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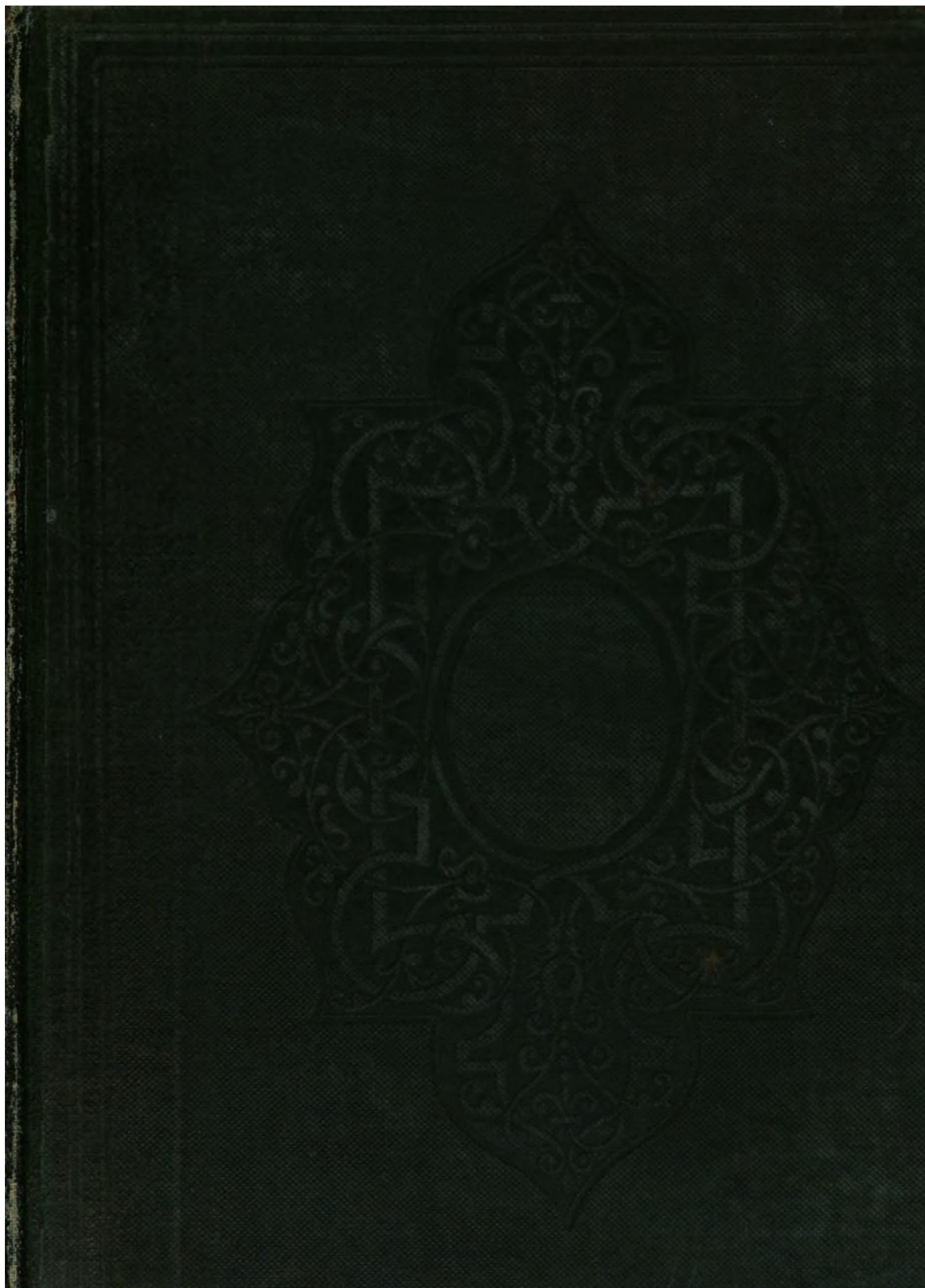
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LETTERS AND PAPERS

OF

THE VERNEY FAMILY

DOWN TO THE END OF THE YEAR 1639.

PRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL MSS.

IN THE POSSESSION OF

SIR HARRY VERNEY, BART.

EDITED BY JOHN BRUCE, ESQ.



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FOR THE YEAR 1852-3.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE Members of the Camden Society are aware that the collection of original papers from which the following pages are derived is extensive and miscellaneous. Its most important contents possess not only an interest directly historical, in the ordinary sense of that word, that is, as connected with public events of the periods to which they belong; they have also a separate and personal interest, in relation to the fortunes of a particular family. In editing the present selection I have thought it right to keep this double interest of the papers in mind. I have, therefore, not sent forth the book merely as containing a body of historical papers, which would tell their own tale without comment or connection. I have sketched the history of the family, and have introduced the papers in the places into which they fall naturally as illustrations of the fortunes of the Verneys.

This is a course which will meet, I hope, with general approval. The most valuable materials, even for general

history, are to be found among the records of private and personal experience. More true knowledge of the spirit of an age, more real acquaintance with the feelings and actual circumstances of a people, may be gleaned from a delineation of the affairs of a single family than from studied historical composition. The one is the expression of contemporary and spontaneous feeling, and, although limited, is unquestionably genuine; the other is a deduction from knowledge, imperfect even when most extensive, and too frequently coloured by the feelings and prejudices of a subsequent and altered period. I have given an account of the descent of the Verneys, not from a mere antiquary's love of resuscitating everything that belongs to the past, but because, without a knowledge of the history of the family, it would have been impossible to judge correctly of the character and value of their papers. For my own part, I venture to think that it would be a great excellence in our literature, and would make publications of this description far more valuable than they generally are, if attention were more frequently given to the precise circumstances and social position of the persons from whom original papers emanated, or to whom they relate. It is an erroneous, although among antiquaries by no means an uncommon notion, that unofficial papers are only of importance when they can be connected with the most interesting events or the most noble families. I should contend, on the contrary, that the value of such papers is to be esti-

mated by the degree in which they give an insight into the feelings and opinions, the real inner life, and not the mere outside appearance, of the men and women, whatever their station, to whom they relate.

In adopting the course which I have described, I have endeavoured not at all to overlook the public events to which these papers relate, or in which the Verneys were involved. In the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV. I have unfolded the clever management by which sir Ralph Verney, the Yorkist lord mayor, was able to recover for his son the lands of the Lancastrian sir Robert Whittingham (pp. 12—22). In the reign of Henry VII. I have indicated the gay life led by the courtier sir Ralph, the chamberlain of princess Margaret, and one of her attendants into Scotland (pp. 29—34). I have also been able to establish his marriage with lady Eleanor Pole (p. 31), and have identified as his a tomb at King's Langley traditionally reported to be that of Piers Gavestone (p. 47).

In the reign of queen Mary I have unravelled the details of Dudley's conspiracy, in which two of the Verneys were implicated, and in respect to which our historians have been much at fault (pp. 59—76).

In the reign of Elizabeth the documents I have selected may be properly said to begin. The table which follows these observations will be found to indicate their general character.

Under James I. the fortunes of sir Francis Verney

have led me to say something upon a curious question, which will bear a good deal more investigation;—the adventures of the English pirates in the Mediterranean (pp. 95—101). I have also had occasion to give some particulars of prince Charles's journey to Spain, sir Edmund Verney having been one of his attendants (pp. 107—113). In the same reign I may point out the order at p. 117 to control "the bold and barbarous insolency" of those who presumed to join the royal hunting parties without permission.

With the accession of Charles I. the papers acquire great importance. I have printed such of them as relate to some of the grievances of that period; the levy of money upon privy seals, with the excessive amount assessed upon Hampden (pp. 118—129, and 277—288); coat and conduct money (pp. 126—127, and 289); the billeting of soldiers (pp. 132—134); and the oppressions of the court of wards (pp. 146—186). Glances also are caught at the feeling engendered by the imperious policy of lord Strafford (pp. 155—171); the cruelties in the star chamber (p. 157); the persecution of the puritans by archbishop Laud (pp. 178—180); the revival of old forest law grievances (pp. 180—183); and the multitude of monopolies by which the people about the court converted the royal authority into a source of personal profit (pp. 184—186, 224). All these great counts in the indictment which the people of England preferred in the long parliament against the

government of Charles I., will be found more or less proved or illustrated in the following pages.

Nor will the adventures of Thomas Verney (p. 174), the particulars of his outfit for New England (p. 160), his description of Barbadoes (p. 192), the account of the *faux pas* which led to the separation between Essex the future parliamentary general, and his second wife (p. 168), the early lives of Edmund (pp. 160, 173, 208, 237, 268) and Henry Verney (pp. 175, 267), Mrs. Pulteney's troubles on account of her suitors and her second marriage (pp. 198, 213, 261), and the particulars respecting lord Craven (p. 189) and the hon. James Dillon, the father of Roscommon the poet (pp. 147, 173, &c.), be overlooked.

The latter part of the volume (pp. 200—276) relates principally to the armament set forth by Charles I. against the Scottish covenanters in 1639. The letters of sir Edmund Verney, who attended the king upon that miserable expedition, contain one of the best accounts of it with which I am acquainted. It is not necessary that I should recommend these letters to general consideration. No one who has not acquainted himself with the true nature of the movements in Scotland in 1639, can rightly understand the struggle which ensued in England.

It was intended to carry down this volume to the battle of Edgehill, but the length to which the correspondence ran rendered it necessary to bring the book

to an earlier close. It wants, in consequence, the completeness of story which, in that case, it would have possessed. On that ground, as well as on account of many other imperfections, of which no one can be more sensible than myself, the work is submitted to the candid consideration of the Members of the Camden Society, and of its readers generally.

JOHN BRUCE.

*5, Upper Gloucester Street, Dorset Square,
March, 1853.*

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PEDIGREE, DOWN

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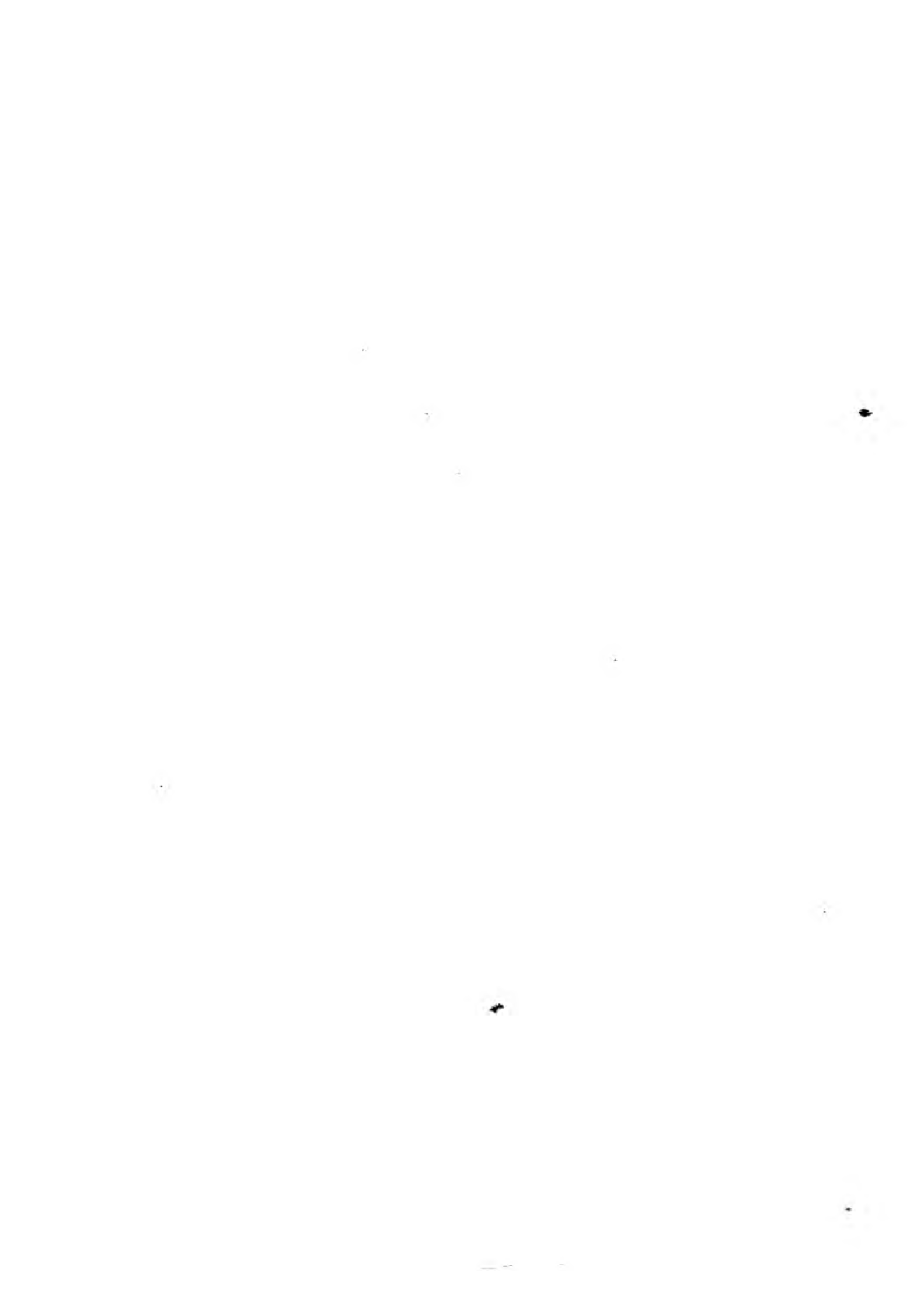
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LETTERS AND PAPERS
OF
THE VERNEY FAMILY
DOWN TO THE END OF THE YEAR 1639.

VERNEY PAPERS.

THE contents of this volume are derived from a very large and multifarious collection of original papers preserved in the muniment room of Claydon House, in the county of Bucks, the seat, for two centuries past, of the head of the family of Verney.

General nature
of the Verney
collection.

Having reference to many generations of a house which has passed through various grades of fortune, the Claydon collection acquires different hues and natures from the characters of the principal persons to whom it from time to time relates. As those persons were either courtiers or country gentlemen; loyalists or patriots; deeply affected by the solemnities of religious truth or the reverse; prudent or the contrary; so these papers are alternately the records of the acquisition of an estate or of the loss of one; of the warm yearnings of hearts sanctified by exalted piety or of the colder feelings of mere worldly policy; of what are esteemed the great events of history or of the less imposing, but often not less interesting, nor to the parties themselves less important, struggles of domestic life.

In making our selection we have endeavoured to give these various subjects their due relative importance. We have passed lightly over much that appertains to domestic management and is unconnected with public affairs; but everything that relates to persons of any kind of celebrity, or to events which are of historical interest; everything that shews the way in which such events influenced the general welfare and home-comforts of our forefathers; everything that exhibits the actual opinions and feelings of the persons with whom we have to deal; has been anxiously sought for and carefully brought to light. Above all things, we have endeavoured—so far as it could be done from the papers before us—to set forth the precise social condition of the persons to whom these papers relate; and, in that part

And of our se-
lection from it.

of the book which treats of the troubles in the reign of Charles I., we have desired to exhibit the manner in which the stirring incidents of that interesting period affected the welfare of the several members of the family of Verney. We will not anticipate the minute incidents of the tale we shall have to tell. It is a tale of suffering on both sides of the great national struggle. A father, prompted by an overwhelming sense of personal duty to his sovereign, follows that sovereign in the maintenance of a cause which individually he disapproves. He is even urged by a chivalrous feeling of loyalty to take up arms in its defence. He stands on the field of battle opposed to that side of the question which is not only espoused by his eldest son, but is sanctioned by his own personal convictions. That father sacrifices his life, with reckless valour, almost, it would seem, in despair of otherwise extricating himself from the intolerable evils and vexations by which he is surrounded and hemmed in. The father's place at the head of the family is then occupied by that son who from the first had taken his stand with the party in opposition to whom his father had lost his life upon the field of battle. Others of the family follow in their father's footsteps, but without sharing their father's opinions. Brother is opposed to brother. Family ties are severed by the feuds of strong political partisanship. On one side, some of the best blood of the Verneys is again shed in the field; and, on the other, there are exile, pecuniary forfeiture, and trouble—all but infinite. These are some of the results which we shall ultimately have to detail; but, in the first place, we must give some little attention to the early history of the family.

Origin of the
name Verney.

The name VERNEY was probably derived from Normandy. The *Foresta de Verneio*, or *Bois de Vernai*, in the vicinity of Bayeux, was a celebrated hunting ground of the dukes of Normandy. The ruins of a ducal residence, anciently called Bur, and afterwards Bur le Roi, still stand conspicuous in the parish of Noron, in the immediate neighbourhood of the old forest of Vernai.*

* Rot. Seacc. Norman. lx. lxii. clxxiv.

The first trace of the family of Verney or Vernay in England occurs in the reign of king John. During the troubles which afflicted England for some time before the close of that monarch's career of despotism, RALPH DE VERNEY and ROBERT DE VERNEY were employed in the military service of the king against his barons, and, early in the succeeding reign, MASTER WILLIAM DE VERNEY was sent upon several occasions into Poictou on the business of the infant sovereign, Henry III. The particular relationship, if any, between Robert, Ralph, and "Master William," or whether they, or any of them, were previously residents in England, or were only foreign auxiliaries allured to the service of king John by the civil dissensions of England and the royal power of conferring reward, has not been found. "Master William" soon disappears from the records,* but Ralph and Robert remained settled for a time in Gloucestershire. ROBERT DE VERNEY obtained from king John a grant of certain lands in that county which had been held by Richard de Veyn, a tenant *in capite*, either deceased or dispossessed, with a proviso that these lands did not exceed in value the sum of 60*l. per annum*.† The same Robert married Eleanor the widow of Walter de Aure, a considerable proprietor of lands on the western bank of the Severn, and purchased the custody of his step-son, Walter's infant son and heir, at the price of three marks.‡ The services of RALPH DE VERNEY obtained a somewhat similar reward. On the 13th April in the 17th year of king John, that is, A. D. 1216, Ralph de Verney received a grant of the manor of Rindewic, now Randwick, near Stroud, in Gloucestershire, to be held during the king's pleasure, provided the manor was not worth more than 10*l. per annum*;§ and on the 20th November in the 8th Henry III., A. D. 1223, a further grant was made to him of three virgates of land in Pichelcumbe, now Pitchcombe, in the same county and neighbourhood. The latter grant was, like the former, to be held during the king's pleasure, and

First trace of the family in England.

RALPH DE VERNEY, A. D. 1216-1223.

* Rot. Claus. 7 and 8 Henry III. pp. 541 b, 557, 557 b, 558, 578, 581.

† 15 April, 17 John. Rot. Claus. p. 262.

‡ Rot. Fin. 5 Henry III. i. 70.

§ Rot. Claus. p. 261.

was made with the declared intention that Ralph de Verney might be enabled to support himself in the king's service.* He possessed, also, an absolute freehold interest in certain lands held of the honor of Wallingford, and situate at Linlega, afterwards Langley, near Whichwood forest, in Oxfordshire. Mention is made in Magna Charta of the honor of Wallingford as being then in the possession of the crown as an escheat. These lands may therefore have been acquired by Ralph de Verney, like those at Randwick and Pitchcombe, under a good-service grant from the sovereign.

Ralph de Verney died within a few months after the date of the grant of lands at Pitchcombe. He left a widow, Amabella, and "sons," † how many does not appear. The lands which had been granted to him in Gloucestershire were then regranted by the king to Osbert Giffard, who, very unjustly, not only took possession of the subject-matter of his grant, but seized to his own use the goods and chattels, the growing crops, and even the household furniture, of the previous tenant. A dispute ensued, which was terminated by the surrender of all Ralph de Verney's personal estate to his widow and executors.‡ Dower was also assigned to Amabella out of her husband's lands held of the honor of Wallingford.§

JOHN DE VER-
NEY, A. D. 1229.

Of the "sons" of Ralph de Verney and Amabella only one has been found with certainty; JOHN DE VERNEY, whose homage for his father's lands held of the honor of Wallingford was received by Henry III. on the 30th September, 1229.|| This ceremony probably took place when John de Verney attained his majority. Besides the lands at Langley, he held other lands, also parcel of the honor of Wallingford, situate at Fleet Marston, in the county of Bucks, about four miles north-west of Aylesbury.¶

* Rot. Claus. p. 576.

† There is mention in Rot. Fin. i. 109, of a Ranulph de Verney who had married one Agnes Wac. This may have been a younger son of Ralph de Verney of Pitchcombe. That he had sons is clear from Rot. Fin. i. 110, and that John was his heir from Rot. Fin. i. 188.

‡ Rot. Claus. 8 Henry III. 624, 649b; Rot. Fin. i. 110; Cal. Rot. Chart. 46.

§ Rot. Claus. p. 597.

|| Rot. Fin. i. 188.

¶ Testa de Nevill, pp. 111, 113, 114.

John de Verney married Alice one of the two daughters and co-heirs of Geoffrey de Bella Aqua, or Bellew, of Fleet Marston, which was from thenceforward, for nearly two centuries, the place of residence of the Verneys.

RALPH DE VERNEY, son of John and Alice, succeeded to the lands held of the honor of Wallingford, at Langley and Fleet Marston, and also to a moiety of the advowson of the rectory of the latter place. The moiety of the advowson he sold to John Neyrnuit in consideration of his service and of a *gersuma* or money-payment of ten marks. There are several points of interest, both local and general, in the conveyance; and an abstract of it is therefore printed as a note*. The restriction of the power of disposition contained in the exception of Jews and "men of religion" was not uncommon. The latter of course meant members of religious orders, who too often hired inefficient persons to perform the duties of the parish churches which were in their hands.

From the time of RALPH DE VERNEY the son of John, the lands at Fleet Marston descended for a century and a half through several generations of whom but little is known. Ralph was succeeded by ROBERT DE VERNEY,† and Robert had probably two

RALPH DE VERNEY
son of John.

Descent from
Ralph de Verney
son of John
to the first Sir
RALPH VERNEY.

* Sciant presentes, &c. quod ego Radulphus de Vernay dedi, &c. Johanni Nernuit, pro servicio suo, et pro decem marcis argenti quas michi dedit in gersumam, medietatem advocacionis et donacionis ecclesie beate Marie de Fletmerston, et illam acram terre mee que abuttat in Nowelmere ex parte meridionali juxta terram Ricardi filii Reginaldi in eadem villa, cum omnibus, &c. Habendis et tenendis de me, &c. dicto Johanni Neyrnuyte et heredibus suis, et cuicunque dictam advocacionem, &c. dare legare vendere et assignare voluerit, et quando, exceptis Judeis et viris religiosis, libere quiete et bene, et in pace, cum toto iure et clameo quod habui et habere potui in eisdem, jure hereditario, imperpetuum; Reddendo, &c. unum clavum gilofrie ad Natale Domini, pro omnibus serviciis consuetudinibus secularibus et demandis. Et ego Radulphus de Verney et, &c. warrantizabimus, &c. dictam meam medietatem, &c. dicto Johanni Neyrnute et, &c. contra omnes homines et feminas Judeos et Christianos imperpetuum. Ut autem premissa omnia perpetua fidei firmitate et warrantia teneantur hanc presentem cartam meam sigilli mei impressione roboravi. Hiis testibus, Roberto Malet, Ricardo de Arches, Johanne Carbonell, Alexandro de Arches, Roberto de Arches, et aliis.

This abstract is printed from a copy of the deed in a collection of charters relating to Fleet Marston in the possession of Mr. Thoms, the Secretary of the Camden Society.

† Esc. 28 Edward I. No. 44; and Fleet Marston Charters, No. 7, 13 Edward II.

sons, William and John. Of William nothing is known save that he sold Langley.* The line in which we are interested was carried on, after the death of Robert, by a son and a grandson, both named JOHN DE VERNEY. These Johns are not easily separable, but there is frequent mention of them in the Fleet Marston charters from 1323 to 1401.† JOHN THE YOUNGER had two sons, JOHN THE YOUNGEST, who succeeded his father at Fleet Marston, and EDWARD DE VERNEY, who was the immediate progenitor of the branch of the Verneys with whom we are concerned. John the youngest probably died without issue. There is no mention of him in the Fleet Marston charters after 1442. Edward de Verney, son of John the younger, had one son, RALPH, who removed to London, where he had a son, to whom he gave his own name, the favourite old family name, of Ralph. This last Ralph had the good fortune to add greatly to the importance of his family. He was the first Verney who received the honour of knighthood, and, amongst many Sir Ralphs, may be termed by way of distinction, SIR RALPH THE LORD MAYOR.

Papers relating
to the abbey of
Abingdon.

There are but few documents at Claydon which relate to the Verneys during the period when these Ralphs and Johns were making their way upwards from the rank of small proprietors. The papers of that time have reference principally to lands which ultimately came into the hands of the Verneys through intermarriages. To that class belong many curious papers relating to the abbey of Abingdon, the site of which was at one time in the possession of this family. To dwell upon these papers at any length would lead us far away from our main purpose; but, at the present moment, before we

* Inq. post mort. 42 Edw. III. 2d nos. No. 9.

† There is the greatest difficulty in establishing this part of the pedigree with anything like certainty, partly from a deficiency of evidence, and partly from the blunders and hasty conclusions of previous writers. I have taken as my chief authority the valuable collection of Fleet Marston charters with which I have been favoured by Mr. Thoms. After an examination of the records vouched by Dr. Lipscomb, I have been obliged in several cases to depart altogether from the pedigree published in his *Hist. of Bucks*, i. 178.

enter upon our notice of Sir Ralph and his descendants, we may be allowed to close the portion of our subject which relates to the middle ages with a copy of an Indulgence, and with a notice of some documents preserved at Claydon which contain valuable illustrations of the actual condition of those monastic recluses whose history is always one of singular interest. The Indulgence is of the date of 1308. It grants forty days' remission of enjoined penance to all persons who, being penitent and having confessed, should put a helping hand to the erection of a lavatory or other needful work in the church of St. Mary Abingdon, or should leave or procure to be left any legacy to the same church, or should say the Lord's Prayer and the Angelical Salutation thrice with a pious mind for the souls of the faithful there resting in Christ. The preamble sets forth the theological reasons on which such remissions were founded.

Indulgence for contributing to the erection of a lavatory, A.D. 1308.

Uniuersis sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presentes littere peruenerint, Arnaldus miseracione diuina Pictauensis episcopus, salutem et sinceram in Domino caritatem. Pia mater ecclesia, de animarum salute sollicita, deuotionem fidelium per quedam spiritualia munera, remissiones, videlicet indulgencias, imitari * consuevit ad debiti famulatus honorem Deo et sacris edibus impendendum, ut quanto crebrius et deuocius illuc confluit populus christianus, tanto celerius delictorum suorum veniam et gloriam celestis regni consequi mereatur eternam; cupientes igitur vt ecclesia sancte Marie Abyndonensis, Sar̄e dioc̄e, congruis honoribus frequentetur, et a Christi populo veneretur, Omnibus vere penitentibus et confessis, qui ad fabricam lotorii † dicte ecclesie, sed ad aliqua alia ipsius ecclesie necessaria, manus porrexerint adiutrices; vel in extremis laborantes quicquam de bonis suis a Deo eis collatis caritatiue legauerint, donauerint, miserint, seu ecclesie procurauerint prelibate; insuper qui pro animabus omnium fidelium ibidem in Christo quiescentium deuote orauerint, quocienscumque ter oracionem dominicam cum salutacione angelica mente pia dixerint, Nos, de nostri veri

* incitare?

† Lotorium or Lavatorium, a lavatory or laver. The word is used to signify both a piscina and the general washing-place found in many monastic buildings.

saluatoris misericordia, dulcisque matris sue clemencia, necnon beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum omniumque sanctorum auctoritate confisi, si de diocesani ipsius ecclesie processerit voluntate, quadraginta dies de iniunctis sibi penitentiis deuote susceptis misericorditer in Domino relaxamus. In cuius rei testimonium presentes litteras sigilli nostri munimine duximus roborandas. Datum Londonis die Jouis post festum beati Michaelis, anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo octauo.

A seal was appended, but is not now attached.

Accounts of the
abbey of Abing-
don.

The other documents which we desire to mention are a series of rolls of accounts of the abbey of Abingdon of various dates between the reign of Edward III. and that of Edward IV. with one of Henry VIII. In the precise and methodical details of the receipts and payments entered in these accounts we find an exact statement of the wealth or poverty of the establishment, we learn the sources whence its income was derived, and we are informed in what way it was expended. The minutest information is afforded, on the one hand, respecting the money value of their articles of produce or consumption, and, on the other, a clue of no uncertain character is given to many of the occupations and to much of the mode of living of the monks. The world within the confines of the monastery is in no small degree laid open before us, and is found to abound with topics of interest and excitement never dreamt of by those who view monastic life only at a distance or in imagination. Such documents have scarcely been sufficiently used by English writers on monasticism. It may be useful therefore to explain their nature. Every superior officer of the monastery kept accounts. Most of them probably did so not by writing but by the tally or the score; but at a certain time in every year a clerk skilful in accounts made out the account in due form, engrossed it on a roll, made a duplicate for each party, and thus it was rendered to the abbot. The sacrist, the cellarer, the chamberlain, the gardener, the pittancer, the woodreeve, the keepers of the infirmary and of the common chest, the clerks of the chantries, with several other less important functionaries, had all certain peculiar sources of income attached to their several

offices. Of the receipts from these, and of their expenditure, they rendered minute written statements, made up in the way we have described, and paid over annually a certain customary portion of the balance to the treasurer, carrying on the remainder from year to year. In like manner the collectors of the abbey rents and the farmers of their lands passed their accounts and paid in their balances to the same officer. He in his turn accounted for every thing which came through his hands in an equally formal manner. The accounts ran from the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, that is, from Midsummer Day, in one year, to the same day in the year following, so that each account passed into two successive years of the king's reign. The collection at Claydon contains accounts of the chamberlain in the 20th and 21st of Richard II., the 5th and 6th years of Henry V., and the 6th and 7th Henry VI.; of the gardener in the 44th Edward III., the 12th and 13th Richard II., the 13th Henry IV. and 1st Henry V., and the 28th and 29th Henry VI.; of the cook in a certain year of Edward III. which is obliterated by time; of the woodreeve in the 21st Edward III.; of the keepers of the chapel of St. Edmund in the 5th and 6th, and the 6th and 7th of Henry IV., in the 10th of Henry V. and the 1st of Henry VI., the 6th and 7th, 9th and 10th, and in the 19th of Edward IV.; of the keepers of the office of the Trinity in the 2nd and 3rd of Henry V., the 14th and 15th and 26th and 27th of Henry VI.; a pittancer's account, and an account of the keepers of the common chest; two accounts relating to the infirmary; one of the refectiener for the 10th of Henry V. and 1st of Henry VI.; treasurer's accounts of the 50th Edward III., the 7th and 8th of Richard II., and the 18th and 19th Henry VI.; besides fourteen accounts of farmers of abbey lands and receivers of rents. Altogether there are forty of these accounts, and occasionally there are indorsed upon them inventories of farming stock and articles of furniture, which are particularly curious. The farmers set forth the numbers of sheep and oxen on their lands, what poultry were in their yards, what quantities of pease, barley, oats, and pulse were stacked away in their ricks; and the refectiener

enumerates the store of masers and spoons in use in his own department, and in the hostelry, the kitchen, the infirmary, and other parts of the establishment. The furniture of the dinner table in the refectory, which is here inventoried, is very instructive. Every brother had his *mappa* or napkin; his *sauernapron* or surnape, a little cloth which was displayed before him on the dinner table; his "pewder" or "pewter" pot, of which there were two sizes, one which contained a quart and the other a "potel" or two quarts; his spoon, which was of silver—this was in the 10th Henry V.—and his "maser" or mazer, a wooden bowl, often of maple. Amongst the general furniture of the table we find enumerated two *pelves* of "tyn," that is, ewers for washing the hands, which in the absence of forks might occasionally be necessary; eleven salt-cellars; a dish of "tyn" on which the spoons were placed upon the table; and three "tweff" [towells?] "for carrying the cheese." Some special articles, generally distinguished by the names of their donors, or former users, were probably reserved for high or gaudy days: for example, a silver cup and cover which once belonged to Richard Salford, a principal maser *ex emendacione* of the same Richard Salford, another called "Mortemer," another which once belonged to Thomas Thame, and so forth.

These accounts form a subject of themselves, and one so entirely apart from that which is connected with the other papers, that, however important we may consider them to be, we are unwilling to linger over them. In our estimation they are memorials so valuable that we would fain see them published entire, and, having that hope, we will only state so many of the facts derivable from one of them—a chamberlain's account of the 5th and 6th Henry V.—as will suffice to exemplify their nature, and enable other persons to form an opinion upon their worth. In the 5th of Henry V. the abbey contained an abbot, a prior, a sub-prior, a third prior, twenty monks who were priests, and ten who were in various periods of their novitiate. This may be considered the actual monastic body. To them were added the customary monastic officers, many of whom we have before enumerated as rendering accounts. There were also various

other tradesmen and lower servants engaged in the production or supply of all kinds of necessaries for the brethren. A tailor was retained at a yearly salary of 12*s.*, and a *lauendarius* or laundry-man, who seems also to have been clever with his needle, and a *cordubanarius* or shoemaker, on the same terms. They had also a *cartorius*, whose yearly salary was *vjs. viijd.*, and a *valettus*, whose salary was 10*s.* We have before mentioned a clerk of accounts. A person of that class was paid 6*s. 8d.* for his pains in reference to the particular account before us, besides 8*d.* for parchment and paper. The tailor and other similar tradespeople executed their work in the house: 4*s.* is charged for thread for the tailor, and 18*d.* for the same article used by the laundry-man. The charge for tunics, cowls, and sandals for the year is only 13*s. 4d.*, but 22*s. 4d.* is charged for repairs of vestments, and 6*s. 10d.* for the making of the monks' *femoralia* or breeches, and 22*d.* for mending articles of that kind by the launderer. The brethren wore stockings of woollen cloth, the cloth for which cost during that year 28*s. 6d.* Money was given to the brethren "pro speb₃," four times in the year. At the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary the abbot received 40*s.*, the prior 16*s.*, the sub-prior and third prior 12*s.*, every priest 10*s.* and every non-priest 7*s.*; at the term of St. Michael the Archangel the abbot received 25*s.*, the prior 13*s. 4d.*, the sub-prior and third prior 6*s. 8d.*, the priests 6*s. 8d.*, and the non-priests 5*s.*; and at the terms of St. Thomas the Apostle and the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary the same payments were repeated. During the 5th Henry V. "an entire tenth" was paid to the king "pro itinere," for his journey into France. It amounted to *vjli. xs. ij d. ob.* for the abbey property in Berks, and *iijs. vjd.* for that in the county of Oxford.

In the 50th Edward III. the treasurer's account began with a balance of 1,182*l. 2s. 1d.* The total of the year's receipts by the treasurer was 353*l. 9s. 7½d.* The expenses paid by him amounted to 294*l. 0s. 11¼d.* The balance carried forward was 1,241*l. 10s. 9¼d.* In the treasurer's account for the 7th and 8th Richard II. the balance brought forward was 2,179*l. 4s. 10½d.* The receipts for the year were

294*l.* 4*s.* 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* The payments 251*l.* 13*s.* 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* The balance carried forward was 2,221*l.* 16*s.* 2*d.* In the 18th and 19th Henry VI. the balance in hand had been reduced, probably by the public troubles and large outlay in building, to 124*l.* 0*s.* 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* The receipts for the year were 210*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.* This account is incomplete, so that we do not learn from it the amount of expenses.

These are interesting and valuable details. A multitude of similar minute facts, more clearly illustrative of the condition of society than volumes of description, lie scattered throughout the whole series of these accounts. Their publication would be a most important contribution not only to the history of English monasticism, but to that wider and more important history which has for its object the illustration of the state and manners of the people.

And now we will return to the Verneys.

SIR RALPH
VERNEY the
Lord Mayor,
A. D. 1465.

SIR RALPH VERNEY THE LORD MAYOR is said to have been born in the city of London.* It may have been so, but it is proved by many circumstances that he kept up his connection with Fleet Marston, and amidst his civic dignities and acquired wealth looked to that secluded and, in the eyes of many persons, most uninteresting place as still being in some degree his home. He was a member of the Mercers' Company, and resided in the ward of Cheap, and in the parish of St. Martin in Ironmonger Lane. The little church of that parish, to which, as we shall hereafter find, Sir Ralph's dying thoughts turned as a place of sepulture, was known by the name of "Saint Martin's Pomary," which last word was supposed to be derived, Stowe tells us, from the circumstance "of apples growing where houses are now built." It was situate on the north side of Cheapside, in a neighbourhood in which there remained, even down to the time of Queen Elizabeth, "large void places," the sites of ancient orchards. In that busy spot, near the great market or cheap, near the Guildhall, near the hall of Sir Ralph's own company, and near the place of general resort for business and gossip, Paul's Walk,

* Strype's Stowe, ii. 222, edit. 1755.

lived the first Sir Ralph Verney, the *de* being of course abandoned by the citizen. This distinguished merchant passed through a period of great public discord with prudence and good esteem. He was elected one of the sheriffs of London in 1456, when the infirmities of Henry VI. were hurrying his reign to a close, and served the office of Lord Mayor in 1465, a few years after the accession of Edward IV. His political party was that of the White Rose—the party of progress, and the party then popular in London. He was active in promoting the objects of that party, and when Edward IV. on the recovery of his throne in 1471, testified his thankfulness for the friendly zeal on his behalf of the good people of London, Ralph Verney was not forgotten. Of the twelve citizens knighted on that occasion Sir Ralph stands at the head of the list, immediately after the Lord Mayor. This copious effusion of royal gratitude took place on the 22nd May, 1471, the very day on which the dead body of Henry VI. was publicly exposed to the view of the citizens in St. Paul's.* In the year following Sir Ralph Verney was elected one of the representatives of the metropolis in that parliament which gave a legislative sanction to the restored authority of the house of York.† His position as a legislator enabled him to promote the interests of his family, as well as to confirm the triumph of his party.

Sir Ralph married Emme the widow of one Pyking. By Pyking she had one son, named John. By Sir Ralph she had four children: 1, John; 2, Ralph; 3, Margaret, married to Sir Edward Ralegh of Farnborough, in Warwickshire; and 4, Beatrice, married to Henry Danvers, a mercer of London. JOHN VERNEY, the eldest son, formed a connection in marriage which was doubtless considered at the time to be a very excellent one. We, who see its results, perceive that it involved him in a world of trouble; but it brought him, ultimately, considerable property, it gave him a position in the county of Herts, and it added greatly to the importance

Sir Ralph's family; marriage of his son JOHN; the Whittinghams.

* Warkworth's Chron. p. 21; Restoration of Edward IV. p. 47.

† Prynn's Brief Register, iv. 1046.

of his family. In the parish of St. Christopher, in the ward of Broad Street, now covered by the Bank of England, lived a family of merchants of the name of Whittingham. Several generations of this family were members of the company of drapers, and the following document proves that their business was of an extensive and really mercantile character. We print it not only on this account, but also because it curiously illustrates the forms and customs of ancient commerce. It is a deed declaratory of the condition of a bond of 400*l.* given to Robert Whitynham, citizen and draper of London, by Thomas Burton, citizen and grocer of London, and Obert Touse, merchant of Genoa. The bond was to be void on the delivery to Robert Whitynham at Middleburgh of a very large quantity of wede, that is, woad, used for dyeing cloth, between the 15th of May, 1415, and the 14th of April following.

Ceste endenture tesmoigne, que, come Thomas Burton citezein et grocer de Loundres, et Obert Touse marchaunt de Jene, par lour escript obligatorie sont tenuz et obligez a Robert Whitynham citezein et draper de Loundres, en quatre centz liures desterlings a paier le quatorszisme iour daprill proschein auenir apres la date dicestes, sicome en le dit escript obligatorie plus pleynement appiert, Nepurquaunt le dit Robert, pur luy sez heirs et executours, voet et graunte par icestes, en cas si lez ditz Thomas et Obert deliuerent, ou facent deliuerer, ou lautre deulx deliuerer ou face deliuerer, a dit Robert, ou a son attourne, en la ville de Middelburgh, par entrecy et le quatorzisme iour daprill suisdit, septant deux m^l sept centz et vij. q^a de wede par le poys de Middelburgh, suantz en bountes un ensamble de wede enseallez dessouz lez sealx dez ditz parties, ou sils ne deliuerent celle entier somme de wede adonques le remenaunt outre la somme de wede ency deliuerer paieront, ou feront paier, a dit Robert, ou a son attourne, deinz le temps suisdit en monoye countant saunz delay. Ou en cas defaute soit fait de deliuerance de dit entier somme de wede, countre le fourme auandite, et adonques si lez ditz Thomas et Obert paient, ou facent paier, ou lautre deulx paie ou face paier, a dit Robert, ou a son certeyn attourne, sez heirs ou executours, le quatorszisme iour daprill auandit quatre centz liures desterlings en monoye countant, que adonques le dit escript obligatorie soit voide et tenuz pur nulle, autrement estoise en toute sa force et vertue.

En tesmoignance de quelle chose, lez parties suisditz as cestes endentures entrechaungeablement ount mys lour sealx. Donne a Loundres le quinzisme iour de May lan du grace mill quatre centz quinsze et lan du regne le roy Henri quint puis le conquest tierce.

WANSTALL.

