .	189	24	80
All Saints' . . . . .	290	56	232
St. Andrew's . . . . .	161	113	259
St. Martin's . . . . .	188	92	271
St. Peter's . . . . .	114	73	285
St. Nicholas . . . . .	47	360	248

Townshend gives as the result of this—

989	358	1189
		1487

He then sums it up—

Householders of all sorts . . . . .	1347 persons
Number in family . . . . .	1189
Without upkeep . . . . .	358
In family . . . . .	1487

He makes it—

Householders . . . . .	1347
Number in family . . . . .	5676

This list did not include :—

- (1) Soldiers within the garrison.
- (2) Soldiers who happened to be in Worcester and not part of the regular garrison.

These are all placed together in one list as soldiers, officers, Reformadoes and troopers, and summarised as 1507 persons to be provided for.

<sup>1</sup> This is imperfect.

The total number of persons in Worcester during the siege seems therefore to have been—

Civilians . . . . .	5676
Garrison . . . . .	1507
Soldiers, Casual . . . . .	429
	<hr/>
A total of . . . . .	7612

And this, with the addition of 33 gentlemen, made up the number to 7645, for which Washington had to provide.

The siege may be taken as having begun on 20 May 1646,<sup>1</sup> and lasted till 23 July,<sup>2</sup> just over two months.

It is not quite clear what at the investment was the stock of either ammunition or food in the city, nor if the city was fully victualled. Nor is it clear if the figures above given were taken before or after the exodus of a number of gentlemen who left the city and went home between the date 28 March, when the Parliamentary troops first appeared before the city, and 20 May, when the siege actually began. It is assumed that the number here given, 7645, was the precise number in the city on 20 May 1646, the actual commencement of the siege.

Washington's first step was to make an assessment on all the city at the rate of *three shillings* a week for the maintenance of every soldier for a month. The total number of soldiers for whom the assessment was made is said to have been 1600 men and the officers.<sup>3</sup>

Townshend says:—

“I was assessed to maintain 4 men. The citizens conceived the tax to be very great and heavy,” and he adds: “The soldiers are muttering and ready to run away for want of bread and provisions.”<sup>3</sup>

The great dissatisfaction the assessment gave to the soldiers caused it to be revised. On 2 June<sup>4</sup> the payment to relieve soldiers was reduced from 3*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* per man for 1500 men. Every man was to have a billet of the number for which he was liable and the names of the soldiers to whom he was to pay, and he was to be liable for them and them only. This does not appear to have satisfied the soldiers. A revised order was issued on 7 June<sup>5</sup> for the better assuring to the soldiers their weekly pay “from the cozening of the officers and to keep them from mutining.” The Governor's troubles were only beginning at this early period of the siege. The revised order provided: Every captain was to give in a list of the names of the soldiers under his command to the Governor, who would then give to the captain an order (billets) directing some person who was named in the order to pay to the particular soldier assigned to such person the pay stated in the billet.

No soldier or officer was to receive pay from any person without a billet.

All billets were to be signed by the Governor or by some person appointed by him to make billets.

<sup>1</sup> I., p. 108.    <sup>2</sup> I., p. 195.    <sup>3</sup> I., p. 114.    <sup>4</sup> I., p. 117.    <sup>5</sup> I., p. 118.

The billett was intended for a protection to the party named in it against being obliged to pay to any soldier other than the one named.

The party named in the billett had the choice of paying the soldier in money or provisions, or partly in one and partly in the other.

The Governor appointed three persons, Mr. Bacon, Mr. Withy and Mr. Lunde to make out the billetts. So far as Townshend was concerned the result was that he was to find six men of Captain Poultney's company with a shilling each.

It seems to have been very urgent that these rules should be made, as Townshend states that <sup>1</sup> :—

“Many foot have run out of the city for want of pay, and some servants have stole their master's horses, clothes and money, and gone away to them or to their own country. But now pay and provisions for the soldiers being settled, it is hoped no necessitous soldiers will do the like.”

The state of things in Worcester itself must have now been worse than at any period of the war ; to have had to support six soldiers either by payments in money or in food, as fell to Townshend's lot, must have been a serious liability. Unfortunately there are no details as to the principles, if any, on which the three Commissioners, Bacon, Withy and Lunde proceeded in allotting the soldiers on the citizens.

Before the siege had lasted a fortnight, if Whalley and the Parliamentarians with him are to be believed, the Corporation of Worcester were shewing their faithlessness. In his letter to Washington, Whalley says that the Mayor, Aldermen and citizens had sent to him about a surrender.<sup>2</sup>

The next order of the Governor was that all the householders who had gone out of the city but had left their families were to be ordered to keep an additional number of soldiers.

If any householder gave anything to the besiegers, his property was at once confiscated and his wife and children turned out.

All shovels, spades and mattocks in the city were to be stored in certain places so as to be ready on any emergency.

A note is added to this : “ Good orders, few performed some and these not all.”

All coal, wood and lime in St. John's was ordered to be brought into the city.

All unnecessary people were to be put out of the city.

Committees were to sit daily to consult as to the better security of the place.

No trooper or soldier was to go out of the city without a ticket.

Townshend makes his own private complaint <sup>3</sup> :—

“ Being assessed at the maintenance of six soldiers at 2s. 6d. a week a soldier, I paid Cap<sup>t</sup> Byron his limit. Butts, ensign and gentleman-at-arms, 2 weeks' pay, together 30s.”

<sup>1</sup> I., p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> I., p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> I., p. 121.

On 15 June Townshend makes another entry of his payments: "Paid the three weeks' pay to Lieut Butts for his Captain, himself, etc., 15s."<sup>1</sup>

It is not clear how this sum is made up if Townshend's former payment of 8 June, 15s. a week, 30s. for two weeks is accurate, how after another week he paid 15s. for three weeks, unless there were either some arrears or that Townshend was liable for more men than he stated, is hard to see.

Some of the townsmen wanted to leave the town. Washington gave them leave to go, but Whalley had them searched, took their money, and sent them back.

What was probably a device to increase the discontent among the citizens by their being able to say that Washington was feasting while they were starving, on 17 June Whalley sent Washington a buck as a present.<sup>2</sup>

The discontent in the city still increased. A number of the citizens' wives came to interview the Governor and ask him to protect them, as they did not know what to do for safety as their houses were beaten down about the streets. Washington told them to leave the town. They replied that this was small comfort, and asked him to do as other governors did. On his asking what that was, they replied, "Treat upon honourable terms for the surrender of the city."<sup>2</sup>

Some of the Chamber at this meeting proposed that the Governor should be requested to treat. The Governor of Madresfield asked if he surrendered should he try to get the city included in the terms that were being discussed for the surrender of Madresfield?<sup>2</sup>

There never seems to have been anything like a blockade of the city. During the siege there were continual sorties by the garrison in search of provisions. These chiefly took place on the south-east and south sides, as there the lines of investment did not join, and the river below Diglis was always open. On June 18 a part of the garrison, Townshend says "by the carelessness and connivance of their officers," went out to Kempsey and Pirton and took possession of all sorts of cattle, fat and lean, probably cattle turned out on the hams or open commons, which still exist there. These cattle they killed, though they were not fit for man's meat, nor was there any cause to kill them. On the owners complaining, the Royalists replied "that it was better for them to have the cattle than the enemy." Townshend's reflexion is, "So a poor honest man is ruined in one night of what he hath laboured for all his days."<sup>2</sup>

The garrison had now got quite out of hand. Townshend complains that they pulled down men's outhouses in the town for fuel and then sold it for liquor, with the result that the greater part of the southern suburbs, St. Peter's in Sidbury, were defaced.<sup>2</sup> Some of the county gentlemen who were in Worcester had come in from the county in their carriages and placed them in the back premises and outhouses of their residences. These the soldiers began to tear to bits. All the soldiers were bad at this, but the

<sup>1</sup> I., p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> I., p. 128.

worst were the Irish, who were given to spoil and ruin mainly from the remissness of the officers and leniency in punishing robberies.

This is the first definite information we get as to the presence of Irish soldiers. It was known that Astley had collected all the remnants he could find to form his army that was defeated at Donnington, and it is probable that some of the fugitives from there had taken refuge in Worcester. This is, however, the first precise statement that part of the Worcester garrison consisted of Irish soldiers. Whether they were any part of the men that Glamorgan brought over there is nothing to shew, but it is not improbable that they were.

Townshend adds that the plundering was so bad that all good christians might insert in their Litany<sup>1</sup>:—

“From the plundering of soldiers, their insolency, cruelty, atheism, blasphemy and rule over us, Lord deliver us.”

There were great complaints as to two matters—(1) The citizens would not send their servants, nor would the poorer sort come to work in mending the breaches or weak places in the walls, nor would they do anything unless they were paid for it. (2) The orders for sending out of the city all useless people were not put in force through the fault of the officers and even of the Governor himself, who was very slack in punishing persons for their negligence and disobeying orders.

Townshend goes on to complain that there were at least 1500 poor of all sorts in the city that had only bread from hand to mouth, and 1500 or 3000 in all. The citizens had no store or magazine of provisions as the Governor and Commissioners of Array never compelled them to provide one. The military magazine was not as well provided as it should have been from the negligence of the officers in charge, Captains Armour and Pitcher. It is true that orders had been given to compel the different parishes to bring in their allotted share of provisions, and the soldiers were allowed 2s. per pound for collecting, but would not hazard their carcasses, and the Governor, although he well knew the safety of the town depended on it, neglected to enforce it. It was only when the soldiers could make a gain for themselves that they went out and brought in cattle for their own use, but failed to bring in any for the magazine. If the cattle that were taken did not please the soldiers and were not worth killing, the soldiers compelled the owner to redeem them, paying no regard to the kingdom, the city or the law.

On 20 June a difficulty arose about bread.<sup>2</sup> There were sixteen bakers in the city, but the output of bread was insufficient. The Mayor accordingly called on the bakers to produce more bread. The bakers replied they could not get enough corn ground to keep up the output. There were not enough mills at work to do it—at least twelve mills must work to keep up the bread supply. The mills appear to have been all horse mills, and it was alleged that two horses would only grind a stone of corn in an hour, and that a horse could not work longer than four hours. The bakers offered to allow the millers 8d.

<sup>1</sup> I., p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> I., p. 131.

a stone for grinding if orders were made for providing by impressment mills, men and horses, each horse to be allowed 4*d.* an hour. This was accepted, but the citizens had "begun to mutter." It was, however, only partly carried out. A baker named Smith had a quantity of meal but refused to bake. The Governor had him "switched," and told him if he did not bake at once he would be thrown over the walls.<sup>1</sup>

Washington was strongly opposed to opening the magazine, and desired to continue the assessment method as long as possible. On 22 June a proposal was made to open the magazine, but the Governor was successful in postponing it and continuing the assessment for another week.<sup>2</sup>

Matters were getting towards a crisis, one reason for which was what Townshend calls "the tyranny and oppression of the soldiers." This work made the Commissioners who did it unpopular, so out of some twenty gentlemen named in the Commission only about five really worked. These, he says, were Sir Ralph Clare, Sir Edward Littleton, Sir Rowland Berkeley, Sir John Winford, Mr. Anthony Langston, and Mr. Pennell, who was in the former Commission. In spite of their good work they were subjected to great slights, as the Governor took the part of the soldiers against them, and as the Commission were an advisory body and the executive power was in the Governor this reduced them almost to impotence. "Never," says Townshend,<sup>3</sup>

"have gentlemen received such affronts and disgraces from the soldiers throughout, such discouragements from those which should have protected and vindicated them, that it is a miracle they would or could endure or continue the service, when all their service hath either been slightly valued or pitifully rewarded."

On 25 June,<sup>4</sup> when the siege had lasted over a month, a survey of the magazine of provisions was made by Mr. John Lunn and Mr. Thomas Twitty.

They found that there were in it 1487 strike of muncorn, wheat and rye, which at 3*s.* a strike was worth £261 3*s.* 4*d.*; 425 strike of peas valued at £42 10*s.* 0*d.*; of biscuit 4836 lbs., which at 10*s.* a hundredweight was valued at £24 10*s.* 0*d.*; beef, 246 barrels, worth £24 0*s.* 0*d.*, and 2 barrels and a quarter of other beef;

2163 lbs. of bacon, worth at 4 <i>d.</i> a lb. . . .	£36	0	0
4863 lbs. of cheese, ,, 3 <i>d.</i> ,, . . . .	60	15	9
326 lbs. of butter, ,, 4 <i>d.</i> ,, . . . .	5	8	8
17 strike of fine salt, worth at 3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> . . . .	2	16	8
35 strike of clodd, ,, 5 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i> . . . .	8	15	0
3 barrels of great oatmeal.			
8 barrels of small oatmeal.			
Beef suet, one earth pot.			

Total value, £465 9*s.* 5*d.*

<sup>1</sup> I., p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> I., p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> I., p. 138.

<sup>4</sup> I., p. 139.



On 25 June the Worcester garrison heard that Oxford had surrendered. On the next day, 26 June, Washington held an assembly at the Bishop's palace of all gentry and soldiers. He told them the city was so strong and so well victualled that it could withstand a force of 10,000 foot and 5000 horse, and asked whether it was desirable to open up negotiations with Whalley. It was agreed it was. While the messenger was absent with Whalley the Rodomontados, Reformadoes and other wise and discreet gentry conceived it not necessary to treat, though it was considered advisable to do so. Each side nominated persons to try and arrange the terms, and it was agreed they should meet at Mr. Habington's house at Hindlip on 27 June.<sup>1</sup> On this both sides agreed to a cessation of hostilities while terms were being discussed. Townshend then relates an incident that could only happen in a civil war. The Governor Washington had a great friend in the Parliament army, Col. Dingley, one of the Charlton family, who were strong Parliamentarians. As soon as the cessation of arms had been agreed upon, Washington sent word to Dingley to meet him at the Foregate and to have a talk over old times and their service in the Low Countries. Washington went out about 5 p.m. and, much to Townshend's indignation, stayed until nearly 10 p.m. with some gentlemen, who did so ply their salutations with cups that many heads could not complain of want of measure and plenty. This, says Townshend, enabled the enemy by the Royalist neglect and carelessness to come within pistol shot of the town and to see how weak in reality the defences were, and also gave the Parliamentarians a chance of finding out that there was a party in the city who were ready to help them.

On 29 June the negotiations were adjourned to Hallow. A dispute arose if the belligerents might continue to use the spade during any armistice, and both sides appealed to Col. Dingley to say if this was usual and customary. Washington, however, held firm, and said he did not care whether the cessation continued or not, but if it continued it must not go to prohibit the use of a spade on the work if it was so desired. While this point was being discussed a discovery was accidentally made that was very disconcerting to the Royalists. It was found that 50 barrels of powder had been purloined by Major Coningsby while he was making small arms. Whether it was the same or not does not appear, but fifty barrels of gunpowder were found in various houses, vaults and cellars in the city. It was said to be powder which Coningsby cheated the county out of when he had the charge of making the powder, and when it was observed that little came into the magazine.<sup>2</sup> In addition to the store of Coningsby, some of the powder was what the workmen had taken. It was a fortunate find, for at that time the stock of powder in the magazine was reduced to a very small quantity.

The proposals the Royalists put forward for the surrender of the city were such as the Parliament declined to accept as being too high and unreasonable. The Royalists replied they were resolved to lay their bones under the city's walls and forts before surrendering. In the result negotiations were broken off.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I., p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> I., p. 156.

<sup>3</sup> I., p. 159.

On 2 July the Mayor called a meeting of the citizens nominally to consider terms, but in effect to make an order that would satisfy the soldiers by enabling them to pay for their victuals, and avoid breaking into the magazine of provisions. He urged that the city should hold out, otherwise the Parliament soldiers would plunder it, as it was the only place left to be surrendered and so the only place where the soldiers could expect pillage.

This consideration seems to have succeeded, and it was resolved that the soldiers should be paid 1*s.* this week and 2*s.* the next week. But this was afterwards altered to 2*s.* this week, 2*s.* 6*d.* the next, and 1*s.* further before Wednesday.

The city agreed to present the Governor with £100, £50 of which was for his special care<sup>1</sup> shewn towards the city.

On 3 July<sup>2</sup> the Mayor issued warrants to the constables to give notice to all inhabitants who had paid 2*s.* 6*d.* to pay 2*s.* on Monday towards the next week's pay of the soldiers, 1*s.* on Saturday, and the next on Wednesday. This was a device to get paid in advance, as the soldiers had already had their 2*s.* 6*d.* for the week, and now got 1*s.* of the next week's pay before the week had expired, obviously done to keep the soldiers quiet; they were getting quite out of hand. One of the magazines was situated in the Cloister Green, and two sentries were placed over it.<sup>3</sup> At night they broke down the carved stone of one of the cloister windows in order to get the iron in the window. Townshend mourns over this; he says £5 will not repair the window, and the iron was not worth 2*s.*, and it was ill to set the enemy so bad an example.

On the St. John's side of the City the Parliament officer sent in word he should not allow any more women to leave Worcester, as his orders were to let no one leave. Obviously Whalley thought that the shortness of food would accelerate surrender. Washington, on the other hand, let anyone leave who desired it, and could pass through the besiegers' lines.

Matters were getting very difficult with the besieged.<sup>4</sup> The Governor called a Council of War, told them he had promised to give the soldiers a week's pay on that day, and they must settle how it was to be done or 100 of the best soldiers had told him they would desert, as they were in great want and were not going to starve. He added that he would not have the magazine of stores opened, but the city must continue to find another week's pay, or he would take the private stores to relieve the public wants, Washington's argument was that if they did not open the magazine they would get better terms if they surrendered, as the Parliament men would believe they were not pressed for food, while if the enemy had the idea that they were, they would ask for a heavy ransom on surrender. The fidelity of the citizens did not appear on this occasion; they refused to find the money, the Mayor and town clerk saying if the city suffered they could not help it. Meanwhile the soldiers threatened, if they did not get the money, to mutiny. At last it was settled that the soldiers should have 1*s.* in money, 1*s.* in corn, 6*d.* in bacon and cheese for the week. A search should be made for food in

<sup>1</sup> I., p. 160.<sup>2</sup> I., p. 165.<sup>3</sup> I., p. 166.<sup>4</sup> I., p. 168.

the houses of all who had left the city since the siege began; all food so found to be measured up and put into the magazine. For the future the soldiers were not to have a fixed quantity per man, but only what would reasonably keep a man, as otherwise the food in the magazine would not last a month, for there was not more than £500 worth of food in it.

If the 1500 soldiers had 18*d.* apiece in provisions it came to £112 10*s.* 0*d.*, but 200 strike of corn at 3*s.* 4*d.* a strike, that is 30 lbs. at 8 men to a strike, and 6500 lbs. of cheese would keep 1600 soldiers in bread and cheese for a week. This at 20 shillings per cent. came to £56, or a total of £86. So it was better to allow each soldier a pound of biscuit and half a pound of cheese a day.

The bakers were called in and agreed to take the corn and give the soldiers bread in accordance with the above proportions and weight.

A new list of the regiments was made out and handed in to the Governor, and each captain was handed the allowance for his men on the above scale. Then the magazine was opened. The rates of provisions were fixed as follows:—

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Wheat, per strike . . . . .	4	0
Muncorn, „ . . . . .	3	2
Rye, „ . . . . .	2	8
Peas, „ . . . . .	2	8
Oatmeal <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	—	
Best Bacon, per lb. . . . .	0	6
Ordinary Bacon, per lb. . . . .	0	4
Best Cheese, „ . . . . .	0	5
Ordinary Cheese, „ . . . . .	0	3

A change was now made by the Parliament in conducting the siege. For some reason General Whalley, who had been in command up till now, was superseded, and Col. Raynsborough took his place. Considerable reinforcements were also sent by the Parliament. Greater activity in pressing the siege was required.<sup>2</sup> This was met by greater activity in the defence. The Mayor was ordered to provide daily workmen with mattocks and spades. The houses in Sidbury were to be demolished. Raynsborough's activity sent up provisions to extreme prices.

Beef, mutton and veal were 8*d.* a pound.

A roasting piece of good beef cost over 30*s.*, but corn kept at the former rate, and the bakers provided the bread at the same price. They were very short of fuel and made the outhouses pay for it.<sup>3</sup>

Provisions in the magazine began to run short.<sup>4</sup> It was said the Governor gave too many orders for provisions to different persons, and unless this was stopped the end would very soon come. The Governor got from Mr. Berkeley, who was in charge, a note of all the stores that were in the magazine when it was opened and what was then left.

To make matters worse the men at work on keeping up the fortifications

<sup>1</sup> No price given.

<sup>2</sup> I., p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> I., p. 173.

<sup>4</sup> I., p. 174.

struck for more wages; workmen, carpenters and masons expected money for their work just as if there was no siege.

It was agreed, with reluctance, to give the increased wages.<sup>1</sup> Everyone of the 24 of the Council had to pay 4*d.* a day, everyone of the 48 3*d.*, and the others 2*d.* towards workmen's wages, and wages were to be paid 3 days in advance. A levy of  $\frac{2}{5}$  to be made on the city, which would produce £35. This was to be used for powder, and continued till the works were finished.

On 16 July Washington wrote to Gen. Raynsborough "that he did not decline rendering the city on honourable and equal conditions."<sup>2</sup> The Mayor and citizens held a meeting and drew up a petition intreating a Treaty, but to this the Governor would not agree, and it was at last withdrawn "as poor and base as never was the like parallel." Raynsborough agreed to an armistice until he heard from Sir Thomas Fairfax.<sup>3</sup>

While the armistice continued there was a good deal of intercourse between the parties, and some of Raynsborough's officers told the Royalists to make as good conditions<sup>4</sup> as they could for themselves, as the citizens would try to make their own peace, that they juggled with both sides, and if it came to a storm of the city a very considerable party in the city was ready to assist the Parliament, that these citizens had told them the Royalist strength and the stores, and that the Royalists could do nothing but in a few hours the Parliament troops knew it. Pretty well for a faithful city!

On 18 July Raynsborough sent a letter to the Governor that he must accept the terms already sent or refuse them at once. On this a number of the Royalists were inclined to break off all negotiations and let the enemy attempt a storm, but the Governor told them that if it came to storming he did not mind hazarding his own person, but they had not sufficient powder to stand an hour's fight.<sup>5</sup>

On an examination of the magazine it was found that there was only 3 barrels of great powder for ordnance,<sup>6</sup> 5 barrels of musket powder and one of pistol powder, which would only serve one day's hot fighting, and that the provisions could not last beyond a fortnight. So it was determined to surrender.

On 23 July the Royalists attended a final service in the cathedral and then marched out to Rainbow Hill and surrendered, and about 5 p.m. on the same day Raynsborough marched into Worcester with several regiments of foot and took up his quarters in the city. He ordered<sup>7</sup> all citizens to bring in their arms on pain of death; all Royalist soldiers were to depart within two days; no Royalist in the city was to wear a sword.

An inventory was made of all men's property. Large sums of money were demanded, the 5th and 20th part of each man's estate as a contribution. Each of the persons in the city, soldiers and civilians alike, were in law "delinquents," and practically had ceased to have any legal rights. A committee, consisting of some of the strongest Parliamentarians in the county, was given

<sup>1</sup> I., p. 175.      <sup>2</sup> I., p. 177.      <sup>3</sup> I., p. 178.      <sup>4</sup> I., p. 182.  
<sup>5</sup> I., p. 183.      <sup>6</sup> I., p. 187.      <sup>7</sup> I., p. 193.

the government of the city. They included Sir Thomas Rous, Nicholas Lechmere, William Lygon, Richard Salwey, Thomas Cookes, John Fownes and Col. William Dingley. They did their work effectually, for during the rest of the King's life no sign of revived loyalty occurred in the city of Worcester.

Townshend had been in the city during all the siege; he had also been a fairly active Royalist, had held office as one of the King's Commissioners of Array, had been Muster Master for the King, and although he had been badly treated by the Royalists, and especially by Maurice, yet he had remained loyal to his Sovereign. He had been one of the garrison who had surrendered, so he had to take the consequences. Whatever might have been the view Rainsborough or the military might have taken, the Worcestershire Justices—men like Lygon and Lechmere, Milward and Fownes—would not be inclined to spare him. His case was brought before the commissioners for settling the sum for compounding for his estates. Townshend contended that he ought not to be called on to pay any composition. He alleged, and with truth, that he had never borne arms against the Parliament, and so ought not to pay anything; that as a peaceful citizen he had paid whatever contributions had been levied on him, whether by the King or by the Parliament, and so ought not to be further fined. The Commissioners would not listen to this, and fined him £285, a fairly heavy fine considering the then value of money, and that the annual value of his estate according to its assessment was under £10.

With the fall of Worcester Townshend's history practically ends. It would seem that he went to Elmley Lovett and lived there the quiet life of a country gentleman till better times came. It was probably the best thing he could do. He was not left entirely friendless. One of the Parliamentary committee for Worcester, Daniel Dobbins, was a connection of his. Now Dobbins was again in power, he was able to protect Townshend if he kept quiet, and as there is no further mention of him he probably did so.

Townshend had also a dispute with Sir John Pakington as to whether Crutch belonged to Elmley Lovett or to Hampton Lovett. This was settled by an order of the Commissioners for the county of 8 April 1646, which divided Crutch between the two parishes.

The surrender of Worcester in July 1646 and the termination of the Civil War did not put an end to the calls on the county for money. The method of requiring each county to raise a fixed sum and naming a body of commissioners to enforce payment of the amount demanded, had such a sweet simplicity about it that it commended itself to the Parliament. The army was kept on foot, and the army had to be paid, so in June 1647 money was required for paying the forces under Fairfax and for transporting to and paying such of the forces as were in Ireland. For this purpose Worcestershire had to find £704 18s. 0½*d.*, and Worcester City £43 5s. 6¾*d.* Commissioners were appointed to raise it. They were Sir Thomas Rous, baronet, John Wylde, serjeant-at-law, Richard Cresfield, serjeant-at-law, Humphrey Salwey, Edward Dingley, James Bucke, Esq., Edmund Giles, William Hopkins, William

Stephens, Henry Hunt, Thomas Symonds, gentlemen, William Lygon, Henry Bromley of Upton, William Brown, William More, William Collins, Thomas Cooke, Thomas Milward and John Giles, gentlemen, John Dorsnet, Edward Thomas, William Jeffries, John Latham, Thomas Soley, Edmund Wilde, Nicholas Lechmere, Thomas Greaves, William Dingley, Esqs.

This list is of interest, as it gives the names of the persons who were appointed as soon as the Parliament, or rather the army, was in power. A number of the old names, such as Sir Thomas Rous, Wilde, Salway, Buck, Dingley, Symonds, Lygon, Lechmere and Greaves appear, but there are other names of quite a different class, and it is obvious that the power was shifting from the old Parliamentary party to a new order of men who had very different ideas from those who had formed the Parliamentary party in 1642.

It was still more marked in the names of the City Commissioners. They were:—

“The Mayor for the time being, John Wylde, Sergt.-at-law, Recorder ; John Nash and Henry Ford, Aldermen ; Robert Stirrup, Daniel Dobbins, James Taylor and Nicholas Wildy.”

There is nothing that shews whether the monthly contribution of £3000 that the County Quarter Sessions ordered was still paid after the fall of Worcester. The Sessions Rolls are missing, and no detailed outside evidence on the payments the Government exacted from the county is so far forthcoming. The process of raising sums for the war in Ireland by Commissioners was, however, continued.

In February 1648 it was said to be necessary to raise £20,000 a month for Ireland. Of this sum Worcestershire was to pay £231 12s. 8d. and Worcester City £14 8s. 6d. Commissioners were appointed as before to raise the money. They were practically the same men as the last Commissioners, except that William Hopkins was left out and no less than eight new names, namely, Thomas Young, Henry Greswold, John Edgioke, Edward Pitt, Charles Cornwall, Henry Bromley of Upton, Samuel Gardner and William Jeffries, were added. The City Commissioners were the same as those who had been appointed on the last occasion.

In March 1648 more money was required for Fairfax's forces. This time the county and city were united for the purpose of contributing to their support. The county and city jointly were to raise £748 3s. 7d., and the Commissioners who were to raise it were all Parliament men: William Lygon, John Egioke, Edward Pitts, Henry Bromley of Upton, Charles Cornwallis, Thomas Young, Humphrey Greswold, Daniel Dobbins, Talbot Bridges, Mayor of Evesham for the time being, and Mr. William Martin of Evesham, gent.

It is not clear what led to the reduced number, but, taken as a whole, these were a much more responsible body than that which had been appointed in the Spring. It is true they were all Parliament men, but it is also true that they were a very fair selection from the County Justices of the time.

Later in the year the very pressing and very difficult question of settling

the militia, that is, the army that was then embodied in England and who had shewn signs of becoming very troublesome, had to be taken in hand. A strong committee was required for this purpose, and, so far as numbers went, strong committees were appointed for both the county and the city; and probably, having regard to two circumstances that must have weighted heavily with the Government, the committee was as good as could be selected.

1. The first consideration was that it was known that a large number, if not most, of the Royalist gentlemen were, if not directly at least indirectly, engaged in plots for the King's release if for nothing more. No government could be expected to entrust not merely power but also full information as to their plans to persons who would use it for their own purposes against the government. It must be remembered that conspiracies for risings were actually going on in the county from 1646 until the King's death, and no government would have been so mad, with Colchester before their eyes, as to give any authority of any kind to a Royalist, or even to a man with Royalist tendencies or leanings.

2. The second point was the fact that the Royalists were engaged in important business of their own. The question of what fine should be imposed on each of them for their "delinquency" was in the course of settlement, and while it remained unsettled anyone who was said to be liable or might be made liable to such a payment could hardly serve on such a committee.

It is therefore obvious that the settlement of the militia, the question that had nominally caused the war, could only be dealt with by the victors. Bearing these considerations in mind, the list of names, although all strongly anti-Royalist, do not seem so unfair as might at first sight have been thought.

The names for the county were: Sir Thomas Rous, Bart., Sir Thomas Jervis, John Wilde, sergeant-at-law, Richard Cresheld, sergeant-at-law, William Lygon, John Egioke, Humphrey Salway, Edmond Wilde, Edward Pitts, William Jeffries, Thomas Solly, George Wilde, esq., Col. William Dingley, John Latham, John James, Charles Cornwallis, Samuel Gardner, John Dunne, Nicholas Lechmere, Daniel Dobbins, Thomas Cookes, esq., John Keite, Thomas Western, John Corbett, Henry Bromley of Upton-on-Severn, Thomas Milward, Thomas Young, William Moore and William Collins, gents.

The city names were: Mr. Robert Stirropp, John Wilde, esq., sergeant-at-law and Recorder, Henry Fourd, Edward Elvins, alderman, John Nash, Humphrey Greswold, esq., Col. William Lygon, Col. William Dingley, Francis Frankes, Theophilus Allies, Foulke Estrop, and Edward Cox, gentlemen.

The county list has most of the old names, with some eight or nine new ones added. Nothing very much is known about these. Sir Thomas Jervis is a new name and one who had but little if any connection with the county. Latham, James, and Keite, Corbet, Young and Collins are also new names. Whatever may have been the reason for putting them on it does not appear. If a conjecture may be made, it may be that they represented the

troops that were about to be dealt with. The army was then too powerful a body to be ignored. In the city Alderman Elvins may have been the man of that name who was Mayor in 1642. But Frankes, Allies, Estrop and Cox are new names.

It would be outside the limits of this Introduction to give any account of what the Committee did, or of the history of the county and city for the next few years. The King's execution in the next year, the Scots' invasion two years later, produced a deep impression not only on the county but also on the country. One event in 1649 may be mentioned, as the person concerned has occupied so very prominent a place in the Diary. It has already been stated that proceedings were going on to fix the sum that the Royalists were to pay for their "delinquency," as it was termed. Among those cases that of Sir William Russell was dealt with. The receipt the Commissioners gave him is still in existence, and runs as follows:—

"Received by us, Richard Waring and Michael Herring, Treasurers of the moneys to be paid into Goldsmiths' Hall, of S<sup>r</sup> Will. Russell of Strensham in the county of Worcester, baron<sup>t</sup>, the summe of nine hundred pounds in full of eighteen hundred pounds ouer and aboute the Rectory of Birlingham, being settled and imposed on him by the Lords and Commons as a fine for his delinquency to the Parliament. We say Received this 8<sup>th</sup> day of October 1649 in full payment.

Rich. Waringe.  
Michael Herring."<sup>1</sup>

What with his payments as Governor of Worcester, his losses from having his house at Strensham plundered by the Parliament troops, and last of all his fine, Sir William Russell could truly say that loyalty to his Sovereign did not pay. He, however, so far as the fine went, got off fairly well. There is nothing to shew what was the value of the Rectory of Birlingham, but as in the list that was prepared at the Restoration of "the persons who were fit and qualified to be made Knights of the Royal Oak with the value of their estates," the name of "Sir William Russell, K<sup>t</sup> and Bar<sup>t</sup>, £3000 per an." heads the list, if he purged his delinquency by a year's income he did not do so badly.

As has been already stated, there is nothing in Townshend's volume, either documents or Diary, from the surrender of Worcester on 26 July 1646 until 20 April 1653, when Cromwell turned the Commons out of their House and purported to dissolve the Parliament. The Diary then begins again, and goes on for two years until 17 May 1657, but it is far more a record of public events that are recorded in histories of England than of local occurrences taking place in Worcestershire. The first local event mentioned is 21 December 1653, "Cromwell proclaimed at Worcester, and in every market town on their market days Protector."<sup>2</sup>

The next local entry is the removal of Chief Baron Wilde (the Sergeant Wilde who was member for Worcester and an active Parliamentarian).

<sup>1</sup> MSS. Worcestershire Historical Society, Russell Papers.

<sup>2</sup> I., p. 26.



He was sent as Commissioner of Assize several times between 1646 and 1648, but seems to have shewn his politics on the bench. He is said to have sentenced Capt. Burley at Winchester to death for causing a drum to be beaten for King Charles at Newport in the Isle of Wight, while in the case of Major Rolph, who was indicted for intending to murder the King, he ordered the grand jury to ignore the Bill. For these two cases he was thanked by the House of Commons. On 12 October 1648 he was appointed Lord Chief Baron, but on Cromwell becoming Lord Protector, he did not renew Wilde's appointment. At the Restoration Sir Orlando Bridgman was made Lord Chief Baron. Wilde was specially included in the Act of Indemnity. He naturally considered he was badly treated, but he was fortunate after his violent conduct in the Long Parliament, and especially having regard to his behaviour when acting as counsel against Archbishop Laud to get off as easily as he did.

In July 1654 there was an election for Cromwell's new Parliament. Worcestershire sent 5 members to it. For the county, Sir Thomas Rouse, Mr. Edward Pitts, Mr. Nicholas Lechmere and Capt. Talbot Badger. Except the last the names are all familiar as having served on most of the various commissions for raising contributions.

There was a contest for the city. The candidates were Alderman Elvins and William Collins, who was opposed by Capt. Boomd (probably Bund<sup>1</sup>) of Upton-on-Severn.

Townshend does not notice an important committee that was appointed in 1654 to deal with scandalous ministers. For the county of Worcester the members were, Mr. Richard Baxter of Kidderminster, Mr. Benjamin Baxter of Upton, Mr. Giles Collyer of Blockley, Mr. Hopkins of Evesham, and Mr. Brammage of Kempsey.<sup>2</sup>

The Diary terminates abruptly on 17 May 1655 with the entry that the counsel who argued Coney's case as to customs duties against Cromwell's Government were sent to the Tower.

It begins again on 9 January 1656 with an entry that Sir Henry Lyttelton, the sheriff of the county, and Sir John Pakington were committed to the Tower on suspicion. This was in consequence of Penruddock's rising, who was beheaded on 20 June 1656. The Government were greatly alarmed, Cavaliers were ordered not to come within 20 miles of London, many others were arrested and imprisoned. In Worcestershire numbers of the Royalist leaders were arrested, Sir Ralph Clare, Sir George Wintour, Captain Thomas Savage, Major Wylde, Colonel Sandys and various others, but there is little detail as to how the county was affected by the plot.

For the protection of the Government Cromwell divided the country into eleven districts, and put each district under a military officer, a Major-General. The district in which Worcestershire was placed comprised the English counties of Worcester, Hereford and Shropshire, and first North Wales,

<sup>1</sup> For an account of Capt. Bund see Lawson's "Nation in the Parish."

<sup>2</sup> See Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642—1660.

Merioneth, Montgomery, Flint, Denbigh, Carnarvon and Anglesea, and subsequently South Wales and Monmouthshire. The Major-General allotted to Worcestershire was Major-General Berry, whom Baxter speaks of "as his old bosom friend," and describes as of <sup>1</sup>

"great sincerity before the wars, of very good natural parts, especially mathematical and mechanical, and affectionate in religion, and while conversant with humbling, providence, doctrines and company, carried himself as a very great enemy to pride, but when Cromwell made him his favourite and his extraordinary valour was crowned with extraordinary success, and when he had been a while most conversant with those that in religion thought the old Puritan ministers were dull, self-conceited men of a lower form, and that new light had declared I know not what to be a higher attainment, his mind, his aim, his talk, was all altered accordingly." . . .

"Being never well studied in the body of Divinity or controversy, but taking his light among the sectaries before the light which longer and patient studies in Divinity should have prepossessed him with, he lived after as honestly as could be expected in one that taketh error for truth and evil to be good."<sup>1</sup>

Such was the man who had become the practical ruler of the county.

Neither Berry nor any of his colleagues had an easy task. The local Justices of the Peace looked on them with jealousy and suspicion as men set up to do away with their authority. There was also the fact so objectionable to the English that the Major-Generals were soldiers, and would bring or try to bring the country under that most hateful of all hateful systems, martial law. To make matters worse, one of the first things they had to do was to put in force orders to tax the Royalists in each county in a way that even Charles and his worst ministers would never have dreamt of. All so-called Royalists were divided into three classes :—

1. Those who since the Protectorate had been in any way engaged in any rebellion or in any plot against the Protector's person. These persons were to be banished, their estates seized, two-thirds to be appropriated to pay Cromwell's new militia, one-third left for the support of their wives and families.

2. Those who had taken no actual part in any rebellion or plot against Cromwell, but had by their words or actions adhered to the interests of the late King, or Charles Stuart his son, and were dangerous enemies to the peace. These were to be imprisoned or banished, but they did not necessarily forfeit their estates.

3. Those whose estates had been sequestered for delinquency or had fought against the Parliament in former times. These were to pay 10 per cent. on their rental if over £100, and £10 in respect of every £1500 of personal property if they had no real estate. But the annual payments under this last head were not to exceed £100.

The rest of the Royalists who had no estate, who lived loosely or were

<sup>1</sup> *Reliquiæ Baxteriana*, p. 57.

unable to give an account of themselves, were to be arrested and transported to foreign parts where they might earn their living by labour—a polite way of saying they were to go as slaves to the West Indies.

No Royalist was allowed to keep arms in his house under penalty of imprisonment, nor to keep in his house any ejected clergyman or chaplain or tutor under penalty of a double fine. A clergyman keeping a school, preaching, administering the sacraments, celebrating marriage, or using the book of Common Prayer was liable to three months' imprisonment for the first offence, six for the second, and banishment for the third.

In addition to these there were a number of other instructions forbidding Royalists being elected to public offices, requiring Royalists to give bonds for good behaviour, and for suppressing ale houses, taverns and play houses.

It was fortunate for the county that in spite of the bad character Baxter gives Berry, that the county fell under his rule and not that of men like Desborough or Lambert. Unfortunately the details of Berry's administration are very meagre, but what little there is shews he was inclined not to enforce his orders strictly. Nine Quakers were imprisoned at Evesham for not paying the fines imposed on them for contempt of court. Berry released them. A Welsh preacher, Vavasor Powell, drew up a petition to Cromwell setting forth the persecution to which the God-fearing Baptists were subjected, Cromwell's falling away from grace in his government, as he had left off following the Lord, and urging God's people to avoid the same sin lest they should partake the plague with him. For this Powell was arrested, brought to Worcester and charged before Berry. Powell declared he only wanted to relieve his own conscience and work on Cromwell's heart. Berry accepted the explanation, allowed Powell to enlighten Worcester by preaching. This he did, giving on one day no less than four sermons in four different Worcester churches, and finishing up by having supper with the Major-General. Powell was bound over to appear if called on to do so. One other instance of Berry's good nature should be mentioned. The money the Major-Generals were to draw from the Royalists proved quite insufficient for paying the militia. Naturally this caused great discontent, and some of the Major-Generals had to face something which was very like mutiny. Berry took a more excellent way. When he dismissed his militia he paid them their full pay as if they had been, as they had engaged to be, under arms for a year. In writing to Thurlow and asking if he had done wrong, he added that, if he had, the sum he had overpaid should be deducted from his own pay.

Berry was an exception to the rule. Most of the other Major-Generals carried out their instructions strictly and harshly. Naturally the Royalists did their best to bring forward reasons excepting them from the new rules as to payment of the new taxes. Still further did the Royalists object to giving bonds for good behaviour; these were demanded with the greatest rigour, the object being to get information on which, if necessary, action could be taken as to who might be termed Royalists and ascertaining where they dwelt.

Lists of such persons were drawn up under the authority of the Major-Generals and sent to the Council. The Worcestershire list is as follows :—

Droytwiche . . .	Edward Barratt, gent.
Worcester City . . .	James Abrell, Pewterer.
Caldwell . . .	Sir Ralph Clare, Knt.
Fladbury . . .	Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Knt.
Blackmore Park . . .	Thomas Hornyold, Esq.
Seaverne Stoke . . .	Edward Osburne, gent.
Belbroughton . . .	William Burr, gent.
Elmley . . .	Thomas Savage, Esq.
Bromsgrove . . .	William Sheldon, gent.
Huddington . . .	Sir George Winter, Knt.
Great Malvern . . .	Thomas Wylde, Esq.

These eleven names are all the Worcestershire names that are contained in a book in which is this endorsement :—

“A booke containyng the names of all such persons as are specified in several lists received from ye respective Major-Generalls of ye Counties on the outside of this Booke particularly expressed.”

The names endorsed are :—

“Essex, Oxon, Beds, Hertford, Northampton, Bedford, Huntingdon, Rutland, Worcester, Salop, Hereford, Monmouth, North and South Wales, Chester, Stafford, Lancaster, Nottingham, Lincoln, Warwick, Leicester, Derby.”<sup>1</sup>

How leniently Berry carried out his duties will best be seen by giving the number of the names returned in Worcestershire and its surrounding counties :—

Worcestershire, 11.
Gloucestershire, 322.
Warwick, 8.
Oxford, 135.
Salop, 20.
Stafford, 1089.
Hereford, 17.

Gloucestershire had Desborough for its Major-General, Warwickshire Whalley, Oxfordshire Fleetwood, Staffordshire Worsley; while Berry had Worcestershire, Herefordshire and Shropshire. He also had Monmouthshire, 44; North Wales, 58. There does not appear to have been any return for South Wales. It was fortunate for Worcestershire that Berry was her Major-General.

As he dealt so well with the county, a word may be said as to his fate. He took an active part with the army against the Rump, for which he was

<sup>1</sup> Additional MSS. 34,011—13.

cashiered. When in January 1660 he was ordered to leave London he refused. Monk was jealous of him, as he had urged Fleetwood to take the action in restoring the King that Monk afterwards took. So when Monk got the upper hand he imprisoned Berry in Scarborough Castle. The result was he remained under surveillance for the rest of his life. Baxter says, when "released he became a gardiner and lived in a safer state than in all his greatness." He was certainly the leading man in Worcestershire in the last year of the Commonwealth, although he and his work appear quite forgotten in the county.

Townshend's comment on the proceedings in 1656 is not so full as could be wished. He begins by saying: "Jan. 9, 1655. Sir Henry Littleton, Baronet High Sheriff of Worcestershire and Sir John Pakington, Baronet, committed to the Tower on suspicion."

The Sealed Knott (the Royalist Secret Society) kept sending Charles warning that the time was unpropitious for a rising. As the Government were fully aware of what was going on they probably arrested these gentlemen by way of precaution, and as a warning to the other Worcestershire Royalists. There is no allusion to the proposed rising in Shropshire in March, which only just missed taking effect. Then came Penruddock's rising, his trial and execution in April.

Townshend may be right in saying that the two judges Thorpe and Newdigate were in reality dismissed for too lenient dealing with rebels. This was probably the public explanation, but the real reason was for questioning the legality of the ordinance dealing with treason, which purported to be issued under the instrument of government. For if the ordinance was invalid so was the instrument, and so was Cromwell's authority; nothing therefore remained for the Council but to avoid awkward questions and dismiss the two judges. It is very obvious that the Government were in a fright, for the other prisoners in custody were not tried for treason. As Gardiner says,<sup>1</sup> "It was hard to find independent lawyers to accept the doctrine that a few military officers were justified in giving a constitution to the country." Townshend goes on to say that "many Royalists or Cavalier persons were imprisoned on suspicion for the late insurrection," and tells us that<sup>2</sup> :—

"At Worcester Sir Ralph Clare, Sir George Wintour, Capt. Thomas Savage, Major Wyld, Col. Sandys and divers others which were not fully released until Major-General Berry came to govern the county."

Townshend goes on to mention the Declaration of 21 September 1655, in which Cromwell states he was by the recent rising discharged from the act of Oblivion and Pardon granted to the Cavaliers, and had to ensure the peace by raising a force to secure it, and that in respect of the Royalists their estates should pay the same be they guilty or not.

Orders came out to the Commissioners named in the several counties to

<sup>1</sup> "Hist. of Commonwealth," iii., 302.

<sup>2</sup> I., p. 29.

put the instructions into execution, but as the orders were only under the hand of H. Scobell's, the clerk of the council, it was questioned if that was sufficient warrant.

Whether the Government thought they had gone too far or whether it was the peace made in 1655 with France disposed them to leniency, several of the Royalists were released from prison, Sir John Pakington among them. He had, however, to give a bond for £5000 to appear when summoned and to be of good behaviour, and Townshend adds,

“divers others were released out of sundry places unless there were some strong presumptions. Few, however, were ever particularly examined or told why they had been arrested.”

“Lord Southampton, who had pleaded in his own defence his pardon and the act of oblivion against having to pay the tenth of his estate or to state the value of it and pay on that, was sent to the Tower, and divers loose persons who had no visible estate were arrested and sent to Jamaica and other plantations abroad for service there.”

Townshend admits being assessed at £103, and paying accordingly. He adds that for the bonds Cavaliers had to give, Berry's clerk got £5 a year; and for each bond that had to be given for a servant's good behaviour in £200, Berry's clerk was paid 18*d*.

At the Epiphany Quarter Sessions 1656, Sir Thomas Rous, who was a strong Parliamentary and had been made *Custos Rotulorum* of the county,<sup>1</sup> presented his Commission, and desired to place Mr. Thomas Symonds of Pershore as his deputy and Clerk of the Peace. This gave rise to considerable dispute, the justices objecting to the old clerk, Francis Walker, being turned out. Probably Rous was right; as the old Lord Lieutenant had ceased to hold his office, his deputy, the Clerk of the Peace, also ceased to hold his. Lord Northampton, who had been Lord Lieutenant, who had never been formally deprived of the specific office except in general terms as being a malignant, was deprived of all his offices and rights. There was technically a vacancy, so Walker had no right to continue. The Sessions Rolls are very fragmentary during the time of the Commonwealth, but from these it would appear that Rous got his way, and that Symonds acted as Clerk of the Peace till the Restoration.

For some reason that does not appear, Sir Henry Lyttelton, who was arrested at the same time as Sir John Pakington and sent to the Tower, was kept in prison till July 1656, when, instead of being released on bond like Sir John Pakington, he was sent to the custody of “the Marshal of St. James, by which he had much freedom allowed and refreshment.” Whether the election being about to be held and Lyttelton being Sheriff was the cause of his qualified release does not appear.

In August 1656 Sir Robert Berkeley, the great Ship Money Judge, died and was buried at Spetchley, where his monument still is. The election took place on 20 August 1656. Worcestershire returned five members: Berry,

<sup>1</sup> I., p. 31.

Sir Thomas Rouse, the new Lord Lieutenant, Edward Pitts of Kyre, Nicholas Lechmere, attorney of the Duchy, and John Nanfan; Worcester City two Captains, John Collins, who was an assessment Commissioner for the county and city, and Giles, a young lawyer. He was son of Edmund Giles of White Ladies, Acton, and said to have been by marriage a relation of Cromwell. He was fined for not being knighted at Charles I.'s coronation, and disclaimed Arms at the 1634 Visitation. He was a barrister, a master in Chancery, and an assessment Commissioner for the county and city.

Townshend says

“that many of the newly elected members went up to London to take their seats, but were not allowed to do so until they had been approved by the Council of State. In the result many went back home, including Mr. Nanfan of Worcestershire.”

This is Townshend's account of Cromwell's attempt to make the House of Commons consist “only of persons who appeared to the Council of State to be Persons of integrity to the Government, fearing God and of good conversation.” All others who did not satisfy this requirement were not to be given certificates, and Cromwell had ordered that they should not come into the House. The House had sunk so low that they submitted to this snub and resolved :—

“That the persons returned who have not been approved be referred to make their application to the Council for an approbation.”

No less than 93 members who had been excluded signed a remonstrance; most of them were ultimately admitted to the House. Whether Nanfan was one of those admitted does not appear.

Townshend adds that a motion was made by G. L. in the House for

“a new survey of all delinquent and Papist estates, so that if there be any estates of them concealed and uncompounded for to be seized and sold as the State's (they not owning the same by non-compounding), a committee of 40 about to sit on it.”

Another blank in the Diary follows. The next entry is 25 April 1660, when the Convention Parliament began to sit.

On 30 April 1660, the Day of Humiliation, the preachers were Dr. Gauden, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, the supposed author of the *Εικον Βασιλικη*, and Mr. Richard Baxter.

On Worcester receiving the news of the King's letter from Breda<sup>1</sup> such a number of bonfires were lit and such a ringing of bells that the city seemed all in a flame. Most part of the night every street having at least four or five, and some twelve bonfires. At St. John's, near Worcester, before any order, the State arms were taken down, the church beautified, and the King's arms drawn on the walls.

The county's loyalty took the form of a declaration of the nobility<sup>2</sup> and gentry of the county who adhered to the late King, which was presented to

<sup>1</sup> I., p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> I., p. 37.

Monk by Lord Windsor, Sir John Pakington, Mr. Finch and Mr. Thomas Hornihold, who vindicated themselves from the scandalous aspersions as full of recusancy for the great losses since the last wars, and declaring they neither did nor would harbour any such thoughts of ransom or revenge against them or any other person, but willing to lay aside all animosity and return to all mutual christian love. This was signed by 27 persons, one of whom was Townshend. He remarks :—

“The General received it well and thanked them for presenting it as coming opportunely in respect of that county, that is in report the most malignant in the nation.”

On the 11th there was an extraordinary function at Worcester.<sup>1</sup> Four scaffolds were erected: (1) The Cross, (2) Corn Market, (3) at the Knole, (4) at or near All Hallows' Well.

The scaffold at the Cross was coloured green, white and purple. The first two are the Prince's colours, the third the King's.

The Mayor, Mr. Ashby, and all the aldermen in scarlet. The Sheriff, the 24 and the 48 in their liveries, each trade and freeman marching with their colours. The procession was: first, 100 of the city trained band, following them Captain Alderman Vernon, the Sheriff Thomas Coventry, two army companies, the various livery companies with their showmen and banners, the city officers with their maces and swordbearers, then the Mayor, the Sheriff and some gents., then the 24 followed by the 48, and closing the procession, part of a troop of cavalry. On reaching each scaffold the Mayor got up on it and read the proclamation, declaring Charles to be King of England, Scotland, Ireland, and then shouted God Save the King. All the people joined, the guns were fired, swords drawn and flourished over their heads, drums beaten, trumpets blown, loud music played, and after a visit to each scaffold they adjourned to the great hall, where the city gave wine and biscuits liberally. At night bonfires, the King's health continuously drunk with good store of wine and high rejoicings and acclamations.

The great day of thanksgiving was solemnly kept at Worcester, and especially by the Royalists at St. Michael's Church by Mr. William Harewell, a sequestered divine.

Townshend, however, could take very little share in these rejoicings.<sup>2</sup> On 29 May, the great day, his daughter Dorothea died, and was buried in the body of the Cathedral near the steps to the choir. Mr. Harewell read the burial service. Townshend adds, “it was the first prayer for the dead since the rending up of Worcester to the pretended Parliament, 24 July 1646, and now the new entrance of Charles II. in power to his crown and authority.”

On 14 June the King made Lord Windsor Lord Lieutenant of Worcestershire. This at once got over the difficulty of Sir Thomas Rouse's appointment as Lord Lieutenant, and of Mr. Symonds as Clerk of the Peace. Mr. Walker seems to have returned to the office as a matter of course.

<sup>1</sup> I., p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> I., p. 44.



To further shew their loyalty the nobility and gentry of Worcester, to the number of about 50, signed an address to the king, which Lord Shrewsbury presented to His Majesty, who returned hearty thanks, and said he was well assured of their loyalty and affection, and should ever have a good esteem of them. Townshend follows this up by the following memorandum :—

“ It is said that any Worcestershire gent. hath great civil admittance to His Majesty’s presence, but above all Sir Ralph Clare, who hath conference sometimes two hours together.”

A note of what the Lords proposed to do on the bill of indemnity might, if it had been carried out, have materially affected Worcestershire families<sup>1</sup> :—

“ The Lords fly high on the Bill of indemnity or pardon as intending to include (exclude ?) all the late King’s judges, all who sat in other High Courts of Justices as on Col<sup>l</sup> Penruddock, Cap<sup>t</sup> Burley, D<sup>r</sup> Huet, especially on the Lord Capel, Sergeant Wilde, for the cause in question, and Nicholas Lechmere as being one of the State’s Counsel.

“ Thomas Lord Windsor had his patent sealed for Lord Lieutenant of Worcestershire, who made his deputy lieutenants. The patent will cost £50. Major Thomas Mucklow is his muster master, whose stipend is £47 per annum.”<sup>2</sup>

The Muster Master was directed at once to take steps to replenish and make good the magazines of the county, and have full provision of powder and lead always in readiness for the use of His Majesty’s service. He was therefore ordered at once to view the state of the magazines at Worcester, Bromsgrove, Evesham, and the rest of the towns in the county, and to report either to the Lord Lieutenant or any two deputy lieutenants. He was also to report and be present at every muster in the county, view the arms and ammunition, and certify the state of the militia by a roll subscribed by my deputy lieutenants or some of them and yourself.

On 28 August 1660 it is noted<sup>3</sup>

“ Lord Windsor’s troop being of the King’s Regiment and under Cap<sup>t</sup> Lieu<sup>t</sup> Charles Littelton, M<sup>r</sup> Chicheley, Cornet, came to quarter in the City of Worcester this winter.”

On 31 August

“ the first morning prayer was said in the *body* of the Cathedral according to ancient custom by Mr. Richard Brown since the reducing of Worcester to the Parliamentary forces 24 July 1646.”

On 2 September

“ a great assembly in the Cathedral at morning prayer at 6, and again at 9. All the gentry, many citizens and others numerous, and after prayers D<sup>r</sup> Doddeswell, a new prebend, did preach the first sermon, and the Dean and Prebends being to resettle the church in its service, and to repair the same by degrees, which hardly £10,000 will put the whole fabric in that order it was before the barbarous civil war.”

<sup>1</sup> I., p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> I., p. 56.

I., p. 59.

No date given (September 3):—

“This day, memorable for the miraculous escape and deliverance of His Majesty from the hands of his enemies upon his defeat (or rather treachery of Scots army) at this City of Worcester, was kept as a high and solemn day at the Cathedral in Worcester, where was the first solemn service said and preached, Dr Wright of St John’s upon I Sam. xii., 24 and 25 verses. All the gentry of the county were invited and many came. And a solemn entertainment was made in the Town Hall, where the first table for the nobility and gentry was made upon the other great table higher to be level with the benches, and there were 8 long tables more, and in the council chamber the long table full, 80 of gentry and citizens were about 400, and 5 bucks spent and 2s. 6d. allowed by every man to come in with tickets. The attendance with better sort of citizens. No gentleman’s servant admitted to attend his master.”

Following this up, on 13 September

“Dr. Oliver, President of Magdalen College and Dean of Worcester, came to be installed Dean and settle the church in order.”

“14. The militia foot of the County of Worcester were summoned in, where were a great appearance. On the 18<sup>th</sup> the Horse.”

“18 Dec. The cathedral church of Worcester was by the care and industry of Mr. Oley, one of the Prebends, this day secured and made dry from wet until it can be fully repaired.”<sup>1</sup>

The fifth monarchy men were causing, if not trouble, at least apprehension. As all the regiments had been disbanded except the generals’ (muster) regiments of foot and horse, and some of the garrisons, the authorities were looking round to see upon what force they could rely in case of trouble. The following entry occurs as to Worcester:—

“15 June 1661. The City of Worcester hath ever since the first knowledge kept guards of horse and foot to assist out of the county trained bands, and the passages over Severn guarded.”

A case, probably one of the last, of the execution for petit treason by burning is mentioned as occurring on 15 March 1661<sup>2</sup>:—

“Ursula Corbett of Defford in the County of Worcester burnt at Worcester for poisoning her husband, being not married past three weeks. An ill fate certainly attends when parents enforce their children to marry against their liking.”

“On the 23 March Townshend and Mr George Symonds, two magistrates for the county, released out of the castle gaol at Worcester 44 Quakers and 14 anabaptists upon their promise to appear at the next gaol delivery and in the meantime to keep the peace towards the King and all people. They drew up two Recognizances containing 3 heads: (1) To acknowledge Charles II. King, (2) To live peaceably, (3) To appear at the next assizes.”

When the space available for prisoners in the old county gaol is taken into account, the release of 58 prisoners must have been a most wise step. There

<sup>1</sup> I., p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> I., p. 70.

were very few cells, and the prisoners had to be huddled together in any way that could be managed. It was this crowding that caused that terrible gaol fever which raged a few years later in the Worcester prisons.