A Robert Whittingham, who was probably an uncle of the Robert Whittingham who is mentioned in this deed, was the first person of any distinction in this family. He is stated in the pedigrees to have been Sheriff of London in the year 1419. This was certainly not the case, for his will was proved on the 31st October, 1408; * but it is very possible that the sheriff of 1419 was the same Robert Whittingham who was the party to the deed just printed. Amidst the many mistakes which abound in all such pedigrees this one would scarcely have deserved correction, but that it gives us an opportunity of remarking that the person who was the sheriff in 1419 was really a Robert Whittingham and not a Robert Whittington, as he stands in almost all the lists of sheriffs. Some city historians, in their anxiety to heap honours upon the great mythic hero of London merchandise, have gone the length of altering the name to "*Richard Whittington*," and one writer of no mean reputation has contended that the celebrated citizen who was wooed back to London by the encouraging chimes of a magical campanology was during that year, 1419, both sheriff and lord mayor. The unrivalled merchant whose picturesque adventures form one of the dearest attractions of our nursery-lore was too rich in honours to stand in need of any such fabulous addition to his fame.

Another claim which genealogists put forth for the same Robert Whittingham is more accurate. He is said to have married Alice, one of the two co-heiresses of Sir John Agnell, or de l'Agnell, of Penley, or Pendley, near Albury, a village at the foot of the Chilterns, in the county of Herts. It appears from an ancient pedigree at Claydon that Sir John Agnell, to whom is given the date of 24 Edward III., had one son named John, who died without issue in the

* Probate at Claydon. Proved at Lambeth.

1st Richard II., and two daughters, Alice, the wife of Robert Whittingham, and Joan, who was married, first, to Walter Payne, and, secondly, to John Impey, and had issue by both husbands. The marriage of Robert Whittingham with Alice Agnell withdrew him partially from the city and from commerce. In the division of the Agnell estates the manor or lordship of Penley fell to the share of his wife, and thenceforward he set up his abode in its ancient manor house, and added to the arms of Whittingham, *Per fess argent and or, a fess vert, over all a lion rampant gules*, the explanatory bearing of the Agnells, *Azure, two chevrons or, on a canton argent a paschal lamb gules*.

The first SIR
ROBERT WHIT-
TINGHAM.

Robert Whittingham's only son bore both his father's names, but is distinguished from him as being the first Sir Robert Whittingham of Penley. He was "squier of household and servant"* to king Henry VI. Chauncy says † that he held manorial courts at Penley until the 24th of Henry VI., and it appears in other quarters that he lived until the 30th year of the same reign. Like his father, he married an heiress—Agnes Buckland, only child of Richard Buckland of Edgecote, in the county of Northampton, ‡ and Joan his wife, probably the daughter of a citizen, for she had considerable property in London. The arms of the Bucklands were, *Argent, a fess sable, fretty or, between three lioncels passant gules*.

The second SIR
ROBERT WHIT-
TINGHAM.

Sir Robert Whittingham had four sons, Robert, Richard, William, and John; but we have to do only with the eldest of them, who was a second Sir Robert Whittingham of Penley. Brought up in connection with the royal household, he entered the king's service at an early age. In the disastrous wars in France he served under the regent Bedford, and held for many years the important office of Treasurer of Calais.§ When the quarrel between the rival houses of York and Lancaster came to be decided by arms, it could scarcely be a question with Sir Robert Whittingham on which side he should take his stand. His feelings and hereditary prejudices must have

* Rot. Parl. vi. 27.

‡ Baker's Northamptonshire, i. 492.

† Hist. of Herts, 594.

§ Proc. of Privy Council, v. 27, 284.

been in favour of the sovereign whom his father and himself had served, the king in possession, the king of the party of the red rose. For that king he had already fought, and the whole circumstances of his life prove him not to have been a man who would either desert a standard or change it. He was one of those staunch Lancastrians who refused to concur in the parliamentary compromise by which the crown was left on the head of Henry VI. for his life, with an agreement that the duke of York and his heirs should succeed after Henry's death. Sir Robert Whittingham upheld the absolute hereditary right of his master and his master's house. He followed queen Margaret to the field in support of the inheritance of her infant son, and struck a good stroke for the house of Lancaster, on the 30th December, 1460, at the disastrous battle of Wakefield, in which the duke of York was slain.* Whilst Sir Robert was thus evidencing the sincerity of his attachment to the family of Lancaster, his only child,† a daughter named Margaret, doubtless in honour of her father's royal mistress, found a husband in John Verney, the son of an equally decided partisan of the opposite faction—one of the leaders of that party in the city of London which in a couple of months after the battle of Wakefield actually dethroned Henry VI. What history, or what romance, was connected with this marriage is now irrecoverable. It seems unlikely that Sir Robert could have approved of it, but it took place, either with or without his good will, and brought into the shield of the Verneys, *Azure, on a cross argent five mullets pierced gules*, the paschal lamb of the Agnells, the lion rampant of the Whittinghams, and the three lioncels of the Bucklands. The deposition of Henry VI. was an event of fatal import to Sir Robert Whittingham. Immediately after his accession Edward IV. offered a reward of 100*l.* to any person who would "effectually destroy and bring out of life" any one of eight of the principal adherents of his adversary, of whom Sir Robert Whittingham was one,‡ and in the parliament which met soon afterwards Sir Robert shared the

* Rot. Parl. v. 477.

† All that I have found respecting the wife of the second Sir Robert Whittingham is that her name was Catherine.

‡ Addit. MS. 4613, art. 2.

He is attainted
of treason.

fate of many others of the leaders of the Lancastrian party, and was attainted of treason.* This event involved a forfeiture of all his possessions. Penley, with its ancient seat; the lordship of Salden, in that same neighbourhood, but in the adjoining county of Bucks, which his father had purchased from Cardinal Beaufort; rights of fairs and markets, with many other privileges and jurisdictions both in those places and in Mursley and elsewhere in Buckinghamshire; with houses and advowsons in London, the inheritance of Jane Buckland; all passed into that fund of forfeited estates out of which Edward IV. was to reward his victorious partisans. Not only was Sir Robert Whittingham entirely beggared, but Margaret Verney, the wife of Sir Ralph's son John, was deprived of her anticipated inheritance. The courtiers of Edward IV. were not slow in taking advantage of these convenient forfeitures. A small part of Sir Robert Whittingham's Hertfordshire estates was granted to the king's brother, Richard duke of Gloucester; but Penley and Salden and the bulk of the property fell to the share of Sir Thomas Montgomery, K.G. a man already possessed of great power, and of what was still more valuable to him, vast influence with king Edward. Thus Sir Robert Whittingham was driven to find safety either in flight to the continent, or in concealment at home among his more fortunate Lancastrian friends, or with his Yorkist son-in-law Verney, his pleasant lands acknowledged other masters, and his daughter was rendered portionless and probably penniless. After a few unquiet years the tide turned for a brief space in favour of the house of Lancaster. Again Sir Robert Whittingham was in the field. Sir Ralph Verney was strenuous and most successful in his exertions in the city for Edward IV.; Sir Robert followed the Lancastrian queen. When the standard of Henry VI. was raised for the last time at Tewkesbury, Sir Robert was there, following his old leaders, and in that deadly fight he found an honourable death.†

His death.

Recovery of the
Whittingham
estates.

Sir Ralph Verney's return to parliament followed immediately on the death of Sir Robert Whittingham. There was little in the

* Rot. Parl. v. 477.

† Warkworth's Chron. p. 18.

circumstances of that death, or in the previous life of Sir Robert, on which to ground an appeal to the clemency of Edward IV., but Sir Ralph brought his parliamentary influence and the value of his services to Edward IV. to bear on behalf of his son and daughter-in-law. Injustice or peculiar hardship could scarcely be alleged. The attainder of Sir Robert was unfortunate for Margaret Verney, but it was a misfortune which she shared with multitudes, and was in accordance with the common practice of that age, nay it did not very much differ from what would be the practice now. The only favourable peculiarity in her case was the good service of her father-in-law to the house of York, and the merit of that was found sufficient to outweigh the demerits of her Lancastrian father. On the joint petition to the king in parliament of Sir Ralph Verney and his son John Verney and his daughter-in-law Margaret, and "in consideration of the humble and faithful service" done by Sir Ralph to the victorious Edward IV., the attainder of Sir Robert Whittingham was reversed, and it was enacted in parliament that John Verney and his wife should possess and inherit all lands and possessions of Sir Robert Whittingham, in like manner as he and his heirs might have done if he had never been attainted. There was also a clause in the act of parliament by which all letters patent "of the premises" were annulled.* On paper nothing could seem clearer or more complete. But now came the difficulty. How were such persons as the duke of Gloucester and Sir Thomas Montgomery to be ousted? Those were not days in which acts of parliament bore unlimited sway over kings' brothers and royal favourites. Besides, the art of evading a plainly expressed intention by legal subtleties had even then been discovered. There were found to be insuperable difficulties in putting the new law into force, and in the end, in spite of acts of parliament and annulling clauses, Sir Thomas Montgomery and his royal co-grantee held on their possession as if nothing of the kind had taken place. A royal licence, founded on

* Rot. Parl. vi. 27.

the act of parliament, authorised John Verney and his wife to enter upon the lands of Sir Robert Whittingham, but it could only be obtained with a saving clause that rendered it almost valueless; an exception, that is, of the grants already made thereof "to our aforesaid brother and Sir Thomas Montgomery."* But the mercantile prudence of Sir Ralph Verney could not easily be foiled. He had probably foreseen these difficulties. At any rate, before he applied to parliament he took a course which rendered ultimate success pretty certain. Sir Thomas Montgomery held under two grants, one dated the 27th February, 1st Edward IV., which was made to him for the term of his life,† the other on the 15th December, 4th Edward IV., to hold to him and the heirs male of his body.‡ Sir Thomas was advanced in life, and was childless. Whilst Edward IV. was in the full flush of his gratitude for the assistance of Sir Ralph Verney and the citizens in the re-acquirement of his throne in 1471, Sir Ralph procured from him, without the payment of any fine or foregift, a grant to himself and his heirs of the reversion of the lands granted to Sir Thomas Montgomery.§ To have obtained such a grant for his son John Verney, or for his daughter-in-law, might have been construed into an acquiescence in the existing grants to Sir Thomas; but by obtaining it for himself he gave his son John a second chance of ultimate success in reference to the lands held by Sir Thomas Montgomery. If the application to parliament failed, John Verney or his heir might probably in due time inherit as heir to his father and under the reversion granted to Sir Ralph, instead of through his wife as heir to Sir Robert Whittingham. In the end, the wisdom of this precaution became manifest, although Sir Ralph did not live to see it. The remainder of the reign of Edward IV. was probably passed in fruitless suing to that monarch for redress, or in equally fruitless litigation. His death changed the whole face of affairs. The unquiet usurpation of Richard III. afforded little time

* 1 Rot. Pat. 12 Ed. IV. m. 20.

† 2 Rot. Pat. 4 Ed. IV. m. 19.

‡ 4 Rot. Pat. 1 Ed. IV. m. 86.

§ Rot. Parl. vi. 90.

for the investigation of private griefs, and especially for one which involved the validity of a grant to Richard himself as well as of grants to Sir Thomas Montgomery. But everything was altered when the house of Lancaster regained the throne in the person of Henry VII. One grantee, the more formidable of the two, had paid the penalty of his misdeeds at Bosworth; the importance of the other was considerably diminished, and John Verney, who was now knighted, was encouraged to seek from a Lancastrian parliament the same kindness which his father had procured for him from a Yorkist one. He previously relied solely on the services of Sir Ralph to Edward IV. He now changes his tack, sinks all mention of his father, but puts prominently forward the sufferings and losses of the Whittinghams in the service of the house of Lancaster. The petition which he presented was in the joint names of himself and Margaret his wife, who is described as "cousin (that is, 'of the blood') and heir to Robert Whittingham, squier,* that is to say, daughter of Sir Robert Whittingham, knight, son of the said Robert." Grants are set forth from Henry VI. to Cardinal Beaufort, and others from the cardinal, "for great and notable sums of money" to Robert Whittingham, and it is contended that it is "contrary to all reason and conscience" that these lands should have been resumed by the crown upon the attainder of Sir Robert Whittingham for the service which "he did and owed to the blessed prince Henry VI." The petition prays that the recited grants may be confirmed. By what interest it was urged through the parliament does not appear. But it was adopted by both houses, and the royal concurrence was given in the customary form.† Again then did a parliament give its voice against Sir Thomas Montgomery. York and Lancaster agreed that the Whittingham estates should go to the Verneys. Whether the new act of parliament enabled Sir John and his lady to triumph over Sir Thomas Montgomery does not appear.

* This must not be understood as if the Robert Whittingham here mentioned was never knighted. The fact that he was so is unquestionable. The designation seems intended to allude to his office in the household of Henry VI.

† Rot. Parl. vi. 317.

The quarrel was soon afterwards settled by a more potent pacifier. Sir Thomas died in 1489, without issue. If Sir John Verney did not before obtain possession under his acts of parliament, he must then have succeeded under the grant of the reversion to his father. Fortified by his double title, he took possession of Penley Hall, which thenceforth became the seat of the principal branch of the family. They had hitherto been the Verneys of Fleet Marston; thereafter they were the Verneys of Penley.

Estates of the
first Sir Ralph
Verney. His
will and death.

Whilst Sir Ralph Verney was fighting the battles of his son he was not unmindful of his own advancement. Besides the grants we have before mentioned, Edward IV., "considering the good and gratuitous service" which Ralph Verney had rendered to him, gave him in 1467 the forfeited lands of William Wansford otherwise Wandesford in Aylesbury, Bierton, and Burcote in Buckinghamshire, all which Sir Ralph wisely secured against the chances of future public changes, by procuring a release from Wansford himself.* Nor did Sir Ralph depend for his acquisitions on royal generosity alone. In spite of the revolutions of that tempestuous period—perhaps in consequence of them—he contrived to amass considerable wealth, which he invested in the purchase of lands in Hertfordshire and Bucks. He brought back again the manor of Fleet Marston into the Verney family, and he purchased the present family estates at Middle Claydon. They had passed through the hands of the Gresleys, the Cantilupes, and the La Zouches. In the 38th Henry VI. they belonged to William Edy, citizen of London and *pannarius* or draper. Sir Ralph's first connection with them was the advance of 673*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to William Edy on the security of the manor and advowson of Middle Claydon. Further transactions ensued, and in the end Sir Ralph became the purchaser of the whole. But he does not appear to have ever resided in the mansion of Middle Claydon, which was an ancient seat probably built by the La Zouches. Soon after Sir Ralph's purchase we find the estate in the occupation of a

* The grant from Edward IV. to Sir Ralph is dated 22nd August, 7th Edward IV. Wansford's release is dated on the 1st September, 7th Edward IV. Both these deeds are at Claydon, and also Wansford's purchase deed, dated 18th June, 33rd Henry VI.

branch of the ancient family of Gyffard. They held Middle Claydon for nearly two centuries, under long leases, renewed from time to time, by the Verneys.*

* Among the ancient deeds relating to Middle Claydon is one of the time of Edward I., by which William de Cantilupe, then lord of the manor of Middle Claydon, granted for the health of his own soul and the souls of his ancestors a rent-charge of 13s. 4d. for the provision of two wax tapers of twelve pounds weight, to be ready annually on Easter eve, and to be used daily at every mass, at the elevation of the host. The provisions of the deed are so curious that it is thought worth while to give an abstract of it.

“Omnibus ad quos, &c. Willielmus de Cantilupo salutem, &c. Cum dominus rex Edwardus filius regis Henrici michi per cartam suam concesserit et licentiam dederit, &c. Noueritis me dedisse, &c. pro salute anime mee et antecessorum meorum ac etiam heredum meorum Thome de Sancto Andree rectori ecclesie de Middel Claydon unum toftum jacens juxta curiam dicti Thome rectoris, &c. nomine redditus annualis tresdecim solidatarum et quatuor denaratarum, &c. Habendum, &c. sibi et successoribus suis inperpetuum, Inueniendum inde annuatim et sustentandum ipse et successores sui duas torchias cere ponderis duodecim librarum cere in ecclesia predicta singulis diebus ad singulas missas in eadem celebratas ardentes ad elevationem corporis Christi inperpetuum duraturas ; Ita, videlicet, quod torchie predictae quolibet anno in vigilia Pasche noue sint parate per visum ballivorum dominorum de Middel Claydon quorumcunque et custodum operis ecclesie predictae qui pro tempore fuerint ; et quod de torchiis predictis in vigilia Pasche remanserit eadem die predictis custodibus operis ecclesie predictae per predictum Thomam, &c. per visum dictorum dominorum ballivorum sub pondere liberetur ; Ita quod per visum ipsius Thome, &c. ac etiam dictorum dominorum ballivorum, inde faciant luminaria coram sancta cruce, et beata Maria virgine, et alibi in ecclesia predicta prout salubrius videant expedire ; et quod ipsi custodes totam gutteram torchiarum predictarum ad luminaria predicta facienda pro voluntate sua annuatim percipiant. Et si contingat prefatum Thomam vel ejus successores cessare vel deficere in aliqua parte in predictis, &c. extunc liceat mihi et heredibus meis dominis, &c. predictum Thomam et ejus successores in predictis tofto et terris, &c. distringere, et distractiones retinere quousque de omnibus defectis, &c. plenarie fuerit satisfactum. Ita tamen quod nullum jus terre predictae mihi vel heredibus meis ob defectu servicii, &c. possit in futurum ; vel quod aliquis heredum meorum serviciu predictum potestatem habeat relaxandi. Et si contigat, quod absit, me vel heredes meos remissos vel negligentes esse in servicio torchiarum predictarum exigendo volo et concedo quod quilibet parochianus predictae ville de Middel Claydon predictum Thomam vel &c. in predictis tofto et terris nomine nostro distringere possit. Et quotienscunque contingerit ecclesiam predictam fore vacantem volo et concedo pro me, &c. quod custodes operis ecclesie predictae custodiam totius terre predictae habeant quousque rector ecclesie predictae predictis dominis vel suis ballivis fecerit sacramentum fidelitatis ad servicia predicta facienda et non ulterius custodiam habeant ; Ita, videlicet, quod omnes custos, &c. per rectorem secundum visum legalium hominum restituantur. Et ad hæc omnia fideliter facienda predictus Thomas mihi sacramentum fidelitatis super hoc facto fecit, et sic quilibet successorum

Sir Ralph did not live to witness the restoration of the Whittingham estates. His will bears date the 11th June, 1478; he died on the 16th, and his will was proved on the 25th of the same month. He was buried in the church of St. Martin Pomary, which no doubt contained some suitable memorial of a citizen so distinguished. Whatever it was it was totally destroyed, with every thing else that the church contained, in the great fire of 1666. In his will Sir Ralph desired to be buried in "the tomb standing under the sepulchre between the quire and our Lady's Chapel in the same church." He also distinguished the parish, both the church and the poor, by his liberal benefactions.

The document in which these legacies occur is so admirable an example of the testament of an eminent citizen of that day, it so clearly sets forth the *status* and establishment of the family, the religious faith of the testator, and his discriminating zeal for good works, that we do not hesitate to insert it entire. His legacies to religious bodies, to poor prisoners confined in the various prisons in London, his bequest to the church of Fleet Marston, and towards the repair of the roads near London, Fleet Marston, and Aylesbury, to his servants—twelve men and three women—and to his friends, will not escape attention.

Will of Sir
Ralph Verney,
A. D. 1478.

In the name of God, amen. The xj. day of Juyn, the yere of our Lord M^ol^olxxviiij. and the xviiij. yere of the reigne of king Edward the iiiijth, I Rauf Verney, knyght, citezein mercer and alderman of the citee of London,

suorum consimile sacramentum faciet priusquam aliquod proficuum percipiat. Et ego predictus Willielmus de Cantilupo et heredes, &c. contra omnes homines warrantizabimus in perpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium presenti carte in tribus partibus cyrograffi penes predictum Thomam remanenti sigillo meo apposui, et alteri parti penes me remanenti dictus Thomas sigillum suum apposuit, ac tercię parti penes custodes operis ecclesie predictę et parochianos remanenti sigillum meum et sigillum predicti Thome sunt apposita. Hiis testibus, Dominis Johanne Neyrnuit, Johanne de Chetewode, Roberto Malet, Johanne Gyffard, militibus; Waltero de Sancto Andrea, Georgio Gyffard, Waltero de Craunford, Willielmo de Hagworthingham, Henrico filio Johannis de Middel Claydon, et aliis."

* Inq. post mort. 18 Edw. IV. no. 28. A panel portrait at Claydon House has been supposed to represent Sir Ralph, but there is a date upon it which is fatal to the supposition: "Ann. æt. 54, 1594."

though I be visited with sykenesse, neuerthelesse beyng of hole mynde and in goode memorie, laude and thankying be vnto Almyghty God, make and ordeigne this my present testament in maner and forme as folowith.

First, I bequeth and recomende my soule vnto Allmyghty God in trinite, fardir and sone and holy gost, to the moost glorious virgyn our lady saint Marie, moder to the ij^{de} person in trinite, our blissed Lord Crist Jesu my redemer and saviour, to the hooly confessour saint Martyn the bisshop, and to all the hooly college of seyntes in heven; And my body to Burial. be buried in the church of saint Martyn Pomerey in Irmongerlane of London, that is to wite, in the toumbe standing vnder the sepulcre betwene the quere and our Lady Chapelle of the same churche. And after my body be buried, thanne I wolle, that, first and formest and before all other thyngs, after the funerale costes and expenses be doone for me at my buriyng and at my monethes mynde, that my dettes and dieutees, the which I owe to eny persone or persones of right or of conscience, be wele and triuely paide or sette in a sure way so to be paied. And after that doone, thanne I wolle, that alle my goodes, cattals, and detts, what so euer they be, be euenly deuyded by myne executours by thadyse of their ouerseers, and departed into iij. egalle partes, wherof I bequethe oone egall part vnto Emme my wife, Wife. she to haue it for hir part to her bilongyng of my goodes, catals, and dettes after the custume of the citee of London; And for asmoch as my doughters dame Margarete Raleghe and Beatrice Danvers haue had their preferment at their mariages of their porcions to theme belongyng of my goodes, and my sonnes John Verney and Rauf Verney have not hadde their suche preferment, therfor I bequethe to the same John and Rauf the ij^{de} egall Sons. part of my said goodes, catallis, and detts, to be diuided evenly bytwene them; savyng of the same ij^{de} egall part, I wolle, that my said ij. doughters dame Margarete and Beatrice haue to their owne vses of my plate of siluere beyng in the same ij^{de} egalle part, after the common valuyng of plate in London, that is to wite, the said dame Margarete to haue the value of xl. marcs, and the saide Beatrice to haue the value of xx*li*.; And of the same ij^{de} egalle part I wolle, also, that their be saued and reserued to the iij. doughters of the said Beatrice my doughter the value of xx*li*.

And the iij^{de} egall part of my said goodes, catals, and detts I reserue to myne executours here vnderwritene, they to performe and fulfille therwith my legaces here vnderwritene and other charges to be doone for me, that

Legacies to
churches and
religious houses.

is to wite: Firste, I biquethe to the highe aluter of the parisshe chirche of saint Martyn Pomerey aforsaid for my tithes or oblacions witheholdene or forgotene, in discharge of my soule, and for my said sepulture to be hadde in the said place of the said chirche, v. marcs. Item, I biquethe to the reparacione of the body of the same chirche of saint Martyn, and for things necessarie to be prouyded for the same chirche, xlii. Item, I biquethe c. marcs therof to fynde an honest and convenable preest to syng for my soule, and the soules of my fadir and modir, my brothrene, my sustren, my children, and the soules of my speciall frendes Thomas Fauconere, Philipe Fauconere, and John Hertwelle, and for all cristene soules, in the said church of saint Martyn Pomerey, by the space of x. yeres next suyng after my decesse. Item, I biquethe to the oolde werks of the cathedrall chirche of saint Paule of London xxs. Item, I biqueth to every hone of y^e v. orders of Freres in the citee of London and in Flete strete, that is to wite, the Freres prehours Carmes Menours Augustines and Crouched freres, to pray specially for my soule, xxs. Item, I biquethe to the hous of freres at Ailesbury, in the countie of Bucks, they to haue my soule and the other soules aforsaid specially recommended to Almyghty God in their deuoute praiers, lxxvs. viij*d*. Item, I biqueth to the maister and brethren of the hous of saint Thomas Acres in London, they to syng placebo dirige and masse of requiem by note for me in their owne chirche, xls. Item, I biquethe to be distributed among the poure people of the parisshe of saint Martyn Pomerey aforsaide at diuerse tymes, as [to] myne executours here vndre writene shall seme expedient and nedefull to be doone by their discrecions, xli. Item, I biqueth to euery hous of Lazars aboute the citee of London, xs.

Prisons.

Item, I biqueth xls. to be bestowed and distributed after my decesse in holsom metes and drinkes conuenient for pouere prisoners, and to be distributed among the pouer and nedey prisoners in the prison of Newgate of London, at diuerse tymes after the discrecions of myne executours. Item, I biqueth xls. to be bestowed and distributed under like forme among the pouer and nedey prisoners in the prison of Ludgate of London. Item, I biqueth xls. to be bestowed and distributed vnder like forme among the pouer and nedey prisoners in the Kynges Benche of Southewerk. Item, I biquethe xxs. to be bestowed and distributed among the pouer and nedey prisoners in the prison of the Marshalsey in Southewerk. Item, I biquethe xxs. to be bestowed and distributed vnder like forme among the pouer and nedey prisoners

in the prisone of the Flete beside Fletestrete. Item, I biqueth *xxs.* to be bestowed and distributed vnder like forme among the pouere and nedy prisoners in the convict prison of thabbat of Westminster. Item, I biqueth *xxs.* to be bestowed and distributed amonge the pouere and nedy prisoners in the Comptour of the Pultrey, and other *xxs.* for like prisoners in the Comptour of Brethestrete of London.

Item, I biqueath to the priour and couent of Chatrehous beside Shene in Charter-houses. the countee of Surrey, to pray specially for my soule and the soules aforsaid, *cs.* Item, I biquethe to the priour and couent of the Chatrehous beside Londone, to pray specially for my soule and the soules aforsaid, *xls.* Item, [I] biquethe to the reparacion of the chirche of Flete Merstone, in the Fleet Marston. countee of Bucks, and for ornamentes, thinges, and necessaries to be pro- uoyded for the same chirch, *cs.* Item, I biquethe to be distributed among the pouere people of the same toune, and to the amendyng of the high weyes of the same town, *x. marcs.* Item, I biquethe to the hous of the Freres Menours in the town of Northampton, for to haue a frere of the Northampton. same hous to say his diuine seruice and masse in their chirche there, and to pray for my soule and the soules of myne aunte dame Alice Reynes, and of her husband John Cristemasse, and of all my goode-doers, for a certayne seasoene conuenable after the discrecion of myne executours, *x. marcs.* Item, I biquethe to thamending and repairing of foule and ruynous weies which can be thought by the discrecions of myne executours to be moost noyous about the citee of London, *xxli.* Item, I biquethe to the reparacione and amendyng of noyous and ruynous weyes nere aboute Aylesbury and Flete Amendment of roads. Merston, to be doone by the discrecions of myne executours, *xli.* Item, I biquethe to the comone box of my felishipe of the mercerye of Londone, Mercers' com-pany. toward the charges of the same felawshipe, *xx. marcs.* Item, I biquethe to my cousyne Johanne Raleghe, the doughtere of sir Edward Raleghe knyghte, Grand-daugh-ter. and of my doughter dame Margarete his wife, to hir mariage, *c. marcs.* Item, I biquethe to John Pykyng, my wifes sone, Wife's son *c. marcs.*, that is to wite, *l. marcs.* therof to be in full recompense and playne satisfaccion of alle his part to hyme belongyng of the houshold whiche was of his faders, and the othere *l. marcs.* I biquethe vnto hyme for the goode wille, love, and fauour the which I bere towards hym for my said wife his modir sake, And if the said Johne wille refuse to haue and take the said *l. marcs.* parcell of the said *c. marcs.*, as in fulle recompense and playne satisfaccion of his said part of

his saide fadres houshold, thanne I woll that my said biquet to hyme maade of c. marcs be voide and of noone effect ; And thanne I wolle that the same John haue of my goods no more thene the lawe wulle geve hyme.

Servants.

Item, I biquethe to John Peper, my seruaunt, *xli*. Item, I biqueth to Elizabeth Botelere, my seruaunt, *xxs*. Item, I biqueth to Alice Wetherhede, my long-continued seruaunt, *xls*. Item, I biquethe to Anneys Coxtone *xxvjs. viijd*. Item, I biquethe to Johann Lapwynk, my seruaunt, *xxs*. Item, I biquethe to . . . Raleghe, brother to the said Sir Edward Raleghe knyght, *cs*. Item, I biquethe to Richard Hertwell, my seruaunt, *cs*. Item, I biquethe to Robert Pynchebek, my wifes cosyne, *cs*. Item, I biquethe to William Rede, my seruaunt, *xls*. Item, I biquethe to William Edy, my seruaunt of long time, *liijs. iiijd*. Item, I biquethe to Marmaduke, my seruaunt, *xls*. Item, I biqueth to Seth Athercliff, my seruaunt, *xls*. Item, I biquethe to John Siluester, my seruaunt, *xxs*. Item, I biquethe to John, my cooke, *xxs*. Item, I biquethe to Milis Cook, *xs*. Item, I biquethe to John White, *xs*. Item, I biquethe to John Jakke, child of my kichen, *xs*. Item, I biquethe to John Burdigan, of my kychen, *xs*. Item, I biquethe to Richard Barton, my seruaunt, *xs*. Item, I biquethe to Thomas Goold, *xxs*. Item, I biquethe to Robert Brouderere, late my seruaunt, *xxs*. Item, I biquethe to my trewe louer John Brown, alderman of London, he to be oone of the overseers of this my present testament and to haue a remembraunce vpon my soule, oone of my cuppes couered of siluere gilt. Item, I biquethe to myne othere trewe louere Thomas Beleter, mercere of London, vnder semblable forme, oone othere of my cuppes couered of siluer gilt.

True lovers.

And the residue of the said *iiij^{de}* egalle part reserued to my said executours vnder the forme aforsaid, ouer my said legaces therof perfourmed, and ouer alle other charges borne and doone for me or for my cause that owene so to be borne and doone, I wol and biquethe to be disposed by myne executours for my soule, and for alle cristene soules, in goode dedes and werks of charite and pitee, suche as they by their discrecions hoope best to please God withalle, and moost to profite vnto the helthe of my soule. And of this my present testament I make and ordeyne myne executours Emme my welbeloued wife, Johne Verney, Rauf Verney, my sones, and Henre Danvers, mercere of Londone, requiring and charging alle my said executours that noone of them of presumpcion or of singulere wille take vpon hyme to do or execute eny part of this present testament or eny other thing concern-

Executors.

yng the execucione of the same without the wille and hole assent of them alle, for my full wille is that they alle of oone wille and of oone assent and aggrement shulle werke and doo alle maner things concernyng this my present testament and the execucione of the same in alle degrees as they hope best to please God for the helthe of my soule. And their ouerseers I Overseers. make and ordeyne my said trieu louers Johne Broune, alderman, and Thomas Beletere, mercers of Londone. And alle other testaments maade of my moueable goodes, catalis, and detts afore the day and yere aboue rehersed, I vtterly reuoke, adnulle, and wille to be cancelled and voide, and noone othere but oonly this to stand in any strengthe or effect, thanne there beyng present maister Richard Rede parson of Saint Martyn aforeseid, sir William Barbour preest, and other.

Proved before the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth 25th June, 1478, by Emme the widow and John Verney and Ralph Verney the sons.

In the generation of the Verney family subsequent to that of sir Ralph the Lord Mayor our attention—after the recovery of the Whittingham estates—is not so much attracted to the lineal heir, sir John Verney, as to his younger brother THE SECOND SIR RALPH. His life is indeed an episode in the history of the main branch of the Verneys, but it had a very momentous bearing on the future fortunes of the whole family. We have seen how their importance was increased by a concurrence, in the person of the first sir Ralph, of the two-fold advantages of successful commerce and fortunate political partisanship; in the life of the second sir Ralph we are called upon to observe the turn which was given to the fortunes of the family by a younger son who passed his life at court—“a pasture,” as Fuller has remarked, “wherein elder brothers are observed to grow lean and younger brothers fat.” Our first trace of this gentleman is under the date of the 4th November, 1485, when the parkership of Bekkeley park in Oxfordshire, and the offices of feodary and bailiff of the duchy of Lancaster, in the counties of Bedford and Buckingham, were granted to him by the description of “Ralph Verney, squier.” The connection of his deceased father with the city of Lon-

The second SIR
RALPH VERNEY,
A. D. 1485.

don renders it probable that two years afterwards he was one of the two "esquiers of honor" who are mentioned in the following passage of a contemporary account of the coronation procession of queen Elizabeth of York. It is under the date of 24th November, 1487. After enumerating various persons of distinction who played their parts on that grand occasion, the writer proceeds thus: "The mayor of London and the two esquiers of honor, that is to say, Nicholas Gaynysford* and Verney, well horsed, in gowns of crimson velvet, having mantles of ermine, rode next before them, with two latkins† bawdricks' wise, and, on their heads, hats of red cloth of gold ermines, the beaks forward."‡

Marries Eleanor
dau. of sir
Geoffrey Pole.

Lady Verney in
the household
of Elizabeth of
York.

In 1502 we find that since 1487 the Lord Mayor's "esquire" had been knighted and married—married to a lady of distinguished connection, related to the royal family, and occupying the position of one of the ladies in waiting in the household of queen Elizabeth of York. This marriage made a courtier of sir Ralph. His wife, Eleanor Pole, was daughter of sir Geoffrey Pole, K.G., and Edith his wife, who was a daughter of Oliver St. John and Margaret Beauchamp of Bletsoe. After the death of Oliver St. John, Margaret married secondly John duke of Somerset, and by that marriage was mother of Margaret countess of Richmond, mother of king Henry VII. Lady Verney was also sister to sir Richard Pole, chief gentleman of the bedchamber to prince Arthur and K.G., who married the lady Margaret Plantagenet, daughter of George duke of Clarence, brother of king Edward IV. This was the unhappy lady who, under the title of countess of Salisbury, was barbarously sacrificed to the tyrannical jealousy of Henry VIII. Cardinal Pole was one of her sons by sir Richard Pole, and was consequently a nephew of lady Verney.

The near affinity between lady Verney and Henry VII. (which will appear more plainly in the pedigree which is printed in the note

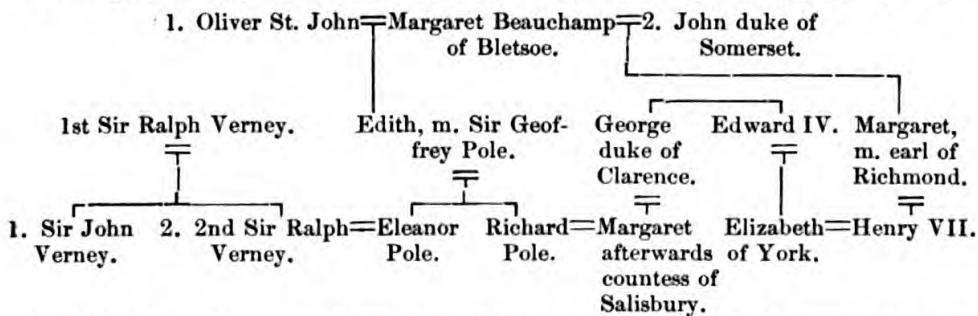
* Manning and Bray's Surrey, ii. 511 ; Lysons's Environs, i. 95.

† I am unable to explain this word. It is here printed as it stands in the MS., Julius B. xii. fo. 34. Hearne printed it "latkies." ‡ Leland's Collect. iv. 220.

below*) sufficiently accounts for the position of lady Verney in the queen's household. Her marriage with sir Ralph Verney brought his family into a similar household connection with the royal family, and greatly influenced its subsequent fortunes. The household accounts of queen Elizabeth of York clearly exhibit the position of lady Verney during the brief period in 1502 and the subsequent year to which those accounts relate.† She was then in receipt of a salary from the queen of 20*l.* per annum, and in constant and familiar association with her majesty. The first entry which relates to lady Verney informs us of the repayment of 20*s.* lent by lady Verney to her majesty upon some sudden exigency; we subsequently find lady Verney advancing 3*s.* 4*d.* for her majesty's alms to a poor person; paying a like sum to the ferryman at Datchet when the queen crossed the Thames; giving, by the queen's direction, twice as much as a gratuity to an old servant of her majesty's father; and replenishing her majesty's purse with 17*s.* upon St. Peter's eve, a time anciently distinguished by the lighting of bonfires, a muster of the watch, and universal rejoicing, and when, as an old poet quoted by Brand informs us,

Goodly buildings, that till then did hide
Their rich array, opened their windows wide;

* Pedigree shewing the connection between the Verney family and king Henry VII.



† Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York, edit. Nicolas. Lond. 1830. In addition to the items relating to lady Verney referred to in the Index at p. 228, a notice there omitted to be mentioned will be found at p. 54.

Where kings, great peers, and many a noble dame,
Whose bright, pearl-glittering robes did mock the flame
Of the night's burning lights, did sit to see.*

On subsequent occasions lady Verney paid on her majesty's account to Robert Fyll, the king's painter, in reward, 3*s.* 4*d.*, and 10*s.* to John Reynold, another similar artist, "for making (that is, painting) of divers beasts and other pleasures for the queen at Windsor;" 20*d.* to a servant of William Bulstrowde, who brought a present of cherries to her majesty as she passed through Wycombe; and for her majesty's offering at the altar of St. Frideswide at Oxford, and for lady Verney's offering at the same time and place by her majesty's command, the sum of 20*d.* each. These offerings were made on the queen's progress into Wales in the summer of 1502. Subsequent items are equally illustrative of the manners of the time and of lady Verney's position. Her hand is twice the medium through which the queen's treasurer supplied her majesty's purse, on the approach of occasions of expected liberality, with as much as 40*s.* Lady Verney pays to "Carvenelle for his costs riding to the princess" (thought to be Katharine of Arragon, then widow of prince Arthur), 5*s.*; and to Robert Ragdale "for making and lining of a kirtle and other gear," 2*s.*; by the queen's commandment she at one time gives in reward to Victor Courteney, late page of the queen's chamber, 6*s.* 8*d.*; and at another time to a servant of the bishop of Carlisle, who brought a new year's gift to the queen, 26*s.* 8*d.*; and pays 4*d.* a day for 125 days for the keep of the horse of Margaret Yone, a servant of the queen's household, probably in special attendance upon lady Verney during the queen's summer progress.

One entry in the accounts leads to the inference that sir Ralph was also present on that same progress, and perhaps even at that time held some office in the queen's household. When the queen on

* Ellis's Brand, edit. 1841, vol. i. p. 169. Henry VIII. and Katharine of Arragon rode through the streets of London on one occasion to witness the city carnival on St. Peter's eve. It was also one of the sights exhibited to the king of Denmark on his visit to England in 1524. Ibid.

her return out of Wales slept a night at the old royal castle of Langley in Oxfordshire, sir Ralph was there, and gave 20*d.* in reward to "a man" that brought the queen a buck. But the first office which sir Ralph unquestionably filled was that of chamberlain to the princess Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry VII., born on the 29th November, 1489. This was but a brief appointment. The English household of that princess, and consequently sir Ralph's office, were brought to an end by her early marriage. On the 25th January, 1502, sir Ralph was present in the chapel of the palace of Richmond, when his youthful mistress was solemnly betrothed to James IV. of Scotland, and in the middle of the year following he accompanied her into the country of her adoption, and beheld the magnificent ceremonies of her marriage and coronation. The brilliant progress which Margaret made through England on her departure, and the quaint observances which attended her reception into Scotland, are described with amusing precision by Mr. John Yonge, the attendant English herald. The dresses, the viands, the innumerable pageants and amusements of every kind devised to welcome the youthful queen are registered with official minuteness. Even the many kisses with which the warm-hearted sovereign received his impetuous bride—a true sister of Henry VIII.—are all minutely chronicled. An air of pathos is unwittingly thrown over the whole narrative by an enumeration of the kindly familiarities which the Scottish sovereign received from the earl of Surrey—the very man who a few years afterwards led against him the English army on the field of Flodden. In all these ceremonies sir Ralph Verney was not merely a witness, but an actor. "With the said queen," says the very methodical Somerset Herald, "was deputed sir Ralph Verney her chamberlain, the which well and nobly exercised his office in the said voyage." Sir Ralph was indeed not only the queen's chamberlain, but the chief of three English commissioners appointed to receive the ratification of Margaret's dower. In that last capacity he was present at a meeting of the Scottish parliament in which the king's engagement with his bride and her father were solemnly confirmed by the estates of the

Sir Ralph chamberlain to princess Margaret, married to James IV. of Scotland.

realm. It appears from the herald's narrative that lady Verney accompanied her husband on this mission.

And afterwards
to princess Mary,
married to Louis
XII. of France.

On sir Ralph Verney's return from Scotland he was probably immediately appointed to the same office in the household of princess Mary, afterwards queen of France, which he had lately held in that of her sister. In July, 1514, princess Mary, being then about to contract matrimony with Louis XII., assembled various persons of eminence at her residence at Wanstead, and in their presence publicly renounced her previous matrimonial engagement with the prince of Castille. The persons present on this occasion were, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk—the latter of whom was Mary's husband within a few months afterwards—Wolsey, not yet a cardinal, the bishops of Winchester and Durham, the earl of Worcester, and sir Ralph Verney; the last of whom is described as the chief or high chamberlain to the princess.

SIR JOHN VER-
NEY, eldest son
of the first sir
Ralph, A. D.
1478-1509.