The election for the Long Parliament of Charles II., which lasted from April 1661 to January 1678, took place on 9 April. Sir John Pakington and Samuel Sandys were returned unopposed for the county, but for the city there was a sharp contest thus recorded:—

“April 9. Upon the election day of Burgesses for the city of Worcester for the Parliament, Sir Rowland Berkeley had 615 votes, and Mr. Thomas Street, the Counsilor, who had 589, were chosen Burgesses, and Mr. Jo. Nanfan, who had 544, lost the same.”

Nanfan seems to have been unlucky in his electioneering. In 1666, when elected, the Council of State rejected him, and now the electors would not have him. Street, so far as elections went, was more fortunate. He was elected in 1659, 1660, 1661 and 1679. He was also sub-secretary (Chapter Clerk?) to the Dean and Chapter of Worcester, and had in one way or another a good deal of local influence. He was made a Welsh judge, and in 1681 a Baron of the Exchequer. In the case of Sir Edward Hales as to whether the King could by his prerogative dispense with the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, of all the twelve judges, including the L. C. J., Herbert, Street was the only one who held James II.'s action to be illegal. This made Street the most popular judge on the Bench, and so he continued to be until the appearance of the philosophical Whig writers of the nineteenth century. Sir James Mackintosh began with a suggestion that Street was a real patriot in the sense that his patriotism was “the last refuge of a scoundrel,” and that his judgment was not his honest conviction, but that it was thought better there should be a dissenting judge in the Hales case, so he was squared, and his judgment was the result. The evidence, if it can be so called, in support of this view consists of two things: (1) That Street was not dismissed by James for his judgment, a fate that almost invariably overtook judges who decided cases in any way against his wishes; and (2) That after the Revolution he was not reappointed by William III. It is said that Lord Clarendon did not present him for reappointment, as Lord Coote, who reported to the King Street's “true character,” described him as “a very ill man,” adding that Street had married one of his (Lord Coote's) relations. Lord Clarendon, however, himself said he had “long known Street, and took him to be a very honest man.” On this Sir James Mackintosh “suggests the painful suspicion” that Street had been “got at” to deliver his judgment. Lord Macaulay goes one better than Mackintosh, and with no further evidence says:—

“One judge, therefore, the least respectable of the twelve, was permitted, or more probably commanded, to give his voice against the prerogative.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “History of England,” ii., 244.

Is it not possible that a Tory judge who had been a Tory all his life, and one who was known to be a Jacobite, should have been passed over at the Revolution without joining with Whig writers to take away on no evidence the character of one of the few judges that are natives of the city of Worcester?

Townshend says that "on 13 April 1661 the first quire service said and sung in the Cathedral Church of Worcester since the reducing of the city of Worcester by the Parliamentary forces 25 July 1646.<sup>1</sup>"

A few days afterwards, on 23 April, was "the solemn and most glorious coronation of Charles II. at Westminster, where did preach George Morley, Bishop of Worcester." Townshend, however, adds:—

"This day all the trained bands, horse and foot, were up in arms in several places to prevent insurrections and tumults of seditious fanatics and schismatics, haters of Monarchy and Episcopacy."

He goes on to tell us that even in Worcester there were some evil disposed persons, for here

"at break of day was posted up in the city a base, scurrilous, seditious and factious libel as followeth:—

A seasonable memento. April 23, 1661.

'This day it is said the King shall swear once more  
Just contrary to what he sware before.  
Great God, O can thy potent eyes behold  
This height of sin, and can thy vengeance hold?  
Nip thou the Bud before the Bloom begins  
And save our Sovereign from presumptuous sins.  
Let him remember, Lord; in mercy grant  
That solemnly he sware the Covenant."

The Worcester people do not seem to have been over anxious to find out the author of the lines or those who gave it publicity, for it was not until the 28th, nearly a week after, that the following notice appeared<sup>2</sup>:—

"That there was proclamation by the Criers within the city of Worcester that whosoever can discover the persons that made, posted, or published in Worcester that infamous libel upon the day of the King's coronation, April 23, shall have £20 for a reward."

On 10 May Lord Clarendon as Lord Chancellor informed the House of Lords that<sup>3</sup>

"The King intended to make a progress towards the end of July, that he would then adjourn Parliament until winter. That he will make a progress to Worcester and all other places where God had preserved him, and when they meet again at winter they would find him with a Queen in his arms."

On 10 May the House of Commons appointed a committee of privileges, and took the unusual step of placing on it the two Worcestershire members,

<sup>1</sup> I., p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> I., p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> I., p. 72<sup>§</sup>

Sir John Pakington and Colonel Sandys, and the two city members, Sir Rowland Berkeley and Mr. Thomas Street.

On 12 September 1661

“D<sup>r</sup> George Morley, Bishop of Worcester, was solemnly brought into Worcester by my Lord Windsor, Lord Lieutenant of the County, and most of the gentry and all the clergy, there being ten trumpets then attending, and some volunteer militia horse, the trained bands of the city, and clergy band of foot in arms giving divers volleys of shot. As soon as he had rested, within half-an-hour the Bishop, with all the prebends and the quire meeting him at the college steps in their formalities, sang to the Quire, where he was enthroned, performing the ceremonies. Then Quire service. So to his Palace, where was noble treatment prepared.”

“15. On Sunday the Rev<sup>d</sup> Bishop made an admired sermon on II Cor. viii., 20, in the collegiate church of Worcester.”<sup>1</sup>

Another jurisdiction was revived that to some extent affected the county—the court of the Marches of Wales. Lord Carbury was appointed Lord President, Lord Lieutenant of North and South Wales,<sup>1</sup> and sworn of His Majesty’s Privy Council. On 4 October proclamation was made for

“the Council of the Marches to sit again and determine causes according to instructions from His Majesty. The authority and proceedings of the said Council to be obeyed. All Mayors, Sheriffs and other officers of justice are commanded to serve all precepts and causes, and to yield all obedience and submission to orders and decrees of the court.”<sup>2</sup>

Townshend relates an act of the new Bishop of Worcester, Morley, who he describes as “a most pitiful and pious man.” He says

“The Bishop forgave one David Morgan, a saddler, who in his drink railed and spake most reproachful language of him at Worcester, for which he was committed, and upon his submission the Bishop not only forgave him, but gave him 5*s.* in money to relieve him, though the fellow better deserved to be publicly whipped through the city, and caused his release.”<sup>2</sup>

The popularity of lecturers in the different towns before the war seems to have inclined the Bishops to try the system again.

Townshend says the Bishop of London set up 4 lecturers in London, and “so hath the Bishops of Salisbury and Worcester in their several dioceses.”<sup>3</sup>

Worcester rejoiced in ecclesiastical functions. We have seen how Bishops were welcomed; it was now the turn of the new Dean, Dr. Warmestry, a man of a Worcester family, whose connection with the city is still recorded in the name of one of her slums, “Warmestry’s slip.” On 27 October he

“was brought in this day to Worcester with about 100 horse as Dean of Worcester, the clergy band stood ready to receive him in the city. The 40 King’s scholars at the college gate. He alighted at his house, the Deanery, put on his robes and the prebends and Quire met him in the cloisters, sung Te Deum. Then came into the Quire. Then read his

<sup>1</sup> I., p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> I., p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> I., p. 81.

letters patent for Deanery and enjoyment of all rights belonging to his place. Took the oaths of supremacy, allegiance, and against simony. The Sub-Dean, Mr. Giles Thornborough, installed him; quire service finished, every one went to his own place, and in the evening said service himself."<sup>1</sup>

Repairs were still going on at the Cathedral. In December it is stated<sup>2</sup>:—

“My Lord Coventry gave £500 as a legacy towards the repairs of the Church of Worcester, and the Bishop of Worcester gave £100 and got by way of benevolence £500 more.”

On 18 January 1662

“Lord Carbury as the Lord President of Wales was received into Ludlow Castle with great solemnity. The next day to the Court to read their Commission and instructions and Commission of Oyer and Terminer.”<sup>3</sup>

Townshend notes the great scarcity of Lampreys—

“Lampreys so scarce at this season as ever was known. I paid 13s. 4d. for reasonable ones for to send up to London out of the river Severn.”<sup>4</sup>

Neither the number sent nor whether they were the lampries or the lamperns is mentioned, so any comparison as to price is impossible, but on the whole it does not seem any very extraordinary price.

He also records a great storm of wind mingled with lightning, destroying all great trees, especially elms, an infinity of barns and beast houses, weak houses, steeples, pinnacles and shafts of chimnies. The general loss is almost “invaluable,” and irreparable the loss of fruit almost in an age.<sup>4</sup>

Townshend gives the price of corn in Worcestershire<sup>5</sup>:—

“Best wheat 10s., Muncorn 9s., rye 8s. 6d., oats 3s. 4d., barley 6s. 4d., white pease 5s. 6d., grey pease 4s. 8d. A very late seed time by reason of the continued rains these two last months, which being together warm makes an early spring of grass.”

On 23 April the King's Coronation was kept:—

“The King's Coronation Day solemnly kept by the Dean and Chapter in the Cathedral who preached on 1 Chron.<sup>5</sup>

“Clergy band attended, 6 trumpets, after prayers and sermon, which was not ended until half-an-hour past one. The dean feasted, gave a largesse to the soldiers and trumpets. At night bonfires in college, trumpets sounding, two drums beating and some guns. Before evening prayer, Dr. Britten, petty canons and quire went from the church door, trumpets first sounding, then Te Deum was sung round the sanctuary in churchyard, and so round to college gate into the church. Bells rung all day.”

The death of the Bishop of Winchester caused Morley to be translated to that see, and Gauden to be appointed Bishop of Worcester.

<sup>1</sup> I., p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> I., p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> I., p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> I., p. 85.

<sup>5</sup> I., p. 88.

In August 1663 Townshend says <sup>1</sup>:—

“This month throughout the nation the Commissioners for purging corporations by virtue of an Act of Parliament have sat; some places few, as in Worcester 6, who refused subscription; in many towns where the Presbyterian ministers had very much tainted them, most were removed or put out themselves.”

Gauden's tenure of the see of Worcester was very brief. Townshend thus describes it <sup>2</sup>:—

“Sept. 21. On Sunday about 2 post noon died Dr John Gauden, Bishop of Worcester, that most excellent, learned, eloquent, pious and indefatigable preacher, who came to Worcester August 5<sup>th</sup> to his church, and died September 21<sup>st</sup>, so he was in all but 7 weeks and 5 days in his see. He fell sick Sept. 11 of the stone, which made him fall into a fever, and died the 21<sup>st</sup>, and was buried in the Cathedral on the 29<sup>th</sup>, St Michael's day, by the Dean of the church” (Thomas Warmestry).

A monument in the Cathedral to Gauden states that he was translated from Exeter to Worcester:—

“sed honorem quem optime meruit non ita diu sustenuit meliori enim forte dignus jussus est a supremo rege ad beatorum sedes demigrare ubi expectat novam translationem harum scilicet reliquiarum in novissima omnium restitutione.”

A recent writer speaks in still higher praise of Gauden—

“A writer whose powers have not even yet been fully appreciated, John Gauden is one of the most remarkable figures in the literary history of his time. A singularly adroit ecclesiastic, who was of the Parliament's party and yet not wholly repugnant to Laud, he was as well abused as any clergyman of his day, which is saying a great deal, but no man had a better skill in retort.”<sup>3</sup>

He was succeeded as Bishop of Worcester by the Dean of Westminster, Dr. John Earle.

Lord Windsor, who had been appointed Governor of Jamaica, attacked and captured from the Spaniards the town of St. Jago in Cuba. He came over to England to announce his victory, with which His Majesty and the whole court were very well pleased and satisfied with this performance of the Lord Lieutenant of Worcestershire.

Here the Diary concludes so far as the county is concerned. Townshend himself does not appear to have received any recognition of his work. During the rebellion he had taken an active part on the King's side, and must have done some very useful work for the King. He had also been a considerable sufferer from illegal levies and forced contributions, but he was treated, like so many other of the Royalists, with cold neglect. Whether his conduct as Muster Master was not considered sufficiently zealous to suit the views of Rupert and Maurice, or his connection with the rebel Sheriff

<sup>1</sup> I., p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> I., p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> J. A. W. Ward, “Cambridge History of English Literature,” vol. vii., 160.

Dobbys, or his dispute with Sir John Pakington over Crutch, in some way it seems fairly certain that Townshend was not wholly a *persona grata* with the Royalists. In the "Leicester March,"<sup>1</sup> Townshend's house at Elmley Lovett was assigned as the quarters of the county commissioners. Seven men, Sir Ralph Clare, Sir Richard Cave, Sir Rowland Berkeley, Sir James Croft, Sir Dudley Wyatt, Mr. Robert Wylde and Mr. Arthur Langston, were all quartered in it with their servants and horses,<sup>2</sup> so that probably there was little need for Maurice's order that no one else was to be quartered there without his express order. It does not appear how long the Commissioners stayed at Elmley Lovett; probably when after Naseby Charles retreated across the county to Herefordshire the Commissioners took themselves off.

The Parliament had a special grudge against Elmley Lovett. In October 1645 they demanded £10 a month from the parish, and if it was not paid they were threatened with pillaging and plundering, your houses fired, and your persons imprisoned.<sup>3</sup>

In December the Commissioners seem to have been smitten with a sense of the unfair way Townshend had been treated,<sup>4</sup> for they issued an order which, after stating that Townshend had quartered the Commissioners in his house at Elmley while the King was at Droitwich, and the rest of the parish was handed over to Col. Wray, 60 of whose horses were at forced quarters in Townshend's meadows, yet he was still assessed for payment of the composition made for payment for Wray's quarters. It was ordered that Townshend should be discharged from such payment, which should be charged on the rest of the parish.

Townshend on his retirement to Elmley Lovett was not suffered to remain in peace. In 1640 Townshend had been one of the Commissioners for raising the money demanded from each parish by Charles. The whole sum payable by Elmley Lovett had not been paid. Proceedings were taken against Townshend and the other Commissioners to make them personally pay the sum unpaid. Townshend put in a plea saying that under the circumstances he should not be asked for the balance. The matter was allowed to rest for two years, till August 1651, and was then pressed on again, but other matters were then taking place in the county, and so far as is known after the battle of Worcester no further proceedings were taken against him in respect of the claim.

In the summer of 1659 an Act of Parliament was passed for settling the militia for England and Wales. Commissioners were appointed for each county, who were to ascertain before 1 May 1660 all persons who had property in land of a clear annual value of over £15, as such persons were liable to serve in the militia. The Worcestershire Commissioners were all strong Parliament men. They were appointed both for the city and county of Worcester. Their names are :—

Lord Chief Baron Wilde, Sir Thomas Rous, Baronet, William Say, William Ligon, Edmund Wilde, Richard Salway, John Dormer, Nicholas Lechmere,

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 233.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 234.

<sup>3</sup> II., p. 239.

<sup>4</sup> II., p. 240.



Gervase Buck, Henry Bromley of Upton, Edward Salwey, Thomas Milward, William More, John James, William Collins, John Roberts of Church Honeybourn, Richard Vernon, Mayor of Worcester, John Corbet, Edward Elvins, Edmund Pitt, Theophilus Andrews, Thomas Simons, Edmund Giles, senior, Edmund Giles, junior, Walter Giles, Theophilus Alies, Thomas Bound, John Corbet, William Cheatle, Thomas Boyston, Edmund More and William Bendy. The Commissioners ordered the constable of each parish to send in the names of all persons in their parish who had above the sum of £15 in lands, or personal estate worth £200, and an account of what monies, horses and arms had been charged upon or taken from any person within the parish by order of the former Commissioners of the militia.

The constable returned Henry Townshend and Henry his son as having £200 a year, and added, H. Townshend and his son for horse, arms, and one month's pay advance to a troop £13 3s. *od.*

Townshend seems to have had his horse taken from him by Baptist Harris of the Oxford Militia, and his pistols by Lieut. Milward.

The Worcester Commissioners at once made an order that Harris of Bradforton should restore Townshend his horse, and that Townshend should bring his arms and furniture into the magazine at Worcester. Townshend complained he was too highly assessed, and was charged as much as those who had three and fourfold his estate.

The Restoration probably put an end to Townshend's complaints. At the Midsummer Quarter Sessions on 28 June 1660 there were only four justices present, Townshend, Sir Rowland Berkeley, Sir John Pakington and G. Symonds. Townshend was in the chair, at least he says he charged the grand jury.<sup>1</sup> Later there was a new Commission of the Peace containing no less than 53 names, of whom 24 were of the quorum, including Townshend. He was also on the grand jury at the first assizes after the Restoration.

Townshend seems also to have taken part in one very important matter that came on for consideration at the Michaelmas Sessions 1660, the abolition of purveyance. The county had to find 20 oxen, 200 sheep, 20 stirkes and 150 lambs for the King's provision. This was compounded for by a money payment, and according to Townshend the county saved £380 a year.<sup>2</sup>

Townshend did not long survive the Restoration. His Diary goes down to 7 April 1663. He died later in the year and was buried at Elmley Lovett.

Townshend was not in any sense more than a country squire, but his life and his Diary are of great interest as shewing what was the life of a country gentleman who was an active county magistrate during the civil war. It gives us an insight into the County History during that period and during the Commonwealth and Restoration that is not found anywhere else.

<sup>1</sup> II., p. 277.

<sup>2</sup> II., p. 282.

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DIARY OF HENRY TOWNSEND.





DIARY  
OF  
HENRY TOWNSHEND  
OF  
ELMLEY LOVETT.  
1640—1663.

EDITED FOR  
THE WORCESTERSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
BY  
J. W. WILLIS EUND.



Printed for the Worcestershire Historical Society,  
By MITCHELL HUGHES AND CLARKE, LONDON, W.

1915.



## PREFACE.

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**H**ENRY TOWNSHEND of Elmley Lovett, a Magistrate for Worcestershire, kept an Account of current events from 1640—1663. This account gives in detail a large number of the public orders and notices affecting the County, especially his own parish of Elmley Lovett, and also a fragmentary diary.

The first part of the Diary includes ten months, April 1640 to February 1641; the second nearly four years of the Commonwealth, April 1653 to January 1657; the third part the Restoration, April 1660 to April 1663; and the last and most important, an account of the Siege of Worcester in 1646. Townshend was in Worcester during the whole time of the siege, and his narrative is a most interesting record of that struggle. It is the only full account that has come down to us, and so far has not been published in full. Nash, in the Appendix to his History, gave a condensed account, but like most abbreviations it left out a large number of most interesting local details. This part of the manuscript is here published in full. This has only been possible by the generosity of Mr. Dyson Perrins. After passing through several hands, the MS. became the property of the late Sir Thomas Phillips, and was included in one of the periodical sales of his manuscripts. There was a well-grounded fear that this manuscript might be bought by some American collector and so lost to the county. The Worcestershire Historical Society brought the matter to Mr. Dyson Perrins' notice, and he at once purchased the MS. and placed it at the disposal of the Society for publication. The thanks, not merely of the Society but of

the whole county, are due to him for enabling so important a source of Worcestershire History being made generally available.

The Diaries are published verbatim from the MS., without any alteration or notes except in the account of the siege. Here it was necessary to incorporate into the account some documents that are given in other parts of the MS., and also to add some short statements to shew the bearing of the different entries on the siege.

It is hoped to publish the remainder of the MS. in next year's publications of the Society, and to give with it an Introduction shewing the bearing of the different documents on the history of the county during the Civil War. They cast considerable light on various matters during that time, and will shew that the part Worcestershire took in that struggle was not the least important of any county in the kingdom.

SHIRE HALL, WORCESTER.

*December, 1915.*

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# ANNALS

## FROM THE YEAR 1640 TO THE YEAR 1663.

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### DIARIES.

(i.) Diary from 29 April 1640 to 24 February 1641.

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Apr' 29<sup>o</sup>. Annales 1640. Elmley Lovet, Worc'.

*p. 1.*

My stable pluckt downe.

600 prest for supplies to the traynd band for Scottish warrs—4 out of Elmley. Henry Powell, Rich. Crow, Roland Edwards, Christopher Stutty; only 3 went, Crowe went not.

Put in the Cherry Orchard Poole 77 carp of 3 years' growth, 34 flounders of 2 yeares growth, 26 store breames of 10*d.* the 100.

In the poole at gate 4 breeding breames  $\text{p}^{\text{j}}$  3*s.* 4*d.*, 6 tench  $\text{p}^{\text{j}}$  18*d.*, gudgions 16.

In Sapcott's great pitt put in 26 bream.

The parlayment began at Westminster 13<sup>o</sup> Ap<sup>r</sup> 1640, none having bin this 11 yere, for assistance against the rebellious Scots. Serjeant Glanvill, Speaker.

The ship money of Worcestershire this year is £3500 to be p<sup>d</sup>. Elmley Lovet pays 19*li.* 3*s.* 4*d.*, and the parson 10*s.*, but p<sup>d</sup> not, one p<sup>d</sup>.

The swine houses tyled this 29<sup>th</sup> Ap<sup>r</sup>.

Ap. 30. Bought at Rushocke 60<sup>100</sup> of haie for my cattle, 14*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* An extream backward spring for grass, as also for fruit, wether to hinder sowing.

Warrants from the Deputy-Lieutenants to gather 1200*li* out of the County for setting forth of 600 soldiers and to buy 50 horses for cart, 17 carts and 17 carters.

Every soldier allowed 8*d.* a day for his training day, the rest of the week to work and get what he may. They are to be trained until the 20th May.

Elmley Lovet pays of the £1200 the sum of £7 10*s.* 0*d.* There is 100 billeted at Droitwich to be trayned for a week, some at Worcester, Evisham, Parshore Bewdley.

*p.* 2.

May 5. My Court wall began to be built by John Catto, Mason. I went to Sudbury and returned not until the 3 of June, to settle my brother Vernon's estate for his younger children and heirs.

The King, by the Lord Keeper, demands the aid for the Scottish warrs; the parliament grants, upon conditions that the grievances of the kingdom, which were great, might together be heard—otherwise unwilling. The King promises that they shall be heard at winter. They hear them together, whereupon the King dissolved the Parliament, to the great content of the fearful monopolists and some great ones, and to the infinite dislike, distaste and repining of the Commons that they visit complaints be no real redress.

17 *Car.* Shortly after the dissolution many loose people about the Borough of Southwark came to Lambeth house, desiring to speak with the Archbishop of Canterbury, threatened him if they could meet with him, broke the Whitehouse prison; in Suthwark one of them was killed, another was taken, a simple fellow, and hanged for the insurrection.

Libells spread about London daily.

The grievances of the subjects were drawn into 3 heads: Innovation of Religion and Ceremonies, which were in 5<sup>o</sup> particulars:—

1. By Commissions granted to the Convocation House.
2. Innovations of religion.
3. Deprivation of conformable minister for not yielding to matters enjoined without warrant of law.
4. Licensing books, sermons, &c., of Popish tenets.
5. Restraining preaching of conformable ministers in their own churches.

(2)—Propriety of goods y<sup>t</sup> in six heads.

1. All monopolies.
2. Ship money.
3. Enlargement of Forests beyond their bounds.
4. Military charges as conduct money, horses and carts by way of tax.
5. Imprisonment of refusers.
6. Denial of justice in the Courts to the subjects' prejudice.



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(3)—Liberty of Parliament.

1. In punishing men for speeches delivered there.

All these it seems were voted in the house.

There were other businesses proposed to be remedied.

1. The sudden dissolving of Parliament without redressing of grievances.

2. The not holding of Parliament according to Statute.

3. The pressing of the trained bands to go out of their own country and county.

4. Tonnage and Poundage. But the King, by the Lord Keeper, declared that he took it only *de facto*, according to example of former Kings, from the death of his predecessor, desirous not to claim it but by grant of parliament.

5. Taking for knighthood for being absent at Coronation.

6. Farming of nuisances whereof depopulation one.

7. Star Chamber in meddling of small matters as sope.

8. Hearing of private suits at Council table.

Wyne 40s. the hundred; the King hath £30,000 per annum, and the subject loseth £130,000.

June 7. The prest soldiers stopt there journey until 1<sup>st</sup> July, and in the mean to live at there own costs and labour, not at the country's.

July 7<sup>o</sup>. Our soldiers commanded to march towards the north.

A declaration from the King shewing the reasons that moved him to the dissolution of the parlyment, in which is expressed the reasons that the King called the parliament, and the necessity of supply of monies before the hearing of grievances, though upon his princely word they should be heard; that it was a way to engage their prince who would not loose the honour of being entrusted and of such a gracious nature that disdayued his people should overcome him in kindness.

p. 4.

Then delivered himself to the Lords, 24 April, that whatever my Lord Keeper promised he would perform if the House of Commons would trust him.

1. For religion that his heart and conscience went together with the religion established, and gave order that no innovation should creep in.

2. For ship money he never meant to make any profit to himself but only to preserve the dominion of the seas; but for the ways and means by ship money or otherwise he left it to them.

3. For property of goods and liberty of Parliament he ever intended his people should enjoy them, holding no King so great as he that was King of a rich and free people, and if they had not property of goods and liberty of person they could not be rich nor free.

That if the Commons would not first trust him, all his business would be lost.

The Lords upon consultation yielded that supply should have the pre-eminence. The House of Commons delay, and speak of grievances. His Majesty expounded to the house.

That upon granting of 12 subsidies there shall be an utter abolishment of ship money, and to be p<sup>d</sup> in 3 years, and for the grievances to begin now and go on with the rest at Michaelmas, but the house would not resolve. So His Majesty, by the advice of his Council, resolved to break up the Parliament, which was done the 5<sup>o</sup> May.

His Majesty's speech was a brief repetition of the heads of his former speeches. Even their delay was as good as a denial, yet for their grievances they shall be as well heard out of Parliament as in. He shall be most careful to preserve the purity of religion established. Thanked the Lords for their affection, and as for the liberties of the

p. 5.

people, no King in the world shall be more careful to maintain them in the property of their goods, liberty of their persons and true religion.

At Farington the soldiers held up their Lieutenant Moon, and hanged him up. Dorsetshire men, they do mischief in all places as they march.

July 1<sup>o</sup>. At Worcester the 600 pressed soldiers came to go with their Captains. They have put the country to a great charge. They went not until Saturday morning.

1. 3 weeks' training at 8<sup>d</sup> a soldier, being billeted by 100 in a place, and marching, running away, fresh men arriving in, they are no more new to knowledge, that this unnecessary charges might have been saved.

2. Many running away, new supplies must be got. 3. Conduct money. 4. Apparelling them, over 20<sup>s</sup> in money if they be well apparellled.

Besides the trouble of men to bring them in. Disliking these that coming, and alter as the Deputy Lieutenants please, some times 3 or 4 times after they are allowed and prest, it seems will be provided.

The bringing them some days after they have clothed them with watch for safety, that they should not run away.

One M<sup>r</sup> Pargiter and M<sup>r</sup> Danvers of Northamptonshire was committed for refusing to pay conduct money; he craved an *habeas corpus*

out of the King's Bench, this Trinity term. The King's counsel pleaded notailable. His lawyers, which were St John and Holborn, argued the contrary, and their chief argument was in respect that the King's letters are for the country to deposit so much money and to be repaid, and no man can be imprisoned without bail for refusing to pay that which is desired by loan, and the King was wronged in his Royal pre-

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rogative if he would crave and desire that which he might challenge as Prince *ex debito*.

Judges Berkeley and Jones, also the Chief Justice Brampton's opinion was that it was a matter of great consequence, and they would peruse their books by the next term. But Judge Crooke said absolutely he wasailable, but the major part voted it otherwise, and he lies in prison.

The 8th July, by the King's proclamation, there was a general fast throughout the kingdom, and a book of prayers made and sent to every parish for to remove God's heavy judgement due unto our sins and to divert the plague now begun in London, and other judgments, and also to obtain God's favour and graces. And the Queen's Majesty brought to bed this day of another son.

The 3, 4 and 5 of July great lightening and extreme fearful thunder and such abundance of rain, besides some great hail-storms, that it caused with us such a flood as hath not been, and also spoiled corn fields, took away the grass cut, and flooded in an excessive manner the uncut grass that the spoil is very much, and the time proved so tempestuous that the like was never remembered for so long together.

A proclamation came forth for the taking of some 20 soldiers that had killed in a barbarous manner their Lieutenant Mohun, and another to all officers for to suppress the insolency of soldiers in their conduct to Scotland and to punish them.

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Upon the 3<sup>o</sup> August my stable was reared. Upon the 8<sup>th</sup> of August my dyning chamber comes, to in waynscot at 3<sup>a</sup> 4<sup>d</sup> the yard at 120 yards, besides the chimney piece which cost 50 shillings, the new chamber at 72 yards besides the chimney piece which cost 30 shillings, and was finished by Francis Bowyer of Salop, Joiner, the 8<sup>th</sup> August 1640, and comes to in all the sum of £36 0 0.

The strangest hail fell between Burford and Stow the old in Gloucestershire about this time, that it was most extraordinary in bigness and did cut off the sieves of corn and barley for whole fields together, that the loss valued to £5000.

Upon the 18<sup>th</sup> in the morning fell from off a ladder, being 22 foot high, one Noble, a tyler (at Elmley Lovet) here, one of 60 years old and a very unsound man, yet by God's mercy put out no bone and not much bruised, but after three weeks went home.

28 Aug<sup>t</sup>. The Scottish army, consisting of about 20,000 men and 1000 women, with some light arms and 17 field pieces, came about six miles from Newcastle upon the river Teen, and were met by some horse and some foot which were accidentally, as they said, training without any show of powder or shot, yet for a while the English defended themselves; at last routed and 100 horse killed, with Sir John Digby and Captain Wylmot prisoners. The Scotch lost few, their great ordnance defended them. Upon the 30<sup>th</sup>, being Sunday, Newcastle was surrendered, the best of the inhabitants and the goods being shipt away.

The King's army lies at York, consisting of about 15,000 foot and horse, besides train bands.

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From the 5<sup>th</sup> of September to the 21<sup>st</sup> fell such abundance of wet that small harvest for the time was carried in, and caused with us great floods one after another, and spoiled much grain, especially pease.

The King assembled all his nobility to York touching the answers to the Scots' petition of grievances and demands. They appeared, the 24<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> a treaty appointed between the King and Scots; 16 English Earls and Lords appointed, the place, Ripon. Parliament to be 3<sup>o</sup> November.

Mr. Endymion Porter, the King's servant, and Samuel Sandys, Esq., chosen burgesses for Droitwich, 21 October.

21 Sep<sup>t</sup>. Chosen at Worcester knights for the shire. John Wylde, Esq., Serjeant-at-Law, and Humphrey Salway and Sir Thomas Littleton, Baronet, had the canvas.

23<sup>d</sup>, at Bewdley, Sir H. Herbert chosen Burgess by the voices of the Magistrates, who conceive they have the only voice of election, and Sir Ralph Clare, Knight of the Bath, was chosen by the commonalty or common Burgesses, so the Parliament House is to decide the controversy.

The Lords appeared at York the 24<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup>, which went under the style of the King's great Council, when His Majesty desires of them what answer to make to the rebels' petition. 2. How the army should be kept on foot until supplies by Parliament which was to begin 3<sup>o</sup> November. It was thought meet that the King should borrow £200,000 of the City of London, and that some Lords should engage themselves for security. To which purpose was chosen 6 Lords who went to the City, and they were my Lord Privy Seal, Lord Cham-

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berlain, Earl of Clare, Viscount Campden, Lord Coventry, Lord Goring.

The Lords all joined in one letter, dated 25<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>t</sup>, to desire the loan of two hundred thousand of the City for the present, and all subscribed except the Earl of Carlisle, and all declaring the miserable state of the County of Northumberland, the Bishoprick of Durham and Newcastle, and the hazard of the whole without speedy supply.

The Londoners grant it who were to pay £5,000 on the 12 October, the 15<sup>th</sup> November after £10,000, and the other £50,000 10<sup>th</sup> December.

The Lords at York send a second letter, dated the 19<sup>th</sup> October, with thanks for the loan, and a short persuasion not to fail of the days promised, together with another letter to the six Lords Commissioners to be urged to expedite the moneys.

The Scottish League at Newcastle, 8<sup>th</sup> Sept., wrote a letter to the Earl of Laverick, Secretary of Scotland, then with the King, to desire His Majesty to remedy their grievances whereof the same are these :—

1. To confirm the last Acts of Parliament.
2. That the Scottish castles of Edinburgh and others be furnished and used for the defence according to the first foundation.
3. That all Scots in other countries free from censure for subscribing.
4. That the incendiaries of this combustion may receive their censures.
5. That all ships and goods restored.
6. That all wrongs, losses and charges which all this time we have sustained be repaired.
7. A recalling of the proclamation of traitors, and by the advice of the Parliament the garrison on the borders removed and free Trade.

Subscribed, Rothes, Montrose, Cassills, Dumfermline, Lothian, Lyndsay, Napier, Hume, Tho. Hope, W. Douglas, Gibson Smith, Packsfield Kenedy, Rutherford Wedderburn.

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My Lord Laverick answer that upon the assembly of the English Lords the King did communicate to them their petition, and shall have answerable wise and honourable.

The 29<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>t</sup> the King grants a commission to 16 Earls and Lords ; the Earls were :

1. Bedford. 2. Hartford. 3. Essex. 4. Salisbury. 5. Warwick.
6. Holland. 7. Bristol. 8. Berkshire.

Lords: 1. Wharton. 2. Paget. 3. Kimbolton. 4. Brooke. 5. Paulett. 6. Howard. 7. Saville. 8. Dunsmore.

These or any 10 of them to have full power and authority to treat with Charles Earl of Dumfermline, John Lord Loudon, Sir William Douglas, Sir Patrick Hepburn, J. Smith, Alec Wedderburn, Alec Harrison and Archibald Johnson, or any of them deputed by our subjects of Scotland. Their power was to compose, conclude and end all differences arising thereupon as you or any ten or more of you in your wisdom shall think fit.

Assistants to the English were 6:—

Earl of Traquair.

Earl of Morton.

Earl of Laverick.

M<sup>r</sup> Secretary Vane.

Sir Lewis Steward.

Sir John Borough.

The Scots at the first meeting, Oct. 2<sup>nd</sup>, take exception against the assistants, and chiefly against the Earl of Traquair, as having done ill office in Scotland. They desired to set down heads for the treaty, present a paper containing: 1. Their demands to be handled as they are expressed. 2. How, if armics should have an association, the army be provided? 3. If need be, that a greater number of commissioners be sent from the Commissioners of the Scottish Parliament. 4. A safe conduct for such as should be sent, and the postway to Edinburgh freed. 5. Free trade and Commerce.

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Answer. To the proposition of the safe conduct and freedom of the postway His Majesty grants during the treaty.

As for the assistants, they are not authorized to confer or treat with the Commissioners of Scotland nor to have any voice, but to give a right understanding of such things as can no other ways fall under knowledge, they being wholly employed in it.

Repl. The Scots were contented.

The English Commissioners demanded what they thought reasonable to maintain their army a month during the treaty.

They answer £40,000 the month, and craved of the English Lords what they thought was sufficient, who made no answer before they acquainted the King and his great Council, which was 1<sup>st</sup> October. The 7<sup>th</sup> October His Majesty, upon advice of the peers, ordered to transfer the treaty from Ripon to York, and letters to the effect were sent and they to Scots.

Proposition English. 16 Oct. The English Commissioners proposed to the Scots that they should have £850 per diem out of Northumberland, Bishoprick and Newcastle.

The Lands of the Bishops, Deans, Clergy and Papists shall be at no more charges than ordinary.

To forbear to take any exaction, tax or pension beside, and to leave free his Majesty's Customs for "cohle" (coal) and all other Customs.

The inhabitants of all these countreys shall have free liberty to return home and enjoy their own.

The Scottish army to give security during their stay, and on their march home, not to plunder the country.

Upon the settling of the payments a cessation of arms on both sides, and for securing payments all reasonable satisfaction.

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The payments to begin the 16<sup>th</sup> October 1640, and to continue for the space of two months if the treaty shall so long last, and to be paid weekly per rate.

This being finished, the treaty to begin.

The Scots accept of most, only the Customs, as to have some satisfaction in lein (linen?).

17 Oct. The opening of the Ports, saving no arms be brought in, and with liberty of trade.

The 19<sup>th</sup> October from York the great Council did write a letter to the Counties of Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle, gives them notice that they should continue their contributions, and special commend it to the Parliament to repair your losses.

To the High Sheriff, Deputy Lieutenant, Justices of the Peace, Gentlemen and Freeholders within the County of Northumberland, 300 *li.* per diem.

Alike to the High Sheriff of the County Palatine, 300 *li.* per diem.

Alike to the Mayor, Aldermen, Burgesses and Commoners within the town and County of Newcastle upon Tyne, 200 *li.* per diem.

The Parliament began the 9<sup>th</sup> November.

The King was pleased in two speeches to refer himself for all proceedings to them.

The 11<sup>th</sup> day the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland\* committed to the Black rod.

All monopolists, any taxed for popery put out of the House this they do *ex officio*.

\* The words "sent to the Tower" were originally written, but are struck out, and "committed to the Black Rod" inserted.

A proclamation that no recusant shall come or be within 10 miles of the King's or Queen's Court, and all convict recusant's arms to be taken from them by the Justices of Peace, except for defence.

My Lord Cottington put from Constable of the Tower, and accused of many crimes.

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A proclamation for a general fast to be held in London and Westminster and the suburbs on the 17<sup>th</sup> of November, and throughout the rest of the kingdom the 8<sup>th</sup> of December.

My cousin Daniel Dobins, High Sheriff of Worestershire.

Bishop of Lincoln restored to all his honours and sits in the Parliament House.

Earl of Stratford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, sent to the Tower for treason.

The Parliament of Ireland sent one Sir G. Ratcliffe prisoner into England, and have executed divers and burnt the Bishop of . . . , being guilty of rape, incest, and the like.

On Saturday, 15 of November, about 3 of clock, Burton and Prinne, two Puritans formerly punished and banished, were brought into London with an infinite confluence of the vulgar, having in their hats and hands rosemary and bayes. A dinner given them of £100. At Braynford 2000 horse at least they came in with, Prinne riding bare from Charing Cross to Aldermanbury. Publick thanks given in many Churches.

The King takes a great disgust, which cause the House of Commons to take it into their consideration to punish some giddy zealots.

On the same day the peace was concluded with Scotland, and the Marquis Hamilton and Earl Traquair reconciled to their nation. All their desires are condescended unto, and to be established in Parliament. Their Acts in their assemblies and Parliament shall stand good. No more Lawn sleeves for Bishops. 200,000 *li.* they shall have, and all the Scottish revenues for 3 years, and to depart speedily.

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The Lower House on Monday, 30<sup>th</sup> November, sent a message to the Queen, desiring to put off all her Popish servants. To which she answered that she would, but then she would put off all her Protestant servants too, and take such unto herself as by article of marriage she might do, which answer was not pleasing.

Mr. Harbottle Grimston, a lawyer, made a speech, in repeating in brief the passages of the last Parliament, which was:—

1. First a subsidiary aid towards the war with Scotland before the audience of grievancees.



This was denied, for the House would first know whether they had any property in their goods, and drew their complaints to 3 heads:—

1. Was the privilege of Parliament.
2. Matters of religion.
3. Property of our goods and chattels.

The violation of the first sort was resolved by vote, that the Speaker refusing to put a question being required, or to adjourn the house on any command whatsoever without the consent and approbation of the house itself, is a breach of privilege.

The other two were spoken of but by some, our proceedings went not on, and the Parliament was unhappily dissolved.

And here, by the way, let me remember to lay down some certain observations agreed and passed last parlyament, collected out of some notes.

There is a custom in the house that when the Speaker stands up the House must sit down. All speeches directed to M<sup>r</sup> Speaker.

Bills to be despatched in order as they come in.

A good election and a good return make a perfect member of the house.

Magna Charta confirmed 30 times.

Judges have been questioned in Parliament, but they not question Parliaments, which are above them all. Sir Francis Seymour.

Non-residents complained of. Ministers deserve double honours, but not double benefices.

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Grievances of high nature to be debated as well in the house as at the committee, and that better M<sup>r</sup> Pym.

Committees appointed Mondays for religion; Wednesday, grievances; Friday, Courts of Justice, at 2 in the afternoon.

The Sheriff of a County cannot adjourn the Freeholders from the usual place where the County Court is kept without the consent of the freeholders present.

M<sup>r</sup> Trenchard moved of a grievance in Star Chamber concerning inmates, whether a tenant in Westminster be not able to pay his tax, his landlord must, or else he is threatened into the Star Chamber.

2. Where there is a tenant the lord must not pay anything for him.

A grievance moved by M<sup>r</sup> Charles Jones, that the Judges in Wales keep their Sessions when it is term time at Westminster.

The House of Commons hath adjourned itself when the King hath sent a dissolution under seal. Sir Walter Earle.

The King by record may call a parliament, and by record must

dissolve it. M<sup>r</sup> St. Jones. The King by his verbal act cannot adjourn a Parliament.

The Chancellor's oath, *ex officio*, a grievance. M<sup>r</sup> Glin.

D<sup>r</sup> Farmony excommunicated a gentleman for refusal of the oath, to be debated in the Committee of the Courts of Justice not of religion. M<sup>r</sup> Morton. The contrary, M<sup>r</sup> Glin.

A committee appointed about the Bill of Apparell. April 21.

An Act to avoid common recoveries suffered by infants under age of 21. A common recovery a common assurance.

By law one Burgess may be made one day, and the election of another adjourned to another day.

At a Grand Committee of the House no one must ask the party examined a question but at a private Committee.

Petition against D<sup>r</sup> Cosins by M<sup>r</sup> Smart, a minister:—

1. Consenting to put down morning prayer. 2. The mass taken away, Religion sinks down.

3. The King not supreme head of the Church.

4. 100 candles in a candlestick in Durham.

5. Images set round about the quire of Durham.

6. The King hath no more power in matters ecclesiastical than the Boy that rubs his horse's heels. Proved against him last Parliament.

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No ordinances can be made by the Convocation but with the consent of the Commons and Lords. Statutes to confirm it are produced. M<sup>r</sup> Pym of Devonshire.

The Commons come *ad tractandum et consentiendum*, the Clergy but *ad consentiendum*. M<sup>r</sup> St. Jones.

The Canon laws an innate in England. The exposition of the articles subject to the Parliament. Upon either fear or fame the House of Commons may send to the Lords.

A general declaration. Ship money an intolerable grievance.

Three propositions maintayned:—

1. Ship money and such ways as produce moneys to his Majesty are not profitable for his Majesty's nor Commonwealth.

2. No other way profitable but a parliamentary way.

3. By Parliaments we may supply His Majesty and please the Commons.

No property of goods, then nothing to give. No liberty of speech, no free discourse of debate, and no religion. No men. M<sup>r</sup> Kirby.

April 27. M<sup>r</sup> Atkins, an alderman of London, delivered a petition

from the Mayor and aldermen of Norwich; the sum was 5 Bishops in 12 Years there.

About 200 articles for the Churchwarden to present unto.

The sermon to end with "Gloria Patri." Communion Table railed. The contents of the Chapters omitted. The Litany to be read every Sunday.

Conversion of Paul and Barnabas to be kept.

Rogation week observed.

No man weare a hatt in the Church.

Women to come in veils, and to be churched at the Communion table.

No Baptism but on Sundays and Holydays, and they to come before the second lesson.

No tavern pots nor wicker bottles to be set on the Communion table.

Half an hour for catechizing. No encroachment by stalls nor high Pews. Kneeling at the Confession.

No Chaplains in houses but such men as by law may keep them.

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The Lecturer first to read service; no stranger to preach but who is allowed.

Churchyard to be kept clean.

Cardinal Poole had but 42 Articles.

The preachers only read the 55 canons. No prayer.

Three score conformable ministers in Norfolk and Suffolk, either disrooked or deprived.

5000 Communicants in Yarmouth, but one Church in that town and one sermon permitted on Sunday.

The testament with the pictures presented to the country with the pictures of Saints that are openly sold.

All these (as they say) innovations.

A Bill preferred against the Clerk of the Market. But one weight or measure and yard throughout the Kingdom.

A bill for better election of the Knights and Burgesses. They must be resident within the Borough, and pay scott and lot, and have 40/- per annum within the borough where he is elected.

M<sup>r</sup> Massall informed the House that there were taken up at the Custom House two Chests of Popish Books to the number of 7000, which my Lord of Canterbury sent for, and they are in his registrar's custody.

A Bill read for disposing moneys for Contumacions. That the money may be disposed according to Law, and not otherwise.

Another Bill read concerning administration. 10 days allowed the next of kin.

Another Bill read concerning the disposing of the goods of the intestates.

An Act for reformation of elections. No letter must be sent by any peer or privy councillor for or in the behalf of any man to be elected, upon pain of censure of the house and Star chamber.

D<sup>r</sup> Pocklington's Book read that Christ is really present in the Sacrament.

When the rulers of the Church have not law to bring in ceremonies, their commands must not pass for Law. M<sup>r</sup> Pynn.

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The King and Convocation may make ecclesiastical Laws.

The innovation of removing the Communion Table, long debated, at last voted for one of the particulars for conference with the Lords.

The first reading of the Bill that none of the cleargy to be justices of the peace, but only the Bishoppes, Deans and Vice-chancellors in the 2 Universities.

A committee for trades.

M<sup>r</sup> Maynard his report upon M<sup>r</sup> Hamden's case of ship money. When the safety of the kingdom is propounded, whether the King may compel his subjects to furnish him with aid at their own charge or no.

*De tallagio non concedendo* 14<sup>o</sup> Ed. III. No charge to be levied on the subject but by Parliament, if ship money, this statute void. *Vide* 25 Ed. 3, 1 H. 3, 25 Ed. 3. Damned loans, 21 Rich. 1. Damned benevolences which the Law called exactions.

The Petition of write (*sic*) full against all grievances and an act of restitution.

Bishop Manwaring, for preaching "It a sin to deny his Majesty the loane money," was sentenycd the last Parliament by both houses and never to be capable of spirituall livings.

For the good of the subject the King cannot lay any imposition or tax; this so resolved in former parliaments.

Parliaments have been called sometimes on no other occasion than to expound the Statutes.

The Pctition of "write" (*sic*) is a rule for the Judges, and the Acts of Parliament to be their rule. Serjeant Wyld.

Doctor Beale in Cambridge, 1635, preached that the King might institute laws himself without the Parliament. Ourselves and families are all at the King's dispose. If we give his Majesty, we must have 2 or 3 royal prerogatives from him.

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An order of the House that he that comes in at the end of a debate must withdraw and give no vote.

When the House is divided upon a Bill, the affirmatives must out first, when upon a question the negatives. Mr. Pim.

Mr. Waller affirmed that a judge in the argument of ship money said "The King was so in the right of it that no Parliament could dissolve it."

May 4. Mr. Treasurer brought a message from the King that if we would give him 12 subsidies in 3 years, the ship money should be damned to our desires. The debate held until 6 at night, referred to the morning. I mind he exceeded his message for the King was content with six subsidies.

May the 5th. We were dissolved for want of consenting to have subsidiary aid towards the Scottish warres before the Bill of Grievances was heard.

Passages since the last Parliament:—

1. Against the oath Mr Grimston spoke in the late canons that they would have us swear a damnable heresy, that matters necessary to salvation are contained in the discipline of the church.

2. That we should swear not to alter the Government by archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, etc. Whereas we meet not with any such name in Scripture but only of bishops whose jurisdiction is human institution.

3. They have granted a benevolence to the King but in English it is six subsidies to be paid in six years. The penalty of non-payment (1) deprived of their functions, (2) of their freeholds, (3) excommunicated.

A poor man imprisoned for refusing to submit to a project desired bail, at length one of the judges said to the rest of his brethren "Come, brothers, so be let us bail him." For they begin to say in the town "the judges have overthrown the law and the bishops the gospel." Mr Grimston. This is the age that hath produced Achitopheles, Hamons, Woolseys, Empsons, Dudleys, Tressilians and Belknaps, vipers and monsters, and I doubt not but we shall have that same judgment against them which were against such heretofore

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grievances.

1. The last summer was a year, 1000 of our best armes were taken from the owners in Kent and sent to Scotland, the refusers to go themselves. Sir J. Culpepper.

2. The heavy tax of ship money which strikes the first arm in every family and man or inheritance. If the laws give the King power in case

of any danger of the kingdom whereof he is judge to impose what and when he pleaseth we owe all that is left to the goodness of the King not to the law.

3. A nest of wasps, a swarm of vermin which have overspread the land, I mean the monopolies, the police of the people.

They sip in our cups, dip in our dishes, sitt by our fires, find them in our deyffates, they share with our butler in his box, nay they would not bate us a penny. These are the lecches that have sucked the commonwealth.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 23, 1640. Sir Edward Dering's speech of paralleling between our Church and the Roman as (1) an inquisition and a high commission. (2) They an Index expurgatorius, we an Imprimatur for licensing books. (3) They acknowledge one supreme Pope, here, our primate "quasi alterius orbis papa" pleads fair for a patriarchship, and if we must have one I had rather serve one as far as Tybur than to have him come as near as the Thames (meaning the Archbishop of Canterbury). His motion was that there might be a committee of ten at the most.

1. And to empower them for the discovery of oppressed ministers and the Bishop's tyranny for two years last past.

2. That the committee may examine the printers, what books, and by bad licenses have issued forth, And in another speech that religion may be the first thing treated of. Which was much pressed by him.

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Nov<sup>r</sup> 28. Sir Robert Harley, Sir Edw. Dering, Sir Gilbert Gerard, M<sup>r</sup> Glin, M<sup>r</sup> Whitehead, M<sup>r</sup> Hatcher, M<sup>r</sup> Cromwell, M<sup>r</sup> Rheynotos, M<sup>r</sup> Bagshaw, M<sup>r</sup> Nathan Ffynes, M<sup>r</sup> James Ffynes, Sir Thomas Pelham, M<sup>r</sup> Corbet, M<sup>r</sup> Tate, M<sup>r</sup> Oliver Luke, Sir Thomas Barrington, Sir John Draiton, Sir William Massam, Sir Miles Fleetwood, Sir Henry Wallop, Sir Thomas Payton, M<sup>r</sup> Chicheley, M<sup>r</sup> John Lowry.

This sub-committee is to take into consideration the condition of both universities concerning matters of religion and what innovations and superstitions is crept into both universities, and have power to send for parties, witnesses, books, writings and records that may conduce to the matters complained of, and to enquire what new statutes and oaths are made in the said universities concerning religion. And this committee to meet in the Court of Wards on Wednesday next at 2 of the clock.

My Lord Archbishop of Canterbury wrote to the University and sent them about 80 manuscripts, the copy of the letter as followeth :—

[A blank in the MS. follows.]

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Nov. 24. The extent of my Lord Lieutenant of Ireland regarding of treasons, rapines and other misdemeanours.

1. That he hath designed to subvert the fundamental laws of England and Ireland, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical form of government and to advise the King to establish it by violence and arms.

Instance 1. In that he said, England was now sick of peace and must be conquered.

2. That he traitorously usurped within both realms regal power over the lives, estates and privileges of the subjects.

Instance 1. In that the earl of Thomond in desiring justice in a legal way was answered by the Lord Lieutenant "You shall have no other law but what comes from my own breast.

2. The judgement of death given in my Lord Mountnorris's case.

3. In taking away divers men's lands and inheritances by his own power.

4. In displacing of judges and officers.

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Art. 3. That he hath converted the King's revenue to his own use when both King and kingdom were in great necessity and had great use for it.

Instance 1. In setting of impositions upon merchandize for his own use and detayning the King's treasure without warrant.

2. In not accounting for Recusants' money received by him.

3. In not accounting for alien's money received by him.

4. For taking £40,000 out of the King's Exchequer to buy tobacco for his own use, and leaving the King's army unpaid.

Art. 4. That he conspired to alter the religion established.

Instance 1. In that he made himself a party with Papists, that he might the better effect his purposes and encouraging the Papists to work his ends.

Art. 5. That the loss at Newcastle and defeat at Newburgh, and the dishonour that happened to the King and Kingdom in the north have been the effect of his evil counsel.

Instance. My Lord Conway advised him that Newcastle was not to be held and that his army [too] weak to encounter with the Scots. The Lieutenant commanded him notwithstanding the advice by a letter under his own hand to fight. Come what would.

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Art. 6. That he endeavoured to engage both nations of England and Scotland in mortal and irreconcilable quarrells.

**Instance.** In that he endeavoured to stir up difference between both the nations, and that he advised the King to invade Scotland.

Art. 7. That he hath endeavoured to divert our Parliament and infringe the liberties of them that so he might not be called to an account for his actions.

Instance 1. In Ireland he refused writs for 30 Burrough towns because they would not choose such as he commended.

2. In that he had a hand in the declaration published after the breach of the last Parliament.

A declaration that the House of Commons aver most of these things as high and heinous treason.

The conclusion :—

Mr. Pym desired the Lords that the articles might be accepted. That the Lord of Strafford might be called to answer. That the House might give their charge to prove them, and then said that if the King would give them leave but to sit four months they would make him greater than any of his predecessors, and that these new obstructions whereof this was the chief which should be reduced ere long.

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The House of Commons do still reserve to themselves the power of adding to the charges as there shall be occasion hereafter.

Sec<sup>y</sup> Windebank and his Sec<sup>y</sup> Read fled out of the Kingdom as being the first witness against the Lieutenant to avoid which and his own accusations, which were heinous chiefly about releasing and writing for the Releasement of Jesuits, and Preists went his way, and at Gravellines certain letters being taken of his to his wife and son where he was gone.

Another month's treaty with the Scots upon the same terms of £850 per diem to be paid them.

(It is imagined that this was considered of both houses as fearing that if they were gone the Parliament would not last long after.)

The Lieutenant since Windebank's escape kept close prisoner, having liberty only in three rooms, and Sir George Ratcliff in the gatehouse the 4<sup>th</sup> of December.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 4. They receive the petition of Burton, Prynne and Bastwick. D<sup>r</sup> Heylin is to produce the accusations he made against Prynne's Books.

A petition preferred against the Bishops and abuses of the High Commission with about 10,000 hands to it.



7 Decr. Ship money condemned,\* and two subsidies granted for the discharging of those 100 gentlemen bound. Scotch ministers preach openly against Bishops and the liturgy.

On the 18<sup>th</sup> day my Lord B. of Canterbury committed to the Black Rod.

The Lord Keeper committed.

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Those judges which were for ship money questioned, only Judge Jones escaped by death, who was thought that he would suffer beyond others in respect also for misdemeanours in justice place.

3 Decr. The Sheriff of Warwickshire committed to the Tower and fined £100 for his irregular proceedings,† and return of knights of the said county, and released about 4 days after. A Deputy Lieutenant in Leicestershire‡ committed for saying Sir Anthony [Arthur] Haselrigg, since he was chosen Knight of the said County was but a flash.

4 Decr. The Upper House concluded that the Bishoppes had no voyces amongst them in case any member of that House were to have a trial for his life, and therefore ordered that they should not be there when the Earl of Stratford should come to his trial.

Decr 6. The Lords approved of the motion from the Lower House that the recusant papists in his Majesty's navy should be removed, and concluded with the Commons it should presently be put in execution.

7 Decr. The ship money was by an universal vote damned as being contrary to the laws of the land, liberty of the subject, the property of goods, divers resolutions of Parliament and the late Petition of right.

Then also the house sent unto each of the judges two of their members to examine whether they delivered their opinions that the ship money was legal; if they did, upon what ground, and by whose persuasions.

The answer they gave was general, some denied it, and some confessed it and said they were persuaded by him that was now Lord Keeper, the Lord Finch and others waived it and put it off.

*p.* 28.

The Vicar of Banbury, committed by the Lords for opprobrious speeches against some of them saying they had sent for the Scots to come into England promising them aid, but now they were come they deceived them.

\* The words "As contrary to the laws of the" struck out.

† The irregular proceedings were, he removed the election from place to place, denied a poll, granted a poll, broke it up before it was done and returned another. "Northcote's Diary," p. 26.

‡ This was Mr. Halford. "Northcote's Diary," p. 25.

15 Dec<sup>r</sup>. A debate about the late sacred canons. Mr. Holborne argued that the canons made by the convocation lawfully called and sitting whilst a parliament sat were strong, at least to bind the clergy. Some replied the contrary, and after much debate the question was put to the vote, Whether canons made in a convocation lawfully convened, and in a time that the parliament sat, did bind the laity or the clergy in case the said canons were not confirmed by the parliament? By the general vote of the whole House not one voice against it, it was concluded. That no canons made by the clergy did either bind them or the laity except the said canons were confirmed in Parliament.

Whether the last canons and book for six subsidies made since the last Parliament broke up were legal or not? which was resolved by the like vote to be illegal and not any way binding.

3. How the authors and procurers of the last canons should be proceeded against, which was deferred.

My Lord Keeper upon Monday before Christmas fled over sea.

p. 29. *Handwriting changes.*

Jan. 6 (1641). The 3 Dutch ambassadors concluded a marriage between the Lady,\* the Queen of Bohemia's daughter, and the Prince of Orange's eldest son. He being about 15 years old and she 10. The young Prince to come shortly over to consummate the marriage, and then the young Princess to be bred with the Queen of Bohemia at the Hague.

There is such enmity between the Spaniards and Catalonians that whosoever is taken by the Catalonians they admit no quarter, but if they be taken alive rip up their hearts and treat them most inhumanly and say, "Long live King Louis, King of France and Catalonia." This is the fruit of extreme taxation laid upon the subject.

The Lord Commissioners have concluded another month's cessation of arms between us and the Scots; and the Upper House did desire the lower house to pass an act that such delinquents as should be known might be tried by the Parliament here, and those of her nation there, and if not guilty of death yet made incapable of bearing any office.

The next week there comes to their trial the Bishop of Bath and Wells† and his son, Mr Piers, Archdeacon there, D<sup>r</sup> Layfield about Images.‡ D<sup>r</sup> Cosin,§ D<sup>r</sup> Beale,|| D<sup>r</sup> Potter, Sir Henry Spiller,¶ Aldermen Abel\*\* and Bromfield,\*\* Richard, Roland Wilson\*\* and Conradus,\*\* M<sup>r</sup> Chant.

\* The words "Mary, the King's eldest daughter," are struck out.

† William Piers.

‡ Dr. Layfield, Vicar of All Hallows, Barking.

§ Dean of Peterborough.

|| Member of Convocation, preached at Cambridge.

¶ Refused to receive indictment at Sessions against Recusants. \*\* Monopolists.

p. 30.

Bishop of Ely . . . against the Judges and to the Lord Chief Justice of England Bramston, Lord Chief Baron Davenport, Baron Weston, Baron Trevor, Baron Crawley and Judge Berkeley for and about their opinions for ship money.

It is reported the Irish are in arms, and are getting into the church at Londonderry, and there they say mass.\*

p. 31.

22 Jan. My Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas Sir Edward Littleton made Lord Keeper, Sir John Banks, the King's Attorney, Lord Chief Justice, Mr. Herbert the King's Attorney, who was Solicitor, and † made Solicitor.

The King spoke to both Houses that let them vote Bishops to be no Bishops, yet they should not go down, and there should be Bishops to govern the Church.‡

To have triennial Parliaments. Mr. Goodman, the Bishop of Gloucester's brother, a priest, was convicted, and execution suspended.

29 Jan<sup>y</sup>. The citizens refuse to lend the King £60,000 because M<sup>r</sup> Goodman is not executed. The Lord Finch in Granville, where the Queen of Bohemia and Secy Wyndebank are by the ambassador in Paris.

The Queen Mother intends to go in April into France for her health, and supposed also to mediate for her mother the old Queen of France.

His Majesty's answer concerning a reference from the Parliament 3<sup>rd</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1640 of a remonstrance.

1. His Majesty takes in good part their care of the true religion from which he will never depart, as also for the tenderness of his safety and security of the state and government.

2. It is against his mind popery, a superstition increase, and will cause the laws to be put in execution and very speedily. A proclamation for all Jesuits and priests to depart the Kingdom shall be set forth within one month in which if they fail execution of the law.

3. About the Queen's servant Rossely [Rossetti] he hath no commission but to entertain a personal correspondence between her and the Pope about religion. Yet she is content to remove him since the misunderstanding of the person's condition gives offence.

\* Struck out: "There are 4 subsidies granted, 2 to be paid 10 Feb. and 2 the 10 of May."

† Blank in original. Oliver S<sup>t</sup> John was the person appointed.

‡ "Nor would consent" struck out.

p. 32.

4. As for the reprieving of M<sup>r</sup> John Goodman the priest he is informed that neither Queen Elizabeth nor his father, King James, did yield that any Priest in their time was executed merely for religion, which to him seems to be this particular case: yet being pressed by both houses to give way to his execution to avoid the great discontent of his people as he perceives this mercy will produce, therefore he doth remit this particular case to both houses, but desires them to take it into their serious consideration the inconveniences, which as he conceives, may upon this occasion fall upon his subjects and other Protestants abroad, especially since it may seem to other states to be a severity which surprizes. Having thus presented he thinks himself to be discharged from all ill consequences if I may refuse you the execution of this person.

My Lord Lieutenant of Ireland upon motion made to the House of Lords had leave to present his answer in writing which he did 25 Febr.

D<sup>r</sup> Pocklington deprived of 3 prebendaries and 2 parsonages, which he had, for writing a book called "Altare Christianum," which is to be burnt as being Popish.

The Parliament persecutes the clergy that are no preachers, causing them to give large stipends to preachers and puts out ill ministers. Restores many which were suspended. Puritans arise and Arminians go down. The Courts of Justice all to be reformed. Many scandalous pamphlets spread abroad against Bishops and their government.

Jan. 7. M<sup>r</sup> St John's the lawyer's speech and charge from the Lower house against ship money to the Upper House printed.

p. 33.

24 Feb. The King confirmed the act for a triennial Parliament, and the Bill for 3 subsidies.

A question was moved whether the King had power to pardon or reprieve any one convicted of treason?

It was answered by my Lord Keeper Littelton that if the treason were towards the King's person or Queen or prince he might, but if it was against the fundamental laws of the Kingdom, *contra regimen et regnum*, the King had no power without the consent of the Parliament.

p. 34 blank.

This terminates the first part of the Diary. Until 1646 there are nothing but a series of documents.

(ii.) From 20 April 1653 to January 1657.

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This part of the Diary begins with the celebrated expulsion of the Parliament by Cromwell and Harrison on the 20th April 1653. No details are recorded, only the fact stated. This part of the Diary ends on the 17th May 1655 ; there is nothing to shew who kept it.

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*p.* 634.

Mem., the 20<sup>th</sup> day of April 1653. Gen. Cromwell and Major-General Harrison with some officers and soldiers forced the Speaker of the parliament and all the members then present out of the house and dissolved this perpetual parliament, which hath lasted since November 1639 to the destruction and extirpation of the kingly power, and utmost ruin and poverty of the Commonwealth by taxes and burdens insupportable.

The reasons of the Dissolution thereof in such an extraordinary way the General set forth by a Declaration, Aprill 22<sup>nd</sup> 1653.

For that now the Parliament and its forces had by their sword reduced the nation to a great degree of peace, whereby the Parliament had liberty to give the people their freedom and to reform what was amiss in government, which was delayed, notwithstanding late petitions by them for the same, but rather endeavouring a perpetuity of the same by an Act for preventing thereof, The Soldiery were enforced to put an end to this parliament with an honest heart, with clear intention to call to the Government persons of approved fidelity and honesty, etc.

In June the General sent letters to such as were to be chosen members of the new Representative as followeth :—

*p.* 635.

Forasmuch as upon the dissolution of the late Parliament it became

necessary that the peace, safety and good Government of this Commonwealth should be provided for.

And in order thereunto divers persons fearing God and of approved fidelity and honesty are by MYSELF, with the advice of MY COUNCIL of Officers, nominated, to whom the great charge and trust of so weighty affairs is to be committed, and having good assurance of Your love to and Courage for God, and the Interest of his Cause and of the good people of this Commonwealth, I, OLIVER CROMWELL, Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of all the Armies and forces raised and to be raised within this Commonwealth, Do hereby summon and require you (being one of the persons nominated) personally to be and appear at the Council Chamber, commonly known or called by the name of the Council Chamber, at Whitehall within the City of Westminster upon the 4<sup>th</sup> day of July next ensuing the date hereof, then and there to take upon you the said trust unto which you are hereby called and appointed to serve as a member for the County of . . . .

And hereof you are not to fail.

Given under my hand and Scal this . . . . day of June 1653.

O. CROMWELL.

The 3, 4, and 5 of June 1653, between the English and Dutch fleets in the Downs, in which the Dutch had lost and taken some 21 sail, beside 1300 persons. English had General Deane slain, and many slain and hurt.

*p.* 636.

General Cromwell, by the advice of his Council of Officers, called and approved 120 persons out of the several Counties at Whitehall, 4<sup>th</sup> July 1653. Where after a preparatory speech shewing forth the clearness of their call, did by an Instrument under his own hand and seal devolve and entrust the supreme authority and Government of this Commonwealth unto the said persons who, or any 40 of them, are to be deemed the supreme authority of this Commonwealth, unto whom all persons ought to yield obedience. That they are to sit until 3<sup>rd</sup> Nov. 1654, and then other members to be called.

The aforesaid members, 5<sup>th</sup> July, met in the parliament house and kept a day of Humiliation from 8 in the morning. And 12 of themselves so spoke and prayed, that they did not find any necessity to call for the help of a minister.

Francis Rouse, Esq<sup>re</sup>, chosen Chairman for a month. Henry Scobell, the old parliament Clerk, chosen again.

That the General Cromwell, Lieut.-General Lambert, Major-General Harrison, Cols. Desborough and Tomlinson be called to sit in the house,

which said persons and Sir Gilbert Pickering, Col. Stapley, Bennett, Sydenham, and Jones, and M<sup>r</sup> Strickland, M<sup>r</sup> Carey, and M<sup>r</sup> Major are the Council of State.

The 6<sup>th</sup> July, another fast day in further seeking of God.

Resolved upon the Vote, That this then Assembly shall be called A Parliament.\*

Ordained 30 members for a Council of State. Settled 11 several Committees: 1. For prisoners. 2. Law. 3. Inspection of Treasuries. 4. Army. 5. Petitions. 6. Public debts and public fraud. 7. Regulating Commissions for peace and provision for poor. 8. Advance of trade. 9. Advance of learning. 10. For Ireland. 11. For Scotland.

*p.* 637.

July 12. About 40 of the first Rebels in Ireland executed at the high Court of Justice in Ulster.

Divisions high in Holland between the States and the young prince of Orange Interests in the Militia.

July 26. Several Acts passed for a Committee of the Army, Treasury, Navy, and Admiralty's Court.

Petitions now presented to the House against Tithes and regulating Laws and religion.

July 29 to 31. The great fight between the English and Dutch fleet, both being about an equal number of 130 sail, wherein the Dutch were beaten say our Admirals with the loss of many ships sunk and taken† and then sunk presently, besides very much Ammunition and provision. English lost only 2 ships and many other much torn, and many slain and wounded.

Aug. 1<sup>st</sup>. An Act that after 5<sup>th</sup> August no fines shall be upon bills or declarations or original writs.

Aug. 5. The Court of Chancery voted down 5<sup>th</sup> August.

City of Bordeaux surrendered upon Composition to the King of France with an Amnesty.

Aug. 25. Day of thanksgiving for the victory over the Dutch. It is said the Dutch have a thanksgiving for their victory over the English; Then both may thank God that they are no worse beaten.

Lieut.-Col. Lilburne acquitted at Sessions for Newgate for coming into England without licence being banished for ever, and felony that he return without licence, though the pretended crime was only a misdemeanour.

*p.* 638.

Dec. 12. General Cromwell dissolved the new Representatives as persons not able to undergo their trust.

\* The voting was ayes 65, noes 46.

† The English put the number at 26.

Dec. 16. General Cromwell made himself Protector of the 3 nations and so to be styled, and all writs to go forth in his name by the name of "Oliver, Lord Protector of England," etc.

Dec. 21. General Cromwell proclaimed at Worcester, Protector, and so in every market town their market days.

Lord Protector made choice of a Council.

41 Articles agreed by the Protector and sworn to concerning the future Government of this Nation.

An Act set forth what shall be only reputed Treason.

1654, Feb. 8. Lord Protector rode in State into London. Feasted at Grocers' Hall by the City. Knighted the Lord Mayor, and gave him his sword. The City gave him a silver Cistern, 2 silver Candlesticks a man's height.

The tide at London came in twice in a morning, which is reputed ominous for some strange events to follow, as it did formerly by observation before the great plague 1625, the Queen mother of France coming in, the late King's Charles massacre, and the dissolution of the late Parliament.

p. 639.

. . . \* Serjeants at law to be made, and new Judges . . . \* of the old Judges take their writs of ease now they have done their work, viz., Chief Baron Wylde, Judge Puleston, † Jermin, and Warburton.

July 12<sup>th</sup>. Capt. Jo. Gerrard was beheaded on Tower hill, and Mr Vowell, a good scholar and schoolmaster at Islington, was hanged at Charing Cross for an intended, as it is said, and pretended killing the protector in behalf of the Scots king and his Interest, in which business many more gentle persons are secured, one Somerset Fox, a Tradesman, a gentleman reprieved by reason as it is said of his discovery of the plot. ‡

About an hour after, the Portugal Ambassador's brother was there beheaded for the great riot and murder made by him and some others in the new Exchange, 3 servants hanged at Tyburn, and the Knight Malta and other Reprieved as was his gentleman, but intending to make an escape in woman's apparel execution was presently commanded to be done.

\* Blanks in MS.

† Sir Mathew Hale was one of the new Judges in the place of Puleston. There seems to be doubt if Jermin was actually removed; he died 18th March 1655. Warburton was promoted from the Common Pleas to the Upper Bench. The vacancy caused by the removal of Wylde was not filled up for some time, but at last Sergt. Steele was appointed Chief Baron, May 28, 1655.

‡ He was transported to Barbadoes.



July 12. This day the 5 burgesses or knights of the shire for Worcester was chosen, for the next parliament 3<sup>rd</sup> Sept., viz., Sir Tho. Rouse, M<sup>r</sup> Edward Pitt, M<sup>r</sup> Nicholas Lechmere, Colonel John Bridges, and Captain Talbot Badger.

*p.* 640.

For the City of Worcester Alderman Elvins and Captain Wm. Collins, where was much contest between him and Captain Boone of Upton-on-Severn.

An Assessment for 3 months from 24<sup>th</sup> June after £120,000 per mensem, and for 3 months more to 25<sup>th</sup> December after £90,000 per mensem.

Memd. at Rotterdam. A rare Engineer hath devised a ship to drive into the deep, where shall sail invisibly a league or 2 miles and then rise. The myscheif is to set fire on any Enemy's ship, or navy in the night suddenly coming amongst them.

Another Engineer in France, the King's Armourer, hath devised an engine which will shoot 500 great bullets successively by 10 at a time without either charging or priming. It will shoot on right and left hand at a distance like so many muskets.

1654. Assessments after £90,000 from 6 months to 6 months ending on Dec. 25.

Dec. 16. General Pen with a great Navy and Col. Venables with 10,000 men went to the West Indies to take, if they could, the fort S<sup>t</sup> Domingo from the Spaniard, but at the first landing were repulsed, diverse 100 slain, and retreated to the Isle of Jamaica which they fortified, and so return poorly and weatherbeaten home, having lost in this

*p.* 641.

voyage (as it is supposed) by sickness, slain, and other misfortunes, above 6000 men, our ships many lost and most shattered, which voyage cost the fitting out (as it is said) above a million of money.

F[eb]. 16. Colonel Overton sent prisoner to the Tower.

A great fire in Fleet Street, London, damage £10,000.

F[eb]. 22. Parliament dissolved.

Feb. 28. Ordinance against Horse races.

March. Lord Grey committed to Windsor Castle.

12. Great Insurrection of Wiltshire Cavaliers under Colonel Penruddock, Jones, and Grove with about 300 Horse, but presently suppressed and they taken.

A great fire in Threadneedle Street, London.

June 27. A high Court of Justice erected.\*

July 12. Don Pantaleon Sa (the Portugal Ambassador's brother) beheaded for a desperate assault and murder of a Gent. in New Exchange.\*

Sept. 3. Began a parliament at Westminster.

Sept. 6. Ordinance for ejecting members that would not subscribe to the Government as established and not to act against it.

Sept. 12. The Recognition.†

Oct. 6. General Blake sailed from Plymouth with his Navy into the Mediterranean seas.

*p.* 642.

1655, Marc. 26. London Petition to revive the Militia.

Marc. 30. Duke of Lennox died.

April 5. Poor knights of Windsor continued in their places.

April 18. Many executed at Exeter for last insurrection of Col. Penruddock.

April 26. Barons Thorpe and Newdigate had writs of ease for not sitting on their Commission against the Cavaliers' pretended rising in the north.

May 9. Col. Penruddock and Grove beheaded at Exeter.

Marquis Leda, Spanish Ambassador, had Audience.

May 17. Serjeants Maynard and Twisden and M<sup>r</sup> Wyndham committed to the Tower for pleading M<sup>r</sup> Coney's the merchant's case concerning Excise and customs.

Several Lords and Gents. sent out of the Tower to several prisons on Sea coasts.

*pp.* 643—646 *blank.*

The third fragment of the Diary begins on the 9th January 1655, but with the exception of the first two entries, which ought to have come into the previous part, and the third under May 17th, which is a copy of the one under the same date in the previous part, it runs on in its proper chronological order to 1657.

*p.* 35.

Observable passages in the 2 years of His Highness Oliver Cromwell Lord Protector of England, etc., 1655.

\* These two items should have come on the previous page. The High Court of Justice was set up to try Gerard Vowell and Fox.

† This was really an oath of allegiance to Cromwell.

Jan. 9. Col<sup>l</sup> Edward Vernon of Sudbury in the County of Derby took up by soldiers to London, and so sent to the Tower on suspicion of being in the late plot of the pretended general intended insurrection.

Sir H. Littleton Baronet High Sheriff of Worcestershire and Sir John Pakington, Bart., committed to the Tower on suspicion.

May 17. Serjeants Maynard and Twisden and Mr Wyndham sent to the Tower for pleading on the subjects' behalf in Mr. Coney the merchant's case about excise and new impost.

June 6. Mr. Copleston, Sheriff of Devonshire, knighted for his zeal to apprehend the late risers in Wiltshire fled tither.

June 7. Chief Justice Rolle delivered up his Commission and Lord Commissioners of Chancery theirs.

Col. Fynes made Lord Privy Seal, Lambert Lieut.-General made Lord Warden of the Cinque ports, Commissary General Rheinolds knighted.

June 20. Sir William Constable buried in Westminster Abbey. O. Strange!

Col. Penruddock and Grove beheaded for their last insurrection against the present Gov<sup>t</sup>, and proclaiming the King of Scots King of England, etc.

Barons Thorp and Newdigate writs of ease for not executing their commissions in the north to try delinquents.\*

Serjeants Maynard and Twisden with Mr. Wyndham committed to the Tower for pleading on the subjects' right in M<sup>r</sup> Coney, the merchant's case. Released after upon petition and submission.

*p.* 36.

Cavaliers not to come within 20 miles of London. Monthly pay at £600,000 until Dec<sup>r</sup> 25, 6 months. Many Royalist or Cavalier persons secured in all counters, especially in Tower, S<sup>t</sup> James, Lambeth Gatehouse, etc., in suspicion for the late insurrection.

At Worcester, Sir Ralph Clare, Sir George Wintour, Cap<sup>t</sup> Thomas Savage, Major Wyld, Col. Sandys and divers others which were not fully released until Major General Berry came to govern the country.

The Kingdoms put in the hands of 11 persons and officers of the army who, under the title of Major-General, were to keep and secure the peace of the Commonwealth, Major-General Berry had the Counties of Worcester, Hereford and Salop, and six northern Welsh Counties, namely, Montgomery, Flint, Denbigh, Cardigan, Carnarvon, and Anglesea.

\* They refused, when on the Northern Circuit in 1655, to try prisoners, and so were dismissed.

A declaration from the Protector shewing the reasons why he is freed and discharged from the act of oblivion and pardons granted to the Cavaliers, especially by their late rising and intention to rise, with their correspondencies therein, whereby he is engaged more surely both to secure the peace of the Commonwealth by raising of force to secure the same, and also in respect of their own guilt that their estates should discharge the same in general be they guilty or not, whereby there came forth orders and instructions to Commissioners named in the several counties to put in execution, the same being only H. Scobell's hand, Clerk of the Council for their warrant. Dated 21 Sept. 1655.

p. 37.

Sir John Pakington released on £5,000 Bond to appear on summons and to be of good behaviour, so divers gents. more out of sundry places unless there were some strong presumptions, though few were ever particularly examined, or told why they were secured.

Peace proclaimed with France and war with Spain.

Our article with France that they should not harbour any enemies of the Commonwealth within their dominions whereby all the old royal Family of the Stewarts now in France, which are the Dukes of York and Gloucester, and divers other nobility and gentry, and many figures of English, Scottish and Irish, march away in high discontent, being a very sorry reward for all their great services during that cruise against the Spaniard. And the worse in respect the old Queen of England is aunt to the King of France and the two Dukes his cousins german, and especially the Duke of York, who, for his age, hath done wonders in the wars. The King of Sweden's conquest of all Poland, and drove the great King out of the same in less than four months having most of the Governours of Countrys and Cities submitted themselves to him and sworn obedience, and that done also with small bloodshed or loss to the strange admiration of all Christendom.

One Manaseh Ben Israel with some other principal Jews came over to treat for liberty of living and trading, offering £100,000 fine and £50,000 per annum, and also securing all persons from any Jewish Merchant breaking out of the public stock, and to bring in a Bank of £300,000 at 4 per cent. There hath been committees of divines, lawyers and statesmen about it. The divines meeting, and lawyers against their admittance, and all the merchants and citizens of London.

p. 38.

In December Earl of Southampton for taking the liberty to plead in

his own defence the Parliament's pardon and the act of oblivion against the new orders and instructions for keeping all the Royal party or delinquent cavaliers in their 10<sup>th</sup> of the true value of their real estates per annum, and refusing to bring in a particular thereof and submit to pay 10 per centum in lands was committed to the Tower and, as it is said, some others.

Divers loose persons and such as have not any visible estate, seized on in several counties and sent away to the ships to be transported for Jamaica, service in the Indies, and to some other plantations abroad.

Henry Townshend of Elmley seised after £103 *os. od.* per annum, for which he pays accordingly.

Cavaliers to give sufficient security according to their quality, some after £500, £1,000, £5,000 per annum for good and peaceable behaviour to the Protector and all the good people of this Commonwealth. To discover all treason, etc., for which Bond the Major-General Berry's clerk hath £5 a year.

And one bond more of £200 for your servant's good behaviour, and to be ready to appear upon reasonable summons with them yourself. The clerk hath 18<sup>d</sup> for this bond.

All gaming Houses within London and Westminster to be suppressed, and all inns, taverns and alehouses which lodge traitors, and in the country all alehouses which stand alone.

p. 39.

[1656] Jan. 10. One M<sup>r</sup> Lewis of the market-town of Bromsgrove, Worcestershire, with his wife and family bound and robbed of £120 in silver and . . . \* in gold by some 10 horse, which came armed about 12 in the night and broke his house, the property gone, and vanished undiscovered as yet, though pursuance was speedily made after. They took all his linnen, his own clothes and horses besides, so dangerous are these times now the power of sword ruleth. Since they are most of them taken and a great part of the money.

15. Sir Thomas Rouse, Baronett, made Custos Rotulorum, and presented his Commission at the Quarter Sessions now after Christmas for the County of Worcester, and did bring in M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Symonds of Pershore for his deputy and clerk of the Peace, about whose reception there was much contest, all the Justices being for M<sup>r</sup> Francis Walker, the old clerk.

Feb. Col. Pride, now Sir Thomas Pride, by reason of some

\* Blank in MS.

difference between him and the Keeper Godfrey of the Bears in the Bear Garden in Southwark, as a justice of peace there caused all the Bears to be fast tied up by the noses and then valiantly brought some files of musketeers, drew up and gave fire and killed six or more bears in the place (only leaving one white innocent cub), and also all courts of the game. It is said all the mastifs are for to be shipt for Jamaica.

500 maids about the City of London (or should be) prest and enrolled to go in the great fleet to Jamaica.

Merchant ships all stayed by an embargo on them for 21 days, which hinders much trading.

The Spaniards have proclaimed open war with England.

*p.* 40.

Herefordshire carrier in Maidenhead thicket was robbed of £1,000 in money and one trunk of plate by some low fareres by Windsor Forest.

All the Irish in the five Counties of Dublin, Caterclough, Kildare, Wexford and Wicklow must go to hear public (1 to come to the assembly of the church) or transplant.

Cap<sup>t</sup> Richard Badeley made Vice-Admiral, my wife's nephew.

Bishop Godfrey Goodman of Gloucester died at Westminster\* and by his will, inroled in the Prerogative Office, declared himself an adherer to the Communion of the Roman Church.

Sir Thomas Alcock killed himself in his chamber at London with a dagger.

28 of March 1656. A day of humiliation generally appointed for the going forth and success of the great Fleet.

James Usher, the most learned scholar and late Archbishop of Armagh in Ireland, died near London.

Since the middle of March to the . . . † of April never remembered such strong cold winds, storm, snow, sleet and slobery weather—to so great hindrance of the countryman's sowing and grass and floods.

From middle of May until . . . † except one whole day in middle of June, so great a drought that hay is at 40<sup>l</sup> the load. Grass mostly burnt up.

Hayman, the notablest theif for a picklock in Christendom, executed at Smithfield, who robbed divers princes and great persons and store of rich men's houses of their money.

The Spaniards of Dunkirk took at one time 22 of our merchant and coal ships, a loss so great as seldom the like known and many merchants broke.

\* Died 19 January 1656.

† Blank in MS.

p. 41.

July. This hot, dry year has caused great sickness, especially the small pox and meazles, whereof many have died in all places.

Sir H. Littelton of Worcestershire released out of the Tower and remitted to the custody of the Marshal of S<sup>t</sup> James', by which he hath much freedom abroad and refreshment.

Major G. Harrison and Major Wildman released on bail.

Writs come to Sheriff to summon Knights for Parliament Election for Worcestershire 20 August. Parliament begins 17 Sep<sup>t</sup> at Westminster.

The Spaniards beat the French from the siege of Valenciennes in Flanders, where the French left at least 10,000 killed and taken 100 pieces of canon, and all ammunition, provisions and tents.

Prince Rupert said to be dead of a consumption, which proves false.

Daily the Spaniards of Dunkirk and Ostend take English ships.

Lord Conway taken going into France to see his Lady, who is sick.

August 5. Sir Robert Berkeley, lately Judge, buried at Spetchley.

20. The Knights of the Shire chosen for Parliament: Major-General Berry, Sir Thomas Rouse, Bart., Edward Pitt, Esq., Nicholas Lechmere, Esq., Attorney of the Dutchy, and John Nanfan, Esquire, for Worcestershire, and for the city Cap<sup>t</sup> John Collins and one M<sup>r</sup> Giles, a young lawyer.

An ordinance for six months' contribution before hand by the Protector and Council was levied to be paid, the first payment in Novemb., 3 months before hand, and the other in Ffeb<sup>v</sup> at £60,000 per mensem.

p. 42.

Many gentlemen remanded to the Tower and many more committed thither, and to several other places.

Most of the army drawn up to London and new places made garrisons, as Earl of Leir house, new Piccadilla, Smithfield.

Many chosen Parliament men when they came to sit were, by the command of the Proctector to whom until they were approved by the Council of State so that divers returned into their own Counties, amongst whom M<sup>r</sup> Nanfan of Worcestershire.

A public fast the last of October and a day of thanksgiving for the taking of part of the Spanish West Indian fleet, being nearly 2 million in plate and bullion (if report says truth), on the 5<sup>th</sup> of November.

A motion made by G. L. in the House for a new survey of all

delinquent and Papists' estates so that if there be any estate of them concealed and uncompounded for to be seized and sold as the State's (they not owning the same by non-compounding), a committee of 40 about to sit upon it.

Jan. One Lieut. Sindercombe, a Leveller, condemned for treason in intending to burn Whitehall Chapel and in the confusion to kill the Protector. One Cecill of the Life Guards, his associate, betrayed and discovered him, and the night before he suffered he snuft up (as is conceived) some poisonous powder in his head and was found dead and by a jury found in the Tower *felo de se*.

This concludes the diary as far as relates to the Commonwealth. There is nothing as to the death of Cromwell or about Richard Cromwell.



(iii.) From 25 April 1660 to 8 April 1663.

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25<sup>o</sup> April 1660. The Parliament began to sit. Sir Harbottle Grimston chosen Speaker, D<sup>r</sup> Rheyholds preached, M<sup>r</sup> Jessop Clerk of the House.

A Committee of Elections chosen, whereof Mr. John Talbot, M<sup>r</sup> Street, and M<sup>r</sup> Hall were members therein.

A House of Lords voted, 37 entered upon it and chose the Earl of Manchester Speaker, M<sup>r</sup> John Brown Clerk of the House.

30. A day of humiliation, when M<sup>r</sup> Calamy, Dr. Gauden, and M<sup>r</sup> Richard Baxter preached before the Houses.

Col. Lambert being seized on by Col. Ingoldsby, Easter day, 20 April, near Daventry, and his party scattered. The fanatics was with Major Creed, Colonells Collett and Axhill with other officers brought to London. Lambert committed close prisoner to the Tower 22 April. On the 22<sup>nd</sup> the City of London Militia in Hide Park mustered, and was about 18,000 foot and 2,000 Horse, and 60,000 persons at least spectators, in which many Hon<sup>ble</sup> persons and gents. trayled pikes.

On 23<sup>rd</sup> a butcher of Worcester was shot by a Fanatic who was stopt going out of the City, and though he had a pass he would not shew it, whereby he was guilty of murder by inquest.

1<sup>st</sup> March. House of Commons sit upon the settlement of the gov<sup>t</sup>. No private business to intervene until it be finished and perfected.

A day of thanksgiving for the taking of Col<sup>l</sup> Lambert and dispersing the fanatiques at their rendezvous at Daintry.

A declaration from the King to the House of Lords and Commons dated 14 April Breda 1660, 12<sup>o</sup> Regni, presented by Sir John Grenville to the Speaker voted to be read. The heads whereof are (1) an act of Oblivion, Confirmation of sales to all but such as the Parliament should except, liberty of conscience to all that live peaceably, a free National Council to settle church discipline, soldiers' arrears which are under General Monk, and return to his Majesty's pay.

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The Lords upon a conference with the House of Commons voted the declaration satisfactory, and that according to the ancient fundamental laws of the kingdom the government is and ought to be by King, Lords, and Commons.

Ordered £50,000 to be sent to the King for his charges, with humble and hearty thanks, together with all professions of loyalty and duty. That 6 Lords and 12 Commoners be appointed to attend His Majesty with the answer of Parliament to his gracious declaration, and Doctor Clargis with the General's answer.

That £70,000 a month for 3 months to commence from June be set upon England and Wales for the securing the City for the £50,000 borrowed, and to pay the sums of the Army.

The State Arms in Guildhall in London taken down and the King's set up, so some of the Navy hath already done. At St. John's near Worcester done at first, and before any order, and the Church new beautified and the King's arms drawn in the walls.

3. Memd. At Worcester City upon hearing of the Parliament's reception of the King and of the King's declaration in night such a number of bonfires throughout, with ringing of bells, that the City seemed all in a flame most part of the night, every street having at least 4 or 5. Some 12 bonfires, with high and general rejoicings and acclamations.

[May 2.] £500 given to Sir John Grenville by the House of Commons for bringing His Majesty's letter,\* and as much to the Lord Mordaunt.

3 Aldermen and 6 Common Councilmen and Mr Wyld, Recorder of London, appointed to bring the City's answer to the King's letter.

The State's seal broken and a new one.

The late King Charles' picture to be reset up in the old Exchange, with this inscription, "Rex optimus."

The death of the late King Charles voted cruel and horrible murder.

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Col<sup>l</sup> Lambert had passed two guards in the Tower to make his escape, but is now put in and up on high in a little dark chamber, where he must have a candle lighted to see in.

Mr Luke Robinson, an anti-monarchical man, acknowledged his error in the House, and professed his loyal submission on reading His Majesty's declaration and his letter to the House.

The rabble in London demolished the Anabaptist's church.

5. The Term adjourned until 28<sup>th</sup> May, and not trials at Bar until Michaelmas term.

House of Commons consented to the Earl of Manchester to be one of the Commissioners of the great seal.

\* In the Journals it is stated the £500 was to buy a jewel as a testimony of respect and a badge of honour.

9. Ministers in all churches to pray for the King's Majesty Charles 2<sup>nd</sup>, Duke of York, and all the Royal progeny.

£100,000 borrowed by the Parliament of the City. The assessment monthly for security, then to ease it.

Votes and resolutions in House of Lords (1) To consider of the speedy reception of His Majesty into England; (2) The manner of his reception; (3) The revenue for His Majesty and to sieze and secure the Crown jewels. A crown and sceptre and other Royall ornaments to be speedily made.

Several Acts for His Majesty to pass which the Parliament agents are to bring with them.

The names of the 6 Lords and 12 Commoners, Earls of Oxford, Warwick, and Middlesex, Viscounts Hereford, Berkeley, and Brooke, Lord Castleton, Lord Herbert, Lord Bruce, Lord Fairfax, Lord Mandeville, Lord Falkland, Sir G. Booth, Sir Horace Townshend, Sir Anthony Ashley Couper, Sir John Holland, Sir H. Cholmondeley, M<sup>r</sup> Denzil Hollis.

The names of the Citizens, Alderman Robinson, Langham, Buchanan, Brown, Reynolds senior, Vincent, Walter Tompson, Sir James Bruce, Baronet, M<sup>r</sup> William Wylde, Recorder, Col. Bromfield, Major Chamberlayn, Bludsworth, Ford, Bateman, Lewis and Biddulph, Esq<sup>rs</sup>, Citizens.

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8. On Tuesday Charles the Second was proclaimed in most solemn and magnificent manner King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, first in Palace Yard at Westminster, then at the Temple Bar, where the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery received the guard, Parliament men and Council of state, and go through the City to the High rejoicings of all in general except the fanatics, who love no church or government.

14. Troops cashiered for running to Col<sup>l</sup> Lambert at Edgehill.

A declaration of the nobility and gentry of the County of Worcester adhering to the late King was presented to Gen<sup>l</sup> Monk by Lord Windsor, Sir John Pakington, M<sup>r</sup> Finch and M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Horniold, for the vindication of themselves from those scandalous aspersions as full of Recusancy for the great losses since the last wars, declaring they neither do nor will harbour any such thought of Ransom or Revenge against them or any other person, but willing to lay aside all animosity and return to all mutual Christian love, etc.

Earl of Shrewsbury.

Hen. Finch, Esq<sup>r</sup>.

The Lord Windsor.

Tho. Horniold, Esq<sup>r</sup>.

Sir John Pakington, Bart.

John Hickson, Esq<sup>r</sup>.

Sir William Russell, Bart.

Tho. Wylde, Esq<sup>r</sup>.

Sir Ralph Clare, K<sup>t</sup> of the Bath.

Jo. Keyt, Esq<sup>r</sup>.

Sir Rowland Berkeley.	Wm. Sheldon, Esq <sup>r</sup> .
Sir John Wynford.	Philip Bearcroft, Esq <sup>r</sup> .
Sir Edward Barrett.	Edward Barret, gent.
Samuel Sandys, Esq <sup>r</sup> .	Herbert Bushell, gent.
Sherrington Talbot, Esq <sup>r</sup> .	William Sheldon, gent.
Tho. Savadge, Esq <sup>r</sup> .	Jo. Sandys, gent.
Hen. Townshend, Esq <sup>r</sup> .	

Mem<sup>d</sup>. This declaration was well received by the General, and thanks to the gentlemen which presented it as coming opportunely in respect that the County is in report to be the most malignant through the nation.

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7. Declaration of the Lords to continue all Justices of Peace, Mayors, and all officers in the places which were in 25 April last, and to take care to suppress all tumults and insurrections, and to summon all which utter any treasonable or seditious speeches, reports, and rumours against His Majesty or his authority. All military officers to be aiding, etc.

10. The 11<sup>th</sup> a day of thanksgiving at Westminster by the Parliament, from their then thraldom and misery by Gen<sup>l</sup> Monk, and the 24<sup>th</sup> to be kept throughout the nation with the reading of His Majesty's Declaration.

Resolved by the Lords That the King be invited to come in with all necessary speed. 2. What the manner of his reception. 3. That Generals Monk and Montague yield obedience to all orders directed to him from His Majesty with the Navy.

The Mayor of Wicken committed for making a false return of M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Scot against M<sup>r</sup> Brown, who had most voyces in the election.

Mem<sup>d</sup>. This day at the City of Worcester were placed on high four scaffolds, one at the Cross; 2, Corn Markett; 3, at the Knole; and 4, at or near All Hallows' well.

The scaffold at the Cross was encompassed with green, white, and purple colours, the two first are his own colours, being prince, the 3<sup>rd</sup> as King.

M<sup>r</sup> Ashby, the Mayor, a mercer and all Aldermen in scarlet, the Sheriff of the City, the 24 and 48 in their Liveries, each Trade and freemen marching with their colours.

First went 100 trained city band men after their Cap<sup>t</sup> Alderman Vernon, then came the Sheriff Thomas Coventry, Esq<sup>r</sup>, the Lord Coventry's eldest son, Servants, then the two Army Companies, then the several livery companies with their showmen or banners, then the City

officers, then the maces and sword bearer, then the Mayor with Mr High Sheriff and some gents., then all the 24 and 48, then part of a troop of Horse of the Army.

The Mayor, mounting the scaffold with the gents. and Aldermen, Mr Jo. Astley reading softly by degrees the Proclamation of Charles the Second to be King of England, Scotland, France, Ireland. The Mayor himself spoke it aloud to all the people which then all with a shout said, "God save the King." Then all guns went off, swords drawn and flourishing over their heads, drums beating, and trumpets blowing, loud

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music playing before the Mayor and Company to every scaffold, which was done in the same manner throughout, and all finished the Mayor and City gave wine and biscuits in the Chamber liberally. Bonfires made at night throughout the City, and the King's good health with store of wine was drunk freely, never such a concourse of people seen upon so short a notice with high rejoicings and acclamations for the prosperity of the King, God guard him from his enemies as he ever hath done most miraculously and send him a prosperous peaceable reign and long healthful life for the happiness of his subjects who is their delight.

12. £10,000 given to the Duke of York and £5,000 to the Duke of Gloucester by the Parliament as a token of their thankfulness.

The King's judges left to the law by the Parliament, who as yet refuse to meddle in it. Col<sup>l</sup> Ingoldsby made an humble and sorrowful speech for his great crime therein and was much pitied, and as it is said he hath his majestie's pardon ready.

Commissioner Lisle did somewhat like, but laid aside.

Commissioner Nathaniel Finnes with the great seal went over to his Majestie to implore his pardon, who told him (as Col<sup>l</sup> Okey before) that he had left all delinquents that had a hand in his Father's death to the justice or mercy of the Parliament.

The Old Protectress Cromwell is gone aside, and divers goods of hers which were formerly belonging to the King were seized on in Thames Street, being of great worth and value.

At the great thanksgiving Day at Westminster the Book of Common Prayer was said before the Lords, the like at S<sup>t</sup> Margaret's before the House of Commons, and so daily in the morning in the House. M<sup>r</sup> Baxter of Kidderminster preached that day at Paul's before the Lord Mayor.

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The old King's Statute is again set up in the old Exchange, and this King's portraiture to be made speedily.

The Presbyterian ministers tendered a Bill in the House for the confirmation of them in the sequestered churches, but rejected and thrown out.

Ordered that the Scots colours hung in Westminster Hall be taken down.

Ordered that his Majesty's pleasure be known to which of his Houses he pleases to reside, that it may be speedily prepared for his reception.

It is said General George Monk is to be Duke of Somerset and Knight of the Garter.

14. A Bill of Attainder presented against Oliver Cromwell, late Protector, President Bradshaw, Commissary General Ireton, and Colonel Pride, who, though all dead, yet their estates to be forfeited for condemning the King to death, as the principal plotters of the late King Charles the first's death, and shall relate from January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1648.

A Bill of attainder against Chief Justice S<sup>t</sup> John, Commissioner Lisle of the Great Seal, and Thomas Scott, who said he would have it written in his Tomb as a monument that he was one of the King's Judges, and 4 more.

Mr W<sup>m</sup> Prinne moved the House of Commons that Mr William Lenthall the speaker might be hanged, and all others of the Long Robed Parliament who went clearly against their own knowledge of the law.

Lord Fairfax came to Gen<sup>l</sup> Monk to desire that the House would not be so violent against those that fought for their rights and liberties. He answered he might do well to move the House therein, or else that he may try to fight over the cause again.

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A rich golden tablet set with Diamonds given and sent by the King with his picture to Lady Monke.

Thurlow, late Secretary of State, accused of Treason in Parliament, and his person to be secured.

All those officers, as Broughton, Phelps, Clerks of the indictment and court, Dandy the Serjeant, and others that are messengers secured their persons.

Four witches from Kidderminster brought to goal in Worcester, one Widow Robinson and her two daughters and a man. The eldest daughter was said to say that if they had not been taken the King should never have come into England, and though he now doth come yet he shall not live long, but shall die as ill a death as they. And that they would have made corn like pepper. Many great charges against them and little proved. Now they were put to the ducking in the

River, and they would not sink but swam aloft. The man had 5 teats, the mother 3, and the eldest daughter had one, and when they went to search the women none were visible. One advised them to lay them on their backs and keep open their mouths and they would appear, and so they presently appeared in sight.

11. Whitehall, the place for his Majesty's reception, and Somerset House, St James and Mews to be cleansed from all sojourners and made for the King's service.

Ordered that Mr Phelps, Clerk of the High Court of Justice, deliver in all papers and books concerning the King's trial, and what he hath in his hands, so for Secretary Thurlow's and Hugh Peters, and judges of Archbishop Laud's Books to the Committee.

Dr Thomas Clargis knighted by the King at Breda.

Earl of Winchelsea, Governor of Dover, and Earl of Warwick of Landguard Castle.

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That Alderman Langham provide the rich furs and ermines for the King's coronation, and Alderman Viner the Crown.

Mr Mooreland, Thurlow's Secretary, carried over the black book of his master's, who were false to his Majesty for which his Majesty knighted him, being about 40 persons, pensioners, and the other\* who was also to his Majesty unknown, got his majesty's intelligence.

All the King's judges fled. Only Sir H. Mildmay taken at Rye into France, going with 50<sup>li</sup> in gold, 50<sup>li</sup> in money, and 50<sup>li</sup> in a diamond.

£400,000 voted to be raised by way of Poll Money for payment of the soldiers' arrears and Navy.

All Honours and dignities given by Oliver, Protector, or his son Richard to be void and null.

13. The estates, real and personal, of the King's judges, to the number of 66 persons, by order of the House of Lords secured and seized by the severall Sheriffs of Counties upon the complaint of the House of Commons to the House of Lords.

Richard, late Protector, and Henry Cromwell, the deputy of Ireland, sons of Oliver, gone aside.

House of Commons excepted only 7 from mercy, the Lords 16, so the number not yet agreed upon.

Many Trapanners, which were late of the King's party and turned to Oliver protector, betraying all designs for the restoring of the King, discovered by a book of their names in all counties, with their pensions, and delivered to his Majesty by Mr Mooreland.

\* Probably Sir Richard Willis is meant as "the other."

24. The great day of thanksgiving to be kept throughout England and Wales, to be kept with all solemnity for our happy deliverance out of slavery and bondage by the late several usurpers, and for the restoring of our gracious and long banished prince and King Charles the Second to the Government of these 3 nations by the hands of good and loyal General Monk, which day was solemnly kept at Worcester and by the Royalists at S<sup>t</sup> Michael's Church by M<sup>r</sup> William Harewell, a sequestered divine.

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Major-General Harrison committed to Tower prison. His horses to be sent to the King's stable at mews.

D<sup>r</sup> Hewit's widow petitioned the Parliament for justice against the illegal President Lisle that he may be as a murderer excepted from pardon in the act of oblivion. And that Tichborne, Ireton, and Pack, Aldermen, Serj<sup>t</sup> Cooke, John Backstead, and Jo. Phelps, and the rest, may make her due reparation for her husband's death.

Hollanders presented the King with 60,000 guilders.

In Scotland, by the Commissioners for the gov<sup>t</sup> of Scotland, do confirm all powers of Justices, Sheriffs, that submitted in April until further order from the Parliament of England or Council of State or ourselves, 11<sup>o</sup> May 1660, Thomas Morgan, Philip Twistleton, John Daniell, M<sup>r</sup> Disney.

D<sup>r</sup> Oliver restored to the President's place in Magdalen College in Oxford, for his not submitting to the Visitation, which was contrary to the local Statutes of the College. By order of the Lords 18<sup>o</sup> May 1660.

M<sup>r</sup> Clement Kinerley ordered by the Lords' committee of the King's goods to seize and secure all goods, pictures, jewels, and other Crown moveables in the hands of any person until his Majesty's pleasure be further signified 19 May, Dorsett.

A Bill read for stating public debts and discovering frauds and concealments. Another for taking away the Court of Wards, read first time May 22 and again 24.

And making void all honours since 1642.

Ordered two new maces (1) for the House and (2) for the Council of State.

A Bill read for maintenance of just rights and privileges of Parliament in confirmation of the fundamental laws 23 May and again 24.

The King proclaimed on the 14<sup>th</sup> in Ireland.

The Convention have ordered £20,000 for a present to his Majesty and £2,000 a piece to the two Dukes York and Gloucester.



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Lord Broghill, Sir Charles Coot, Sir Theophilus Jones, Col<sup>l</sup> Hall, Col<sup>l</sup> Mervin, M<sup>r</sup> Richard Kennady, and Sir James Barry appointed Commissioners with Sir John Clotworthy, Major Aston, Col<sup>l</sup> King, and Major Rawdon.

Notice given that one Lieut.-Col<sup>l</sup> Eyre, with some rebellious spirits, were gathered into a body, enforced Sir Theophilus Jones to stay behind for their suppression.

Col<sup>l</sup> Desborough seized on and brought to the Council of State and committed to the Tower.

23. General Monk marched from London with a gallant train of attendance to meet the King.

It is said that several Fanatics intermingled themselves with the troops but were discovered, whereof 3 killed and some hurt, and 3 taken who do confess their design was to pistol the King. One (24<sup>th</sup>) to be put to the rack for discovery. It is said the King escaped a plot of some Frenchmen at the Hague to pistol the King in his coach, but discovered by one who was in private, overhearing them and they suspecting it shot him as dead, but recovering to speak discovered their intentions. From all such or any other God ever preserve and protect his pious Majesty.

Orders for Commissioners of Assessment to bring all arrears now due.

May 17. Resolved that Col<sup>l</sup> Mathew Tomlinson shall not be secured nor his estate seized on.

A committee for the Bills of sale of Arms and Church lands sitt.

M<sup>r</sup> Marten at the 3 Nuns in Cheapside to provide all linens for his Majesty's service, and M<sup>r</sup> Trussell the mercer in Pater Noster Row all velvetts, silks, etc., for His Majesty's Coaches, Beds and Chambers, etc.

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26. The King landed at Dover about 3 in the afternoon with the two Dukes York and Gloucester, his brothers, and went to Canterbury that night.

At his departure from the Hague to take ship in the Naseby frigate, to which the Queen of Bohemia and Princess Royal his sister brought him. Their great guns by land and water went off, so many and so thick that there could not be seen sky, land or water for a long season. The Presbyterians that went to the King to move him for the settlement of presbitery received, it seems, such satisfaction that they craved His Majesty's pardon and left him to settle the church and state as he pleased. His Majesty's Chaplains and they going

visibly one to the other. The King knighted all the Citizens who were commissioners to His Majesty to the Hague. He lay at Canterbury on Saturday and stayed Sunday, and knighted there M<sup>r</sup> Clerke and M<sup>r</sup> Swan.

Gregory Clement sent to the Tower, being one of the King's Judges.

Ordered that the Serjeant at Arms seize all goods of the persons sat as the Judges of the King.

7 Horses of Oliver Cromwell and all other horses belonging to such persons be carried to the mews.

The Hollanders at the feasting of his Majesty at the Hague for satisfaction to His Majesty's they presented to the young Prince of Orange full confirmation of all honours and profit which his Father enjoyed. They gave his Majesty cash £7000 and £1,000 worth in Diamonds, and serving him all with gold plate to the value of 60,000 gave it to His Majesty.

His Majesty chose 80 gentlemen of his life guard. Lord Gerrard commander.

The Naseby frigate now called the Royal Charles, the Swiftsure called the James from the Admirals James, Duke of York, and the Spanker called the Princess Mary.

M<sup>r</sup> Morris is made Secretary of State and knighted.

24. A declaration passed both Houses for bringing in the arrears of customs and excise.

25. All Irish rebels except such as came in upon Articles, nor since forfeited the same, be apprehended and proceeded according to law, and no adventurer disturbed of his possessions until the Parliament here or there do take further order.

29, Memd' about midnight. My daughter Dorothea Townshend

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died 29<sup>th</sup> May 1660 in the Colledg at Worcester and was buried in the colledgiate church, on the right side of her brother Thomas, the fifth of June following in the body of the Church near the steps into the Choir by M<sup>r</sup> Harewell, who said the first prayer for the dead since the rending up of Worcester to the pretended Parliament, 24 July 1660,\* and the now new entrance of Charles the Second in power to his Crown and authority.

Memd' On the 29<sup>th</sup> of this May, being the King's birthday and now 30 years of age, His Majesty came with all magnificence into London and so to his palace at Whitehall, with the olive branch of peace for this

\* This is a mistake for 1646, which was the date Worcester surrendered at the siege.

23 years' troubles beginning with the first Scots' war and the 14<sup>th</sup> year of his exile and the 12<sup>th</sup> year of his reign from his native Kingdom and rights.

Sir Harbottle Grimston, Speaker of the Parliament, who attending his Majesty's coming in the Banqueting house at Whitehall, made a speech testifying their loyalty and duty at his Majesty's happy and safe return unto his Parliament and people. The like the Earl of Manchester on behalf of the House of Lords. Who briefly replied that his chiefest care was the uniting of divisions, settling of religion and liberties of his people, which he was as tender as his own interest.

Gen<sup>l</sup> Monk made Knight of the Garter, and General of all the Land forces. Lord Mayor Allen knighted with his Mayor's sword.

Great bonfires made throughout the city at night, and at Westminster Oliver Cromwell's effigy was set up on a high post, with the Rump's arms were burnt both together. The like in many other places.

A great quantity of goods of M<sup>r</sup> Andrew Broughton, Clerk of the High Court of Justice, was seized on at Rochester. So an Irish coach of Oliver Cromwell was seized on at a coachmakers, who pretends debt due for it.

Great seal broken of the Commissioners and given as their fees to them.

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A committee appointed to state the public debt of the nation, and how and when contracted and to whom, what monies have been received by persons, and in whose hands any money rests.

An Act to be drawn for the 29<sup>th</sup> May for ever to be as a day of thanksgiving unto God for the restoration of His Majesty.

Sir Edward Hyde made Lord Chancellor, Sir John Culpepper Master of the Rolls, Marquiss of Ormonde Lord High Steward, Marquiss of Hertford Groom of the Stole, Earl of Manchester Chamberlain of the Household.

M<sup>r</sup> Denzil Hollis and M<sup>r</sup> John Pierpoint Privy Councillors, so Sir Anthony Ashley Cowper, General Monk, Earl of Southampton, and Sir William Morris Secretary.

Gen<sup>l</sup> Monk Master of the Horse, Gen<sup>l</sup> Montague Knight of the Garter, so Earl of Oxford and Lord Roberts.

June 1<sup>o</sup>. The King's first entrance was on Friday, June 1<sup>o</sup>, to the Parliament, when he passed three Bills: 1. For confirmation of this Parliament. 2. For courts of Judicature continuing all judicial proceedings. 3. For raising £70,000 per mensem for 3 months.

Sir Orlando Bridgman, Chief Baron, M<sup>r</sup> Geoffrey Palmer, King's Attorney.

80 gentlemen chosen for the Life Guards, Lord Gerrard Captain.

30 May. 12 K. C. A proclamation against vicious and debauched persons, 30<sup>o</sup> May, drinking the King's health. Some of dissolute purpose were now discrediting His Majesty, cannot then any other

Major General Massey knighted, so Sir Edward Rossiter, Sir Philip Howard, Sir Robert Paston, and 2 at Cambridge, M<sup>r</sup> Clarke and Swan.

A proclamation against the Rebels in Ireland: That all those that are not upon Articles, or be and have forfeited the benefit thereof, be seized and proceeded as against Rebels and traitors according to Law. That all adventurers, soldiers, and others who are in possession of any rebels' estates shall not be disturbed until further order by advice of Lords and Commons, and that they be legally evicted by due course of law and all Justices of peace that be, aiding in execution of his proclamation. June 12, K. C., 12 y<sup>r</sup>.

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June 1<sup>o</sup>. Judge Mallet sat in King's Bench, Judge Hale and Forster in Common Pleas, and Sir Orlando Bridgeman in Exchequer, sat in Court of Chief Baron. M<sup>r</sup> Jo. Blackstone, one of the King's Judges, goods secured.

Lord Chancellor Hide began to hear Causes.

4. A proclamation signed that all of those who sat as judges upon His late Majesty to surrender themselves upon a certain day or forfeit life and estate.

Marquess of Ormonde, an High Steward of His Majesty's family, tendered the oaths of allegiance and supremaey to all members of the House of Commons before they entered the House.

Major-Gen<sup>l</sup> Massey to have the £1,000 in arrear and 12 years use in arrear be charged on the excise and paid in course.

Memd. William Lilly, astrologer, was brought in as declaring in print who was the King's executioner, to be examined but put off until another day, and some say one Cornet Joyse to be the man.

His Majesty sat in Privy Council, of whom these are said to be named: Duke of York, Duke of Gloucester, Lord Chancellor Hide, Gen<sup>l</sup> Monk, Marquis of Ormond, Marq. of Hertford, Lord Chamberlain, Earl of Lindsay, Earl of Manchester, Chamberlain of the Household, Earl of Berkshire, Earl of Northumberland, Earl of Southampton, Earl of S<sup>t</sup> Albans, Earl of Norwich, Earl of Leicester, Viscount Seymour, Viscount Say, Lord Colepepper, Lord Wentworth, Sir Edward Nicholas,

Serjeant, Sir William Morris, Serjeant, Mr Ainsley, Sir Anthony Ashley Cowper, Mr Denzil Hollis, Clerks of the Council, Sir Richard Brown, Sir Edward Walker, Sir George Lane, Mr John Nicholas.

Ordered all laws against Sabath breaking, swearing, drunkenness, etc., be put in execution, and peace to be kept in all places, in Ireland, and suppression of Forgers.

6. Persons excepted from Pardon, Col<sup>l</sup> Harrison, Cornelius Holland, William Say, John Lisle, Col<sup>l</sup> John Jones, Thomas Scot, Alderman Barkstead, Lieutenant late of the Tower, Andrew Broughton, Sir Patrick Dandy.

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Sir Jeffrey Palmer, King's Attorney, Sir Heneage Finch, Mr Solicitor, Mr Heath, Attorney of the Duchy.

Mr Prim, coming to kiss his Majesty's hand, prayed God to bless him, "and so also you Mr Prim," and smilingly slapt him on the shoulder.

Mr Cooke, Chief Justice in Ireland, by Oliver made was of Counsel against the King, and was sent for up to Parliament. Denies he put his hand to any examination to answer any questions, and so out of pardon.

All those that sat in private or consented to the dealings in the late King's trial of Parliament men to be secured, and their estates like to be confiscate, though sat not as judges in the Court, so all those that advanced petitions for justice against the grand delinquent (1) King, and put their hands to such petitions, to be sequestered.

The Parliament declines meddling with the Militia of the nation, leaving it to the King, who intends to make Deputy Lieutenants in all counties according to the old manner.

The City of London surrendered up New Park to the King, and told his Majesty they kept it only as his stewards both preserving his wood and game which they prayed to tender unto him by the Mayor. His Majesty answered that he looked upon their tender not as stewards, but would receive it as a gift from them.

On Sunday June 3<sup>rd</sup> Bishop Wren, Bishop of Bath and Wells, preached before the King.

Some of the King's pretended friends but betrayers of his cause and interest were apprehended and sent to the Tower for their trial.

Mr John Cann, one of the King's judges, taken at Plymouth.

A proclamation for suppressing all riots, and for quiet possession of any ecclesiastical or temporal possessions by any lawful or pretended authority placed and settled until the Parliament take further order or by airection of Law recovered.

It is said that Mr Calamy, a Presbyterian and one of the King's Chaplains, desired His Majesty that he might not officiate in their Canonical habits, especially in a surplice, for it was against his conscience, who answered he would not press it on him, and as he refused to do in the one so he would spare his pains in the other.

*p.* 59.

It is also said when His Majesty was at private prayers in his presence Chamber and seeing all on their knees but the Earl of Manchester, his chamberlain who stood by him (a presbyterian), His Majesty suddenly took a cushion and said, "My Lord, there is a cushion, you may now kneel, which for shame he was patiently to do."

I mark a zealous and pious prince.

It is reported Mr Thomas Scot, one of the King's Judges, is seized on in Flanders by the Marquis Carasour, Governor of Flanders.

9. The House of Commons desired His Majesty's proclamation that they in the name of all the Commons of England (except such as the parliament hath or shall except) do accept of His Majesty's gracious pardon.

Many sequestered ministers are advised to give declarations to the present intruding incumbents of the livings to try their Titles at law forthwith, that they may not lose their whole years benefit, but as they were so divested and ejected so they may be restored. And that they should by trial recover they may also recover the mesne profits for all the years past.

That Cornet George Joyse and Hugh Peters be taken into custody for supposed beheading the King, and all those excepted from pardon who were concerned in cutting off the King's head.

8. Resolved that 20 more besides the King's judges be excepted out of the Bill for free pardon upon such penalties and forfeitures (not capital) as shall be declared by Act of Parliament for that purpose. And a Committee to bring in their names. And also if those who sat in judgement in the pretended High Court of Justice yet did not sit and give sentence the said day.

5. A proclamation for the 28<sup>th</sup> of June to be a day of thanksgiving for His Majesty's happy return to his government, and to be read in all churches one Sunday before. And the day to be kept with all sobriety and reverence and thankfulness as becomes so solemn occasion.

Mr William Henningham of Norfolk, one of the King's judges, rendered himself to the Speaker, committed to the Serg<sup>t</sup>-at-arms. Sir William Lane Scott tried his case and so compounded with her.

*p.* 60.

7. A proclamation for all those that are fled which were the King's judges to render their bodies within 14 days or be excepted for estates and persons from all pardon, unto the Speaker, Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, etc.

6. Several reports of persons who sat as judges and were absent at sentence of the King's death, as L. Mounson 5 times, Thomas Chaloner 5, James Chaloner 5, John Lisle 5, John ffynes 5, Sir Gilbert Pickering 3, Sir James Harrington 2, Sir H. Mildmay 4, who were all not extending to life.

Excepted out of the act of pardon for forfeitures, so M<sup>r</sup> Phelps, one of the Clerks, so Robert Walton, Esq., so Sir Harry Vane. 12. M<sup>r</sup> Lenthall, Esq., the old Speaker.