Whilst the second sir Ralph was pursuing his course amidst the gaieties of the English court, his elder brother SIR JOHN passed a short and comparatively secluded life in the performance of his duties as the head of his house and the possessor of the united estates of Whittingham and Verney. He and his wife were involved in considerable litigation respecting the forfeited properties of the Whittinghams and Bucklands scattered about in various places; but all this we will pass over, merely inserting one paper which shews the termination of a suit in Chancery respecting the manor of Oche-cote, now Edgecote, in Northamptonshire, which was claimed by sir John Verney and dame Margaret his wife in right of the latter as heir of Richard Buckland her maternal great-grandfather. This paper has not only a local and topographical interest, but is curious as shewing in what way the want of knowledge of the common law in the chancellor was supplied during the time when it was customary for the great seal to be held by an ecclesiastic. After a Chancery suit had proceeded to bill, answer, replication, and rejoinder, it was agreed, with the concurrence of archbishop Morton, the chancellor, that the matter should be referred to the arbitrement of sir Thomas Bryan the

Award as to the
title to the
manor of Edge-
cote, co. North-
ampton.

chief justice of the Common Pleas, sir Guy Fairfax one of the puisne judges of the King's Bench, sir Reginald Bray, and sir Henry Haydon. The arbitrators met at Lambeth in the presence of the chancellor, the parties were heard, the matter was fully considered, and in the end the following award was made, with "the aggrement and assent of the said chaunceler."

To all men to whom this present wrytyng shall comme, Thomas Bryan knyghte, chief justice of the Common Place, sir Guy Fayrefax knyghte, oone of the justices of the Kingis Benche, sir Reynold Bray, and sir Henry Haydon knyghtes, sende gretyng in oure Lord God euerlastyng. And whereas sir John Verney knyght and dame Margarete his wyf byfore this tyme sued a wrytte of *subpena* in the courte of the Chauncery ayenst Thomas Haselwode and Margarete his wyf and John Clarell, of the maner of Ohecote in the counte of Northampton, claymyng the same maner by the reason that the same dame Margarete wyf of the same sir John Verney is aswell heire to Richard Bokelond as to Jane his wyf; and vpon the answere replicacion and reioynder and proves of the said parties in the said courte of Chauncery, dyuers ambyguities and doughtes hange and depende of and vpon the right title and possession of the said maner; for the appeasyng and fynall determinacion whereof the said parties haue compromyttid theyme self to abyde the awarde ordennance and jugement of vs the said arbitratours indifferently chosen bytwene the said parties. And we the abouenamyd sir Thomas Bryan, sir Guy Fayrefax, sir Reynold Bray, and sir Henry Haydon, takyng vpon vs by reason of the said submyssion the charge of arbitrement awarde and jugement of and vpon the premysses bytwene the said parties, and all the evidences titles and proves of either of the said parties byfore vs ripely harde vnderstoude and by good deliberacion examyned, whervpon, and by thassente and aggrement of either of the said parties atte Lamehithe, in the presens of the moost reuerent fader in God John by the grace of God archebisshop of Caunterbury prymate of all Englond and chaunceler of the same, we the said arbittours, by the aggrement and assent of the said chaunceler, awarde ordeyne and deme, of and vpon the right title and possession of the said maner bytwene the said parties in maner and fourme folowyng, that is to sey: That the said sir John Verney and dame Margarete his wyf and oone Richard Whytyngham

shall release by fyne to John Danvers, Richard Emson, Thomas Andrewe the yonger, Thomas Parmenter clerk, and to the heires of the said Thomas Parmenter, all suche right title and interest as the said sir John Verney dame Margerete his wyf and Richard Whytyngham or any of them haue in the said maner, with the appurtenaunces, with a clause of warranty of the said dame Margarete Verney and her heires ayenst John abbot of the monastery of seint Petre of Westmynster and his successours, byfore the xv^{sim} of the Natiuite of seint John Baptist next folowyng; and also, that the said sir John Verney and Richard Whytyngham shall by their seuerall dedis enrolled in the kynges courte of his Chauncery release all the right that they or any of theyme haue in the said maner to the said John Danvers, Richard Emson, Thomas Andrewe, Thomas Parmenter, and to the heires of the said Thomas Parmenter, with seuerall clauses of warrantes in the same dedis, that is to sey, in the dede of the said sir John Verney the warrantes of hym and of his heires, and in the dede of the said Richard Whytyngham the warrantye of hym and his heires, ayenst the forsaid abbot and his successours; and thise dedis to be made sealid and enrollid by the fest of seint Laurence next commyng, and the said releasis by fyne to be levied, and the said dedis of release to be made and enrollid, in maner and fourme as is aforesaid, atte the costs and chargis of the said Thomas Hasilwode. And for the said fyne to be lifte, and the said relissis to be made and enrollid, in maner and fourme as is abouesaid, We the said arbitratours awarde and deme, that the said Thomas Hasilwode shall pay or cause to be paid to the said sir John Verney or his executours iii. c. markes of lawful money of Englund, in the maner and fourme folowyng, that is to sey, an c. markes within viij. days after this oure awarde made, and an c. markes atte the feest of Estre next folowyng the tyme of this oure awarde or within xv. days than next folowyng aftir the same feest, an c. markes residue of the said ccc. markes atte the feest of Estre than next folowyng or within xv. days than next folowing aftir the same fest; and for the payment of cc. markes therof the said Thomas Hasilwode shall fynde suche surete as by vs the aboue namyd arbitratours shall be thought sufficient for the payment therof. In wittenesse wherof to euery parte of this oure presente awarde indentid we the said arbitratours haue put to oure sealls. Yeven the ixth day of the moneth of Juyll in the vijth yere of the regne of kyng Henry the vijth [A. D. 1492].

Sir John Verney was present at the coronation of Elizabeth of York,* but that is the only time when he seems to have mingled in those high ceremonies in which his brother's life was passed. Our other traces of him are in the performance of the customary duties of a country gentleman; at one time acting as a commissioner to levy an aid in Buckinghamshire,† at another time summoned to follow the king in his expedition to Britany,‡ and again, serving sheriff for Bucks and Beds, and afterwards for Hertford and Essex.§ This last office he held in 1499. He established his residence at Penley Hall, the seat acquired by the Whittinghams from the Agnells, which he probably rebuilt at an expense which he did not live long enough to discharge.|| Claydon remained still tenanted by the Giffards, whose lease he renewed to Roger Giffard esquire, on the 25th April, 1505, for the term of eighty years, at the annual rental of 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* with an important exception of the profits arising from the wood.¶ This renewal was the last act of his life of which we have any knowledge. He died on the 31st August following, at the age of 55.** As he had succeeded to the estates of the Whittinghams, so did he to their predilection in favour of a burying place. At a short distance from Penley stood the convent or college of Ashridge, a noble pile of royal foundation, situate in a beautiful country, and enriched with many treasures both of wealth and of superstition. Within these sacred walls the Whittinghams had chosen a place of interment. The first sir Robert Whittingham was buried there. The second sir Robert designed to share his father's resting-place, but the chances of the times gave him a grave on the field of Tewkesbury. At Ashridge sir John Verney found his final earthly resting-place, with little anticipation on the part of those who conveyed him thither of the mighty

Death and interment of Sir John Verney.

* Leland's Collect. iv. 231.

† Rot. Parl. vi. 537.

‡ Fœd. xii. 356.

§ Fuller's Worthies, i. 366.

|| There is a view of the old manor house of Penley in Chauncy's Hist. of Hertfordshire, p. 594. It would seem to have been a building partly of the age of Edward III. but greatly altered about the time of Henry VII. Its wreck is now occupied by farm labourers, and an old chimney-piece is all that remains of its ancient state.

¶ Verney MS. ** Inq. post mortem, 18 Edw. IV. no. 28, and 21 Henry VII. no. 20.

events which were so soon to change the character of the house of *Bons hommes*, and to disturb the quiet even of its graves.

No will of sir John Verney has been found; * nor any inquisition *post mortem* in Bucks. The inquisition held in Hertfordshire recites that he and Margaret his wife were seised in her right of the old Whittingham estates of Penley and its adjuncts, and that she remained in possession of them after his death. In Buckinghamshire there is no doubt that sir John possessed in his own right his father's manor and lands at Fleet Marston and his estates at Aylesbury and Bierton. Some portion of the Whittingham property in London had been sold by sir John and his wife; amongst other things the advowson of the church of St. Stephen Walbrook, which was purchased by the Whittinghams, as Stowe tells us, in 1432. It was conveyed on the 19th December, 1501, together with "the great messuage in the parish of St. Peter the Poor in Broad Street ward, wherein William FitzWilliams, taylor, dwelleth," to John Wyngar, alderman, William Stede, John Peynter, and Thomas Morys, citizens and grocers, for 325 marks.

St. Stephen
Walbrook.

Death and will
of sir John Ver-
ney's widow,
Margaret, the
heiress of the
Whittinghams.

The unsold portion of the Whittingham estates survived to sir John Verney's widow, but she held them only for a brief period. On the 3rd April, 1509, she made her will, and on the 21st of the same month it was proved. We print it as a memorial of the times, and as an historical record which justifies many departures from all the published pedigrees of the Verney family. It will be found that the testatrix desires to be buried by the side of her hus-

* During the continuance of the present system of management at the Prerogative Office in Doctors' Commons the slightest item of information respecting the old wills in the keeping of the registrars is valuable. On this account, and also because it may save some future inquirer trouble, I mention that the will of John Verney proved in 1508 is not the will of sir John Verney, nor of any member of this family. It is the will of a John Verney of Somersetshire or Dorsetshire, I forget which, and, contrary to the practice in all other record offices, no one who searches in that office is allowed to take notes. The testator is merely described as "John Verney esquire." In the course of researches in connection with my present subject I have been frequently stopped by the barrier which the regulations of the record office at Doctors' Commons oppose to all literary inquirers. To the best of my knowledge and belief, that office is the only depository of historical documents—I had almost said the only office of any kind in the kingdom—in which there is no feeling whatever in favour of literature and historical inquiry.

band at the favourite Ashridge. Several of her legacies indicate the nature of the bequests which it was usual to make to persons who were otherwise provided for. To her son-in-law Edward afterwards sir Edward Chamberlaine, and her daughter Cecilia his wife, she bequeaths merely a feather bed and bolster, a pair of blankets, and a hanging, that is, a piece of tapestry, for a chamber; and to her daughter Anne Dame a black damask kirtle, and a black cloth gown, purfilled, that is, edged or bordered, with tawny velvet. Her sons come in for her valuable manors and lordships, and minute directions are given, with true heiress-like particularity, for the descent of an unrecovered portion of the Whittingham estates in case the same should be ultimately regained. Her husband's brother, the courtier sir Ralph, is appointed her sole executor, and the undisposed portion of her personalty is bequeathed to him, to be applied to such uses as he should think most expedient for the weal of her soul and the souls of all her friends.

IN DEI NOMINE, AMEN. Therd day off Aprell the yer of our Lord Jh'u Crist a Mⁱ ccccc and ix. I *Margaret Verney* maike my testament and last wyll in hole mynd and good memory, in maner and forme here folowing. Fyrst, I beqweth my soule to all myghtty Gode, to our Lady Saint Mare, and all the holy cumpany of heven, and my body to be beried within the colege church off Ashruge, by the body off my husband syr John Verney knyght. Also I beqweth to *my sone Edwarde Chamberlayn* and *my doughter Cecile his wyffe* on faderbed, on bolster, on payre off blanketts, and a hanging for a chamber, as shalbe thought convenyent by my executor and broder sir Rauffe Verney. Also I beqweth to my daughter *Anne Dame* on kyrtyll off blake damaske and on gowne of blake cloth purfeld with tawney veluet. Also I wyll and straytly charge that all the reveueus and rents arising off *my manors* and lordships of *Danton and Stone* be resseyved by the hands of my executor yerly, to suche tyme as he have fully content and paid my dettes, which dettes perticulerly ben wretyn in a byll to this my present and last wyll annexid, and thos dettes so well and trewly content and paid, than I wyll, that *my sonne Rauff Verney* have the same maners and lordshippys of Danton and Stone with the apportenautes to his owne proper evre and behoffe. Also I wyll that *my sonne John Verney* have for terme off lyffe *my maner* and lordship *callyd Comptons with a cloce callyd Ful-*

Will of dame Margaret Verney, widow of sir John Verney.

Burial.

Daughter Cecilia Chamberlain.

Daughter Anne Dame.

Son Ralph.

Son John.

rydey with the appertenantes, and after dethe of my said sonne John Verney, I wyll that the said manore and lordship callyd Comptons with the said cloce callyd Fulrydey with ther apportenaunce holly remayne and *revert to my sonne Rauffe* and his heyres. And yff it so fortune that my sonnys Rauff and John herafter may recover the *maner of Mawdelens in the counte of Hertford*, than I wyll that my sonne *John Verney* have the same manore of Mawdelens so recovered to hym and to the heyres off his body lafully begotyn, and for default of yssew off his body lafully begotyn, then the same maner with the apportenauncis holly to remayne to my sonne Rauffe and his heyris. And as sone as my said sone John shalbe seasid and full possessed of the same manor of Mawdelins, in maner and forme as it is above specyfyed, than the astate for terme off lyfe that he shall have in the lordship of Comptons and Fulrydey sece and off none effecte, but the same holy reverte unto my said sonne Rauffe and to his heyres. Also I wyll that *my sonne Robert Verney* have for terme off his lyffe my *manor and lordship of Benstrevs in the countie of Hertford*, and my *manor and lordship off Penre in the counte of Buckingham** with the appertenaunce ; and after the lyffe and dessece off the said Robert, I will that all the forsaid lordships with ther appurtenaunces holly revert and remayne *to my sonne Rauffe Verney* and to his heyres. Also I wyll and beqweth *all my other lands*, manors, lordshipps, and tenaments in this my present wyll not specyfyed, after my dessece thay to remayne holly *to my said sonne Rauffe* and to his heyres, *except the two closys within my manor off Salden* whiche I kepe now in my hands, which two closys I wyll that my sonne *John Verney* have for terme off thre yeris without any thyng paynge for them, and after the end of the iij. yeris I wyll he pay to his broder Rauffe yerly the rent before accustomed. Also I beqweth to my said sone *John Verney* all my horses, oxon, shepe, and the other catell that I have within the same maner and lordship of Salden. The *resydew* of all my goodds and catall not specified in this my last wyle and testament, my dettes and beqwest fully content and paid, I wyll and beqweth *to my broder sir Rauffe Verney knyght*, whom I make and ordane my executor off this my last wyll, he to dysposse for the well off my soule and all my frynds soulls as he shall thynke most expedient. Wytnes yan beyng present sir Rauffe Verney knyght, the parsone off Alburye, and master John Hatton prest, with oder mo.

Son Robert.

Executor.

* Penley or Pendley, for which this seems intended, although on the border of the county, is really in Hertfordshire.

Hereafter followyth certen detts due unto dyvers persons whos names hereafter folowyth by dame Margerett Verney wedewe, late wyfe to sir John Verney knyght.

In primis to sir Edward Rawley* *li.*
 Item, to sir Rauff Verney † *xli.*
 Item, to Hugh Duke *xxli.*
 Item, to Shore ‡ *xviijli.*
 Item, the lady Colett § claymeth . *xxxvjl.*
 Item, to Ric. Sutton *xli.*
 Item, to John Blakett *iiijli.*
 Item, Wryght claymyth *xxli.*

Proved on 21st April, 1509, before the Reverend Richard Harwardyn, commissary of William bishop of Lincoln, at the parish church of Wondon, in the diocese of Lincoln, by sir Ralph Verney, the executor.

The children of sir John Verney and Margaret were, three sons, 1, Ralph; 2, John; 3, Robert; and two daughters, 1, Cecilia, married to sir Edward Chamberlaine; and 2, Anne, married to a person named Dame. The particulars which we have been able to glean of any of them, except the eldest son, are mentioned in the prefixed pedigree. A few words comprise all that has been found of the history of Ralph, or, as he was termed after his knighthood, SIR RALPH "THE YOUNGER," to distinguish him from his uncle sir Ralph the courtier, who was his godfather and friend through life, and also his survivor. The third sir Ralph continued to occupy Penley, but was drawn, probably by the influence of his uncle, a little closer to the court than his father had ever been. In 1511 he served sheriff for the joint counties of Bucks and Bedford, and again in 1524. In 1525 he was one of that goodly band of knights—the representatives of English chivalry—who attended queen Katherine to the

Family of sir John Verney and Margaret.

THE THIRD SIR RALPH VERNEY.

* Husband of sir John Verney's sister Margaret.

† The second sir Ralph.

‡ Possibly the husband of the Nell Gwynne of Edward IV., or more probably Richard Shore, draper, who was sheriff of London in 1505.

§ Christian wife of sir Henry Colet, lord mayor of London, and mother of Dr. John Colet, dean of St. Paul's, and founder of St. Paul's school.

- His marriages. Field of the Cloth of Gold. He was three times married. His first wife was Margery, second daughter and one of the three co-heiresses of John Iwardby of Quainton, in the county of Bucks. This marriage brought into the family of the Verneys the manor of Quainton with lands at Swanbourne and Great Missenden, both in the same county.* In the selection of his second wife we probably trace the influence of his courtier uncle. She was Anne, daughter of Edmund Weston of Boston, in the county of Lincoln, sister of Richard, afterwards sir Richard, Weston, of Sutton, in the county of Surrey, father of the unhappy sir Francis Weston, who suffered death for treasonable adultery with Anne Boleyn in 1536. Anne Weston and her brother Richard were both in the household of Elizabeth of York, queen of Henry VII. at the same time as lady Eleanor Verney. After the death of queen Elizabeth of York, Anne Weston entered into the service of Katherine of Arragon, and remained there until 1511, when she was married to sir Ralph Verney. Queen Katherine gave her a marriage portion of 200 marks, and also procured for her a grant of the custody of the lands and person of John Ganers, either a minor or a lunatic. By a settlement dated the 20th October, 3rd Henry VIII. A. D. 1511, a jointure of 200 marks per annum was secured to her by her intended husband. This marriage constituted another link between the Verneys and the court. All sir Ralph's principal friends are henceforth persons holding offices in the royal household, and for several subsequent generations one or more of his direct descendants held similar appointments. Sir Ralph married thirdly Elizabeth, widow of John Breton, who was sheriff of London in 1521.

3. Breton. Death overtook the third sir Ralph very unexpectedly. He was serving sheriff of Bucks and Beds for the second time when we find that on the 8th May, 1525, he suddenly makes his will, in evident anticipation of his speedy decease, and dies the same day. In

Will and death of the third sir Ralph Verney.

* John Iwardby left three daughters: 1, Elizabeth, married first to William Elmes, and secondly to Thomas Pygott; 2, Margery, who was married to the third sir Ralph Verney; and 3, Elena, married first to William Cutlard, serjeant-at-law, and secondly to Thomas Clyfford, gent. Harl. MS. 756, fo. 18.

this eleventh-hour will he is still styled sir Ralph Verney the younger, his uncle, the courtier sir Ralph, being still living. Many of his legacies are characteristic of the period and of the man. The religious commencement breathes the full spirit of ante-reformation doctrine. All his children were under age, and he makes many provisions for their protection during their minorities. He gives to each of his daughters a marriage portion of 500 marks, with a proviso for its reduction in the case of any of them who will not be advised or ruled "in the preferment of her marriage" by his executors and supervisors. He gives to his surviving third wife all his goods moveable in London, with an exception which includes the gowns* of dame Anne his second wife. These relics of her magnificence and attendance at court are directed to be made into priestly vestments, and to be given to churches, at the discretion of his executors. To the church of Tring he leaves, for tithes forgotten, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and a like sum towards the reparation of the church of Albury. His own black gown of satin, furred with marternes, he wishes should be given to his uncle the courtier, sir Ralph Verney the elder; and his gown of tawny velvet, the forepart lined with damask, to his cousin John Verney, the only son of sir Ralph the elder. At the conclusion of the legacies, as if it were the result of a suggestion insinuated into the testator's dying ear, perhaps by the will-writer, there stands, "I give to sir Thomas, chantry-priest of Albury, to pray for my soul, 20*s.*" The executors of his will were, his brother-in-law sir Richard Weston, John Cheyne esquire, his cousin John Verney, and his brother Robert, "whom," he says, "I specially trust above all other mine exectors;" his cousin Paul Darrell, lord Brudenell, and his uncle sir Ralph, were appointed overseers. Sir Ralph was buried with his father and mother at Ashridge.

* If we may judge from various items in the Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York, the court-gowns of that period must have been articles of a very tremendous character. Witness the following among many entries which all tell the same tale: "Item, the xxiiijth day of July to Richard Justice, page of the robys, for his costes going from Richmount to London for a gowne of cloth of gold furred with pawmpilyon ayenst Corpus Xp'i day, by

In the name of God and our blissid Lady and all the holly company of heven, amen. I *sir Rauf Verney the younger knight*, sonne and heire of sir John Verney knight, in hole and in good stedfaste mynde, make and ordeyne my testament and last wille the viijth daye of May the xvij. yere of the reigne of our soveraigne lord king Henry the viijth and the yere of our Lorde God a M^lv^c and xxv in manner folowing. First, I bequethe my soule unto Almighty God, our Ladye sainte Marye, and all saints; my bodye to be buried within the churche of *Assherige*, and to the same hous I give and bequeth twenty marks. *Also* I bequethe for my buriall twenty poundes, and to be delte in almes to poore men after the discrecion of myn executours. *Item*, I bequethe to *my wife* all suche my goodes moveable the whiche I have remayning within the cittie of London or within the subbarbes of the same, the apparrell and ornaments belonging or anny wise pertayning to my ladye, and thapparrell of *dame Anne Verney late my wife*, and my monney only except. *Also* I give and bequeth to *my daughter Elianore* to hir mariage fyve hundred marks sterling; to *my dawghter Katherine* fyve hundred marks sterling; to *my dawghter Anne* fyve hundred marks sterling; all whiche monney shalbe raysid of the profites of all my landes; the landes whiche I have appointed to my wifes joynctour that now is, beinge of the yerely value of one hundred marks, and suche landes whiche I have appointed to *my brother Robert Verney and Avys Belingham wedowe* during their lyves naturall, nothing to be chargeable to the raysyng of the said sommes, nor to the performance of this my last wille.

Also I wille that *my sonne Fraunces*, after my detts and legacies paid, have to him and to his heires males of his bodye laufully begotten, my *mannour of Salden in the countie of Buckingham*, and all my landes in Salden, *my mannour of Muresley*, with all my lands in Muresley, *in the said countie of Bucks*, onlye except and for .*. *And* if it shall fortune my said sonne Fraunces to deceas withoute yssue, that then my said mannour

Will (slightly abridged) of the third sir Ralph Verney, dated 8th May, 1525.

Burial.

Wife.

Daughters, Eleanor, Katherine, and Anne.

Brother Robert.

Son Francis.

the space of twoo days, every day viij*d*.—xvid. Item, for bote hire for the same gowne, xij*d*." (p. 33.) On the following 26th November the same person was paid "for his costes going from Westminster to London in the night for a gowne of blewe velvet for the quene and for his bote hyere, viij*d*. Item, for conveyinge alle the quenes lyned gownys from Westminster to London by water, and for mens labour that bare the same gownys to the water and from the water, *vd*." (p. 68.) There are many other items of the same character.

* A blank left in the original Inspeximus of the probate from which we print.

of Salden, with my landes in Salden, remayn to my right heires. *And* if it shall fortune anny of my said daughters to deceas or that they shalbe maryed, then I will that the monney to hir bequethid be bestowed for the welth of my soule after the discrecion of myn executours. *Item*, if anny of my foresaid daughters wolle not be advisid nor ruled in the preferment of hir mariage by my said executours and supervisoures, then it shalbe at the liberty of my said executours and supervisours to mynishe parte of hir somme bequethid before for hir mariage untill she will be refourmed. *Also* I wille that myn executours take sufficiauntely for fynding of my said children and for their costes in the busynes of the perfourmance of this my last wille.

Item, I give and bequethe to *my brother Robert Verney* for his faithfull and loving service to me doon at all tymes, the scyet and ferme of my *manner of Dynton, in the countie of Bucks*, now being in the tenure of Richard Saunders, of the yerely value of xvj*li.* and also a mease, with all thos landes to the same belonging, now in the tenoure of one Fraunces Lee, in *Bisshopeston, in the countie of Bucks*, of the yerely value of ij*li.* vjs. viij*d.* and a mease, with all those landes to the same belonging, now in the tenoure of oon William Polycote, set and lying in *Westlington, in the said countie of Bucks*, of the yerely value of xx*s.*, to holde to the [*sic*] said brother Robert Verney and to Avys Belingham wydowe during their lyfes naturall, and to the lengest lyver of theim bothe after espowseix had betwene my said brother and the said Aueys, and if my said brother doo not wedde nor take to wife the said Aueys, then I wille the foresaid scyet and ferme immediately after his deceace and this my wille perfourmed do remayne unto my right heires. Brother Robert.

Also I wille that *my cousen Paule Darrell* have yerelye out of my landes and tenements his annuytie of vj*li.* xiijs. iij*d.* untill my next heire come to the fulle age of xxi. yeres, payable to him at the feastes of sainte Mighell tharchaungell and thannunciation of our lady sainte Marye, for keping of my courtes and receyving of my rents, according as was agreed betwene him and me, the rents whiche shalbe my wiefs joynter now except. *Also*, I wille that *my cowsen John Chayney esquier* and my said cowsen Pawle Darrell have their joynt fee of xx*s.* yerely during their naturall lifes and the lengest liver of theim bothe for the keping of my courtes of Pen-deley, Bunstrux, and Muresley. *Also*, wheras my said cowsen Paule Darrell is debutye and undersherif to me concerning my office of Shrif- Provision for keeping courts and receiving rents during minority of his heir. His deputy she-riff.

Legacies.

wike within the counties of Bedford and Bucks, I wille that he be no farther charged in accompte-geving but onlye suche monney whiche shall come to his hands or that he doo levye, and the residew of all his expences concerning the said office I wille that it be borne of my goodes, according to my promise to him made, and for his labour in the same I give him all the profits thereof to me due. *Item*, I give to the *churche of Tringe* for tithes forgotten, *iiijl. vjs. viijd.* *Item*, to the reparacions of the *churche of Albury*, *iiijl. vjs. viijd.* *Item*, I wille that *the gownes of dame Anne Verney* late my wife doo make vestiments to be given to churches according to the discrecion of myn executours. *Item*, that *myn uncle sir Raaf Verney thelder knight* have my blacke gowne of satten furrid with marternes. *Item*, that *my cowsen John Verney* have my gowne of tawny velvit, fore parte lind with damaske. *Item*, that *Richard Verney my servaunte* have the house and lande that he dwellith in during his life naturall for keping of my woddes in Claydon. *Also*, that *Alice Croke* have to hir mariage *vjli. xiijs. iiijd.* *Also* that *Richard Saunders* have his fee of xls. during his life, receyving thissues and profites of *my mannor of Dynton and Stone* and doing his duetye therefore. *Also*, that *Thomas Watts* have the house and land whiche he now dwellith in during his life naturall. *Also* that *William Morrys* have yerely during his life naturall, oute of my landes, *xxs.* *Item* that *Thomas Prymme* have *xiijs. iiijd.* during his naturall life. *Also*, that all my recoverers and feoffees of all my landes within the realme of Englande, excepte the joynter of my wife that now is and the foresaid landes geven to my brother Robert Verney and to Avys Belingham, be seaid to thuse of the levyng of the sommes aforewritten, and the trew paiment of my detts and legacies, and of my fathers detts, and the hole perfourmaunce of this my last wille. *Also*, I wille that all my stuffe of householde belonging to my house of Pendeley be there remayning by thoversight of myn executours to thuse of Raufe Verney my sonne and heire apparaunte, my plate only except. *Also*, that my servauntes have deliverid to theim every man his hole yeres wages. *Also*, that parte of my servauntes have certaine of my geldinges geven them at the discretion of myne executours. *Also*, that *Richard Verney's wife* have a cowe. *Item*, I bequethe to everye one of my servauntes a blacke gowne. *Item*, I give to *Cecill my bastard daughter*, if she be alyve, *vili. xiijs. iiijd.* *Item*, I will that all my recoverers and feoffees suffre myn executours to take thissues of all my manners, excepte

before excepte, to the payment of my detts, legacies, and bequestes, and my fathers detts, and the fulfilling and trew perfourmaunce of this my last wille. *Also*, I will that my brother Robert Verney, whome I specially truste above all other myn executours, have the soole custodye of all my goods, and the receyte of my rent and revenues, to the perfourmance and execution of this my last wille, and also the ordre of my children by thadvise of my supervisors and executours. *Also*, I give to *sir Thomas*, chantry preest of Albery, to pray for my soule, *xxs.* *Also*, I make for myn executours, *sir Richard Weston knight, John Cheyne esquier, my cowsen John Verney, my brother Robert Verney, and my cowsen Paule Darell ; and my lorde Brudenell and my uncle sir Rauf Verney* to be overseers of this my last wille. *Item*, all my other goodes and cattalls not bequethed, my detts, my legacies, and my fathers detts paid, I wille that my said executours doo bestowe for the welth of my soule after their discrecions. These being witnes, Leonard Chamberlayn, Raafe Standeley, Thomas Jones, and James Alatham, with other moo then and there being present.

Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 20th May, 1525.

The will of the third sir Ralph gives us the last glimpse of his courtier uncle. Henry VIII. had before rewarded his faithful service to the late king and queen with the valuable manor of Swarford, in the county of Oxford, formerly part of the possessions of Edmund de la Pole earl of Suffolk. That gift and the legacies and kindly mention of him in the wills of his sister-in-law and his nephew justify a hope that, even to the close of life, he occupied that place in the esteem of his royal master and of the members of his own family which was appropriate to his age and connections. He died on the 6th July, 1528,* and was buried in the church of King's Langley, in the county of Hertford, where he had passed the latter part of his life. At the north-eastern corner of that church, so nicely placed on the brow of the hill overlooking the valley of the Gade, stands an altar-tomb surrounded by heraldic bearings and surmounted by defaced effigies of a knight and lady. This monument has long puzzled antiquaries. The same church contains within the altar-rail

Death of the
second sir
Ralph.

His tomb at
King's Langley.

* Inq. post mortem 20 Hen. VIII. no. 150.

the beautiful tomb of Edmund de Langley, fifth son of Edward III., and Isabel his wife. Piers Gavestone, who was executed nearly a hundred years before the death of Edmund de Langley, is also said to have been buried in the same church. Some confusion arose out of the tradition of the latter circumstance and the resemblance which an uninstructed eye might find between the architectural character of the royal tomb and the memorial of the knight and lady. In that way the latter came to be popularly believed to be a monument to Piers Gavestone. It was so considered for centuries. The heraldry upon it enables us to establish not only that it had nothing to do with Piers Gavestone, but whom it was really designed to commemorate. On the right-hand side of the tomb three coats of arms are carved on shields placed within three architectural compartments, clearly of the age of the sixteenth century. They are all somewhat defaced, but thus far they can be clearly made out. The first shield bears a saltire engrailed; the second, the arms of Verney, with a crescent for a difference, impaling the arms on the first shield; the third shield has the arms of Verney as they stand impaled on the second. The arms on the first and third shields appear also carved on shields at the upper end of the tomb; and those on the second shield are delineated on the surcoat of the recumbent figure of the knight, and also, reversed in order of position, on the magnificent mantle of the lady. It is clear that the arms of Verney with the crescent difference indicate precisely the proper bearing of the second sir Ralph; and the arms of the Poles, as borne by sir Richard Pole, by lord Montague, and by cardinal Pole, were, *Per pale or and sable, a saltire engrailed counterchanged*. We may, therefore, safely conclude, that the tomb in question is that of the second sir Ralph Verney and Eleanor his wife.

Lady Eleanor
Verney.

Their son John
Verney.

Of lady Eleanor, the wife of the second sir Ralph, we have found no trace after the time when she accompanied her husband into Scotland with queen Margaret. Nor have we been able to recover anything more than the faintest glimmering of their only son. In all works of topography and genealogy there is the greatest confusion

respecting the second sir Ralph and his family, arising out of the recurrence of the names Ralph and John in both branches of the family. What we have stated respecting sir Ralph and Eleanor pretty well clears up the difficulties relating to them, and it further appears that they had an only child, a son named John, no doubt after his paternal uncle. This John was the "cousin John Verney," mentioned, as we have seen, in the will of the third sir Ralph.

At the death of his father, John Verney was forty years of age.* He had married, and had two children; a son named Robert, who died in his father's lifetime without issue, and a daughter, Mary, who married some one named Reynolds. These seem to have been children by a first wife. John Verney lived at Mortlake in Surrey, and probably held some office in connection with the park at Richmond. He made a will on the 22nd July, 1540, in which he left all his lands and goods to his wife, Dorothy, appointed her also to be sole executrix, "and my good lord of Suffolk's grace to be overseer thereof for her great comforth." † In this will the testator made no mention of his daughter. After his death the daughter contested the validity of the will in the prerogative court of Canterbury. The widow was ordered by the court to produce the witnesses to the will, amongst whom was "syr William Durant, of Mortlake," probably the parish priest. She omitted to do so, alleging that the witnesses were all dead, and by a letter addressed to the judge and subscribed with her hand, which was delivered into court by Louis Reghnelles, the daughter's husband, admitted that it was not in her power to comply with the order of the court. Dr. William Cooke, the custos or commissary of the prerogative court, pronounced judgment, on the 14th March, 1547-8, that John Verney should be taken to have died intestate, and that the administration of his personalty should be committed to his natural and lawful daughter Mary Reynoldes, otherwise Verney.

His will.

Its validity contested.

Will quashed.

* Inq. p. m. 20 Henry VIII. no. 150.

† Decretal copy under the seal of king Edward VI. for the prerogative court, at Claydon.

This is the last trace we have found of the descendants of the second or the courtier sir Ralph.

Property of
which the third
sir Ralph
Verney died
possessed.

Two inquisitions were held on the death of the third sir Ralph, one at Whitchurch, for the county of Bucks, on the 31st August, in the 17th Henry VIII. A.D. 1525, and the other at Hertford, for that county, on the 27th October, in the same year.*

These inquisitions shew him to have died possessed of the manors of Salden, Middle Claydon, Quainton, Compton, Donyngton or Dinton, Stone, and Fleetmarston, in the county of Bucks, and of Penley or Pendley, Bunstrux, and Ricardynes, in the county of Herts, besides various lands in those several places, and also in Wiggington, Tring, and Albury, in Hertfordshire, and in Muresley, Hoggeston, Swanbourne, Blackgrove, Ivinghoe, and many other places in the county of Bucks. He also possessed rights and interests in various parts of the Iwardby estates, in the county of Lincoln. Of these properties the manor of Salden, with the lands at Muresley, part of the old Whittingham estates, descended under sir Ralph's will to his second son Francis. The manors of Dinton and Stone, with other lands, were devised for life to sir Ralph's brother Robert and Avys Bellingham, and certain other lands were in jointure to his widow, but all these were ultimately to revert to sir Ralph's heir. All his other lands descended at once to his eldest son, born of his first wife Margaret Iwardby. For a few particulars of his other children we would refer to the prefixed pedigree.

Its descent.

The fourth SIR
RALPH VERNEY,
A.D. 1509—
1547.

THE FOURTH SIR RALPH was of the age of fifteen years and a half at his father's death. He was not knighted until some years after his attainment of his majority. In the mean time we find that he had taken up his abode at Penley, and had married when about nineteen. The first personal trace of him after his majority occurs on the occasion of an inquiry into the state of repair of the church and mansion-house at Middle Claydon. The chancel and the house had been allowed to fall into ruinous decay. A dispute arose upon

* Inq. post mortem 17 Henry VIII. nos. 74 and 91.

the subject between sir Ralph and his tenant George, afterwards sir George Gyffard, the holder of the lease granted to Roger Gyffard, on the 25th April, 1505.* In the end, George Gyffard agreed that he would pay 200 marks and rebuild both house and chancel, if Ralph Verney would accept a surrender of the existing lease, and grant him a new lease, at the same rent, for 100 years. Ralph Verney scrupled at the terms. He was willing to renew for eighty years, but not for a hundred. The Gyffards insisted upon the longer term. Ralph Verney gave way unwillingly, and remarked, as we find it stated in a MS. of his great-grandson the first lord Fermanagh, "that he would not do it," that is, enlarge the term from eighty to a hundred, "for nothing." "So Mr. Giffard said," the MS. continues, that "he would give him a hunting-horse which he valued at thirty pounds." Perchance the bait had some peculiar temptation for the young heir. He consented. The church was repaired and the house rebuilt, but future events "proved," as lord Fermanagh remarks, and as will be seen hereafter, that the Verneys "paid dear for the hunter." The new lease bore date on the 14th November, 27th Henry VIII. A.D. 1535, which marks the period of the restoration of the present church of Middle Claydon.

He renews the
lease of Claydon
to the Gyffards.

Ralph Verney, the renewer of the Claydon lease, was soon afterwards knighted. His marriage, to which we have before alluded, may be esteemed, in some respects, to have been a fortunate one, but its prospects were curiously chequered. The lady was Elizabeth, one of the six daughters, and for a long time one of the presumptive co-heiresses, of Edmund the first lord Bray, the inheritor of the great wealth granted to his uncle sir Reginald Bray by king

His marriage.

* Roger Gyffard died on the 23rd January, 1542. A brass in Middle Claydon church commemorates this Roger, with his wife, and their family of thirteen sons and seven daughters. A deed of release at Claydon seems to prove that only four of the sons survived until the 8th May, 37th Henry VIII. A.D. 1545. At that time John, Ralph, William, and Nicholas Gyffard released all their interest in the Claydon lease under their father's will to their brother George, in consideration of a payment to them of 300*l.* and of his great expenses in repairs.

Henry VII.* These six ladies were also in the same manner presumptive co-heiresses of Jane lady Bray, their mother, who was an heiress of the name of Halighwell, and, through her mother, heiress also of a family of Norburys. Such a marriage was advantageous to sir Ralph Verney in point of connection, and extremely promising on the score of property. But shortly after the marriage of sir Ralph and Elizabeth, her mother, lady Bray, added a son to her already goodly family of daughters. The boy grew up to manhood. He succeeded his father in 1539, as John second lord Bray, and is described as a youth of great promise, "a paragon in court, and of sweet entertainment."

The hopes of the Verneys of a share in the succession to the estates of the Brays could therefore have been but small for many years.

The marriage of this sir Ralph with a daughter of Edmund lord Bray brought the name of Edmund into favour in the family of Verney. It thenceforth shared their partiality with that of Ralph.

The fourth sir Ralph seems to have suffered from ill health. Besides the influence of this circumstance, he no doubt found in his large family, and probably in the state of health of his eldest son, domestic ties which kept him aloof from the busy world in which so many of his friends and relatives were occupying distinguished stations. It is not stated that he ever even served the office of sheriff, which had fallen as of course on previous occupiers of Penley. In the year 1537 he was one of the gentlemen specially noted as present at the christening of the young prince Edward, afterwards Edward VI.,† in 1539 he was one of the persons appointed to receive Anne of Cleves,‡ and in the autumn of 1543 he was commanded by Henry VIII. to repair to the north in that army under the earl of

Served in the
army against
Scotland in
1543.

* Sir Reginald Bray, K.G. servant of Margaret countess of Richmond, was instrumental, with Morton, afterwards bishop and cardinal, sir John Cheyne, and sir William Sands (the two last friends of the Verneys), in procuring the success of Henry VII. It was sir Reginald Bray who is said to have opportunely found the crown in a bush after the battle of Bosworth.

† Leland's Collect. ii. 676, edit. 1774.

‡ Chron. Calais, 174.

Hertford which inflicted such terrible miseries on unhappy Scotland. As a preparation for his departure on this hazardous expedition, he made his will, on the 13th September, 1543. On the 10th September in the year following he was again at home, but with a sickly, perhaps a wounded frame. On that day he added a codicil to his will, and died on the 26th April, 1546, at the early age of 37. He was buried with his ancestors at Ashridge.

He dies 26th
April, 1546.

His will presents some observable contrasts to that of his father. The Reformation had made progress, but was halting. The testator bequeaths his soul to "Almighty God," his "Saviour and Redeemer," instead of to "Almighty God, our Lady St. Mary, and all saints," but this deviation from the formula adopted by his father is partly counterpoised by the following bequest for private masses:—"I wyll that oon honest prist shall syng for the sowlles of me, my father and mother, and of Rauff Verney, and of Fraunces Verney my daughter, my children, and of all crysten, where it shall please myn executoures, by the space of oon holl yere next ensuyng my decease, he to have for his stypend by the seid yere syx poundes sterlyng, and to fynde hym selff wyne and waye to celebrate withall, and he to sey every Wednysday and Fryday diriche and commendacions for the sowlez abovesaid."

His will.

The testator calculated the clear value of all his manors and lands at 330*l.* per annum, of which lands valued at 47*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* were in reversion. Of certain lands and rents enumerated in his will, and amounting to about one-third of his property, he determined not to make any will. These consequently descended by operation of law to his eldest son. Out of the remaining two-thirds he gave the manors of Donyngton and Quainton, with certain lands and rights in those places, and the advowson of Quainton, to his wife for life "in the name of joyntour;" adding thereto "all his stuff of household at Queynton." The remainder of the two-thirds of his estate he charged with marriage portions for his daughters, provisions for his sons, certain unpaid debts of his father's, and his own debts and

legacies; and subject to these he gave the residue of his lands to his eldest son, and the rest of his chattels to his wife.

His two daughters' portions are fixed at 400 marks a-piece in ready money, and a strong clause, analogous to that in the will of his father, provides that if they are obstinate and wilful, in taking husbands against the will of their mother, or behave improperly in other ways,* their portions should be "rated and apporcioned" by their mother. He leaves to each of his six younger sons lands of the value of 10*l.* per annum for life.

There are two legacies of sheep, one of which, a bequest to his heir of a flock of five hundred ewes, or, at his election, of three score pounds in ready money, enables us to make an approximation to their money value.