Col<sup>l</sup> Adrian Scroop pay a year's fine for mercy shewed him.

Lord Grey to be left out of the List.

Report that 450 members (being all who sat) took their oaths of allegiance and supremacy.\*

Resolved the like for all the officers and soldiers of the army and navy. And all those who by law ought to take the oaths be enjoined by his Majesty's proclamation to take the same.

Luke Robinson, one of the King's judges, acknowledged the heinousness of his offence, and was discharged of being a member.

An act passed for removing all obstructions questions and disputes concerning the assembling and sitting of the present parliament.

Chief Justice S<sup>t</sup> John excepted out of pardon only life reserved.

Sir Arthur Haselrigg, Col. Sydenham, Col<sup>l</sup> Desborough, Alderman Jocelyn, William Burton, Col. Axtell, Serjeant Keble, Cap<sup>t</sup> J. Blackwell, Major Creed, Lieutenant General Charles Fleetwood, Col<sup>l</sup> Lambert, Alderman Pack, Col. Penne, Col. Cobett, Cap<sup>t</sup> Downe, jun., Phill Nye, and M<sup>r</sup> Jo. Goodwin ministers.

Town of Ipswich presented his Majesty with 600 pieces of gold.

General Monk desired by the Bailiff of Westminster in the name of all to be chosen to the office of High Steward of Westminster.

Lord of Faulkland presented his Majesty with the fee farm rent due from the city of Oxford and lately purchased by them.

*p.* 61.

Resolved that the Lord Grey of Groby be not excepted out of the act of Pardon, nor Col<sup>l</sup> Butler.

6. The long expected peace between Denmark and Sweden agreed on.

\* The number given in the Commons Journal is 455.

On June the 4<sup>th</sup> morning at Fontarabia on the frontiers of Spain the Infanta of Spain, before her marriage, renounced all claim to the Crown of Spain, to the King her Father, and all the Grandees of Court in presence under her hand.

13. Sir Orlando Bridgman, Chief Baron, constituted Speaker, *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Lord Chancellor.

Col. Phayre, Col<sup>l</sup> Hunks, Mr. Cook, and one Hulett, against whom evidence was given in Ireland that he cut off his late Majesty's head, were brought up prisoners to the Tower. Phayre and Hunks were employed to see execution done against the King's person.

Marquis of Hertford and General Montagu receive the honour of the order of the Garter. Genl. Montagu made Earl of Sandwich.

Mr Meyer, Col<sup>l</sup> Wait, and Col<sup>l</sup> Temple, 3 of His Majesty's Judges, had rendered their bodies to the Speaker and committed to the Black rod.

14. Ordered by the Lords that the Duke of Buckingham be restored to all his lands in whose hands soever they be, and all arrears of rent, fines, and other profits which have been unjustly kept from him, and all timber and woods felled, and to all materials of Houses and buildings taken off any part of the said estate, and hereof all persons are to take notice and return a ready obedience.

That Mr John Goodwin and Milton's books be burnt; moved by the House of Commons to His Majesty, and the Attorney General to proceed against them.\*

Earl of Bristol and Lord Windsor restored by patent, sat in the Lords' House.

Lord Windsor made Lord Lieutenant of Woreestershire.

The General Monk made Lord Monk of Potheridge, Earl of Torrington, and sits in the Lords' House, and made Duke of Albemarle and General of the forces of the three nations, Master of His Majesty's Horse, Knight of the Garter, and one of the Privy Council.

p. 62.

12. His Majesty conferred several titles of Honours and offices upon deserving persons, as—

Marquis of Hertford, Groom of the Stole,	} Knights of the Garter.
Earl of Oxford,	
Vice Admiral Montague, Earl of Sandwich,	
Sir Edward Sydenham, Knight Marshall.	
Sir Ralph Sydenham, Master of Sutton's Hospital.	

\* The order was, Mr. Attorney-General proceed against John Milton in respect of two books, "*Pro populo Anglicano defensio*" and "*Portraiture of His Sacred Majesty*," and against John Goodwin for the "*Obstructors of Justice*."



Sir Hen. (not Edward) Herbert, Master of the Revels.

Sir William Fleming,  
Sir William Killigrew,  
Mr. John Pooley,  
Mr. Marmaduke Drury, } Grooms of the Privy Chamber.

Sir Edward Walker, Garter, }  
Sir William Le Neve, } Clarenceux, } Kings at Arms.  
Mr. William Dugdale, } Norroy.

Henry Howard, }  
Ferdinando Masham, } Esquires of the Body.

Sir William Salkeld, }  
Sir Thomas Dawbridge Court, } Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber.

Col<sup>t</sup> Wait, Col<sup>t</sup> Temple, and M<sup>r</sup> Simon Meyer, late Judges of the King, tendered themselves and committed to the Serjeant at Arms, so Major General Ludlow.

14. At Whitehall was represented to the view of all out of the late chamber of Sir H. Mildmay the grand Effigies of wax of Oliver Cromwell, late Protector, which was made and shewed with such pomp which seemed fit hung with a cord about his neck, which was tied to one of the bars of the House.

Several addresses from several counties made to His Majesty.

*p.* 63.

18. M<sup>r</sup> Hugh Peters excepted from pardon for life and estate, that grand incendiary and wicked profane man, though as it is said a true ordained minister and one suspected to cut off the King's Head.

It is said the Post Office being farmed at a about £20,000 per annum is settled on the Duke of Gloucester towards his maintenance.

His Majesty confirmed 14 Serjeants at Law, which were made in the late Protector Oliver's time, namely, Witherington, Brown, Glin, Erle, Berners, Hales, Twisden, Maynard, Newdigate, Wyndham, Fanshaw, Syse, Archer, Willie.

Lord Mayor and Common Council, in the name of the whole city, invited the King's Majesty, the two Dukes, the two houses of Parliament to a dinner, and accepted, upon the 5<sup>th</sup> of July to be the day.

The Lords passed an order that the present profits of all livings now in question by the sequestered Divines and others be secured in the present Churchwardens till the right be determined.

25. And another order to release all sequestrations of persons not legally convict.

140 Lords sit in the House of Peers.

The envoy of the Marquis of Brandenburg the first foreigner that came over to congratulate His Majesty's Happy return.

Ordered by both Houses that Tonnage and poundage and new imposts be paid after the proportion now set and due until 25<sup>th</sup> July next and so excise.

Memdum. Upon examination of the account of Richard Blackwell, John Sparrow and Humphrey Blake there was due in arrears of prize goods from 1649 to 1652 £41,495 5s. 3d., and ordered to be proceeded against in Exchequer.

The Queen's Majesty hath restored to her these several manors, part of her jointure and purchased by such, whose estates are liable to forfeiture, namely, Old Court, Richmond, Egham, Ampthill, Milbrook, Somersham, Crowland, Spalding, Eastham, West Walton, Tringham, Eye, Nonsuch.

Resolved, that Somerset House and Greenwich be likewise restored to Her Majesty, and all arrears of rent be paid unto Her Majesty.

25. Resolved, that no person whatsoever do presume at his peril to print any votes or proceedings of this House without the special leave and order of the house. Jo. Jessop, Clerk of the Commons House in parliament.

p. 64.

23. Ordered by the Lords in Parliament assembled, that all the Tithes, glebes and other profits of or belonging to the Rectory of A B in the county of D, and other ecclesiastical living or benefice of A B, who hath been sequestered or ejected without due course of law in or since the time of the late war, Be by authority hereof, stayed and secured in the hands of the Churchwardens or overseers of the poor of the said parish until the title of the said sequestered A B and the present possessor thereof shall be determined by the further order of Parliament or decision by due course of law.

Jo. Browne Clerc :

Col<sup>l</sup> John Court made Knight and Baronet.

M<sup>r</sup> Roger Maston made gent. of the Privy Chamber.

25. The Earl of Shrewsbury presented to his Majesty an address of the nobility and gentry of the County of Worcester, subscribed with about 50 hands. His Majesty returned them his hearty thanks, telling them he was well assured of their loyalty and affection and should ever have a good esteem of them.

One Payne, a messenger of Oliver Cromwell, is secured as supposed executioner of the late King but acquit.

28. The great day of Thanksgiving for his Majesty's Restoration

was generally celebrated over the nation, and as His Majesty went to his closet to prayer M<sup>r</sup> G. Charnock, Serjeant at Arms, seeing a man standing by the wall with a naked sword which glistened, seized on his person and secured, and under examination his sword was hacked half way from the point.

Dr. Sheldon preached on xviii Psalm, 19.

Francis Lord Hawley commander of Horse in place of Col. Hacker's Regiment.

The Duke of York chosen Leader by the militia of the artillery of London, and gave him the leading staff as a token, which he freely accepted, being made one of the Company in 1641.

The city of Gallicia in Greece had between 30 and 40,000 houses burnt, the English saving most part of the goods.

Some Anabaptists as Disborough, Markly, and Wingforth smartly secured in Ireland for endeavouring to disturb the peace of the nation.

*p.* 65.

July. The care and security of the garrison of Dunkirk by pact is charged upon the excise, the Duke of York's troop going as an additional strength thither.

From Germany news came that the Prince of Transilvania, Ragotskisky by name, was slain after a long battle fought between him and the Turks, and lost field, 5000 Turks also slain.

Sir John Robinson made Lieutenant of the Tower.

Lord Bellais made Governor of Hull and of one Riding of Yorkshire.

Lord Falconbridge and Lord Scarsdale of the other two.

Serjeant Hale, Chief Justice of Common Pleas, and Serjeant Twisden one of the Judges of Upper Bench, and Serjeant Tyrrell.

Over 250 touched by His Majesty for the King's evil, and hath appointed Friday; only 200 to be presented for cure at a time, and M<sup>r</sup> Knight, the King's Chirurgeon, being at the Cross Guns in Russell Street, Covent Garden, grants out the tickets.

Sir William Compton made master of the ordinance, Major Francis Nichols surveyor, Edward Sherborn clerk.

Col<sup>l</sup> Crook's Regiment is called the Royal Regiment, and the Lord Falconbridge's Regiment is now the Duke of York's; who made him again Lieutenant-Colonel.

5. The great festival made at Guildhall for the King, Dukes, Houses of Peers and Commons, and many of the nobility and court.

Memd. The Scottish Lords being in discourse with His Majesty, the Marquis of Ormonde told them that they broke the covenant them-

selves in betraying the King at Worcester fight, and so the King was disobliged, and the Duke of York told His Majesty was too patient, for give him but 10,000 horse he would bring them to a conformity.

The King going one night to swim in the Thames, and being in his shirt, there were divers ladies and gentlemen looking out of the windows of Whitehall, which he beholding sent a message that unless they should shut their windows and pray for his safety or be gone out of Court. A chaste and good prince.

Memd' it is said that any Worcestershire gent. hath great civil admittance to His Majesty's presence, but above all Sir Ralph Clare, who hath conference sometimes two hours together.

*p.* 66.

July 10. Marquis of Argyll and Marquis of Ancrum, Scotts, and Sir Arthur Haselrig and Sir Henry Vane committed to the Tower for suspicion of stiring up commotion, and some others will follow.

Oliver S<sup>t</sup> John, late Chief Justice of the Common Pleas also committed to the Tower.

14. Brian Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury, made the King's Almoner.

Serjeant Ternell, one of the Judges of . . . \* and Serjeant Turner of . . . \*

Bishop of Londonderry made Lord Primate of Ireland, D<sup>r</sup> Nicholas Dean of Paul's, and D<sup>r</sup> Earle Dean of Westminster.

13. All the King's Revenues voted to be restored free to His Majesty.

Earl of Oxford has Col<sup>l</sup> George Simpson's regiment. Sir William Blackstone Cap<sup>t</sup> Lieutenant, and Col. Simpson major.

Viscount Mordant hath Col<sup>l</sup> Fagg's Regiment, and Sir Thomas Woodcock Lieut<sup>t</sup> Colonel.

Lord Herbert hath Col<sup>l</sup> Pury's Regiment, and Thomas Pury Lieutenant Col<sup>l</sup>, and old officers descending lower.

Sir Edward Mason Colonel of Col<sup>l</sup> Twistleton's Regiment, Col<sup>l</sup> Twistleton now Lieut<sup>t</sup> Colonel. Lieutenant Col<sup>l</sup> Barry now Major.

Sir John Thoroughgood committed to the Black Rod for being one of the judges against Lord Capell, so Sir William Rowe and M<sup>r</sup> Samuel Meyer, M<sup>r</sup> G. Langham, M<sup>r</sup> William Wiborn, Col<sup>l</sup> Richard Downes, Serjeant Keble, M<sup>r</sup> Bacon.

Col<sup>l</sup> Hacker committed to the Tower for Treason, who commanded the Guards at His Majesty's death, and Col<sup>l</sup> Axtell and M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Scot, the late Secretary to the Committee of Safety (who said that he would have it written on his tomb that he was one of the King's Judges).

\* Blank in MS.

Lord Culpepper, Master of the Rolls, died.

The Church of Canterbury by Deans and prebends settled for the election of a new Archbishop.

16. After a long debate until 10 at night in the House of Commons about the government of the Church between the Episcopal and the Presbyterian party, who would not put it to the vote for so they had lost it. It was referred to His Majesty to be satisfied by writings and discourses with either party, and adjourned until 23 October next.

*p. 67.*

The Lords fly high on the Bill of indemnity or pardon as intending to include all the late King's Judges who sat on their sovereign, and all such as sat in other High Courts of Justice, as on Col<sup>l</sup> Penruddock, Captain Burley, Dr Huet, and especially on the Lord Capell, etc.

Serjeants Wylde, Glinn and Windham for the cause in question and Mr Nicholas Lechmere as being of the states counsel.

At the Grand Committee for Religion, July 16, 1660, the question expounded:—

That the one Christian Protestant faith contained in the scriptures of the old and new Testament and the outward administration of the government of the Church and the public worship of God as they stand established by the laws of the land, and no other shall be publicly professed and maintained within the Kingdom of England and the Dominion of Wales and the Territories thereunto belonging.

Resolved by the Grand Committee for religion, That it be reported to the House as the opinion of the Committee.

That the King's Majesty be desired to call such a number of Divines as His Majesty shall think fit to advise concerning matters of religion, and that the Grand Committee do forbear to sitt until the 23<sup>rd</sup> October next.

The Parliament hath adjourned all the Assizes of England for one month longer by reason of their great affairs in settling the act of Indemnity and pole money and the power of the nation, so that our Assizes at Worcester begin not until 24<sup>th</sup> of September, as adjourned from the 23<sup>rd</sup> of August.

*p. 68.*

The King's Majesty have touched 1700 already of the disease called the King's evil, and 1400 more to do, and then there is a respite until further order for those apprehensive.

Lord Thomas Windsor had his patent sealed for Lord Lieutenant of Worcestershire, who made his Deputy Lieutenants. The patent will

cost £50. Major Thomas Muckley,\* his muster master, whose stipend is £47 per annum.†

830. Wigorn ss. To Major Thomas Mueklow.

Whereas there is a necessity of replenishing and making good of the Magazine of this County, And that there be full provision of Powder and lead always in readiness for the use of His Majesty's service, These are therefore to require and authorize you upon receipt hereof with all convenient speed to take view of the state of the Magazine in the several places of the County of Worcester, viz., Worcester, Bromsgrove, Evesham, and all the rest of the Towns in the said Countie, And that you may return a true Certificate thereof unto me, or any two of my deputy Lieutenants. And this shall be your sufficient Warrant therein. Dated this 21<sup>st</sup> day of July 1660.

Thomas Windsor.

831. A copy of the muster master's Grant from my Lord Windsor, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Woreester, to Major Mucklow.

Whereas I am amply informed of your sufficient experience in military affairs, whereby you are enabled to undergo and discharge a plan of Command for his Majesty's service I have thought good to make choice of you, and by virtue of his Majesty's Commission to appoint you muster master of the trained bands in the County of Wigorn, And I do hereby authorize you to hold and enjoy all such rights, privileges, stipends, Commodities, and allowances as have been enjoyed by any other who hath formerly held the said office or more upon the allowanee or allotment of me or the Deputy Lieutenants of the same county. These are therefore to will and require you to take that charge upon you, And at every muster taken in the said County to be present there to take view of the Arms and Ammunition and after such view taken to certify me the State of the Militia of the said County by a Roll subscribed by my Deputy Lieutenants or some of them, as also by yourself. And to do and to perform all and every such thing and things as shall be requisite, And as you shall receive directions from myself or my Deputy Lieutenants. Hereof you are not to fail. And these shall be your sufficient warrant in that behalf. Given under my hand and seal the 21<sup>st</sup> day of July 1660.

To my very loving friend

Tho. Windsor.

Tho. Mueklow, gent., muster master  
of the County of Woreester.

\* *Sic.*

† The two following documents are inserted here as they are copied separately in a later part of the MS., p. 830.

Aug. Marquis of Ormond created Earl of Brecknock and received into the House of Peers.

The King's Majesty hath signed 3 bills, 1 of excise, 2 of Tunnage and poundage, 3 Commissioners of sewers.

The Lord Roberts to be deputy of Ireland.

Sir Arthur Haselrig, Sir Henry Vane, Major-General Lambert, Col. Axtell excepted out of all pardon as well for life as estate by the Lords, and the Duke of Gloucester moved the like for others.

His Majesty, 27<sup>th</sup> July last, made a speech in the House of Lords for to despatch the act of oblivion and renewed it now again.

Major Waring excepted out of pardon for life and lands.

Col. Crogan secured.

6. The Committee for confirmation of sales passed these resolutions:—

1. That no persons of the High Court of Justice for trying the late King shall take benefit of the Act.

2. Nor any person that were Committee of the safety.

3. Nor any abjurors of the late King's title.

4. Nor John Lambert, esq., nor such as took part with him since 21<sup>st</sup> February last.

5. Nor such persons as are excepted out of the general pardon.

6. Nor such as sat in the House of Commons between 8<sup>th</sup> January 1648 and 20 April 1653.

7. Nor such who sat in any High Court of Justice.

*p.* 69.

8. Nor being Major-General, nor any other person that acted as a decimator.

9. Nor of the Council of Oliver Cromwell.

10. Nor any that sat in Barebones Parliament in 1653.

11. Nor that sat as Commissioners for sale of any public lands, or for removing obstructions upon such sales, nor the Trustees for sales, Contractors, Surveyors, Registrars, nor any other officer employed in those sales purchasing in their own name or in the name of others for their use.

12. None that sat in that Convention, 1656, when the act for annulling the King's Title was passed, and gave their vote for the same.

7. His Majesty sent a message to the Lords that he had writ to all Archbishops, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, not to lease any appropriations, But that out of every of them can be taken that £80 per annum when they are of a greater value, and when of less value or less sum, be settled by due form of Law upon the Vicars and Curates of their respective Churches. Order is taken to Sir Henry Finch to bring in a Bill to that purpose.

Duke of Buckingham confined to the Black Rod for\* speeches against the Earl of Bristol in the House of Lords, some say both.

One Frensham hath brought his bark up to Whitehall which he wafted over the King's Majesty, 1651, after his Worcester defeat and miraculous escape, and is made Cap<sup>t</sup> of a man of warre at sea.

The Lords would have the Irish included in the act of oblivion, but the Commons will not as yet assent to.

*p.* 70.

Aug. 2<sup>nd</sup>. Lord Bellasis entered Governor of Hull the same day as he was brought prisoner into the same place a year before.

From Rome it is said none shall presume to send any news abroad in writing upon pain of life and estate from hence.

13. A proclamation against duels: 1. None to send or receive any challenge, which, if done, then incapable of holding any office in His Majesty's service, and none permitted to come to Court or presence beside the punishment of the law; 2. All persons that accept or know of such challenges and do not reveal the same to one of His Majesty's Privy Council or the next Justice of Peace shall be liable to the same penalties; 3. All intercession forbidden to be made for such offenders.

14. A proclamation commanding all persons who either have or do know in whose custody power any plate, jewels, etc., or any goods and chatels belonging to the said King's father, mother, himself which have been purloined or embezzled, or upon pretences seized, disposed into several hands, and are yet detained and concealed, to deliver them or make discovery thereof to the Earl of Sandwich, Master of the Wardrobe, on or before the 29<sup>th</sup> of September next at their perils, and to be proceeded against according to law.

13. A proclamation against John Milton's book, "Pro populo Anglicano defensio," and his answer to the "Pourtrature of his Sacred Majesty in his sufferings," and John Goodwin's book called the "Obstructors of Justice," to be brought in within 10 days after proclamation to the Mayor or Chief Magistrate in cities, and out of Towns to the next Justice of Peace, and if in the Universities to the Vice-Chancellor, and if after found then the books to be seized and the persons' names notified to Privy Council. The Magistrate to deliver them to the Sheriff and the Sheriff at the Assizes to burn them.

It is said M<sup>r</sup> Denzil Hollis at Council Table made a speech for the settling presbytery and abolishing episcopacy, the King present, when he expressed himself with some disgust to the speaker therein.

\* In MS, a blank space for a word is left before "speeches."



p. 71.

A facetious Divine, being commended to Lord Chancellor Sir Edward Hyde, who loves witty men, desired to converse with him. Being come to him the Chancellor asked him his name. He said, Bull. He replied he never saw a Bull without Horns. It is true, for, saith he, "Horns go with the Hide."

25. 7 of the King's Judges sent to the Tower, namely, Col. H. Martin, M<sup>r</sup> Carey, Col. Wait, Col. Temple, Col. Robert Lilburn, . . . \* Smith, Col. Downes.

Orders from the General that no new soldiers, either for horse or foot, be listed in any troop or Company upon the disbanding, or death of any soldier.

28. Lord Windsor's troop being of the King's Regiment and under Cap<sup>t</sup> Lieutenant Charles Littelton, M<sup>r</sup> Chicheley, Cornet, came to quarter in the City of Worcester this winter.

21. In Scotland the King has reserved 8 strongholds, namely, Leith, St<sup>t</sup> Johnston, Ayr, Inverness, Stirling, Dumbarton, Dunstafnall, and Doune Castles.

Earl of Glencarn made Lord Chancellor of Scotland.

General Middleton Commissioner for His Majesty.

Earl of Crawford, Treasurer, Earls of Cassillis, general justice, Earl of Lauderdale, Secretary, Sir John Fletcher, advocate, Sir Archibald Primrose, Clerk Register, M<sup>r</sup> Gilbert Stewart, Lion King at Arms.

25. 1, For confirmation of judicial proceedings; 2, For restraining the taking of excessive usury; 3, For a principal anniversary Thanksgiving on the 29<sup>th</sup> May, the day of His Majesty's nativity and restoration; 4, A free pardon; 5, Poll money.

Earl of Southampton made Lord Treasurer.

p. 72.

29. Parliament voted the disbanding of the army, paying the arrears due since the 25<sup>th</sup> March last.

31. Mem. At the Cathedral Church of Worcester was at six in the morning the first morning prayer said in the body of the Church according to the ancient custom by M<sup>r</sup> Richard Brown ever since the reducing of Worcester to the then parliamentary forces, July 24<sup>th</sup>, 1646.

Sept. 2. Mem. There was a very great assembly at morning prayer by six in the morn in the Cathedral of Worcester; and at 9 of the Clock there appeared again at prayers all the gentry, many citizens, and others numerous, and after prayers D<sup>r</sup> Doddeswell, a new prebend,

\* Blank in MS.

did preach the first sermon, and the Dean and Prebends being to resettle the Church in its service. And also to repair the same by degrees, which hardly £10,000 will put the whole fabric in that order it was before the barbarous civil wars.

An Act 12<sup>o</sup> anno Regis Caroli, 1660, for the speedy provision of money for disbanding and paying of the forces of the kingdom both by land and sea by way of poll money, almost as it was 16<sup>o</sup> Car: 1<sup>o</sup> for disbanding the Scottish army.

An Act of Pardon, Indemnity, and Oblivion came forth. Voted by parliament the disbanding of all the soldiery both by sea and land, other than such as must be for a continued necessary defence for the nation.

29. Mem. 29 Aug. 1660. The King said at the passing of the Act of pardon in his speech, That he willingly pardons all that is pardoned by the Act, and that to this day he will not use great severity except in notorious cases, but for the time to come the same discretion which disposed him to clemency will oblige him to all rigour and severity, how contrary soever it be to his nature, conjuring the Lords and Commons to concur with him in that just and necessary severity. And that you will do exemplary justice upon those who were guilty of seditious speeches or writings as well as those that break out into seditious actions.

*p.* 73.

Mem. This day, memorable for the miraculous escape and deliverance of his Majesty from the hands of his enemies upon his defeat (or rather treachery of Scots Army) at this City of Worcester, was kept as a high and solemn day of thanksgiving at the Cathedral in Worcester, where was the first solemn service said, and preached D<sup>r</sup> Wright of S<sup>t</sup> John's upon 1 Sam. xii, 24 and 25 verses. All the Gentry of the Country were invited and many came. And a solemn entertainment was made in the Town hall where the first table for the Nobility and Gentry was made upon the other great table higher to be level with the benches, and there were 8 long tables more. And in the Council Chamber the long table full, 80 of Gentry, and citizens were about 400. And 5 bucks spent and 2s. 6d. allowed by every man to come in with ticketts. The attendance with better sort of Citizens. No Gentleman's servant admitted to attend his master.

At Edinburgh a proclamation 14<sup>th</sup> Aug. 1660 to prohibit and disband all unlawful meetings or conventicles in any place without his Majesty's special authority, and likewise all seditious petitions and remonstrances under what pretence soever which may lead to the disturbance of the peace of the kingdom.

Lord States of Zealand declare the Prince of Orange Captain and Admiral General.

2. Hugh Peters, that great Buffoon, king killer, taken in Southwark at Nath. Man, a Tap women's house, who said in one of his books had 6 innovations. 1. That Paul's church may be pulled down to pave Thamas Street. 2. To destroy Colleges, since they are never in the Gospel. 3. Physicians to take small fees. 4. That Adultery should be punished with a merciful heart. 5. That all unmarried maids be put to spin. 6. That all records in the Tower may be burned.

*p.* 74.

It was agreed at a Grand Committee where Sergeant Littleton had the chair that all delinquent estates and lands should be restored to their owners without compensation of any moneys to the purchaser.

The House of Commons voted to the Duke of York £10,000 and the Duke of Gloucester £7000 towards their present subsistence.

The House desired his Majesty not to alienate any of the lands fallen by attainder in the last rebellion, nor any other, without reserving a 3<sup>rd</sup> part upon improvement of their yearly value as of £300, £100 per annum rent. And that of the estates of the rebels, some revenues may be settled on his two brothers.

13. D<sup>r</sup> Oliver, president of Magdalen College and Dean of Worcester, came to Worcester to be installed Dean and settle the church in order.

A proclamation bearing date 1 Sept. 1660 against Colonel Edmund Ludlow, who was an excepted person out of the Act of pardon and broke out of the Serjeant of Arms' Custody. And £300 for a reward to him that can seize on him, and upon seizing Justice of the Peace to commit him, and certify speedily the Privy Council, was made at Worcester 12 Sept. Since retaken.

Princess Dowager of Orange is to come speedily to stay in England out of Holland.

The House of Commons voted all those rents of persons excepted out of pardon and debts to be secured.

A proclamation of peace with Spain since 25<sup>th</sup> of May last, and all ships and goods taken since to be restored. The same peace concluded as in his father's days.

Parliament sits for some time longer to finish some special affairs.

Duke of Gloucester sick of the small pox. So Earl of Oxford, and divers other great persons, but in hope of recovery.

Marquis of Hertford by the Parliament restored to the Dukedom of Somerset.

13. Duke of Gloucester diēd of the small pox.

*p.* 75.

Duke of York gone with some ships to meet his sister Mary Princess Dowager of Orange, who is coming out of Holland to stay here for a time.

Prince of Ligne and Duke of Ascott and divers eminent nobles of Flanders came to Gravesend as Ambassadors from the King of Spain in a stately equipage, some say 300 Attendants.

King of Portugal courts our King and offers Royal conditions to his Majesty to marry his sister, whereby it is and may be hoped thereby a peace with Spain and Portugal.

The Parliament hath given 3 months' contribution more after £70,000 promised, whereof one month for the King's present use, and the other as a supplement to the poll money.

14. This day the Militia foot of the County of Worcester were summoned in, where were a great appearance. On 18<sup>th</sup> the Horse . . . \*

Memd. There was a report made to his Majesty of a man now living and his wife that had at 25 births 50 sonnes, 2 at a birth and all living at this present, and are to present themselves to the King. The like never seen nor recorded in history by one man and woman, all sons and all living.

Marquis of Hartford restored to the Dukedom of Somerset and Marquis of Worcester put by as pretended, the patent not to be rightly come by and made out.

Parliament adjourned until 6<sup>th</sup> Nov. next.

The Anagram of (protector) an Archdeacon made Oportet. C. R. in his sermon at Gloucester assize.

20. D<sup>r</sup> Juxon, Bishop of London, was installed Archbishop of Canterbury.

Colonel Goff and Colonel Whaley, who had a hand of the King's death, to be seized on and £100 for their pains for each of them.

23. Mary Princess of Orange, his Majesty's sister, arrived in England and brought to Whitehall.

An Act for raising £70,000 for the King's use from 29<sup>th</sup> of September, to be assessed 5<sup>th</sup> Oct., to be paid into the Exchequer and to sign and seal a duplicate and return it before 10 Nov.

Act for £40,000 for 2 months, to be paid beginning 10 Nov. next, to be assessed 6<sup>th</sup> Nov. The old Commissioners to act.

*p.* 76.

Roger Lord Broughill created Earl of Orrery.

Sir Charles Coot, K<sup>t</sup> and Bar<sup>t</sup>, Lord President of Connaught, made Earl of Mountrath.

\* Blank in MS.

Colonel Richard Coot, his brother, made Baron of Colooney.

Sir John King made Baron of Kingston.

All these gentlemen were very instrumental in his Majesty's happy restoration.

Oct. The Fees by his Majesty abated to £10 10s. for the suing out of pardons under the seals.

1. Prince Rupert arrived in England.

5. The King gone down to Portsmouth to see his Navy, etc., but some say to be absent from the clamour of petitions concerning putting to death the late King's triers and Judges for mercy in the nature of their punishment.

4. D<sup>r</sup> Frewen, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, installed Archbishop of York.

6. The King gone down to Portsmouth to see the navy.

10. The first day of trial and arraignment of several of the late King C. I. Judges at the Session house in Old Baily.

13. Colonel Harrison hanged, drawn, and quartered at Charing Cross for being one of the King's Judges. So John Carew 15<sup>th</sup> day.

Colonel Adrian Scroope, Thomas Scott, Gregory Clement, Colonel John Jones, and . . .\* hanged, drawn, and quartered at Charing Cross.

19. Colonel Hacker hanged at Tyburn, and Colonel Axtell hanged, drawn, and quartered there. Carew and Hacker's bodies were begged by their friends.

9. Colonels Ludlow, Goff, and Whaley taken in London and committed to the Tower.

*p.* 77.

23. D<sup>r</sup> Barlow installed prebend of Worcester.

Solicitor Cook and Hugh Peters hanged, drawn, and quartered at Charing Cross. The heads of Cook and Hacker set upon poles over Westminster Hall Gate, and Peters' head over London Bridge. And their quarters hanged over several gates.

The other 18 delinquents condemned, but execution respited until the Result of King and the two houses thereon be known for their disposal.

D<sup>r</sup> Gilbert Sheldon created Bishop of London and chancellor of the province of Canterbury. D<sup>r</sup> Robert Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln. D<sup>r</sup> [Humfrey] Henchman, Bishop of Salisbury, and D<sup>r</sup> George Morley, Bishop of Worcester, at S<sup>t</sup> Mary Bow Church.

Sir Robert Forster made Chief Justice of England.

Sir Orlando Bridgman Chief Justice of Common Pleas.

\* Blank in MS.

A settling of the King's household according as the book was, 6<sup>th</sup> Car. i., wherein his Majesty declares that his officers should collect out of the same all such wholesome orders, decrees, and directions as may tend most to the planting, establishing, and countenancing of work and piety in his family, and to the discountenancing of all manner of disorder, debauchery, and vice in any persons of what degree or quality soever.

22. A proclamation against the multitude of Hackney Coaches being and standing in the streets as a common nuisance. And that no person keeping Hackney coaches after 6 Nov. next suffer any coaches to stand in the streets but in their yards, coach houses, where such as desire to hire them may resort. The contemners to be presented to his Majesty's Privy Council, etc.

25. 14 new serjeants, Mr Beare, Mirifold, Holloway, Browne, Hoskins, Kecling, Rainford, Wyndham, Parker, Hide, Charlton, Sir Ch. Dalison, Sir W<sup>m</sup> Moreton, were called by writ.

Sir Ed. Hyde, Lord Chancellor of England, on the death of the Duke of Somerset made Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

30. Mary Queen Mother and Henrietta Maria the King's sister and Prince Edward the Palsgrave's brother came to Whitehall from France.

29. On Thursday before there were 3 tides in 12 hours at London.

23. Denmark agreed by all the estates to be an hereditary kingdom. And the 30<sup>th</sup> the King and Queen received the Oath of Allegiance taken by all officers of state, and acknowledgement of the people.

*p.* 78.

Nov. 6. Parliament resat and gave £10,000 to be presented to the Lady Henrietta for her safe return into England.

Ordered that humble and hearty thanks of the House be presented to his Majesty for his gracious declaration concerning Ecclesiastical affairs. And in return to their affection his Majesty hath made Sir Harbottle Grimston, their speaker, to be Master of the Rolls.

Dec. 2. 7 Bishops made, Durham, Peterborough, Carlisle, Exeter, S<sup>t</sup> David's, and Llandaff.\*

7. Voted that the bodies of Oliver Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and . . . , † which were buried in H. VII.'s Chapel at Westminster, should be hanged at Tyburn and buried under the gallows—which

\* Their names were: Durham, J. Cosin; Peterborough, Benjamin Lancy; Carlisle, Richard Stearne; Exeter, John Ganden; S<sup>t</sup> David's, William Lucy; Llandaff, John Lloyd.

† Blank in MS. The only three of the Regicides actually buried in Henry VII.'s Chapel were those named. Which of the 21 persons who were unwarrantably buried it was intended to take up and hang, etc., does not appear. But it was possibly Pride, see p. 68.

day was terrible windy like the day of Oliver Cromwell's death, and so all the week after.

A great plot of the fanatics discovered to embroil the nation in blood to the destruction of King, General, and all Loyalty, by Major Gen. Overbury.

17. Lord Mayor of London up with the City all night to keep the City in order. Daily store of them are secured and the whole plot discovered by Major White, one of the chief Agents, whom the King himself examined with his secretary. And after 2 hours revealed the whole design upon his Majesty's gracious promise of pardon to him.

A Proclamation for the removing of all disbanded Soldiers and all others who cannot give a good account for their abode in the Cities of London and Westminster, etc. And not to be within 20 miles of the said Cities until new orders the better to secure the court and city.

18. Memd. The Cathedral Church of Worcester was by the care and industry of M<sup>r</sup> Oley, one of the prebends, this day secured and made dry from wet until it can be fully repaired.

20. The Parliament should have ended, but in respect that many bills could not be perfected it was by the King continued until\*

p. 79.

24. Mary Princess of Orange and eldest sister to the King died of the small pox† at Whitehall, being not a week sick at all. It is generally conceived that the old queen's French doctors by letting thrice blood was one principal natural cause of her death, being contrary to the cold climate and English bodies so to be used, but permitting nature to work its course. The Duke of Gloucester‡ might have been a fair caution and example. Lady§

Earl of Cork made Lord Treasurer of Ireland.

So great Tempests have been of late in most parts of Christendom that the like hath never been known. Most of the Minster in York blown down, and much hurt in the north. 150 Dutch ships cast away, and £500,000 loss and damage.

His Majesty passed 2 Acts, one for excise of liquors,|| 2, The taking of Court of Wards, knight's service, and purveyance.¶

Lord Justices made for Government of Ireland. And General Middleton Great Commissioner for Scotland.

All Regiments disbanded, except the General's Regiments of foot and Horse and some Garrisons.

\* Blank in MS. It was continued to 29th December 1660.

† "Measles" written over "Small pox," but struck out.

‡ See his death, *ante* p. 61.

|| 12 Car. II., c. 23.

§ Blank in MS.

¶ 12 Car. II., c. 24.

29. His Majesty went to the House of Peers, passed many bills,\* and dissolved the Parliament.

The old Commissioners of Excise are to continue and all officers during the King's pleasure.

Jan. 1. His Majesty, Duke of Albemarle, and Marchioness of Ormonde christened the Duke of York's son, whose name was Charles. The marchioness stood for the queen mother. The King and the Duchess of York christened my lord Herbert the Marquess of Worcester's grandchild Charles after Duke of York.

Duchess was by the king brought to Whitehall to the Queen mother and graciously received, so all is like to be well.

2. Queen mother goes from London down to Portsmouth and so to France, and returns as it is believed next summer.

8. Upon the Act of Excise, the Justices of peace in all counties are by certificate to commend to the Lord Treasurer some able person or persons for the same, and they now at the Quarter Sessions have chosen . . . †

p. 80.

Jan. 6. On Sunday night an Insurrection made in the City of London by the fanatics or fifth monarchy men; to the number of 5000 listed, some began to rise and there were at Paul's some 5 or 6 killed, some taken and many arms. Upon search, there should be 30,000 in the country beside.

9. On Wednesday another insurrection which was suppressed, some few killed and divers hurt. The prisons in London full of them.

15. The City of Worcester hath ever since the first knowledge kept guards of horse and foot to assist, out of the County trained bands, and the passages over Severn guarded.

6. 4 Bishops consecrated. D<sup>r</sup> Gilbert Ironside, Bishop of Bristol, D<sup>r</sup> Edward Rheyolds, Bishop of Norwich, D<sup>r</sup> Nich. Monk, Bishop of Hereford, and D<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Nicholson, Bishop of Gloucester.

Oxfordshire and Cheshire have put themselves in a posture of defence against the fanatic party, which did endeavour to head themselves in most places, but many were seized and suspected persons secured. Papers and declarations found for King Jesus.

16, 17. Many fanatics tried at the Old Bailey taken in Arms and 16‡ Condemned to be hanged; who were so obstinate in their opinions, that they believe they shall live to see their King Jesus come down and

\* The numbers were for this Parliament: Public Acts 35, Private 20.

† Blank in MS. The section is 16 of the 12 Car. II., c. 23.

‡ "22" is in the original; this has been struck out and "16" inserted.



sit in Judgment upon their judges, and do not repent, but if it were to do again, they would do the same, they so said.

19. Venner and Hodgkins were quartered before their meeting house in Coleman Street, and eleven more were hanged and five beheaded and their heads set on London Bridge, viz., Oxenden and Pritchard, and Venner and Hodgkins' quarters hanged up on the city gates.

17. A proclamation that no person shall be seized nor any House searched without special warrants under the hand and seal of some or one of the Privy Council, or of the Lord Lieutenant, Deputy Lieutenant, or Justices of the Peace in their respective limits, and all warrants to be directed to the Constable or some other known legal officer.

21. Lord Chancellor's eldest son married to my Lord Capel's youngest sister. The King gave her in marriage at the great Marquis of Worcester's house in Strand.

*p.* 81.

30. An Act of Parliament to keep the 30<sup>th</sup> of Jan. annually as a perpetual fasting day to desire God to divert his punishing the nation for shedding the innocent blood of King Charles the first, and that the guilt may not be laid upon all for the wickedness of some particulars who were only guilty.

The Form of the Oath which the Parliament of Scotland took before they sat to the King, which is the form of the Oaths of Allegiance or supremacy:—

I, A. B., for Testification of my faithful obedience to my most gracious redoubted sovereign Charles King of Great Britain France and Ireland Defender of the faith etc. affirm testify and declare by this my solemn oath that I acknowledge my said Sovereign only supreme Governor of this kingdom over all persons and in all causes. And that no foreign prince power state nor person civil or ecclesiastic hath any Jurisdiction power or superiority over the same. And therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdiction power and Authority, And shall to my utmost power defend assist and maintain his Majesty's jurisdiction foresaid against all whomsoever, And never decline his Majesty's power or jurisdiction, As I shall answer to God.

The Parliament hath repealed all Acts to the prejudice of his Majesty's crown or Royal prerogative, and particularly the Act for triennial Parliaments, choosing the Officers of State and Lords of Session.

His Majesty commanded the Bones of the Marquess of Montrose to be preserved until the dissolution of the parliament there, and then solemn funerals for him, which was consented to by the parliament.

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Jan. 8. In Scotland parliament approved of an Act asserting the King's prerogative for calling, continuing, and dissolving of all subsequent parliaments, and no parliaments and acts in force without the Royal assent or his commissioners. Expelling all former Acts in Opposition. So in choosing all Officers of State and Lords of Session.

84 Hogsheads of Scottish Records sent from London lost at Sea.

2000 marks given to the Minister's wife who kept the Crown, Sceptre, and Sword during all the times of oppression.

His Majesty to enjoy the Militia wholly by sea and land.

Making void all Leagues and Contracts without the King's assent.

26. The Carcasses of those two horrid Regicides, Oliver Cromwell and Henry Ireton, were digged up in H. 7 Chapel, which with those of John Bradshaw (and Tom Pride)\* are to be hanged up at Tyburn and buried under the Gallows the 30<sup>th</sup>, which was performed, and hung at the 3 Corners of the Gallows until Sunset. Then taken down, having their heads cut off and carcasses thrown in a hole, being the day they murdered Charles the first, 1648.

19. News came that Q. mother and Lady Henrietta arrived safely, landed at Deep, and the Duke of Anjou there received them with much joy.

The mass book is said to be translated into French, which Cardinal Mazarin is much troubled at. The Bible may follow after. We have it in French in England, and so in the Reformed Churches in France.

At Plymouth was discovered 800 daggers short, lodged in a private house, which caused further search, and several Arms found in disaffected houses as some discovery of a new plot.

M<sup>r</sup> Ch. Howard, brother to the Lord Ch. Howard of the north, with his 2 footmen were found guilty at King's Bench bar for killing of a servant of Walton, the Horse Courser, in Smithfield, the fact being done in April last.

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Commissions issued out of the Exchequer to enquire after all estates, real and personal (who are attainted by Act of Parliament for the murder of the late King), whereof they were possessed since 25 Marc. 1646. Those who know any concealed estates and discover them to the Commissioners in each County shall do an acceptable service and receive to themselves a suitable reward.

29. A Proclamation for restraint of killing, dressing, and eating

\* These words are struck out in MS., see *ante* p. 64.

flesh in Lent or on fishdays to be observed, appointed by law. Very strict.

At Edinburgh, 25 Jan., the Parliament declare all leagues and Bonds without his Majesty's special warrant had or to rise or continue in Arms to be High Treason; and Have rescinded and cancelled all Acts to the contrary. No obligation by Covenant to endeavour Reformation of Religion in England.

His Majesty forbids the Renewing of the Covenant nor to offer to swear the same. And repeals the Commission, 16 July 1644, concerning the League with England. And declares all Acts passed or done therein to be void and null.

Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw's heads are set up over Westminster Hall, where that monstrous Court of Justice sat, Bradshaw's head in the middle.

A proclamation in Ireland by the Lord Justices against the meetings and unlawful assemblies held by papists, presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, Quakers, and other fanatic persons, 22 Jan., under the name of days of Humiliation, Thanksgiving, Consistorial days, or under any other pretence whatsoever.

Don Francisco de Mello, Earl of Ponte, Ambassador extraordinary from the King of Portugal, returned into England.

14. A Blazing star observed at Stockholm in Swedland every morning about 3 or 4 of the clock extending his tail towards the North.\*

At Dresden in Saxony many strange visions seen. As the City itself to stand in full fire and flame, meat converted into blood on the tables. And a citizen met a man completely armed, who presently vanished. These, if true, portend no good.

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27. Lord Ablefeld, the Danish Ambassador, gone, having concluded a treaty of Alliance between their Majesties.

Mar. 1. Spaniard hath 2 armies ready against Portugal. The differences high between Don Juan de Austria and Don Lewis de Haro for the Government of the Armies.

Count Maurice of Nassau, ambassador for Marquess of Brandenburg, received audience.

9. The eminent Cardinal and favourite, Mazarine, of the King of France, died at Bois de Vincennes. Q<sup>y</sup>. Who shall be Administrators to the King, who is a person of no strength of judgment.

17 ships paid off. Money comes in slowly.

\* An entry following in the MS. "Arthur Lord Capel created Earl of Essex" has been struck out, but the striking out is modern. The actual creation was on the 20 April 1661

The Match with the Duke of Parma's daughter broke off and the Portuguese on again.

15. One Ursula Corbett of Defford, in the County of Worcester, burnt at Worcester for poisoning her husband, being not married past 3 weeks. An ill fate certainly attends when parents enforce their children to marry against their liking.

21. Count Salviati, Ambassador extraordinary from the Duke of Tuscany, had audience in the banquetting house at Whitehall.

23. One Zachary Crofton, a notorious publisher, committed to the Tower for preaching and writing seditious doctrines.

Hugh Peters was there before.

23. 1661. Memd. I and M<sup>r</sup> George Symonds as Justices released out of the Castle Gaol at Worcester this day 44 Quakers and 14 anabaptists upon their promise to appear at the next Gaol delivery, and in the mean to keep the peace towards the King and all people. They drew up 2 Recognizances containing 3 heads: 1. To acknowledge Charles the 2<sup>nd</sup> King. 2. To live peaceably. 3. To appear at the next Assize.

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The pope at Rome hath published a year of Jubilee for a blessing by fervent prayers upon the Armies against the Turks.

The City of London Officers of the Militia, of the trained bands, and auxiliaries presented a declaration to his Majesty of their fidelity and readiness to serve him, and to submit to the Government according to 1661.

the Laws, and to employ with their lives and fortunes to destroy their enemies in defence of the royal person and authority.

April 9. Upon the Election day of Burgesses for the City of Worcester for the Parliament, Sir Rowland Berkeley, who had 615 voices, and M<sup>r</sup> Tho. Street, the Counsiler, who had 589, were chosen Burgesses. And M<sup>r</sup> Jo. Nanfan, who had 544, lost the same.

10. Sir Jo. Pakington, Bar<sup>t</sup>, and Samuel Sandys, Esq<sup>r</sup>, chosen Knights of Worcester.

At Edinburgh agreed, March 28, by the Lords of Articles for settling of £40,000 per annum upon his Majesty during life.

James, Marquess of Ormond, made Duke of Ormond.

7. One Isaac Gosner of Smyrna, a Jew, converted by D<sup>r</sup> Warmstry, and christened Paul at the Savoy.

13. First quire service said and sung in the Cathedral Church of Worcester since the reducing of the City of Worcester by the Parliamentary forces, 25 July 1646.

11. The King, according to the ancient custom before his Coronation, washed and kissed the feet of 31 persons, being as many as he is years in age.

21. On Sunday night the King went to the Tower by water to prepare against the next day's glorious show through the City.

22. On Monday morn the King rode through the City of London to Whitehall, the City having prepared most magnificent fabricks, and raised with strange and unparalleled preparations the whole manner of his show and entertainments his own Attendants which are in M<sup>r</sup> Ogilby's book of description at large.

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1661, April 23. The day was the solemn and most glorious Coronation of Charles the second at Westminster; where did preach George Morley, Bishop of Worcester.

This day all the trained bands, Horse and foot, were up in arms in several places to prevent Insurrections and tumults of seditious fanatics and schismatics, haters of Monarchy and Episcopacy.

This morn also at Worcester about break of day was posted up in several places of the City a base, scurrilous, seditious and factious Libel, as followeth:—

A seasonable memento. Apr. 23, 1661.

This day it is said the King shall swear once more  
 Just contrary to what he sware before.  
 Great God, O can thy potent eyes behold  
 This height of sin and can thy vengeance hold?  
 Nip thou the Bud before the Bloom begins  
 And save our Sovereign from presumptuous sins.  
 Let him remember, Lord; in mercy grant  
 That solemnly he sware the Covenant.

News, 15 March, dated at Rome. Great store of rain here as in other countries. The Pope hath set out a Breve That all that keep any missals or mass books new translated into French and used in France publicly And doth not burn them is to be excommunicated *ipso facto*, Requiring all Apostolical obedience thereunto.

A Jubilee and pardon granted to all that assist the Emperor against the Turkish invasion.

Many Quakers got to Rome and there condemned to Bedlam. One Bury is there rose up, as mad as others, and is called by his 12 Apostles

King Christ, but he is fled into Germany and his disciples have abjured their master and doctrine.

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22. It is reported that the King going privately in his barge from Whitehall the night before or 2 of his great Solemnity was for 2 hours suddenly missed, which made the Court in great whisper and murmur and disquiet. The Duke of York his brother making great inquiry after him. At last news being brought he was safe and landing, the Duke met him, and told him he was so bold that he would come to some mischief or other by going in this slender manner of guard. The King told him he feared it not, for they will never kill a Lambe to have a Lion rule over them.

May 8.\* His Majesty's speech in Parliament tended to shew the conclusion of the match between him and the princess of Portugal. And that they should not meddle with the Act of Oblivion. The rest to the Chancellor to speak.

May 8. The Parliament sat at Westminster. Sir Edward Turner chosen speaker. Bishop of Bristol preached before His Majesty, who rode with his crown on his head.

M̄nd as the Gentlemen of the House of Commons pressed out to the Lord's House Aldernau Foukes of London lost 40 links of his gold chain.

This day, 1641, two bills were refused to be signed by Charles the first. One for the execution of Earl of Strafford. 2, for perpetual parliament. Mem. both signed after that.

10. Lord Chancellor declared to both Houses of parliament his Majesty's intention of a progress towards the end of July, and to hasten their Bills in the mean. 2. That then he will adjourn the parliament until winter. 3. That he will make a progress to Worcester and all other places where God had preserved him. And to meet again at winter and find him with a queen in his arms.

This day the Committee of privileges chosen, on which Sir John Pakington and Colonel Sandys, our two knights of the shire, and Sir Rowland Berkeley, and M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Street, burgess for the City of Worcester, are voted of the Committee. Who first begin with double returns, after which petitions.

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Saturday, Tuesdays and Thursdays in the afternoon appointed for the Committee of privileges and Elections.

\* A blank in MS.

Monday for Committees of Religion. Wednesday for Grievances. Friday for Trade: for Highways in Speaker's chamber.

10. On Friday last an order past the House of Commons to give his Majesty thanks for his gracious favour in declaring to them his intention of the marriage with the princess of Portugal, and their general Approbation of it, And therein all the Commons of England, And that they will join with him in it for the effecting thereof against all opposition.

13. War like to be with Spain and Holland by reason of the match, but much talked of the great Advantage to the whole nation by the match by reason traffic into the Indies, etc.

5. Charles young Duke of Cambridge, the Duke of York's eldest son, an Infant, buried in H. 7 Chapel.

A proclamation to put in Execution the Statute of 39 Eliz. 4 concerning vagabonds, rogues, etc., within the City of London, Westminster and Suburbs, And that any found 24 May to be apprehended and publicly (whipped and sent away, except such as are willing to go to the English plantations) and all justices, etc., to put the said statute in Execution, and 1 Jac. 7 concerning the same. And so 43 Eliz. 2 for the poor.

A proclamation for release of all prisoners called quakers for not taking the oaths of 3 Jac. and 7 Jac., of all against or for any meetings contrary to the late proclamation, or for matter referring to opinion or scruple of conscience, or for not finding security, without demanding any other fees, than for lodging, diet and other necessaries. And doth

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hereafter expect return of loyalty and due obedience from such persons who have their liberty, His Majesty not intending their impunity if they offend in the future. Proviso except they be not in debt or other civil and criminal matter.

18. Covenant voted to be burnt by the Hangman under the Gallows. Act for securing the King's person, etc.\*

Bishop of London president of the Convocation, D<sup>r</sup> Fern prolocutor, D<sup>r</sup> Thomas Peirce preached the Latin sermon.

17. Queen of Bohemia comes into England, the King's aunt, and lies at Drury House.

Sir John Morley, a member of Parliament and one of the King's servants, was impeached for treason in betraying the King's Council during the Rumpists' time, etc. The House sent him to the Marshalsea to be tried by law.

\* 13 Car. II., c. 1.

5. Parliament began in Ireland the same day as in England. Sir Audley Merwin chosen speaker.

11. Marquess of Montrose entombed with such relics of banners as were left in all magnificence in Edinburgh.

14. All members of Parliament's letters to or from them for the time being free from postage, they being single letters, not packets.

14 May. Edward Nicholas, W<sup>m</sup> Morrice, secretaries of State so ordered.

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May 20. Mem. the same day being May 20, the Covenanters in Scotland condemned Marquess of Montrose to barbarous execution. The House of peers ordered the Covenant to be burnt by the Hangman in England in the new palace at Westminster, Cheapside, and before the old Exchange on 22<sup>nd</sup> of May. And the same Covenant to be taken off the Record in the house of peers and in all other courts; and all copies thereof be taken down out of all churches, chapels and other public places in England and Wales. The Covenant consisted of 666 words neither more or less.

The Ambassadors extraordinary from Holland within five days after his Majesty's declaration to the parliament of his resolution to marry with the Infanta of Portugal attended his Majesty to congratulate his most happy choice.

The Portugal Ambassador in Holland, May 26, caused great bonfires for the conclusion of the match, and entertainments, and threw away to the people 4,000 florins as the Earl of Ponte did revel here in England.

In Parliament of Ireland. Ordered that none that sat in any high Court of Justice upon any of His Majesty's subjects, nor had a hand in the murder of his late Majesty should sit in the house except Colonel Thomas Scott, who always did disfavour his father's proceedings and exertions against Colonel Ludlow, and instrumental to his Majesty's happy Restoration.

From Scotland several letters report of divers witches, men and women, burnt at Edinburgh, and some of them when they came to die said Marquess of Argyll was a witch, and did often appear in the likeness of a fox. And one who upon his execution said that the devil had bound him to renounce his creed and Christendom, but gave him leave to keep his Covenant.

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Parliament voted a power and liberty to the king to raise a monthly contribution after £70,000 for his services.



Memd. So great is the King's justice that he having given a parsonage to one of his chaplains worth £160 per annum at Henley upon Thames, where one M<sup>r</sup> Brice was then Incumbent, and was possessed thereof by the present powers. The said M<sup>r</sup> Brice being an ancient man and well-behaved, and desiring to stay, and offered to be Curate for him; who at length told him he should, but would give him only £20 per annum; he answered that a so small a competency; but if that was his resolve, he must leave it, and so did. And went after to London where, walking in Westminster hall, casually, the Earl of Manchester met him and knowing him, asked him how he did, he answered "never worse." Why, said my Lord. Because I am put out, and told him as before; he replied, Come away with me to the King, who being acquainted therewith, asked whether it were past the great seal, he knew not; but presently sent to know, And it was not. Then said the King to the Earl, go yourself to the Chancellor and see that this M<sup>r</sup> Brice hath it passed over to him the parsonage; which was done. M<sup>r</sup> Brice would needs, howsoever, be the other's Curate, And asked him what he would have, Why, said he, £25 shall be the uttermost; Then, he said, here I have it under the great Seal, and here it is, so I will hold it by the King's gracious Concession.

24. So great a storm fell in London of Rain that in Colman Street and other places the great sinks were suddenly choked up at the Grate that the water rose 4 foot high and rushed into cellars and warehouses, destroying £10,000 of goods.

29. The Anniversary of the birth of our Sovereign Charles the Second for ever to be kept festival. And on that day 1549 the Book of Common Prayer was first established. And on that day 1660 his Majesty rode in triumph after 19 years' absence through London to Whitehall.

28. Proclamation by the crier within the City of Worcester That whosoever can discover the persons that made, posted or published in Worcester that Infamous Libel upon the day of the King's Coronation, April 23, shall have £20 for a reward.

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May 28. This day the Engagement Act to make the nation a free state, Oath of Abjuration of the late King Charles' family, the Act for trial of the King with some other of that stamp were burnt at Westminster Hall, Old Exchange, by the common Hangman by vote of Parliament 27<sup>th</sup>, And Act for securing Oliver Lord Protector's person. The Judges sitting in court.

A strong fleet going under the command of the Earl of Sandwich to fetch home the intended Queen, the princess of Portugal.

Fees for knighthood amount to £64. Drew purchase. In Scotland a Declaration of Parliament for the 29<sup>th</sup> day of May to be kept holiday for the King's birth and happy restoration. Bill drawing up by Sir Heneage Finch to vacate the Act of 17 Car. 1 for their restoring to the Lords' House again. It was moved in the House of Commons, and *nemine contradicente* consented to the same.

Act to pass by way of speedy supply of money for his Majesty's present use by way of Benevolence like that of\*

24. Marquess of Argyll in Scotland to be beheaded on the 27<sup>th</sup> of May: His head to be placed in the Room of Marquess Montrose. His posterity to be incapable of any public trust, all his lands and goods to be confiscate to his Majesty's use. Edinburgh. Execution so done.

17. The Parliament of Ireland, which consist of Lords Spiritual and temporal and Commons ordered That the Lawes should be put in operation against all contemnners of the Government of the Church by Archbishops and Bishops, etc., and Common Prayer Book either by disobediencies, words or otherwise. And the Declaration and order to be read in all churches.

7. Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle's corpses, which were shot to death at the surrender of Colchester and obscurely buried, were taken up and buried in great solemnity in Lord Lucas' vault in S<sup>t</sup> Giles Church in Colchester.

12. The garrison of Dunkirk consist of between 6 and 7000 officers and men. That day the fleet moved towards Lisbon to bring in the princess of Portugal.

June 1. M<sup>r</sup> James Guthrie, a minister, and one Captain Giffen

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were both hanged at Edinburgh for treason, dying in an obstinate resolution in defence of the Remonstrance and Scottish Covenant.

Ordered and declared by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons assembled in Parliament in Ireland, that the Solemn League and Covenant was and is against the laws of God and the fundamental Constitution of this Kingdom. And therefore do condemn it as schismaticall, seditious, and treasonable. And do order it to be burnt in all cities and market towns by the common hangman. And adjudge and declare that whosoever shall by word or writing defend or justify the said treasonable Covenant shall be esteemed as an enemy to his sacred Majesty and to the public peace of the Church and kingdom.

\* Blank in MS.

The Irish Parliament approve and congratulate his Majesty for his intended choice and match with the princess of Portugal.

20. It is said in Parliament that had not His Majesty preserved his Act of Oblivion from question, there were many who would have torn the same in pieces, so that his enemies all owe their preservation to his Majesty's goodness and mercy for their lives and estates throughout the nation.

27. His Majesty feasted the Portugal Ambassador for his good services about the marriage of the Infanta of Portugal, Donna Katrina, which the King intended; the ambassador is Don Francisco de Mello Count de Ponte.

July 2. The Conference between the Portuguese and Holland for peace sent over to King Charles to be viewed.

3. Portugal Ambassador took his leave and gone homewards.

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July 1. Lord Munson, Sir James Harrington, and Sir Henry Mildmay sentenced (as being regicides, and having their lives by the Act of Oblivion saved) to be degraded of all Honour and Titles. Prisoners in Tower during life, so Mr Robert Wallop. And all 4 drawn upon sledges with ropes about their necks from the Tower to and under the Gallows at Tyburn, then back to the Tower. Their estates confiscate. Lord Munson confessed his fault and was sorry. Sir H. Mildmay was sorry he was so misguided and was enticed to Westminster Hall, but voted not. Mr Wallop craved pardon, he was old and frail and did not remember he sat in High Court of Justice.

A Bill preparing to confiscate all the estates of the regicides, etc., that are dead. And a clause for execution of the 19 traitors in Tower condemned and reprieved.

11. The King by declaration to the Scots, 11<sup>th</sup> June last, allows the present administration by Sessions, presbyteries, and synods (they keeping within their bounds) promise to be such as he shall call to settle and secure the Government as before never to intermeddle with the public Government of the Church any ways.

Convocation of estates in Poland hath enacted to tolerate none in that kingdom but professed good Catholics, and published by sound of trumpet from Dantzic. June 25. Prince Radziwill at first desired as a Reformed prince to shift, but after by the earnest motion of General Prince Czarnosky admitted.

Mr Prim in Parliament acknowledged a paper to be his concerning regulating of corporations, which the House voted to be illegal, false,

scandalous and seditious. He submitted and repented, and so pardoned with a sharp reprehension from the speaker.

Earl of Sandwich gone with a fleet to Algiers to desire reparation of the Turkish pirates for the injuries done the English. And if denied, then to fall upon them.

30. The King's Majesty came to the House of Peers and passed many bills, both public and private. And adjourned until 20<sup>th</sup> of Nov. next.

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Bernard de Foix, Duke de Epernon de la Valette et Candale, K<sup>t</sup> of the King's orders and the Garter, Colonel General of France and Governor of Guienne, being 62 years old died. General of Mainzt and of the country of Messin.

English admiral, Captain Holms, sent to the Governor of Cape de Verde, New Guinea, the factory of Seralone, and divers other places along the Coast of Africa, to give them warning to quit these several places by December next, until which time they may freely trade, but after must leave them to the English East India Company.

A fortress taken by the English, and since place called James Island upon the River Gambo a new fort built called Charles Island.

Sept. 12. D<sup>r</sup> George Morley, Bishop of Worcester, was solemnly brought in to Worcester by my Lord Windsor, Lord Lieutenant of the County, and most of the Gentry and all the Clergy, there being 10 trumpets then attending, and some volunteer militia Horse, the Trained bands of the City, and clergy band of foot in Arms, giving divers volleys of shot. As soon as he had rested within half an hour the Bishop with all the prebends, and the quire meeting him at the College steps in their formalities sang to the Quire, where he was enthroned performing the ceremonies. Then Quire Service. So to his palace, where was noble treatment prepared.

15. On Sunday the Reverend Bishop made an admired sermon on 2 Cor., 8, 20, in the Collegiate Church of Worcester.

7. Lord Chancellor Earl of Clarendon, Chancellor of Oxford, was received there with great honour, and so his house at Cornbury.

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17. Richard, Earl of Carbury, Lord president of Wales and Lord Lieutenant of North Wales and South Wales, was sworn of his Majesty's Privy Council.

30. The Count of Brahé, Ambassador Extraordinary from the King of Sweden, landing at the Tower, The King's guards of Horse and 3 companies of foot attended ready; where proclamation and orders were sent out that no soldier on pain of death should offer to assist any quarrel between strange princes' ambassadors endeavouring pre-eminence of motion after the King's and ambassadors' coaches. But the French and Spanish ambassadors striving for the first place, a fray began, and there were 7 or more killed of the French, and three coach horses, and only 1 Spaniard; divers hurt on both sides. There being some hundreds on each part, what the sequel of this may follow time must produce.

Oct. 8. Since the French king hath forbidden the Spanish ambassador the French court, Oct. 18, to depart the kingdom, and forbid another Spanish ambassador to forbear coming into the realm. Hath given orders to his General Turenne to prepare his Armies in readiness, and send into Spain to demand instant satisfaction for the injury. And to know whether the Crown of Spain will for future dispute for precedence with France.

Mmd. George Morley, Bishop of Worcester, a most pitiful and pious man, forgave one David Morgan, a saddler, who in his drink railed and spake most reproachful language of him at Worcester, for which he was committed, and upon his submission the Bishop not only forgave him, but gave him 5<sup>s</sup> in money to relieve him, and victuals, though the fellow better deserved to be publicly whipped through the City, and caused his release.

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Oct. 4. Count of Brahe, extraordinary ambassador from Sweden, had his audience in the banquetting house at Whitehall before the King's Majesty.

Drums beat up for Volunteers at London for Tangiers City in Africa, under the command of the Earl of Peterborough, and in one fortnight the number will be completed, 2500 foot and 500 Horse.

Proclamation for retailers of wines to take licences.

Proclamation for Council of Marches to sit again, and to hear and determine causes according to their instructions from his Majesty. The authority and proceedings of the said president and council to be obeyed. All mayors, sheriffs and other officers of Justice are commanded to serve all precepts and causes. And to yield all obedience and submission to orders and decrees of the Court, etc.

Rich., Earl of Carbury, Lord president.

Serjeant Job Charleton, chief Justice of Chester, first Judge. 2. Timothy Turner, Eq<sup>r</sup>. 3. Simon Degg, Eq<sup>r</sup>. 4. Jo. Griffith, Eq<sup>r</sup>. George, Earl of Norwich, Clerk of the Council.\*

Sir Richard Lloyd, K<sup>t</sup>, Attorney General. W<sup>m</sup> Morgan, Eq<sup>r</sup>, Solicitor General.

21. D<sup>r</sup> Berwick made Dean of Paul's.

Proclamation in London by the Lord Mayor, That henceforward no market to be kept in Paul's churchyard. And all roots, herbs, fruit or other market commodities not to stand in any other place but in the streets called Aldermanbury and Broad Street, and only on market days.

Colonel Parker, Colonel Streaker, Colonel Wileks, Colonel Lithcot, Colonel Kenrick, Lieut.-Colonel Read, Major Gladman, Captain Chaffin committed close prisoners to the Gatehouse. And Major Heynes and Colonel Close prisoners at Hertford.

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Oct. 25, 13<sup>o</sup> Car. 2. Letters came from the Archbishops to all bishops intimating a command from his Majesty that they shall cause their clergy in every parish within their diocese to read the two Acts, one concerning the better securing his Majesty's person against all treasons, the other against tumults and disorders upon pretence of petitioning his Majesty in their several churches, whereby none may plead ignorance of the same.

The plague hath made great slaughter for this 3 months in Constantinople and Adrianople. Constantinople a great part burnt last year and not yet re-edified. In Adrianople, Sept. 3, 1700 dead bodies carried out daily.

One M<sup>r</sup> Robert Blayn, a Scottish minister, imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh for preaching up the Covenant with bold reflections on the parliaments of the 3 kingdoms.

At Malaga by extraordinary rains great losses to the inhabitants, 2000 at least drowned, all the first wines spoiled, damages valued at 3 millions of gold.

The cargo of the Plate fleet lately arrived in Spain is valued at 25 millions.

Cossuma Albertus, a prince of Transylvania, was basely murdered by his 2 servants and mangled in the parish of Strood near Rochester,

\* Blank in MS.

and buried in the Cathedral Church; one Isaac Jacob, a Jew, his coachman, and Casimirus Kansangi, his footman.

22. Sir John Frederick sworn Lord Mayor of London, who entertained his Majesty, the Court, and sent by the King ambassadors. Sent therewith Lord Croft and Laurence Hyde, Esq., and Sir Charles Berkeley, Groom of the Stole, sent by the Duke of York into France to the King to congratulate the happy birth of the Dauphin. Nov. 1<sup>st</sup>. *Stilo novo* who is christened Louis Toussaints (1) All Saints in relation to the day.

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The Bishop of London set up 4 lectures in London, viz., 1 at Paul's on Wednesdays, 2 at Christchurch Thursdays, and 3 and 4 at \* , and S<sup>t</sup> Dunstan's in the East Fridays. So hath the Bishops of Salisbury and Worcester in their several dioceses.

Duke of Ormonde made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Duke of York over to Dunkirk to view the Garrison.

The Spaniards and French reconciled, and the Spanish king sent his daughter of France a present of 12 china dishes valued 100,000 livres, and a diamond ring to the young Dauphin at 50,000 crowns.

The Spanish ambassador forbidden the Court, the reason not yet published.

22. One John James, a fanatic preacher, condemned at King's Bench bar for preaching at a conventicle in Whitechapel, Oct. 19<sup>th</sup>, and declaring his intention to destroy his Majesty and nobles. Justifying the late regicide and bemoaning the miscarriage of that monstrous plot of miscreants who were lately arraigned at Old Bailey, and 27<sup>th</sup> hanged at Tyburn, in whose death all seditious libellers and preachers concerned.

20. The Parliament began to resit.

Prince of Spain died 1<sup>st</sup> November and another son the Queen was brought to bed of another son in recompense.

27. D<sup>r</sup> Thomas Warmestry was brought in this day to Worcester with about 100 Horse as Dean of Worcester, the clergy band stood ready to receive him in the City. The 40 king's scholars at the College Gate. He alighted at his house the Deanery, put on his robes. And the prebends and quire met him in the cloisters, sung *Te Deum*. Then came into the Quire. Then read his letters Patent for Deanery and enjoyment of all rights belonging to his place. Took the oaths of supremacy, allegiance, and against simony. The Sub-Dean, M<sup>r</sup> Giles Thornborough, installed him; quire service finished every one went to his own place. And in the evening said service himself.

\* Blank in MS.

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22. Duke of York returned from Dunkirk viewing the works and the new fortifications, where are 1000 men at work daily, the Lord Rutherford governor there, and some suspicion of treachery.

21. The House of Commons (*nemine contradicente*) voted that £1,200,000 should be speedily raised for a supply of the king's Majesty's present occasions and a committee to consider of the manner of raising it.

22. A Bill for executing of the condemned persons brought in.

24. Earl of St Alban's returned from his extraordinary Ambassady into France.

The Parliament of Ireland have transmitted the bill for advancing his Majesty's revenue there £80,000 per annum as an additional.

25. Robert Wilson the quaker's books of sedition and blasphemy burnt at St Martin le Grand, and on 26<sup>th</sup> at Westminster Palace Yard. The books were Primers, Catechisims. 3 threatenings against bishops and Governments.

A new proclamation for the better observance of Lent, etc.

Another for prohibiting the embezzlement of his Majesty's store for shipping.

The condemned traitors brought to the Parliament bar.

All protections already granted to any other persons beside menial servants be forthwith withdrawn and called in.

26. Mr James Harrington, Major John Wyldman, and Praise God Barebon were committed to the Tower. Bishops of Galloway and Dunblane.

4 Scottish bishops ordained at Lambeth. 1<sup>st</sup> Archbishop of St Andrews, and 2 Archbishop of Glasgow, and\*

The King desired that Sir H. Vane and Lambert be sent for to come to trial, and Sir Hardress Waller (a condemned person).

Count of Brahe, Ambassador of Sweden, going by Gravesend with his ship did not strike sail at the King's ship passing by him; for which his Majesty's ship gave him a warning piece; he sent his secretary and another to the captain that his Majesty gave way by word of mouth that he should not; the Captain was questioned (whose name was Holmes) at the Council table for believing words without authority. He was dismissed his place for the same and committed.

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A proclamation that the parliament money shall be current money to pay the King in any payment until first day of March next, but not between party and party.

\* Blank in MS.



A proclamation that no foreign commodities or wares made beyond sea to be transported hither according to Ancient Statutes. And that no coach be gilded over (except of the Royal line) and the arms of the owner placed.

Brian Walton, Bishop of Chester, died; a great linguist; and D<sup>r</sup> Fern, Master of Trinity College in Cambridge, made Bishop. D<sup>r</sup> Hacket of S<sup>t</sup> Andrew's in Holborn made Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, consecrated the last of December.

Mem. my Lord Coventry gave £500 as a legacy towards the repairs of the church of Worcester, and the Bishop of Worcester gave £100 and got by way of benevolence £500 more.

December. The navy gone to bring over the Queen from Lisbon in Portugal.

Mem. notice being given his Majesty, That the House of Commons (*nemine contradicente*) had given him £1,200,000 by vote for the present supply of paying the navy, and preparing another against the spring, "I pray you tell the House of Commons that I will be revenged on them of them for this their courtesy."

Don Louis de Haro, the Spanish favourite, died 15<sup>th</sup> November, being the great Minister of State.

17. D<sup>r</sup> Monk, Bishop of Hereford, died before he came to take actual possession, and D<sup>r</sup> Herbert Croft, Dean of Hereford, chosen in his place of the said country.

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15. His Majesty standing by the fireside in his privy chamber before dinner asked my Lord Newport whether all Navigation were not good and profitable to the commonwealth, who answered, "there may be some which may be obstructive." The King replied, "You may as well make me believe this fire doth not burn."

22. The young prince of Spain christened, having 15 names in\* given him by the Infanta, and his principal name Charles.

27. Jan. 1. On New Year's his Majesty at Whitehall descended from his closet to the Chapel and there offered at the altar for protecting him and his people and in Scotland on his coronation day in Scotland.

10 Dec. Letters. A great plot in Ireland among the Irish papists and Jesuits found in a Mass book casually dropped up in pursuing of some of them, wherein are dangerous\* intending to a speedy insurrection, with other reflections of scandal on his Majesty's person and government. By this occasion the whole nation is put in a posture of defence with men and provisions.

\* *Sic* in MS.

Dec. 30. The prince de la Gravy of Lincoln's Inn sent to his Majesty an Ambassador, his L. Chancellor, to visit him on Friday, being 3<sup>rd</sup> of January, and so Duke and Duchess of York, etc. His speech he delivered in lawyer's French, being the language of the place. Which was graciously received and promised his presence. Since knighted and his father a baronet.

The grand castle of Vilna delivered up to the Polander after a long siege.

There are divers Bishops in France made knights of the new order of the Holy Spirit, as well as lay persons, 4 Archbishops, and 3 bishops.

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30. Proclaimed for a reward of £10 to be given to discoverers of\* burglaries and robberies within a year after the fact done, and also pardon to the felons themselves, who discover their fellows, so as to apprehend them.

The Knights of Malta seized on a ship whercin were 30 persons, who had murdered the King of Algiers, and with them a million of money.

Proclamation for encouragement of planters to Jamaica. That 30 acres be allowed to all persons, male or female, of 12 years old, who doth now or within 2 years next shall reside upon the said Island to them and their heirs. To have the benefit of all mines, except gold and silver, within such allotment, reserving a 20<sup>th</sup> part of the product to his Majesty. All children born there of subjects of England shall have the same privileges as in England. Liberty to transport themselves thither. All planters and soldiers are commanded to yield obedience to Thomas, Lord Windsor, as Governor, or his successors.

In Edinburgh the feast of Christmas was with all solemnity observed by all persons and degrees except one or 2 dissenting ministers.

At Danzig 2 coiners were lately strangled and burnt.

The pope and cardinals on or about 10<sup>th</sup> of December at Rome made it an article of Faith that the Virgin Mary was conceived and born without sin; and 19<sup>th</sup> January City of Toulouse (as at Rome) made a great feast for the Pope's Bull therein, and so her Conception day is to be a great holiday.

7. The parliament adjourned to this day did meet again.

Frederick, Lord Cornwallis, died, who was treasurer of his Majesty's household. Sir Charles Berkeley in his place.

\* "Murderr and" struck out in MS.

The body of a princely young lady, who by skill of the Egyptians hath been preserved in and with her coffin entire 2500 years at least from any putrefaction, was brought into England by one Captain Hurst from the Lybian sands, near the ruins of that famous city of Memphis. And is to be seen and shewed in London.

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Jan. 15. Our navy being kept in the Downs this 2 months for want of a fair easterly wind is now gone to Portugal to bring away the Queen.\*

15. A general fast solemnly kept both by his Majesty and Court and City of London for God's mercy to turn the scarcity of corn into plenty. And on the 22<sup>nd</sup> to be kept throughout the nation.

At Antwerp† the Archbishop there hath appointed 8 days' solemn fast for the same in Flanders.

13. Marquess of Durazzo, extraordinary ambassador from the state of Genoa, held his audience at Court and went away Feb. 1<sup>st</sup> with content.

13. All arrears of impropriations and ecclesiastical livings which were excepted out of the general pardon His Majesty hath granted to Lord Chancellor and others towards the repair of Paul's. The commissioners sit in Bishop of London in Savoy Tuesday and Saturday 2 of clock.

Mr Morus, that most eloquent and learned minister of the Reformed Churches at Paris, by his Majesty's special command preached before his Majesty, the Duke of York and Duchess in the Royal Chapel of St James. When amongst others of the nobles the L. Ambassador of France, L. Aubigny, and E. of Bristol.

Proclaimed at Edinburgh prohibiting all meetings in Synods and presbyteries now the bishops be restored to their dignities without their orders and authority.

18. Earl of Carbury, lord president of Wales, received into Ludlow Castle with great solemnity; the next day to the Court to read their commission and instructions and commission of Oyer and Terminer.

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27. This day the condemned prisoners from the Tower were drawn to Tyburn in sledges with ropes about their necks, and so back to the Tower, being so adjudged, as being formerly judges of Ch. I.'s death, 27 Jan. 48.

\* Blank in MS.

† In MS. "Brussels" originally written, but struck out and "Antwerp" written over.

Sir Charles Berkeley made Treasurer of King's Household, and Sir Hugh Polard Controller and one of the Council.

Feb. 13. Lampreys so scarce at this season as ever was known, insomuch that I paid 13<sup>s</sup> 4<sup>d</sup> for reasonable ones for to send up to London out of the River of Severn.

D<sup>r</sup> Herbert Crofts, Dean of Hereford, consecrated Bishop of Hereford, being heir of the ancient family of Croft de Croft Castle in the County of Hereford, and so D<sup>r</sup> Horne, Bishop of Chester, who died and buried 25<sup>th</sup> March in Westminster Abbey.

Wines by proclamation this year to be sold (1) Canary, Alicante Muscadels, sacks, and malaga at £29 the butt or pipe, and at 18<sup>d</sup> the quart by retail. And no Rhenish wine but 12<sup>d</sup> the quart. And French wine £23 per tun, and 8<sup>d</sup> per retail a quart.

17. Memd. this 17<sup>th</sup> in night and about 4 in the morning Tuesday 28 began so great winds south west and by west with some lightnings and storms of rain that was not heard or seen in the memory of man, whereby all places whose houses stood where the winds had any force were miserably torn in pieces. And God knows what great losses by shipwreck.

17. Queen of Bohemia, the King's aunt, died 13<sup>th</sup> Feb. and buried 17<sup>th</sup> in H. 7<sup>th</sup> Chapel at Westminster. King nor Duke present at funeral in the night, and the rather being in the night for fear of danger to their persons by wicked men.

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18 Memd. this 18<sup>th</sup> day of February about 4 in the morn did begin the great high violent tempestuous wind, mingled with lightning and after storms, That in all countries overthrown infinite of Barns and beast houses, and some weak houses, steeple, pinnacles, shafts of chimneys, trees, especially elms, and destroying all great trees in orchards and in grounds, especially in the counties of Worcester and Hereford. That the general loss is almost invaluable, and irreparable the loss of fruit almost in an age. The like winds by no man's remembrance either seen, heard, or known, and God bless us all from the like, for there is scarce house, town, or village but have suffered some loss great or small, either in persons killed or hurt, or their cattle, beside loss and destruction of their housing and trees.

21. Sir John Stowell of Somersetshire died, that royal champion of fidelity.

Lord Hatton made Governor of Guernsey during his and his son's life, and sworn privy councillor.

News came from Constantinople that the Janizaries have killed the Prince Vizier and divers other great officers of state in tumults. The Grand Vizier settled his son to succeed. And left 3 maxims to the Emperor of Turkey to make him happy.

1. Not to hearken to advice of women. 2. To get what wealth he can into his Treasury. 3. To be much on horseback to keep his army in action.

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Mar. 16. Colonel Barksted, once Lieutenant of the Tower, Colonel Okey, and Miles Corbett called the Jew; 3 of the late King's Judges and regicides were seized on at Delf in Holland and delivered up to Sir George Downing, the King's Agent there, to be transported, and were put in the Tower in safe custody for a future trial. And thanks sent to the States for their ready assistance to secure the 3 regicides.

Marquis of Elichí, son to Don Lewis de Haro, late favourite to the King of Spain, intended to blow up with gunpowder his Majesty at his house Buen Retiro, and hath confessed it; since beheaded.

25. D<sup>r</sup> Fearn, Bishop of Chester, buried in Westminster Abbey.

25. D<sup>r</sup> Brian Duppa, Bishop of Winchester, the King's tutor, being very aged, died at Richmond House. His Majesty visiting him the day before and by his bedside kneeled down and craved his blessing.

27. On Maundy Thursday his Majesty, according to the example of the King of Kings, as well as his predecessors (the kings of England), washed and kissed the feet of 32 poor men in the Banqueting house at Whitehall, this being the 32 year of his age.

21. On 21<sup>st</sup> instant [his Majesty\*] Mary the daughter of James Barns of Stony Stratford having been long blind by the king's evil was touched by his Majesty, and immediately by the mercy of God her eyes were opened, so as she beheld his Majesty washing his hands in the basin and still enjoys the blessing of her sight.

April. Notice given for all persons to forbear to come to the king for healing of the king's evil this summer season, there being since his Majesty's coming about 15,000 stroked by him.

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April. A plot to shoot the King and Queen mother of France discovered and the persons in prison. One Morin and his accomplices.

Earl of Portland and Sir William Compton sworn privy councillors.†

\* *Sic* in MS.

† Blank in MS.

16. Colonel Barksted and Okey and Miles Corbett were brought to the King's Bench bar and asked what they had to say for themselves why judgment should not pass on them to die, since they stood as outlawed persons on a Bill of Attainder for the murdering (amongst others) the late King Charles; who answered and denied that they were the persons. Witnesses produced and proving the same, judgment of death passed upon them as traitors. And upon the 19<sup>th</sup> at Tyburn executed.

Small danger of the Spaniards invading Portugal this summer.

Proclamation in Ireland That no grain be transported at all until it be at 10<sup>d</sup> a peck. And those that do transport give caution to bring it into some harbour of England.

Corn now in England in Worcestershire, best wheat 10<sup>s</sup>, Muncorn 9<sup>s</sup>, rye 8<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup>, Oats 3<sup>s</sup> 4<sup>d</sup>, Barley 6<sup>s</sup> 4<sup>d</sup>, White pease 5<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup>, gray pease 4<sup>s</sup> 8<sup>d</sup>. A very late seeds time by reason of the continued rains these 2 last months, which being together warm makes an early spring of grass.

At the trial of the 3 Regicides the Court told them they had but 2 things to plead, either the King's pardon or else to plead absolutely they were not the persons mentioned in the Act, to which they pleaded they were not the persons, which was quickly proved. And judgment passed and executed. Colonel Okey's corps was buried in Tower because he exhorted the people to peace and live quietly. Colonel Barksted's head placed on the Traitor's gate of the Tower, and Miles Corbett's head on London Bridge. Their 2 quarters hung on the City Gates.

*p.* 109.

23. The King's Coronation Day solemnly kept by the Dean and Chapter in the Cathedral, who preached on 1 Chron.

Clergy band attended. 6 Trumpets. After prayers and sermon which was not ended until half an hour past one. The Dean feasted; gave a largesse to the soldiers and trumpets. At night bonfires in College, trumpets sounding, 2 drums beating, and some guns. Before evening prayer the Dean, D<sup>r</sup> Britten, petty canons, and quire went from the Church door, trumpets first sounding. Then Te Deum was sung round about the sanctuary in church yard, and so round to College gate into the church.

Bells rung all day.

Major General Lambert brought back to the Tower.

21. Ordered that all members of House of Commons attend the House on 5<sup>th</sup> of May next on pain of £20.

24. Bishop of Winchester buried at Westminster Abbey. Dr Morley, Bishop of Worcester, to be his successor.

28. Prince Rupert, George, Duke of Buckingham, John, Lord Middleton, Lord great Commissioner of Scotland, were sworn privy councillors.

30. Duchess of York brought to bed of a daughter at S<sup>t</sup> James.

May 5. Two sturgeons taken at Southampton river, male and female, as it were of purpose to meet the King and Queen's Majesties on her landing.

7. 6 Bishops at Edinburgh consecrated. Bishops of Dunkeld, Murray, Ross, Brechin, Isles, and Caithness. Dr Gordon preached the sermon.

Act of restoring Bishops in Scotland passed *nemine contradicente*.

13. Sir George Downing, envoy extraordinary for his Majesty in Holland, demanded satisfaction of the States and reparation for 4 ships taken by some of their commanders on the coast of Guinea, which not speedily done, His Majesty will cause as many of the ships of those

*p.* 110.

provinces prisoners do belong to be distributed amongst them, according to their respective losses and damages.

14. Liberty by proclamation with the consent of the Merchant Adventurers to transport and carry all woollen manufactures to any part or place beyond seas, except the mart towns of Dort and Hamburg from 20<sup>th</sup> of May until 25 December next. This temporary dispensation not intended to lessen their charter to their government at home and abroad.

14. This day Donna Katerina, Queen of England, landed at Portsmouth at 4 post noon. News coming next morn to Whitehall, there was bonfires throughout the city of London.

19. Memd. his Majesty ended this session of parliament Monday, 19<sup>th</sup> of May, whereby the world may see that this first is a most happy and blessed session, having past 69 Acts of Parliament, being more than ever prince did before; whereof 31 were public acts and 38 private bills. Adjourned to 18<sup>th</sup> February next.

Memd. this session began the 8<sup>th</sup> day of May 1660, which was the same day his mother was married at Paris 1625. And ends with the conjunction of the King and Catherine queen 1661.

19. The King married to the princess Katerin of Portugal at

Portsmouth by Gilbert Sheldon, Bishop of London and Dean of his Majesty's Chapel; only by repeating the words of matrimony itself and the Bishop's blessing and declaration without further prayers.

It is said that the Queen seeing the English familiarity of gentlemen and ladies talking and taking one another by the hand contrary to the custom of Portugal and Spain, who cannot endure to see men complimenting with the women, said, "Look, look how they take one another by the hand," by way of admiration.

p. III.

June 2. Lord Mayor of London with his brethren came to Hampton Court and humbly tendered their duty to the Queen's Majesty, which was better expressed by the present of a bag of gold, and in a speech composed and spoken in Spanish by Sir William Wild, Recorder of London. They were kindly received by her Majesty, and kissed her royal hand.

From Edinburgh, May 29<sup>th</sup>. It was agreed in Parliament (*nemine contradicente*) that the Government of the Church by Archbishops and bishops should be restored to all their rights as in 1633, with all the benefits and profits appertaining to them since 12<sup>th</sup> parliament of James the 6<sup>th</sup>. So the Bill passed.

6 ministers from the north of Scotland were committed for refusing the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; insisting upon the Presbyterian rebellious principle, That the King is supreme in Civilibus but not in spiritualibus or ecclesiasticis.

A pamphlet printed at Edinburgh 1648, entitled De Excommunicato Trucidando, which conceived it lawful to excommunicate all that Refused the Covenant, and to kill and destroy all men so excommunicated, not excepting the King's person.

6. Sir Henry Vane tried at King's Bench and found guilty of treason for plotting and contriving the final destruction and death of the King maliciously and traitorously, and that he with others did take upon him the government of the kingdom of England. There were many witnesses to prove the charge fully.

9. Major General John Lambert found guilty at King's Bench bar of high treason, as his fellow Sir H. Vane was on Friday.

10. The Queen fell feverish and was let blood twice on Sunday. She was married only by repeating the solemn words of matrimony one to the other, as I, Charles, take thee, Katharine, etc., and the declaration after as man and wife pronounced without any other prayers. For the Queen said she was prohibited by the Pope not to be married after



the English service, and so her abbot her confessor did acknowledge to the King.

*p.* 112.

Memd. she is like to make the best wife to a husband and a good pattern for others. As it is said that the King told her he was to go a Hunting at 3 in the morn, and therefore would lie in another lodging and not disturb her rest. "No (says she), you shall not; for I will sit up, and go you to bed, and I will awake you at the time and call you."

She is very civil and courteous to all; and zealous in her devotions. She riseth early and goes to her work; a good precedent for our grandees.

It is said that the Queen dowager of Portugal wrote to the King in a complimental manner that he had stolen her heart from her, and if he be such a prince as he is reported, her daughter will be revenged on him by stealing away his heart to her.

It is said that the Queen dowager never went out of three rooms of her Court since her husband's death, yet rules the whole nation, the king being young and weak. And that the Queen never was out of Lisbon all her life until she took ship for England.

The King and Queen being together in a room now the Council Chamber at Hampton Court, said to the Queen, "I must go to the Council, and be pleased for you to stay here until my speedy return." The Queen was proved after not to look well; and was desired by some of her ladies to remove into a more open room; "No," says she, "the King commanded me to stay here, and so I will until his return"; a good example of obedience.

The Queen asked some of her ladies what they did in the afternoon; they told her Majesty they went abroad and gave visits. "We" (says she) "in Portugal use to go to our works"; and so she doth daily.

The King had a prediction given him at Cologne, 1655, by Archbishop of Amiens, sent to him by one O'Neale, that in the year 1660 he should be restored, and so he was. And upon his restoration the said O'Neale sent to him that he should not marry until June 1662, and she should be born under the southern elevation, and as he conceived in Lisbon and should be the most happy prince in the world in a wife. The 2 first is already come to pass, and the last in all probability, being a wife of such humility and meekness.

*p.* 113.

June 14. Sir H. Vane beheaded on Tower Hill for conspiring and plotting the death of Charles the first. Lambert reprieved.

6 Scotch ministers banished for refusing the oath of Allegiance out of Scotland.

Sturgeons taken near Sir John Wintowe's at\* in Gloucestershire.

7. In Scotland the Parliament ordained that all ministers who were admitted to benefices since 1648 shall take presentations from the rightful patrons before March next, otherwise the benefices to be declared vacant. And if patron present not before September, then the Bishop.

Free Trade between Sweden and Muscovy.

The Turks takes Clausenburg strong fort in Transylvania by surrender and articles on 10<sup>th</sup> of May last.

At Edinburgh 29<sup>th</sup> May. King's birthday, beside some pleasant shows and devices, one of the top of an arch stood the devil as an angel with this superscription: "Stand for the Cause." In the middle of the arch hung a table with this litany:

From Covenanters with uplifted hands,  
 From Remonstrators with associated bands,  
 From such Committees as governed this nation,  
 From kirk Commissioners and their protestation,  
 Good Lord deliver us.

After, a tablet had this inscription:

Great monarch on this day was born,  
 And to his kingdom happily restored.  
 His Queen's arrived, the mitre now is worn,  
 Let us rejoice, this day is from the Lord.  
 Fly hence all traitors that did mar our peace,  
 Fly Schismatics, who our Church did rent,  
 Fly Covenanting, Remonstrating race;  
 Let us rejoice that God this day hath sent.

p. 114.

14. Several conflicts have been between one Guiband, the pretending King of Moors, and the English of Tangiers to keep the English from encroachments too far in the country. The Earl of Peterborough came over to give an account thereof and state of the place. Received by the King with kindness. Peace with Guiband, and August 21<sup>st</sup> he went back to Tangiers.

July 27. The King going in his barque to meet Queen-mother coming out of France met with a terrible storm near Goodwin sands;

\* Blank in MS. "Lydney" must be the place.

his barque struck ground and was in a very great danger, but through God's providence, and his own skill and Prince Rupert and some others, who laboured themselves, fetch off the boat and stood into Quimborough Castle. The Duke of York, Admiral, riding between Dover and Calais, lost his mast in pieces, and the Vice-Admiral, Lord Montagu, driven into the seas again. But all at last safe.

Queen mother arrived at Greenwich and there landed safe.

23. The same day at Edinburgh as the Bishops were first publicly affronted in Scotland with the whole rabble there, a proclamation made for the re-establishing episcopacy and rescinding the Covenant.

Aug. This month throughout the nation the Commissioners for purging corporations by virtue of an Act of Parliament have sat; some places few, as in Worcester 6, who refused subscription; in many towns, where the Presbyterian ministers had very much tainted them, most were removed or put out themselves.

p. 115.

23. The King and Queen came from Hampton Court to Whitehall to stay all winter with the whole Court. Being very welcome to the tradesmen of all that part of the City, which extremely did miss the whole Court.

The Common Council of London did give Sir John Brown for his faithful services £500 per ann. The King made him then Major General.

His Majesty wrote a letter to Lord Mayor and Justices of Oyer and Terminer for the welcome of the Queen to Westminster to release all quakers or such as go in the name of separationists now in gaol in London and Middlesex for being at unlawfull assemblies, who yet profess all obedience and allegiance unto us, and have not been indicted for refusing the Oath of Allegiance nor shall appear to them to have been ring leaders or preachers at their assemblies to be enlarged. Given at Hampton Court this 22<sup>nd</sup> day of August 1662. By his Majesty's command.

Edward Nicholas.

Many ministers about London refused to subscribe and read the book of Common Prayer according to the new Act for Uniformity.

Some fanatics about London Bridge disturbed the Ministers in reading the Book of Common Prayer in tore the same in the church of  
\* in Southwark side.

Divers coiners of gold and silver discovered in London.

Spaniards received a great loss in 2 several places with two of their

\* Blank in MS.

Governors by the Portugal, and are from thence retreated and lost those places which they had took and fortified.

*p.* 116.

Sept. 21. On Sunday about 2 post noon died D<sup>r</sup> John Gauden, Bishop of Worcester, that most excellent, leaned, eloquent, pious and indefatigable preacher, who came to Worcester August 5<sup>th</sup> to his church, and died September 21<sup>st</sup>, so he was in all but 7 weeks and 5 days in his see. He fell sick Sept. 11 of 2 kernels as big as walnuts grown on either side his bladder, which stopped the passage of the urine and made him fall into a fever, and died the 21<sup>st</sup> and was buried in the Cathedral on the 29<sup>th</sup>, S<sup>t</sup> Michael's day, by the Dean of the church.\*

26. On the 26<sup>th</sup> the Prince of Denmark came to Oxford to see the University, but stayed only one night as he passed.

Oct. Sir Edward Nicholas, secretary to his Majesty, being aged and tired with long services abroad during the King's banishment out of his kingdom, surrendered his place. Sir Henry Bennett made Secretary, being an able gentleman, and once Leiger ambassador in Spain.

The King, to gratify his old servant, gave him £10,000, made him a privy councillor, and offered him an English barony, which he refused; the King being very tender to bestow any such honours.

Sir Charles Berkeley made keeper of the privy purse, who is gentleman of the bedchamber to Duke of York and Deputy Governor under him of Portsmouth.

Nov. A great plot discovered to assassinate the King and all the Royal family, Duke of Albemarle, and Sir Richard Brown.

*p.* 117.

Nov. 8. Christian, Prince of Denmark, was installed Knight of the Garter at Whitehall, the King putting on the George and ribbon about the Prince's neck, and the Duke of York, assisted by Prince Rupert, put the garter on the left leg.

10. Sheriffs chosen and pricked by his Majesty.

15. Was the birthday of Mary, Queen-mother and dowager of England, and Katharine, present Queen to Charles the Second. Two most eminent princesses of their time.

Mem. there was this month a devout lady at court at Whitehall being with child was in her closet at her private devotions at one

\* Thomas Warmstry.

morning with a wax candle burning before her, and being troubled with fits of the mother and some convulsive fits did command her servant to come up, when she rang her bell. But her infirmity seizing on her suddenly could not do it, and so fell on her breast on the wax candle, which so burnt her that it killed both her and her child.

26. The Russian ambassador received in great pomp into London, all the trained bands Horse and foot in arms, the Companies in their liveries, and Mayor and aldermen in their gallantry. He brought a present (as it is said) worth £100,000, 3 ships lading with cordage, and 8 cast of Hawks.

Dec. 7. D<sup>r</sup> John Earle, Dean of Westminster, consecrated at Westminster Bishop of Worcester.

22. Executed 4 of the traitors in the late plot, viz., Tong, Phillips, Gibbs and Stubbs at Tyburn, being hanged, drawn and quartered. The King gave liberty for their carcasses to be buried, only heads hanged up.

p. 118.

Dec. 27. M<sup>r</sup> \* , a merchant in Lothbury in London, had his house casually in fire about 2 of the clock in the morning, and it being a brick building burnt so all inward that he and his wife, great with child, and a'l his family, being 3 in number, were all burnt to death, and all his goods except some copper. Another merchant, who lay in his house and to be married that week and parted that night from his mistress at 12 of the clock, was also burnt.

A declaration set forth by his Majesty to vindicate himself from four aspersions, viz.: 1. To endeavour an abolition of the Act of Oblivion. 2. To govern by military power. 3. Breach of his promise for toleration of liberty of conscience. 4. For punishing them and tolerating other sects, as papists.

Jan. One M<sup>r</sup> Edward Calamy, a famous presbyterian preacher, who might have been Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield and refused, was committed by Sir John Robinson, Mayor of London, to Newgate upon the Act of Uniformity for preaching without license of the Bishop of London in his late church of S<sup>t</sup> Mary, Aldermanbury.

Earl of Norwich, Captain of his Majesty's guards, died at Brainford, an old servant and sufferer for the crown.

\* Gibbs, brother to Gibbs that was executed, was taken, committed to the Tower.

31. Archibald Johnson Lord Wariston brought out of France and committed to the Tower for his treasons.

\* Blank in MS.

*p.* 119.

Feb. D<sup>r</sup> Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln, died, a learned and painful scholar and casuist, the D<sup>r</sup> Lancy, Bishop of Peterborough, to be his successor.

9. The Parliament of Paris being informed that the Sorbonnists were about to maintain these propositions, viz. :

1. That the pope is infallible.
2. That he might judge every one and not be judged by any.
3. That he had power to revoke all privileges, and among the rest, those granted to the kingdom of France.

Sent an arrest to the Dean and faculty of Sorbonne to acquaint them with the resolves of Parliament that they should not only for the present desist from such kinds of arguments, but should enter it into another register lest any should presume for the future to maintain the like. The Dean upon the sudden gave no other answer than, That they would deliberate seriously on it and return their determination to the Parliament.

18. The Parliament met again at Westminster according to adjournment, the King and Queen present.

7. A servant of the Russian Ambassador being in a mercer's shop cheapning silk and stuffs, at last stole a piece under his gown and went his way; the tradesman suddenly missing the same and perceiving it under his coat somewhat shewed thick went after him to his lodging. So housing him, the mercer went to the ambassador to demand money for the silk his servant bought of him, he answered he knew nothing of it nor given any such command. But he would call all his servants in and then he should see which it was, so all being called this servant came in with the rest, and the mercer said he was the man. The ambassador demanded of his servant whether he

*p.* 120.

took such a piece of silk, stood little amazed, and could not well deny. So he was bid to fetch it, which done, the ambassador invited the mercer to dinner to come some five days after, and then he should have full reparation, which he did. And at the second course there was presented his servant's head in a charger. And then the ambassador told that this was the law in their country and bade him take it for satisfaction with his goods again. Great and strange justice.

It is said that a mercer in Cheapside, to whom the Duke of Buckingham owed £2000 for silks, came to the Duke's steward for his money very often, but at last he was so importunate that the steward

told the Duke that the man would not go without it. "No," saith he, "bring him to me," who coming into his presence the Duke desired forbearance, who answered he was an undone man if he had not his money, his creditors calling upon him. "Sirrah, begone," but the man still pleading, the Duke drew his rapier and ran at him, and he striking the weapon down so that he only ran it in his thigh. Upon which going his way he presently petitioned the King, who reading it sent for the Duke and bade him read it, who did, and the King demanded whether it was true, who making a slender excuse the King then did command him presently to pay him the said debt of £2000 and £100 damage for his loss and damage. An excellent piece of justice.

The Hollanders assailing the city of Cochin in East Indies, although they after 6 assaults entered the city, yet the Portuguese drawing up in a body did so defend themselves that they killed many and forced the rest to their ships to their great loss.

One M<sup>r</sup> Richard Lane, the King's servant, commanded by his Majesty and confined to the Isle of Jersey for writing drolling letters to some friends touching my Lady Ca . m, a favourite to his Majesty which was deeply resented.

*p.* 121.

Feb. 23. Baker and Gibbs, the 2 traitors against his Majesty, executed at Tyburn.

On 4<sup>th</sup> of October last Lord Windsor, Governor of Jamaica, with 1000 foot soldiers in some 12 ships fell upon the town of St Jago in the Isle of Cuba, 20 leagues from Jamaica in West Indies, which did much infest Jamaica. Took the same by force, and after seized on castle and forts and blockhouses. Took therein 34 brass pieces and iron ordnance, whereof 4 brass demi culverins are brought to the Tower. 1000 barrels of powder, whereof 700 was spent in blowing up the castle and destroying the works, which cost £100,000, the King of Spain lately building, who had 2000 soldiers in it when the assault was made.

The Isle of Cuba is reputed near to be 1000 miles in length. And now there are no Sanctuary for disturbers within 80 leagues of Jamaica to hinder their plantations.

Lord Windsor himself is come over and gave this narrative to his Majesty, who was with the whole Court very well pleased and satisfied with the great service.

March. Hierom Weston, Earl of Portland, died. A privy councillor.

One Morin, a Frenchman, burnt at Paris for holding himself to be Jesus Christ, and his book called Morin's thoughts.

April 3. Carey, Viscount Falkland, an ingenuous gentleman, died at London, being a member of the House of Commons in Parliament.

*p.* 122.

April 4. Dr Juxon, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr Sheldon, Bishop of London, sworn privy counsellors, being the first Bishops since the beginning of the late troubles and long Parliament that were received into the Privy Council.

April 7. Count de Comminges, Ambassador from the King of France, had audience at Whitehall.

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*pp.* 123—126 *blank.*

*p.* 127 *erasures.*

*pp.* 128—131 *blank.*



## THE SIEGE OF WORCESTER, 1646.

Townshend was in Worcester during the whole time of the siege in 1646. So far as is known his Journal contains the fullest account there is of it. But this consists of a series of entries, without any arrangement, scattered throughout the volume. An attempt has here been made to collect these entries into a consecutive narrative, and thus to present as clear an account as possible of this very important incident in Worcestershire History, an incident which, strange to say, is to a great extent forgotten.

In the winter 1645-6 Charles' position was almost desperate, and as time went on became worse. On March 14, 1646, Hopton surrendered, and resistance in the west was practically at an end. Glamorgan's scheme to bring over troops from Ireland had miscarried, and the Queen's negotiations with the Scots had been betrayed. The King's last hope remained in the force which Lord Astley had been able to collect from the Midland garrisons to march to his relief at Oxford. At Donnington, about two miles north of Stow-on-the-Wold, and three miles from the Worcestershire boundary, Astley's men were surrounded by the united forces of Brereton, Morgan and Birch, and after a gallant resistance obliged to surrender. This was on the 21st March 1646. After this date there was no regular Royalist force in the field; all that the King had left were a few garrisoned towns and castles, one of which was Worcester. It was only a question how long these garrisons would consider they were bound by the obligations of honour and loyalty to continue to hold out.

The Governor of Worcester was Col. Henry Washington. He had a garrison of about 1500 soldiers of all sorts, and in

addition a certain number of county gentlemen, with all the trained bands of the City, so that it may be safely said that the total strength of Washington's garrison was something under 2000. They had not long to wait for the enemy; the battle of Donnington was fought on the 21st March. It is about 30 miles from Worcester.

Brereton sent off his prisoners to Gloucester, and set out for Worcester. On the 26th March he arrived at Red Hill, on the east side the city at the junction of the Alcester and Pershore Roads. The Parliament force was some 2500 strong. Townshend thus describes it:—

*p.* 686.

“Mem. Sir W. Brereton, Col<sup>l</sup> Morgan and Col<sup>l</sup> Birch, with about 2500 foot and horse, faced the city of Worcester upon the 26<sup>th</sup> of March 1646, and sent a trumpeter with a summons to deliver the city the summons as is hereafter written, and the Governor's answer and their reply.”

*p.* 687.

The Summons of Sir William Brereton for delivery of the  
City of Worcester.

Gentlemen,

Our tender care and neighbourly affection to your welfare, and care to prevent that ruin that hath fallen upon other places which have obstinately refused good Conditions and have had far greater hopes of relief than your selves (there being now not any appearance of any Army in the west, or elsewhere within this kingdom, but what have submitted to the Parliament, or are already their prisoners) hath moved us to send you this summons, to let you know that you may prevent your houses from spoil, your estates from ruin, your persons from restraint, the effusion of blood, and such other miseries as inevitably will fall upon yourselves, your wives and children (if the Lord have so great mercy for you and your City), by timely submitting to the two Houses of Parliament. In whose name we now require this from you, and that you deliver the City and forts into our hands for the use of the King and Parliament, which if you shall do, we shall willingly secure unto you any of your reasonable desires; But in case otherwise, and that misery follows, The cause of it may not be imputed unto those

p. 688.

who desire your preservation, not your destruction. And (expecting  
your speedy Answer) rest

March 25<sup>th</sup>, 1646.  
To the Mayor, Governor,  
Aldermen and Citizens  
of Worcester.

Your Servants,

Willm. Brereton.  
Tho. Morgan.  
John Birch.

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The Answer of the Governor, etc.

Gentlemen,

If the Arguments you give us for the delivery of this City and  
Forts were true, In all likelihood we should (before this time) have  
received his Majesty's further pleasure, And until we do, we shall take  
no notice of any summons; But according to our duty and the trust  
reposed in us we shall (God willing) keep this town.

Your Servants,

Worcester, this 26<sup>th</sup> of March 1646.  
For Sir William Brereton,  
Col. Morgan, and  
Col. Birch.

Hen. Washington.  
Willm. Evett, Mayor.  
Martin Sandys.  
John Knotsford.  
Tho. Hackett.  
Rich. Hemming.

p. 689.

The Reply.

Gentlemen,

We know no cause you should question the truth of our  
Intelligence, which we assure you is in every part thereof most true,  
and therefore to the end you may more fully inform yourselves therein,  
We will draw our Forces to such a convenient distance, as that you  
may gain more certain Intelligence; and then we cannot doubt but  
that you will better understand yourselves, which if it be done within a  
few days you may expect the performance of what was tendered; if  
otherwise, what ever misery befalls your City must be imputed to your-  
selves, and not to your Servants,

March 26<sup>th</sup> 1646.  
To the Governor, Mayor,  
Aldermen and Citizens  
of Worcester.

Willm. Brereton.  
Tho. Morgan.  
John Birch.  
William Lygon.  
Chudley Coote.

p. 690.

The Governor's Letter.

Gentlemen,

It is much my wonder that I am fallen into so unlucky a mistake with you to have lost so far the Honour and knowledge of a soldier as that it might be hoped I could yield to an Enemy so far inferior to me in Number, besides which my Conscience to God and Allegiance to my King oblige me, I owe so much to my Reputation which I gained, and must hereafter maintain abroad, when these wars shall cease, as not to be persuaded to the least unworthy action. I am confident you will with all industry pursue your designs, and have the same opinion, that I will no way neglect mine; yet still with that civility which shall become

Your Servant,

March 26, 1646.

Hen. Washington.

For Sir William Brereton,  
Col. Morgan, and  
Col. Birch.

With this correspondence the matter ended for a time. In pursuance of the promise in his letter Brereton retired next day, 27th March, to Droitwich. There had been a little skirmishing between the garrison and his men. Townshend thus describes it:—

p. 686.

“They drew off at night to Droitwich.

“In pickering 2 of ours and 3 of theirs taken and exchanged civilly, and one of theirs shot with a heavy culverin.

“Mar. 27, 1646. 2 scouts taken.\*

“28. They marched away from Droitwich, Sir William Brereton, to the siege of Lichfield with some forces, and Col<sup>l</sup> Morgan and the rest into their own garrisons.”

The Parliament force having drawn off, Washington appears to have taken some steps to put Worcester in a state of defence. Townshend states:—

“30<sup>th</sup> March 1646. The new Church and Hospital of S<sup>t</sup> Oswald's, near the city, utterly demolished, though the soldiers could forbear the defacing of a strong stone building near it of Mr. Summers of White Ladies, wheremay be lodged 500 men in security and as it is thought by being remembered.”

\* In MS. “and an officer,” but struck out. One report says that Birch had his horse shot under him.

While this display of force by Brereton had taken place at Worcester, events were moving rapidly with the King. On the 23rd March the news of the Donnington defeat reached Oxford. Charles at once sent a message to Parliament, asking to be allowed to return to London and for a general act of oblivion. On the 26th March the Commons replied, refusing the proposal unless they had some security. To this reply the Lords and the Scotch Commissioners agreed. On April 1st it was sent to the King at Oxford. Meanwhile Charles had begun secret negotiations with the Scotch, which dragged on for some time.

On the 9th April Exeter surrendered and matters looked hopeless. Fairfax was now free to advance on Oxford. This the King realized. On the 26th April Charles took leave of his Council; on the 27th April he left Oxford on his journey to the Scots camp, and on the 5th May he arrived at Southwell, and from this time ceased to be a free agent.

Washington knew that Worcester was only respited for a time. He at once began his preparations for a siege. His first step was to ascertain the number of persons in the city, and the provision each family had made in case of a siege. The city was then divided for all local government purposes into seven wards :—

Highward.

St. Martin's.

All Saints'.

St. Andrew's.

St. Nicholas'.

St. Peter's.

St. Michael's in the out county.

This division was a very ancient one. It is found as far back as the end of the thirteenth century, and was now used to

obtain the information as to the householders, their families, and the stock of provisions.

The return is as follows :—

*p.* 755.

Apr. 15<sup>o</sup>, 1646.

An abstract of the number of Householders, the number in family, and what quantity of monthly provision every one hath ready against a siege to be against the city of Worcester.

		Months.					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
Highward.	Provided 189 . . .	49	24	54	05	01	35
Householders—persons in family—							
	Unprovided and poor . . .	024					
	In family . . .	080					
All Saints' Ward.	Provided 290. . . .	92	84	52	16	07	34
Householders—persons in said families 1459—							
	Unprovided and poor . . .	056					
	In families . . .	232					
St Andrew's Ward.	Provided 161. . . .	103	30	27	01	01	04
Householders—persons in family 259—							
	Unprovided and poor . . .	113					
	Persons in families . . .	259					

*p.* 754.

St Martin's.	Provided 188 . . .	61	69	46	15	00	20
Householders—persons in family 1030—							
	Unprovided . . .	092					
	Persons in family . . .	271					
St Peter's.	Provided 114 . . .	19	35	46	24	03	17
Householders—persons in family 599—							
	Unprovided . . .	073					
	Persons in family . . .	285					
	Provided 047 . . .	11	13	08	01	00	10
Persons in family 248—							
	Unprovided and poor	} 360					
	Without particular names						

p. 753.

So that there is in—

	Months.					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Householders—Provided 989 .	335	252	233	62	12	120
In their families . . .	1189					
Unprovided and poor . . .	0358					
In their families . . .	1487					

Householders of all sorts—1347 persons.

Number in family,  
beside the Highward imperfect } 5676

Beside St Michael's parish without  
the Liberty of the City unmentioned.

Mem. there is no mention of the number of soldiers within the Garrison, Horse or Foot, nor provisions for them.

Soldiers, officers, Reformadoes, troopers, upon list delivered May 29<sup>o</sup>, 1646. 1507 persons to be provided for.

Washington was none too soon in making his preparations. On the 19th April there was some fighting outside Worcester; one of the men killed was buried at Kidderminster. In the Register of Burials is the entry :—

“John Jones, a Parliament soldier, slain in the skirmish at Worcester.”\*

While the preparations for the siege were being made, some of the gentlemen who were in the city, who saw the hopelessness of things, left the place and went home. Townshend states :—

“Many gentlemen went out before the siege to stay at home.”

On 1st May Fairfax began his investment of Oxford.

On the 6th May Banbury surrendered. Fairfax having now a moveable force at his disposal, sent a part to see what could be done with Worcester. This force, under the command of

\* Burton's "Kidderminster," p. 217.

Col. Whalley, was ordered “to straiten the garrison of Worcester until such time as the army was at liberty to march against it.”

Morgan with his force now returned to the county. On the 14th May he summoned Hartlebury Castle. What follows is thus described by Townshend :—

*p.* 686.

The 14<sup>th</sup> May 1646 Col<sup>l</sup> Morgan summoned Hartlebury castle, wherein Cap<sup>t</sup> William Sandys was governor, and therein was Lord Windsor, Col<sup>l</sup> Samuel Sandys, late Governor of Worcester, Mr Anderson his brother, Lady Sandys his mother, and some other Gentlemen, and 120 foot soldiers and 40 Horse. A place which put the Country to an excessive Charge the fortifying by the Covetousness of the Governor and Officers there and was made very strong, being situated on a Rock and a Huge Moat, provision and ammunition for 12 months. For the Governor had so sharked the County thereabouts, that for beef, malt, Hay and bacon he lived in free cost. Yet he most poorly and cowardly, without a shot, delivered it up within 2 days, being the 16<sup>th</sup> May. And some say he had given for to deliver the same £3000. The Conditions of surrender were poor and mean.

Somewhere about this time rumours of the King's surrender to the Scots appear to have reached the Worcester garrison. They were greatly disturbed, and at length resolved to send a letter to Ashburnham, the King's confidential adviser, to ascertain the facts. The letter was sent on the 13th May by a special messenger, “An. Ed.” Townshend states the following :—

*p.* 692.

His Majesty went out of Oxford 27th April 1646 in disguise as Mr Ashburnham's servant and Mr Hudson the minister only to the Scots Army before Newark and discovered himself the 5<sup>th</sup> of May. This action of his Majesty, and the Enemy lying so near us, it was hence thought fit to acquaint his Majesty and to know his pleasure; whereupon this letter was sent by the Governor and Commissioners to Mr Ashburnham by a messenger, An. Ed.

Sir. The various reports that are spread here concerning his Majesty's journey into the North, and his Condition there have bred a great distraction among the Common sort in this place. We therefore



pray you to let us know the truth by a speedy return of this bearer. And if we may likewise receive his Majesty's particular directions, which shall be observed to the uttermost of our powers.

Worcester, 13<sup>th</sup> May 1646.

No answer, so far as appears, was sent to this request; at least none appears in the Townshend papers. As matters were becoming threatening Washington prepared for the worst.

On the 16th May Fairfax sent from his head-quarters at Headington, near Oxford, a formal summons to Washington to surrender Worcester. It was sent to Whalley at Hartlebury, who having there joined Morgan, united their forces and marched on to Worcester. They reached it on the 20th May. Townshend's account of this is :—

*p.* 693.

Col. Morgan having Hartlebury Castle delivered up without shot (having Ammunition and provision for a year) the 16<sup>th</sup> of May 1646, Col. Whalley came to him with some Regiments and the 20<sup>th</sup> both came before Worcester with 25 Colours of foot, about one of the Clock in the afternoon; And at 4 sent a Trumpeter with the letters and summons following :

Sir. At the command of his Excellency we have sent you the enclosed, and your answer within 2 hours is expected by

May 20, 1646.  
For Col. Washington, Gov<sup>r</sup>  
of Worcester.

Your servants,  
Ed. Whalley.  
Tho. Morgan.

—  
The Answer.

Gentlemen,

I have here inclosed an answer to your General's summons, And within the time proposed to

Your servant,  
— Henry Washington.

The Summons.

Sir. I do hereby summon you to deliver up the City of Worcester for the use of the Parliament, upon which, you and those with you may receive Honourable terms. If you refuse you must not expect the same conditions hereafter.

Heddington, 16  
May, 1646.

Your servant,  
T. Fairfax.

p. 694.

The Answer.

Sir. It is acknowledged in your books and by report out of your own quarters, That the King is in some of your Armies. That granted, It may be easy for you to procure his Majesty's Commands for the dispose of this Garrison. Till then, I shall make good the trust reposed in me. As for conditions, If I shall be necessitated, I shall make the best I can. The worst I know, and fear not. If I had, the profession of a soldier had not been begun or so long continued by

Your excellency's Humble servant,

xx<sup>th</sup> May 1646.

Hen. Washington.

The Parliament army having marched from Hartlebury down the road from Kidderminster to Worcester, arrived before Worcester on 20th May, and took up a position to the north-east, their right resting on Barbourne and their left extending along the hills to the east of the city, almost to Red Hill, this high ground completely commanding the city. There is very little account of the work done by the Parliament in erecting batteries or siege works. Some were certainly made.

Washington took immediate steps to put his troops in hand, and made the following order dealing with the pay :—

p. 685.