The household stuff in his mansion at Penley was bequeathed to his heir. The generous master is discoverable in liberal legacies to servants, the simplicity of the neighbourly kindness of those days in a legacy of "four pence" to each of his god-children "if they require it," and the liberal-minded and careful parent, sadly conscious that he must soon leave a youthful and unprotected family, may be seen in an earnest appeal to his friends whom he appoints the overseers of his will, to maintain his younger children "in erudition and learning," and advance the welfare of his sons by "some good marriages or other promotion." His wife was appointed sole executrix. If she chanced to die before his children were settled in life, they were to be under the governance of his mother-in-law Dame Jane Bray, his uncle Robert Verney, and his cousin Paul Darrell. Urian Brereton, esquire, and Reynold Bray, esquire, the latter probably an

* This clause is expressed in words which mark in a very striking way the difference between the general state of manners in the class of society to which these ladies belonged in their day and in our own. Besides the imposition of penalties in case of their being obstinate or wilful, possibilities not now to be contemplated, similar penalties are provided in case they "dishonest themselves by open" incontinence (I do not quote the very word) before marriage.

uncle of John lord Bray,* together with the testator's uncle Robert, were appointed overseers of sir Ralph's will.

Inquisitions held after the death of the fourth sir Ralph at Hatfield Regis otherwise Hatfield Bishop, for Hertfordshire, on 21st July, 1546,† and at North Marston for Buckinghamshire on the following 6th September,‡ shew that sir Ralph left his children all the properties which we have enumerated as belonging to his father, with some additions. The latter were of no great importance, but rounded his borders and strengthened the interest of his family in the counties in which they were fixed. Amongst other recent acquisitions, one is significant both of the times and of the religious or party feelings of the man. He had purchased from Richard Hordern, a grantee of the crown, two suppressed and now long forgotten hospitals in Berkhamstead, called the Over and Nether, or St. John the Evangelist's and St. Leonard's "Spitell houses." §

Property of which the fourth sir Ralph died possessed.

Sir Ralph Verney was withdrawn from his family at a period when parental guidance was peculiarly necessary for their welfare. Religious reformation, which had been pushed forward with vehement impetuosity under Thomas Cromwell, retrograded after his removal. Again the tide of change flowed onwards after the accession of Edward VI., and again it ebbed upon the death of the protector Somerset. With queen Mary there came a violent and entire revulsion. Primers and songs of our Lady took the place of the lately-opened Bible, and England, just beginning to feel her strength, just taught to walk alone, was brought back, like a captive deserter, to the fold of Rome, and was to be kept stedfast in her renewed allegiance by the power of imperial Spain. Such days required wary walking. The qualities most necessary for safety at such a

* Manning and Bray's Surrey, i. 522.

† Inq. p. m. 38 Henry VIII. no. 99.

‡ Office copy among Verney MSS.

§ These hospitals with some lands attached were held of the king by the service of a thirtieth part of a knight's fee, and were subject, after the death of Richard Hordern, to a yearly rent of twenty shillings. Inq. p. m. 38 Henry VIII. no 99.

Subsequent
marriages of
the widow of
the fourth sir
Ralph Verney.

time were those least likely to be found in a youthful family. Nor does it seem that the young Verneys received much assistance, or the benefit of an example of discretion, from their surviving parent. Lady Verney's respectable jointure, conjoined to her valuable relationship to the Brays, and possibly also to other attractive qualities, drew around her many suitors. Within a short time after the death of sir Ralph, she married sir Richard Catesby, the head of the well-known family once seated at Ashby-St.-Leger's in Northamptonshire. After the death of sir Richard Catesby, lady Verney accepted William Clark, esquire, as her third husband; and in due time Henry Phillips, esquire, succeeded as her fourth. She was alive down to A.D. 1573.

John Lord
Bray.

The withdrawal of lady Verney from her duties as the widow of sir Ralph, if one of the consequences of her position as a presumptive co-heiress of her mother and brother, was not the worst effect which flowed from the connection between the Verneys and the Brays. Besides the gay and courtly qualities which distinguished the youthful John Lord Bray, there was another, and, probably, if the whole truth were known, a less pleasing side of his character. He married Anne, the only daughter of Francis Talbot, the fifth earl of Shrewsbury of the second creation. The marriage was an unfortunate one. Ere long we find that the bride had left her husband and had returned to her paternal home. Of the causes of their separation we are uninformed. One point of disagreement alone appears, and that for any thing we know was not so directly between the lady and her husband, as between lord Bray and his wife's father. Lord Shrewsbury was a staunch opponent of the Reformation. He not only adhered stoutly to queen Mary, following her willingly in all her measures for replacing the bonds of Rome, but, with the spirit of a Talbot and with the solemnity of a dying man, he stood amongst the lay peers alone (with the exception of lord Montague), in opposition to the measures for again casting-off the papal supremacy, which were introduced into the house of lords in the first parliament of queen Elizabeth. Lord Bray, on the other hand, entered with the

warmth and impetuosity of youth into the politics and feelings of the other side. In the estimation of the party with whom he acted, union with Spain and submission to Rome were treason to England. The day they longed for was that of the accession of Elizabeth.

Lord Bray's nephews, the young Verneys, were strenuous supporters of these English as opposed to Ultramontane opinions, and from their youth, and their early deprivation of parental control, they fell naturally into that class of persons the most likely to support such opinions indiscreetly. At the death of sir Ralph Verney, Edmund Verney, his eldest son, had scarcely attained the age of eighteen.*

EDMUND VERNEY, eldest son of the fourth sir Ralph, A.D. 1528-1558.

The age of the six younger sons can only be inferred. Immediately on coming to his estates, Edmund Verney married; so soon, and apparently so prudently, that it may be imagined the match had been arranged by his father. The lady was a daughter of sir Edmund Peckham, knight, of Denham, in the county of Bucks, a man of station and eminence in his day. He filled the office of cofferer of the household to Henry VIII., and was one of the council appointed by that monarch to assist his executors. Peckham was also a legatee of 200*l.* under the bluff sovereign's will.† He was subsequently one of the executors of Anne of Cleves, who left him "a juggle of gold with a cover, or a crystal glass garnished with gold and sett with stones."‡ On the accession of queen Mary Peckham distinguished himself by his loyal zeal in opposition to lady Jane Grey. He was among the first to proclaim queen Mary in his own county of Buckingham, and united with sir Francis Hastings in raising men to act on the rear of the forces which Northumberland was leading against Mary.§ Peckham's rewards were found in a grant of lands, || and in the constant favour of his grateful mistress. During the reign of Edward VI. he had been appointed to the office

Sir Edmund Peckham.

* He attained 18 on the day of St. James the Apostle (25 July) next following the death of his father. Inq. p. m. 38 Hen. VIII. no. 2.

† Nicolas, Test. Vet. 42, 44.

‡ Excerpta Hist. pp. 298, 299, 302. Machyn's Diary, 145.

§ Haynes's Burghley Papers, 155, 159. || Ellis's Letters, 2nd Ser. ii. 253.

of treasurer of the mint.* His appointment to that important post was renewed by queen Mary,† and throughout her reign he was also one of her privy council.‡ On Elizabeth's accession he was laid aside as a privy councillor, but continued undisturbed in his office at the mint.§ The Verneys were in close intimacy with the Peckhams. Lady Peckham, sir Edmund's wife, was Anne, daughter of John Cheyne, of Cheshambois, in Buckinghamshire,|| a family often connected with the Verneys; and Robert Peckham, sir Edmund's eldest son, had married Mary, one of the daughters of Edmund lord Bray, a sister of lady Verney and of her brother.¶ Such multiplied links of connection sufficiently account for Edmund Verney having been led to select Dorothy Peckham, a daughter of sir Edmund, as his wife. The prospects of the young couple were as fair and smiling as could be desired; but that sad calamity, in those days of early marriages by no means uncommon, the death of the bride in her first child-bearing, buried all their flattering expectations in the tomb on the 23rd May, 1547. Dorothy Verney was laid to rest amongst the ruins of Bittlesden abbey, in Bucks, a suppressed house of Cistercians, which had been granted to her grandfather by Henry VIII.**

Marriage of
Edmund Ver-
ney and Doro-
thy Peckham.

Her death,
23rd May, 1547.

The death of his wife did not break off Edmund Verney's connection with the Peckhams; and such, during Mary's reign, was the state of England, that even in the house and in the family of the loyal sir Edmund Peckham, Verney found persons who went beyond himself in their dislike of the present aspect of public affairs.

The conspiracy of Wyatt and the Greys had failed miserably, and

* Addit. MS. 5751, fo. 307.

† Haynes, 167; Chron. of Queen Jane, 33.

‡ Haynes, 168.

§ Addit. MS. 5751, fo. 317; Strype's Mem. iii. pt. 2, p. 160.

|| Harl. MS. 1533, fo. 75.

¶ Dugdale's Baron. ii. 311.

** Willis, in his History of Buckingham, describes a monumental brass to lady Verney, which existed in his time. It was the figure of a woman, with the following legend on a label, which proceeded from her mouth: "Sancta Trinitas, unus deus, miserere nobis." Under the figure was inscribed, "Here lyeth buried, under this stone, the body of Dorothy Verney, in her life-time wife to Edmund Verney, esq. and daughter to sir Edmund Peckham, knyght, who died the 23 day of May, in the yere of our Lord God 1547; on whose soul Jesu have mercy. Amen." (Willis, 154.)

had been punished without mercy; but its failure might be deemed attributable rather to its prematurity and mismanagement than to any lack of that anti-Spanish feeling, on the existence of which Wyatt had built his hopes. After the lapse of a couple of years that feeling had not only been strengthened by the presence in England of crowds of unpopular Spaniards, but even a still deeper animosity had been engendered by the government having let loose the mad spirit of religious persecution, and by their obvious intention to sacrifice the most venerable amongst the protestant hierarchy on the altar of a furious bigotry. These circumstances were deemed favourable to the success of a new attempt to transfer the throne from Mary to Elizabeth. The design was intended to be founded upon a wide and comprehensive basis. The scattered fragments of the various political factions into which the kingdom had been divided by the impolitic ambition of the late duke of Northumberland were to be re-united. All who opposed the submission of the kingdom either to the Roman pontiff or to the power of Spain were to be blended together, and a great union, or, as the law would term it, a great conspiracy, was to be the result; a conspiracy formidable from the characters of the persons to be engaged in it, and from the extent of its intended ramifications, but more especially from the nature of the principles upon which it was founded. In this conspiracy, known in those of our historical books which make mention of it as "DUDLEY'S CONSPIRACY," Henry Peckham, a son of sir Edmund, Edmund Verney, Francis Verney, one of Edmund's younger brothers, and lord Bray, were all implicated. It is a transaction respecting which many of our historical writers have been altogether silent, and all of them very imperfectly informed. I do not pretend to have solved the numerous mysteries connected with it, but most of the following particulars are new.

The principal leader was Henry Dudley, ordinarily supposed to have been related to the family of the late duke of Northumberland, but in what precise manner does not appear.* Amongst Dudley's

Dudley's companions in his conspiracy.

* In an original document in the State Paper office (Domestic, 26 March, 1556,)

earliest coadjutors were John Throgmorton, a connection of the Throgmorton family seated at Coughton in Warwickshire, and consequently of the sir Nicholas Throgmorton who was implicated

there occurs the following passage : " He likewise told me of the talk between the queen and my lady Dudley, that she asked her where her brother Henry was ? and she made answer, ' In France, as I hear say, for I knew not of his going.' And then the queen asked her for what cause he went over ; and then she answered, she thought for debt. To whom the queen answered, that he needed not for debt, for we have given him *iiij^{xx}li* by year. And my lady affirmed and said, ' And like your grace, that is true, but, notwithstanding all, that did not serve him. He was so afeard of his creditors that he durst not tarry here any longer.' To whom the queen's majesty said, ' If it had been for debt, if we had been made privy he should not have gone to the French king to pay his debt, for as we are credibly advertised, he is so received at the king's hand, and so entertained, that if he had been the most noble man coming from us thither [he] could not have been better or the like—marvelling much,' said the queen's majesty, ' for what cause the French king should entertain any subject of ours in such sort.'" We have quoted the whole of this long passage, because the conversation is characteristic, and will be found to tell upon the future history of the conspiracy; but in reference to the question, of Who was Dudley the conspirator, the chief importance of the extract consists in establishing that he was a brother of a lady Dudley who was in the court temp. Mary. The lady Dudley whom this description at once brings to mind was Katherine Brydges, daughter of the first lord Chandos of Sudeley, and wife of Edward lord Dudley of the family of Sutton de Dudley, one of the gentlewomen in ordinary attendance on queen Mary. By letters patent, dated 31st December, 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, A.D. 1555, the queen made a settlement upon that lady and her intended husband, and she was then described as "*una generosarum ordinarium super personam dietæ reginæ attendentium,*" whom lord Dudley, "*deo favente, in uxorem ducere intendit.*" (Rot. Pat. 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, part 2.) This looks very like the lady who was Henry Dudley's sister, that is, sister-in-law; nor is proof wanting that a brother of Edward lord Dudley might have been called by the name of Dudley. The family name was Sutton, Sutton de Dudley, but the branch of the family seated at Yanwith in Westmerland, and which was descended from Edmund the eldest son of John the fourth lord Dudley, was called Dudley and not Sutton. One of them, a John Duddeleye, lies buried in Stoke Newington church. His widow (a connection of the Verneys) was afterwards married to another Sutton, the founder of the Charter house. (Nicholson and Burn's Westmoreland, i. 412; Hist. Stoke Newington in Bibl. Topog. 10, 33). If it be thought that Henry Dudley was a son of some nearer connection of the duke of Northumberland as, for example, of sir Andrew Dudley, K.G., then the question arises: Who was Henry Dudley's sister, the lady Dudley mentioned in the quotation we have just given? It is altogether a puzzle which at present we cannot unravel with any certainty.

with Wyatt; Richard Uvedale of Chyllyng in Hampshire and Chelsham court in Surrey, a son of sir William Uvedale of Wickham, Hants, and captain of the queen's castle of Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight; Christopher Aston the elder, and Christopher Aston the younger, of Fifield in Berks; Francis Horsey and Edward Horsey, Robert Cornwall, John Daniel, John Dethick, John Bedell, Nicholas Tremain, John Calton, William Staunton, "late a captain," Thomas Hynnewes "of the chapel," Richard Rythe, Roger Reynolds, John Dale, John Calton, and Edward Turnour.

The contemplated mode in which the object of the conspiracy was to be effected was not without its plausibility. Mary's persecution of Protestantism had driven abroad a great number of English people. Many of the free towns on the continent had given them shelter. Frankfort, Basle, Strasburgh, Zurich, and Geneva, had honourably distinguished themselves by protecting these exiles, and allowing them the public exercise of their religion, in spite of representations from Mary and even from the emperor. Besides those in Germany, Switzerland, and in Denmark, others were scattered about in Paris, Orleans, Rouen, and various parts of France. A constant intercourse was maintained between the refugees and their friends in England. Money was remitted to them, and they were kept continually apprised of all changes in public affairs at home. Even from the depths of their prisons, and within sight of the scaffold and the stake, the English martyrs found means to address words of consolation to their brethren in foreign lands; and so deep was the sympathy felt for them throughout England, that the house of commons—in ordinary cases by no means uncompliant—dared to reject a bill brought in by the queen's government to confiscate the property of these exiles. Mary herself was extremely angry with the foreign governments who protected them. Noailles, the French ambassador, describes a scene which took place at the English court, on this very account. Lord Clinton had been sent to France on a complimentary embassy to Henry II. and had

Mode in which
the conspiracy
was to be
carried out.

Mary's feeling
towards the
English exiles.

taken advantage of the opportunity to appeal to that sovereign upon this very subject. The French king replied, that his friendship for the queen of England induced him to give English people ready entrance into his dominions, but that if there were any persons in France guilty of such offences as the ambassador described, they should be sought for, and delivered up to the queen when found. On Mary's next interview with the French ambassador resident in London, she sharply reminded him of this promise of his sovereign. She termed the objects of her wrath "abominable people, heretics, and traitors," saying that she might well apply such terms to them with justice on account of their crimes, which were villainous and execrable. She professed great confidence in the promise of the king of France, and undertook herself, on a similar occasion, to do the like towards him, boasting, with something like the emphasis of self-conceit, that she would not depart a jot from her word, even to gain three such kingdoms as England, France, and Spain. Lord Clinton being in the presence, Mary vehemently called upon him, two or three times, to declare whether it was not true that the French king had made such a promise. He confirmed her majesty's statement, but added that the French king had annexed a condition to his promise—if the persons alluded to could be found. In his reply, the ambassador made mention of these persons as "banished" and "exiles." Mary begged him not to apply to them any such gentle terms. She declared that they were abominable heretics and traitors, and still worse if it were possible;—professing at the same time that she was sorry to have occasion to designate any of her subjects by such ignominious titles.*

These were the persons upon whom Dudley and his friends mainly relied. Scattered far and wide throughout the countries of central Europe, and many of them suffering from the deepest poverty, it was concluded that numbers would be willing to join in

* *Ambassades de Noailles*, v. 354.

any plot which offered to restore them to their native country. Dudley proposed to organise them in hostile manner, to land them, together with such assistance as could be obtained from other countries, in the Isle of Wight, where they were secure against molestation from Uvedale, or at Portsmouth, if Uvedale was able to secure them a friendly reception, or to procure the guns of the fortification to be "pegged up." Dudley's sanguine character led him to anticipate that he should be able to return with ten or twelve good sail and several thousand men. "By God's blood!" was his expression to Uvedale, "I will drive out these Spaniards, or I will die for it."*

On their intended landing Dudley and his partisans were to be joined by all persons whom the influence of his friends or the character of his design induced to make common cause with them. Mary was not to be injured. She was simply to be sent to Spain to her husband. Elizabeth was to be established on the throne, and to be married to the earl of Devon.

Such a plot may have seemed feasible to the young men of the party, but there were practical difficulties obvious upon the face of it, which rendered it impossible to be carried out. Dudley had no public character which justified him in putting himself forward in such a scheme; even if he had been a competent leader, it cannot be thought that the exiles, the majority of whom were grave, religious persons, could have been induced to take part in any such project. Sandys and Grindal, Jewel and Foxe the martyrologist, would have been poor recruits in such an army as Dudley contemplated. There is no proof or probability that any of the principal exiles were ever consulted on the subject, or that they held any communication with Dudley. But, if the men could have been procured, a fatal difficulty still lay behind;—how was the amount of money necessary for the equipment of such an armament as Dudley pre-supposed to be obtained? Dudley seems to have looked to two different quarters

No proof that the exiles were ever consulted by Dudley, or held any communication with him.

* State Paper Off. Dom. Mary, 24th March, 1556. Confession of Uvedale.

Dudley's appli-
cation to the
king of France.

for assistance—to the king of France, and to the English exchequer. France and Spain were now at war. The French ambassador in London had been foolish enough to allow the conspirators to enter into communication with him. He had probably even led Dudley to suppose that his master would give him aid. This was Dudley's principal hope, and by the procurement of Uvedale and Throgmorton he and a party of his friends—sixteen in all—were enabled to escape from Southampton to France. His followers magnified the cordiality of his reception by king Henry II., and Mary complained that he was received as “if he had been the most noble man” sent on embassy by herself. His friends reported that on his landing he was “met at the water side and brought to the king with noble men,” and that “when he came to the king he left the company of all his nobles, and took Dudley straightway with him in his privy chamber,” and “gave him 4,000 crowns first for entertainment.” All this was obviously mere exaggeration, but there is no doubt that he was well received. There was a proposal pending at the time for a truce between France and Spain. Whilst its conclusion was doubtful, Dudley was listened to. When the truce was signed, the French king cast him off.

His scheme for
the robbery of
the exchequer.

His friends then fell back upon his other expedient. It was one which has crossed the mind of many a wily rogue—to rob the exchequer—to take the queen's money to pay the expense of an insurrection against her authority. There was lying in the exchequer a sum of 50,000*l.* in bars of Spanish silver.* Many reasons combined to make this a most attractive prey. It would be delightful to plunder the Spaniards, to obtain the money would be

* Probably the same sum which was conveyed with great ostentation through London to the Tower on the 2nd October, 1554. It was then packed in “four-score and seventeen lytell chests of a yard long and four inches broad,” says one authority (*Chron. of Queen Jane*, 83); “It was matted about with mats and mailed in little bundles about two foot long and almost half a foot thick,” says another authority (*Foxe*, vi. 560). When removed to the exchequer it was kept in chests locked up. (*Fourth Rep. of Dep. Keep. of Records*, 256.)

to damage the government, and it would go far to supply Dudley's wants. But how was it to be got at?

William Rossey, keeper of the star chamber, was an old acquaintance of one of Dudley's friends. He lived in a house near the office of the receipt of the exchequer at Westminster, and his garden extended to the bank of the river Thames. He was found to be corruptible. His particular duty or his influence enabled the conspirators to obtain access to the place where the money chests were deposited. Throgmorton visited the office in company with Dethick and Bedell. Rossey shewed them the very chests in which the treasure was deposited. They lifted one of them. Its weight convinced them that it would be better not to attempt to remove the chests, but to break open the locks and carry the bars of metal through Rossey's garden to the river. Throgmorton, Dethick, Bedell, and Thomas White, undertook to hire a small vessel called a "crayer," which was to be brought up alongside Rossey's garden, and to be employed for transporting their valuable plunder into France. The whole details of the scheme were settled. The daring and impudent design looked not unlikely to succeed. The "crayer" was actually hired, the searcher at Gravesend was bribed to allow it to pass, everything else was in readiness, the very time was fixed, when White's courage failed. He revealed the design to the government, and on the 18th March, 1555-6, the citizens dwelling near the Tower were startled by the sight of some twenty "gentlemen" being conveyed to the neighbouring ancient fortress "by certain of the guard." Old Machyn, who probably saw them pass, enumerates Throgmorton, Peckham, Daniel, and eleven others by name, adding that there were "divers odur gentyllmen," of whom, he says, "I have not their names." *

Plot revealed.

Suspicion once aroused, it was not difficult for the government to fix upon persons who were likely to unite with such conspirators. The last parliament had been disturbed by considerable opposition. During

Public persons likely to be suspected by the government.

* Machyn, 102.

its sitting sir Anthony Kingston had been the hero of a scene which was a foreshadowing of the more famous day * when the key was taken from its proper keeper, the door was locked by sir Miles Hobart almost in the face of a royal messenger, and the speaker was held in the chair, until a strong protest against the acts of the government had been passed by acclamation. Sir Anthony took the keys of the house of commons from the sergeant at arms, and committed a great disorder, with the accompaniment of what is described as very "contemptuous behaviour." The parliament was no sooner prorogued than sir Anthony and the sergeant were sent to the tower, but both were discharged upon humble submission, the sergeant after a week, and sir Anthony after a fortnight's imprisonment.† Sir Anthony did not stand alone in his opposition, although he may have gone beyond his fellows in want of decorum. A company of "young heads" used to assemble, during the sitting of parliament, at a house of public entertainment, which is familiarly spoken of as "Arun-del's," and did not scruple to let it be known "that they intended to resist the catholic proceedings, which the queen and all catholic men went about." These young men, it is further said, had the hardihood openly to avow themselves to be "right protestants."‡ It was among such obnoxious "parliament men" that the government picked almost at a venture for Dudley's coadjutors. Sir Anthony Kingston was sent for without, so far as appears, the slightest real ground of suspicion. He was arrested, but "died by the way coming towards London."§ Henry Peckham was seized, and not without cause. He had been one of the opposition members in the last parliament, in which he sat for Chipping Wycombe. Edmund Verney and Francis Verney had been in the same parliament as knights of the shire for Bucks. They were both arrested, and, in the end, so also was lord

* *Gent. Mag.* for Sept. 1851, 227.

† *Harl. MS.* 643, fo. 68, 69, 70, 70 a.

‡ *MS. State Paper Office, Domestic, April, 1556. Confession of John Daniel.*

§ *Stowe's Annales*, ed. Howes, 628.

Bray, whose known opinions, and his relationship to many of the other parties, justified suspicion.* Proclamation was also made through London against Henry Dudley and thirteen others, as fugitive traitors and rebels.†

The conduct of the prisoners soon displayed their real characters. Under the infliction of torture, and in some cases even under the mere threat of it, almost all of them professed to be willing to confess. When they came, however, to be examined, some evidently fenced with the questions proposed to them, whilst others poured out their whole hearts—relating even all the circumstances of their past lives with very unnecessary communicativeness. Daniel appealed to the compassion of the council as a sick man confined in a filthy and unwholesome dungeon;‡ Dethick extenuated his offence by a long detail of the incidents of his early history; Uvedale was minute and circumstantial, but with evident mental reservation. Peckham's conduct was infamous. His brother, sir Robert Peckham, stated to the lords of the council certain circumstances, from which it was to be inferred that Henry Peckham joined the conspiracy merely as a spy. He himself took up that cue. He even had the baseness to send a statement to the council

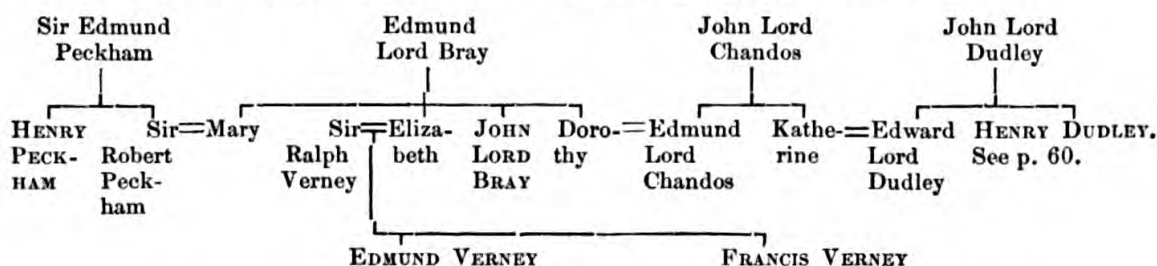
Conduct of the prisoners after their arrest.

Daniel.

Dethick.

Peckham.

* This connection will be seen at a glance from the following genealogical table :



† The proclamation may be seen in the noble collection of proclamations in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London. It is dated 1st April, 1556. Machyn says it was proclaimed through London on the 4th April. Diary, 103.

‡ The apartment complained of was in the Broad Arrow Tower. The name, "John Daniell," and the date, "1556," carved on a stone in the wall by the prisoner's own hand, still remain visible. Bayley's Hist. Tower, i. 207.

Throgmorton.

of all the conversations which he had had with his fellow prisoners during chance interviews with them whilst in the Tower. Throgmorton alone behaved with courage. All attempts to induce him to confess or to implicate any one were in vain. He stoutly repudiated all knowledge of any treasonable intention, and, when closely touched in reference to points deposed by other witnesses, he altogether denied the circumstances alluded to, or refused to give any information respecting them. The first day he was in the Tower he was in prison in a chamber immediately above Dethick. Throgmorton plucked up a board in the floor that was loose and entered into communication with his neighbour. He charged him "that in any case he should not be the destruction of others besides himself, for, look you," he said, "how many thou dost accuse so many thou dost wilfully murder." Dethick, who was one of the most eager to pour out everything he knew, answered, that he should do nothing but that God had appointed, and if God would that he should die there was no remedy. After more fencing and much persuasion he said he was content to do as Throgmorton would have him do. Throgmorton asked him if he would "abide the torment in the matter?" Dethick said, "Yea;" whereupon Throgmorton "did sup his porridge to him in token of his truth." "Notwithstanding," said Throgmorton, "this varlet Dethick hath accused me."

Throgmorton was put to the torture, but in vain.* "My masters," he said afterwards to some of his companions, "I pray you to pray for me, for I shall not be long with you, for I cannot live without I should be the death of a number of gentlemen; and therewithall he repeated a story of the Romans, commending much an old man that was taken prisoner by the Athenienses, whom the Romans would have redeemed with a great number of young men which would have been much worth to the Romans, but this old man would in no case agree thereto, but received his death at the

* "Then, said Throgmorton, I fear I shall be put to it again, and I will assure you it is a terrible pain." MS. State Paper Office, Domestic, May, 1556.

Athenienses' hands very patiently, considering his old years and what profit these young men should be to the Romans. At the ending of this tale, Throgmorton lamented much that these Romans were not christened men, commending much the zeal this Roman had to his country."*

Throgmorton and Uvedale were tried first, under a special commission which held its sittings at the sessions house in Southwark on the 21st April, 1556. Their accusation was confined to the more obviously treasonable portion of the plot,—the meditated robbery, with which Uvedale was unconnected, not being mentioned in the indictment. Throgmorton and Uvedale were charged with holding traitorous communication with Dudley at the mansion house of Uvedale situate at Chyllyng in the county of Hants, and, as evidence of their intent to levy war, it was alleged that they procured a vessel to convey Dudley and his associates beyond seas, and that Uvedale promised Dudley that when he should return to England with his army of exiles, and should land in the Isle of Wight or Portsmouth, he should meet with no resistance from himself or from any persons over whom he had authority. It was further charged against them that, on the 12th March, Throgmorton sent letters to Uvedale to come and confer with him at another house of his (Uvedale's) called Chelsham Court, in Surrey; that, in conjunction with John Bedell, they there held a treasonable consultation; and that Throgmorton, being about to depart for France—no doubt with the treasure from the exchequer—left a secret sign or token with Uvedale, through the means of which he was to communicate with Throgmorton during his absence. Finally it was charged that Throgmorton and John Dethick met together in London, on the 16th March, and took an oath upon the Holy Bible to be faithful to one another; and that Throgmorton remarked, "If any of us be accused by any man let us revyle him, and stand earnestly against him, but I trust it shall never come out, for I had

Trial of Throgmorton and Uvedale on 21st April, 1556.

* MS. State Paper Office, Domestic, May, 1556. Statement of Peckham.

rather my dagger were in her heart (meaning the queen) and all her council."* Both Throgmorton and Uvedale were convicted. On Friday the 24th April, Feckenham, then dean of St. Paul's, was sent to Throgmorton to tell him that he was to die on the following Monday, unless he would give his friends just occasion to be suitors for mercy. Throgmorton replied, "That if his life stood therein he was but a dead man," signifying, as the dean understood him, "that he would rather die than reveal or detect any man." It was in vain that the dean urged upon him that others of his companions had made a full disclosure. He promised to declare his actual knowledge on the scaffold, but refused to give any information upon points on which the dean had been prompted to examine him. The dean thought his confession so imperfect, and himself so untractable, that he declined to give him absolution. Throgmorton begged "that he might have liberty to live one month," during which time, "he trusted further matter to fall out whereby the queen's highness might be fully persuaded of the state of his case."† The request was disregarded, and on Tuesday 28th April, he and Uvedale were drawn from the tower to Tyburn in the accustomed manner, "and so hanged," says Machyn, "and after cut down and quartered, and the morrow after their heads set on London bridge."‡

28th April,
1556, they are
executed.

Trial of Peck-
ham, Daniel,
and others,
7 May, 1556.

Henry Peckham, John Daniel, William Staunton, Thomas Hynnewes, and Edward Turner, were the next to suffer. They were tried at the guildhall, in London, upon an indictment which charged them, together with Henry Dudley and the rest, with conspiring to deprive the king and queen, and with holding consultations as to how to carry their design into effect. They were further charged with a design that Dudley and various other persons should cross to parts beyond the seas, in order that they might make

* Calendar of Baga de Secretis, Fourth Report of Deputy Keeper of Records, p. 252.

† MS. State Paper Office, Domestic, 24th April, 1556.

‡ Machyn, 104.

certain counterfeit coin resembling the coinage of England,* with design, when they had made a quantity of such coin to return to England with a great power of armed men from amongst the queen's rebels and traitors, then being in parts beyond the seas, landing for such purpose at the Isle of Wight or Portsmouth. Furthermore, that Christopher Aston the elder, Henry Peckham, and Thomas Whyte, held a consultation upon their traitorous business at the house of sir Edmund Peckham, near the Blackfriars, and that Aston then remarked to Whyte, "See ye this man (meaning Henry Peckham), he will help us with a great number, both of noblemen and gentlemen, when they know that we shall be in a readiness; for the queen usurpeth the crown, and hath broken her father's will, and he hath promised me a copy of her highness' father's will." Peckham, it is alleged, afterwards furnished the copy of the will with his marginal notes written upon it; and, upon further consultation, the persons before mentioned agreed that the queen had usurped the crown, whereupon Dudley, and many others, took their departure to join the queen's traitors and enemies beyond seas."† Upon this indictment Peckham and Daniel were tried on the 7th May, Staunton on the 12th May, and Turnour on the 18th June. All were found guilty. Staunton was executed on the 19th May; Peckham and Daniel on the 7th or 8th July; both which days are mentioned by the authorities. Probably interest was made for the contemptible Peckham, but the services of his loyal father did not suffice to procure even a commutation of the terrible severities of the legal sentence.‡

Bedell, Dethick, and Rossey, were tried on the 2nd June. The indictment against them was confined to the meditated robbery of the exchequer. Bedell pleaded guilty, the others were found

Their execution.

The Trial of Bedell, Dethick, and Rossey, 2nd June, 1556.

* This was money intended to be coined out of the bars of Spanish silver to be stolen from the exchequer.

† Cal. of Baga de Secretis, Fourth Report, as before, 253.

‡ Machyn, 105, 106, 109.

guilty,* and on the 9th June, sentence was executed upon all of them. †

Indictment
against Ed-
mund Verney
and Francis
Verney.

An indictment was preferred at the guildhall, in London, against Edmund Verney and Francis Verney, on the 11th June. They were not charged with any share in the original concoction of the treason, but with having given their adhesion to the conspiracy when it was disclosed to them. Daniel is stated to have revealed the intentions of the conspirators to Edmund Verney, and Edmund Verney and Henry Peckham to have made a similar disclosure to Francis Verney. ‡ Both consented, and Peckham and Francis Verney plighted their troth to each other in a way still remembered, even if not still practised, in the north. § Peckham took a gold coin, "called a demy-sovereign, and broke it in two parts, and one part thereof, to the before mentioned Francis Verney then and there, in the presence of the said Edmund Verney, for an undoubted sign of their common consent to perform the said treason, traitorously delivered, which said Francis the same piece of gold coin then and there, with the consent of the same Edmund Verney, traitorously received; and so the said Edmund Verney and Francis Verney the death and final destruction of their supreme lady the queen, and the subversion of the kingdom of England, imagined and compassed." ||

Francis Verney
found guilty on

Francis Verney was tried upon this indictment, on the 18th June,

* Cal. Baga de Secretis, Fourth Report, 255.

† Machyn, 107.

‡ Daniel and Peckham were the witnesses against the Verneys, and may have been respited with a view to their trials. The following examination of Daniel, which is in the State Paper Office (Dom. 28th May, 1556), indicates the willingness of the council to implicate, if possible, some others of their parliamentary opponents: sir William Courteney and sir John Pollard were both members of the late parliament, and also two of the protestant party which met at Arundel's. "28 May, 1556. John Daniel being examined this day above written denieth that ever Edmund Verney axed him any question of sir William Courteney or sir John Pollard being privy to this matter of the conspiracy. Item, he also denieth that he knew nor heard that ever the lord Bray or Francis Verney were privy to any part of the late conspiracy. (Signed) By me, John Danyell."

§ "He had but ae saxpence, he brake it in twa,

And gi'ed me the half o't, when he gaed awa."—Logie o' Buchan.

|| Verney MS. 12th July, 1556. Letters patent under great seal.

and found guilty.* Edmund Verney does not seem to have been put upon his trial. How procured or why granted, we know not, but on the 12th July, 1556—one month after his indictment—he received a free pardon under the great seal.†

the 18th June,
1556.
Edmund Ver-
ney pardoned
12th July,
1556.
Intercession for
lord Bray.

After having been kept for some time in close prison in the Fleet, lord Bray was ultimately transferred to the tower. Upon the news of his arrest, his wife and also his mother the dowager lady Bray, came to London to make suit on his behalf. Lady Bray went immediately to the court in hope to have an audience of the queen. The comptroller and the solicitor gave her “very fair words,” but the queen could not be seen. Heavy news had reached her majesty from her ungracious husband. Philip had been expected to visit England on the last day of June. The queen had lived upon the expectation of his coming. But, on Wednesday the 16th, there arrived Mr. Kempe, express from the king’s grace, with news that he had postponed his coming for two months. The queen shut herself up immediately from every body. For many days after that Wednesday no one had access to her, and the rumour ran, that she was more occupied in her foreign correspondence than she had ever been before.‡ In vain the elder lady Bray petitioned her majesty for an audience, but when Mary heard that the forsaken wife had also come to make intercession on behalf of her imprisoned husband, she gave her great praise, and said earnestly, not perhaps without something like a self-application, “that God sent oftentimes to good women evil husbands.”§

The pitiable situation of lord Bray whilst in the tower amply

His treatment
whilst in the
tower.

* Machyn, 108.

† Orig. under great seal at Claydon.

‡ Mary’s temper was frequently tried by similar conduct on the part of her husband, and if all that was rumoured may be credited, it did not always stand the test. On another occasion of this kind, which took place some months before the one above alluded to, the disagreeable tidings put her majesty “in a rage.” She “caused the king’s picture to be carried out of the privy chamber, and she in a wonderful storm, and could not be in any wise quieted.” (MS. S. P. O. 26th March, 1556. Dom.) On such occasions the spirit of her father made itself manifest.

§ Lodge’s Illustrations, i. 217.

illustrates the treatment of prisoners, even of exalted station. He remained in close prison; "howbeit," remarks the writer of a contemporary letter, who is now our authority, and who writes as if he thought he was detailing fair and liberal treatment, "howbeit, his friends is suffered to relieve him with meat and drink, which meat and drink is delivered at the tower-gate to one of the three 'gaolers,' as they call them, appointed to serve and attend upon the prisoners there, which relief by his own friends, as I can learn, doth not exceed, for almost every day some of his men which lingers here in the town is coming to my lady," lady Bray, the prisoner's wife, "to beg some piece of meat for him, so that she is driven to relieve him now and then with some little thing as her power will serve. I cannot perceive that his own friends doth anything for him to any purpose; and as to her, good woman, they offer no gentleness, nor nothing towards her charges, but if they might be suffered, for that I see, could be contented to come and put her to charge daily."

Confronted
with his ac-
cusers.

The prisoner stood stoutly upon his innocence, and desired to be brought face to face with his accusers. His demand was complied with, but only in a private, extrajudicial way, and, "as I heard," writes our gossiping authority, ever ready to listen to any thing to the prisoner's prejudice, "both Francis Verney and Edmund Verney hath touched very sore." What may have been the nature of the disclosures alluded to, or how they were wrung from lord Bray's nephews, we cannot tell. Perhaps the rumour was as false as that which the letter writer next goes on to relate, "One told me," he says, "in Westminster this day, that he should be indicted this present day and shortly after arraigned, and if it be not for your lordship's sake,"—that of the earl of Shrewsbury, lord Bray's father-in-law—"and the suit of his wife, most like to suffer;" and so the writer charitably concludes after some further information, "I trust within this month, or less, we shall either see an end of him, or else have a plain answer what we shall trust upon." *

These anticipations were not realised. Lord Bray was kept in

* Lodge's Illustrations, i. 216.

prison for many months without any further proceedings. On the 3rd November an indictment was preferred against him at the ordinary sessions in London, but he was never brought to trial. The charge against him was, that not considering his duty of allegiance, but imagining the death of the queen, on the 5th January, 1556, in the parish of St. Andrew, in the ward of Baynard's Castle, he uttered these words: "Yf my neighbour of Hatfield might once reign (meaning the lady Elizabeth), he should have his landes and debtes geven him agayne, which he bothe wished for and trusted once to see."* It is plain from this accusation that the Verneys had disclosed nothing of any serious moment against him. The charge really made merely exhibits the strong jealousy which the court entertained of Elizabeth.

He is indicted
3rd November,
1556.

How the termination of lord Bray's share in this affair was brought about does not appear. It may be conjectured that the intercession of old lady Bray for her sons and grandsons, and that of the younger lady for her husband, were at last effectual, or that, fully occupied with the bloody business which it had in hand against the heretics, the government found it expedient to allow the less direct traitors to escape, or that the approach of a meeting of parliament and of a war with France were favourable to the remission of the prisoners, perhaps upon terms. Certain it is, that after twelve months' imprisonment, lord Bray obtained his pardon,† and that he distinguished himself shortly afterwards in the English army sent into France, and especially at the battle of St. Quentin, on the 10th August, 1557.‡ Perhaps the Verneys did the same. It is one of the mysteries of the period that many persons who did not scruple to plot against Mary at home, served her with fidelity on the continent against the French.

He is pardoned
13th May,
1556.

Thus terminated this miserable and foolish plot. The government can scarcely be accused of severity in dealing with it, for impracti-

* Rot. Pat. 3 and 4 P. and M. 7th part.

† Dated 13th May, and enrolled on Rot. Pat. 3 and 4 P. and M. 7th part.

‡ Manning and Bray's Surrey, ii. 723.

cable as it evidently was, there was a dash of spirit and an air of plausibility about it, calculated to give it importance in the estimation of the unthinking. Of the persons mixed up in it many were the queen's officers, whose breach of trust put them beyond the pale of merciful consideration. The ease with which men directly connected with the court or government, such as Henry Peckham, Uvedale, Rossey, and even as the humbler searcher at Gravesend, could be seduced from their allegiance, must have added to the many evidences of how slight was the queen's hold upon the affections of the people, which were continually forced home upon her on every side.

His death, 18th
November,
1557.

When lord Bray returned from St. Quentin, the happy period anticipated in his treasonable aspiration was rapidly drawing on. His "neighbour of Hatfield" was obviously nearing the throne. But the prophet who had foreseen the coming event had been blind to his own position in relation to it. He returned to England only to die. "Within the late Blackfriars, on Thursday the 18th November, 1557," at the age of thirty, his wife absent and he childless, and probably landless and friendless, this last male descendant of a man raised to dignity by his unconquerable fidelity and loyalty "committed thordre of all things to his mother," * the old lady Bray, and thus ended his mortal life. He was buried at Chelsea, under his mother's directions, "in the midst of the high chancel there, with his father and grandfather, under one high tomb." His obsequies were performed with all the splendour of the restored ritual. George Brooke lord Cobham, who married the eldest sister of the

* The herald says he "made no will," (Lysons's Env. ii. 97, Faulkner's Chelsea, i. 204,) but, in fact, he made a verbal will the day before his death, in the presence of Feckenham abbot of Westminster and Edmund Verney. It contained merely a general bequest of all his estate and effects to his mother, couched in terms which indicate that he did not suppose his effects would suffice to pay his debts. His mother was appointed executrix, and proved the will on the 20th November, 1557, in the prerogative court of Canterbury, where it is absurdly entered as the will of "the right honourable John lord Bray Braye, knight." I believe I have stated the contents of the will correctly, but I was obliged to depend upon my memory for the accuracy of my note. I was uncivilly interrupted by the jealous *custos* even whilst making a memorandum of the date of the will and the probate.

deceased lord, attended as chief mourner; Edmund Verney was there as the representative of another sister, and Thomas Lifield as the husband of another sister, but there was no Talbot and no Peckham, no Chandos, no Dudley. Two of lord Cobham's sons made up in number for those who ought to have been there. What was wanting in family attendance was supplied by professional services. Besides the bearers of crosses and branches, twenty-four clerks and eight priests walked in procession before the corpse, with two chaplains in their gowns and tippets, and an army of heralds and their men. After the offerings (the first offering of the chief mourner being "the mass-penny, a piece of gold," and that of Mr. Thomas Brooke and Mr. Edmund Verney "the coat of arms" which was placed on the altar,) father Perryn, a black friar, preached a sermon on the raising of Lazarus, which aptly illustrates the nature of the restored teaching. "He declared," says the recording herald, "how Christ raised Lazarus from death, seeing how he was a gentleman given to chivalry for the wealth of his country, and so he said that nobleman which there lay dead was, in whose commendation, among other things, he finished his sermon." The mass then proceeded, and after everything was over the party took to their boats again, and so to London to his late lordship's house to dinner.*

Of the company assembled at that dinner two were called to follow their deceased friend within the succeeding year. Lord Cobham the principal mourner died on the 29th September,† and EDMUND VERNEY on the 13th December, 1558. The former was an aged man, and the event may have been anticipated by every one who saw him totter along Chelsea church to make his offerings at the funeral of his brother-in-law; the latter was upon a par in point of age with the uncle whom he had assisted to inter. Edmund Verney completed his 30th year on the 25th July, 1558. Of the circumstances of his death we know nothing, nor of the place or manner of his interment. A grant of letters of administration in

Death of EDMUND VERNEY,
13th December,
1558.

* Faulkner's Chelsea, i. 204. Lysons's Environs, ii. 97.

† Dugdale, Bar. ii. 282.

1563,* proves that he died without a will. He just lived long enough to witness the triumph of protestantism, in the accession of queen Elizabeth, on the 17th November, 1558.

At the death of the fourth sir Ralph he left, as we have seen by his will, seven sons, 1. Edmund; 2. John; 3. Edmund; 4. Francis; 5. Ralph; 6. Urian; 7. Richard; and two daughters. The few particulars necessary to be known about the majority of these will be found in the annexed pedigree. It was probably not without reason that sir Ralph named two of his sons Edmund. The elder may have been a sickly boy who surprised his friends by living to thirty, rather than by dying at that early age. John the second son died in the lifetime of his elder brother, without issue. †

THE FIRST SIR
EDMUND VER-
NEY, A.D. 1535
—1599.

His first wife.

Edmund the third son was therefore the heir of his brother of the same name, and on his death became the head of the family. He was then in the twenty-third year of his age, and already married to Frances daughter of John Hastings of Elford, in the county of Oxford, and widow of Thomas Redmayne of Northmarston, in Bucks, by whom she was the mother of one son also named Thomas. ‡

Edmund Verney the eldest son of sir Ralph had taken the

* The grant was dated 17th June, 1563, and was made to John Simpson, of Penley. Verney MS. of that date.

† A "master Verney," described as "master of the jewel-house," is said to have been buried within the tower, on the 11th December, 1558 (Machyn's Diary, 182), only two days before the death of Edmund Verney. The register of burials in the tower, for access to which I am indebted to the Rev. Mr. Evans, confirms the burial in the chapel of a person of that name and his wife, both between 1557 and 1565—the wife having died first. I have not found any evidence that the master Verney alluded to was strictly speaking "master of the jewel-house," but he may have been employed in the jewel-house, and may have been John Verney, the second son of the fourth sir Ralph. He was a liberal man and a person of some station, for it is said that "he gave to xij. poor men good gowns." (Machyn, *ibid.*) There is no will of any such person at Doctors' Commons.

‡ She was seised of lands at Northmarston as her jointure under her former marriage, which were leased to Thomas Redmayne the son for 40 years, at the rent of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum. Verney MS. 20th October, 22nd Elizabeth.

precaution early in the reign of queen Mary to settle his lands upon himself and his heirs male, and in default of his having a son, upon his brothers in succession and their heirs male.* Under this settlement, the second Edmund Verney now came into possession of the family seat at Penley, with the manors of Penley, Bunstrux, and Richardynes, the Claydon estate subject to the lease to the Giffards, the manor of Muresley, and all the other estates of the family, except Quainton and Dinton otherwise Donyngton, which were in his mother's possession as her jointure lands.†

Edmund Verney took up his residence at the old house of the Whittinghams at Penley. In 1577, and again in 1591, he served sheriff for Herts, and in 1582 for Bucks, and his presence is traceable throughout the reign of Elizabeth, in the public business of both those counties;—especially in that of Hertford at the time of the Armada, when he was one of the five captains appointed to command the musters of the county.‡

Edmund Verney had no children by his first wife. He married secondly, Audrey daughter of William Gardner, esquire, of Fulmer, near Chalfont St. Giles, in the county of Bucks (illustrious as a place of residence of Milton), and relict of sir Peter Carew the younger.§ By dame Audrey Edmund Verney had one son Francis, born in 1584. In July, 1588, when this son, who was her only child, was but in his fifth year, dame Audrey died. Never was the removal of a mother more unfortunate, for never son more needed early and judicious guidance. She was buried in a vault which her

* By deed dated 3rd February, 1st Mary, A.D. 1554. See Inq. p. m. 1st Elizabeth, 2nd part, no. 4.

† Inq. p. m. 1 Elizabeth, 2nd part, no. 4. ‡ Harl. MS. 168, fo. 170.

§ This knight must not be confounded with the well-known sir Peter Carew who was involved in the religious troubles of the reign of queen Mary, and of whom there is a curious biography printed in the *Archæologia*, xxviii. 96. Sir Peter Carew the younger was son of the rev. George Carew, dean of the queen's chapel. Sir Peter died intestate and without issue. Letters of administration were granted to dame Audrey. (Bill in Chancery, Verney versus Carew, 18th June, 1588. Orig. in Tower Lond.)

husband had recently constructed at Albury for the reception of the remains of his ancestors removed from Ashridge.

Removal of the remains and tombs of the Verneys from Ashridge to Albury.

The dissolved house of the Bons hommes at Ashridge was given by Edward VI. to his sister princess Elizabeth, and the old conventual fabric was occasionally her residence before her accession to the throne. For a considerable period after she became queen Ashridge remained untenanted. In her 17th year it was granted by way of exchange to John Dudley and John Ayscough, by whom it was immediately afterwards sold to lord Cheyney. On its coming into lord Cheyney's possession he probably was about to make alterations, when Edmund Verney interfered to protect the remains of his ancestors. In the chapel at Ashridge there stood two Verney altar-tombs, and members of the family had been interred under each. One was erected by sir Robert Whittingham for his own interment, and was afterwards adopted by sir John Verney and his immediate descendants, the other was erected over the remains of the fourth sir Ralph. Edmund Verney removed both these tombs, with the remains under them, to the church of Albury, the parish in which Penley was situate, and which stands just under the ridge now no longer covered with ash trees, as was the case when it received its name, but with beeches of singular size and beauty. For the reception of the Whittingham tomb Edmund Verney enlarged the church of Albury by the erection of a small mortuary or sepulchral chapel. This was in 1576, the 18th year of Elizabeth. On the death of dame Audrey the vault in this chapel was opened for the reception of her remains, and a commemorative brass plate on which is engraved the following inscription was attached to the Whittingham monument:—

This Monument was placed and erected in the Monastrie of Ausheritch by S^r Robert Whittingham knight, one of the privie counsaile to Kyng Henrie the sixt, & Treasurer in the warrs in ffrance under the duke of Bedford Regent there for the saide King Henrie his nephewe, which saide S^r Robert was after slaine at the Battell of Tewxburie in the Cowntie of Glowster, and S^r John Verney knight who married dame m^rgaret, y^e

dawghter and sole heyre of this saide S^r Robert Whitingham knight, was after buried in the said Tombe with dame Margaret his Ladie. And S^r Ralphe Verney knight, sonne and heire to the aforesaide S^r John Verney & dame Margaret, was buried in the same tombe with dame Ann his Ladie. W^{ch} tombe & bodies Edmund Verney, the thirde sonne of S^r Ralphe Verney the yonger knight which lieth buried in the Chauncell of Aldeburie, remoued from Ausheritche the xvijth yeare of the Raigne of our soveraigne Ladie Quene Elizabeth, and made this Chappell with the vawlt where in they lie. And after in the year 1588 buried & laied therein dame Audrey Carewe his late wyfe. & in this sort cawsed it to be erected, as due to the said Edmond, who by Lyneall discent ys able to prove yt appertayneth to him & his Heires, as lawfull heyres to the saide Syr Robert Whitingham knight.

Shortly after the death of dame Awdrey, Edmund Verney took as his third wife Mary daughter of William Blakeney esquire of Sparham in the county of Norfolk.* This lady, although then in her second widowhood, had not attained her fortieth year. She had been married first to Geoffrey Turville of New Hall park, in the county of Leicester, and secondly to William St. Barbe, a younger son of the St. Barbes of Ashington, co. Somerset. There was issue of both her previous marriages, and on the 1st January, 1589-90,† she gave birth to a son by her third husband. The child was born in Drury lane, probably in a house which had belonged to Mr.

Edmund Verney's third marriage.

1 Jan. 1589-90. Birth of a son named Edmund,

* Blomfield, iv. 412.

† Tradition, as stated by Dr. Lipscomb (Hist. Bucks, i. 182.), has affirmed that this child was "brought into the world by the Cæsarean operation, his mother dying *durante partu*." Upon the strength of this "popular and uncontradicted tradition," and because, as Dr. Lipscomb further states, this Edmund "was found, by an inquisition held on his father's death in 1599, to have been ten years of age *and upwards*," Dr. Lipscomb has given him a place in the Verney pedigree as the son of dame Awdrey Verney, the mother of Francis. In reply it is sufficient to remark: 1. That the inquisition referred to states that his age was "10 years *and 10 days*" at the death of his father, and that such death took place on the 11th Jan. 1599-1600; and 2. That it is stated on the commemorative tablet put up at Albury, that dame Audrey Verney died in 1588. There are innumerable evidences at Claydon that Mary the third wife and widow of sir Edmund, and not Awdrey the second wife, was the mother of this Edmund. She died in 1642.

afterwards the second sir Edmund.

St. Barbe, and was christened at the church of St. Clement Danes in the Strand.* He received his father's Christian name of Edmund.

The closing years of Edmund Verney's life were distinguished by only three events of any significance.

Edmund Verney knighted.

1. His knighthood, the date of which does not appear, but it took place between the 24th October, 1597, and the 1st February, 1597-8.†

Divides his estates between his two sons.

2. His endeavours to effect such a settlement of his estates as should divide them almost equally between his two sons. Whether in these arrangements we trace the influence of his third wife exerted to secure for her own son a larger portion of his father's estate than ordinarily fell to the share of a younger brother, or whether the father was prompted by love for his Benjamin or distrust of the prudence of his heir, will perhaps appear more clearly hereafter. The division of his estates effected by sir Edmund left the manors of Quainton and Donington to descend to his widow for her life, and after her decease to his eldest son Francis and his heirs male, and in default of such issue of Francis, to his second son, Edmund, in like manner. Penley and Bunstrux were to pass to his son Francis. Muresley, Middle Claydon, and a reversion of a house called the Stone House at Chalfont St. Giles were settled on his widow until his son Edmund attained the age of 21, then upon Edmund and his heirs male, and, in default of such issue of Edmund, then upon Francis and his heirs male. There seem to have been considerable legal difficulties in the way of effecting these arrangements, but they were overcome by a private act of parliament which sir Edmund procured to be passed in the 39th year of Elizabeth.‡

* On the 11th Jan. 1589-90.

† As to the one date see Inq. p. m. 42 Eliz. 2nd part, no. 126; as to the other, Journals of House of Lords, ii. 222.

‡ Lords' Journals, ii. 222, and D'Ewes's Journals, 544. The bill was entitled, An act for the confirmation of the jointure of lady Verney, wife of sir Edmund Verney, knight. It was reported with some amendments to the house of lords, by the earl of Shrewsbury, "the second of the committees," on 1st February, 1597-8, and was read a third time and passed the lords on the 3rd February.

3. The last event which distinguished the close of sir Edmund's life was the marriage of his son Francis. Lady Verney had several daughters by her second husband Mr. St. Barbe, and amongst them one named Ursula. At the age of twelve years and eleven months this young lady was married to sir Edmund's eldest son, then of the mature age of fourteen years complete. Marriages at such ages were common in those days, and there is proof that this marriage was not distasteful to sir Edmund.*

Marriage of Francis Verney.

Although entitled only to the reversion of the Stone house at Chalfont, after the death of Anne Grafonde, widow, it would seem that sir Edmund made some arrangement for present possession with the lady entitled to the intermediate life interest. He occasionally occupied that house as well as Penley, and it was at the Stone house that he was overtaken by death on the 11th January, 1599-1600. His remains were brought to Penley for interment, and the ceremony of his burial is recorded in the college of arms. It was "solemnized," say the heralds, "according to his degree," the 15th day of February, "at the parish church of Albury . . . where he lyeth interred in the chapel on the south side of the same church." †

Death of the first sir Edmund, 11th January, 1599-1600.

The chapel erected to receive the remains of the Verneys, the old monument removed from Ashridge, and the commemorative brass tablet, still remain in the church of Albury, which is indeed full of traces of the Verneys and of Ashridge. Consisting originally of a narrow nave, a chancel, and a square western tower of the twelfth century, the church was enlarged on the southern side, perhaps in the fifteenth century, by the addition of an aisle and a porch. The aisle, as originally built, extended from the west end of the church about three-parts of the distance to the chancel, and is about half the height of the nave. The Verney chapel is a continuation of this aisle and carries it on to the end of the nave. It is separated from the nave and the aisle by a handsome stone screen, the upper half

Present traces of the Verneys at Albury.

The Verney chapel.

* Marriage settlement, 4th June, 1599, at Claydon.

† Gent. Mag. N.S. ii. 364.

of which is perforated. There is an entrance door in the screen from the nave to the chapel. In the pavement of the chapel, and, indeed, throughout the church, there are many relics from Ashridge—encaustic tiles of various ornamental patterns, the fleur-de-lis in the lozenge intersection of a kind of trellis work, being one of them.

Whittingham
monument.

The Whittingham monument occupies the centre of the chapel erected by sir Edmund. It is a raised altar-tomb bearing the recumbent effigies of the first sir John Verney and his lady. The knight is clad in armour and wears the collar of SS. His feet rest on a wild man with a ragged staff.

The lady is dressed in a handsome flowing costume, with a curious fan-shaped ornament on the centre of her head-dress, and a long cloak fastened like a cope. Her feet rest against an animal now considerably mutilated, but said to have been a fawn. On the sides of the monument is a range of niches, some filled with figures and some with escutcheons. Several of the former have been destroyed probably in the removal from Ashridge, and their places supplied by shields mostly containing merely the Verney arms. One of the shields on the north side, which contains the arms of Bray, must have been inserted at the same time. It was the fourth sir Ralph, grandson of the sir John commemorated by the monument, who intermarried with the daughter of lord Bray. There is no memorial in the chapel of the interment of sir Edmund.

The commemorative tablet, no longer attached to the monument, has been carefully inserted into the south wall of the chapel, where it is protected by a stone frame-work.

Brass to the
memory of the
fourth sir
Ralph.

To the vault in the new chapel were removed the bodies of sir John Verney and his wife, with those of the second sir Ralph and his wife. The body of the fourth sir Ralph was re-interred in the chancel at Albury. His tomb, which was of course taken to pieces on removal, was not put together again. The flat stone which formed the top of it was placed over his grave, one of the sides inserted in the paving of the chancel floor on each side of the top stone, and one of the ends in the pavement of the south aisle.

The sides and end are despoiled of the heraldry which at one time adorned them, but the fourth or top stone retains handsome brasses, which represent sir Ralph and the heiress of lord Bray (who was not, however, buried here), with their nine children. There are four escutcheons (one at each corner) of their heraldic bearings. Sir Ralph is accoutred in plate armour with a skirt of chain mail and a surcoat adorned with the arms of Verney, Agnell, and Whittingham. The lady's mantle displays the arms of Bray, *1st and 4th, Argent, a chevron between three eagle's legs sable; 2nd and 3rd, Vairy, three bendlets gules;* with the arms of Halliwell, *Or, on a bend gules three goats argent,* Norbury, *Sable, a chevron engrailed between three bull's heads caboshed argent,* Boteler, *Gules, a fess chequy argent and sable between six crosses formée fitchée or,* and Sudeley, *Or, two bends gules,* borne quarterly on an escutcheon of pretence. This monument is worthy of notice on two accounts: 1st. as an example of brass figures inserted in what was originally the slab or upper stone of an altar-tomb in the place of the customary recumbent effigies; and 2ndly, for the more than customary admixture with the brass of another metal, apparently lead. The lead is introduced to represent certain definite objects, as, for example, the cross in the arms of Verney (the mullets being represented in brass), and the gauntlet portion of the lady's gloves. It has worn well, and is now so similar in colour to the grey stone into which the brass is inserted, that the leaden parts look as if they were portions of the stone itself.*

There is an original three-quarters panel portrait of sir Edmund at Claydon. It represents him at the age of 59,† florid and healthy,‡

Portrait of sir Edmund.

* Engraved in Clutterbuck's Hertfordshire, vol. i. p. 287.

† There is the following inscription upon the portrait, "Anno ætatis suæ 59, 1594."

‡ There is at Claydon, under date of 9th February, 1580-1, an archiepiscopal licence confirmed by letters patent under the great seal, by which sir Edmund was allowed to eat flesh on days forbidden, with a good conscience, for the term of his life, on the ground that eating of fish was injurious to his health by reason of the great weakness of his stomach. His wife and any three persons whom he chose to select were allowed to be co-partakers in this indulgence.

of light complexion and with blue eyes; a man of shrewdness and determination. His costume is in the well-known fashion of the close of the reign of Elizabeth. A doublet of rich black silk brocade profusely ornamented with gold braid fits tightly to his body; a magnificent ruff, rendered inflexible by what Stubbs contemptuously designates "the liquid matter which they call starch," envelopes his neck; a heavy triple-chain of gold hangs in a sweep from shoulder to shoulder; both hands are ornamented by rings; on his head is the black silk conical cap worn only by men of mature age.

The facts we have been able to gather respecting sir Edmund indicate the course of his life, but do little more. Of the man himself, of his character and opinions, they tell us scarcely anything. Nor is there much among the Claydon papers of his time which illustrates the state of society during the Elizabethan period,—that period still so interesting to Englishmen, with almost the whole of which he was contemporary. Two or three papers seem all that are worthy of publication.

AGREEMENT ON THE PART OF THE COUNTY OF BUCKINGHAM FOR THE
SUPPLY OF CERTAIN PROVISIONS FOR THE QUEEN'S HOUSE, 4TH
APRIL, 1593.

The prerogative of purveyance was one of those ancient rights of sovereignty which in practice were most annoying to the people. It consisted in the power of taking, at certain fixed low prices, and with or without the consent of the owner, for the use of the royal household, any provisions which an officer called a purveyor thought proper to select. With that wisdom which distinguished the government of queen Elizabeth, we find from the following paper that this ancient right was not harshly enforced, but made the subject of a clear arrangement which avoided in practice all the heartburnings and contentions which are sure to follow from carrying out an indefinite authority. The paper also lets us see something of the grazing of our ancestors.

Articles of agreement and composition had and made the 4th of Aprill
anno reginæ Elizabethæ xxxv^{to} betweene the right honourable the
lords of her majesties most honourable privie councill beinge autho-
rized by commission for that purpose on the behalfe of her majestie,
and sir Robert Dormer knight, Thomas Tasborough, and Thomas

Piggott the younger, esquires, on the other part, beinge authorised to compound and conclude for the deliuey of certaine provisions towards the expences of her majesties house out of the county of Buckingham, as hereafter followeth : viz.—

FIRST, that l. fatt oxen, every oxe weighinge vj^{cl} weight, shall be deliuered at the court gate the xxth of May at iiij^{li} apeice.

Item, that v^c fatt muttuns, every fatt mutton weighinge xlv^{li}, shall be deliuered at the court gate, the xth of May ccl, and the xxth of Jan. ccl, at vj^s viij^d apeice, and to be weighed before the kell kidneyes and fees be taken away.

Item, that iiij^c. good and fatt lambs shall be deliuered at the court gate the last of June, at xij^d a peice.

Item, that l. good and fatt veales of the age of vj. weekes and upwards shall be deliuered at the court gate the 20th of Aprill, at iij^s iiij^d a peice.

Item, that x^{dd}.* geese at iiij^s d^d., xx^{dd}. capons at iiij^s d^d., xx^{dd}. henns at ij^s d^d., xx^{dd}. pulletts at xvij^d d^d., and c^{dd}. chikins at xij^d d^d., shall be deliuered at London upon xl. dayes warneinge giuen to the compounders or to any two justices of the peace of the said county, viz. the geese to be deliuered betweene Michaelmas and Tweluetide, the capons to be deliuered betweene Midsummer and Christmas, the henns betweene Christmas and Shrouetide, the pulletts betweene Midsummer and Michaelmas : the chikins to be deliuered betwene the first of June and Michaelmas, and the country † to haue all allowance from her majestie for carryage of the said poultry, xvj^s viij^d.

Item, that ready money shall be paid for the said oxen, muttuns, lambes, veales, and poultry immediately vpon the receipt of the same. ‡

DIRECTIONS FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF THE POOR. A. D. 1599.

We are indebted to George Grenville Pigott, esq. representative of the ancient family of Pigott of Diddershall, in Bucks, for the following extremely curious paper. It is in the nature of instructions for carrying out the provisions of the new poor law act passed in the reign of Elizabeth. We are in the habit of quoting that celebrated statute as an act of the 43rd Elizabeth, but the alteration was really effected by the 39th Elizabeth, cap. 3. The

* ? dozen.

† *Sic.*

‡ Verney MS. contemporary transcript.

43rd Elizabeth was a re-enactment of the act of the 39th Elizabeth with some few amendments. These articles apply to the intermediate period between the passing of the 39th Elizabeth, which was in 1597, and that of the 43rd Elizabeth, which was in 1601.

To the constables of Swanborne,* the xth of December, 1599.

Whereas their weare certaine articles delivered to me by my lorde chiefe justice att the laste assises to be observed and kepte within every parishe, and alsoe that they be awnspered of the examinacion of them att the nexte assises, theirfore theis are to will you in the queenes majesties name, that you doe see them observed and kepte within your parishe, and alsoe that you doe make a trew presentment, vnder your handes, in wrightinge, of the dewe examination of the same, and the names of the offendors, and alsoe of the laste articles whiche you had before, and to make retourne to me tenne dayes before the next assises ; theirfore fayle not att your perill.

Articles as followethe.

1. A rogue that saythe he was borne in suche a towne in such a countie, he ought to be sent theyther, if it maye not appeare he was borne else where, and if hee weare nott borne theire, then he is to be counted an incorrectable rogue, and is to be sent to the howse of correction in that countie which he is sent to, but if their bee none, then to the gayle, their to remaine tyll the next sessions, and their to be dealte with accordinge to the statute.

2. The same course is to be taken if it appeare not where hee was borne, or laste dwelt the space of one whole yeare.

3. If the husbände and wyfe haue a howse, and eyther of them rogue aboughte, they muste be sent to the towne where that howse is, and soe of inmates.

4. The wyfe and children vnder seaven yeares of age beinge vagarantes muste be plased with the husbände ; if the husband bee dead, then with the wyfe where she was borne and laste dwelte by the space of one yeare ; and the vagarante childeren above seaven must be sent to the place of byrthe ; and if after the vagarant parentes with that [their?] childeren vnder seaven yeares of age be placed att the place

* A parish in Buckinghamshire near Winslow.

of byrth of their parentes, or laste dwellinge by the space of a yeare, if afterwarde the parentes dye or runne awaye, yet the children beinge settled muste remayne their styll, and nott be sent to the place of byrthe, though afterwarde they growe above the age of seaven years.

5. The wyfe beinge a vagarant rogue, ought to be sente to her husbände, though hee be a servante in an other towne.

6. A rogue whose place of byrthe or dwellinge cannott be knowne, and hath the wyfe and children vnder the age of seaven yeares, [they] must goe without husbände to the place where they weare laste willfullie lett pass with the punishmente, where their children muste be releevd by the woorke of their parentes though they be sent to the howse of correction.

7. If any travell through a towne with their children, nott being rogues, if their father or mother dye or runne awaye, the parishe is nott bounde to keepe them, neyther to send awaye, but to releev them in charetie, excepte they becomme wanderinge rogues.

8. If the parentes be able and cann gett worke, they are to keepe their children by their owne labour and nott the parishe, but if they be overburthened with children, it shalbe a verye good waye to procure somme of them to be apprentices according to the statute.

9. Noe man is to be put out of the towne where hee dwellethe, nor to be sent to the place of byrth or laste dwellinge, but a rogue, nor to be kepte by the parishe excepte the partie be imputent, but ought to sett them selves to labour if they canne gett worke and be of able bodyes; if they cannott gett worke, the overseers must sett them to labour; and soe of them that have or shall have howses when their estates be expiered, and servantes whose times be expiered, though they cannott gett howses, they must provide themselves a new if they bee not imputent.

10. Suche persons as be of every parishe and have able bodyes to worke, and be nott wanderers abrode out of their parishe and refewse to woorke for suche wages as is taxed or commonlie geven in those parties, are nott to be sent to the place of byrthe or laste dwellinge by the space of a yeare, but to the howse of correction, vppon consideration of bothe the statutes of the poore and rogues; but if they have any lawfull meanes to lyve by, though they be of able bodies and refewse to woorke, yet are they nott to be sent to the howse of correction.

11. Suche as will putt any out of the towne that be nott to be putt out,

this is against the statute concerninge the reliefe of the poore, and fineable, and if any have bynne soe sent, they may be sent backe againe.

12. If any be sent to a towne where he ought to be sent and is refewsed, being a sturdye or imputent rogue, the persons soe refewsing shall forfeyte fyve pounds, and hee that is soe to be sent is to be offered to the churchwardens and overseers.

13. To send the rogues by a generall pasport, without conveyinge from parishe to parishe, is a lett to the conveyinge of rogues accordinge to the statute, and soe a forfeytuer of fyve poundes vppon the offenders, and to [beg] with suche a pasporte his stile to contynew a rogue, and to be punished by whippinge.

14. If a towne will nott receive a rogue to convey him to the place where hee was borne or dwelte, this is a forfeiture of fyve poundes in the offenders that shoulde receive those parties to convey them over.

15. Non after the fyrste daye of November, may bee suffered to take or receive any releyfe att any manes doore, though within the same parishe, vnlesse it be by the order of the overseers accordinge to the statute, neyther may any be suffered to begge by the highe waye though within that one parishe.

16. "Parentes," within this woorde is father or grandfather, mother or grandmother, being persons able.

17. "Childeren," within this woorde is any childe or grandchilde, being able.

18. Parsons or vicars, &c. be bounde to relieve the poore, as well as others being inhabitants within that parishe, as an inhabitant.

19. Every one that hath tythes appropriate, cole mynes, or landes in In [*sic*] aneve woodes, proporcioninge the same to a nanvale benefyte.

20. If ther be but one churche-warden it suffiseth with the fower overseers.

THE INTRODUCTION INTO ENGLAND OF THE MANUFACTURE OF SAIL-CLOTH.

The art of weaving sail-cloth, so important to a naval country, was introduced into England, as now appears for the first time from the following papers, under royal patronage in the reign of Philip and Mary. Before that time sail-cloth was imported, principally from France. On the 14th May, 1558, queen Mary, on the recommendation of the treasurers of the navy, advanced 100*l.* to Francis Owdry, or Owdreyn, then of Abingdon, but afterwards of Ipswich, a foreign weaver, to enable him to carry on this manufacture for the

exclusive use of the English navy. Five years were allowed for the repayment of this loan, and William Blacknoll of Swallowfield, yeoman, became Owdrey's surety. In 1565, 60*l.* remained due out of the 100*l.* Being pressed to discharge the amount, Owdrey's surety memorialised the treasurer, and time was given him for payment. The following documents shew the nature and results of the transaction, and prove that Owdrey undertook "to teach our countrymen the same craft." During the reign of Elizabeth, the secret of the manufacture came to be generally known, and under the pressure of competition, sail-cloths were passed off under the elegant names of "Mildernix" and "Powle Davis," but "in truth not made of such stuff nor so well driven or weaved as they ought to be, insomuch that the said cloths," it was said, "do yearly grow worse and worse, and are made more thinner, slighter, and meaner." These are the words of an act of parliament passed in the 1st year of James I. in which act the state of the manufacture is lamented and declared to be to the great damage of the navy, "the cheefest strength of the realm, next to God and his highness." For remedy of these evils the right to manufacture was limited, and penalties were imposed for making such cloth of other than good hemp, or of less length than thirty-three yards, or less breadth than three-quarters of a yard, or for offering to sell the cloth before the stuff were well beaten, and the cloth well driven with a brasen or iron shuttle.

The mere formal parts of the following deed have been abstracted.

THIS INDENTURE made the fourteneth day of May, in the 4th and 5th yeres of the reignes of our sovereign lorde and lady Philip and Mary, by the grace, &c. BETWEEN Benjamin Gonson, William Broke, William Wynter, and Richard Howlett, officers of our said sovereigne lady the queen's shippes, on the one partie, and Francis Owdrey, of Abendon, in the countie of Berk, poldavis weaver, of thother partie, WITNESSETH, THAT, whereas the said Frauncis hath at the ensealing, &c. received of the queen's majestie, by thands of the said Benjamin Gonson, by way of loan, the full sum of 100*l.* sterling, whiche her highnes is contented the same Frauncis shall use and occupie in a stock to his best commoditie towards the setting up againe of the arte of weaving and making poll davys and sale clothes for shippes, within the towne of Abendon aforesaid, and is also contented to give him five years respitt for repayment thereof to her grace's use, IT IS NOWE therefore couenaunted, &c. FIRST, the said Frauncis couenanteth THAT he shall delyuer to one William Holstoke, now keeper of the quene majesties store house of Depford, in the county of Kent, at reasonable prices, not only so many allrons and sale clothes for shippes as shall amount to the full somme of 100*l.* but also all such allrons and saile clothes for shippes as the said Frauncis shall or can make during the said

term of 5 yeares ; upon the delivery of which clothes the said Benjamayne, &c. do couenaunte, THAT they or the theasourer for the time being of the said shippes, shall not only allowe yearely from hensfourth at Mighelmas during the same 5 yeares unto the said Frauncis, of such moneye as shalbe due to the same Frauncis for the same clothes, the somme of 20*l.*, parcell of the said hundrethe poundes, but also shall pay to the said Frauncis, immediatly vpon the delyuerence of all such clothes as he shall make, all such sommes of monney as the same clothes shall amounte unto, at such reasonable prices as shall then be agreed upon ; ALSO THE SAIDE FRANCIS couenaunteth, That he shall from henceforth, to his uttermost endeavour and dilligence, during all the same 5 yeres, make and weave as many clothes called allrons and sayle clothes for shippes as the same Frauncis can possible make withoute fraude or covyn, and shall not gyve, sell, exchange, or part away any of the same clothes to any person, but only to the quenys maiestie, without the special licence of the said Benjamayne, &c. or their successors, officers of the saide shippes for the tyme being. In witness, &c.

The bond given by Owdrey and his surety—William Blacknoll, of Swallowfield, in Wiltshire, yeoman—for the performance of these covenants remains among the Verney MSS. The following is a memorial of the surety to the treasury when pressed for payment in 1565.

To the right honourable lord marques of Wynchestre and lorde treasurer of Englande, and to the honourable sir Richarde Sackfeilde,* and sir Walter Myldemay, knightes.†

In his humble maner complayneng shewith vnto your honours, your humble supplyaunte and pore oratour William Blacknolle, of Swallowfeilde, in the countie of Wilts, yoman, Wheras your oratour (togidre with Frauncis Owdreyne, of the towne of Ippiswitche, poldavyes maker, at the instaunce and special request of the said Frauncis) stande ioynctlye bounde by their wryteng obligatorye vnto the quenys maiestie in the somme of twoo hondred poundes, for the payment of one hundred poundes at dayes past, whereof is paide fourety poundes to thandes of Beniamyne Gonson, treasurer of the quenys maryne causses, and so remayneth threscore poundes, for the payment whereof processe of late

* Of course Sackville, under treasurer of the exchequer.

† Chancellor of the exchequer.

was directyd oute of the quenys maiesties mooste honourable courte of exchequere ayenst your oratour. And forasmochse as the saide debtt remayneng is not the right due of your oratour, but of the fore saide Owdreyne, and the saide *c li.* paide and delyuered vnto the saide Owdreyne was by him employed in and aboute the makyng of poldavyes for the furnishing of the quenys maiesties navie, a thinge very commodiouse for this realme to be practised and hadd in vse; may it please your honours (in consideracon of the premysses), and for that the seide Owdreyne could not haue receyued the said money, and thereby and therewith to haue sett vpp and practised the makyng of poldavyes withoute that your oratour had been bounde with hym for the payment thereof, which he did vppon the earnyst request of the saide Owdreyne, and vppon his promys made to teache our countreyemen the same craft, to cause the saide processe ayenst your oratour directed to be stayed, and to graunte suche reasonable tyme of payment of the saide *lx li.* as the said Owdreyne may be hable to doo the same, and to procede in makynge of the saide poldavyes to the perfect instruccon and learnynge of the quenys subiects in the said trade. This for the love of God, and your pore oratour shall praye as he dailie dothe for the longe and prosperous contynnaunce of your honours.

In consequence of this memorial, a new bond was taken payable by annual instalments of *6l.* A quietus evidences that the last payment was made and the account discharged on the 2nd July, 24th Elizabeth.

The career of SIR FRANCIS VERNEY, the eldest son of the first sir Edmund, was brief and melancholy. The few scattered facts which we have been able to recover respecting him indicate a wild unhappy life.

SIR FRANCIS
VERNEY. A.D.
1584-1615.

In 1604, whilst yet under age, he had a residence in St. Dunstan's in the West, and Richard Gygges, one of his servants, was "slain," in that year, as is stated in the register of burials in that parish,* probably in one of those drunken brawls which often disturbed the neighbourhood of Alsatia.

On attaining his majority, sir Francis involved himself in a serious dispute with his step-mother and his brother Edmund, by petitioning

Endeavours to
set aside his
father's settle-

* Collect. Topog. v. 382.

ment of the family property. the parliament to set aside lady Verney's jointure and the settlement which his father had made of the family estates. With that view he sought the repeal of the act of the 39th Elizabeth, by which these family arrangements had been confirmed. A bill to carry out sir Francis's objects was brought into the house of commons and read a first time on the 5th March, 1605-6. On the 19th March, an order was made that the bill should be read a second time, and that counsel should be heard upon it on the following Monday, the 24th. On the 26th, Mr. Wincall pleaded before the house for sir Francis, and Mr. Randall Crewe, afterwards the celebrated patriot chief justice, on behalf of the widow of sir Edmund. Several of the members who were in the house in the 39th Elizabeth and sat upon the committee to whom the former bill was referred, gave evidence that "sir Edmund Verney did follow the bill himself, and laboured divers friends in it," and the repeal was also opposed on the ground that it would occasion "the overthrow of many purchasers, sixty at least." After "much dispute and argument," the bill was rejected.*

Fails in doing so.

We must not suppose that, according to the notions of those days, the conduct of sir Francis was altogether unjustifiable. His rights as an eldest son claiming under the settlement which we have before alluded to as made by his uncle Edmund, † would, probably, at that time, be considered with feelings very different to those which they would excite now; nor was his claim altogether devoid of an appearance of what is professionally termed "equity." There was, to say the least of it, something like hardship in depriving him of his rights under his uncle's settlement during his minority. Probably this view of the matter was urged by his friends on his step-mother, for on the 20th June, 1606, a modification was made of the arrangement of the family property, by which she resigned Quainton to sir Francis.

* Commons' Journals, i. 277, 286, 290.

† This deed was recited and overturned in the act of the 39th Elizabeth (Com. Journ. i. 290). Sir Francis sought "to set" it "on foot" again. (Ibid.)

The concession came too late. The rejection of his bill excited the youthful sir Francis to desperation. Surrounded by family dissensions and heart-burnings, writhing under a sense of presumed injustice, and overwhelmed with debt, he determined to sell everything, to free himself from the pressure of creditors, and to forsake not only his friends, who, as he thought, had injured him, but even his country, which had refused him redress.

Quainton was sold first. It produced him only 500*l*. Fleet Sells the family seat at Penley and all the other estates. Marston went next. Penley followed; and, as if resolved that the sale of the ancient mansion should be a break-up of house and home, the furniture was conveyed to Richard Anderson, esquire, the purchaser, as well as the residence and the lands. These sales took place in 1607. Other properties, which we need not particularise, followed in the wake of the chief seat of the family. On the 4th July, 1608, sir Francis having disposed of every thing that was saleable, gave a general irrevocable authority to his uncle Urian to act for him in all businesses connected with the wreck of his estate, and on the 16th December following, he assigned over all his title deeds to another uncle, Ralph Verney, described as of High Holborn, gentleman.

From that time sir Francis disappeared for seven years. There Goes to Africa. is no doubt that he left England, and rumour and tradition report that he went to Algiers. It is added that he forsook the faith of his fathers and “turned Turk.” But, besides the innate improbability of any such voluntary renunciation, his going into Africa is susceptible of a good deal of explanation.

The death of Muley Hamet, emperor of Morocco, was followed by a war of succession. His three sons disputed the right to the vacant throne, and each of them found a numerous band of partizans ready to follow him into the field. Such a war could have possessed no particular attractions in the estimation of English people in general; but the wildness of the country, the barbarity of the people, the liberality of the pay, and the dissimilarity of the

Band of English
volunteers
serving in
Barbary.

Under the
command of
captain John
Giffard.

scenes which such a contest presented to those customary in, what is termed, civilized warfare, may have had attractions for our untamed youth. Certain it is that a considerable band of Englishmen volunteered in this singular service. One of the claimants, Muley Sidan, was supported by a body of 200 Englishmen, the most of them voluntaries; and, what is especially to our present purpose, they were under the command of a Buckinghamshire man, one of the Giffards, a connection of sir Francis Verney and of his uncle Urian, and a near relation of the holder and lessee of the Claydon estate. The fact is stated distinctly by our authority.

Over the English and all the Christians was generall captaine John Giffard, a gentleman of a worthy spirit, and descended from the auncient and honourable stemme of the Giffards in Buckinghamshire. Upon his first entertainment and welcome into the countrey, Sidan bestowed upon him a rich sword, valued at a thousand marks, and a scarlet cloake richly embrodered with pearle, sent as a present to Muley Hamet, the king's father, from our late sovereigne of famous memorie queene Elizabeth, besides many other extraordinary fauours of good value, and often conuersing familiarly, yea, sometimes visiting captaine Giffard at his owne tent. His entertainment was twentie-five shillings *per diem*, besides many supplies proceeding from the king's bountie. With him as secundarie men in charge, was one maister Philip Giffard, his neare and verie deare kinsman, captaine Jaques a verie vailiant souldier, captaine Smith one of the most exquisite engineers in Europe, captaine Baker an ancient Brytaine souldier, captaine Tailer, captaine Faukes, captaine Chambers, captaine Isack, men euerie way able to undergoe their severall commands. These were dayly stipendiaries at twelve shillings a man, except the two sea captaines Isack and Chambers who had foure shillings a day, and every common souldier twelve pence truly payed them." *

With this important addition to his native forces Muley Sidan awaited the approach of his enemies. In the beginning of Novem-

* A true historicall discourse of Muley Hamet's rising to the three kingdomes of Moruecos, Fes, and Sus, &c. &c. Lond. 4to. 1619. cap. xv.

ber, 1607, a battle seemed about to ensue, and Muley Sidan sent for his wizards and soothsayers to foretell the success of the fight. They answered that he should lose the battle and be driven into Sus, but that within five months he should regain Morocco, and reign there for the remainder of his life. The answer of the oracle fulfilled itself. Muley Sidan endeavoured to withdraw his troops. Some of them were intercepted and cut to pieces, whilst others betook themselves to shameful flight. Muley Sidan himself made haste to leave the field, and

“sent to the English captaines to be gone, and to captaine Giffard a good horse to saue himselfe. The English returned word, that they came not thither to run, but rather die an honorable death. Captaine Giffard encouraged his men, telling them there was no hope of victorie, but to prepare and die like men, like English men ; and then asking for his Jaques, whom he loued dearely, and taking a pike in his hand, thought to haue rode vnto him, being told he was not sixscore from him, and to haue died together, but on the way captaine Giffard being charged by eight Abdelians, one behinde him shot him thorow, and so was he there slaine. Few of al the English nation were left aliue, the number not exceeding thirtie, and none of the commanders escaped except captaine Isack and captaine Faukes ; of the Mores were not slaine in all fortie persons.” *

Defeat of the English and death of captain Giffard.