Upon the Enemy's approach before the City of Worcester, May the 20<sup>th</sup>, It was thought fit by the Governor, Commissioners, and Mayor for the present Relief of the soldier and for their Encouragement, that the City should be taxed with all Gentlemen in the Garrison for the support of 1500 men at 3<sup>s</sup> per week, the 26<sup>th</sup> May, for a month. But finding in Calculating the Tax it was so heavy a pressure, it was reduced, May 29<sup>th</sup>, to 2<sup>s</sup> vj<sup>d</sup> per week a soldier, foot and Horse. As for the Officers, it was left to the Governor's discretion out of the surplusage of billets to support them. And that the soldier is to default it out of his *month's pay*\* the 38 and so forward, if the City be relieved, for satisfaction.

That every officer shall deliver a true muster of all his soldiers and their names. Nor no one to pay any Billet but to him or them, whose names are written and signed by the Assessors.

\* "June" is written in the margin of the MS.

Whalley's arrival on the 20th May before Worcester was the beginning of the siege. Whalley himself was on Wheeler's Hill, near Elbury Wood. His men made themselves huts on the ground they occupied.

Whalley, on the 24th May, sent a further summons to the city, not only in the name of the Military Commander, but also of certain members of the County Parliamentary Committee.

*b.* 694.

Another Summons was sent to the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of the City of Worcester by Col. Whalley and the Committee as followeth :

Gentlemen,

We cannot but wonder that you should be such enemies to yourselves, City and Country as to be woful authors of theirs and your own miseries. Oxford hath been upon Parley there 2 or 3 days ; that being reduced, you are the only City, nay Garrison Town that troubles the peace of this kingdom, And therefore to be looked upon and dealt withal as the Grand Enemies of this State. The Golden Sceptre is yet held out unto you, mercy and honourable terms tendered. If you

*p.* 695.

neglect your opportunity, though Enemies for present, yet as Englishmen and Country-men we tell you, you will not have the like offered. Our soldiers would fain be trading with you ; you will find them but ill Customers. A month's pay to the whole Army both of Horse and Foot will scarce keep them out of your shops and Houses. We have not that Army now before you, as within these few days we are like to have by many thousands. And therefore leave it to your consideration whether the present surrendering the City unto his Excellency Sir Tho. Fairfax for the Parliament be not likely to save you many thousands of Pounds. Were there possibility of relief for you, we should not think it civil to write unto you as we do, but you knowing there is none, we cannot but deem it more than folly in you to refuse good Terms now you may have them. We are if you please

May 24<sup>th</sup>,

1646.

To the Mayor, Aldermen  
and Common Council  
of the City of Worcester.

Your friends and Servants,

Tho. Rouse.	Edw. Whalley.
Jo. Egioke.	William Dingley.
Edw. Smith.	Hen. Hunt.
Tho. Milward.	William Moore.

*p.* 696.

The Answer of the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council  
of the City of Worcester.

Gentlemen,

We are much troubled in our thoughts concerning our late summons and this your request for the surrendering the City for the Parliament only. What the meaning should be. Why the King is not made a party according to the usual form and style of King and Parliament; we for our parts may not forget, nor forgoe our Allegiance and special duty, that we do owe unto his Majesty. For besides that general Allegiance, whereunto all his good subjects are obliged, we are become bound in a particular Oath of Fealty in point of Tenure, whereby we hold this city of his Majesty. And if we should willingly and without his leave deliver up the same (which is not in our power to do) we should commit a double perjury, the one of Allegiance, the other of Fealty. And therefore if you are (as you profess to be) our Friends, In case we can obtain leave of our Governor, which we will endeavour to do (no way interrupting the proceedings of either party for the Governor will not hear of a cessation), we desire Liberty of you to send to know his Majesty's pleasure herein, And if you please to grant a pass for such Gentlemen as we shall think fit for that

*p.* 697.

purpose, we shall then be able to give you a positive Resolution to your Demands.

May 26<sup>th</sup>,

1646.

To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Col. Whalley  
and the rest of the Committee  
of Parliament for the County  
of Worcester.

Your friends and servants,

Rich. Hemming. William Evett, Mayor.

Edw. Soley. John Cowcher.

Tho. Hackett.

Roger Gouch.

---

The Reply to the Answer of the Mayor, Aldermen, etc.

Gentlemen,

Had you been as much troubled at the King's Voluntary deserting and his unnatural fighting against the Parliament, as you pretend to be for his Excellency Sir Tho. Fairfax his not uniting them in his Summons, Nor we in our letter, you would not have had such a trouble upon you as you now have. We leave it to his Excellency to satisfy you in that any the rest of your scruples. And shall serve you thus far as to send to him to know his pleasure, whether he will give

you leave to send to his Majesty according to your desire. For that Parathensis in your letter (the Governor will not hear of a cessation) it might very well have been left out, for assure yourselves that will never be granted either him or you, so long as your City Colours are displayed, nor till you be reduced to the obedience of the Parliament.

*p.* 698.

And since, as your countrymen, we have begun to advise you, we will add this to our former Premonitions; if his Excellency be so favourable as to give you leave to send to his Majesty for his Resolution, post away, for before the return of your messenger your debts will be very much augmented, and the score lengthened with the soldier; you will find true what we writ before, very suddenly you will have some thousands, both Horse and foot, more to pay at the last Close, than now you may have. We rest

Your friends and servants,

May 27 <sup>th</sup> , 1646.	Tho. Rouse.	Edw. Whalley.
For the Mayor,	Dan. Dobbins.	Will. Lygon.
Aldermen and	Hen. Hunt.	Edw. Smith.
Common Council	Tho. Milward.	W <sup>m</sup> Collins.
of the City of Worcester.	Will. Moore.	

The Mayor himself returned an answer by word to the drummer, that he should forbear bringing any such summons, that he will draw out and fight with them, if they will, and leave men enough to man the City beside.

Washington meanwhile went very carefully over his resources, as the following Table as to strength of the garrison shews:—

*p.* 683.

A Particular of the number of soldiers charged upon every Ward to be paid 2<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup> a week for a month.

Soldiers.

Highward	.	.	.	.	.	.
S <sup>t</sup> Martin's	.	.	.	.	.	.
All Saints'	.	.	.	.	.	.
S <sup>t</sup> Andrew's	.	.	.	.	.	.
S <sup>t</sup> Nicholas'	.	.	.	.	.	.
S <sup>t</sup> Peter's	.	.	.	.	.	.
S <sup>t</sup> Michael's in the Out County	.	.	.	.	.	.

p. 684.

Col. Washington's Regiment.  
May 29<sup>th</sup>, 1646.

Sir. W. Russell's Regiment.

Governor's Company.

Sir Wm. Russell's Company.

Inferior Officers . . .	11	}	106
Soldiers . . .	95		
Lieut. Col. Hurston . . .	06	}	060
Soldiers . . .	54		
Major Grey . . .	06	}	050
Soldiers . . .	44		
Capt. Norwood . . .	07	}	052
Soldiers . . .	45		
Capt. Bellamy . . .	05	}	043
Soldiers . . .	38		
Capt. Robinson . . .	06	}	042
Soldiers . . .	36		
Capt. Armourer . . .	05	}	041
Soldiers . . .	36		
Col. Knotsford . . .	05	}	041
Soldiers . . .	36		
Capt. Dormer . . .	05	}	055
Soldiers . . .	50		
Officers . . .	56	}	490
Soldiers . . .	440		

Officers . . .	07	}	070
Soldiers . . .	63		
L. Col. Goffe . . .	06	}	048
Soldiers . . .	42		
Major Ingram . . .	06	}	48
Soldiers . . .	42		
Capt. Hughes . . .	05	}	43
Soldiers . . .	38		
Capt. Calthrop . . .	04	}	28
Soldiers . . .	24		
Capt. Poultney . . .	06	}	42
Soldiers . . .	36		
Capt. Whithorne . . .	05	}	40
Soldiers . . .	35		
Officers . . .	39	}	319
Soldiers . . .	280		

Col. Sand's Regiment.

Major Moore . . .	07	}	68	} Officers . 32 } 272
Soldiers . . .	61			
Capt. Byron . . .	06	}	051	
Soldiers . . .	45			
Capt. Wm. Moore . . .	11	}	087	
Soldiers . . .	76			
Lieut. Raynsford . . .	08	}	066	
Soldiers . . .	58			

The 3 Regiments in [Officers\*].

Officers . . . . .	127
Soldiers . . . . .	960
	<u>1087</u>

\* This word is struck out in MS.

*p.* 687.

Reformado Gentlemen . . . . .	120
Cannoniers and Mattrosses . . . . .	058

For the Horse.

Governor's Troop . . . . .	51
Hen. Ingram, Eq <sup>r</sup> , High Sheriff . . . . .	71
Sir Jo. Knotsford . . . . .	32
Capt. Armorer . . . . .	17
L. Col. Roberts . . . . .	19
	<u>224</u>

Officers of the Staff . . . . .	18
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Sum tot. of all sorts of soldiery . . . . .	1507 men.
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Beside the Gentlemen and all the City Bands. }	
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This gives a good idea of the strength of the garrison and how it was distributed. Except incidentally there does not appear in the Townshend papers any account of what defence works Washington had made, nor about his artillery or any details as to the investment of the city.

The Parliament force was now settled down in front of Worcester, and the siege had fairly begun. Morgan appears to have been of opinion that the siege could be carried out with less men than he had under him, so on the 21st May he marched his men off to Gloucester, leaving as the besieging force Whalley's Brigade alone. For some time they conducted the siege. The place was not at the time fully invested; the besieging force merely occupied Elbury Hill, where they not only erected huts but also some batteries.

Townshend thus describes the first days of the siege :—

*p.* 701.

Daily passages since May 21<sup>st</sup>, 1646, at the Leager before Worcester.

May 21. Col<sup>l</sup> Morgan marched away with all his men to Gloucester.

Col<sup>l</sup> Whalley encamped on Wheeler's Hill near Elbury Woods, and made Hutts.

A sally out by 4 of our Horse, which alarmed the enemy, who drew down some 60 Horse and 100 foot. Slight skirmish, and coming within the reach of our cannon killed 10 and about 12 hurt of their foot. 1 Horse taken, none of ours hurt or taken.

May the 22 and 23. Nothing but some foot in the ditches pottering at another. A parley for the delivery of Oxford, but broke off.

24. About 7 at night a strong sally, with 50 horse, fell on their foot that lined the hedges and were stationed about Roger's Hill, beat their guard there back, and killed and hurt at least 40. 2 of ours killed and 3 hurt, 3 taken.

25. A summons sent to the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of the City.\*

26. The answer returned.

May 26. The enemy began to draw a line round about the House at Roger's Hill with Sconces, redoubts, etc., and to cross the lane towards Wheeler's Hill and so round again for their security to lodge in and to draw nearer the city.

An assessment† [enforced] throughout the garrison at 3<sup>s</sup> a week for the maintenance of every soldier for the continuance of one month for

*p.* 702.

1600 soldiers and officers in proportion. Whereof I am assessed to maintain 4 men, which assessment the citizens conceive to be a very great and heavy tax. The soldiers muttering and ready to run away for want of bread and provisions.

The garrison seem to have been discouraged by the news they received of the surrender of Ludlow Castle on the 27th. Birch had marched away from Droitwich on March 28th to his garrison at Hereford. On the 24th April he invested Ludlow, which he was ordered by Parliament to reduce. It offered a strong resistance. Birch had to send to Gloucester for a battering train. An attempt was made to relieve it by a force which included a large part of the garrison of Madresfield. They were, however, beaten off. Woodhouse, the Governor, then tried with his horse to break out, but failing, agreed to surrender at the end of May

\* This summons and the reply are given at pp. 109, 110 and 111.

† See *ante* p. 112.

‡ See *ante* p. 102.



if not relieved. On this Birch himself went away, but Woodhouse refused to surrender to anyone but him in person. Birch then returned on May 20th, and Ludlow surrendered. Its importance in the siege of Worcester was setting free the investing force of Ludlow to take part in the operations before Worcester.

Townshend thus notices the surrender of Ludlow :—

*p.* 702.

May 27. This day the strong castle of Ludlow and town was basely delivered up by Sir Michael Woodhouse, governor, against the minds of most of the better sort of officers and Townsmen.

A reply sent by Col<sup>l</sup> Whalley and the Committee to the Mayor and Aldermen's answer.\*

The next incident was favourable to the besieged.

May 28. All the enemy's Hutts were casually set on fire, the wind being strong west by north, and one Cap<sup>t</sup> drunk, burnt about 9 at night.  
29. A parley renewed at Oxford.

Col<sup>l</sup> Whalley returned an answer to the City's desire in their first answer\* of summons, 26 May, about 9 at night. The Mayor returned a verbal answer about 2 of the clock.†

*p.* 699.

Saturday.

May 30. Col. Whalley, about ten of the clock at night, sent a drummer with a letter as a full answer to the Mayor, etc., first Answer to his first Summons :

Gentlemen,

We have, according to our promise, presented his Excellency Sir T. Fairfax with your desires of sending to his Majesty, And received this answer : That he will not condescend to your requests, Having denied the same to the Governor and your Brethren at Oxford. The Truth is, You being now the only Troublers of this Kingdom, deserve to be dealt withal in an exemplary way, even to be made a prey to the soldiers. Your persuasions that you may have good Terms at any time are but self-deceiving thoughts, And such as will prove destructive to yourselves and the City. You proclaim yourselves soldiers, Therefore without speedy submission to the Parliament you must not expect other than soldiers' conditions, which are usually to

\* See *ante p.* 110.

† It is stated in the MS. "Memd. All the summons and answers to this day are written in the foregoing leaves together."

march away with their wearing apparel. We do not Jest when we tell you we have Thousands more of forces at your Charge coming to visit you. If you still remain perverse we shall think you are destined to destruction, And shall only pity those who through Ignorance are enslaved under your Tyranny.

*p.* 700.

The parley at Oxford was renewed yesterday, And be fully assured your singularity in holding out will both incense the Parliament and soldiers against you to your utter ruin, if not timely prevented by your submission to their Clemency.

Your friends and servants,

	Tho. Rouse.	Edw. Whalley.
May 30 <sup>th</sup> , 1646.	Edw. Smith.	W. Lygon.
To Mayor, Aldermen and Com-	Hen. Hunt.	W. Collins.
mon Council of the City of	Tho. Milward.	
Worcester.		

About 2 of the Clock at night The Mayor did send away the drummer with this verbal answer, That he wished him not to come again, That since his General nor Sir Thomas Fairfax would not yield that he should send to the King, he will keep the City until the King comes himself and commands him.

This last letter defective in several particulars, For in their letter of Reply, May 27<sup>th</sup>, they promised Sir Thomas Fairfax should satisfy them in all their scruples, which he hath not done at all, nor sent to them particularly therein; only denied their desires to send to know his Majesty's pleasure, as they affirm. So that this last of theirs is rather a summons of terror than satisfaction in anything whereby a parley may be produced. The demands of the City are reasonable, and if men loved peace rather than continuance of division and the hazarding of much more blood in a Christian care of brotherly unity, there ought to be a consideration for a more speedy assurance of peace, which by this means will speedily be had.

Matters then proceeded. News had obviously come in that the army from Ludlow were marching on Worcester, so a party was sent out on the Ludlow road towards Astley to reconnoitre, and apparently fell in with the advance guard of the Parliament force.

*p.* 702.

May 31. A party of ours went towards Astley and took 6 horses and 2 men.

The besiegers crossed the Severn, probably at Hallow ford, and occupied Hallow.

This day the enemy put into M<sup>r</sup> Fleet's House at Hallow 140 foot and 2 troops of Horse.

The Ludlow men arrived the next day.

*p.* 702.

June 1<sup>st</sup>. Fresh supplies of Horse and foot coming to the enemy from Ludlow quartered at Abberley, 5 of the foot taken.

2. The enemy drew 10 colours of foot down to Roger's Hill into their new works.

One great culverin of iron at S<sup>t</sup> Martin's Sconce break to pieces, in the breach hurt our best canonier,\* and a Montross, and another very sore.

Some pickering with horse and potting with foot. One boy drummer of ours thigh burst to pieces with a drake planted on Roger's

*p.* 703.

Hill, which drake shot into the line below the sconce at our Horse which stood there, near M<sup>r</sup> Wylde's house.

This day a review of the assessment weekly to relieve the soldiers at 2<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup> per man for 1500 men. Every man to have a billet of their number, and also the particular names of the soldiers who he is to pay to, and to pay no other person.

Our Horse went to Hallow, only killed 1 man. It is said if they had taken 100 foot and gone privately by Broad Heath and come in on the back of the house they had taken all the enemy, Horse and foot, or burnt the house with them in it.

3. The enemy drew down to Barbon 9 whole columns of foot and 8 of red, and set workmen to draw a line in Windmill field from the end of the village slope towards the river.

The Mayor, Aldermen, etc., returned an answer to Col<sup>l</sup> Whaley's letters, 30<sup>th</sup> May, † as followeth:

"Gentlemen,

"You have not yet satisfied those scruples (as you please to term them) concerning our allegiance and fidelity, for although we have that true and high estimation of Parliament, that neither the King nor people can well subsist without, yet we may not forget nor forgo our allegiance and promised especial duty unto His Majesty, and that resolution of ours doth not proceed from any perverseness (as you conceive) but from the discharge of a pious and upright conscience. What you desire

\* In the margin is the word "Dead" opposite this entry.

† See *ante* p. 115.

*p. 704.*

we have not power to grant, and what we have desired (whereby we might have been able to treat with our Governor) that is not condescended unto. And therefore again we make further offer that we may have liberty to send unto the Lords of His Majesty's Council at Oxford to know what directions they have received from him, and upon that return if you please to write unto our Governor, as well as to ourselves, we shall be ready to give you a full and absolute resolution.

Your friends and servants,

William Evett, Mayor.

John Couchcr.

Roger Gouch.

Tho. Hackett.

June 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1646.  
To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Whalley and the  
Committee of Parliament for the  
County and City of Worcester."

There came out an order, 7<sup>th</sup> June, from the Governor and Commissioners for the better assuring the soldiers their weekly pay from the cozening of the officers, and to keep them from mutining, as followeth :

It is ordered that every Captain shall give in a list of the names of his soldiers to the Governor, and shall receive from him Billetts for their soldiers' pay from particular persons to whom they shall be assigned and to be named in the said billetts, and that no soldier or officer shall receive any pay from any person whatsoever without a billet first signed by the Governor, or such as he shall appoint to make the said Billetts, which Billet shall be a sufficient discharge to the party that payeth his money upon receipt thereof, and that it shall be in the

*p. 705.*

choice of him that is assessed whether he will pay in money or provisions or both.

Mr Jo. Bacon, Mr Withy and Mr Lunde assigned to make the ticketts, which was that H[enry] T[ownshend] was to find 6 men ; 1<sup>s</sup> A. B. C. D. E. F. ; soldiers to Cap<sup>t</sup> P[oulteney].

4. This morning there came an answer to the Citty's letter sent yesterday, June 3<sup>rd</sup>, as followeth :

"Gentlemen,

"We were commanded hither by his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, if we could not persuade, to force your obedience to the Parliament and not to satisfy your doubts or scruples of conscience, which is more proper for casuists than us. Your having liberty to send to the King's Council at Oxford will not be granted, nor anything else

but what shall tend to this speedy surrendering this city, which will alay the country's rage against you. In easing them of the great charge they now lie under, and likely to undergo a far greater by the increase of the army, unless prevented by your speedy submission, and save  
*p. 706.*

yourselves many thousands of pounds, nay your City (for ought we know) from utter ruin and destruction we say no more, but heartily wish that all punctilios of Honour, both with you and us, may be laid aside, and God's honour and the public good only aimed at, and then we are sure the mortal differences would cease. And we  
your loving friends and Servants,

June 4 <sup>th</sup> , 1646.	Tho. Rouse.	Edward Whaley.
To the Hon <sup>ble</sup> Col <sup>l</sup> Washington	W. Dingley.	Jo. Edgiock.
and to The Mayor, Aldermen	W. Ligon.	Hen. Hunt.
and Common Council of the	Edw. Smith.	
City of Worcester."		

The enemy going on with their works at Barbon in Windmill field, Having 14 Colours of foot for guards and some 200 horse, at night marched up to their quarters at Wheeler's Hill. Some few horse of theirs  
*p. 707.*

vapouring without musket shot in Pitchcroft.

Many foot have run out of the City to the enemy for want of pay, and some servants have stole their Masters' Horses, clothes and money and gone away to them or to their own country. But now pay and provisions for the soldiers being settled, it is hoped no necessitous soldiers will do the like.

Some of our horse about 3 in the morning gave them an alarm on either side the river. Killed 1 and hurt some 3.

News came that they made a strong sally out of Oxford, fell upon Sir Thomas Fairfax's own quarters, killed many hundred, took some Cannon and store of ammunition, and have either taken or killed the general.\*

5<sup>th</sup>. This morning a drum went with a Reply to Col<sup>l</sup> Whaley's answer, June 4<sup>th</sup>, as follows:

"Gentlemen,

"If you endeavoured peace (as you pretend) you would not obstruct the ways that lead unto it. But it is manifest you are the only disturbers of it. And by your denying a pass either to the King or to Oxford, it appears you dare not let us know in what condition they are. Therefore we are resolved to keep this town (Do what you

\* In the MS. this paragraph is crossed through and "untrue" written in the margin.

can) until we hear from His Majesty or be relieved by him, and till  
*p.* 708.

the country grow as weary of you as you would have us believe they  
 are of us.

Your friends and Servants,

Roger Gouch. Henry Washington.

June 5<sup>th</sup>, 1646.

Edward Solley. William Evett, Mayor.

To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Serjeant Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Whalley  
 and the rest of the Committee of Parliament  
 for the County and City of Worcester.”

About 6 of the clock in the evening the drummer brought an answer  
 to the same as followeth :—

“Gentlemen,

“We expected a reply to our answer from those that sent  
 unto us—namely, the Mayor, Aldermen and citizens of Worcester.  
 But we perceive all the citizens are fallen from you as men and  
 Christians tending the good and preservation of the County and City.  
 But Roger Gouch, whose age makes him do anything, and the Mayor  
 and his brother Solley brethren in iniquity, men in their cups as fierce  
 as lions. Let them take their fill. We doubt not ere long to make  
 them both tame and sober, and give the City occasion to bless God for  
 the happy reducing of it to the obedience of the Parliament.

Your servants

Thomas Rouse. Edward Whalley.  
 Jo. Egioke.

5 June 1646.

William Collyns. W<sup>m</sup> Moore.

For Col<sup>l</sup> Washington, Governor of the City of Worcester, The  
 Mayor, Aldermen, Common Council and Citizens of the same.

*p.* 709.

In the afternoon between 2 horse of ours and some of the enemy  
 there was pickering on Pitchcroft, and our foot playing with their foot  
 at a distance and upon the horse.

There were 3 horses of theirs killed, 1 man and 1 hurt and another  
 Horse shot. One of our horse a slight hurt in the Brisket, 1 man shot  
 in the back.

The enemys line at Barbon and Roger’s Hill going on apace,  
 Drawing down 500 foot and 200 Horse for a guard to the workmen.  
 The country all hereabouts extremely taxed to find workmen or money  
 to pay them. Their soldiers are set to work.

The orders at Council of War to charge all those Householders who are gone out of town and left their families with more soldiers, and if any do give to the enemy that their effects be seized on, their wives and children turned out of the Garrison. That all shovels, spades and mattocks in the City be laid up and brought into particular places to be more ready upon all occasions.\*

That all the coal, wood and lime in St John's be brought into town.

That select Committees sit daily to consult of the better security of the garrison.

That unnecessary people be put forth.

That way be made for Horse to ride the rounds, and no trooper or soldier to go forth without a ticket.

*p.* 710.

June 6. An officer of the enemy killed in piking, and some few hurt, none of ours, and some slain by ordinance and hurt from St Martin's sconce.

Five of our Horses taken near Diglis Mead fetching grass, by the enemy.

June 7. Mr Shelton's son was killed by shot of the enemy a pottering.

25 Horse of Madresfield garrison taken at grass by the enemy.

News came that Col<sup>l</sup> Dalbern with about 2000 Horse and foot lay at Tewkesbury and Bredon to come hither, but since we heard he was gone off.

8. Being assessed at the maintenance of 6 soldiers at *2s. 6d.* per week a soldier, I paid Cap<sup>t</sup> Byron his limit. Butts, ensign, and Gentleman of Arms, 2 weeks' pay, together 30s.

This day no action, only a boy shot in the shin.

The Ludlow force having arrived, steps were taken to complete the investment of the west side of the city by occupying St. John's.

9. The enemy drew into a field near Henwick's Hill foot and horse, about 1500. Some of them came into St John's. Some few horse and foot sallyed out and beat them away, 3 of them hurt. About 5 at night took there an ensign. At 7 upon a skirmish an officer of horse of ours (Cap<sup>t</sup> Wheeler) shot in the head and killed, and brought in. 2 of our Troopers, some hurt. At night the enemy drew off to their old quarters.

\* In the margin of the MS. is a note: "Good orders few performed some and these not all,"

2 of the great brass guns taken at Naseby, with the King, brought to Worcester, are come into the enemy's leaguer at Roger's Hill.

Dr Laurence went away to Salisbury.

*p.* 711.

A trumpet came to desire the body of the officer to be buried with them. About 3 of clock the day the Governor with many Gentlemen and 100 horse went out with the corpse to the foot of Roger's Hill. There the officers of the enemy met them, and for two hours were in familiar discourse, drinking of wine which either side brought. Only Col<sup>l</sup> Whalley would not come from his post, and being by some desired since the Governor here did them that honour, said "it was below him," and he would not stir. Our Governor, before he went out, said he would not come into interview without Col<sup>l</sup> Whalley did meet him, and would send Cap<sup>t</sup> Pitcher only with the corpse. But his good nature and generous disposition could not forbear and to stand upon such punctilios of honour.

No more passages this day, but familiar speeches several gentlemen had with such as they knew, only amongst the rest Dr Warmstry singled out the Chaplain of their regiment, Mr Baxter,\* to discourse with him, which as the said Dr gave it me in writing was to this effect as followcth:—

June 17<sup>o</sup>. The first question was, which Mr Baxter undertook to defend, That there was no difference to be made between a church and any other common place. Dr Warmstry distinguished that there were 2 extremes which were both errors: 1. To hold such an efficacious holiness in churches as if prayers or any other duty were more acceptable to God *ipso facto* in a Church received increase of holiness by the place.

*p.* 712.

(2) To deny a relative Holiness in Temples consecrated to God from other places and exempted from all profane uses. This he proved by 2 arguments. (1) By the actions of our Saviour in casting out the Buyers and sellers out of the Temple and none carry any vessels through the Temple. Is it not written "my House shall be called the House of prayer of all nations" *vide* Matthew xxi. 12, Mark xi. 15, Luke xix. 45, John ii. 15. To this Mr B. confessed. The Temple of Jews was to be kept from profane uses by reason of the typical use as a figure of Christ, which is not to be admitted in other churches. Dr Warmstry replied, Besides the typical there is a moral use thereof wherein the moral parts of Divine worship were performed as well as the ceremonial, as in

\* The celebrated Richard Baxter.



Acts iii. 1, where Peter and John went up to pray at the 9<sup>th</sup> hour of prayer, when the typical use was abolished by Christ's Cross. 2. Christ said not my house shall be called a house of sacrifice but a house of prayer by reason of the moral use. So the strength of our Saviour's argument lies in this, that place that is dedicated to that holy use to be a house of prayer unto God is to be separated from all profane uses. But so is this Temple and so our Christian Churches *ergo*.

3. Our Saviour's speech "My House shall be called an house of prayer to all nations" being applied to the material Temple was to be received by all nations as the House of prayer. The typical use of the Temple being abolished, yet the Temple itself destroyed before that . . . \* wrought in the Church. Therefore it must be understood of the House of God in the general sense for every House dedicated to the service of God. M<sup>r</sup> Baxter said our Saviour restrains it to the Temple alone. D<sup>r</sup> Warmstry replied that he should remember his logic, That it was the natural course of argumentation to proceed from Universal to particulars, and therefore our Saviour concludes well from the general use of all Houses of God to the Holiness of that particular House, and that because the House of God was to be esteemed by all nations wherever it was or shall be as an house of prayer.

Much more might have been said and observed upon that passage of our Saviour. 1. This action fell from him not above 3 or 4 days before his passion when the Typical holiness of the Temple was to cease. 2. That our Saviour never used his hands in way of violence, but in this in all his life, shewing so much holy fury and zeal, *vide* John ii. 15, 16, 17. Therefore it is not probable all this was done to vindicate a power of Holiness which was not only to cease and become unnecessary, but sinful and superstitious within a few days after as was the typical holiness of the Temple, but rather to assert the moral holiness of God's house, which was to continue throughout the Christian Church.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> argument was out of the Epistle 1 Cor. xi. 22, reproving the miscarriage of the Corinthians, sayeth, "Have you not Houses to eat and drink in or despise ye the Church of God," where the Apostle clearly sheweth that those things which are lawful to be done in a man's private House are not fit to be done in the place of the assembly, and that thing which may be done in other places are not to be done there. Because of the holiness which is in the House of God in regard to the especial relation that it hath unto him being dedicated and separated to his service, and so appreciated that it ought not to be put to any other use but upon great and urgent necessity. "Why then," said one, "if Churches be so holy do you pull them down?" To which D<sup>r</sup>

\* Blank in MS.

Warmstry replied, There are two sorts of Temples: 1. Made by man for the worship of God; 2. By God himself as are the bodies of his people. The Temples made by man may be destroyed to preserve the Temples made by God. Upon the same ground which our Saviour justified the profanation of the Sabbath. God is better pleased at the preservation of the life of man than of a church. If a church be destroyed it may be rebuilt, but man cannot be restored.

The result was a confession of M<sup>r</sup> Baxter's that they differed from me but in Terms. To which I replied that "I would never quarrel with Terms so they agreed in sense."

The investment was now complete, and the bombardment began from the east side from Roger's Hill, and on the west from St. John's.

*p.* 713.

11. This day in the morn was the first that the enemy shot his great ordinance. They gave 4 shots, and in the afternoon 8 more. No hurt to man nor house, only passed through. The first or second shot hit one end of the Bishop's wood building and so into his pantry and there fell. The bullet weighed 17 pounds and a half. There were other bullets of 19, 24, and one I saw weighed of 31 lbs. and a half, and one of those bullets went two foot into the mud wall at S<sup>t</sup> Martin's Sconce. A boy of the City shot at the Butts gathering of peascods, dead.

In the afternoon we shot our ordinance from S<sup>t</sup> Martin's Blockhouse, but did no hurt at their ordinance to dismount them. Some of our Horse about Henwick's Hill and a few foot pickered with the enemy, and some of their horse and foot shot.

12. The enemy drew with 8 colours of foot and some 200 horse to S<sup>t</sup> John's, lined the village with musketeers about 3 of the clock, and the rest of the foot and horse behind the town for to close up the city on the west side the river. They shot 10 great pieces into the town, break some chimneys and through houses, but no hurt. Our guns about 30 great shots into S<sup>t</sup> John's and killed divers, and killed a horse at Roger's Hill, and near M<sup>r</sup> Fleet's house killed 4 men and horses from the mount at one shot.

The besieged tried to retake St. John's and stop the bombardment from the west. The attempt failed.

*p.* 714.

At 11 o'clock at night there was a strong sally made of 500 foot and 200 Horse upon the enemy's quarters in S<sup>t</sup> John's. The foot

commanded by Sir William Bridges in chief, Cap<sup>t</sup> Chapman the musketeers, and Cap<sup>t</sup> Norwood and Major Fisher the pikes. The foot, notwithstanding the enemy had strongly barricaded all avenues into the town, got some in the highways, others through backsides and houses, enforced the passage and drove them out, and some fled into the church. It is conceived that the enemy lost 100 men in this and by the cannon the day before, only 10 prisoners taken. Many of the soldiers were half drunk coming into fresh quarters. We lost Cap<sup>t</sup> Chapman, a very able commander, and some 5 gentlemen and 15 hurt. Lieut<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Gouch and Ancient Thomas taken, the latter exchanged the next day. We took 3 colours and one drum. Two of the colours hung up at the sconce on the Bridge, and one white on the top of the leaden steeple. There were in this sally many gentlemen which over venturously and rashly trailed pikes, being men of great estate, and escaped happily, for they were in a body 500 Horse and foot within 100 yards, yet did not or durst not move.

The enemy shot from Roger's Hill with their ordnance into and over S<sup>t</sup> John's, and 4 shot into the town but no hurt to any person, though one bullet fell on a bed wherein people lay.

The design was to dislodge the enemy and to burn that part called Cripplegate, near S<sup>t</sup> John's, which hindered the sight of the Town and streets, which was done for the instant.

*p.* 715.

13. All this day quiet on both sides. At night a demi culverin from the Bishop's Palace and planted at the river side shot, about 10 of the clock, into the east end of the steeple, the enemy fortifying and barricading their quarters and post at S<sup>t</sup> John's and behind the Church. The enemy, about 12, shot 4 pieces into the town and killed a poor man and his wife in bed in the Trinity.

Ill rayling language usually the several guards usually at and in the night give one another, the enemy calling ours "Papist dogs," "Washington's Bastards," "Russell's Apes," "Where is the King of you rogues?" "Where is your Tottered King?" (pardon the expression); ours replying and calling them "Traitors," "Villains," "Rogues to your King and Country," "The sons of a Puritan Bitch," "Bid you go preach in a crab tree," "Come and fetch their Colours which they lost," "Where are the Scotts, you rogues, whom you hired to fight against your King."

14. This day quiet. About 12 at night the enemy shot off six cannon and did hit some houses, no hurt to any person. Their Cannon is marked out against S<sup>t</sup> Martin's, and shatters the houses there. Sir

Rowland Berkeley's house in the Corn Market had 4 great shot in it, and hath done £10 in hurt already. One bullet made a hole in the wall as wide as one could creep through, but made up instantly, being a place to shoot out.

The enemy finished their Bridge of Boats and laid planks for 8 men to go in breast at the Upper end of Pitchcroft. Raised a half moon for a guard on Pitchcroft side, and on the other a House for a Court of guard to secure the passage.

*p.* 716.

15. This morn about 5 of the clock Cap<sup>t</sup> Hodgkins, also called "Wicked Will" for his desperateness and valour, sallyed out with 16 horse in a medley humour of drink into the enemy's Court of guard at S<sup>t</sup> John's, shot one, and all came off safe, yet he so loaded with drink and top heavy that he fell twice by the way, and was carried over Severn in a boat half asleep.

Our cannon at Key played at the Court of guard in the back side of the Swan in S<sup>t</sup> John's and did execution, at least 5 slayne.

3 of our young soldiers taken, gathering pease at Gravell Butts. 1 sore cut in the head.

After long debate whether a reply should be returned to Col<sup>l</sup> Whalley's answer, 5<sup>th</sup> June,\* at last it passed the vote in chamber, and sent, which is as follows, as the further answer of the Mayor, Aldermen, etc. :

"Gentlemen,

"Whereas by the reply bearing date the 5<sup>th</sup> of this instant June, and attested by the hand of our Governor, Mayor, Sir Martin Sandys, Roger Gouch, and Edward Soley, you say you do perceive thereby that the citizens are fallen off from the Governor and Mayor. We do suppose that you do rather wish than believe it, and to effect your desire you have thrown some scandal upon the Mayor and aldermen to make them odious unto us, and so to make us at difference. But for more certain assurance that the reply is the act of the Common Council, as well as of the Mayor and of those that you did subscribe,

*p.* 717.

The Mayor hath this day caused a chamber meeting of the Common Council, when the said reply was repeated, and by all that were present confirmed and approved. And in testimony thereof we have set hereunto the seal of office. Dated at Worcester this 13<sup>th</sup> day of June 1646.

For Col<sup>l</sup> Whalley, etc."

\* See *ante* p. 120.

About 5 of the clock in the evening the enemies' cannon began to shoot with three pieces and shot 18 times into the town, did shoot into some houses, broke down some chimneys, but hurt no one. All night quiet. The Guard was moved at the City's concurrence and vindication of their Mayor.

Some townsmen had leave to go with their children out of towne. Col<sup>l</sup> Whalley commanded their money to be taken and they returned back.

All the South side at Sidbury Gate open and not blocked up, cattle kept at grasse and hay made and brought in from the meadow daily by Bardge.

Paid the three weeks' pay to Lieut<sup>t</sup> Butts for his Cap<sup>t</sup>, himself, etc., 15 shillings.

*p.* 718.

16. Both sides quiet, but about 6 in the evening the enemy set up all their colours at the several posts, 7 at Roger's Hill, 14 at Barbon in Windmill field, and the rest at the post behind S<sup>t</sup> John's. Drew up all their men to their Trenches facing the city. At 7 began at Barbon to give a volley of muskets. Then went off 2 drakes there, and 3 cannon from Roger's Hill, which shot into the Town. Then a volley of shot. These answered at Barbon, and the half Moon made at the river there to guard the Bridge of Boats and passage, Seconded by another at S<sup>t</sup> John's. This done 3 times over and the Cannon twice. They took down most of their colours and ceased about 9, made a Bonfire of their huts which were left on Wheeler's Hill, and another at S<sup>t</sup> John's. And these military joyful expressions was [not] for the delivering up of Oxford as we feared, but it was rather to delude us therein and so to bring us to a treaty. Who must think us very shallow upon their bare surmise to believe them without better evidence. And they do make a mock game therein, do make the Country men mock and jecr at them for their folly, and was only a frolick, they doing the like before Oxford as is reported.

The Cannon shot did no hurt to any, only some tops of houses and chimneys.

Colouel Starr, a prime officer of horse of the enemy, shot and killed in a mutiny amongst them and divers officers now at Pershore.\*

*p.* 719.

17. Quiet all day until 12 at night, then the enemy shot off 13 cannon, playing chiefly against S<sup>t</sup> Martin's Church, the Cross Inn, and

\* In the MS. this passage is struck out and "untruth" written against it in the margin.

houses near, did hurt no person but shattered houses, especially the Cross Inn, and one shot into the window of S<sup>t</sup> Martin's Church and so broke some seats.

A Trumpeter of the enemy brought in a buck for the Governor, whereupon some citizens jested that the Trumpeter was hoodwinked, yet the Red Cloth was not.

Many citizens' wives came and spake to the Governor to protect them and know what they should do for their safety, their houses being beaten down about the streets. He bid them go out of town. They told him that was small comfort, and desired he would do as other Governors did. "Who asked how was that?" They said "Treat upon honourable terms for the preservation of the City."

Some of the Chamber of the City in their meeting did propose that the Governor might be entreated to treat, others to speak with him and understand what comforts he had received from His Majesty or Oxford for to give them encouragement to hold out the City.

18. Cap<sup>t</sup> Blinkow came from Madresfield to the Governor certifying him they were summoned that morn to deliver up the House and to know his pleasure. Who told him that Cap<sup>t</sup> Ashton, the Governor thereof, at a Council of War assured him he could hold it out against all the forces for 3 months at least if mortar-pieces spoiled him not, otherwise it had been slighted. And therefore expects he should without any treaty hold it out a month, and then he should know further,

*p.* 720.

and if in the mean [time] this City should be treated for they should be included in the propositions and conditions.

Our soldiers in the night, through the carelessness and connivance of their officers, steal into the country about Kempsey and Pirton, and take all sorts of cattle from off the grounds, fat or lean, and as soon as they have them knock them down and kill some, sell others, though they be not fit man's meat nor they necessitated. And when the country men come to demand them this answer returned, "It is better they had them than the enemy," and so a poor honest man ruined in one night what he hath laboured for all his days. Other soldiers take the insolency to pull down men's back houses upon pretence of fuel, and to sell it for liquor that most part of the suburbs of S<sup>t</sup> Peter's in Sidbury is defaced. And begin likewise in the City to tear in pieces the coaches of gentlemen which are in Backsides, and also the outhousing in the College. So wicked are the Irish soldiery chiefly and given to spoil and ruin, and the chief officers so remiss and careless in doing justice and punishing some severely for a terror to others, that shortly it is feared some great

inconvenience within the close, yet wherein the soldier himself is concerned, you shall behold most exact justice *per sequentium* with that industry, appearance of officers to sit in judgement and a small—at most then only pretending or concerned—delinquency against the person or reputation of a soldier or a difference between him and a citizen or countryman punished with all extremity of power.

That all good Christians may insert in their Litany.

From the plundering of soldiers, their Insolency, Cruelty, Atheism, Blasphemy and Rule over us,

*Libera nos Domine.*

And

That it may please thee to Resettle the good old Protestant Religion and peace from civil wars in these 3 Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland.

*“O Christe audi nos.”*

*p. 721.*

The sides of stone Bridge at Severn being so low that the soldiers could not stand secure, was raised and made up with Brick and loop holes to shoot out at. Beside the Severn passage to return and go and come to their guards at the Scone at the Bridge end which is the best piece of work of all the batteries made about the City when it is fully finished.

Both this day the enemy and ourselves quiet from shooting any Cannon and likewise in the night.

19. This morn about 4 of the Clock Darby the Governor's footman and beloved servant, went forth with his master's carbine upon pretence of giving the enemy an alarm at the Hospital of S<sup>t</sup> Oswald's. There came an Horseman only out, shot at him, but he gave not fire at him, took him and brought him to the Governor. There is much descanting of his going and the nature of his going.

Why the fellow should go having so good a service and moreover being assured he neither could nor would have the like he had, being heretofore one of them, he must depart rather to be hanged than trusted by them. If it were upon a design with consent he was the worst man that choice could be made as being the Governor's servant which would make them more jealous over him, and being false once to them before may likewise do the like. And so shall never be able to receive or give any Intelligence worth anything. If without consent, He was not master of his craft that will have anything acted so apparently to breed a jealousy amongst many, as to employ such a one as his Instrument. It is true, he knows where all the strength and weakness of the Garri-

son lay. And may do much mischief and hazard if he play the rogue.

*p.* 722.

This certainly will suddenly appear.\*

From the next entry it appears that the Parliament had by their bridge over the river at the top of Pitchcroft completed the investment on the north side.

The enemy raising a work at the west side of the River to defend their passage over the river at the bridge of boats.

Though the enemy hath lain so long and so near the city, yet few are so sensible of their present danger, nay hazard of ruin, That the citizens will not send their servants, or poorer sort come to work to perfect or amend weak places in the works, nor work at all without money. Though they know not whether the next day they shall be worth anything, or so much as live? So stupid and supine a dullness is amongst them, and covetous desire not to part with anything to preserve all the rest, And may be assured when the enemy is master of the place, he will make them turn their bags outward.

Many several orders for the putting forth of the unnecessary people never put in execution, wherein the several majors are to blame, and the Governor himself, who should punish them for their negligence and see his orders obeyed, not so slighted.

There are at least 1500 poor of all sorts in the city that have not bread but from hand to mouth, and 1500 soldiers. Which make up 3000 men. The citizens have no magazine of victuals; a shame and great fault in the Governor and Commissioners not to have it enforced and made. The soldiers' magazine neither well provided; that was the fault of the Governor and soldier.† The *Soldier* had orders to go forth and compel parishes to bring their tax of provisions, and were allowed 2s. per pound for their pains, but would not either hazard their carcasses; neither did the Governor check them for their negligence; knowing that the safety of their town lay upon it. But a few promising words salv'd all up. Yet when the soldier might make a gain to himself to

*p.* 723.

drive all cattle near into the Garrison upon a pretence to distress the

\* This paragraph is struck out in the MS., and in the margin this note, "So taken that they threaten to hang him and will not exchange him."

† In the MS., in the margin, "Cap<sup>t</sup> Armour, Cap<sup>t</sup> Pitcher."



enemy, Then the Troops could readily sally out and bring in cattle. But the Garrison in general not one beast provided up in the magazine the more; all things held to private uses, or the owners compelled to redeem their cattle, which were not worth the killing. The soldiers' lust and excess to be only maintained and looked after, but the way to maintain Religion, a king's crown and laws be laid aside and the City distressed.

This day 3 dragoons of the Enemy taken about Kempsey. The Cannon quiet, no shooting.

This day a she messenger went to his Majesty with letters from the Commissioners to know his pleasure and send his directions as concerning this city for by that they will govern themselves without other considerations of law and fortune as becometh loyal subjects. 4 were sent before, yet none ever returned.

The enemy marched with some Horse and Foot for the further beleaguering of Madresfield from S<sup>t</sup> John's and 2 Cannon.

20. The bakers were called for not baking bread as they were wont, who told the Mayor and Commissioners they could not have corn ground, and then wanted mills, and under 12 mills to be set on work, the City could not well be furnished with bread. The mills cannot grind above one stone in an hour with two horses, and a horse labours hard when he works 4 hours together. That they are content to allow the Miller 8<sup>d</sup> per stone for his grinding, so there were orders made for providing mills, horses, labourers by impressment, and every horse allowed iiiij<sup>d</sup> for his owner's work. The people began to mutter. Who by this means will be well satisfied. There are 16 bakers in the City.

*p.* 724.

This day a notorious rogue (one Taylor of Bransford) should have been hanged for running away from his colours, turning to the enemy, in whose service he was taken, plundering, robbing, and suspicion of murdering yet he must be reprieved. Such justice there is. Whose confession was full of impudency and scandall upon others in their lives, small compunction in himself nor no repentance for serving against his king, but rather justification of the fact in which he would die.

The Governor sent a drummer about his man Darby to Col. Whalley on Friday, But was not returned. So he stayed another, which the enemy sent him, until that his own came back.

The enemy from Roger's Hill shot 9 Cannons between 5 and 7 at night. And did hit M<sup>r</sup> Mayor Evett's house on the top, as they

threatened often to do, but did no hurt there, nor any where else to any person. They shot off some 12 muskets together in their quarters.

There was a great bellied woman killed by a Trooper bringing provisions on the market day to the city near Kempsey.

21. This Sunday morning a sermon was preached by M<sup>r</sup> Gr. on Psalm 3, v. 1, 2, Being David's flying from Absalom his son upon his rebellion. Such a piece as never had his paralell for an invective.

About one of the Clock the Enemy shot off 5 pieces of Cannon. No hurt to any. 4 more about 5 at night, 1 more at 11, which fell in a poor house at the East end of the Cathedral, and broke a bedstead to pieces, the man, his wife and 2 children which lay on the said bed removed from thence the night before; and 1 more at 6 in the morning.

This day news came that Capt. Ashton (notwithstanding his charge to the contrary) had treated and delivered up Madresfield house to Col. Whalley, most basely and contrary to his faith, The Enemy only coming before it, having no cannon with them and as it is said

*p.* 725.

sold the same to Col. Lygon, who was owner of the house, and one of the enemy's Colonels. His conditions were to march away with his arms and £200 in money. His troopers were to have 30<sup>s</sup> a man and footsoldiers 10<sup>s</sup> a man. And to leave all his Ammunition and provisions behind him.

He was a Lancashire gentleman and one whom the Governor and Gentry had much confidence, But a soldier of fortune, who having raised himself plentifully, loved not to hazard the loss of it, but rather his loyalty which will be a bar to him in his honour.

There were never 4 such Governors as Sir Michael Woodhouse of Ludlow, Col. Lusen\* of Dudley, Capt. William Sandys of Hartlebury, and Capt. Edward Ashton of Madresfield, which delivered up traiterously, cowardly, and basely 4 such strong holds, so poorly, so treacherously; places that the weakest would withstand against an Army (as themselves confessed) for a quarter of a year. And some 3 of them an age if victuals would have lasted and ammunition, yet Judas like the golden hook was swallowed by them, and by his means the loyal city of Worcester was begirt by the united forces of Shropshire, Hereford, Gloucester, and Col. Whalley from Banbury, And is with Oxford and the Close of Lichfield the only cities which hold out for their king and country, otherwise they had not power or strength to beleaguer it; yet hitherto all they do is to set up several posts or quarters at half a mile distance from the city, shooting their great guns at hours into the town.

\* Levenson.

p. 726.

A cobbler of the City killed without the works.

News came that the King is on his march with the Scots and Irish and English towards London from Newcastle. That he hath sent Lord Loudon to the parliament before, That he will stand to the Treaty at Uxbridge, 1643. That otherwise he will lay his bones and all that are with him before their walls. It is said he commands all counties to come in to his assistance and people. Those that are obstinate he seizeth on their persons, burns their houses, and estates plundered. And that he hath an army of 80,000 men.\*

God grant the parliament's eyes to be open, and their hearts inclined to the peace of the Church and State, which are already almost ruined, and not so to strive for to be absolute states, that neither they nor us shall have any estate left at all; opening a passage for the needy Scot and barbarous Irish and foreigners to seize on this land of Canaan and to be masters of our inheritance, as Saxons and Danes were many ages since. But let Truth and Justice prevail. The more certain Truth of these will shortly be known.\*

The Governor received a letter from Col. Whalley that his man Darby was taken in arms, he received an ordinance of parliament to hang up all Irish so taken, therefore all as he could wish him to do was to pray for him.

The Governor replied, That he had more of his prisoners. As he began they should follow, and as he liked it so he may proceed.

22°. Resolved by the Governor to continue one week's pay more to the soldier before the magazine be broke up. For by that time he will understand when the corn is measured up and bacon and cheese weighed, what proportion to allow daily the soldier.

He switched Smith the baker for not baking bread, as having meal and would not bake it. And swore to throw him over the walls if he baked not presently.

p. 727.

Care taken for money to pay workmen, especially the taskers at St Clement's sconce.

This day a blind began to be made between the Foregate and St Clement's. First great poles and rafters which are long rammed in the ground, then cross pieces, and hurdles at least 15 feet high. Then next the wall there raise it with horse dung and the open part with earth. The

\* These two paragraphs struck out in the MS. and "all untruth" written in the margin.

blind being about 30 yards in length on the brow of the hill to prevent the enemy's clearing the wall from their works at S<sup>t</sup> John's. No one being else able to stand on the walls.

This and many like necessaries should have been done at times of leisure, and not to shift off to the last hour of necessity, when it had been too late if a strong enemy had come with cannon to batter it in several parts at once. Neither is the wall lined as yet from the Foregate to the said Blind with earth, nor none of the wall as it should be. For it should be lined to the top of the wall with earth at least 15 foot thick, if not 20. And then foot Benches, that if the wall were battered the work is not much weakened. And a cannon will shoot 8 f. in earth if near to batter. Now the wall being only lined some 6 foot on the bottom, and all the top unlined, being a weak old wall will be beaten down every shot. And there wants two stonks to dam up the water from the Foregate to S<sup>t</sup> Clement's, which some £20 would perfect. And would keep off the enemy very much. And if these had

*p.* 728.

been when the blinds are made a fair platform for ordnance and musketeers to play, it would have been a great strengthening to all that part of the city which is conceived to be the weakest.

About 5 of the clock at night the enemy made a show of some 150 Horse at M<sup>rs</sup> Andrews' house at the Hill\*—and stayed there; our Horse looked on them. They lined the hedges of the lane with musketeers. On that side near Kempsey lie 400 dragoons of them, which are Col. Bean's men.

The great sconce gave them 4 great shot. In the sconce on the South corner there slipt down with the rain that fell 2 nights before a great deal of earth from the platform, which is commanded to be repaired suddenly.

Col. Whalley sent word to the Governor, That Oxford was to be delivered up and they to march out this day.

In the night the enemy shot off with their ordnance 5 times. And about one of the clock from the bridge one shot off, one amongst them.

It was reported that Col. Samuel Sandys, late Governor of this City, was with Col. Whalley this day. He was a gentleman very well beloved in his country, insomuch that most of the gentry trooped

\* In Nash's copy, vol. ii, Appendix, p. c, this is given: "Mr Andrew's house at Barnshall." There is nothing in the MS. to identify the locality of Mr. Andrew's house. Possibly it may have been supplied from personal knowledge.

under him, and did assist him in the difference at Oxford between him and Sir William Russell; insomuch that he came to be within one year successor to him in being Governor of the City. But then, whether it be a thing fatal to all Governors not to remember what they were, or the want of discretion and moderation being still like a young man, That he fell off from his good friends and Commissioners with him;

*p.* 729.

he forgot his supporters, loved so much the soldier and his ranting ways, that an envious emulation possessed him against them, thwarting all their actions And rather attending his pleasures, than the true duty of his place, did in a kind of involuntary way after one year resign his Governor's place, And my Lord Astley, his successor, who was taken at the battle of Stow and now in prison at Warwick. So Col. Washington is Governor and Colonel General in his absence. Then he went to Hartlebury Castle, where (it is said) he had no small hand in the delivery up of that strong place. And for his reward all sequestrations to be taken off his estate, though he were a member of the House of Commons.

This day the continuance of the weekly assessment for one week more agreed on, before the magazine be opened.

23. The enemy being now known to be 5 troops of Horse and 6 of dragoons consisting of 600 men, lie still at M<sup>rs</sup> Andrews' house, intending to block up the city on the south side, which if they do, then this is the first day that it is surrounded and wholly blocked up.

About 1 of the clock our Horse drew out and some foot and pickcred, one musketeer slain having a false report that the carriage of our ordnance was broke, whereas it was only tumbrils to block

*p.* 730.

up the way. A jeer. The enemy had 2 of theirs slain, beside such as were hurt and their horses shot. About 3 of the Clock we drew off and retreated into the Garrison. The Governor himself leading (very unadvisably) the forlorn hope, which consisted of 20 Horse and some foot.

One Clark's barn and house near the sconce fired for fear of the enemy planting their Battery there, It being a petty house.

The Governor's chief duty is to assure the Garrison, And by his presence give directions how all officers at their several posts shall perform and make good their stations, And (unless it be upon a high and extraordinary occasion) not at all to adventure his single person upon sallies, leaving that to other choice and expert officers in trust,

lest by any misfortune and miscarriage his person be lost, and with him the whole Garrison hazarded.

About 7 at night another summons came to the Governor from the enemy to deliver up the city for the use of the parliament, as followeth :

Gentlemen,

Are you not yet sensible of the near and fast approaching miseries you have brought upon yourselves? You are upon the pit's brink, and will nothing content you but plunging yourselves and the City to the bottom of a hopeless and helpless condition? Will neither the starved looks of the poor, nor their lamentable cries for bread, any whit move you? Have you so cast off *your allegiance unto* his Majesty, your obedience to his Oxford Council (who are all come into the parliament), and your loyalty to the state, as to set all to Defiance? If so, as you are the last in rebellion. It pities us we have such an enemy so singularly eminent for perverseness to make an example to posterity. You hold out the city upon a punctilio of Honour; what

*p.* 731.

you count honour your friends deem madness, And we the very height of rebellion. We cease any further to advise you, we summon the city for the use of the parliament, and expect your speedy answer, giving you assurance that Oxford is surrendered, and thousands are on their march towards you, which will much enlarge your score and shorten your conditions.

Edw. Whalley.

Will<sup>m</sup> Dingley.

Tho. Rouse.

George Starr.

Tho. Cooks.

W<sup>m</sup> Moore.

Nich. Lechmere.

H. Hunt.

Edm. Yonge.

23<sup>rd</sup> June, 1646.

To Col. Washington, Governor of Worcester,  
And to the Mayor, Aldermen and Inhabitants.

This summons in this language penned was received with an extreme disgust of all, both soldiers, Governor and citizens, And might have had a better reception if it had been clothed with more truths in a silken phrase.

24<sup>o</sup> June. This day an answer was returned, whereunto the Commissioners put to their hands to the Summons, as followeth :

“Gentlemen,

“To pass by your uncivil language, which reflects upon yourselves, and not upon us. Our answer to your summons is That when

we understand upon what terms Oxford is rendered, and whether we be comprehended in that Treaty by any order of his Majesty, or the Lords of his Council, we shall soon give such a resolution as shall vindicate our allegiance to our King, our obedience to the Lords of his crown Council, And our loyalty to our country. And to this purpose we desire a pass for some gentlemen to Oxford.

		Will <sup>m</sup> Evett, Mayor.
Commissioners	Jo. Winford.	and 5 Aldermen.
	Jos. Walsh.	Hen. Washington.
	Anth. Langston.	R. Clare.
		Rowl. Berkeley.

June 24<sup>o</sup>, 1646.

p. 732.

The Governor himself wrote a particular letter to Col. Whalley giving notice to him, though to satisfy the whole city he gave way for an answer, yet for his part he was resolved to hold out the city, and not to be frightened out of with big words, that he had received a civil summons first from Sir Thomas Fairfax, and when an occasion is he will treat with him.

The enemy is working at M<sup>rs</sup> Andrews' house.\* And raising a work at the foot of the Close next the houses on the north side near the High way.

This day an Iron saker at the Blockhouse did break about 4 of the Clock, one piece of him of 160 p<sup>d</sup> weight fell upon a window at the Rose and Crown near S<sup>t</sup> Helen's Church. Some in Broad S<sup>t</sup>. Hit hurt 4, only one soldier being a dyer, very sore hurt. Many gentlemen and others on the work, and all escaped, God be blessed, safe.

21. The Enemy shot 19 cannon very hard about the Town hall; the Globe Tavern being twice shot in, and through the upper loft, and beat the whole windows into the street, when the Governor and many more were in the lower rooms drinking; yet no person, God be praised, hurt. And 2 more great shot in the night.