With the example of the Giffards before him, and tales of their achievements sounding in his ears, it is not difficult to understand how the attention of sir Francis Verney came to be directed towards the states of Barbary. Disgusted with his native country, and anxious to break the ties which bound him to his home, what outlet more likely to attract his imagination than that which filled even the secluded vales of Buckinghamshire with captivating histories of picturesque adventure?

But, besides the land service in which the Giffards were engaged, there was in Barbary another scene of action for desperate spirits still

* A true historical discourse of Muley Hamet's, &c. cap. xv.

English privateers commit acts of piracy in the Mediterranean.

more hazardous and not less fertile in daring actions. During the reign of Elizabeth the national hatred of the Spaniards and the richness of their commerce had led to the employment against them of a great number of English cruisers, generally as privateers under the authority of commissions from the queen. The occupation, however dangerous, was found to be remunerative, and when James I. ascended the English throne, many persons engaged in this trade of warfare, "men inured to live insolently by the spoil of others," were unwilling to relinquish what had become their way of life. In vain were their commissions revoked and themselves proclaimed pirates. The public, ever inclined to look with favour upon acts of courage, and not at all disposed to regret any loss which happened to Spain, were slow to condemn such gallant fellows; the merchants continued to give them underhand support; and even the authorities in maritime towns connived at the sale of their plunder. "The new king proclaimed his peace with Spain, but England had not forgotten the Armada, she had not lost her interest in the still continuing war in the Low Countries, nor were the persons already engaged in these expeditions inclined to come round suddenly to an opinion which would deprive them of a profitable employment. During the first five years after the accession of James I. there were continual complaints against these pirates. In spite of proclamations* the evil increased. The lawless way of life even became popular. "Many Englishmen," it is said, "furnished themselves with good ships" and scoured the seas, but little careful whom they might plunder, and such was their success that "nulli melius piraticam exercent quam Angli" passed into a proverb.

Resort to Tunis and Algiers.

The ports of England were soon strictly shut against them. Harbours to which they might resort to refit their ships and sell their plunder were absolutely necessary. In Tunis, Algiers, and the towns on the coast of Barbary, every one who robbed the Christians was welcome. Thither they went for occasional shelter,

* See proclamations of 30th September, 1603; 12th November, 1604; 1st March, 1604-5; 8th July, 1605; 13th June, 1606; 8th January, 1608-9.

and thither English traders resorted on purpose to barter and traffic with them. Their intercourse with the Mahometans did more than their way of trade to render them unpopular in England. Captivated by the eclat of their irregular but fearless achievements, many persons could tolerate their piracy, but every one was scandalised at the idea that they had "turned Turks." The chroniclers indeed admit that they did not "all turn Turks," but all, it is alleged, "submitted themselves under the protection of the Turks or Barbarians;" all were defamed for "exercising all manner of despites and speaking of blasphemy against God, their king, and country;" and, above every thing else, they all "taught the infidels the use and knowledge of navigation, to the great hurt of Europe." *

One of the Giffards was mixed up with this iniquitous private war. "Richard Giffard, captain of a ship or fly-boat lately called the Fortune," is mentioned by name, as one of the leaders, in a proclamation of the 13th June, 1606. But the person designated as their chief was a "captain John Ward," † with whom were associated "Bishop, sir Francis Verney, Glanvile, and others." ‡ Of their particular achievements we have no account; but the Genoese, the Florentines, and the Spaniards, all suffered severely, and for several years the correspondence of the time abounds with complaints of the damage occasioned to commerce by these daring marauders. Some months before sir Francis left England, Ward's fleet was almost destroyed by the Spaniards. A Spanish admiral with certain ships of war under his command came suddenly upon them, whilst lying in harbour, and in "an instant burned about 20 of their ships." Ward was ashore at the time and escaped capture, but "his greatest strength, with much riches of his and his confederates, perished in the fire." This occurred about the middle of July, 1608. On the 22nd December following, just about the earliest period at which sir Francis could have left

Their leaders:
Giffard, Ward,
and others.

* Stowe's Annales, ed. Howes, 893.

† Proclamation of 8th January, 1608-9.

‡ Stowe, as before, 893.

England, nineteen of the pirates, some of them persons of note, were executed at Wapping.* In spite of all these measures of repression, the pirate fleets still kept the sea. Ships and men were replaced with ease, and for several years the commerce of the Mediterranean seemed at the mercy of these freebooters. In 1612 king James endeavoured, in vain, to subdue them by kindness. Many came home upon the proffer of pardon for life and goods, but the greater number still adhered to their wild and desperate life.†

Share of sir
Francis Verney
in this irregular
warfare.

Of sir Francis Verney's individual exploits we know nothing; but there is no reason to doubt that being in Barbary, in connection with the pirates, for several years, he took his share in whatever warlike actions, either by sea or land, were then in progress amongst them. A turban, two superb silk pelisses, and two pair of Turkish slippers, which are still preserved at Claydon house, are evidences that he adopted the costume of the country; whilst his pilgrim's staff, conspicuously inlaid with crosses, seems to shew that he did not commit the unnecessary and improbable offence of becoming a renegado. An abandonment of Christianity was not required of those who betook themselves voluntarily to Tunis or Algiers, although, unquestionably, a necessary preliminary to entering into the service of the state itself.

His death.

A life so reckless, and accompanied by the heavy load of repentant heartache which sir Francis must, at all times, have borne about with him, could not last long. On the 25th August, 1615, he applied at the great hospital of St. Mary of Pity, in Messina, for admittance. How he came thither, whether he was dropped by a cruiser passing through the straits in the course of a piratical voyage, or was conveyed across from Tunis for the sake of Christian advice and comfort, is not entered in the brief register of the hospital. All that is there stated is that he was sick, and that they took him in.

* Stowe, as before.

† Court and Times of James I. i. 134, 136, 141.

The same book further intimates, with formal brevity, that his sickness was mortal:—"On the sixth September, in the same year, after the birth of Christ 1615, he died in the said hospital."* 6th September, 1615.

Where he was buried is not stated; doubtless in some common and undistinguished grave. Four months afterwards, a very formal certificate of his decease was obtained from the authorities at Messina, by John Watchin, an English merchant, † and, with it, the relics we have before mentioned, together with three well-used walking sticks of cane, and probably also a ring, which we shall have again to notice, were remitted to his friends in England.

A very fine full-length portrait, at Claydon, represents him of a Portrait of him at Claydon. florid complexion, with auburn hair, a clear quick eye, and a countenance full of spirit and intelligence. He is dressed in the costume of a gallant of the time. His well trimmed moustache and peaked beard, his nicely quilled ruff, striped Spanish jerkin, trunk hose with puffs of ribband at the knees, long silk hose, loose boots of light brown leather with high heels and richly ornamented spurs, embroidered gauntlet gloves, and plume of feathers in his beaver, are indications of the man of fashion, no less clear than the smart gilt cane which he carries in his right hand, the two ends painted black. The identical cane is preserved at Claydon, and is now suspended under the portrait.

Sir Francis had parted with all his inheritance, therefore no in- Subsequent marriages of the widow of sir Francis. quisition was held after his death. His widow married in 1619 to

* Ego Don Petrus Garsia, pater magni Xenodochii sanctæ Mariæ Pietatis, hujus nobilis civitatis Messanæ, fidem facio, Dominum Franciscum Verneyum Anglum circiter viginti sex annos natum in prædictum Xenodochium ægrotum venisse, die vigesimo quinto Augusti anno Domini MDCXV. et die sexto Septembris eodem anno post Christum natum MDCXV. mortuum esse in dicto Xenodochio, sicut notatum reperitur in libro prædicti Xenodochii in quo scribi consueverunt ægroti folio CCCLXX. ; et hujus veritatis fidem faciens has literas præsentibus dedi, nomenque proprium subscripsi et usitato hujus Xenodochii sigillo obsignavi. Messanæ, die x. Januarii, anno MDCXVI. Idem qui supra, Don Petrus Garsia, pater dicti Xenodochii.

† Verney MS. 13th January, 1616.

William Clarke, esq. eldest son of sir William Clarke, of Hitcham, in the county of Bucks.

Her paternal family, the St. Barbes, were respectably connected. One of her aunts was married to secretary Walsingham, another to Robert Beale, the well known clerk of the council, and her uncle was the immediate ancestor of the St. Barbes of Broadlands in Hants, now the seat of lord Palmerston.* Nor was there much inequality between lady Verney and Mr. Clarke on the score of age. But we learn from a retailer of court gossip that the marriage was grievously objected to by her new father-in-law.† Her second husband died, as is said, on the 20th July, 1655. She was married, thirdly, to John Chicheley, esq.

THE SECOND SIR
EDMUND VER-
NEY, A.D. 1589-
90—1642.

The death of sir Francis elevated his half-brother Edmund to the undisputed position of head of the family—a position to which he brought qualities the very reverse of those which ruined his unhappy brother. No one can doubt that Francis was full of courage. His impetuosity and daring are sufficiently attested by the errors of his wayward life. In Edmund the courage of Francis was combined with steadiness, with affectionate attachment to home and friends, and with calmness and perseverance in the performance of all duties. His mother's surrender of Quainton to sir Francis had deprived her of a country residence. For many years she was on the look out for a purchase in Bucks, and letters addressed to her upon the subject, still preserved at Claydon, prove her to have been a woman of business and intelligence. During this interval she resided in the house in Drury lane, in which her son Edmund was born. His education, with a view to which his mother received the income

His education.

* See an excellent pedigree of the family furnished by its late representative, Charles St. Barbe, esq. of Lymington, Hants, in Hoare's South Wiltshire, Hundred of Frustfield, p. 10 ; also in Burke's Commoners, ii. 448.

† "Sir William Clarke's eldest son, without his privity, is lately married to the lady Verney, widow to him that turn'd Turke; and though there be no great inequality between them, either for wealth or yeares (he being four or five and forty, and she two or three and thirty), yet the old knight is so much offended that he threatens to disinherit him, and hath vowed they shall never come within his doors." Chamberlain to Carleton, 15th July, 1619. MS. State Paper Office.

derived from his lands at Muresley and Claydon during his minority, was that given to youths of his period who were designed for the active business of life. It comprised no great amount of book-learning, but initiated those who were subject to it in the ways of the world, and made them men in intellect and general knowledge at a very early age. Before Edmund Verney had attained twenty, he had seen war in the Low Countries, and had visited the courts of France and Italy. On his return to England, a gentleman accomplished in all courtly qualities, he was taken into the household of prince Henry, where we find him, in the year 1610, filling the office of chief-sewer, whilst his uncle Francis was one of the falconers.* Besides the other customary qualifications for office in a royal household, it was a recommendation to prince Henry's favour that Edmund Verney had picked up, perhaps in the Low Countries, an attachment to simplicity in religious worship, and to those doctrinal peculiarities which pass by the designation of puritanical.

Foreign travels.

In the household of prince Henry.

On the 7th January, 1610-11, Edmund Verney was knighted. In the same year he visited Madrid, whilst Lord Digby was the English ambassador at the Spanish court. It seems probable that his journey was not a mere private tour, but had some connection with public business. He returned to England to take his share in that universal grief which overspread the nation on the death of his master, prince Henry. After the lapse of seven and twenty years sir Edmund Verney refers to this calamity, as will be seen in a letter which we shall print hereafter, as if it were the event which stood alone in his recollection for having occasioned the greatest amount of public sorrow.

Is knighted.

Goes to Spain.

Death of prince Henry.

In the interval which took place between the death of prince Henry and the establishment of the household of prince Charles upon the footing suited to his altered circumstances, sir Edmund fixed his position in life by marriage. The lady was Margaret the eldest daughter of sir Thomas Denton, knight, of Hillesdon in

Marriage of sir Edmund.

* Collection of Household Ordinances, pp. 323, 327.

Bucks—a parish adjoining to Steeple Claydon. The match was in every way an excellent one. The Dentons were a good country family; the lady, as immortalised by the pencil of Vandyke,* and tested by the performance of a course of matronly duties, possessed excellent qualities both of person and intellect, whilst her fortune was handsome enough to command, in those days, suitors of fully as high standing in the world as sir Edmund Verney. Dame Mary Verney, sir Edmund's mother, had now fixed herself at Langley Marsh in Bucks, on a property which was afterwards the subject of a long dispute with sir John Kedermister on a question of title, whilst sir Edmund, on attaining his majority, had come into possession of Muresley, and the family rights and interests in Middle Claydon. The subject of a settlement upon miss Margaret Denton, who had in hand the pretty sum of 2300*l.*, was a serious one. A meeting of the two families was held to settle it. Dame Mary was brought over from Langley Marsh to Hillesdon House to assist in coming to terms. A jointure of 400*l.* per annum was insisted upon by the young lady's father. Muresley did not amount to more than half that amount. But the parties were obviously willing. Dame Mary consented to give up a recognisance for 1000*l.* from sir Edward Phillips, lately the master of the rolls, and sir Robert his son, upon receiving an annuity of 100*l.* for her life. This made everything straight. It was agreed that lands should be bought and brought into settlement, and that, if sir Edmund should die before a proper purchase could be found, certain payments should be made to his widow and to her representatives. The interview passed over to the satisfaction of all parties, especially when the old knight of Hillesdon, considering that sir Edmund had no home to which to take his wife, evidenced his concurrence in the match by agreeing to make the very acceptable addition to his daughter's portion of four years' board for herself and her intended husband.† Arrangements

* There are two fine portraits of her at Claydon.

† Verney MSS. 2nd Dec. 1612; 27th Jan. 1612-13; 22nd May, 1615.

being thus happily completed, the marriage took place at Hillesdon on the 14th December, 1612.

About the middle of the next year the new regulations of prince Charles's household took effect, and sir Edmund was appointed to the place of one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber. For some years afterwards we find him occasionally at the house in Drury lane, at his chamber in the prince's court during his period of attendance, but most frequently at Hillesdon. There lady Verney resided constantly, and there the first eight of their children, whose births all date within eleven years of the marriage, were born and christened;—Ralph, born on the 9th November, 1613; Thomas, born 2nd November, 1615; Edmund, born 2nd November, 1616; Henry, born 19th April, 1618; John, born 19th July, 1619; Susanna, born 18th April, 1621; Penelope, born 7th June, 1622; and Margaret, born 30th September, 1623.

Is appointed gentleman of the privy chamber to prince Charles.

Births of the first eight of his children, 1613-23.

The Dentons were leading people in the business of the county, and sir Edmund soon began to take his share with his father-in-law, sir John Temple, sir Francis Goodwin, sir Edward Tyrrell, and sir William Fleetwood, in whatever was stirring, and especially in any business in which the court was interested. His standing in the county was further assured in 1622 by his appointment to the lieutenancy of Whaddon chase. The office was in the gift of George Villiers, then marquess of Buckingham and keeper of Whaddon. The marquess's letter by which the appointment was conferred has not been found; but the following from sir Richard Graham, one of his gentlemen, in which it was contained, gives some notion of the position of sir Edmund at this time. It shews also that Buckingham imitated his master in the careless liberality with which he bestowed his favours upon persons whom he desired to please. The old king was failing, and it was now the care of the favourite to stand well with the prince and all about him. The ill-bred insolence with which, during his ascent to power, he had sought to depress, if not to tyrannise over, the heir apparent, had come to an

Appointed lieutenant of Whaddon chase.

end and been atoned for. Buckingham was now as much the friend of the prince as of the king.

SIR RICHARD GRAHAM TO SIR EDMUND VERNEY.

Worthy sir,—According to your desire I have acquainted my lord of his ingagement vnto you for the leivetenances of Whodden chase, and the place where you moued it to him on Newmarkett heath, where I was by myselfe. There hath beene many suters for the said place to my lorde, and Mr. Waterhouse hath beene a very earnest suter. My lord did forbear to give him or any other any aunswere, because he thought you had a minde to itt. He wishes that thee imployment be worth your derserving, and grants you the leivetennancy with all his hart. In this letter inclosed you will finde as much signified vnto you by my lord him selfe.

For the venison you desired me to procure you, I did acquainte my lorde, and his lordshippe saith, hee will not lymmitt you by the allowaunce of a warrant, but gives you free leaue to kill what you will, both in the parke and the chase. You need not to be spareing to pleasure your selfe and your freindes also, for there are to many in the parke. I haue writ a letter by my lordes directions to Mr. Dodsworth that when you come you shalbe entertained with libertie to doe there what you will, and the like manner to Smith.

Sir, I would haue seene you before the progress, but I haue had so much busines in furnishing my lorde for the progress, and my lady for the country, that I protest I haue had no spare tyme to doe any thinge, but I will wish as hartlye for you as any freinde you haue, [and] shall in any thing that I maie serve you be as reddey as to any man I knowe next my master. So, hoping of your company the latter end of the progress, I rest your faithfull servant to commande,

RICHARD GRAHAM.

Oatlands, Junij the last, 1622.

To the righte worshipful and my much respected freinde sir Edmunde Vernes [*sic*], knighte.

The year 1623 stands distinguished as the æra of that curious incident in the history of England, and in the personal history of

prince Charles,—his journey to Spain. It is not for us to consider the general character of that singular mission, or to trace its effects upon the popular feeling in England, and in that way upon Charles's future misfortunes. We have merely to indicate the share in it which was borne by sir Edmund Verney. The prince and Buckingham started for Madrid with only three attendants, sir Francis Cottington, the prince's secretary; Endymion Porter, one of the gentlemen of his privy chamber; and sir Richard Graham, the writer of the letter we have just printed. Small as was the number of attendants, the prince and duke left them on the road, for want of horses, as was alleged, but, as it would seem, for want of funds. Themselves travelled the last stage on credit, and on their arrival at Madrid Buckingham left the prince "for a pawn with the post,"* whilst himself ran in to obtain from lord Bristol the necessary funds. As soon as the prince was established at Madrid, the principal members of his household were sent after him by king James. The Adventure, a ship of war, was fitted up for their reception, and on the 1st April, 1623, they embarked. There were on board the following officers of the prince's household: viscount Andover, master of the horse; lord Compton, who was killed at Hopton heath, master of the wards; lord Carey of Leppington, chamberlain; lord Vaughan, comptroller; sir Robert Carr, gentleman of the bedchamber; eight gentlemen of the privy chamber, of whom sir Edmund Verney was the second; a gentleman usher of the privy chamber, three gentlemen ushers of the presence, five grooms of the bedchamber, three pages, and, last, two chaplains. In four days from Spithead they discovered the mountains of Biscay, and, after skirting along the rocky coast for thirty leagues, came to an anchor off Santander.

The town seemed to them "a very poor thing, having neither glass windows nor chimneys," but the kindness of their reception made amends for all external defects. As soon as they cast anchor, the governor came aboard and informed them that by the king's command he was to entertain them with all possible hospitality.

Prince Charles
journey to
Spain, A. D.
1623.

His household
sent after him.
They sail 1st
April, 1623.

Land at San-
tander.

* Additional MS. 12,496, fo. 240.

They were consequently lodged in the best houses, were nobly feasted, and for a week were permitted to amuse themselves as they could in going the round of the various religious establishments, where, in spite of their heretical demeanour, in not kneeling, they were shewn Garnet and his straw, with all "their relics and idols." *

Their journey
inland.

After waiting a week for orders, and to give time for the arrival of their baggage at Madrid, they set forth on their journey inland. Mounted on sorry mules, whose only pace was a walk, and who on every application of the spur came to a stand and "kicked backwards," the party, in number sixty, started off to cross the ranges of mountains, still covered with snow, which lay between them and the capital, "every man with a cloak-bag before him." In this unwonted position the minds of these young gallants, half-ashamed of the grotesque figures they presented, reverted to their native country, and wondered, as one of them has recorded, what would have ensued if their "friends in England had but seen them in these postures." Truly, the Spaniards might now have revenged themselves for the scorn excited in England by the miserable plight in which the escort of princess Katherine reached London when she came to marry prince Arthur.

Their first day's journey through the mountains which divide the Asturias from Old Castile seems to have tried their English mettle. "The terrible stony hills we climbed and the steep downfalls we descended are not to be believed, having for two leagues together a narrow passage of two feet broad, all made like stairs, lying a

* They were struck at Santander with that which still continues to amaze English visitors, that the women are the porters. "Wonderful populous the town is, the men from the highest to the lowest going in the habits of gentlemen, ever in cloaks and swords. Drudgery they will do none at all, for their wives they make their slaves, which do not only till the ground and plant and prune their vineyards, but also carry all our luggage as our porters do in England. We have seen when these women have come with great trunks upon their heads from the shore, and ready to sink under the burthen, their own husbands standing by, their pride was such they scorned to put their helping hands to help their wives, when they were ready to fall under the burthen, and suffered our people to help them, when they stood by and laughed."

hundred fathoms above a great river, whose roaring amongst the stones was such that we could not hear one another speak." At night they rested in a shed open to every wind of heaven, and in a lofty region where they were so cold that they were fain to walk up and down for a couple of hours whilst supper was preparing. When the meal was ready, there was neither table to place it upon, nor stool for them to sit to it, but with much ado, it is said, "we got a piece of timber, about which we stood, and gave God thanks for what we had."

Supper was not concluded when up came a post with a letter from Madrid for lord Carey. Their last orders had been to come on with all expedition. Now everything was countermanded. They were directed to return instantly to England in the ship in which they had arrived. Never were men more overwhelmed with amazement. The prince's order, signed by his own hand, was read over and over again, and such was the general sadness, that for half an hour no one could open his lips. When they began to speak upon the subject, every one offered a separate opinion. Some lamented their disappointment in not seeing Madrid, some concluded that the treaty for the match had come to an end, some feared for the prince's safety. What was to be done? The majority determined to obey the prince's command. But a rebellious half-dozen, of whom sir Edmund Verney was one, refused to return to Santander to be laughed at. They determined to go on to Burgos, where they should join the high road to St. Sebastian, and to return that way through France. In this condition of disquiet, some paced up and down, and some rested on the boards of the floor till day.

Daylight rendered the rebellious half-dozen wiser, but not less resolved against return to Santander. Several of the party had direct charges from the king to be delivered to the prince, others were the bearers of jewels for him;—yet all were directed to return. They concluded, from these circumstances, that the prince was either misinformed or under duress of the Spaniards. In either case, to return and tell the tale in England would gain them little

Sir Edmund Verney and others determine to go on to Madrid.

credit. Upon consideration, they abandoned their intention to go home through France, and determined to proceed to Madrid, and submit the whole matter to the judgment of the prince. This was too bold a step for the majority, seeing "their master's hand to the contrary;" but sir William Howard, sir Edmund Verney, and four gentlemen whose names were Clare, Carew, Sandilands, and Pitcairn, set forth at once towards Madrid. Their way lay through Burgos, Lerma, Aranda, and over the Somosierra, a road since trodden by many an English foot, and every step of which has been moistened with English blood.

All the rest follow them.

Howard and Verney knew their masters. It soon became evident to the obedient majority who retraced their steps to Santander, that they had taken the wrong course. On arriving there the governor, the mayor, and "all the dons" of the town, looked coldly upon them. They pretended that they dared not receive them into their houses again without a fresh command from the king. Driven to obtain such lodgings as they could find in the filthy inns, they there awaited the return of their baggage, which had been sent on ahead. In the meantime they were perplexed by a medley of contradictory and inconsiderate orders. One day they were all directed to return home instantly; the next some of them were to come on to Madrid. One order commanded them to return by sea, another to leave the Adventure at Santander and make their way back—no easy thing for many of them to do—through France. Sir Edmund Verney, had he remained with them, might have adopted this latter course, for we learn that he had brought with him a jewel upon which he might have raised funds (some relic of the courtly splendour of Anne Weston, the lady of magnificent gowns), but many of the party had not "money to serve their turns a week." In the end, they all determined, in spite of their master's hand to the contrary, to follow Howard and Verney, and obtain some understandable directions at Madrid.

The whole distance from Santander to Madrid is under 75 leagues. The journey occupied seven days. To Burgos—30 leagues—was

three days' journey. The next day they got on to Lerma. Two days more brought them to Buitrago. Whence to Madrid was one long day's journey, with a bait and a rest at San Augustin's at mid-day. Between three and four in the afternoon they were within sight of Madrid, where the next day they were kindly welcomed by the prince, and were much revived with the "kissing of his hand." They found him attended by some of his own servants—no doubt by Howard, Verney, and the few who had pushed on at first.

The presence of so large a number of them at Madrid was a great incumbrance to the prince. He had apartments in the king's palace, but they consisted of only two little rooms, with an outlet into a garden, "so nasty, and so ill-favouredly kept, that a farmer in England would be ashamed of such another." This was no place for attendants. The duke de Monteleo's palace was taken for the prince's servants, but that was a long way off. Persons resident there could render the prince no personal service, even had it been desired. When this large retinue had been in Madrid a week, had seen the painted ladies taking their airings in the afternoon, had visited the royal stables and the armoury, had been present at a play acted in the palace, and had witnessed a solemn ecclesiastical procession, there was nothing more for them to do. They loitered about and passed the wearisome days in card-playing.

They arrive at Madrid.

At the end of a fortnight the prince intimated to them his peremptory directions for their return. Retaining half the attendants upon his bedchamber, all the rest were dismissed, with the option of returning either by land through France or by sea in the Adventure. About 50 determined for the sea, with lord Carey. The rest, under lord Vaughan and sir John North, who "by their passage by sea found they were not able to brook it at their return," chose the journey by land. Three or four of the gentlemen of the privy chamber, we are told, tired of the adventures of pack-mule travelling, sued for leave to stay some few days longer, promising then to go post through France; which the prince yielded to, it is added, with much difficulty, and only on the gracious intercession of my

And after a fortnight are sent home.

lord marquess. The sea party visited the Escorial and Segovia on their way back to Burgos, joining the road again at Lerma. Three days more brought them to Santander. After waiting three further days for a wind, they put to sea, where they lay eight nights, and then were driven into Weymouth, happy again to be "in sweet England," and rejoicing over the dinner which, within two hours after their landing, was spread before them at their inn. It "had more meat in it," says the Welsh baronet who was the recorder of these adventures, "than we had seen in two hundred miles' riding."*

Sir Edmund Verney remained behind.

Sir Edmund Verney stayed behind with the prince. He remained in Spain during the many months which were required to unwind the complicated trickery of the negotiation in which Charles had involved himself. When sir Richard Wynne took his leave, the prince wagered him a horse of forty pieces that he should have landed in England on the 10th of July. It was the 5th of October before he was able to accomplish his purpose. Of sir Edmund's presence in Madrid during this long interval we have only two proofs, but both of them are worthy of remembrance.

His quarrel with a priest.

In the service of the prince as page there was a Mr. Thomas Washington, probably from Buckinghamshire, where there was a branch of the well-known family of that name. Whilst in Madrid, Washington was taken ill and ultimately died of a disease incident to hot climates. During his illness, Verney's attachment to Buckinghamshire was an additional spur for his bestowing more than ordinary attention upon his dying friend. He was not alone in his attentions. The English priests, ever on the watch for converts, besieged poor Washington's dying pillow, and disturbed his mortal agony with questions of controversy. Verney resented this intrusion. On one occasion, but a little while before Washington's death, as Verney was ascending to his friend's apartment, he met an English priest named Ballard, in the act of

* Sir Richard Wynne of Gwedir, at that time a knight, but afterwards, on the death of his father, the second baronet. His narrative was printed by Hearne in the Appendix to his *Historia vitæ et regni Ricardi II. a monacho quodam de Evesham consignata*. 8vo. Oxon. 1729, pp. 299—341.

leaving the sick man's chamber. Sir Edmund complained of his thus forcing himself upon the dying man. The priest replied. Debate ensued, and from words they fell to blows. Sir Edmund was an awkward opponent under such circumstances, but other persons interfered, and the combatants were separated. Complaint was made of his striking a priest, and ill blood seemed likely to follow, but Gondomar had the wisdom to interfere and settle the matter. When Verney next visited Buckinghamshire, and detailed to the Washingtons the circumstances of the illness and death of his young friend, who can estimate the satisfaction it must have been to him, that he was able to close the melancholy history by assuring them that their relation died at last unmolested, in the faith in which he had been baptised, and that, although he was not buried with the ceremonies nor in the place of distinction which would have been assigned to him as a pervert, he was laid, earth to earth, amidst the sorrows of faithful friends, under the shadow of a fig-tree, in the garden at the back of the house of the English ambassador.*

The other incident relates to the jewels of the splendid Anne Weston which sir Edmund had brought with him into Spain. When Charles was hurrying out of Spain, scattering his farewell presents on every side, jewels were invaluable to him. The supply from England, noble as it was,† was exhausted, and in this extremity sir Edmund's jewel went amongst the rest. A cross of ten thick table diamonds, bought of the prince's servant, sir Edmund Verney, was presented as a parting gift to Don Maria de Lande.‡

The prince and his attendants, except Buckingham, who went off first to the sea-side, left Madrid on the 12th September. They arrived at Santander on the 17th, sailed on the 24th, and, after a tedious voyage, arrived at Portsmouth, as we have stated, on the 5th October. Sir Edmund, we may be sure, hurried with all possible speed into Buckinghamshire, where his wife had given birth to

His sale of a
jewel to the
king.

Return of the
prince and his
attendants, 5th
October, 1623.

* Howell's Letters, vol. i. no. xx.

† Archæologia, xxi. 148.

‡ Lloyd's Memoires, p. 351. Prynne's Hidden Workes, 52.

a daughter on the last day of September, in the midst of the anxieties occasioned by the unusual length of his voyage at a stormy period of the year. The child was christened at Hillesdon two days before sir Edmund put foot ashore at Portsmouth.

Sir Edmund returned to Parliament for Buckingham, 19th February, 1623-4.

Sir Edmund Verney was returned member for the borough of Buckingham in the parliament which met on the 19th of February, 1623-4. His acquaintance with what had passed in Spain must have given him a sorrowful insight into the falsehood and chicanery by which Buckingham attained the shortlived popularity which surrounded him during that session. The people were rejoiced to have the hateful match with Spain broken off upon any terms, and almost by any means. Even grave men like sir Edward Coke were contented to applaud the unworthy favourite as the saviour of his country, because it was believed that he had been the instrument of bringing about the result they longed for. Sir Edmund Verney had seen the world, and was a man of business. He was no doubt therefore useful in the house, but this was his first appearance as a member. He took his turn upon committees, and supported his master and the duke, but did not intermeddle in debate.

Death of King James I.

The following year was ushered in by that event which could not be otherwise than important to the fortunes of sir Edmund Verney—the illness and death of king James. The old sovereign was involved in an infinity of troubles by the prince's foolish visit to Spain. Overborne by his son and the favourite, he could not do otherwise than support them in the course which on their return they were determined to take; but to do so was something very like abdication. Not even the splendour of the alliance with the daughter of Henry IV., an alliance so easily concluded, could compensate the royal professor of kingcraft, and the lover of peace on any terms, for the failure of his long negotiations and the necessity, against his will, to involve his kingdom in a war. No results could be more displeasing to a sovereign the very foundation of whose character was an overweening idea of his own cleverness in overcoming difficulties by negotiation and management.

Sir Walter Scott has commented pleasantly * upon the inconvenience to which James was subjected from the stream of suitors which continually flowed in upon him from the North, and has quoted some specimens of the phraseology of proclamations issued in Scotland against the importunate crowd of "idle rascals and poor miserable bodies" who were continually bending their way towards the court. But all the troubles arising to the king from his over-crowded court were not attributable to his ancient people. The palace was for ever beset with a multitude of "idle and masterless persons," who kept the court in an uproar with their quarrels and increased the risk of infection in time of plague. Of the crowd which at that time ordinarily surrounded the palace it is scarcely possible for us now to form an idea. A kind of market was long kept close to the royal residence, and it will have been observed that in the paper printed at p. 87 the various oxen and muttens agreed to be supplied are to be delivered "at the court gate." The state officers of the royal household then lived in the palace, together with a multitude of royal tradespeople, with their several trains of workmen and hangers-on, and the place was besieged with petitioners and suppliants innumerable, all perpetually trying some stratagem to bring themselves under the notice of persons in authority. Besides general printed proclamations upon this subject, the king from time to time gave written authorities to the knight-marshal for his interference for the redress of this grievance, several of which are among the papers at Claydon. Every person who lodged in the palace was directed to furnish the knight-marshal with a roll of his servants, "with which roll we have given in charge," says the king, "that the said knight-marshal shall continually ride, both in the day time and in the night, about our court," arresting and punishing every one whose name was not found in the roll.† A

King James's
endeavours to
stop the access
of idle persons
to the court.

* *Fortunes of Nigel*, cap. iii. and note at the end of the chapter.

† Proclamation of 29th July, 1603.

good deal of the difficulty lay with the occasional attendants upon the court, and amongst them with the workmen occasionally employed, and especially with the laundresses, or persons who chose to assume that convenient designation. We find the following original royal order for the management of these difficult people.

ROYAL ORDER LIMITING THE NUMBER OF LAUNDRESSES AND CRAFTSMEN THAT ARE TO BE ALLOWED TO FOLLOW THE COURT.

JAMES R.

Whereas through the great and excessive number of landresses that followe our court without order or limitacion manie abuses and disorders are committed ; WEE, intending the reformation thereof, doe hereby lymitt and apoint such a number of them of good reputacion to followe our court as shalbe sufficient to attend vs, willing and commanding our knight-marshall to take speciall care that he suffer no more to followe our court in that qualitie then the number herevnder specified, and therein to restraine his power and authoritie to our will and pleasure, and not only in this of landresses, but of all such as are to be authorized by him for the necessarie attendance of our court, as tent-keepers, crafts-men, and victuallers, they being of such abillitie as may giue satisfaction for ouer burdening our court with vagabonds by their means, as heretofore hath happened.

First, for Landresses, wee allow—

	Landres.	Maides.		Landres.	Maides.
For our bodie	1	2	The officers of the greene		
For our board	1	2	cloth	1	1
The lord steward	1	2	The gentlemen and grooms		
The lord admiral	1	2	of the priuie chamber	1	1
The lord chamberlain . . .	1	2	The kitchins	1	1
The grome of the stoole . .	1	2	In common	1	1
The groomes of the bed-			Men landresses for the		
chamber	1	1	household [<i>left blank</i>]		
The captaine of the guard				12	18
and band	1	1	Besides men washers.		

For Craftsmen.

Millayners 1	Shoemakers 3
Glouers 1	of which one the king's.
Barbours 1	Coblers 2
Scriveners 1	Taylours 2
Semsters 1	Victuallers 2
Stockin mender 1	Tapsters 4
Tobacco man 1	Mangerman 1
Cutler [<i>no number</i>]	Horsewalker 1
	Craftsmen in all 21. [<i>sic</i>]

Another subject of great annoyance to his majesty was “the bold and barbarous insolency of multitudes of vulgar people” who joined the royal hunt, and in that way pressed upon him and the royal party. The following paper, which evidently came from the royal pen, was aimed at these impertinent intruders.

Order to prohibit people from joining the royal hunt.

ROYAL ORDER TO PROHIBIT PEOPLE FROM JOINING THE ROYAL HUNT WITHOUT PERMISSION. 5TH AUGUST, 1619.

JAMES R.

Forasmuch as wee haue oftentimes since our first coming into England expressed our highe displeasure and offence at the bolde and barbarous insolency of multitudes of vulgar people, who, pressing vpon vs in our sportes as wee are hunting, doe ride over our dogges, brake their backes, spoile our game, runne over and destroy the corne, and not without other greate annoyance and sometymes perill both of our owne person and to our dearest sonne the prince, by their heedlesse riding and galloping; THAT notwithstanding they still presume soe much vpon our clemency and patience as wheresoeuer wee come wee are continually molested in the like sorte, to our soe greate discontentment as no privat person would endure it. ALTHOUGH wee doe professe vnto all the world that no prince can take more comfort in the dutifull affection of his subiects then wee doe when they come out of that respect to see vs, and for that purpose are well contented to give them free liberty soe to doe at such time as wee take coach or horse going abroade or as wee are returned to our lodging-house; YET, if any shall be soe

audacious as, besides this liberty, to take any other vnto himselfe, and without our consent to follow vs when wee goe to hunt, or to take our other recreations ; OUR WILL AND PLEASURE IS that our knight-marshall shall presently apprehend him or them, whosoever they be, and shall cause them safely and immediatly to be conveyed to the next gaole as contemners of our royall commandement, there to remayne during our pleasure. NEVERTHELES if there be any nobleman or gentleman of quality, besides those that be our servants, who shall desire to attend our person, or our deare sonne the prince, at these times of our disports and recreations, whome wee intend not absolutely to include within this restraynt, our pleasure is, that beforehand they acquaynt vs, or some of our principall servants about vs, with such their desire, and thereupon first obteyne our leaue. AND hereof wee straightly charge our knight-marshall to take notice, and all other our officers whome it may concerne, and to publish this our royall pleasure and commandment in all places of our removes this progresse, and ells-where as there shall be occasion. Given at the castle of Belvoir the vth day of August, in the seaventeenth yeare of our raigne of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland.

Accession of
Charles I.

The accession of Charles I. made a material improvement in the position of sir Edmund Verney, and of all those who had been in his majesty's household during the lifetime of his father. But, even before the favours to which the persons about the king looked forward could be doled out, it was necessary that his majesty's pecuniary wants should be attended to. His dismissal of his earliest parliament threw him at once upon the raising of money by prerogative, and the Verney papers during 1625 and the following year principally relate to the pressing of men for the expedition which went to Cadiz under sir Edward Cecil, created lord Wimbledon, the levying of money upon privy seals, and for coat-and-conduct money, as it was termed, money, that is, for the outfit of the pressed men, and their expenses in going from the county of Buckingham to the place of rendezvous. The parliament had granted the king two subsidies "as the first-fruits of their love." The Buckinghamshire proportion amounted to 3,052*l.* Scarcely had the deputy lieutenants assessed this amount upon

Papers relating
to money raised
in Bucks on
privy seals, &c.

the county, when they were called upon to return the names of persons to whom privy seals might be addressed for a loan of half that amount. To make the demand more palatable, it was accompanied or immediately followed by a direction to disarm the Roman Catholics, against whom popular jealousy was at that time more than ordinarily excited, in consequence of the new favour with which they were received at court. The following letter from the duke of Buckingham relates to this latter business.

Letters relating
to the disarming
of the Roman
Catholics.

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM TO THE DEPUTY LIEUTENANTS OF BUCKS.

After my very hearty commendacions. You may perceive by the inclosed coppie of a letter from the lords of his majesties counsell* from what grounds those directions for the disarming of Romish catholiques in this realme doe arise, and with what earnestnes that service is required att my hands in the county of my livetenauncye. I have had soe good experience of youre care and zeale to his majesties service in matters of lesse import-
ance, that I cannot doubt in the like of this, accordinge to the consequence thereof, which, as it consists of sundry particulars, you are in every pointe with all diligence to observe, and soe answere the trust that I repose in you for the due performance thereof, that I may be able to give accompt to his majestie, and have cause to give you thanks for the same. And so I reste,
yours very lovinge friend,

GEOR. BUCKINGHAM.

Salisbury, 11 Octo. 1625.

To my lovinge freinds, sir Thomas Temple, sir Francis Goodwin, sir Thomas Tiringham, sir William Burlacy, sir Thomas Denton, sir Edward Tyrrell, and mr. Clarke, deputy livetenaunts of the county of Buckingham.

The following letter seems to prove that some of the deputy lieutenants did not make the search a mere form, although those who did not were apprehensive they should be laughed at for their pains. It is from one of the deputy lieutenants. Sir Thomas Coventry was the new lord keeper alluded to. Like the dismissal of

* The letter may be seen in Rushworth, i. 194.

his predecessor, archbishop Williams, and all other appointments at this time, his elevation was the result of the influence of Buckingham.

Sir,—My cosin Catesbye is discharged of mr. Tho. Johnsson, whom [*sic*] is sent vnto the lorde cheife iustice of Englande, and all that wee have done is well tacken, so that now the feare of being lawffed att is past, and itt is expected every day that you showlde send vp your certificatt what wee did in our search. I mett the kynge but last nyghte, so that as yett I have had noe speeches with him my sealfe, but if you sende to me the middle of the next weecke to Winssor, you shall heare more. Ther was two of our marchauntes men of warr that did lye before Dunkyrek cast a waye, and 12* sayle of Dun^{ss} [Dunkirkers] cum owte, and hath done much hurte vpon the Hollanders. The newe lorde keeper is made. So, haveinge kepte my promis with you, remembering my love to you and my servis to all my freinds, I rest, your loving cosin,

THO. TYRINGHAM.

Hampton Courte, the 30th of Octo. 1625.

Sir,—Since I wrote this letter the kynge hath resowld of some stricktter courses then was in our power to put in executione, the which I am sure yov shall have from better handes then myne. And so adieu.

T. TY.

To my worthy cosin sir Thomas Deynton att Hilsden. d.d.

Difficulty of settling the amounts to be levied on privy seals.

The assessment for the loan was not easily agreed upon. Many letters passed between the deputy lieutenants upon the subject, and it is obvious there was much complaint and a general feeling of hardship and dissatisfaction. Three months elapsed before the list was settled. It is not without significance that we find sir William Borlace writing to sir Thomas Denton on the 9th January, 1625-6:

Excessive amount levied on Hampden.

“I do think mr. John Hampden to be 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and his mother 10*l.*, is a harder rate then I finde vpon any other.”