Wise men many times commit great errors, sometimes by overdoing, and by Doings as well as [*erasures*] slow or misdoings or little doings, which encrease mischief by scorns. Why should the Commissioners put their hands to this summons of Col. Whalley, they never being sent or wrote to alone without the rest of the Gentry. Is it because the Governor desired it? Though he did, yet in martial passages of so high a concernment, though they may do well to advise, But without a particular mention to join in answer with the Governor and Mayor,

\* Nash again adds "at Barnshall."

showed more of officiousness than of judgment, and gives the enemy an occasion to engage them hereafter.\*

*p. 733.*

There are many Gentlemen named as Commissioners to serve his Majesty and their county. To protect them from the Insolency of the soldier, as well as to maintain the soldiers. But there are few of them, not above 5 Gentlemen, that follow and do the work, which is Sir Ralph Clare, Sir Ed. Littleton, Sir Rowl. Berkeley, Sir Jo. Winford, and M<sup>r</sup> Anth. Langston, and M<sup>r</sup> Pennell in the last Commission. And these not only in the first commission, But also in this last hath continued very sedulous to preserve their county from Tyranny and oppression of the soldier. Though all in vain. The powers of punishing lying in the Governor as Commander-in-Chief, And the Commissioners being only as Councillors and Subordinates, few barbarousness, plunderings, nay High Insolencies against the Commissioners themselves punished, And the fault is somewhat in the Commissioners, who knowing the engagement of their estates and persons for the King's cause and country would intermeddle or show themselves before they had co-ordinate power with the Governor, at least in punishing as well as providing. Being now gentlemen as ministers and quartermasters to set out billets and allotments for contribution. To prepare and present to the Governor, He having a dissenting and negative vote, so that when they touch the regulating of the soldier, or his punishment, then often the Commander-in-Chief will give them golden promises, but seldom or rare performance. Never men have continued and gone through with such invincible patience, and certainly had not one thing (which is as all, great loyalty to their King and love to the preservation of their country) been engrafted and commorant with them And their whole design never gentlemen have

*p. 734.*

received such affronts and disgraces from the soldiers throughout, such discouragements from those which should have protected and vindicated them, that it is a Miracle they would or could endure or continue the service, when all their service hath either been slightly valued or pitifully rewarded. Yet it must be granted by all wise men that if they had not continued in the Commission in the execution of those half powers granted to them, the King had never been in a condition to have done

\* In the margin is the note, "Sir R[alph] C[lare] put my hand without knowledge or consent who were never no Commissioner to the answer,"



that which he hath done, and might have played his own game to set his crown once more on his head by the faith and fidelity of this country, if there had not been a fate in him to follow private Councils more than his own judgment and some moderate councillors. And the loss of this County, their defection from his Majesty had quickly been seen and found through the oppressive insolency and plundering of the soldiers here; when the country found that all those which generally live under the obedience of the parliament, the soldiers are regulated, punished by their Committees. The Country people live in quietness and safety, paying their contribution and taxes, which is to them beyond all other considerations. And if this county had been lost from his Majesty, It is very well known all these parts had fallen with it, and with it all his strength. His Majesty had been quickly drawn into a narrow circle and power. And there was one thing which protected this county very much, which was, that it seemed to the enemy like a multiplying glass, bigger in force and power by much than ever it was. Also the soldier was well allowed and paid for a few men. Their officers thriving only, the soldier starving, and the county exhausted and undone.

p. 735.

25 Jun. A survey made of the Magazine of provisions by Mr Jo. Lunn and Mr Tho. Twitty, wherein there is of—

Value at 3 <sup>s</sup> per str.	str.	
261 . 03 . 04 { Muncorn . . . . .	0905	
{ Wheat . . . . .	0048	
{ Rye . . . . .	0534	
	<hr/>	1487
At 2 <sup>s</sup> per str.		
042 . 10 . 00 White pease . . . . .	0122	} 425 str.
Gray pease . . . . .	0303	
	<hr/>	1912
	<hr/>	1912 stricke.
024 . 10 . 00 Biscuit, at 10 <sup>s</sup> per cwt.		4836 weight.
024 . 00 . 00 { Dry beef . . . . .	0244	} 0002 barrels and 1 qrter.
{ Other beef . . . . .	0002	
	<hr/>	5080 beside 2 barrels and a quarter.
	<hr/>	<hr/>

036 . 00 . 00	Bacon, at 4 <sup>d</sup> per pound	. 2163 lbs.
060 . 15 . 09	Cheese, at 3 <sup>d</sup> per pound	. 4863 lbs.
005 . 08 . 08	Butter, at 4 <sup>d</sup> per pound	. 0326 lbs.
		7352 lbs.
002 . 16 . 08	Salt, fine, at 3 <sup>s</sup> iij <sup>d</sup>	. . 17
008 . 15 . 00	clodd, 5 <sup>s</sup>	. . 35 str.
	Oat meal, great	. . . 3 barrels.
	small	. . . 8 bar.
	Beef, suet, one earth pot.	
	Mem. 112 lb. weight for an 100	
465 . 09 . 05	Beside provisions at the sconce.	

*p.* 736.

The enemy used a trick of policy to draw our cows lying under our works to them, But by chance were prevented. They tied a cow to a stake and set straw about her on fire to make her roar, which will draw all the rest of the cattle to her, and so the enemy to seize upon them, But the cattle ran as fast as they could to the city.

In the afternoon some small pickering between our Horse and them of the Hill in the meadows between them.

25. This day quiet from shooting. At night 4 cannon into the town. About 5 in the evening a drum brought a Reply to our Desires for sending to Oxford, etc., as followeth :

Gentlemen,

Our uncivil language, as you term it, if you well consider it is nothing but a Demonstration of real truths. We are contented to give losers leave to be angry, And to overlook what your passion, not reason, dictates to you. Your sending to Oxford hath been already denied, and you will not find that either in it or aught else we will vary from our first resolution. Your hoping for Oxford terms will deceive you. You have brought yourselves in that condition that it is not now what you will have, but what we will give you. Our forces have nothing to do but to wait upon you. Such an Attendance will prove costly at last to the impoverishing, if not the utter undoing, your city without a speedy submission. For Oxford, we believe it hath served you, as you would have served Madresfield had it held out till you had made your peace, and left it to shift for their own conditions. Gentlemen,

p. 737.

we would not have you trouble yourselves or us further with dilatory impertinences. We are

Your friends to serve you,

N. Lechmere.	Edw. Whalley.
H. Hunt.	W <sup>m</sup> Dingley.
W <sup>m</sup> Collins.	Tho. Yonge.
W <sup>m</sup> Moore.	Edm. Yonge.

25<sup>o</sup> June 1646.

For Col. Washington, Governor of Worcester,  
the Mayor, Aldermen and the rest of the  
Inhabitants there.

The garrison did not believe the statement. But it was true. Oxford surrendered on 20 June. On the 22nd Princes Rupert and Maurice rode away; on the 23rd the greater part of the nobles and gentlemen; on the 24th the garrison marched out. The Duke of York fell into the hands of the Parliament, the Prince of Wales took refuge in Jersey. On the outlying posts Wallingford still held out, the others surrendered. Charles was practically a prisoner at Newcastle.

The importance of this to the Worcester garrison was that Fairfax and the great bulk of his army were now free to assist in the reduction of Worcester.

Upon reading of this letter there was several courses, some, That Oxford, though they assured it, was not delivered, otherwise they would have given way for a messenger to understand the Truth; Beside the daily news of their continued skirmishing and gallant condition; That the King had sent to them to hold out, and would relieve them speedily, he being on his march, of which there was no such tidings. Others believed the contrary, As conceiving they were the basest of men to put under their hand such a gullery, and such a notorious lie would infinite distaste all men, and giving no Credence to anything they should speak or do hereafter. About 9 at night the Truth was known by Mr Anthony Kempson, Prince Maurice' secretary, who came from Oxford with Sir Thomas Fairfax' pass. And did assure us that Oxford was to be delivered up upon Articles on this day, which (as it took away all doubt) so it struck us into Amazement, and vexation to see, how we

have been gulled with Golden shows. Never poor Gentlemen and City held out more loyal, and never any so ill rewarded, as being neither remembered by king or the council at Oxford in the Treaty.

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26. This day in the morning the Governor called an assembly in the Bishop's palace of all the gentry and soldiers. Wherein the question was moved, whether he should accept or entertain a treaty with Col. Whalley since Oxford is surrendered, no probable relief from his Majesty to be had, not knowing, and as never heard, in what condition his Majesty stands since his departure from Oxford, Ap. 27. That whether all Sir Thomas Fairfax' army coming hither, the city is of that strength and also so well victualled that it is able to endure the force of 10,000 foot and 5000 horse. And whether there will not be an exclamation against the Governor and Commissioners and the whole city for standing out against a whole kingdom and ruin the whole County and especially this city for ever. It was by the most discreet that a letter should be sent to Col. Whalley, intimating a consent to Treaty upon the consideration of their being assured of the delivery of Oxford. But M<sup>r</sup> Kempson did first undertake to try whether Col. Whalley (as he believed) would mention a Treaty which would be an Act more honourable to the City, than if the mention came from him. So the letter was respited from being sent until he returned in the afternoon. In the interim, many Rodomontados, Reformados, and some all wise and discreet gentlemen amongst us did conceive it not necessary at all to have a Treaty. Insomuch that when about 4 of the Clock M<sup>r</sup> Kempson had so far prevailed with Col. Whalley (as being mighty ambitious

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to have the Honour of the taking this City even upon any Terms) that he wrote to the Governor yet so cautiously as not wholly owning the notion of a Treaty, but that M<sup>r</sup> Kempson informed him of an intimation in us to a Treaty. Which words of Col. Whalley's letter being read before a general Assembly in the palace about 6 of the Clock, great exception was taken, as that M<sup>r</sup> Kempson had not dealt faithfully with them, saying to Col. Whalley That they desired a Treaty, his promise being that he would make Col. Whalley write and own the particular desire. To which he said, that though he himself took exception at that expression, yet he could not persuade him to alter it, being unwilling wholly to challenge it as his whole desire, though it

was really that he told the Assembly they would find to have granted them the Conditions of Oxford at least, if not better, and they would require it. The letter of Col. Whalley is as follows :

Sir,

I perceive by M<sup>r</sup> Kempson, Prince Maurice' secretary, there is some inclination in you to parley. If you please to treat and send out Hostages answerable to the quality of those gentlemen I shall send unto you, I shall admit it. Those that I shall make choice of is Col. Lygon, Col. Dingley, Col. Betworth, Col. Starr, Lieut. Col. Tuckington, Lieut. Col. Castle, Major Fynes, Major Smith, and 4 gentlemen of the County. I expect your answer this night or to-morrow, And that you will prefix the Time.

I rest                      Your servant,  
Edw. Whalley.

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What shall be agreed on, if you desire it, his excellency I will undertake shall confirm.

Edw. Whalley,  
For Col. Washington, Governor of Worcester.

At the Leaguer before Worcester.

June 26<sup>o</sup>, 1646.

27. The Governor calling the Commissioners and Council of War the next morn, returned this answer by their advice and consent.

Sir,

Upon an overture for a Treaty from you and Intelligence of the Delivery up of Oxford, and the sight of his Majesty's letters there printed for the surrender of this Garrison (amongst others) upon honourable terms, I conceive myself now made capable to entertain a Treaty. Therefore in order thereunto, I have named the Gentlemen underwritten to meet with those that are and shall be nominated by you for that purpose, And instead of hostages I am contented to take your engagement of Honour under your Hand for the safe conduct of those gentlemen and their necessary attendants. To-morrow being Sunday, unfit for business, I leave the time and place to your appointment.

Worc. June 27<sup>th</sup>, 1646.                      Your Servant,  
Hen. Washington.  
For Maj. Gen. Whalley.

The Governor then proposed what Gentlemen should be the Treaters; so the military men nominated theirs, The Gentry theirs, and

the Citizens by a chamber theirs, two of whom were altered, and the Bishop and Clergy theirs.

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For the soldiers :

S<sup>r</sup> Robert Leigh.  
S<sup>r</sup> Jordan Crosland.  
S<sup>r</sup> Willm. Bridges.  
Major Tho. Savage.

For the Gentlemen :

Lord Willm. Brereton.  
Sir Ralph Clare.  
Sir Rowl. Berkeley.  
M<sup>r</sup> Ralph Goodwin.

For the Citizens :

S<sup>r</sup> Daniel Tyas.  
M<sup>r</sup> Francis Street, Town Clerk.  
Alderman Hackett.  
Alderman Hemming, but Lieut. Col. Edw. Soley went in his place, the other being esteemed a man too disaffected to his Majesty, and so Hackett censured.

For the Clergy :

D<sup>r</sup> Dove, Dean of Chichester.  
D<sup>r</sup> Tho. Warmestry.

The Citizens choosing Aldermen Hackett and Hemming in their Chamber, were by the City Soldiery men excepted against as suspected persons. Hackett being excepted against one year by the King's letter, And Alderman Hemming as by being made an Alderman by the Earl of Essex, And desired 2 officers soldiers may supply their places, which was not consented to again by the Chamber. M<sup>r</sup> Goodwin, M<sup>r</sup> Bosden, and M<sup>r</sup> Street, lawyers, were assigned to draw up the articles, and D<sup>r</sup> Warmestry for the Clergy. M<sup>r</sup> Goodwin for the soldiers, M<sup>r</sup> Bosden the

*p.* 742.

Gentry, and M<sup>r</sup> Street for the City. The Governor, after the letter being read, put to the Gentlemen who they would nominate to be Treasers. The City before had called a chamber and nominated four, which was Sir Daniel Tyas, Alderman Hackett, Alderman Hemming, and M<sup>r</sup> Francis Street, the Town Clerk. Some gentle-

men, and especially the recusants and cashiered officers and Reformadoes and soldiers of fortune, who thought there was no subsistence for them if the City were ever delivered up, said they would have no treaty at all. And among the rest M<sup>r</sup> Fitz William Coningsby, a gentleman of a great estate, but a man too much addicted to be smoothed up by the soldier. And being now full 6 of the clock in the afternoon with him, did talk highly against it, And gave these reasons :

1. There was a Command from the King and the Lords of the Council to hold out the town until they heard from them.

2. That since, no commands are come from the King nor his council.

3. That though the king's letter be printed at Oxford by the Lords' consent and command for the delivery up of this garrison, as well as Oxford, yet who knows it to be the King's letter, but a forgery, since M<sup>r</sup> Kempson only bought it off the bookstall And brought it hither, not to be the King's letter to the Governor, but is to be received as a printed paper, may be made and set forth by the Lords for their own security, and reason to deliver up Oxford. The soldier being insolent and high for monies.

4. That they were able to keep the town, and they were not necessitated as yet for provisions, the magazine not broke up. This

*p.* 743.

threatening, the sense of the Governor who conceived it fitting to treat and also the Commissioners who know the state both of the City in strength and provisions, than these men, made him very angry, and in a great rage asked whether they would live and die with him upon the walls and fight it out to the last man. All those of that faction cried That they would. And said, let all those that are not of the same mind be thrown over the walls. The wiser and more noble said nothing at all, but let the Frenzy take his course, and it came so high That the doors were commanded to be shut, for every man to declare himself. The Bishop and some gentlemen in this heat applied themselves to the Governor, and told him this was not the way to conclude anything, He should call a Council of War with the Commissioners and advise therein, debate, and every man soberly to give his reasons whether it be necessary to have a Treaty or no, and not to suffer every soldier or discontented person to talk, vote and rule there. It will bring all to confusion. Then the Governor would have it go to the Vote, that both sides should separate themselves and see who are for a treaty and who against it ; the moderate men and commissioners told

him that was Dangerous, for then it would discover affections, And by this the soldier by insolency and mutiny might hazard the persons of

*p.* 744.

such gentlemen who desired only an honourable Treaty. The factious persons moved for a vote ; the Governor, seeing the fury of these persons, in choler, said he would go his ways, and God damn him, give the Enemy a cannon of defiance. And went out of the room, down into the Court. Some gentlemen (following him to persuade him to moderation) and at the last the Bishop did so far prevail, as he returned to the meeting, And there propounded that 6 gentlemen, 6 soldiers, and 6 citizens, with the Bishop and D<sup>r</sup> Warmestry, should be chosen to consider whether a Treaty or no Treaty. Which was unanimously consented to, and so upon debate and result it was (*nemine contradicente*) voted a Treaty.

In this assembly the Governor committed several errors.

1. In calling a meeting of all without distinction, wherein he might be assured there would be many firebrands.

2. In respect of the time of calling, about 6 in the afternoon, a time when soldiers and malcontents be well heated with wine and other liquors.

3. In descending from his own power and discretion as making every man a partner with him in power, He having only the power to Treat or no.

4. In not calling a Council of war privately or a select Council with the Commissioners to debate thereof. And so to order the Treaty ; He being sufficiently vindicated from any prejudice that might accidentally happen upon the result of the Treaty, as having done nothing but with the advice of the Council of War and commissioners under their hands. Which was the plea and case of Prince Rupert for the delivery up of Bristowe and discharge.

*p.* 745.

5. In his own carriage, being so full of passion and fury that advantage was taken thereof by the factious to make work their design, and in not punishing, or at least controlling them for this high mutiny, for it can be termed no better.

In the king's letter sent to the Lords at Worcester\* hath these words ensuing in it :—

“ And his Majesty desires the Houses of Parliament to disburthen the kingdom of all forces and garrisons in their power, except such as

\* There is a mistake here—“ Worcester ” should be “ Westminster.” This letter, as given in full in Rushworth vi. 275, was sent to both Houses of Parliament at Westminster. Only a short extract is given here from the letter.



before these unhappy times have been maintained for the necessity and safety of this kingdom. So he is willing forthwith to disband all his forces and garrisons within the same, as the enclosed order herewith sent will evidence.

Newcastle, 10<sup>th</sup> of June. To the Speaker of the House of Peers, *pro Tempore.*"

The Order.

"Charles R.

Having resolved to comply with the desires of our Parliament in everything which may be for the good of our subjects, and leave no means unassayed for removing all differences amongst us, Therefore we have thought fit the more to evidence the reality of our Intentions of settling a happy and firm peace To require you, upon Honourable Terms, to quit those Towns, Castles and Forts entrusted to you by us, and to disband all the forces under your several commands. To our trusty and well beloved Sir Tho. Glenham, Sir Tho. Tyldesly, Col. H. Washington, Governors of our cities and garrisons of Oxford, Lichfield and Worcester, and all other commanders of any towns, Castles and Forts in our kingdom of England."\*

Newcastle. 10 June.

p. 746.

Now say the No-Treaters, The letter of the King's is but conditional in showing his readiness to disband, as the Parliament should fulfil his desires in doing the like, And the Order for disbanding as a Testimony of his real intentions. Not that any Governor should be obliged, unless the parliament should likewise disband their forces and garrisons, which they do not. And therefore until a particular order come from his Majesty or his Council, the Governor is obliged in conscience and honour, without necessity not to treat for surrendering the Garrison; nor to take notice of the order or letter (but only as a printed paper) until it be particularly brought unto him or sent by the Lords or some others who receive commands for that purpose from his Majesty.)

The Treators on the other side say, The King hath put himself into the hands of his Scots subjects, The Committee of both kingdoms residing with him will have him disband all his forces and garrisons, And sends a general positive answer to all his Governors to do it upon Honourable terms; This Order comes only to the Lords and Governor of Oxford as the principal, They make use on it for their own Indemnity and cause the same to be printed, And by the print, notice came of it

\* See Rushworth vi. 276. As given there Wallingford is included.

hither, And finds himself under the Command. The Governor sees that Oxford is delivered by virtue of that order. And since there is no city left that stands out but this in the kingdom, And he not able to oppose the whole strength of the kingdom, And if he could for a time, there is no manner of hope of relief from his Majesty afterward, That

*p.* 747.

when he must be reduced to high necessities he must take such conditions as they please to give, not what you desire, And the drawing down of the whole Army here, being 10,000 foot and 5000 Horse having nothing else to do, will ruin most part of the county, And therefore since honourable terms is promised, it is rather rashness and folly than discretion not to Treat.

Neither by treating presently follows a Delivery. It may be spun out so long that if the King can or will be put into a condition to relieve us or give order for deliver; It will be apparently known and the truth discovered. The Gentlemen who are appointed Treaters are of that wisdom and fidelity that they will do nothing but what shall conduce to preserve their loyalty and uphold the dying Honour of a Crown. And expect to have the conditions of Oxford at least, if not far better. And many advantages, if wisely carried, may be made of Treating.

In the afternoon Col. Whalley sent an answer to the Governor as followeth:—

Sir,—Since our proposed Treaty is condescended to by you And the time and place left to me, I desire your Commissioners would give these gentlemen underwritten a meeting at Hindlip house\* on Monday morn by ten of the Clock, And I do hereby engage myself for the safe coming and return of them, I except against Lieut. Col. Soley as a citizen, being also a Soldier.

I rest,

Your servant,

June 27, 1646.

Edw. Whalley.

*p.* 748.

Col. Bridges.

Col. Dingley.

Col. Starr.

Col. Lygon.

For the soldiers and citizens.

Col. Betworth.

Lieut.-Col. Turkenton.

Major Fynes.

Major Hungerford.

\* In the margin, "Mr. Habington's House."

Sir Thos. Rouse.

M<sup>r</sup> Lechmere.

For the gentry.

M<sup>r</sup> Hunt.

M<sup>r</sup> Moore.

M<sup>r</sup> Moore }

M<sup>r</sup> Baxter }

For the ministry.

Col. Whalley sent likewise an order of cessation to the Governor.

Sir,—I have likewise given order here in our Leaguer for a cessation of arms until the treaty be concluded or broken off.

June 27<sup>o</sup>, 1646.

Edw. Whalley.

The Governor, as soon as he received these, he likewise gave order for a cessation of arms, and sent to Col. Dingley to meet him out of the City by the Foregate to talk together, being fellow soldiers in the Low Countries. About 5 of the Clock the Governor went out and stayed until almost 10 with some other gentlemen, who did so ply their salutations with cups that many heads could not complain of want of measure and plenty.

p. 749.

But by this strange, unpractised and unparalled action of the Governor's going out, and the Cessation commanded, many of the Citizens and young soldiers took an occasion by his example to go forth and speak and so many that were of their acquaintance and formerly Comrades or kindred in the City, without any stop of the guards. The lock of the postern door being taken off (as supposed the key to be broken in it) That it was conceived that no less than 100 went out.

The sober and judicious sort both of soldiers and others conceived this act of the Governor's to be an extreme rashness and [11 words obliterated, the following written over] ill precedent to others though he took special order and care that no soldier should by his example do the like. But Major Moore was justly to be condemned of [two words obliterated] neglect [obliteration] and carelessness [obliteration] who should have been looking to the guards and duty of his place, and not entertaining cups. And suffer the enemy to come within pistol shot of our works to take a view of them. What can be thought, But the disaffected in the City have given Intelligence to the enemy by this means? And many that were willing to go with them, and could not take this opportunity, and by that Cessation may betray the weakness or the readiness of a party for them in the City to help the enemy in

and where. Extreme murmuring by all the wiser sort, and gentlemen walked in much sense and discontent, insomuch that they esteemed themselves as [*two words obliterated*] insecure and [*obliteration*] their persons and estates sacrificed to the will and pleasure of soldiers of Fortune, The citizens being ready to mutiny in fearing a treachery

*p. 750.*

would succeed by the enemy. Not distrusting the particular person of the Governor, whom all do value a man of extreme integrity and faith. But others and underlings to him who may work their design by his plain and harmless meaning and thoughts. And the Citizens and others not understanding the powers of a Governor and the privilege Commanders in a time of cessation take to be merry one with another made some men jealous.

By the Cessation, The enemy hath a great advantage for now they take a view of our works, their manner of Fortification, their strength, weakness, defects. Whereas it should be for no other than not shooting at one another. And not to come within musket shot at least of any of our outworks, which if he did to shoot them, and so the Governor commanded. It discourage the soldier, makes him to neglect his duty, slow to do duty, and unwilling to fight.

This Cessation was consented to by the Governor without consent of Commissioners or Council of war, which had been fitting, that it might have been restrained and conditional.

Wisdom and policy are fitter for a Governor than all valour and courage. It is better to have a wise and sober Governor, 3 parts coward, than a Rash, resolute fighting man without moderation and discretion.

28. This morning the enemy upon Windmill Hill on the south were viewing our works, a good entrance, and about 1 of the Clock 100 at the Foregate, talking with many of ours. And ours went up to Roger's Hill, and some of our wise City Captains likewise went out to drink with them to Barbourne; these passages so resented the Gentry and discreeter sort of Citizens that upon complaint to the Governor there were drums beaten and notice given them to go their ways, which some

*p. 751.*

of them carelessly would not, and 2 were shot and 1 hurt of them, by reason whereof Col. Whalley kept 40 of our men which were in his works prisoners. But being informed of the truth released many of them presently.

In the afternoon the Articles of the Treaty to be delivered in were

read at the Chamber. And very well approved of all, though for the Clergy so high that there was no expectance of consent to them without much moderation by the Enemy, which was afterwards done.

The Governor sent a letter to Col. Whalley in reply to his answer, June 27<sup>o</sup>,\* as follows :

Sir,

I conceive it was a misprision of the writer to omit in the safe conduct the security of the gentlemen's servants and Horses, Therefore I desire you to supply that particular together with liberty for a Secretary to attend the Treaty. For Lieut. Col. Soley I conceive you cannot in honour except against him in the capacity of a citizen, And the rather for that all the persons nominated Treators by you for the Soldiers and City are Soldiers, so I expect the same liberty of election that I willingly allow you. For I have left it wholly to the City to make choice of their own Treators, I cannot consent to alter what they have done.

Your servant,

June 28.

Henry Washington.

The Governor having received information from one Capt. Michael Blunt (a man officious to tell stories and tales in the Governor's ears the discourses and private censures of gentlemen) that some gentlemen should say that if the Governor the last night at the meeting with Col. Dingley had drawn out his regiment with him and the gates shut it had been well. Others that none so forward for the Treaty as him-

*p.* 752.

self. He fell into so great a passion (being so much addicted to choler and ill Commander of it) met with one Capt. Massey, who was one of the number, and beat him with the flat end of his sword extremely, throwing him down under his feet and stamped upon him, and swore if he stirred he would thrust his sword through him; afterwards he spoke against the Earl of Shrewsbury and other recusants whom he heard were censurers of him, that he was as good as any Lord of them all. And meeting with one M<sup>r</sup> Pesall, a civil gentleman, challenged him to fight with him, and he would lay aside the name of Governor. But the gentleman, having more discretion, the Governor struck him with the flat side a strong blow on the side of the head; some gentlemen, wiser than others, taking the Governor away, And in discourse railed against the Papists, That must dwell in the Churchyard, in this and that house, That will set all by the ears and will do nothing themselves, That if they will maintain his 1500 soldiers with so money 2<sup>s</sup> vj<sup>d</sup> a week and

\* See *ante*, pp. 148, 149.

find ammunition, They should find he scorned to treat, he would die on the walls, That must he loose in 2 or 3 days the Reputation he got in 14 years' service; and seeing S<sup>r</sup> W. Russell go afar off, swore there is another of them, He will give him his payment too. But being by gentlemen persuaded and diverted, they brought him to his Lodging. And all this done hastily without any examination of the Truth in any particular, whereas a Governor should not be his own revenger, but have called a Council of war, examined and sifted out the truth by process, And received satisfaction and reparation there. But all men are not of one temper, and though in himself a very sweet-natured man, yet being once moved none more furious and resolute in his own revenge, and can less govern his own passion. Blunt, who was the Author and Incendiary, several Gentlemen fell upon him by turns they beating him soundly, but threaten him with worse usages. M<sup>r</sup> Welsh shook and kicked Sir W. Russell.

The first part of Townshend's account of the siege ends here, but in an earlier part of his Diary he gives a narrative of what took place during the next month until the surrender. He calls it:—

*p.* 561.

Passages of the proceedings in the Treaty with other intervenient occurrences from 29<sup>th</sup> June 1646 at Worcester:

29<sup>th</sup>. This morning the Treaters all met at the Chamber over the Hall, expecting Col. Whaley's enlargement of their safe conduct, which came not until 12 of the Clock, and is as follows—

Sir,—I am contented to condescend so far to you as to admit of Lieut.-Col. Soley for a Commissioner for the City, And not knowing the names of all your Commissioners and Attendants, I do engage myself That any Twelve of the Commissioncers, two ministers, a secretary with their Horses and necessary Attendants you shall send shall come to Hallow, M<sup>rs</sup> Fleet's house, and return without molestation. I shall have a Convoy to meet at S<sup>t</sup> John's by two of the Clock.

I rest, your servant,

June 29<sup>th</sup>, 1646.

Edw. Whalley.

For Col. Washington, Governor  
of Worcester.

Our Treators desired the Governor's order and power to treat for

their security, so there was an Order presently drawn up and signed by him as follows :—

Whereas at a meeting and consultation had with the prime officers of the Soldiers in this Garrison, as also the Clergy, noblemen, Gentry and Citizens, The present condition of His Majesty's affairs in Relation to this City and Garrison was taken into serious Consideration, And

*p. 562.*

after a long and serious debate it was held fit and necessary, and so declared and adjudged by the major voice That a Treaty should be entertained concerning the surrender of this City and Garrison Upon Honourable Terms, according to his Majesty's letter printed at Oxford, And for that purpose the persons underwritten by a General Consent were nominated for Treators, and entrusted with the care and conduct of the business, I do therefore by the power to me given, and in obedience and pursuance of his Majesty's said letters, By these require and authorize them accordingly to treat upon such articles for the surrender of this city and Garrison as in their wisdom and judgments shall conduce most for the honour of his Majesty and his service, and the good and peace of his subjects concerned in and by the same. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand this 29<sup>th</sup> day of June, 1646.

Henry Washington.

Some murmuring there was that Lieut.-Col. Soley should be nominated, though chosen by the soldiery of the City, and one of their Aldermen to sit down, But at last it was agreed that Alderman Hemming should stay. The names of all the Treators were set down before. The Gentlemen Treators having a convoy attending them from within the scone of the Bridge, between one or two of the Clock rode forth 2 and 2 with their servants and Trumpet seconding, Their Convoy being a select number of Gentlemen and officers, who after a short salute rode together intermingled to Hallow house where the Treators of the Enemy met them.

*p. 563.*

The first discourse of ours, The demand of what powers they had to Treat with us ?

They answered, that whatsoever they concluded, Col. Whalley would confirm, and if that were not sufficient, Sir T. Fairfax should ratify under his hand.

Then it was desired by them to Treat (as it was at Uxbridge) by beginning with God, and his Church, then militia, etc. They desired

to draw all our Articles into one Gross for more expedition, and they would consider of them, what they consented to, need no Debate, what Disputable to be indifferently Argued, and the most convincing reasons to carry.

What is not in their power to grant, "To Transmit it to Sir Thomas Fairfax."

This was consented to by all, and Wednesday the 29<sup>th</sup> was appointed for us to return and send our Articles.

All civilities used on either side, And about 6 at night returned into the Garrison.

The parliamentary Treaters proposed a Cessation for all but the use of the spade; Ours said, It must be for all, or none, for it was never known that an enemy should have liberty to make new Approaches during a Cessation, But if they pleased to make use of the spade as far as to repair all such works as are fallen, and within their own lines, they may; But to have liberty to make their Approaches nearer, is as much as to give way for the taking of the Town, suffering their Batteries to

*p.* 564.

be raised so near, whereas where they are now raised they may break down some tops of chimneys, and go through the tops of Houses, but have done (without the killing of 2) no hurt to any. And appealed to Col. Dingley, an old soldier, whether upon a Cessation, an Enemy was to have liberty to make new Approaches by the spade, which he confessed he knew never to be done or granted. Beside our Gentlemen said, That approbation belonged to the Governor, and they would inform him what was desired by the cessation, And he should return them an answer.

30. The Governor this morning returned them an answer to their desires, as follows:

Sir,—As for the Cessation it is indifferent to me whether it continue or be dissolved. But if continued, Certainly its fit it should be a Total Cessation which I conceive agreeable to the Rules of war. The little experience I gained abroad affords me the knowledge, That in case of Cessation you can claim no more liberty for the spade, Than only to fortify and perfect your present quarters. It absolutely bars you from Approaches. So I leave it wholly to you, whether it be continued or broken off.

Your servant,  
H. Washington.

June 30<sup>th</sup>, 1646.  
For Major General Whalley.

This morn our Commissioners for the Treaty met and consulted how to draw up all their articles into one Gross body. M<sup>r</sup> Goodwin,



Mr Bosden, and Mr Street were to dispose of them in order. In the afternoon they met and after some hours' pains did digest them into

*p.* 565.

the form drawn up, and so to be engrossed, ready to be presented, and tendered to their Commissioners.

The Governor was desired to write for a safe conduct for our Treators to meet with theirs the next day, But forasmuch as Col. Whalley had sent him a letter and Denial of Cessation of Arms, as follows, He and all the Gentlemen thought it more honourable and necessary to respite the letter until the next morn. Otherwise it should shew some sense of fear in us, and our forwardness to hasten the advance of the Treaty by his denying a Cessation. His letter is :

Sir,—[*obliterations*] The kingdom is at great layings out for you and the City, and much increases by the Addition of Forces ; I intend to be a good husband for you, as not to lose time which may [be] improved by the Reducing Worcester, Therefore give your notice, the Cessation is at an end.

Your servant,

Ed. Whalley.

June 30<sup>th</sup>, 1646.

For Col. Washington, Governor of Worcester.

Upon the Receipt of this answer, the Governor was so nettled, that presently he set a Cannon himself, gave fire, and as was conceived did execution on the Enemy. Most of the Cannon mounted shot off. That on the Foregate killed some about New Church, Divers killed of the enemy in Pitchcroft by their Cannon from the Bridge. The Cannon from Castle Hill shot the Steeple at St John's, and thought to have humbled their County. And one of the Culverins in the Severn shot near or into the porthole of the Great Cannon mounted by the Hedge at Roger's Hill. That the Enemy never had so brisk a bout since the siege for desiring a Total Cessation. *Beati pacifici*. The Enemy shot off 9 Cannon.

*p.* 566.

July 1<sup>st</sup>. The Governor sent a Trumpet with the letter spoken of, which was as follows :

Sir,—In order to what was agreed upon at the last Meeting for a Treaty, The Gentlemen on this part have digested their propositions to be exhibited in gross, And have them now ready to deliver in. Which they conceive most proper and requisite to be done by themselves in person, To the End the propositions may be accompanied with some

necessary reasons and explanations ; And then be left to the Consideration of your Commissioners to receive an answer, To this purpose it is desired they may meet at the same place this present day at 2 of the Clock, afternoon, And that I may know your Resolution therein by this drum.

Your servant,

July 1<sup>st</sup>.

H. Washington.

For Major-Gen. Whalley.

There was discovered 50 Barrells of powder in some houses, vaults and cellars in the city, which was powder which M<sup>r</sup> Coningsby and others did cheat the County of when they had the managing of the making thereof, And what workmen purloined. It was no wonder so little in M<sup>r</sup> Coningsby's time came into the magazine. We had need thereof And it was most seasonably found for in the magazine there was not above \* barrells of powder.

The Drawbridge at Severn was laid in Oil Colours to keep out the wet. And over the Transom was written on the outside *Civitas Fidelis*, and on the inside *Deo et Rege* in capital letters.

p. 567.

M<sup>r</sup> Kempson, Pr. Maurice' Secretary, was accused by Col. Cumberland upon suspicion of High Treason, And exhibited articles to the Council of War against him.

That he had been in the Enemy's quarters at least 6 days before he came hither.

That he consented with the Enemy to betray the Town by making the Governor, Mayor, Commissioners, and Gentry believe Oxford was surrendered. To Colour his purpose brought from Oxford 2 printed papers: 1. Of the Articles of the Treaty of Oxford. 2. An Order from the King for the delivering up of Oxford and all his other Garrisons.

But his proofs failing him, and in truth no Truth at all in the suggestion, Col. Cumberland was sorry he wronged the Gentlemen, he was mistaken. And M<sup>r</sup> Kempson at a Council of War this day was acquitted, And the Gentlemen reconciled.

About 12 of the Clock came in White, Col. Whalley's Drum Major, with a letter in answer to the Governor as follows :

Sir,—My Commissioners shall be ready to meet yours at the time and place appointed. And there shall be some Gentlemen at S<sup>t</sup> John's to associate and wait upon them.

Your servant,

June 1<sup>st</sup>.

Ed. Whalley.

For Col. Washington, Governor of Worcester.

\* Blank in MS.

No sooner had the Governor read his letter, but the Enemy shot off their great guns, and never gave over until they had discharged 18 Cannon shot at the City, But God be praised, No hurt but only battering the tiles and tops of houses in the streets.

*p.* 568.

At their Bridge of Boats and Sconces on the River the Enemy hath mounted 2 Sakers.

The Gentlemen that were Commissioners for the Treaty went out to Hallow about 2 of the Clock to begin their Treaty and returned at 7.

At this meeting they delivered in their propositions, which being received the other Commissioners desired them to withdraw into the Garden. Nay, says one of these, it is for us to withdraw. No, says our Commissioners, we will walk until you have perused them in the Garden. About an half an hour They came to ours, And Col. Bridges said that these were propositions for men if the King had all his Towns and Castles and Armies, not for such as are the only City left, without expectation of any manner of relief or succour. Others, that if they granted these we were in a better condition and capacity than any that ever served the Parliament {and these were far} beyond [obliterations] beyond the propositions of Oxford or any place before, And could we that were the last expect better, and being most obstinate, so good?

Sir Ralph Clare replied, That our propositions were not, if well examined, much varying from them of Oxford, That which is added to these is in Relation to the persons and this particular place, As they at Oxford did for the preservation of themselves. It is no small Advantage to them to give us the best of Conditions, for then their work is done, the blessing of peace presently ensues, or their Army is in all freedom to march where any patriot Army, foreign or Scottish, shall appear.

*p.* 569.

That by having of Worcester you have the key which opens all the passages on the River of Severn, Debars his Majesty of all Succour from the Welsh, And in substance the Crown itself. All this part of the Kingdom reduced (except some few Castles) to your Obedience. Consider also the ends why we fight for, or you against us. Have we any private Designs or Interests? Is it anything else but a Testimony of our Allegiance and Loyalty which we conceive in conscience we are bound to our Sovereign. We look not after other men's estates or rewards,

we have wholly ruined ourselves. Therefore you have more reason to grant us all as we demand, considering the great advantages you receive. And assuredly before this City will be delivered upon dishonourable conditions you will see both us and it in ashes. Then said Colonel Betsworth, It were better it were in Ashes than received on such Terms. And Col. Bridges said, That they would all lay their bones under the Walls than consent to such propositions. Heats began to rise on both sides, which, M<sup>r</sup> Goodwin said, was not to do the work, and desired they would lay aside their passions And fall into particulars.

They said here was first a page without a title, Then here was no provision of Articles for the delivering up of the Town.

*p.* 570.

To the first it was answered There was a blank place left for it to be done by consent.

To the 2<sup>nd</sup>, it was their part to propose, not ours.

So there was a preamble consented to, and the first Article was laid down to deliver up the Town and Garrison, etc.

Their Treators desired liberty for some few days and they would return their answer to them in writing. And there was an Instrument in writing drawn of their present sense as follows, by the desire of our Treators to them to avoid misprision :

Gentlemen,

We have read over your Articles and Considered them so far forth as this Inch of time would permit. But we find them so high and unreasonable That we think it fit to communicate to those that entrusted us before we make any further procedurc. Only I am commanded by these Gentlemen to let you know their present sense. That for their own parts they are resolved rather to lay their bones under your walls and ports Than accept of your Towne upon any one of the propositions with its Circumstances and dependencies.

In the night our men at the Bridge hearing the enemy work in the Backsides there and setting up stockades, shot at them, And so did the Gunners from the Bishop's Palace and Castle Hill ; what hurt we as yet know not. The Enemy shot off no Cannon at all. And our muskets played at them likewise.

A little work behind the Cross stockades between the Castle Hill and M<sup>r</sup> Hall's garden wall thrown up to stop the Encmy's passage if he should force the line.

p. 571.

July 2. This day Col. Whalley having drank about 12 his morning draught, remembered us with 12 shot of their Cannon, whereof one did hit a little stone Turret in the Bishop's House whilst I was with the Bishop at dinner below, and made a hole some feet in the wall and rebounded and lay in a Gutter, the Bullet of 18 pound weight taken up and fits our guns to send them back without being beholding to them or as good as they came without wrong.

Major General Cromwell expected this day at their Leaguer, And then Colonel Whalley's command is expired. If the Treaty goes on it is expected from him far more honourable Conditions.

There were letters sent to our Governor from the Lords at Oxford to deliver up the City upon Oxford conditions, as Sir Thomas Fairfax's Secretary wrote to Sir W. Bridges, But it is believed the enemy hath intercepted them, and will not suffer them to be imparted to us. Rather endeavouring to enforce worse conditions, which without necessity will never be taken.

In the afternoon the Mayor called a Chamber of the City, which consists of 24 and 48 of the best Citizens. Then the Governor shewed unto them, The present sense of the Parliamentary Treators by their writing, That he desired them to take their Conditions into Consideration, For his part he was assured to have as good conditions as he could desire for the soldier. The Governor [said] They knew the height of their

p. 572.

censure was 2 years' Composition, But as for them, if they would not so provide for their own security whereby Honourable propositions may be stood on for them, the fault and guilt their own. Therefore that the soldiery may heartily fight for them, That the Magazine may not be broken up, as yet for a time, which is one of the means to draw the Enemy to grant reasonable Conditions, understanding we are not [in] want, they will pass an Order of Chamber for a week or a fortnight's pay, and so forward (until pressing necessity enforce) to satisfy the soldiers to pay for his victuals. Otherwise if he be compelled now in the time of Treaty to break up his Magazine, it will much encourage the enemy to stand upon higher terms. And they will be exposed to be most under the Enemy's Lash and Seourge, whose chief thoughts are bent (without a great Ransom) after the plunder of this City, being the only place left to be reduced where the Soldiers can expect pillage. After long debate and much repining, By vote it passed That the Soldier should be paid xij<sup>d</sup> this week and 2<sup>s</sup> on Monday next,

But for any further continuance they respited the setting out any order. Afterwards it was altered July 4<sup>th</sup> that the soldiers should have 2<sup>s</sup> this week when he had 2<sup>s</sup> vj<sup>d</sup> before and 1<sup>s</sup> more on Wednesday.

There are a generation of men which only look forward and not on either side. That will not believe any more than what they fancy may be so; Some believing if the Enemy break in they will not hurt nor plunder him, for they have a son, a kinsman and such a friend here; when in such time it is a thousand to one he is either killed or plundered of all before he can, if he could, help him, And in that

*p. 573.*

General misery There is no distinction of friend or foe. All alike to the soldier. Others say if they come in by Treaty they will perform their Articles; so they will in all which conduces to their Advantage, otherwise there will be cavils and ways found to pick the purses of the Citizens, as many places\* by woeful experience have found. And to prevent this, none more ready way than to salute the Governor at his first coming in with a large Donation.

The City consented to present the Governor with an £100, whereof £50 ready for his especial care and love towards the City, towards the maintenance of his Table, etc. And it is wisely and lovingly done of them. For there was never Governor more complied with them, And laid less pressure upon them. And less punished for their extreme remissness in their daily works for their own preservation. Beside it being done freely, it engageth him the more to preserve them.

The Heads of the Propositions which were delivered in to the Treators for the Parliament were as follows, July 1<sup>st</sup>:—

1. The Garrison of Worcester, Forts, Mounts, Ordnance, Arms, Ammunition, Train of Artillery and Magazine of War, except what is allowed, without spoil to Sir Thomas Fairfax.

2. The College Church and all other Churches within this Garrison and County, Libraries, books, etc., free from spoil or profanation. All Governors, members, etc., of the Church may have Christchurch in Oxford conditions, being of the same foundation. And scholars their places with Arrears due to all of them.

3. The Col. Washington may march out with all Advantages of Honour, benefit and accommodation with all his officers and soldiers that are expressed in the 5<sup>th</sup> Article of Oxford.

*p. 574.*

4. The Bishop (D<sup>r</sup> Jo. Prideaux) continued in his power, His Houses and revenues preserved and restored with arrears. To be pre-

\* In the margin of the MS. is written "Chester."

served from all restraints and injuries, his family and goods. All Records of the Bishopric and College remain without defacing. And officers to them continued.

5. That all Noblemen, Gentlemen, Clergy, officers, soldiers and all others have 6 months' liberty to remove with all their goods, etc., to their own houses or friends without molestation ; special protections for themselves and friends to that end. And his Majesty's servants to have the benefit of Oxford Articles, in going to Hampton Court or to his Majesty.

6. That all noblemen, Gentlemen, etc., with their servants march away with their Arms, viz., swords, pistols and Carbines and Horses.

7. The Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens, etc., shall enjoy their ancient Government. Their Charters, liberties, lands, goods, etc., as belong to them as a Corporation, not to be questioned for any Act done before the Delivery of this garrison relating to the unhappy differences between his Majesty and the parliament. And justice to be done by the Magistrate.

8. That the use of Common prayer be continued in this City and County, until it be otherwise ordered by Act of Parliament.

9. All noblemen, etc., who desire to return home and live, or in the parliament quarters, shall have the benefits of their estates and debts due before sequestration, and 5 parts since. To be restored to their estates, real and personal. All persons of professions restored to their practice, any Ordinance to the Contrary. All Sequestrations to be taken off without Composition or Ransom.

10. All officers, soldiers, Gentlemen, etc., to have liberty to pass through any Garrison and to return upon their occasions, doing no act prejudicial to the Parliament.

11. All noblemen, Gentry, etc., having any evidences, writings, goods, etc., in any Garrison or place shall fetch or send for them and dispose of them at their pleasure without molestation or prejudice to the parties in whose hands they now be.

*p.* 575.

12. That all Clergymen within the Garrison may continue or [be] restored to their livings and estates, spiritual and temporal, free from sequestrations, with Arrears due before sequestration. And 5 parts after, where it is not received. Execute their charges without affronts. Recover their rents, etc. Those that will, permitted to continue in the City quietly.

13. All fellows of Colleges here present restored to their places.

14. All Officers and soldiers now in this Garrison, or prisoners since the Siege, have one month's pay allowed them at their marching out. All prisoners taken on both sides at or since the battle of Stow be mutually set at liberty, especially Lord Astley, Lieut. Governor of this County, and to enjoy the benefit of all Articles.

15. That no officer, soldier, etc., who is to march out or in this Garrison shall plunder or injure any Citizen or Inhabitant in their persons, goods or estates, or revile them by scoffs.

16. That the Mayor, etc., shall not be questioned for any oath or protestation taken, or for executing any of his Majesty's commissions, or for taking up of Arms, or for any things said or done in or concerning this war, or relating to the unhappy differences between king and parliament. Nor no Oath, Covenant, etc., be imposed upon them.

17. That all persons that desire to return home, or to their friends, or stay here, shall have Sir Thomas Fairfax' pass and protection for themselves, family, horses, etc., so to do for the space of six months, And to have passes if they please to go beyond sea. That during the time of his absence and sequestration, one half of his lands and whole personal estate to be allowed to his wife and children.

*p. 576.*

18. No person to be reproached with disgraceful speeches, plundered or injured in their journeys or places of abode. If such, satisfaction be given by Commander-in-chief or Committee of Parliament according to justice and honour. None compelled to take up Arms against the King at any time. All sick and wounded liberty to stay until their recovery, with fit accommodation and subsistence.

19. All persons which formerly served the parliament to enjoy the benefit of the Articles.

20. None comprehended within this Treaty shall be arrested, sued or molested for any debt or Trespass or Action, execution, outlawry or any other suit for the space of six months.

21. None to be questioned or sued for any Act done or presumed to be done by them by virtue or colour of any Commission under the great seal or other seals or signs manual, or any derivative authority from or under them, nor for anything said or done concerning the war Relating to the unhappy differences, nor for any act of Jurisdiction, Temporal or Spiritual, legal or illegal, acted or exercised by them. An ordinance of Parliament for to stop all such actions and suits until an Act of Oblivion be obtained.



22. That no Oaths, Covenants be obruded upon any person comprized in these Articles, they not doing any Acts prejudicial to the Parliament's affairs.

23. That a certificate be granted by Sir Thomas Fairfax or any other commander-in-chief that he was in the Garrison at the time of surrender that the benefit of the Articles belong to him.

24. That all the Northern Gentry which desire to go home [*obliteration*] have a convoy of 20 Horse to Darlington in Durham.

*p.* 577.

25. The City not to be charged with free quarters. To be taxed as usually with the County, free from all Arrears of Contribution or any other sums pretended to be in Arrear and due to the parliament, And hereafter to be taxed, as all other his Majesty's subjects be.

26. No tax upon cloth, nor coal or fuel. Nor to be charged with excise and Contribution both, But if the Excise exceed Contribution, the Contribution taken off. To have free Trade, as formerly.

27. Mayor to collect the Arrears of the City Contribution to pay the public debts, except such Arrears as hath been heretofore discounted.

28. Citizens and Townsmen to keep their Arms, and not to be taken from them.

29. Care be taken for several Guards, in Streets when the parliament enter to prevent Insolencies. Officers responsible for the wrongs.

30. Neither County nor City to pay any Arrears, due and imposed by the Committee of Parliament for Contribution.

31. The several Garrisons of Worcester, Evesham, Strensham, Hartlebury, and Madresfield disgarrisoned, And the Bishop of Worcester, Sir William Russell and Col. Lygon to be restored to the possession of their Houses and estates.

32. If Worcester be thought fit to continue a Garrison (the other Garrisons disgarrisoned), The Contribution to be brought to £1,000 per mensem.

33. Mr Bacon to be satisfied the sum of £280, And other Gentlemen such sums as they have disbursed on for the use of the Fortifications and Garrisons, not exceeding £1,200.

*p.* 578.

34. All Inhabitants, which are absent and have goods here to send and fetch them away without molestation.

35. That Lord Carrington, Lady Thornburgh, Col. Holles, Col. Foster, Lieut.-Col. Brobsen, Major Hugh Butler, Mr Franc. Dikens,

Mr \* Medcalf, James Ingram, Esqr, lately departed this Garrison, Major Harnedge, Capt. Yonger and Ed. Barker, now prisoners at Hereford, to be included in these Articles.

36. Sir Thomas Fairfax to engage his Honour for an Ordinance of Parliament to confirm what he hath not the power to conclude, 2 Gentlemen to solicit therein and to have passes and protection.

37. That the word (persons) includes widows and single women and their servants.

38. A pass from Sir Thomas Fairfax to one or two messengers to go to the King to give an Account of proceedings and his Approbation.

39. That if any person break these Articles, such breach shall only concern his particular person.

40. That if any question upon construction arise of these Articles, To be interpreted in the most beneficial way to the persons comprized in them.

That they may receive the benefit of all the Oxford Articles, with such alterations as proper for this place with liberty to make additional Articles and Clauses, And not to be tied up with a negative. To argue and debate the reasons concerning such particulars; wherein as they shall with all Ingenuity subscribe to stronger reasons than their own, so they expect the like from them, According to agreement made, 29<sup>th</sup> June.

p. 579.

And if the Treaty conclude, Beside the passes and Certificates do demand, That the names of all persons now in this Garrison, and comprized in the Articles may be registered by a public Notary or Town Clerk of the City, Whose Register and Certificate shall be a sufficient Record to evidence each man's capacity to receive the benefits of these Articles.

Meanwhile the forces set free by the surrender of Oxford were coming up, and as a set off to them the following device was tried.

There was a design to take Col. Betsworth in his quarters at Kempsey. The Governor drew out 60 firelocks, and 40 Horse, which by the foulness of the night turned to 13 Horse to give them an Alarm at Mr<sup>s</sup> Andrews the while the foot went by Barge, But Col. Betsworth was not there. They took only 5 Horses and men. The Enemy was so strong of their guards, that notwithstanding the extremity of the rain, yet their Horse Guard were all mounted. Ours will seldom be found so diligent.

\* Blank in MS.

A very foul rainy night, and so continued until 2 of the Clock next day in the afternoon.

It is said that there are only 700 musketeers come to Parshore of Sir Thomas Fairfax, And all the rest of his Army yet at Oxford. That these and those united have some design upon a storm.

July 3. This day quiet in all quarters and posts.

Warrants from the Major to all Constables to give notice to all Inhabitants, whereas they should pay 2<sup>s</sup> on Monday for next week's pay by every one that paid before 2<sup>s</sup> vi<sup>d</sup>, for better relief of the soldiers they must pay one shilling of it on Saturday, and the other 1<sup>s</sup> on Wednesday.

*p.* 580.

4. About 9 in the Morn 4 Troops from Mr<sup>s</sup> Andrews' came under the works at Diglis and drove away 7 kine. No sentinel standing out, nor Soldiers on the line to guard the beasts; And for any of our guards might have enforced the line with foot, So careless we be on our guards.

About 3 of the Clock came 30 Horse within Carbine shot of the Sconce, not any Soldiers of the guard, but by chance one being not far off came to the work and shot a gentleman of note among them, which made them draw off and compounded for the Body. The Enemy shot a boy carrying wood without their works. Some cherries sent in to some officers, and they returned sack for it. Common courtesies usually practised among soldiers. Yet some people murmur, not knowing the Course of War.

All the rest of the day and night quiet from shooting on either side.

I was raised to pay 8 men per week.

5. One of the Enemy shot from the Foregate.

In the afternoon the Enemy on the Hill side beyond the great Sconce began to vapour, and offer a pickering. The Governor sent out some 20 foot and 5 Horse to remove them. The Enemy drew together more Horse, and began to line their Hedges, And made our men to retreat and some that engaged too far, so that the Governor and some Commanders and Gentlemen, being all not 14 Horse, went out to relieve them and draw them off; The enemy did the like, and made a body of 50 Horse. The Governor being once out would not, though he ought with discretion and with Honour, retreat; But fell to pickering himself, shewing much Courage, yet accompanied with too much Rashness, considering the Command he is in. And by engaging himself, engaged all those

*p.* 581.

Gentlemen that were with him. Sometimes driving the Enemy to their Body, otherwhiles they enforcing him to retreat to his musketeers,

They playing on both sides; This continued above an hour and not one man on either side fell, only a footman of ours sorely cut, and Cornet Welsh's Horse shot in the fetlock. Towards the End the Enemy came in a full body, to give a thorough charge, but the Governor having the Advantage of a Ditch between him and them, Captain Norwood having 6 Musketeers with him in the ditch, discharged all at once upon them, That it so startled them, that he made them wheel about; But if they had boldly gone on, The Governor and the rest of the Gentlemen had all been hazarded, And also many of our foot which were in another Hedge. It is conceived an officer of theirs was shot. Upon their Retreat up the Hill, The Governor and the Gentlemen followed, and there being one among the rest, which vapoured most, and would not abide, The Governor, being well mounted, drove at him and called him to stand, Telling him he was the Governor, But he falling into the Body, The Governor upon the wheeling off had his Horse shot in the lower part of the breech, and the bullet hung in the skin of the flank, But did not fall, and brought him off; Otherwise his person had been hazarded to be taken, and with him the Garrison endangered. He hath been often entreated not to go forth. That it was not for him having such a Command to hazard his single person. His loss is the hazard of the whole.

p. 582.

Some of the Gentlemen of the enemy were extreme Civil, speaking to ours not to give any uncivil language and to exchange a pistol without railing.

Our Canoneer made two shots at them and shot one. He shot 4 times before, and shot amongst them in the side of the Hill at M<sup>rs</sup> Andrews' house.

The 2 Sentries at the Magazine in the Cloisters broke down one whole window of carved stone against it, only to steal away the iron bars which were left in, in the night. For which they are Committed. £5 will not repair and set up the window and all the Iron not worth 2<sup>s</sup> in it. An ill precedent for the Euemy which may truly say, if they escape unpunished, "Your own men began, and without punishment, And are you angry with us?"

6. Major Hungerford from St John's sent the Governor word that he should grant no passes for any woman to go out of the Garrison, for he had command not to let any pass his quarters. The Governor denies none, it is at their own peril how they pass the enemy.

About one in the afternoon the Enemy at M<sup>rs</sup> Andrews' barn having

placed 2 pieces of Cannon (Sakers) shot towards the town, one shot went over the College Church and fell in Broad Street. Another fell in Diglis ground, short of the Castle Hill, and 2 more another way. We returned them 2 Cannon without hurt.

Captain Wicked Will *alias* Capt. Hodgkins and Lieut. Rheynolds, men of an undaunted Courage, whose very names terrible to the Enemy, agreed upon a Sally about 5 at night against a Company of Dragoons to the number of 30, and some 20 Troopers with them. They 2 charged them and both killed their man and brake through; Then upon their Return back did the like, but were so encompassed that Capt. Will was seized on by the Collar, but being too strong for the other, overthrew him and so freed himself.

p. 583.

But I should have said that the Hedge being lined with Dragoons' firelocks, they fell upon them first, and at the first took 4 of them. Lieut. Rheynolds drove them with their Arms before him close to our Musketeers which were beginning to come up, Capt. Will only facing the enemy. Then they came together and charged, and Capt. Will was twice thrust through the doublet and a Dragoon beat him with his Musket, He having lost his sword and was forced to fight with a musket barrel. But there came in M<sup>r</sup> Jo. Thornburgh, my nephew, who relieved him and helped him to his sword. And also Lieut. Rheynolds, whose horse was shot and he being on foot beat off 4 Troopers until he relieved him and brought 3 dragoons off. Lieut. Rheynolds was shot in the side of the face. It is said they killed and sore hurt a dozen and brought off (I am sure) 7 prisoners with their Arms, one Capt., Lieut., and a Sergeant; such a sharp and daring piece of service not done before in this war with so few men.

7. This morn a Boy shot in Pitchcroft, and about 2 of the clock there drew down some 30 of the Enemy to take some of ours cutting grass; our men very careless in their guards (being absent when they should have protected them), nor Cannoneers at their Guns. We shall suffer for this Remissness. One J. Jonston, a very sufficient man, was killed in S<sup>t</sup> Clement's work as he was giving fire at the enemy, being shot in the head.

News was told us that if the River on the late Rain had risen but a foot higher their Bridge of Boats had been broken and come down the River, Their Army parted, and we might have destroyed them, But we were not so happy nor lucky.

*p.* 584.

5. This day the Governor called a Council of War with the Assistance of the Commissioners. Wherein he declared That he had engaged himself to the soldiers to pay them that day a week's pay And therefore desired them to consider and settle a sudden course therein, And that unless it were now done he should have 100 of his best men run away, who told him plainly they were in extreme want and would not starve, but must be enforced to go their ways to the Enemy. Upon Debate some, and far the major part, were of opinion That by no means the Magazine of Stores should be broken up; that either the City must continue one week's pay more or private magazines searched to relieve the present wants. That if the magazine should be broken open before there were an answer returned of the propositions of surrender, The Enemy knowing thereof will assuredly hold us to worse conditions, as being assured we could not longer continue. And the City may be ascertained there may be thousands of pounds demanded of them to pay, which by disbursing one week's pay more might happily prevent by the Treaty, conceiving we are not in necessity. That there may be an offer to the City to engage their Magazine for so much money as will pay the soldiers a week's pay, and upon the Treaty and before the Surrender the magazine to be delivered to their hands.

But the Governor told them plainly he had engaged himself to pay them a week's pay this very day. That if he did it not (and they would not consent), He must be enforced to keep his Chamber. That the Citizens were ready to mutiny about their pay, And it was not to be compelled upon the weaker sort, who said they did duty as well as the soldiers, And they would not want, and the soldier live and starve them. The Mayor and Town Clerk said the City would lay out no money, And if the City did suffer they could not help it.

*p.* 585.

When conclusions are made before premises considered, very rare or never right.

If Commissioners had opposed this then the soldier would have mutinied on them and cried "money, money," The Governor laying the blame on them.

Cabinet Results seldom good.

The Result at last was The soldier should have 12<sup>d</sup> in money, 12<sup>d</sup> in Corn, and vi<sup>d</sup> in Bacon or cheese for this week until Monday next.

That the Rates of provision should be as follow :

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Wheat, per str.	4	0	Best Bacon, per lb.	6	6
Muncorn, per str.	3	2	Bacon, ordinary	4	4
Rye	2	8	Best cheese, per lb.	5	5
Peas	2	8	Ordinary cheese	3	3
Oat meal.	*				

That there be a search for all Corn and grain of all sorts in the Houses of all such as have deserted the Garrison since the siege. To measure up the same And what quantities, To put it into the magazine, And all officers to be assisting. If such proportions be continued weekly to the soldier and not to apportion him according to the quantity of daily allowance what will keep him reasonably the magazine cannot last one month, There being not past £500 worth of provisions in the Magazine, And 1500 soldiers having 18<sup>d</sup> a piece in provision comes to £112 10<sup>s</sup> 0<sup>d</sup>, whereas 200 strike of corn at 3<sup>s</sup> 4<sup>d</sup> per strike, which is 30 lbs., will keep 1600 soldiers a week in bread, 8 men to a strike, and 6500 Cheese per week, which comes to, after 20<sup>s</sup> per cent.,

*p.* 586.

£56. In all £86 per week to maintain them. And it were better to allow the soldier, as Commissary Pinkney apportioned at the siege of Gloucester, one pound of Biscuit and half a pound of cheese per diem, Than to run in this profuse way.

That the Bakers appear before the Commissioners in the morning to confer and agree of taking corn and giving the Soldiers bread according to proportion and weight.

About one of the Clock the enemy drew 40 foot down to the Sconce side in the Hedges, and played hard, and our men at them, none hurt.

About 6 one of the Enemy's Horse shot. They keep strong Guards on every Hill, and line the Hedges with Musketeers.

This day a new list and review of the Regiments given up to the Governor, and accordingly every Captain to receive such allowance for his men in provisions. So that this day the Magazine was opened first.

No shooting by the Enemy.

Whether Whalley did not satisfy the Parliament in the way he carried on the siege, or whether Raynsborough was his superior officer and was sent from Oxford to bring matters to an end

\* Blank in MS.

does not appear ; whichever it was, on the 8th July Raynsborough assumed the command of the besieging forces.

9. About 3 in the afternoon Col. Rhaynsborough had a general Rendezvous on Rainbow *alias* Wheeler's Hill. Where were drawn all his fresh Regiments, now come to him. Divers Censures and Judgments, Some that their number were not past 2000, others more, others less in foot. Most Red coats. The new Supplies were 9 Colours of yellow and 4 of black and white. Some say that he politictly intermingled his own Regiments for the greater Show, now the Warwicks and Northampton foot are gone away. There were beside 31 earriages, whereof ten are of ordnance ; which did draw up all at Barbon house in the Close before the house.

*p.* 587.

We shot off 4 pieces of ordnance from the Mount against them when they stood about Red hill Cross, and did fall amongst them.

Very many unnecessary "sutes" of great and little shot made, and so much the more to be thought considering the scarcity of powder, But this is as well managed as the soldier doth other his charges, All so Careless.

10. The Enemy began to draw a line on the top of Perry Wood Hill towards Red Hill Cross and planted 2 Sakers. The second shot hit the musket baskets on the South point of the great sconce, another fell in the water treneh at the Castle Hill, and one more at the stables of Sir John Knutsford's at Priory Gate, being a long mile from their works or Battery. In the afternoon in pickering we had some horse shot by the enemy, who drew under the Hill next the mount 200 foot and lined the Hedges. Some 7 of our foot Hurt. Among whom M<sup>r</sup> Watton,\* the parson of S<sup>t</sup> Nicholas, hath a flesh hurt in the face looking on in the Mount, and 6 mortally. At last Capt. Lecch, with 3 more and some 20 foot, made a sally from the mount very resolutely upon their musketeers, beat them out of the Hedges, and made them run for it to their quarters at the Perry Wood. Took one footman, and hurt diverse. And all ours came off without hurt.

*p.* 588.

Col. Raynsborough wrote a evil letter to the Governor acquainting him That he was come thither by order from Sir Thomas Fairfax to

\* No such name appears in the list of the incumbents of St. Nicholas, but as John Halseter, who was instituted in 1636, is described as "Schismaticus et rebellis" (*sic*), Watton may have taken his place, and not been legally instituted.



command in chief the forces at the Leaguer before Worcester. That he understood he had several of their soldiers prisoners, desired that either they may be exchanged or have liberty to send them provisions. That he shall continue all civilities and be his Servant. To which the Governor returned a very civil answer, as being glad to deal with a gentleman who knew how to return civilities. As for Col. Whalley he could have none from him. That he would next morning send all his prisoners to him, And that he should be indebted to him for so many as he sent him more upon Account.

About one of the Clock at night the Enemy from Perry Wood Hill drew out 200 foot or more and intended to raise a work at Wall's furlong, but our men sallied out with 20 Horse and as many foot and beat them from their Guard, though they shot from their Guard from Windmill Hill freely at them, And by chance prevented the design of giving us an Alarm, they being drawn up into 3 great bodies. But all places were speedily well manned and provided for to entertain them, And our men "wifted" all their light matches over their Heads, which made a great show and light, and withal gave a cheerful and Courageous shout. And their muskets went off so readily that the fields were to be perceived as light as the day, Both parties giving fire very nimbly and readily. We lost Lieut. Lloyd who commanded the foot, only one soldier; what they lost we know not, some of them hurt by our Horse.

*p.* 589.

It is conceived the Enemy is at least 5000 foot and Horse. This Col. Raynsborough, a very active man, and we shall be at his work, and must expect alarms every day or night from him. Yet all are glad Col. Whalley is gone, Though he never attempted any alarm. And now we must have our business put in a better posture, or else we shall speedily find the smart.

Some came from London, who told us that at London they thought we were mad to send such propositions.

That there was a petition of the Independents presented to Major General Cromwell at Oxford, desiring his hand to accompany it to the parliament, who answered "You shall," and with both his hands tore their petition in pieces.

That there are 4 Lords assigned to go with the propositions to the king, Earls of Pembroke and Suffolk being 2.

That no Gentleman, no not Sir Tho. Glenham, at London shall wear a sword which served the king.

That the two princes, Rupert and Maurice, being not to come

within 15 miles of London, lying at Oatlands, rode to a place nearer. The parliament presently put it to the vote, whether the princes breaking their Articles ought not to be arraigned of High Treason, and only 2 voices carried negatively. So they are gone to Dover, and so beyond sea.

That they pay no Taxes in London (only excise) and have denied it this 4 months.

*p.* 590.

11. The Governor sent Col. Raynsborough all his prisoners, being about 30, according to his desire by a Trumpet. Now is expected great civilities, Since Sir R. Pye and Col. Thomas Sheffield amongst them.

The Governor sent to Col. Raynsborough to know of him whether he intended that all the old Commissioners of the Treaty should stand or would alter them. This was done upon another design, for we having heard nothing of our propositions of Treaty, being now 10 days since delivery, and a new General coming occasion was taken to sound them thoroughly by this civil way.

Many at work to perfect and amend the line at Castle Hill, which is very weak, and most of the line too low and must be raised. Two brass sling pieces in the top of the College Steeple, which commands the Windmill Hill, and keeps the enemy close from working or stirring in Companies, And this day did execution among them.

Some great shot from the Enemy at Perry wood. 2 shot fell in the Governor's garden, having hit the wall of the vestry of the College very lightly, the bullets being 6 lb. weight spent, and the great guns at Roger's Hill begin to play again. The Enemy casting up a work upon the knoll beyond Windmill Hill nearer to M<sup>rs</sup> Andrews.

Lieut.-Col. Bishop having the cock of his piece up ready to strike fire, a musket bullet came and hit the said cock and glanced along the side of his cheek without further harm.

Orders to the Mayor to provide workmen daily. To provide mattocks, spades, etc., ready. To demolish the South buildings in Sidbury before the Gate. To work at the Avenues before the sconce.

*p.* 591.

White Tents to hold 4 set up at Barbon house and on the side of the hill beyond the Windmill Hill looking towards M<sup>rs</sup> Andrews for the soldiery, and some Huts. Col. Raynsborough's quarters at M<sup>rs</sup> Andrew's of the Hill.

He returned an answer to the Governor that he had received his

men, would send back all his men the next day, desiring him to send his own Trumpet for them for that some of them were unwilling to come into the City.\* That what the General resolves about the further Treating, as yet he is not certain, but shall suddenly know from him, Only he believes he will speedily send you the Terms upon which he will receive it, which being once come, you shall find no lawful Civility denied by him who is your humble servant.

Fresh meat, especially Beef, mutton and veal sold at an extreme rate at 8<sup>d</sup> per lb., a roasting piece of good Beef Sir John Knutsford gave above 30<sup>s</sup>. This fell out for want of providence and well managing our provisions which were brought in, And for want of "Hair" to keep them. And for want of providing up good store of Beef when it was cheap and might be had. As for corn, it holds the former Rates set down, and the Bakers provide their bread accordingly, yet want fuel very much, for which the outhouses pay for it, which are Rotten.

*p.* 592.

12. D<sup>r</sup> Gross made a second sermon and invective a very gross one, wherein he called women meddlers, open Arses, with much such ribaldry.

Our prisoners being 17 sent home, among whom Darby the Governor's footman, which Col. Whalley threatened to hang. Our Trumpet went for them.

The Ordnance from Roger's Hill played often with their great bullet, and especially in the High Street near the Hall and St. Helen's Church. None, God be praised, hurt. One great bullet did hit the lath or studs in the wall of the Townhall wall between the half timber, but being spent, went not through, only fell down, and rolled along the Channel of the Earl's post Inn, which is 40 yards off. And one at M<sup>r</sup> Street's house, hit his kitchen chimney and rebounded into his Court, he being hard by.

The Enemy keep very strong guards near their posts and line the Hedges, that we cannot sally out without hazard of much loss and small benefit.

13. They played from Roger's Hill with their Ordnance, and shot at the Foregate, but have missed it as yet, though came nigh it. Shot into the Town without hurt to any person. News came that the strong Close of Lichfield was to be delivered up on Thursday.

\* The following passage in the MS. is struck through: "That he had no orders from Sir Thomas Fairfax concerning the treaty or the proceeding of it. He expected to hear suddenly, and as soon as he doth we shall have notice."

The top of the Castle Hill strongly fortified, and a Tarras [Terrace?] made some yards below to protect it and all the line near below, that if the Enemy should gain the line, he shall find himself "play" to win that place. A guard house set up there, and Gentlemen will look unto it.

This day The Townsmen should have most come to work there, but not any came. They are as it were besotted and stupid concerning their own preservation, and will be the only persons that shall receive the worst conditions in the close of all.

*p.* 593.

The Commissioners attended the Governor and desired him to dispose of the Magazine as pleaseth him, That he sends so many orders for provisions to particular persons out, That it will be very suddenly spent unless a more strict course be taken; when he knows what is there and how short a time it will continue if so disposed, the fault may not fall upon them. They must deny their consent for provisions so given. The Commissary, Mr Berckley, can give him a note of all the Stores, what was there before it was broken up, what is already gone out by his warrants, And what remains. By which he may best judge how to moderate the same; And the soldiers cannot have no power, occasion or liberty to rail or speak against them when he is the only disposer of it. So that trouble is taken off them.

Workmen, carpenters, and masons expect money now for their work, as though there were sieges, nor that their lives and estates were not concerned in it if the City be taken by Storm. It was truly said by one, "Though haply their persons may be saved as Round-heads, yet their goods will be taken as Cavaliers." They must not forget their old loyalty.

This City was burnt down to the ground by king Hardicanute for killing his Tax Gatherers, and all the people destroyed.\* Burnt twice in King Stephen the usurper's time, for standing with their

*p.* 594.

lawful princess Maud the Empress.† And stood with King Henry III. against his Rebellious Barons.‡ And it is recorded in ancient manuscript thus, "That King Henry III. in the 48<sup>th</sup> year of his reign enlarged the liberties to the High Commendation of the City recorded and commended to posterity, for their great service unto himself and his son Prince Edward. For when almost the whole Realm rising against them took them both with the Emperor, the king's brother,

\* Camden.

† 15 Anno.

‡ Mr. Habington.

prisoners, The Citizens of Worcester nevertheless continued even then faithful subjects and valiant soldiers, And endured for their loyalty to their king the spoil of the City being ransacked by the Barons; And lastly when the Earl of Leicester, the Capital Adversary of the Crown, did lead the king prisoner to Kempsey near Worcester, they received the prince and never left him till he vanquished Leicester and the Barons at Evesham, delivered the king his father, and also redeemed the Emperor\* his uncle out of captivity. *Vide* Pol. Vergil. Hist. Angl. 10 l. de W. Rufo, concerning the prayer and efficacy thereof of St Wulstan, Bishop of this City, when it was straitly besieged by Count Montgomery, And Florentius Wigorniensis Hist.

One sergeant of the Governor's shot in the sconce between the baskets, in the head, a very stout man.

14. A Chamber meeting of the City, where with much reluctance they agreed to assess every 24 man at 4<sup>d</sup> per diem, 48 man at 3<sup>d</sup>, and others at 2<sup>d</sup> per diem towards payment of workmen; And to advance 3 days' pay beforehand. And to levy 2 fifteenths, which is £35 for powder; And this pay to continue until the works be perfected.

p. 595.

About 11 at night our Guards began to play on the Castle hill side, and all night shot little or much to little purpose. The Enemy shot about one of the Clock their great Cannon of Roger's Hill; and drew down some 60 foot towards Hanbury Sconce, wherein were not past 14 men; gave fire upon them far off and approached no nearer. The Townsmen at last did rise and lined their walls very strongly.

One of Major Moore's best soldiers shot cutting grass near the walls. Some will be foolhardy.

15. A little piece of brass slinged up with its carriage to the top of the College Church about 9 of the clock, which will very much gall the enemy. One that looked to our Cows under the wall shot through the leg, and the bullet raised dust after against the bank, died within 3 hours.

The Enemy are very good marksmen.

An extreme mist about 3 of the clock in the morning none the like this year, whereby the enemy might have taken too fair an advantage against the City for an assault. About 5 in the evening, a drummer from Col. Raynsborough brought in a letter to the Governor as by

\* A marginal note in MS. has, "Richard, King of Romans."

way of answer to what we shall trust to Concerning our propositions for surrender this Garrison, As followeth :

Sir,—It seemeth good to the General not to send any answer to your propositions. Which had it come, as was expected, might have saved myself and you further trouble.

Your servant,

July 15<sup>th</sup>, 1646.

Tho. Raynsborow.

The rest of the letter was for a protection for a Captain to come in to prosecute some men for damage received by them.

*p.* 596.

The Governor upon receipt hereof, called the Commissioners and officers of war to consult what answer to return and when to do it? Upon debate his sense and some others was to return presently an answer.

1. Because it shewed a gallant resolution in all Parties that so strange an answer did not awake them, nor distract their thoughts.

2. It might make the enemy better consider how to fall upon so desperate a party, And yield to treat upon terms, though more moderate.

3. They were able to answer them in an hour which they took 14 days' consideration, and then made no answer at all.

Others were wholly opposite not to do it but to consider of it thoroughly, It being a matter of that high Concernment wherein all lies at hazard. That sudden resolves are seldom without repentance; If the parliament took 14 days to consider of returning no answer, we might very well take our night's thought how to make a reply. This carried it, and the Drummer was stayed all night, who only told by word of mouth the Governor that they desired an answer baek by him.

Then concerning the Letter itself sent. Some were of opinion that it was an absolute denial for any Treaty. Others that it was very obscurely written, And may be taken in a more striet sense with referenee only not to treat upon such propositions as was delivered in to be treated with Col. Whalley, who now eommanded not the army. That it was rather an Invitation to begin a Treaty with Col. Raynsborough, for otherwise why should he desire a protection for Capt. Blissett to come now in to prosecute some men and to demand justice upon them, which was not likely to be granted nor fitting to be desired if they meant nothing but destruction.

*p.* 597.

16. This morn the Governor, Commissioners, and Gentry did agree upon debate of the ensuing letter by way of answer :

Sir,—This City was first summoned by your General upon promise

of Honourable terms and hath been since invited to a Treaty by Col. Whalley. In order to which (upon assurance of the Rendition of Oxford, and evidence of his Majesty's printed letter) we of this City offered propositions, with this Reservation, That if any demand on our parts might seem too high, or any denial on yours to trench too much upon our Honour, neither side should so insist upon their own sense as not to submit to better reason; which was mutually assented unto. On this foot we left them, Being assured upon the word and Honour of your Commissioners, we should receive an Account of them within few days. If that Resolution be altered, we shall desire to have a close and perfect answer, That the world may be the Judge between us, upon whose Score the effusion of so much innocent blood shall rest, since in conformity to his Majesty's commands, we do not decline the Rendering of this City upon Honourable and equal conditions.

I am, Sir, your Humble Servant,

Worc., July 16<sup>th</sup>, 1646.

Henry Washington.

To Major-General Raynsborough.

p. 598.

“*Post script.*—Lest by the Treaty begun by Col. Whalley might have been misrepresented by him, I shall desire you to grant a pass for Mr Goodwin to come to you, who can particularly inform you of the progress of the Treaty, which gives me opportunity of sending this pass for Capt. Blissett.”

And this postscript was thought very necessary in respect that the propositions (as delivered in, before discussion of them by the Commissioners) were not at all to be transmitted elsewhere: until by Argument and result each proposition should have had his consent, or dissent, and in what part: But that they should be sent *In ipsis Terminis* to the General Sir Thomas Fairfax or to the parliament without any arguing was not in the thought of our Commissioners. And it is not unjustly suspected that the Parliament Commissioners did so, somewhat to put a gloss from discovering their want of power to Treat at all, much more not to conclude upon any Article.

The Mayor called a Chamber this morn and to consider what to do or desire by reason of this answer; Some very little versed in Treaty proceedings and military passages would have a petition drawn to Sir Thomas Fairfax signifying in substance, what is before in the letter and to intreat him for a Treaty, And to this purpose the Draft of a Petition was read amongst them; which being presented to the Governor, Commissioners and Gentlemen, it was utterly exploded, and as a thing so

poor and base, as never was the like parallel, And all one, as to desire and beg of them asked to see what Conditions they pleased to give them,

*p.* 599.

And desires that the Chamber would consent that before them it might be torn in pieces, with a promise of Secrecy for none to discover such an Intention of those. There was presented to them the draft of the Governor's answer which being read was unanimously approved and commended by all, And their petition torn in pieces with an Oath of Secrecy of not divulging the same abroad by any.

The Governor sent a trumpet with the drum to Col. Raynsborough with his letter about one of the clock. About 5 he returned with Capt. Blissett and a drummer, who brought this civil Reply from Col. Raynsborough, as from a Gentleman that desired peace, rather than blood.

Sir,—I received yours, And accordingly as I have formerly writ to you, have oftentimes sent to the General for propositions, which at my coming from him he intended to send you, wholly declining to meddle upon yours. All the answer I have received hath been his expectation, that I should carry on the work according to my duty and place, yet that you may be assured that I do not pretend a Treaty, and in the meantime seek an Advantage against you, or a Surprise of you, I shall be contented to forbear all Acts of Hostility, so long as both sides shall keep within the works they now have, Till the messenger, which is now going to the General (being a Captain I send on purpose) returns with his full Resolution; And this to begin, if you please, this Instant. Though I did before the Receipt of your letter really Intend something

*p.* 600.

more this night than hath hitherto been Acted. And, Sir, I am so far from desiring the ruin of yourself, or any other person of worth\* (if you were wholly in my power) as that I should cordially endeavour the contrary, And this you shall be sure to find, wherein it shall lie in the power of him who is

Your humble servant,

July 16<sup>th</sup>, 1646.

Tho. Raynsborowe.

I have sent a pass for M<sup>r</sup> Goodwin.

For Col. Washington, Governor of Woreester.

The Governor presently sent this answer to him.

Sir,—According to the Overture from you, I have given order throughout all my guards for a Cessation from all Acts of Hostility; which

\* "Quality" struck out and "worth" substituted.



I entertain; not as I fear a surprisal, for I know you to be so much a soldier, as it makes me the more intent to muster up that little knowledge I have gained in that way to prevent such Accidents. I have sent M<sup>r</sup> Goodwin unto you, who I suppose will give you better Information\* concerning the passages of the Treaty than you hitherto received. To whose relation I leave it, And rest

Your humble Servant,

July 16<sup>th</sup>, 1646.

Hen. Washington.

For Major General Raynsborowe.

The Governor sent to the Commissioners and Gentlemen to meet him at Town Hall, where he did acquaint them what answer he had received from Col. Raynsborough and what he had replied, The which was exceedingly well approved; and further told them that there hath been a private letter sent to M<sup>r</sup> Mayor from a friend, which hath been shewed to many before M<sup>r</sup> Mayor had received the same; which was of that

*p. 601.*

Consequence that it was fit the Chamber of the City should know the same, Otherwise it might be imputed (as it is already among many Reported) That were it not for the Soldier and some Gentlemen, The City could have good conditions, whereas both soldier and Gentlemen desires chiefly . . . , that the City may receive good conditions by preserving them from plunder. As for themselves, they know what they are to trust unto here; for they can lose nothing here, but a Horse, and some few clothes, Their estates must be compounded for elsewhere. The Citizens may lose all at once, small mercy coming from the needy soldier.

Jealousy and distrusts accompany all sorts of people, each one fearing the other party should outwit or over reach them in their particular Ends. But the City have very little (I am sure no just cause or suspicion of soldier or gentry to leave the City to the mercy of the Enemy by making their own conditions through and advantageous; since they may see daily That the City's protection and preservation is their only Aim and General Design. Yet the City of late hath given many discouragements in their careless and extreme neglect of sending or working at weak places to make it more defensible, In advancing no money to pay workmen or powder, though they are in arrear of Contribution. In a Careless keeping up of their Guards upon duty, though their own lives be at hazards; and all that may be called theirs; nor paying the soldier his weekly pay.

\* "Satisfaction" struck out and "information" inserted.

The letter was read which was to this effect that follows :—

1. That he understood by some that tender the welfare of the City  
That you may have Conditions, if speedily desired, as follow :—

*p.* 602.

1. That the Corporation be preserved, and as it was in times of peace governed.

2. The City to be free from plunder.

3. Quiet from any Delinquency, or questioning for bearing Arms, or any act done against the parliament in defence of the City, Lieut.-Col. Soley excepted.

As for the Soldiery shall have Honourable terms, To march out with Colours flying, etc., as in all other places they have had.

As for the Gentry :

They to repair to their own houses and have convenient time allotted to compound with the parliament.

That he would acquaint his fellow citizens with it, and advise among themselves in it. For the welfare of the City concerns them more in point of interest, than others merely in point of Honour.

And in the post script : If it be much desired Lieut. Col. Soley may have the benefit of the Articles.

A dangerous letter to procure a Division, though neither soldier or gentry expect better conditions. And had not a Cessation happily come, and our letter had a good reception, what consequences might have followed out none can tell, yet ill much feared. For though the middle and lowest sort of citizens be cordially bent for to stand it out courageously, yet many of the best rank draw very backward in their Actions than move one step of Advantage. Their conceived petitioning Sir Thomas Fairfax for a treaty in so humble a way shews the great Abjection they are fallen into, which if consented and presented, whereas they have and as yet do carry the Character of Heroic, resolute, and loyal spirits, they would have made themselves the

*p.* 603.

Hiss and Scorn of all, to go out at the Close like the Snuff of a Candle : But continuing in their Gallantry to the last, They have endeared their prince and his posterity never to forget so faithful a City, that both was the first and last of Cities, which continued in their fidelity. Nothing causing a surrender but only want and hopeless of Relief.

17. Mr Goodwin returned, And found that Col. Whalley did g beside his Commission, both by his shooting against the Town and also by Treating, Having no Command or power from the General for

either, only to make good Col. Morgan's quarters. That our passages have been not rightly presented concerning the Treaty itself.

He was used with great Civility, And was told by Col. Raynsborough that within this 2 days he should hear from the General or see him or receive Instructions from him concerning the Treaty. That it was fitting all men of Honour should have Honourable Conditions as well on their side as other. And hoped there would be speedily an End, For there was no more to do but to disband.

This day our Governor went only to meet some Commanders of his Acquaintance, and was desired to acquaint the Commissioners and Gentlemen that it would be taken very well of the Committee for the parliament if they would insert an Article That a Gentleman of their Country might be Governor of the City rather than a stranger, which would engage the Committee to be more pliable to serve them hereafter, and he also which shall be Governor to protect them.

*p. 604.*

It was thought very necessary. Only if Col. Raynsborough should stand for it they then know not how to oppose it, being General. But if Col. Whalley expected it, then unanimously they would withstand it, hoping to have the Countenance and assent of the Committee with them.

Though there went out express orders from the Governor and also from the officers of the Enemy that no soldier should come within carbine shot of the works, yet on all sides the soldiers came to the very stockades, One or other asking for his father, uncle, kinsman, friend, or fellow or countryman whether they be alive or dead. That both the Governor for the City and their officers were enforced to come up and drive them away.

And surely if the Treaty should break now they are sufficiently acquainted with this interview of our strength and weakness, I know who must be the sufferers.

They had a design to shoot Granados from their battery behind the sconce, and to storm the town likewise, that very night as the cessation was consented, which surely was the great blessing of God\* in it for us and for our preservation, who, when we were left destitute of all human helps did notion such thoughts and work his secret pleasure instead of fighting, slaughter, and happily destruction to a sudden calm and quietness. And no question if we serve him will perfect it to an assured peace and protection.

\* In the margin : " God's protection our surest buckler. In this, man's weakness, and God's greatness. God turns all to the best for the good of them that serve him."

*p.* 605.

Lieut. C. Clarke and Capt. Haddon to M<sup>r</sup> Eastland, Capt. Osborne and others :

Some officers of the Parliament being in discourse now with ours did wonder why we would stand out and not accept of Oxford conditions, which were sent to their knowledge by the Lords of the Council for us to accept. It was answered that there was no such Commands come to us at all, And if any such letters were, they were Intercepted by Col. Whalley or the Committee. It was wonder here how the Lords could forget us in their Treaty and neglect us as people not worth the looking after, who have been the main upholders of the royal cause. It was replied they knew it to be true, And we were abused extremely if we received no such directions. And further said, make as good Conditions as you can for yourselves, for the Citizens will do their endeavour to make their own peace, They Juggle both with you and us, but they will smart for it. And if ever we should come to storm or force an entry upon you, there is a very considerable party ready to assist us of them, we know your strength, your stores. You can do nothing, but within few hours we have it.

The Townspeople during this Cessation, both men, women, and children, went into the General quarters of the Enemy, And it was affirmed that in S<sup>t</sup> John's there were nigh as many as were soldiers of the Enemy. Notwithstanding all proclamations and Commands on both sides none to come near to the others' quarters. And the Enemy in like manner to our stockades, and some to bathe them in Severn where they may know the Ebb and lowness of the River, which is very small.

*p.* 606.

18 Ju. This morn Col. Raynsborough sent the Governor the propositions, together with a letter to return his answer that night.

The Governor conferring with the Commissioners, who desired him not to return any answer until night according as it was intimated in the letter, yet he would by no means condescend, but drew this answer instantly: That it was a business which required Consideration, and desired that those Gentlemen which were heretofore appointed Treators might meet with his and Debate on the propositions, and that he would appoint a time and place for that purpose.

Whilst the Gentlemen were in debate about the propositions sent

and what to demand on their parts to counterpoise, About 4 of the Clock Col. Raynsborough sent him a Reply as followeth :—

Sir,—You may be assured the propositions sent in received a full debate before they came to you; and are such which you may accept, but I cannot recede from. Had not regard been had to your Honour, believe it such offers had not been made. I cannot herein serve you further than to be punctual, where I engage, and must, as before, expect your answer this night, and remain,

Your humble servant,

18<sup>th</sup> July, 1646.

Tho. Raynsborough.

This letter being read drove all men into a Maze that they would not have a Treaty at all nor recede from the propositions, which are so low and unworthy that almost had they been within the City could not have offered worse, and so obscure that they were as good as none

*p. 607.*

at all. And the time of our present answer so sudden (even that night) that it brought us to a great strait, some, and most, absolutely disavowing their consent to them as being good and more noble to deliver up themselves prisoners, or fight it out and endure a storm, But the Governor said, if they came to storming, he had not powder to endure an hour's fight, though, for his part, he would hazard his own person. At last it was resolved of this answer.

Sir,—Your propositions are so obscure to me that I shall desire to grant a pass to M<sup>r</sup> Goodwin to receive a clear sense of them, who shall also acquaint you with my Judgment upon them, And upon his Return, you shall receive further answer from your humble servant,

18<sup>th</sup> July, 1646.

Hen. Washington.

Col. Raynsborough returned him within 2 hours this Reply.

Sir,—Although I am not sensible of the least obscurity in the Articles, yet that I may not be wanting in anything which is Civility, I have sent a pass for M<sup>r</sup> Goodwin according to your desire, and remain your humble servant,

Thomas Raynsborough.

July 18<sup>th</sup>.

Upon the receipt of this M<sup>r</sup> Goodwin went to Col. Raynsborough. In the Interim M<sup>r</sup> Mayor called a Chamber to consider of their approbation of the Articles as far as belongs to them, which is chiefly the 5<sup>th</sup> Article. After 2 hours they broke up, but would not discover their Results until

*p. 608.*

M<sup>r</sup> Goodwin's return, though it was resolved they would accept of them in the same way as are laid down, if they could have no better. So

they make themselves liable to all fines and impositions and censures for all Acts done by the City against the parliament, which may amount to what sum please the conqueror.

The propositions are as follows:—

1. That the City of Worcester, with all forts, Ordnance, Arms, Ammunition, stores and provisions of war thereto belonging shall be delivered up without wilful spoil or Embezzlement unto his excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, or such as he shall appoint to receive the same upon the 21<sup>st</sup> day of this instant July at ten of the Clock in the morning in such manner and with such exceptions as are contained in the ensuing Articles.

2. That on the said 21<sup>st</sup> of July the Governor and all officers and soldiers of the Garrison with all other persons therein that will, shall march out of Worcester with their Horses, Arms and Baggage, properly belonging to them, to any place within one mile of Worcester, which the Governor shall choose, where all their Horses and Arms, except what are in the ensuing Articles, shall be delivered up to such as his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax shall appoint. All the soldiers shall be disbanded, And all such both officers and soldiers and others as shall engage themselves by promise never to bear Arms any more against the

*p.* 609.

Parliament of England, nor to do anything wilfully to the prejudice of their Affairs, shall have the benefit of these ensuing Articles.

3. That all such as shall desire to go to their own Homes or private Friends shall have the General's passes and protections for their peaceable repair to, and abode at the several places they shall so desire to go unto. The Governor to pass with all Horses, Arms and Baggage properly belonging unto him, Each Colonel to pass with 3 Horses, Each Lieut.-Colonel and Sergeant Major with 2 horses, Each Captain, Lieutenant and Cornett with one Horse, And every person not under the degree of Esquire with three Horses. And all of them with their Arms and Goods properly belonging to them to be carried upon their Horses, and all Soldiers with their Swords, and such Baggage that properly belongeth to them, which they can carry about them.

4. That all persons who are to have the benefit of the precedent Articles shall, if they desire it, have passes to go beyond sea, provided they depart this kingdom within 2 months after the surrender of the Town.

5. That the City of Worcester and all the Inhabitants thereof shall be preserved from all plunder and violence of the soldiers,

6. That Sir W. Russell, now Resident within the City of Worcester, shall be exempted from any benefit by these Articles.\*

*p.* 610.

M<sup>r</sup> Goodwin took some heads for Remembrance to discourse upon.

1. That credible information hath been given that It was consented by the Lords of Oxford. This Garrison should have the benefit of Oxford Articles, And had Sir Thomas Fairfax's pass to convey them hither. How the letters were embezzled?

2. No protection for any persons whilst they live at home for their persons and estates. No liberty for any to go on their private occasions. No mention of composition or liberty to compound for their delinquency, nor for what time. No mention what shall become of the rest of their goods, which they cannot carry away with 3 Horses. No mention for any Gentleman to take any Horses to go away or to carry their goods under the degree of Esquire, but must march on foot.

No Act of Oblivion for any Act past or done against the parliament making their compositions, nor upon what terms they shall make composition at all.

Nor for the City of Worcester's freedom from being fined for their delinquency, which may be at the will of the Conqueror, which may be as much as any man's worth and as good endure the hazard of plunder, and stand to their mercy.

That never it was known any officer as Sir William Russell to be delivered up by particular name, but to be excepted in general words, as all such whom the parliament hath excepted out of pardon.

*p.* 611.

M<sup>r</sup> Goodwin, after some 2 hours' discourse with Col. Raynsborough, departed, and brought this answer at 10 in night:

Sir,—I have fully declared myself to M<sup>r</sup> Goodwin in every of those particulars wherewith you were pleased to entrust him, wherein he hath so exceedingly pressed me as that I have not kept unrevealed from him the utmost of what power is in me as to the matters questioned. It

\* In the copy given by Nash, ii., Appendix ciii., the following article, which is not in the MS., is given:—

“That the garrisons of Worcester, Evesham, Strensham, Hartlebury and Madresfield be disgarrisoned, and the Bishop of Worcester, Sir William Russell and Col<sup>l</sup> Lygon be restored to their Houses and estates.”

being now late I am contented to stay your positive Answer till to-morrow morning, And still am and shall to my utmost approve myself your humble servant,

Thomas Raynsborough.

July 18<sup>th</sup>, 1646.

Postscript.—All that else is in me is to give liberty if we agree till Thursday morning.

19. This morning the Governor at a general meeting desired M<sup>r</sup> Goodwin to acquaint the Gentlemen what answer Col. Raynsborough made. M<sup>r</sup> Goodwin told them That Col. Raynsborough acknowledged that this City was to have Oxford Articles and Lichfield and Wallingford, so that they be all delivered up the same day, as Oxford. Which not being done, Sir Thomas Fairfax was at liberty to make new ones. To which M<sup>r</sup> Goodwin said, “ We never were sent to from the Lords at Oxford for Rendition of this Garrison, only we heard there were letters

*p. 612.*

and a pass from Sir Thomas Fairfax for that purpose, and a Rumour that Col. Whalley or some other had intercepted them, and when we desired Col. Whalley to send to Oxford he denied the same.” Col. Raynsborough then told him that when Sir Thomas Fairfax demanded of the Lords why they sent not to Worcester to deliver up their Garrison, They told him they could not get a messenger, Desiring that he would afford them the Artieles of Oxford, who told them he could not now promise them that, or whether the parliament will think fit to grant them.

As for to Recede from his Artieles proposed, it was not in his power, for he was bound up. And some question, whether the General could alter them, having them from the parliament.

That he was and will be ever ready to grant all reasonable Civilities, and had received a check from the General, who wrote to him to do his work, not to mediate.

That the General himself had a Cloud east over him for affording Oxford such large Conditions.

That whatsoever he engageth himself by Artieles, there shall not upon his Honour the least violation be of them.

That there is nothing said or done amongst us but is known there within few hours, And they know the weakness of our Magazines, both of Ammunition and provision, to a Corn of powder or grain.

That for the gentlemen to stay at home was intended for 2 months without any trouble or question.



That he could only grant 2 days more to be added before the delivery up of the Garrison.

*p.* 613.

Then it was demanded of M<sup>r</sup> Town Clerk what was the Result of the Mayor and Chamber Concerning their propositions as far as belonged to them, or whether they will fight it out for better Articles. He told them, That the Chamber Resolution was :

That if they could have no better Conditions from the Enemy, they would accept of these rather than endure or hazard a storming.

The Governor and Gentlemen seeing the City draw back from their Assistance, And considering if they should oppose alone and maintain their posts, which is the great Sconce and line, The Citizens who by the several Cessations were grown extreme cool, and in their attendance on their Guards 14 for 60 men on guard and many extreme rotten hearted might let them in on their backs, and not relieving the soldier in his weekly pay neither money nor provisions, but very poorly cur-tailing, some half, some pay nothing. That also Townsmen broke the postern gate at the Foregate last night. And also finding upon examination in the Magazine this day not past 3 barrells of great powder for Ordnance, and 5 barrells of musket powder and one of pistol powder, which will serve but one day's hot service and storming for 3000 men. And finding that many of our own soldiers listed themselves to go beyond sea during this Cessation, And that our magazine of provisions could not last above a fortnight longer, And lastly above all and for all, that his Majesty could not return nor succour us in any time, no hopes or least promise.

*p.* 614.

thereto having never heard from his Majesty since the beginning of the siege, nor from the Lords of the Council at Oxford, It was resolved by the Governor to deliver up the Garrison and take those Articles only, But first to try whether Col. Raynsborough will give way to send to Sir Thomas Fairfax for an Enlargement of them. To which purpose this letter was sent by the Governor to Col. Raynsborough :

Sir,—I have received so many great Civilities from you that I have no cause to doubt your continuance of them. Nevertheless since you have made such clear expressions of a limited power in you, I shall desire you not to interpret it as a diminution of your Honour or Jealousy in me, That I intreat you to grant a pass to M<sup>r</sup> Goodwin and M<sup>r</sup> Jo. Heath to repair to your General to endeavour the enlargement of the

time for compositions, and moderating of them, with other circumstantial things, which I conceive may be admitted without contradiction to the Articles proposed. However, I do engage myself to march out upon Thursday according to your Articles (Yet I desire to reserve that as a Secret to yourself), hoping his Excellency will enlarge them.

Worcester, 19<sup>th</sup> July  
1646.

I am Sir, Your Humble Servant,  
Henry Washington.

*p.* 615.

But most of the Gentlemen protested against the last Article of the Exemption of Sir William Russell from receiving the benefit of the Articles, It being a thing extremely dishonourable to deliver up any Gentleman who hath so faithfully served his Majesty into the hands of his Enemies, nay, some one in his heat told the Governor it was as much as consenting to his murder if he should be put to death; that in all places was never any exception upon Surrender of any man's person, though far greater delinquents than he, except that of Bridgnorth in delivering Mr Latham, which was not the like case neither. That he being one of the prime Commanders ought to have Soldier's Conditions upon delivery, as well as any.

The Governor replied, That will you have a whole City and all the people therein destroyed for the preservation of one person, and will you have the City itself rise to cut him to pieces first rather than he shall be the only cause of their ruin?

But Sir William Russell himself carries out with a gallant resolution, like a Gentleman, this dangerous storm which may fall upon him. And whereas some of his friends were persuading him to retire himself in a disguise and not to run the hazard of enduring his Enemy's malice, wholly refused the same, and said he would tender himself to the Governor for him to deliver him to the hands of the General, Col.

*p.* 616.

Raynsborough. [He feared nor cared for anything he could do unto him.\*] And when some Gentlemen came and told him that all the Gentlemen did intend to write to Sir Thomas Fairfax for him to have the benefit of the Articles, he very modestly refused it, yet resolutely told them That he neither feared nor cared what the Enemy could do unto him. He had but a life to lose, and it could not be

\* The words in brackets are struck through in the MS.

better spent. Yet the Gentlemen did conceive themselves so much in honour obliged that there was a letter drawn and the hands of most of the Noblemen and gentlemen of worth subscribed to it to Sir Thomas Fairfax as follows :

Sir,

We have taken the Confidence by the Opportunity of this Gentleman to become suitors to you, That you would be pleased to have so much regard to our honours as not to exempt Sir William Russell from the benefit of such Articles as you shall sign for the Rendering of this City, Assuring you that you cannot find a way to lay a greater Obligation upon

Your Excellency's Humble Servants.

Worcester, 19<sup>th</sup> July 1646.

This letter was sent by M<sup>r</sup> Heath.

About 2 of the Clock there was a meeting appointed to draw up Heads for directions to M<sup>r</sup> Goodwin and M<sup>r</sup> Heath, if they went to Sir Thomas Fairfax in the Enlargement and Explanation of the Articles which are very obscure, That they may be more plainly expressed in the

*p.* 617.

passes and protections whilst it was in agitation.

There resorted by Companies to the Hall of men and women amongst them, most of them weavers to the number of 100. Murmuring and not well knowing what to have or desire, But at last some of them desired that they might have M<sup>r</sup> Alderman Heming, a discreet man and a good speaker, go with those Gentlemen to Sir Thomas Fairfax. Others would have M<sup>r</sup> Town Clerk, for say they, those Gentlemen who are sent will be to get good Conditions for the Gentry, and not for them, and why should not they send? But during this tumult the Governor came and shewed Col. Raynsborough's answer, which denied the Gentlemen going to Sir Thomas Fairfax for that particular, but for seeing the Articles signed. Which being made known unto these Townsmen they all went away as wise as they came.

His answer was this :—

Sir,—I shall no ways remit my civilities to you. But can by no means admit the Gentlemen to go to the General with your message desired. Yet if you please to send them, or any other, to see the General sign the Articles accepted by you, They shall receive safe conduct to him. In the mean time I shall (in the presence of whom you please to appoint) sign those Articles myself (with engagement for the General's

Confirmation thereof), And I do (together with such Hostages as you please to send me) expect the like from you, And for that end desire a pass for Col. Bridges and Col. Okey. I remain,

Your humble servant,

19<sup>th</sup> July.

Tho. Raynsborough.

p. 618.

M<sup>r</sup> Heath was appointed by the Governor to go to Sir Thomas Fairfax sign the Articles, and so went away about 9 at night. And if possible to be here on Wednesday night or Thursday morning or else to send a post to Col. Raynsborough to excuse it, and the reasons, with Sir Thomas Fairfax's consent. But about 11 returned from the Leaguer that Col. Raynsborough would not let him go until the Governor had signed the Articles, which he did before Col. Bridges and Col. Okey, and then M<sup>r</sup> Heath took his journey.

The preamble of the Articles was :

“ Articles of Agreement for the surrender of the Garrison of Worcester, concluded the 19<sup>th</sup> July between Col. Thomas Raynsborough, General on the behalf of Sir Thomas Fairfax, General of the forces raised by the Parliament, and Col. Henry Washington, Governor of Worcester.”

The City began to grow so mutinous that many gave out, they will throw the soldiers over the walls or club them if they should oppose this Treaty, Being now, as all quiet people are [?] weary] of war, desiring their trading may go on. But yet they will find the war is not so ended, but that they must ransom and fine for Actions past, and have still a Garrison which will cause payments.

20. Horses bought up on all sides and begin to grow very scant. Many officers and soldiers of the Enemy came into the Garrison, so that Col. Raynsborough sent 6 officers desiring the Governor to have leave to search all houses for the soldiers, and to take them away, lest they might cause some mutiny and mischief. And hath commanded some Horse to attend every post, that no soldiers come into the City, yet many came in continually.

The City privately sent a letter to Col. Raynsborough to excuse themselves, and desire his favour for a pass for 2 Citizens to go [to] the Parliament with a petition.

To which he returned answer that it was neither convenient for him, nor advantageous for them to have it granted, the City being not delivered up. And sent the City the Covenant and the Negative Oath.

p. 619.

Sir Edward Littleton and Sir William Bridges went to the Leaguer to see Col. Raynsborough sign the Articles in the afternoon.

Col. Raynsborough disbanded 1500 of the Welsh and Shropshire forces.

Garrison of Evesham slighting.

The Organs were this day taken down out of the Cathedral Church. Some parliamenters, hearing the music of the church at service, walking in the Aisle, fell a skipping about and dancing as it were in derision.

Others, seeing the workmen taking them down, said, "You might have spared that labour, we would have done it for you." "No," said a merry lad (about 10 years old), "for when the Earl of Essex was here, the first man of yours that plucked down and spoiled the organs broke his neck here, And they will prevent the like misfortune."

21. Col. Raynsborough came to the Great Sconce this afternoon, and sent officers to take a view of all the magazines; And Major Moore . . . [Mayor of the City very indiscretely delivered the keys of the Magazine of amunition to him\*] before the City was delivered, and the soldier marched out and the Gentry: That if they be not very honest and just they may take us all prisoners and plunder the City.

p. 620.

22. That part of the Army which lay at St John's burnt their Huts this morn and marched towards Kidderminster. Some 7 barrells of powder in the Magazines, 3 in the Tower of the Gate, and 12 in the Sconce.

No provisions left in the Magazine [all being given out to the soldiers this day, which is contrary to the Articles\*], for the soldiers broke open the doors thereof, there being no sentinel, and took what was left, which is such a breach of Articles for not embezzlement, that they may plunder us without injury.

The Committee for the parliament† took up their quarters, which were in some gentlemen's houses, who were their friends, and, as it is hoped, to preserve them from plunder.

Mr Heath came from Sir Thomas Fairfax, and assured us that we should have very large passes sent to us by 10 of the clock the next day and protections. That Sir William Russell should be used like a Gentleman, and Major-General Raynsborough should have him as his prisoner. This night divers Gentlemen's stables by the parliament soldiers, who were suffered to come into the City by numbers, were

\* The words in brackets are struck through in the MS.

† See these names *post*, p. 197.

broke, and their Horses taken out, and no Redress. All things being in a confused manner, nor Order nor Discipline, but Diseontent and distraction.

23. This day at 6 of the Clock prayers, many Gentlemen went to take their last farewell and meeting at the College at the Common prayers of the Church, and to receive the Bishop's blessing, saying "The Grace of our Lord, etc."

This day the Governor and his Regiment, Sir William Russell's Regiment, and the Remainder of Col. Sandys', under Major Moore, marched forth to the Rendezvous at Rainbow Hill. And all the Gentlemen with their baggage at 10 of the Clock in the morn. But some few officers and others that stayed somewhat later, the parliament soldiers seized on their Horses, Arms and money.

*p. 621.*

About one of the clock the passes came for us. And Mr Peters, the reverend preacher of theirs, marshalled the manner of receiving the passes. First he called the Governor and all Colonels and Majors. And assigned to another to call all the Captains and Lieutenants, and soldiers and other persons. Then he called all the Gentlemen of the County and persons of quality. Upon the delivery of the passes he asked every one whether they would promise not to bear Arms against the Parliament of England, who must answer "Yes," or "I do," if they had their passes delivered unto them.

Concerning which Engagement of not bearing Arms, many did very much stumble, both gentlemen and soldiers of honour. But upon a serious survey by their wisest it was conceived a just promise and ought to be done, for the king being chief in the parliament, if you take up Arms against him you take it as against a part of the parliament, and so commit Treason; and if on the other side you take up Arms against the Representative body, the king not disavowing them as his two Houses of Parliament, and engaging himself of late by his several Declarations to comply with the joint desires of the parliament of both kingdoms for the peace thereof, doth oblige and engage us not to dissent what he please to consent unto with them.

*p. 622.*

All the passes run, according to the quality of the persons, in this manner:

"Sir Tho. Fairfax, K<sup>t</sup>, General of the forces raised by the Parliament.

Suffer the bearer hercof [Henry Townshend, Esq<sup>re</sup>], who was in the City and Garrison of Worcester at the surrender thereof And is to

have the full benefit of the Articles agreed unto upon the same, quietly and without let or Interruption to pass your Guards with his servants, three Horses, Arms, Goods and other Baggage on Horseback, and to repair to Elmley Lovet within this County of Worcester, London or elsewhere upon his necessary occasions. And in all places where he shall reside, or whereto he shall remove, to be protected from any violence to his person or goods, according to the said Articles; And to have full liberty at any time without two months to go to any convenient port, and to transport himself with his servants and necessaries beyond the seas. And in all other things to enjoy the benefit of the said Articles, He having engaged himself not to bear arms against the Parliament of England.

Hereunto due obedience is to be given by all persons whom it may concern, As you will answer the contrary. Given under my hand and seal the 23<sup>rd</sup> of July 1646.

T. Fairfax.

To all officers and soldiers under my command  
and to all others whom they may concern."

The Gentlemen having received their passes and having a small Convoy for them according to those parts of England they were to go, went their way in bodies, and that closely, for there were several parties of the parliament soldiers which followed our Rear and seized upon all Scatterers, which were plundered of all they had, Notwithstanding all passes and protections. An Appendix to all conquered people by the victors.

*pp.* 623 and 624 deal with other matters not relating to the Siegc.

*p.* 625.

About 5 of the Clock entered the Major General Raynsborough into the City. Several Regiments on foot marched in before, and others dispersed into several quarters. And so to lie in several Counties to be ready upon orders. That there is not to remain in this County but one Regiment of foot and 100 Horse and some dragoons as the Sheriff's guard.

Col. Raynsborough made Governor of Worcester and of the Sconce by Sir Thomas Fairfax.

Thus this Ancient of Cities, famous in former Ages for their loyalty to their Native princes against either Foreign Tyrants, Home usurpers, or Domestic Insurrections, which suffered under Hardicanut

the Dane concerning the Denial of Danish Tribute and killing his officers, Both the sword in destroying man, woman and child; and the fire, being burnt down to the ground.

In William Rufus' time, the Suburbs being burnt, opposed the host of Roger Earl of Shrewsbury of the Norman race, who came to surprise it, And by the prayers and encouragement of their Holy Bishop Wulstan, the Citizens made a gallant sally (as Polydore Vergil writes)\* upon their Enemies, and God's special assistance being with them, they did kill and take 5000 men and forced them away.

In the time of King Stephen it suffered another martyrdom, being consumed to Ashes by King Stephen in standing in the just right of Maud the Empress and her son. And in the Baron's wars before the battle of Evesham when Simon the great Earl of Leicester led about King Henry the 3rd to Kempsey within 3 miles of the City, they received Prince Edward into the City and assisted him against his false Barons, for which Henry 3 in 48<sup>th</sup> annum enlarged their privileges.

*p. 626.*

Thus this Ancient City was delivered up into the hands and use of the parliament, which was the first of Cities that declared for the Crown and the upholding the just rights thereof, And the last which held out in the defence thereof, All being reduced into the Obedience of the parliament.

It received his first summons from Sir W. Brereton 25<sup>th</sup> March, which refused: He drew off. And Col. Whalley gave it a second summons 20<sup>th</sup> of May, being now closely beleaguered round above one . . . . fortnight by Major-General Raynsborough; yet small store of provisions came in except some butter and cheese by the water. Their Loyalty and Honour made them hold out until they understood the King, by his printed declarations and letters, had commanded all other forts to be delivered, and the Governor saw his name in the list, though it never came but accidentally to his hand; And had he received any Encouragement of Relief, there would have been far more care had before a surrender. But all giving as it were a careless eye upon them, and never looking upon their resolutions, left to the merey of the Enemy; If they had been far more stronger in all particulars they must have yielded at the last.

And one thing never to be forgotten, That when Sir Thomas Fairfax moved the Lords at the Treaty of Oxford that the City of Worcester might be delivered up and involved in their conditions, It is reported by

\* In margin, "Histor. Angli."



those of the parliament side they refused the same, And when it was pressed to them that howsoever they would send to them to know whether they would deliver the City upon Oxford Conditions, and Sir

*p. 627.*

Thomas Fairfax sent to them 3 several passes 3 several times to the Lords, and moved the Lords hard to it, they told Major Salwey they could not get a messenger to go thither, and returned the passes back.

By which ignoble means this poor City was glad to take such conditions as pleased their Enemy to give, And for the saving of a messenger's charge of 10<sup>s</sup> A gallant City is like utterly to be impoverished and cost them £10,000. They never denying a surrender, only expected a Command therein from his Majesty or the Lords of the Council. And for their punctilio both of Honour and Loyalty therein, They now lie exposed to all the miseries which an Insulting Conqueror may Impose upon them.

24. Mr Peters preached at the College in the morning.

25. Col. Raynsborough commanded all the Citizens to bring in their Arms upon pain of death. That all the King's soldiers should depart the city within 2 days. That none of the King's party are to wear a sword in the Garrison. They begin to Inventory men's estates, Demand great Arrears of Contribution. Then 5 and 20<sup>th</sup> part of every man's estate, which paid, then making him a delinquent and so squeeze him, unless some particular persons find by favour, courtesy and mercy. That in an age he shall not recover.

*p. 628.*

The Names of the Gentlemen of this County which were in the Garrison of Worcester at the surrender thereof:—

Grafton: Earl of Shrewsbury.

„ Lord Talbot his son.

Shelsley: Sir Edward Littleton, Bart.

Droitwich: Sir Edward Barrett.

Elmley Lovet: Henry Townshend, Eq<sup>re</sup>.

Woodgreen: Edward Perrott, Esq<sup>re</sup>.

Sedgeberrow: Anthony Langston, Eq<sup>re</sup>.

Beoley: Edward Sheldon, Eq<sup>re</sup>.

Ralph Goodwin, Esq<sup>re</sup>.\*

Civitas Worcester: Sir Martin Sandys.

Abberley: Joseph Walsh, Eq<sup>re</sup>.

Malvern: Russell de Malvern, Eq<sup>re</sup>.

\* Struck out in MS.

Hindlip: William Habington, Eq<sup>re</sup>.  
 Col. Herbert Price, Pedmore.  
 Dr John Prideaux, Bishop of Worcester.  
 Henry Ingram, Eq<sup>re</sup>, High Sheriff, Earl's Court  
 Sir William Russell, Bart., Strensham.  
 Sir Rowland Berkeley, Cotheridge.  
 Sir John Winford Astley.  
 Henry Bromley, Eq<sup>re</sup>, of Holt.  
 Thomas Acton, Eq<sup>re</sup>, of Burton.  
 Thomas Hornyold, Eq<sup>re</sup>, Blackmore Park.  
 Robert Wylde de Commanders, Eq<sup>re</sup>.  
 John Coekes de Crowle, Eq<sup>re</sup>.  
 Major Thomas Wylde.  
 Major Jo. Ingram.  
 George Acton, gent.  
 Abberley: William Walsh, gent.  
 George Walsh, gent.  
 Spetchley: Thomas Berkeley, gent.  
 Hanley: William Langston, gent.  
 Pershore: French, gent.  
 John Lund, gent., quarter-master of the City.

Many Gentlemen went out before the siege and to stay at home.

*p.* 629.

Names of those Gentlemen which were in Hartlebury Garrison at Surrender thereof:—

Hewell Grange: Lord Windsor.  
 Ombersley: Col. Samuel Sandys.  
 Capt. William Sandys, Governor of Hartlebury.  
 Capt. Martin Sands.

Names of those Gentlemen that went up to compound with the parliament some 3 months since:—

Hampton Lovet: Sir John Pakington, Bart., of the House of Commons.  
 Ribbesford: Sir Henry Herbert, K<sup>t</sup>, of the House of Commons.

*p.* 630.

Names of those Gentlemen which were taken prisoners by the parliament forces and enforced to compound:—

Salwarp: Sherington Talbot, Esq<sup>re</sup>.  
 Hanbury: Edward Vernon, Eq<sup>re</sup>.

Doverdale : Philip Brace de Dardale, Eq<sup>re</sup>.  
 Wichanford : John Washbourne, Eq<sup>re</sup>.  
 Rushock : Francis Finch, Eq<sup>re</sup>.  
 Hagley : Sir Thomas Littleton, K<sup>t</sup> and Bart., prisoner in the  
 Tower for this 2 years past.  
 Beoley : William Sheldon, Eq<sup>re</sup>, of Beoley compounded to live at  
 home.  
 Harvington : M<sup>rs</sup> Pakington of Harvington to live at home.

*p.* 631.

July 26<sup>th</sup>, 1646. Names of the Committee for the Parliament which  
 came to Worcester upon surrender thereof :—

Sir Thomas Rous de Rous Lench, Bart.  
 Nicholas Lechmere, Eq<sup>re</sup>, de Hanley.  
 Daniel Dobyns, Eq<sup>re</sup>, de Kidderminster.  
 Col. William Lygon de Madresfield, Eq<sup>re</sup>.  
 John Egiock de Feckenham, Eq<sup>re</sup>.  
 Major Richard Salwey second son to Humphrey Salwey of  
 Stanford, Eq<sup>re</sup>.  
 Capt. Thomas Milward of Alvechurch.  
 Thomas Cooks of Bentley, gent.  
 William Moore of Alvechurch. The Bishop of Worcester's  
 Bailiff there.  
 Major Edward Smith.  
 Wm. Collins of Kingsnorton, Tanner.  
 Wm. Yonge of Evesham, draper.  
 Jo. Yonge, servant to Lord Brooke.  
 M<sup>r</sup> Browne of .\*  
 John Fownes of Dodford, gent.  
 John Giles of Astley.  
 Col. Wm. Dingley, Governor of Evesham.

*pp.* 632, 633, *blank.* *p.* 634, *see ante* *p.* 23.

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