The list of the privy seals issued on this occasion proves that the protest of sir William Borlace was unattended to by his brother

* “Two and twenty.” Rushworth, i. 195.

deputy lieutenants, but, from what will appear hereafter, it is probable that a representation in some other quarter was more effectual.

The list being at length settled, was forwarded to the duke, with the following letter, drawn up in October, but not sent in until the following January, in which the deputy lieutenants did not scruple to state some of the grievances of the county.

Letter to Buckingham on returning the list of persons to be applied to for money on loan.

THE DEPUTY LIEUTENANTS OF BUCKS TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

May it please your grace

To be advertised, we haue received the coppie of his majesties letter vnto you, with another alsoe from your grace vnto vs, and accordingly we haue *with the best diligence and expedition we cann* * vsed our best endeauors, beinge some what hindered herein by reason of necessarie attendance, *for the taxations of the subsidie vppon dayes formerly appoynted.*† We doe herewith therefore humbly present to your grace a booke of the names of such inhabitinge this cuntrye as accordinge to his majesties commande are of the best abilitie to lend, and of as greate somes as we doe conceiue they may spare, and with as little inconuenience to any as we know howe to proportione it, and haue therefore, the better to expedite this business, extended it to as many as we could, to make the burthen the lesse heauie to euerie particular, and yet to rayse the summ to be about the proportione of the loane lent in his late majesties time.

And in respect that if the dwellinges of any to be appoynted to be collector should happen to be in or neere either of the ends of the shier, it would proue exceedinge incommodious to them, and more hinder his majesties seruice, in that all are to send their monies to the collector, we doe offer to your graces consideratione these names, Mr. Thomas Lee, of Hartwell, Esq. and Mr. John Dunckombe, of East Claydon, Esq.

Lastly, we may not omitt, beinge as we conceiue in dutie bound, to present to your grace the humble petitione of our cuntryemen wherewith we are importuned at our meetings for subsidies and other payments, that they are vnpayd for the coate-and-conduct monie which they haue twice

* Sir F. Goodwin underscored these words, evidently by way of querying them.

† Sir F. Goodwin suggested to read here, "used our best endeavours therein, being somewhat hindered by reason of necessarie attendance vppon some other of his majestyes seruyces in this country, as also by your graces absence out of the kingdom."

layd out this yeare, amountinge vnto 437*l.*, besides which they haue *bene charged with multiplicite of payments in the leauinge and maynetayninge of soldiers, for whose charges the countrie hath not receiued full satisfacione from the councell of warr, and that in some places for these two yeares past, in some more, they haue receiued noe monie from his majesties officers for their compositione-wheate and for wood,** which, fallinge out in these times of affliction and dearth, wherein by reason of the sicknesse most parts of this sheire haue been very much charged aboue former times, is the more pressinge and greuous vnto them, who repose their hopes of healpe and releife in your graces goodnes and favor vnto them. And soe we submitt our best endeauors and dutifull seruice to be euer ready

At your graces command.

Allesburie, 18 October, 1625.†

The king confirms to sir Edmund for his life a former pension of 200*l.* per annum.

On the 20th December, 1625, the king confirmed to sir Edmund a pension of 200*l.* per annum, which he had formerly whilst prince of Wales given him during pleasure. Considering his "many faithful and acceptable seruices," he now assured that same sum to him by a grant for life.‡ This was followed by another and more important preferment.

Appoints him knight-marshal for life.

The ancient office of marshal of the king's palace, § which had been held in succession during the reign of king James by sir Thomas Gerrard, sir Thomas Vavasour, and sir Edward Zouch, was surrendered by the last of those gentlemen to the king on the 14th of

* Sir F. Goodwin suggested, "they have not received full satisfaction of much due from the councell of warr for the charges of count Mansfield's forces out of this county."

† "6 Jan. 1625." On which day it was settled by sir Francis Goodwin; who wrote thus under the draft from which we print: "I approoue this letter with the alterations exceedingly well. FRA. GOODWIN."

‡ Rot. Pat. 1 Car. I. pt. 5, no. 38. It is mentioned in the *Fœdera*, xviii. 629, as a grant to sir Edward Verney, knight.

§ This was the ancient title. The later holders were knights, and so the office came to be called that of knight-marshal. There is no list of the holders of the office, but the following are enumerated in the grant to sir Thomas Vavasour:—Sir Thomas Gerrard, John Carewe, John Turbervile, Henry Sherborne, John Digby, John Russell, Thomas Wentworth, William Puckering, sir Ralph Hopton, sir George Carey late baron of Hunsdon.

February, 1626, and on the 16th of the same month his majesty granted it to sir Edmund Verney for life.* The principal duties of the office—to preserve order and prevent the access of improper persons to the court—rendered it necessary for the holder to be a close attendant upon the court, but he was empowered to appoint a deputy as well as from four to six officers or vergers. I have not found that any stated fee was payable to the marshal from the sovereign. The profits of his court, which could take cognizance of all causes arising in the king's household or within the verge, that is, within twelve miles of the court, probably amounted to an ample compensation for his ordinary services. Sir Edmund still continued to reside in Drury Lane.

This appointment was followed on the 26th March, 1626, by a grant of a further pension of 200*l.* for life.†

Grants him a further pension of 200*l.* per annum.

The return from Bucks of names for the loan was not made, as we have seen, until January 1625-6, which was long after many of the other counties. In the following April the privy seals into that county were issued. They were sent to sir Thomas Denton, who was appointed collector, probably by the influence of sir Edmund Verney, instead of Mr. Lee and Mr. Duncombe, recommended by the deputy lieutenants. The following letter accompanied the privy seals.

THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL TO SIR THOMAS DENTON.

After our hearty comendacons : Wheras his majestie hath determined to receave by way of loane of diuers of his goode and louing subiects some reasonable summes of money to be repaid within eightene monethes after the summe paid to you, the collector, and for that purpose hath by warrant under his highnes hand and signett ordered that his lettres of privy seale should be addressed forth to such persons of ability within that county of Buck: as be thought meet to yeild his majestie such convenient summes of money as by their seuerall privy seales are required. And wheras also his

* Rot. Pat. 1 Car. I. pt. 10, no. 1; and see Fœd. xviii. 637.

† Rot. Pat. 2 Car. I. pt. 5, no. 38; Fœd. xviii. 716.

majestie hath authorised us of his privy counsell to appoint sufficient persons both for their estates, discrecons, and sincerities to be the collectors of the same loan within the county, wee therupon haue thought good to name you to be the collector for that purpose, assuring ourselues of your readines to further his majesties service therin. And as you shall from time to time collect the said loan, wee require you, within 12 daies at the furthest, after your receipt of some competent sune, and acquittance made to the parties that so lent the same to his majesties use, you pay or arrange the same to be safely paid into his highnes exchequer, that his majestie be not delayed from the use of the money so lent, wherby the subiectes may be burdened and his majesties service dissappointed. Wee also require you, upon receipt of the privy seales, to send to the cleark of the privy seale attending, a particular note in writing of the number of the privy seales which shall come to you. And lastly, though in regard of the indifferency used in these assessments wee hope there wilbe no difficulty used by any to pay the summe assessed upon them, neverthelesse if you shall find disposicon in any to delay or excuse the payment therof, wee pray you, at such time as you send up money, to certifie their names. And so, expecting your diligent care herein, as the necessity of the service requireth, you shall not need to doubt but that such allowance shalbe made unto you for the sending us of the said money as shalbe convenient by me the lord treasurer. Wherwith wee bid you hartily farwell. From Whitehall, 10th April, 1626.

Your very loving freinds,

MARLEBROUGH. H. MANCHESTER. E. WORCESTER.

T. EDMONDES. J. COKE. RIC. WESTON.

To our very loving freind sir Thomas Denton, knight,
collector of our county of Buck:

[Memorandum of sir Thomas Denton.] Received 13 April, 1626, of Ed. Goaman, 144 privy seales.

The Verney papers during 1626 relate principally to the business of these and other irregular levies, and the payments made to the exchequer on account. In the mean while a pleasant letter from the great earl of Cork, sent with a present of Smerwick hawks for the king, will not be unacceptable.

THE EARL OF CORK TO SIR EDMUND VERNEY.

Honorable sir,—The great favours yow have vouchsafed vnto the lord viscount Buttevant,* and to my daughter, ar sufficient motives to make me known vnto yow thorough them, and yow to me for your goodnes towardes them, of which I will, as I have good cause, reteign a moste thankfull remembrance; and I doe ingeniously desire that my son in lawe maie (as yt is my will he should) free yow of all your engagements for him as really as I have don to sir John Leek,† to whome I have paid all I promised, and wilbe ready to vse my best perswacions with my lord Barry‡ to hould the like cource towardes yow, who have deserved soe well of him, wherof I praie God his youth be soe apprehensive as your noble carriage towardes him hath deserved, though not with that success in the court of wardes that his majesty's lettres warranted.

Sir, induced by the perswacions of sir John Leek, I am embowldened to entreat yow to doe me soe much favour as to take some seasonable oportunity to present a leashe of falcons to his majesty, which this my servant will wayte vpon yow to deliver. They ar the ayry of Smerwick, bred in the vearly fort which the Spaniards held and fortified themselves in till putt to the sword by the lord Arthure Grey, then lord deputy of Ireland.§ The king's late father of blessed memory vouchsafed yearly to write vnto me for these hawkes, and did esteem yt a great blessing vnto him to be soe happie as to have birds of pleasure bred in that rocky fort in his raign, in which his late sister of famous memory had an army of Spanish enemyes which came to bereav her of this kingdome lodged; and that affection of his late majesty to these hawkes gives me the bowldnes to offer vnto his majesty soe poor (though fortunate) a present, which with this discowrse of them I praie maie be humbly tentred [*sic*] to his highnes; and withall, yf yow thinck yt convenient, I praie make known vnto his majesty that bothe his famous fortes of Corke and Waterford ar now made tenable, and his orde-

* David viscount Buttevant, created earl of Barrymore on 30th November, 1627. He married Alice, eldest daughter of the earl of Cork.

† A brother by the half blood to sir Edmund Verney. Lord Fermanagh's Genealogical Notes, Verney MS. p. 43.

‡ Richard lord Barry, eldest son of lord Buttevant, and afterwards second earl of Barrymore.

§ Smerwick, co. Kerry. The incident alluded to took place in 1580. See Camden's Elizabeth, Hearne's ed. ii. 341.

nance placed in them, and that all the outworckes of them wilbe speedily finished, for which, after his majesties treasurer had sent order to have the worcks given over for want of money, as they were, for that defect, the laste year, I, to prevent the further reioycings of the ill affected papists (who wrott poorly therof into forreign kingdomes), have weekely imprested them with my own moneis, and doe every Saterdaie pay them fiftie pownds sterling vppon accompt, not dowbting but in due tyme these moneis, and the 500^{li} which I lent to supplie thextream necesseties of the soldiers his majesty's fleet landed heer, shalbe repaid me. Thus, sir, yow maie see what libertie I take to trowble yow, which I wilbe as apt thanckfully to acknowledge and deserve as I am now to desire; and soe with tendre of my best respects to yourself I wish yow all happines and take leav. From Lismoor the xvijth of Julij, 1626.

Your affectionate frend and servant,

R. CORKE.

To the honorable my noble frend sir Edmond Verney,
knight-marshall of his majesty's howshould, at court,
in haste, give these.

Collection of the
forced loan.

Sir Thomas Denton proceeded in the collection of the sums demanded by the privy seals, and received, by an agent or collector named Robin Mell, amongst other amounts, and without any indication that the payment was made on account, "1626, April 28, of Mr. Jo. Hampden, 10^{li}." The privy seal was certainly issued for 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, but 10*l.* is all that Hampden appears to have paid.* His mother paid the 10*l.* required of her.

Hampden's
payment.

Other county
assessments and
grievances.

Other subjects also occupied the county at this time, and kept the deputy lieutenants fully employed. The old composition in lieu of purveyance had become a subject of dispute, coat-and-conduct money was to be assessed, men were to be pressed or enlisted to be sent to the Low Countries, others who were to go to Portsmouth for the expedition to the Isle of Rhé. Continual calls for payments on

* So much interest is attached to these forced loans, especially in Bucks, that I shall print the account of the privy seals sent into that county in 1604 and 1626, with the sums received upon them, in an Appendix, Nos. I. and II.

one account or another gave rise to disputes between the hill districts of the county and those of the vale, each considering the other to be favoured by the assessors. In these and many other businesses, in which we get a view of the practical grievances which urged on the country to general dissatisfaction, sir Thomas Denton and sir Edmund Verney took the lead. The letters relating to them are not of a kind to print, but I will throw into the Appendix (No. III.) an account of the coat-and-conduct money for three impressments of men, which will show the nature of that imposition. Each hundred provided its levy of men in proportion to its size and the total number required; one shilling was paid to every man on impressment; the "coats" of the men cost fourteen shillings each; one shilling per man was paid to a constable or other person as "conductor" to the place of rendezvous or embarkation, and there was also a payment for "conduct," or expenses on the way. The total sum was assessed on the hundreds separately, and the amount, as we have seen, was got back by the county from "the council of war" as it could—most frequently not at all.

Coat-and-conduct money.
Its nature.

One letter relating to the disputes amongst the deputy lieutenants is worth printing. The writer I take it was sir William Fleetwood, father of George Fleetwood the regicide and Charles Fleetwood Cromwell's son-in-law. Sir Francis Goodwin, the party in the celebrated case of the contested return for Bucks in 1604,* and a very active magistrate, thought the public business, and especially that part of it relating to coat-and-conduct money, was greatly impeded by sir William Fleetwood. Goodwin wished to certify the facts to the government, and forwarded several statements to sir Edmund Verney. Sir Edmund objected to them, and probably deemed it right to communicate with sir William upon the subject. The following is his reply, written in semi-uncial letters, and signed with a dash which accords extremely well with the defiant tone of the composition.

Quarrel between sir F. Goodwin and sir W. Fleetwood.

* Howell's State Trials, ii. 91.

SIR WILLIAM FLEETWOOD TO HIS BROTHER DEPUTY LIEUTENANTS OF
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Euery one that doeth euill hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deedes should be reprov'd. But he that doeth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest, that they are wrought in God. They are the wordes of our Sauour, gentlemen, and therefore I may make bold to build vpon them, and not to shun to appeare in any light whereby my actions may be discouered, I not being conscious to myself to haue don ought that is euill, concerning any of those points touched in your letter. In the name of God, therefore, certify what you please. All the fauour I desire of you is no more but that when you certify you will vouchsafe to send me a coppie of it, the bringer whereof shall not fayle of his reward; and I shall euer therefore rest,

Ready at the seruice of euery one of you,

WILLM. FLETEWOODE.

Missenden, 14 Decemb. 1627.

To the right worshippingfull sir Edmund Verney, sir Francis Goodwin, sir Thomas Tiringham, sir Thomas Denton, and sir Francis Clark, knights, give these.

Sir Francis Goodwin, when sending this letter to sir Edmund Verney, remarked, " You prophesied right of the answer, which if it be not really and by the effects replied upon, wee shalbee sure that markets in the country and ordinary tables at London will ring of our letters." The consideration alleged does not seem to have influenced sir Edmund, for we do not find any further papers respecting the matter.

People require
to be repaid
moneys lent on
privy seals.

Among other county troubles may be reckoned the requests of the people for the repayment of previous loans, or for permission to set off the sums due on that account against the new amounts now demanded.

Letter from the
lord treasurer
thereon.

In the following letter the lord treasurer, James Ley earl of Marlborough, refuses to sanction any such repayment or set-off. His exception of those issued since the dissolution of the last parliament must have been very nearly if not altogether inoperative, since that

dissolution occurred only in June, 1626. It was probably inserted rather with a view of raising popular feeling against the members who, by not complying with the king's request for a supply, had withheld from him (as would be contended) the money out of which he might have discharged the previous loans.

THE EARL OF MARLBOROUGH TO SIR THOMAS DENTON.

Sir,—Because I vnderstand from yow that you haue many demaunds made vnto yow for the repayment of money heretofore lent vpon privy seales, I have thought good to acquaint yow that the instrucons touching the loanes are, that the collectors therof shall only repay such moneies as were lent vpon privy seales issued since the dissolucon of the late meeting of parliament, and no otherwise, which yow may be pleased to observe. I rest,

Your very assured freind,

MARLEBROUGH.

Febr. the 16th, 1626[-7].

To my very worthy freind sir Thomas Denton, knyght, collector for the privy seales in the county of Buckingham, these.

In 1628 the king thought it right to make a careful inspection of the condition of the trained bands, an important part of the militia of the kingdom, and determined himself to be present at a general muster on Hounslow Heath on the 21st April. The following letters relate to this fresh addition to the expenses of the county.

*Inspection of
the trained
bands by the
king.*

THE LORDS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

After our very hartie commendacions to your grace. His majestie, out of his princely care and wisdome, foreseeing how necessary it is in these hostile and dangerous tymes to haue the trayned bandes within this kingdome to bee kept in such a warlyke preparacion that they may be readie vpon all occasions of present seruice; and beeing informed that at this present tyme they are generally soe ill provided and furnished that they are noe wayes soe fitt as they ought to be, if there should bee suddayne occasion to performe the service for which they are ordayned, and that not onely the defectes are

great in those that doe show their horses and armes, but that many for saving of charges doe borrowe their horses and armes to showe as their owne, and many doe presume not to finde the horses and armes with which they are charged; his majestie therefore thinkes fitt to take a muster and viewe of the horse of very many of the sheires in his owne person, because the frequent direccions of this table haue not hitherto prayvayled to reforme the neglects and to supply the defects. For which purpose his majestie requieres your grace to giue direccions to all the horsed companies within your graces lieutenancie, as well in the countie of Buckingham as Middlesex, to repaire to his majesties presence on Howslow heathe by nine of the clocke in the morning on the one and twentieth day of Aprill next, together with their captaynes and officers, to be mustered before him. And his majestie requiereth your grace that the seuerall bands be supplied with their full numbers, and that the men, horse, and armes be all fit for service, wherein his majestie expects not that any man should put him selfe to extraordinary expence for apparrell, but that euerie man should appeare before him like a souldyer, well horsed, armed, and furnished, according to such direccions as you haue formerlie receaued by the printed instruccions.

And that your grace doe giue commandment in the meane tyme to trayne the seuerall troopes frequently together, to exercise them to the vse of their armes, and to invre them selues to the order of service; and, besydes, to giue them particular direccions twice or thrice a weeke at their seuerall dwellings to ryde their horses armed, and by such private practice to accustom them selues to the vse of their pistolls and other armes, which will make them more prompt and ready when they come to their generall musters to receiue farther instruccions in the course of millitarie service. Wherein his majestie doth not doubt but that your care and dilligence will bee such, that hee shall haue cause rather to commend your diligence and dutie in performing this great trust reposed in you, then any way to reprehend your slacknesse or remissenesse in haueinge omitted any thinge on your parte which might turne to the least damage or disservice of his majestie.

As for the recusants horses and armes, it is now required, as it hath bene heretofore directed, that euerie of them doe fynde such horse and armes as they are charged with; and that your grace or your deputies doe appoint the men that shall serue for them to be trayned and exercysed.

And his majestie doth let your grace knowe, that if any man in this gene-

rall muster shall appeare with a borrowed horse, or armes, or in any other vnfittinge manner, hee will proceed against him as a highe contemner of his royall command, and as one that betrayes as much as in him lyes the honour of his majestie and the safetie of his kingdomes. And if any shall make default, and not appeare with his horse and armes as is hereby appointed, you shall send vp such person in safe custodie to appeare before this board.

Lastly, because the apparant and eminent dangers from forraigne enmyes doe awaken his majesties care to aduise of all preuencions and remedies that may bee thought conuenient, both for the defects that may bee discouered, especially in those musters of horse, as allsoe in all other warlike provisions which the wisdome of former tymes hath found necessarie for the securing of this realme from forraigne invasions, his majesties will and pleasure is, that your grace, together with one or two of your deputie lieutenants, or more according to your discession, repaire hither to London on the seauenth of May next, to receiue such direccions from his majestie and this board for the perfecting of the musters of horse and foote and other warlike preparations with in this realme, as vpon conference shalbee thought meet. And it is expected that you bringe with you the perfect state of all the militarie forces both of horse and foote with in your lieutennaucie. And soe wee bid your grace very hartily farwell. From Whitehall, the tenth day of Januarie, 1627.

Lord keeper; lord treasurer; lord president; lord admirall; lord steward; lord chamberlaine; earle of Salisbury; earle of Carlisle; lord viscount Grandizon; lord bishop of Duresme; lord bishop of Bath and Wells; mr. treasurer; master of the wardes; mr. secretary Coke; mr. chancellour of the exchequer; chancellour of the dutchie.

This is a true coppie of their lordshippes letter to mee.

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM TO HIS DEPUTY LIEUTENANTS OF BUCKS.

After my very hartie comendacions. I haue sent you hereinclosed a copie of a letter which I haue receiued of the lords of his majesties priue counsell, that you may see thereby what course his majestie intendeth for the discouerye of the many abuses that are committed by the trayned bands, both in their shewe of armes and horses, and to redresse their vnpreparednesse for seruice if occasion should require. And whereas there are diuerse

things required of me by the said lettres to be performed, as tending to the furtherance of that seruice, I doe hereby earnestly recomend them all to your care, assuring my selfe that as it is extraordinary to haue a view taken by his majestie himselfe in person, who will not be partiall in any respect, so you will answerably foresee that all circumstances be obserued for discharge both of my dutie and yours, for the contentment of his majestie and the aduancement of the publike good. And so I rest,

Your very louing frend.

Whitehall, the 17 of January, 1627.

The billeting of soldiers a very great grievance. The billeting of soldiers was another enormous grievance of those days. The two next letters show how it was managed practically. Upon paper it looks well enough, but none of the illegalities of the court roused such fierce opposition throughout the country. The soldiers were allowed to treat the people as if they were living in free quarters in a town lately captured. Property and even female honour was at their mercy. "They have rent from us the light of our eyes," exclaimed the then patriot Wentworth, when detailing the offences of the government, "enforced companies of guests worse than the ordinances* of France, vitiated our wives and daughters before our faces!"

THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

After our very hartie comendacions to your grace, whereas wee finde it requisite for his majesties seruice to haue halfe the regiment of colonell Ramsey to be billeted in the countie of Buckingham, wee haue therefore thought good, according to his majesties pleasure signified in that behalfe, hereby to pray and require your grace to giue effectuall order to your deputie lieutenants for the receiuing and billeting in most conuenient places within that countie, as neere as conueniently may be to the countie of Berkshire, the said halfe regiment, which wee haue directed to be brought thither from the said countie of Berkshire. And for the moneys to be disburste in this seruice, at the rate of 3*s.* 6*d.* a weeke for a man, vpon a iust accompt thereof giuen, our good lord the lord treasurer and mr. chan-

* "*Gendarmes des ordonnances*;" companies of men-at-arms instituted, or first placed under *orders*, by Charles VII. of France.

cellor of the exchequer will take effectually order for repayment of the same. And soe wee bid your grace very hartily farewell. From Whitehall, the 16 day of January, 1627.

Lord treasurer ; lord president ; lord steward ; lord chamberlaine ;
lord visc. Conway ; lord bishop of Duresme ; master of the wards ;
master of the rolls.

This is a true copie of their lordshippes letters to the lord duke.

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM TO HIS DEPUTY LIEUTENANTS OF BUCKS.

After my very hartie comendacions. I haue very lately receiued lettres from the lords of the counsell, the copie whereof I send you hereinclosed, intimating his majesties pleasure for the placinge of half a regiment of souldiers in that countie, as neere as with conueniencie may be to the countie of Berks, wher the other halfe remaineth, by which you may perceae in what manner I ame required to give order to you for repayment of the monny to be disbursed for that seruice after the rate mentioned, whearin I doe relye upon your care, of which I haue had so good experience in other afaires that I cannot doubt but, by the like in this, you will so order the businesse as may giue satisfaction on all parts. And so I rest,

Your very louing frend.

Whitehall, the 19 day of Januarye, 1627.

The unpopularity of this illegal practice, which was frequently resorted to by the court vindictively, as a punishment for opposition upon other points, may be inferred from the following return of a constable whose business it was to levy, upon part of the county, a proportionate part of the expenses of a billet;—the undertaking to pay 3*s.* 6*d.* per week per man being, like all the other pecuniary engagements of the government, very difficult and uncertain in enforcement. It will be seen that, with one partial exception, the parishes enumerated in this list unanimously refused to pay the quota assessed upon them. A Mr. John Pim and a Mr. William Pim are mentioned among the parishioners of Brill. I have not been able to identify them as connections of the celebrated statesman. He, as will be remembered, was of a Somersetshire family.

Peculiar unpopularity of the practice of billeting soldiers.

RETURN FOR THE THREE HUNDREDS OF ASHINDON OF PARISHES
WHICH REFUSED TO PAY THE CHARGES FOR BILLETING SOLDIERS.
A retourne of those parishes that doe refuse to paye for the billiting of
soldiers in my diuision with in the three hundreds of Ashindon.

	li.	s.	d.
Chersly. Mr. Thomas Britwell, John Winter, with the rest	1	13	3
Brill. George Carter, mr. John Pim, mr. William Pim, mr. John Caswell, with the rest	2	4	0
Ilmor. Thomas Lyeborn, Edmon Brooks, with the rest	1	6	0
Lurgesall. The whole parish	1	18	3
Borstall. The whole parish	1	13	6
Chilton cum Eastoundon. Sir John Crok with some others hath paid 14 ^s 6 ^d , and those whose names dooth heer follo refuseth to pay. Henry Bowden, constable of Eastundon, maketh not his retourne for 7 ^s 3 ^d . Edward Tredwell 2 ^s , Robert Takal 3 ^d , wido Sanders 18 ^d , Symon Chilton 2 ^s , Henry Bowden 6 ^d , wido Norkut 6 ^d , wido Anut 6 ^d	0	14	6
Some is in retornes	9	9	6

Per me, EDWARD BULSTROD.

Sir Edmund
repurchases the
remainder of
the lease of
Claydon.

The annuities granted by the king to sir Edmund Verney, together with the profits of his office of knight-marshal, soon began to have a beneficial influence upon his private affairs. His property at Claydon had been a source of great trouble to him. The old lease granted in 1535 for 100 years had passed from the Giffards into the possession of mr. Martin Lister, and great contentions had arisen between him and sir Edmund Verney, respecting the ploughing of the pasture lands, the cutting of timber, and other troublesome questions between landlord and tenant. To put an end to all such disputes, and increase his means by a profitable investment, sir Edmund Verney agreed, in 1620, when the lease had but fifteen years to run, to pay a sum of 4,000*l.* for its surrender. He thought he was buying peace and a

considerable addition to his income, and if he had possessed the 4,000*l.* in hand, such might have been the results. As it was, being obliged to borrow the sum required, he merely involved himself in new and far more serious troubles. His own narrative of these pecuniary difficulties is very simple. "Heretofore," he says, "my meanes being small, I did, to my great charge, attend the late much renowned prince Henry, and my ever most honoured and famous prince Charles, my loving master, and for my better maintenance and supporting myself to do my best service to the said prince Charles, I did buy in a lease of Mr. Lister, which hee had of my landes, and thereby I became much in depte." The difficulties in which he was thus involved were at last so serious that he was obliged to make "the same knowne to his highnes," when "it pleased him to promise to pay unto mee 4,000*l.* by a thousand pounds yearely for fower yeares." Such an act of royal generosity was more in accordance with the will of prince Charles than with his meanes. "According to his princely woord and promis he hath paid unto me," continues sir Edmund in 1623, "one thowsand pounds of the same," and as to the residue, "the said most worthy prince hath ever been so just of his word and promise that he will no doubt give order for payment thereof."* Whether it was ever paid I have not been able to find. Perhaps the pensions before mentioned were granted in lieu of its present payment. These difficulties threw a shade over the life of sir Edmund for many years, nor does he seem to have mended his circumstances by purchasing a share in a patent granted by king James to Francis Nicholls, Jasper Leake, and Philip Eden, on the 25th May, 1619, for "garblinge [*i. e.* inspecting], viewinge, distinguishing, and sealinge of tobacco within the realmes of England and Ireland, the dominion of Wales, and the towne of Barwick, with the allowance of fower pence per pound for the same."†

Pecuniary difficulties occasioned thereby.

Generous promise of prince Charles.

In the mean time his family increased. In addition to those we have named already, on the 28th of December, 1626, he

Children of sir Edmund born 1626-30.

* Verney MS. 3rd March, 1622-3.

† Verney MSS. 1619-20.

had a daughter born in London, named Cary; on the 14th of April, 1628, another daughter, named Mary; and on the 14th of February, 1629-30, a son, named Richard. As his children grow up the letters before us begin to show a little more of the actual position of the family, and the nature of the life they led amongst themselves. This is especially the case as soon as the eldest son began to be of age to have his own personal friends and correspondents, and his own private and separate interests. From an early period Ralph Verney exhibited in relation to his correspondence all the most marked characteristics of a methodical and careful nature. Every letter he received, even the most trifling, was duly endorsed and put away, whilst the blotted original draughts of the letters he wrote, all preserved with equally scrupulous care, exhibit, in their alterations and transpositions, the curious pains with which he laboured to attain the pedantic style which was the epistolary fashion, or rather the epistolary vice, of the period. His heavy compliments and conceits, hammered out with persevering study, were great favourites with himself, and, such was his forethought as a correspondent, that he amused himself in framing letters which might be ready upon certain possible contingencies. One of these, written with the greatest care and overflowing with compliments the most refined, remains among the vast mass of his correspondence, a monument of the writer's superabundant prudence, with the significant memorandum underwritten, "This was never writ to any body."

Ralph Verney's
carefulness in
the writing and
preservation of
his letters.

General state of
the family at the
commencement
of 1631.

From this time it is easy to ascertain the general condition of the family. For example, at the commencement of 1631, when king Charles, released from foreign wars, was wasting the precious time for retrenchment and conciliation in Star Chamber persecution and the enforcement of an oppressive and illegal taxation, sir Edmund Verney was in constant attendance at the court, though still residing in Drury Lane. Claydon manor house was an occasional place of retirement for himself, and a very frequent one for his wife and numerous family. Sir Thomas Denton, getting old and feeble, still occupied Hillesdon house. His eldest son Alexander had been knighted, and was

married; William, his youngest son, after having been educated at Magdalen hall, was practising physic at Oxford; and the rest of his family were scattered about the world. His daughter Margaret, of whom we shall shortly hear, had been married to John Poultney, esquire, of Misterton in the county of Leicester, and was living at Langley Marsh, where sir Edmund Verney's mother, known in the family as lady Mary Verney, was her near neighbour. Sir Edmund's children now numbered eleven. Ralph, the letter-writer, his eldest son, was studying at Magdalen hall in Oxford, under the eye of his uncle, William Denton, and with the reverend John Crowther for his private tutor. Thomas and Edmund, the second and third sons, were at school at Gloucester. Sir Edmund's eldest daughter was as yet only eleven; but there was residing in the family Dorothy Leake, a daughter of the sir John Leake mentioned in the letter of the earl of Cork. The fair and lively miss "Doll" was a general favourite, especially with Ralph Verney's college friends, some of whom were extremely pleasant fellows.

Ralph Verney's Oxford tutor was a poor scholar, heartily tired of his monotonous and wearisome occupation, but ever ready to help his pupils in any way. He read with them during their residence at Oxford, selected and bought books for their reading when at home, sent them schemes upon schemes of study, wrote them many a foolscap sheet of good advice, and extended his assistance to matters lying far beyond the ordinary range of Oxford studies. Of his willingness in this respect we have to relate an obvious example.

At Abingdon, close by Oxford, there had lived for several generations a family of the Blacknalls, people of good standing and undoubted wealth. William Blacknall was an inhabitant of Abingdon when the town was first incorporated, and was elected on that occasion "one of the first bailiffs and one of the principal burgesses." He was also afterwards twice mayor. He left an only son of his own name, "who, being bredd up in learning, and a good estate left him by his father, lived in this [towne] a private life, without intermeddling with the towne affairs." The second William

Ralph Verney's
Oxford tutor—
rev. John Crow-
ther.

The Blacknalls
of Abingdon.

Blacknall had also an only son, John Blacknall, of whom I find the following account:—

“He was borne within this borough [Abingdon] and bread in his youth at the free schoole, where being fitted for the universitye, he was placed by his father in Queenes college in Oxford, in which he profitted in learning. From thence he removed to the inns of court, and was admitted of the Middle Temple, where he applyed his studies to the reading of the common lawes, in which he soe well profitted that when he had time sufficient he was thought worthy to be called to the barr, and grew in good account and estimation for his learning and judgment in the lawes; but, having a good estate in lands and rents to maintaine his reputation, he little esteemed the profit of his practice, and therefore he was ready to give any man (especially the poorer sort) his advice and counsell without fees, and as one that loved peace and concord, and even naturally so averse from suites and quarrells, and alwayes laboured to take up contentious causes and to make peace between parties that were at variaunce. He was of an humble, meek spirit and gentle nature, affable and full of clemencie and curtesie; for which his good disposition he was honoured and beloved of all that knewe him.” *

Death of John Blacknall and his wife, 21st August, 1625.

This good man married into the family of the Blagroves of Bulmarsh in Berkshire, and both in wealth and position must have been one of the foremost county men of his day. In 1625, during what is still traditionally remembered in Abingdon as “the great plague,” Mr. Blacknall and his wife both died of the prevailing disease “at one instant time,” as is said, certainly on one day, the 21st August.† They left two daughters, Mary and Jane. The latter died on the 23rd September, 1626; when her sister, born the 14th February, 1615-6, became the sole heiress of a very considerable property, including the site of the Abbey of Abingdon, with the

Mary Blacknall his surviving heiress.

* “A Monument of Christian Munificence, wherein the honorable memory of the chief benefactors both to the old fraternitie of the holy Cross and the new foundation of the hospitall of Christ in Abingdon, in the county of Berks, is registered, &c. By Francis Little.” Verney MS. 20 Sept. 1627, p. 38.

† Ibid. p. 39. There died of the plague in Abingdon during that year 74 persons.

manor of Wasing, in the county of Berks, and those of Preston Crowmarsh and Fifield in Oxon, together with lands in Aldermaston, Woolhampton, Brimpton, Midgeham, and other places in Berkshire. The two daughters being, on the death of their father and in consequence of the nature of his property, wards of the crown, four of their maternal relations, Anthony Blagrove the elder, Anthony Blagrove the younger, both of Bulmarsh, Richard Libb esquire of Hardwick in the county of Oxford, and Charles Wiseman esquire of Steventon in Berks, procured from the court of wards a lease of their lands, with the custody of their persons during their minorities, and the right of bestowing them in marriage, by payment to the crown of a fine of 2,000*l.*, half of which was paid down, and bond given for the remainder. The object of this arrangement was to secure to the young ladies a careful education and the power of choosing a husband on attaining a proper age. The 2,000*l.* was just so much money which it was deemed by their relations worth while to pay out of their fortunes in order to release them from the oppressive power exercised over infant heiresses by the court of wards for the benefit of the crown.

When the elder daughter died, the temptation of securing the property in their own family by marrying the survivor amongst Attempt of one of her guardians

There is a monument to Mr. Blacknall and his wife in st. Nicholas church, Abingdon, on which the fact of their dying together is thus stated :—

“ When once they lived on earth, one bed did hold
 Their bodies, which one minute turn'd to mould ;
 Being dead, one grave is trusted with that prize
 Untill the trump doth sound and all must rise ;
 Here death's stroke, even, did not part this pair,
 But by his stroke they more united were ;
 And what left they behind you plainly see,
 One only daughter and their charity ;
 What though the first by Death's command did leave us,
 The second we are sure will ne'er deceive us.”

In the charade conclusion of this epitaph, Mr. and Mrs. Blacknall are probably to be understood as “ the first ” and their charity as “ the second.” The inscription was not put up until after the death of the younger daughter. The delay is said to have arisen from the town being for some time forsaken and almost depopulated in consequence of the visitation of the plague.

to inveigle her
into a marriage
with his son.

themselves was too great for three out of four of the guardians to withstand. The Blagroves and Mr. Libb, with the latter of whom Mary Blacknall resided, concocted a match between her and her cousin german, a son of Mr. Libb, and proceeded so far towards the accomplishment of their purpose that "the license was had, the wedding apparel bought, and the priest ready." Such a proceeding was a clear breach of trust, the object of the arrangement effected in the court of wards having been to secure the heiress, as yet only in her eleventh year, a freedom of choice on arriving at the age of fourteen, which was the legal age of consent. Mr. Wiseman the fourth guardian defeated the plot of his co-guardians, by appealing to the court of wards. An order was immediately made that under the penalty of 5,000*l.* Mr. Libb should deliver the ward "unmarried, unaffyed, and uncontracted," to the care of sir John Denham, of Boarstall, in Bucks, one of the barons of the exchequer, and father of Denham the poet, to be brought up by his lady with her own daughters. This was on the 5th December, 1626. Mr. Wiseman did not find it necessary to put this order in force. The other guardians abandoned their intention; but the penalty of 5,000*l.* remained suspended over them *in terrorem*,* the young lady in the mean while continuing to reside with Mr. Libb.

* Specimens of the thunder of this happily extinct tribunal may not be uninteresting to some of our readers. The first is the order to deliver the young lady to sir John Denham; the second a writ to the sheriff of Berkshire to give assistance.

I.

BY THE KINGE.

WEE will and command you, and everie of you, all excuses and delayes sett aparte, forthwith after the receipt, sight, or knowledge hereof, to convey in safe and decente manner, the bodie of Mary Blacknall, our ward, vnto the howse of sir John Denham of Borestall in our countie of Bucks, knight, and to leave our said ward there with the said sir John Denham, and in his absence to leave her with his ladie, to be by her brought vp, amongst her owne daughters, vnmarried, vnaffyed, and vncontracted; and fayle you not the accomplishment hereof vpon paine of you and every of you five thousand pounds. Yeoven vnder the seale of our courte of wardes and liveries, the fite day of December, in the second yeare of our raigne.

CHAMBERLAYNE.

To Richard Libbe, esq. one of the committees of our ward above named, and to all others to whose custody our said ward shall come, and to every of them.

Disappointed in their scheme of a home marriage, the three active guardians turned their thoughts, without a moment's delay, towards the neighbouring gentry, and offered the young lady, at the same time, to a sir Richard Harrison and sir Edmund Verney. At the desire of the elder Blagrove and Libb, sir Edmund Verney repaired to Reading to confer with them, and at once agreed to take the young lady off their hands.

Agreement to transfer her guardianship to sir Edmund Verney, in order to a marriage with his son.

Sir Edmund was to have an assignment of the wardship,—“with the allowance,” as is alleged, “of the court,” although it does not appear that any of them had a present intention of letting the court know anything about their bargain. The poor girl, thus unscrupulously dealt with, was to be delivered “for sir Edmund Verney, at the house of sir Francis Clarke, of Hitcham,” to be by sir Edmund “further disposed of,” and in due time to be married to his eldest son. Sir Edmund was to be bound to protect the guardians against sir John Denham, and all the terrors, both of contempt of court and of the 5,000*l.* penalty, and was to discharge the bonds given for the remaining payment of 1,000*l.* to the king.

II.

CHARLES, by the grace of God, KINGE, &c. To our trusty and welbeloved the shereife of our county of Berk [*sic*] greeting. WHEREAS our proces of iniunction bearing date with theis patents is awarded forth of our courte of wards and liveries against Richard Libbe, esq. &c. [reciting the injunction]; And for that the master and councell of our said courte thinck it fitt, and soe have ordered, that a writt of assistance should be awarded for decente conveying and settling of our said ward, according to the tenor of our said iniunction; WEE therefore will and command you, and by vertue herof authorize you, forthwith after the receipt hereof, to repayre to the house or dwellinge of the said Richard Libbe, in whose custody our said ward doth now remayne, and to the house of any other person or persons to whose custody our said ward shall come, and there to publish our said iniunction, wherevpon if any person or persons whatsoever to whose custody our said ward shall come doe refuse to obey and convey our said ward according to the tenor of our said iniunction, that you doe forthwith take and seise the bodie of our said ward, and safelie to deliver her into the custodie of the said sir John Denham, or his lady in his absence, according to the meaning of our said iniunction, not fayling the accomplishment hereof, as you will answeare the contrarie at your perill. Yeoven vnder the seale of our said courte, the fiftē day of December, in the second yeaer of our raigne.

CHAMBERLAYNE.

These were the terms of the agreement, which was dated the 22nd of December, 1626, and the body of the young lady was to be delivered to sir Edmund on or before that day week.

Suit to compel
performance of
the agreement.

But difficulties intervened. Mr. Wiseman, when consulted, gave his consent to the arrangement, "for that the ward was like to be abused by her other guardians;" but he stipulated very properly, that she should not be forced in marriage by sir Edmund, but should be well bred "and be allowed to make her choice at years competent." Still there were difficulties. In 1628 we find the ward remaining with Mr. Libb, and the agreement with sir Edmund unfulfilled. Sir Edmund appealed to the court of wards. The decree was in his favour.* The agreement was substantiated on all points, and ordered to be carried into execution. The young lady was immediately afterwards delivered up to sir Edmund, like a chattel which he had bought, and on the 31st May, 1629, when the unprotected girl was still under fourteen, she was married to Ralph Verney. The drafts of the following letters written by the young bride and her mother-in-law, lady Verney, to Mrs. Wiseman, announcing the event, but not naming the day of the marriage, are in the handwriting of sir Edmund.

Marriage of
Ralph Verney
and Mary
Blacknall.

LADY VERNEY TO MRS. WISEMAN.

Mrs. Wiseman,—Your neece and my sonne are now marred; God send them as much happiness as I wish them, and then I am sure it will be to all our comforts. She desired soe much to have it privatly done as we had very few present att it; but now it is past I hope wee shall see Mr. Wiseman and yourself heere, wher, though you shall not find a wedding feast, yett I will assure you of the heartiest wellcome I can give; and shall allwayes rest thanckfull to you for the favour. Mr. Verney is gone to courte, but commanded mee to present his loue and service to yourselfe and Mr. Wiseman. Soe, desiring you to receave the tender of my seruice to you boath, with my loue to your dawghter, I reste

Your affectionate friend to serue you.

* Trinity Term, 4 Car. I. Verney MS.

MRS. RALPH VERNEY TO MRS. WISEMAN.

Good Aunt,—Besides the desire I haue to heare of your health and my vncles, I thinck it fitt to acquaint you that now I am maried, in which state I hope God will give mee his blessings and make it happy to mee. Sir Edmund and my lady would haue had you at the marrage, but I prayed them it might be priuatly done, and soe it was, for neyther sir Thomas Denton nor his lady were present att it. And as I had your louing advice to it, soe I assure myself I shall haue your prayers for the good succes of it. I praye you present my seruice to my good vncl and your self, with my best loue to all my cussens; and soe I rest

Your louing neece to serue you,

M. VERNEY.

Mrs. Wiseman's answers let us a little further into the secrets of the transaction, and shew the charitable feeling with which it was regarded by "aunt Libb."

MRS WISEMAN TO LADY VERNEY.

Good Madam,—I am glad to hear of my neeses marigh with your sonne. I pray God send them as much joye and happines as euer anye cuppell had! I could haue wissed that sir Edund Verney would haue settelled his land vpon them, accoring to his promise befor they had bine maried. I make no douth but he will dou it accoringe to his word, otherwise hir frinds will blame Mr. Wiseman and me, whoe weare the case of the mache, and my neece will do the like when shee shall com to vnderstand whatt shee hath done; wherfor, good madam, will you be a means to haue it don, and I will be allways redy to do them any sarues.

I lumbelly thanke you for your kind inuitacione: I will haue a tim to wayt on you. Our accasion of bilding this sommer is great, wich will be the let. Good madam, let me intreat you that your sonne and daftere may com to Abington, to be better acquainted with ther owne. I desir my

seruis and Mr. Wiseman's may be presented to sir Edund Verney and your selfe, and our due respects to all yours. I rest

Your faithfull searuant to searue you,

MARY WISEMAN.

Steunton, this 20th of june, 1629.

To the much honored lady, the lady Verney giue, giue [*sic*] this.

MRS. WISEMAN TO MRS. RALPH VERNEY.

Good Neeis—Your vncler and I ever intened this mache, but allways desired you that you would dowe nothing without our aduice, wich wold haue bine the better for you both. You haue be gune with obedience vnto them, I desir God that you may allways honnor them as your parants, for so nou thay be, and God will giue a blesinge vpon you. Your vncler and my selfe haue had a great care of you allways, and is such ingaged for you wich may be a great lose to him if God shall take you away be for you com of age. I pray God you my be both as happie in your mariage as ever aney wear, and it will be a great joy to my heart, for your aunt Lyb sayth, that shee hoppeth that I shall repent the mach as much as any thing that I euer ded, but I haue a betere beleafe. I pray God to blesse you bouth with health and happines. I rest your faithfull and louing aunt,

MARY WISEMAN.

To my most assured louing neese, Mrs. Mary Verney,
giue this att Hylsdon.

The married couple did not live together for a considerable time, and, if I put a right construction upon the next letter, an endeavour was made by Mary Blacknall's friends to induce her, when she came to the legal age of consent, to repudiate her marriage. She seems to have been staying with some of her relations in 1631, and to have been visited by Ralph Verney whilst pursuing his studies at Magdalen hall. She attained her fourteenth year on the 14th February, 1629-30, St. Valentine's day, as Mr. Francis Little, the author of the "Monument of Christian Munificence," is careful to remind us. There is no trace of her being at Claydon at

that time. Six months afterwards, on the 6th August, 1631, whilst Ralph Verney was passing his vacation at Claydon, a special messenger arrived from Oxford, bearing a mysterious letter addressed to him by the trusty Mr. Crowther, who, in addition to his other good services, seems to have been kind enough to be the channel of communication between the young couple.

THE REV. JOHN CROWTHER TO RALPH VERNEY.

Worthy Sir,—Had not the hope of the fruition of your company beene more esteemed by mee then the importunity of all my other friends, my return had not been soe speedy as 'tis now, but the missing of that which I most desyred, ioyned with other urgent buisnesse, hath made me to request the one and make manifest to you the other. You know how the case stood between the partyes at your departure from Oxford; and the promise which you faythfully made for your best furtherance therein; the buisnesse is now againe on foote and likely to come to ishew; only there lackes your presence and helpe fully to accomplish it, which they both now expect and desire. I know your noble nature will not let passe any occasion of doing good, much lesse that wherein your selfe stands a party engaged. You would do well then for a small time to withdraw your selfe from your best beloved friends, which not long after you may more fully enjoy; rather then let slippe this occasion, which if not now performed is not likely ever to be ended. Thus, not doubting of your assent in your soone personall comming, I take my leave, and rest

Yours to be commaunded whilst his owne,

[Signature torn off.]

Oxon: August 6th, 1631.

Wee expect you on Munday at the farthest; in the interim your answer by this messenger, that we may provide accordingly.

To my much honored and approved friend Ralphe Verney, esq.
at Mid-Cleydon, bee these d.d.

This letter arrived on a Saturday. The Monday following saw the young student at Oxford, and the next we hear of him is in

a letter from his reverend tutor, written shortly afterwards, warning him against too great devotion to his "Hymen's delights," with assurance that "the sweetness of a kisse will relish better after the harshness of a syllogisme," and much similar matter in a very high-flown amatory strain. Some friend of the reverend gentleman has torn off his signature from this and the preceding letter.

Abuse of the
court of wards
one of the great
grievances of
the reign of
Charles I.

I have dwelt the longer upon this transaction, on account of the insight which it gives into the system and working of the court of wards. There were times when the authority of that tribunal was administered in a paternal spirit, which tempered its inquisitorial character, and converted its power into a protection for weakness and inexperience. Under Charles I. it became a mere engine of extortion. In the present case the marriage was ultimately a happy one, but what trouble befel the poor child from the very moment of her father's death, how little regard was paid to her feelings or happiness, what contention was she, or rather was her property, allowed to become the subject of, what trickery was brought under the notice of the court, and permitted to pass without censure. So that the crown obtained the 2,000*l.*, it mattered little what became of the ward or of her estate. Sir Edmund Verney in his suit for the performance of his agreement, distinctly states the cause of quarrel between himself and the elder Blagrove to have been, that sir Edmund would "not connive to allow him some part of the ward's inheritance, for which, he pretended, the ward had nothing to shew." It is difficult to conceive what frauds may not have been carried into execution under the power committed by that tribunal to jobbing purchasers of wards. And the iniquity increased as the king's need became greater. Lord Cottington, appointed master in 1635, raised the revenue from the court of wards to a much greater amount than it had ever been before:—"by which husbandry," lord Clarendon allows, "all the rich families of England, of noblemen and gentlemen, were exceedingly incensed, and even indevoted to the crown, looking upon what the law had intended for their protection and preservation to be now applied for their destruction; and there-

fore resolved to take the first opportunity to ravish that jewel out of the royal diadem, though it were fastened there by the known law, upon as unquestionable a right as the subject enjoyed anything that was most his own." (Hist. Rebell. lib. ii.) It is characteristic of lord Clarendon to think it strange, or to wish his readers to think it so, that in political, as in other trusteeship, gross abuse should lead to forfeiture.

The reception of Ralph Verney and his wife at Claydon made at first but little difference in the family arrangements. Ralph continued his studies at home under the direction of his friend Crowther, who was a constant correspondent, and not the less so after he had mustered courage to solicit Ralph Verney to release him from "the discontented life" he led in Oxford, by procuring sir Edmund to use his interest to obtain for him an appointment "in some nobleman or gentleman's howse who hath preferment in his gift," or "to go beyond sea with some embassadour, or chaplain to any regiment of souldiours which shall be sent over." The pupil was not ungrateful. In the course of 1632 the tutor was freed from Oxford drudgery and established as a poor Levite at Langley Marsh, in the family of Ralph Verney's uncle and aunt Poultney; whence he was transferred on the 23rd June, 1635, on the presentation of John earl of Peterborough, to the comfortable rectory of Newton Blossomville, in Bucks, now remembered as once in the possession of bishop Warburton. From that time Mr. Crowther's correspondence slackened, and soon came to an end, but not his respect for Ralph Verney, which was evidenced a few years afterwards by his appointment as one of the overseers of his will.

Ralph Verney's correspondents.

The rev. J. Crowther.

Another of Ralph Verney's correspondents was the hon. James Dillon, the eldest son of Robert lord Dillon afterwards the second earl of Roscommon, an Irish peer much employed by the government in the business of his native country. Lord Dillon had been converted from Roman Catholicism by the arguments of archbishop Usher, and his son was thereupon sent to Oxford to complete his education. Usher recommended him as "a jewel of price" to the care of Dr. George Hakewill, the author of the Apology and

Hon. James Dillon.

master of Exeter college, who, "finding him to be a young man of pregnant parts, placed him in Exeter college under the tuition of Lawrence Bodley, B.D. nephew to sir Thomas Bodley, in the beginning of the year 1628: in which college continuing some years, he became," continues Anthony Wood, "a person of several accomplishments, and afterwards earl of Roscommon in his own country of Ireland." * At Oxford he formed a strict intimacy with Ralph Verney, probably brought about by the circumstance that his mother was a daughter of the lord Buttevant, afterwards earl of Barrymore, of whom we have already had notice.† Verney and Dillon left the university about the same time, and Dillon shortly afterwards entered the service of the celebrated lord Strafford. After a few years, he married Elizabeth Wentworth, sister of the great lord-lieutenant, and by her was the father of a son christened Wentworth, after Strafford, who was his godfather. This is the Wentworth Dillon subsequently known in English poetical literature by his title of Roscommon, to which he succeeded on the death of Ralph Verney's correspondent in 1649.

As a letter-writer Dillon had many of the affectations of the period, but he wrote with a free and easy pen, and occasionally in a strain of pleasant humour. The following, in which he addresses Ralph Verney as his "servant," and subscribes himself his "mistress," is an example of the affectations alluded to. It was written on his return from Oxford to Ireland.

THE HON. JAMES DILLON TO RALPH VERNEY.

Deare Seruant,—You may expect from me an account of my iournay, and truely whilest it lyeth in me to answeere your expectation, I will neuer deceaue you. Take one brifely then. Within two or thre dayes after my comming to the water-side from London, I (with many more) was entized a shipboarde by a flattering winde. Where we were noe sooner in a readinesse, and euen vppon the weighing of anchor, then there arose a terrible tempest. The winds blew beyonde measure high, and the rayne fell downe soe uiolently and soe fast as one might haue thought that the flood-gates of heauen had beene sett wide open. We landed presently, and truely 'twas

* Wood's Fasti, ii. 390

† p. 125.

well for us that we could doe soe, for had we stayed aboarde our liues had beene all endangered, though within harbor. How soe, doe you demande? I will tell you, sir. Our barke was beaten vpp to a fulle sea-marke, where she had her bottome strucken out, and was vnseamed. Nor was it she alone that suffered in this storme. There was not a vessell on Chester water which escaped scott-free. You see, seruant, what a deliuerance this was, and how I haue beene preserued once more (and that peradventure ere you are aware of me) to embrace you really, and in your proper person, as now I doe in my thoughts and thoes ideas of you which doe still accompany

Your most affectionate and obliged Mrs.

JAMES DILLON.

Cluncullan, this 24th of October, 1631.

To my noble freinde Raph Verney, esq. at Mr. Hubberd's house in Channell Rewe [*sic*], right ouer agaynst sir Henry Fines his stayres, deliver these. London.

The direction of this letter introduces us to "Mr. Hubberd," that is, to Nathaniel Hobart, another of Ralph Verney's correspondents, whose letters are often extremely clever, and will speak for themselves. He was the third surviving son of sir Henry Hobart, baronet, lord chief justice of the common pleas, and ancestor of the earls of Buckinghamshire, who died on the 26th December, 1625. Nathaniel Hobart's connection with the Verneys arose out of his marriage with Anne, daughter of sir John Leake,* niece of sir Edmund Verney, and sister of the Dorothy or Doll Leake who lived in the family at Claydon at the time of which we are now treating. Mr. Hobart studied the civil law, and took the degree of D.C.L. He was appointed a master in Chancery on the 14th July, 1652. On the restoration he was re-appointed by Charles II., and was knighted on the 12th May, 1661.

The letters of these and other correspondents soon become far too numerous to be printed entire, but there are many things in them which are worth preserving. I shall therefore string together

* Misprinted "Beke" in Collins (Peerage, iv. 365, ed. Brydges). Sir Nathaniel died on 19th February, 1673-4. (Lord Fermanagh's Genealogical Notes, Verney MS.) One of Nathaniel Hobart's letters, published in Cary's Mem. of the Great Civil War, i. 154, is addressed to a cousin, J. Hobart, and makes mention of a brother lately deceased. This letter is dated by the editor, Oct. 15, 1647.

a few extracts, in chronological order, appending such slight illustration as they may seem to need.

Ralph Verney's
educational
helps.

1631. *November 6th.* I have sent you the astronomy notes, which I have now brought to a perfect and compleate head, save only one sheete containing the differences and computes of time, which I had not time to finish. Had not I watched it late at night, I could hardly have despatched these. But you shall receive it also, with my intended method, as soone as possible I may. I have made it as yet my only studdy, at those times I am vacant from reading to schollers, and will not (God willing) take any other thing in hand till I have finished it. In the interim, I shall desire your paines in the reading of what you have already. I desire, till you heare againe from me, that you only studdy your logicke and astronomy notes. I hope you may dispense with your pleasures to spend three or four houres in a day in the studdy of these. And for your recreation I have sent you the verses upon Felton enclosed,* with a cobby to your wife.†

Oxford news.

——— *29th.* I have sent you my promised directions for your studdy, composed into a treatise and dedicated to yourselfe. . . . As for the generall scheme of the arts, and the rest of your astronomy notes, had not this taske (which I judged first most needfull) held me in hand, you had received [them] by this time; but, God willing, I will send them you before Christmasse. The newes with us is, that Mr. Hodges ‡ is restored, and is injoynd to preach a sermon of Obedience uppon new yeares day. My lord Russell § hath left Oxford; he went away this day. . . Mr. Maynerd || remembers his love to you. . . If it prove faire and you have

* Lines commencing—

“The famous duke supposed he could have tamed
Rebellious hearts, and in their stead have framed”—

not worth printing.

† Rev. J. Crowther to Ralph Verney, dated from Oxford.

‡ Rev. William Hodges, of Exeter college, and afterwards vicar of Bampton, who had been preaching against the ceremonial reintroductions of this period. See Wood's *Hist. and Antiq.* ii. 375-384.

§ William lord Russell, eldest son of Francis the fourth earl, and himself afterwards the fifth earl of Bedford. He was of Magdalen College, Oxford.

|| Perhaps John Maynard the puritan divine, rector of Mayfield in Sussex, and one of the Westminster assembly of divines. He was of Magdalen Hall. Wood's *Athenæ*, iii. 892, ed. Bliss.

done with my Bilson,* send him. Remember me to Mr. Aris † and his wife.‡

——— *December 18th.* I have not as yet sent you the scheme as promised in my direction, with your genealogy of the kings, but reserve them till I shall speake with you myself. There's one maine thing especially, and which I know you'le account most necessary and willingly embrace, which I have not as yet initiated you in, *scilicet*, the grounds of geography. When your strangers are gone, if you cannot have the leisure to come over hither, send but me word, and I'le attend you for a weeke or soe at Claydon till I have shewed you the principall grounds in that science, and shewed you by my former directions how you may make further progresse yourselfe. I thinke it your most convenient course, before you go to London, when you come to take your sollemne leave of the howse,§ that you provide your plate against that time, and then present it; for otherwise, if you deferre it till after your departure, you will have it bruited both in the howse and towne, that you have gone away and have given none: which will tend much to your discreditt amongst those that know not your intent; and though you bestow one after, when the rumour is once spread, 'tis hard to allay it after. Because I perceive you lacke paper, I have lefte halfe a sheete cleane and unwritten.||

Ralph Verney's
present to his
college.

——— *23rd.* Since comparing your genealogy with our chronicles, I find it somewhat imperfect and also false in many places. I intend to supply and correct it, and to have it drawne forth after a better and more stately forme.¶

* Some publication of the very learned Thomas Bilson bishop of Winchester, author of "The true difference between Christian subjection and unchristian rebellion," "The perpetual government of Christ's church," and various published sermons. The first of these books, written by command of queen Elizabeth in defence of the revolt of the Low Countries against Spain, was used with great effect in support of the anti-royalist cause in the time of Charles I.

† The reverend John Aris, rector of Middle Claydon from 1630 to 1657. He also was of Magdalen Hall.

‡ The rev. J. Crowther to Ralph Verney, dated from Oxford.

§ His college, Magdalen Hall.

|| The rev. J. Crowther to Ralph Verney, dated from Oxford.

¶ The same to the same. I have inserted this and other notices of the educational helps for which Ralph Verney was indebted to Mr. Crowther, principally to shew under

Terms of a
domestic chap-
laincy.

Books.

1631-2, *March 15th*. I have sent you the Bibles by Godwin: the rest of the bookes I have in my studdy ready for you when you shall send for them. I sent you the note of them all before; the lowest price I have agreed with him for is 4*l.* 17*s.* I understand by your unkle * of that care you have taken for me since in seeking to procure me some convenient place, and that more particularly you have now aymed at my good in preferring me to Mr. Poultney. I acknowledge myself much engaged unto you for this appovement of your love, and as long as my poore endeavours can be able to doe you any service you shall find me not unthankfull. The doctor tells me that you have proposed my living with him, under this condicion, that he shall give me an advowson of his next living that falls. I know not the valew they are of, nor what age the incumbents are of, but I am perswaded that you will doe the best for me herein, and therefore in this I will repose myself on you. As for the present maintenance he shall give me, I referre myselfe to what you and your unkle shall judge fitte, or stand to his courtesy. I desire noe more then what may proportionably maintaine mee as befitting his creditte and service; and to whatsoever he shall allow mee I will adde some annuall meanes of mine owne. As for my due and respectfull observance of him, bee it not base servility, he shall find me as officious as any. . . I have since at the sale of a study at the second hand mette with two bookes fitte for your use, and scarce to be had. They are Grymston's Estates,† and the History of Venice; ‡ the former is at 20*s.*, the other 10*s.* I have bought them already. If you like them at that price I will send them with the other bookes; if not, I'll reserve them for my own use.§

what difficulties the men of that day laboured in the acquisition of even the simplest elementary information.

* William Denton, M.D. youngest son of sir Thomas Denton, mentioned before, at p. 137. After practising physic for some years at Oxford, he removed to London, and was appointed physician to Charles I. He lived in the metropolis through the whole time of the Civil War, and was a constant friend and correspondent of his nephew Ralph Verney.

† The Estates, Empires, and Principalities of the World. Translated from the French of P. D'Avilly, by Edward Grimstone. Lond. 1615. Fol. (Watt's Biblioth.)

‡ The Generale Historie of the magnificent state of Venice. Translated from the original of Thomas de Fougasses, by W. Shute. Lond. 1612. Fol.

§ Rev. J. Crowther to Ralph Verney, dated from Oxford.

1632. *November 12th.* My good ladie and aunt,—I received your letter of the 7th of Julie last, wherebie I do understand that I must appoint one to follow mie business to the lords that have the sale of the late lord chauncellor's* landes. I heare the landes are now sould or presentlie will, so that if I should nelect the time mie hope of getting weare at an ende; and Mr. Gottes † hath promised me to further it with his own person unto the lordes; and, though the bond be not taken in mie name, yet Mr. Gottes will ascertain the lordes the dett is absolutely myne, and that uppon composition with me the bond shalbe delivered out unto their lordshipps. So, mie worthie aunt, I do humblie entreat you to deliver the bond to this bearer Mr. Neave.‡

Payment of the debts of lord Bacon.

1633. *July 27th.* That I neyther writt unto you on Wednesday last, nor have hitherto sent unto Oxforde, wonder not. I have since my coming to towne beene soe much a troubled, soe much a perplexed, man, as I confess I could nor write nor speake nor thinke any thing but one, and that (alas!) a matter too sorrowfull, too sad for me to write or speake or thinke of. I have lost the faythfullest she-freinde, as by letters from my lord of Corke I am too well assured, that ever I had or ever looke to meet with. My lady Digbyes deade,§ whom neither the teares of her father, nor the sighs of her husband, nor the prayers of the poore, nor the moane of her friends, nor, in a worde, the petitions and desires of all that ever knewe or hearde of her, could with hold from the jawes [of] death. By death she is gone unto an endless life. But I will now withdrawe my

Death of the wife of sir Kenelm Digby.

* There are three other letters at Claydon upon this subject, dated 4th September 1628, 7th November 1628, and 7th June 1629. The writer, a niece of old lady Verney, sir Edmund's mother, held a bond for 200*l.*, dated 18th March 1617, given by lord chancellor Bacon to Thomas Sugar esquire, which was "all her poore estate." Through lady Verney she had been applying for several years, without effect, to the administrators of lord Bacon's property—sir Robert Rich, sir Richard Young, and sir Thomas Meautys.

† A councillor of Gray's Inn.

‡ Ann Blakeney to lady Verney.

§ Venetia, daughter of sir Edward Stanley, of Tongue castle, in Shropshire, and wife of sir Kenelm Digby, a lady celebrated for beauty, frailty, and, after her marriage, for the strict practice of a ceremonial religion. Ben Jonson commemorated what he terms her "fair fame," in his poem of Eupheme, and the other wits of the time were no less affected by her death than Mr. Dillon. Her husband, it will be remembered, racked his chemical skill to preserve her beauty by cosmetics, and, after her death, strove to immortalise her features by a bust of copper gilt, set up in Christ church, Newgate street. The cosmetics

Books.

self from those thoughts, and compose myself the best I can for enacting the designes we resolved on at parting. By this berrer you are to receive Scheibler,* Ramus,† Talæus‡, Turbolds Grounds in Astronomie, and them in English, together with Hackwell's Instructions.§ Next weeke you shall heare of my letter to Wheare|| and other things. ¶

Lord Carlisle's plantation in Connaught.

1633. *July 28th.* Through your goodnesse I am imboldened to desier you to inquire how my lord of Carlile's** plantation in Ireland goeth forward. His lordship hath not the whole sheire to himselfe, for one of your welewishers hath a verball graunt of a little share in it. ††

————— 31st. Before I came out of Ireland my lord of Carliel followed his plantation affaire him self here, by his agents eagerly there. Both found opposition then from my lord of Rannelagh and sir William Parsons, tow wise and well-pursed men, who to side with them drew my lord of Corke. On the other side, I perceave the chauncellor Loftus, partely out of enmity to the adverse party, partely to gaine my lord of

availed but little against the great conqueror. The bust was injured in the fire of London, and was last seen, ten years afterwards, by a strolling antiquary, at a broker's stall in Newgate street. Equally unfortunate were the plaster casts which sir Kenelm possessed of her hands and feet, as well as of her face. Every memorial of her beauty has disappeared, except the lines of Ben Jonson—"Sitting and ready to be drawn"—and her portraits by Vandyke. These constitute a double immortality, whatever else may have been lost.

* Christopher Scheibler, a professor of the university of Giessen, and afterwards of Dortmund, who wrote on logic and metaphysics, is doubtless the author alluded to. Two of his books were reprinted at Oxford, in 1637 and 1657.

† Some work of the celebrated Peter Ramus, the first to assault the Aristotelian logic. There had been editions or translations of the most important of his works printed before this time in England.

‡ Audomar Talæus, an author of the sixteenth century, who wrote principally upon rhetoric.

§ Probably some book of Dr. Hakewill, alluded to at p. 148, but I do not find it in the list of his published works.

|| "Degorie Wheare [the first Camden professor of history at Oxford] is not at Oxford, therefore have I not sent away my letter." J. Dillon to Ralph Verney, 13th August, 1633.

¶ James Dillon to Ralph Verney, from London.

** James Hay earl of Carlisle, a favourite of James I., remembered principally for his singular extravagance.

†† Ralph Verney to James Dillon, from Claydon.

Carliel, whom he had occasion to make use of here, was content to be easilie wrought to further, soe much as in him laye, Carliel's business. Thus, of all hands, they tugged, when I came awaye. Since, all theire addresses were made to the king, who in particular has referred all to the deputy.* This I learned within this quarter of an houre from my lord Wilmot to whom I went purposely to enquire after this matter. Thus have you the present state of this affaie, whereof I thinke more cannot be absolutely said ere the deputy comes to declare himself.†

1633. *August 13th.* Here lay a letter dormant this twelve monethes to the deputy of Ireland for the proportion of a thousand acres of land in Connaught. This letter hath beene sent for by Mr. Gifford, who obtained it from his majestie. It hath been sent for, I saye, within this two dayes, so that it should seeme the deputy beginns to declare himself for the plantation there. This day I will write to my father.—This from the company now come in I heare.‡

————— 17th. I am easily persuaded that the deputy (as well for his owne benefit as the king's) would gladly have the plantation in Connaught goe forwards. If wishes could prevaile I know who should have a share in it; but no more of this.§

————— *September 18th.* Out of Ireland this I heare; that the deputy doth rather imperiously overtopp both the earle of Corke and the lord chancellor, then become of eyther of their factions, or take eyther of them to side with him in his wayes. He hath too (I am tould) warned the countrie, that if men come not to him to compound for defective titles, they must looke for plantations, which (they say) are very likely to go forward in Connaught and elsewhere. This I heare, but not from my father; yet I advertise it, that if any vse be to be made thereof it may be donne in tyme. ||

————— *October 26th.* There is a late packett come out of Ireland, which adviseth that sir William Parsons, in the name of the countie of Wickloe (where my Lord of Carliel promises himself a plantation), hath

* Lord Strafford, then viscount Wentworth.

† James Dillon to Ralph Verney, from London.

‡ James Dillon to Ralph Verney, from London.

§ Ralph Verney to James Dillon, from Claydon.

|| James Dillon to Ralph Verney, from London.

Imperious
policy of lord
Strafford.

submitted him self unto the deputie, and now without more thought of opposition referred all unto him. Make what use hereof yow thinke fitt.*

Irish letter-writing.

1633. *October 30th.* How strangely doe letters out of Ireland hither contradict one the other! Nay, and from one and the same man! Lewis (my lord of Carliel's agent in Ireland) writes unto a familiar freinde of his aboute the court what my last unto you advertised of sir William Parsons, and the same Lewis writes unto Webb a tale directly contrary. What to make of this I cannot well tell, unles that peradventure he desires to make Webb as much a stranger to this business as he can, and withall to get some papers under this pretence out of Webb's hands, which doe not a little concerne this business, and yet (I heare) lie in Webb's hands. I have ghessed.†

Sir Edmund attended Charles I. into Scotland, in 1633.

Sir Edmund Verney attended upon Charles I. on his journey into Scotland to be crowned, in May, 1633, being appointed for that purpose one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber.‡ The visit to his native country was a most unfortunate one to the sovereign and to Laud, his episcopal—soon to become his archiepiscopal—adviser; and it was scarcely less so to sir Edmund. At Newcastle, on their way to the north, sir Edmund met with an accidental fall from his horse, of a very serious character. The rumour ran, even to Gloucester, where his sons Thomas and Edmund were at school, that he had been killed.§ In spite of his hurts, he went on with the king to the north, but suffered from his accident for a long time after his return. At Edinburgh, whilst his master was throwing away his popularity by disregarding the opinions and prejudices of his northern subjects, sir Edmund acquired the reputation amongst the Scots of being “a lover of their nation.” || It was the 20th July ere the king, with sir Edmund in attendance on his majesty, returned to Greenwich, “having come

* James Dillon to Ralph Verney, from London.

† James Dillon to Ralph Verney, from London.

‡ Carlisle's Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, p. 108.

§ Verney MS. 24th June, 1633.

|| Baillie's Letters, i. 215.

post from Barwick," notes Laud in evident amazement, "in four days."*

In the following September, sir Edmund was called into Buckinghamshire by two important domestic incidents. On the 12th, lady Verney gave birth to Elizabeth, sir Edmund's thirteenth and last child, and on the 19th, sir Thomas Denton, the old knight at Hillesdon, who had long been failing, breathed his last. Ralph Verney announced the latter event to his friend Dillon in a letter, the draft of which displays in its numerous corrections the amount of labour which the customary application of scriptural phraseology cost some at least of the writers who indulged in it.†

Birth of Elizabeth, sir Edmund's thirteenth and last child.

Death of sir Thomas Denton.

1633-4. *February 22nd.* Wee country clowns heare various reports of Mr. Prinn's censure. Some say hee is to loose his hand and eares, others say his hand only; a third sort there are that say neither hand nor eares, but hee must pay 6,000^{li}, and endure perpetuall imprisonment. I know none can relate the truth of this better then your selfe, for you love not pleasing amatory dreames in a morninge slumber, nor lazie stretchings on a downie bed; noe, your spirit scornes such soft contentments. I dare say you rise early every starr chamber day to heare the sage censures of the grave councillours; to you therefore I fly for information, which I am confident you will not denie to your friende and servant, R. V.‡

Inquiry as to Prynne's sentence in the star chamber.

——— *26th.* I did but even now receive a letter from you, wherein you desire an account of Mr. Prinn's censure. To satisfie you therein. He is to be degraded in the universitie, disbarred at the innes of court, he was fined in foure thousand pounds by some, by others in 5,000^{li}, in 6,000^{li}, in 10,000^{li}, but which of these does now stand I cannot resolve you; because I counted not in which of these summes most of the lords did agree, but I believe it was in 4,000^{li}.§ He was withall condemned to the

Account of what took place in the star chamber on passing sentence upon Prynne.

* Laud's Diary, p. 48, ed. Wharton.

† Verney MS., 27th September, 1633.

‡ Ralph Verney to James Dillon, from Claydon.

§ In a sentence of such frightful enormity, 1000*l.* more or less is of little moment, but the amount was 5000*l.* It was customary in the Star Chamber to take the average of the suggested sums.

losse of his cares, whereof he is to parte with one at Westminster, with the other at Cheapside, where, whilst an officer doeth execution on him self, the hangman is to doe execution on his booke and burne it before his face. He is withall to suffer perpetuall imprisonment by the decree of the starr chamber. There were of the lords that counted this not enough; they would have his nose slitt, his arme cutt of, and penn and inke for ever withheld from him, but these were but fewe and their censure stood not.

My lord keeper * came not that day into the starre chamber, but there was my lord tresorer † with most of the lords that usually come thither. He was that day pronounced an offender against the king, the queene, the commonwealth, the church—nay Christ himself (saied some), to whom he envied the honnour due to his name. His booke was, you may remember, against playes, ‡ whereupon the archbishop of Canterbury tooke occasion to saye, that though he was noe enemie to the lawfull use of them, yet he never was at any in his life, howbeit others of his coate could gett under the dropps of waxed candle at a play, to be observed there, and therefore counted noe puritans. This I observed spoken upon the bye, and therefore I take notice of it to you, because I am persuaded that you understand whom it is that this concernes. There were other observable things at that censure, but these seemed to me to be the most, and even these suffice to make this exceed the just measure of a letter, which (if Seneca be to be credited) should be perspicuous and short. My service, I pray, sir, to my lady Verney, Mrs. Verney, my brother Doll; § your uncle doctor, || and I shall onely crave the esteeme of your freinde and servant, JA. DILLON. ¶

Plantation of
Connaught.

1633-4. *March 12th.* Some tenn days agoe hither came sir George Wentworth (the deputy his brother) out of Ireland—my lord of Valentia (one

* Coventry.

† Weston, created earl of Portland in 1632.

‡ *Histriomastix.* The players' scourge or actors' tragædie. Lond. 4to. 1633.

§ Dorothy Leake, between whom and Dillon there was great romping and familiarity. In a previous letter we find that she had complained of him for rubbing the skin off her lips. He replied—"See my goodness! I am readie to rubbe of the skinn of my owne, and that uppon hers, to make her amends." In another recent letter he sends her "a dozen of gloves. Tenn of them," he continues, "were (I confess) long since due unto her; the other tow I mean to make her deserve when I meet her next."

|| Dr. William Denton.

¶ To Ralph Verney, from London.

of the councell there, but now here) tells me, about the choise of commissioners for the plantation of Connaught. Whither it be soe or noe, twill be (I presume) noe difficult matter for you to learne, nor when you have learned, to resolve on what you have to doe.*

1633-4. *March 19th.* The towne hardly did ever more abound with newes then now it doeth. It sayes that Wallesteine, by command from the emperor, ^{Foreign news.} is murdered in Germany; that the great Turke sends forth his edicts through the worlde to call the Jewes backe to their Palestine, and the building of their new Jerusalem; that the French fleet and the Duch are both upon [the] coast of England; that the King of France is by the Duch and French proclaymed king of the narrowe seas; and that the English are banished France. Oxensterne is now in towne; and here is the king looked for to morrowe. This I thinke is enough for me to write in one letter, and enough for you to beleve at one tyme. I therefore trouble you with noe more.†

1634. *November 21st.* There is noe newes of any thing that concernes ^{Lord Russell's return.} us, but that our old friend, my lord Russell,‡ is newly come out of France, and in my judgment much betterd by his travels §

1635. *May 13th.* The earle of Sussex, || I heare, is the prime man of ^{The earl of Sussex.} the Radcliffes, and one unto whom our sir George here ¶ is a kinsman. You are an understanding man, and therefore of this I shall need to saye no more.**

——— *June 20th.* For my lord of Sussex—"the prime man of the Ratcliffes"—I must tell you he is old, and his estate soe low, that few of his kindred can gaine any thinge by his death, and therefore I conceive he cannot do much with sir George; besides all this, hee is under a clowd at

* James Dillon to Ralph Verney, from London.

† James Dillon to Ralph Verney, from London.

‡ See before, p. 150.

§ Ralph Verney to James Dillon, from Claydon.

|| On the death of the earl of Sussex, the lord chamberlain of Elizabeth, the title descended to his brother, who died without issue in 1629. The next heir was sir Edward Ratcliffe, son of sir Humphrey Ratcliffe, of Elstow, co. Bedford. This is the gentleman here alluded to.

¶ Sir George Ratcliffe, friend of lord Strafford, whose correspondence was edited by Dr. Whitaker, 4to. Lond. 1810.

** James Dillon to Ralph Verney, from Dublin.

court, that I may use your own language, “ you are an understanding man, and therefore I shall need to say no more.”*

Claydon in 1634 and 1635. The year 1634 was a busy one in the family at Claydon. Ralph Verney and his wife, the latter of whom had suffered from several miscarriages, and also from the death of a child born and christened on the 21st July, 1632, and buried on the 22nd, were gratified on the 16th September by the birth of a daughter, christened Anna Maria,—Dillon being her godfather. In 1634 Edmund Verney, Ralph's second brother, was transferred from his school at Gloucester to Winchester college; Henry, the next son to Edmund, was sent to Thomas Verney. Paris to acquire a knowledge of foreign languages; Thomas, the second son, was unfortunate even from the commencement of his career. Immediately after he left school he got into trouble about a love affair. His father being displeased, resolved to send him out as a settler to Virginia. The arrangement of the details fell to lady Verney. An emigration broker or agent, one Mr. John Sadler, at the Red Lion in Bucklersbury, was consulted, and gave the following advice, which sets forth the requirements of an emigrant settler in America in those days:—

Requirements of an American settler in 1635.

If it will please sir Edmund and your ladyshipp to bee ruled by my advise, your sonne shoold have with him iij seruants at least, which may bee had heere at a dayes warninge; if I were to send 40 servants I coold have them heere at a dayes warninge; but, indede, I desierd, if it were possible, to have him bringe a cooper out of the country, which wee cannot get soe redily heare. Euery servant hee sends over will stand him in xij^{li} his passage and apparel fit for him, with other charges. After his cumming into Verginnia, I doubt nott but by frends I have there hee shall bee well acomodated for his owne person, and at a resonable rate, and his men maye likewise be taken of his hande and dyated for theyre worke for the first yeare, and with some advantage to your sonne besides; then the next yeare, if hee shall like the cuntry, and bee mynded to staye and settell a plantation him selfe, those servants will bee seasoned, and bee enabled to direct such

* Ralph Verney to James Dillon, from Claydon.

others as shall bee sent vnto him from hence hereafter, or if hee shall nott like the cuntry, then hee maye sell theyre tyme they haue to serve him vnto other men that haue neede of servants, and make a good bennifitt of them, as alsoe of all such things as he shall carry with him, for ther is nothinge that wee carry from hence but if it cost 20*s.* heare in England they doe geeve there for it 30*s.*

Now, for his owne proper acomodation, I must intreat your ladishipp that hee maye bringe vp with him a fether bed, bolster, pillow, blanketts, rugg, and 3 payre of sheets, vnless you will please they shalbee bought heare; it is but a spare horse the more to bring them vp. And lett nott his staye bee longer. If hee had cum vp nowe, I had then beespack for him that acomodation (in regard of the intimasie I haue with the owners of the shipp) which he cannott haue in every shipp that goeth thether; for hee shoold haue layne in the great cabbin, which is more then an ordenary curtesie; but I am afeard if the wynde cum fayre for them to bee gon, that theye will not staye past iij. or iiij. dayes longer at most. But, howe ever, ther shalbee nothinge wantinge in mee toe doe the best I can to gett him the best acomodation I maye in some other shipp, if hee doe cum toe late.

Maddam, the reson why I intreat your ladyshipp that hee may haue with him for his owne particular vse a fether bed, bolster, blanquetts, rugg, curtaynes, and vallence is, that, although many howshowlds in Verginia ar soe well provided as to enterteine a stranger with all thinges necessary for the belly, yeat few or non ar better provided for the back as yeat then to serve theyre own turnes; therefore tis necessary that hee bee provided of that for more asurance.

Now if it will please your ladishipp that he maye haue ij. men with him, I haue hear inclosed sent a noate, as neare calculated as I can, what the charges will bee of ij. men, as alsoe a nother noate added ther vnto of such things as tis necessary hee doe carry over for sale; som part of them to purchass corne against next year, as well for theys seruants hee now carryes as for those he shall haue sent him next yeare, and for more asurance least there shoold happen to bee a scarsety in the cuntry, which some tymes dooth soe fall out through the covetiousnes of the planters, that strive to plant much tobacco and littell corne; soe that want comes vpon som of them beefore they are aware of it.

I haue alreddy bought the flower, the fowlinge peeces, the stronge waters,
CAMD. SOC. Y

and the groserie wares, and for the rest I haue sought them out and know where to bee fitted with them at halfe a dayes warninge, but I durst nott proseede in buyinge them vntill I might heare farther your pleasure, which I could wish might bee by him selfe vpon Satterdaye next by noone, and then I hoape in the after noone I might dispach all, and hee might cum time enough toe goe awaye in this shipp, where I soe much desier hee shoold goe for the good acomodation that I am suer hee shoold haue there.

This charge for him selfe and ij. men, with the provisions which is needfull for him to carry, will cum toe 56^{li}, littell more or less; and if you shall think fitt toe lett him haue a third man it is but xij^{li} more, and truly it is the opinion of all that I haue or can conferr with all, that it is a greate deale better for him to haue som seasoned men of his owne, when hee goes to settell a plantation him selfe, then to haue all fresh men, because those men maye bee inabled to direct others that hee shall haue hereafter.*

Lady Verney did not hesitate. With more haste than perhaps was prudent, she instantly packed up master Tom's apparel, and sent him off to London with a motherly letter, from which the following is an extract:—

The likelihood of a prosperous iourney into that place to those that either have had experience beyond the seas or traffique at home I can noe way mistrust, but my sonne hath neither beene bread abroad nor vsed to any bartering at home, but only bredd at schoole, and so I doubt wilbe to seeke in that imployment that he is now goeing to vndertake; therefore I shall intreate that favour from you, that if any of your acquaintance doe goe with him, that you may trust, a little to direct him in his coarces; I shall take it as a great favour from you, and I knowe it wilbe a great comfort vnto him, and I hope for his advancement.

For his necessary provisions, I haue none of my owne, therefore haue sent up a man furnished with such a proportion of money as you haue writt for, and haue made what hast I could to conveigh him vnto you, that he might not loose the benefitt and accomodation of that shipp which you writt vnto mee is now goeing, where in you had provided him soe good a cabin, and haue also sent his other necessaryes of waring apparrell and linnen, and I hope compleatly for such an imployment and iourney. And

* Verney MS. 30th July, 1634.

if there be any thing wanting, I haue giuen this my seruant power to treate with you about it ; and the last I shall now intreat from you is, that if you would be pleased to write to some of your freinds there that are of the better sorte, a little to direct him in his way of proceeding, and but acknolledg him to be the sonne of his father, you shall engage both his father and my self to acknolledg your cortesye ; and shall pray to God for his prosperity, and leaue the success vnto his diuine providence.*

On the 3d August, Tom wrote a careless but warm-hearted letter of farewell to Ralph and his wife, "before my taking of my journey," dated from Bucklersbury. On the 8th, we have a shipping note, acknowledging the receipt of various casks and barrels, shot, fowling-pieces, and muskets, on board "the good shipp caled the marchants' hoape of London, whereof is master under God, Robert Payge, and now riding at an anchor in the river of Thames, and bound to Verginnia." On the same day, an authority was signed to Mr. William Webster, "in case of mortallity of the said Mr. Thomas Verney, to sell and dispose of his goods, provisions, and ser-
Embarks for Virginia.

vants," which "goods, provisions, and servants, with the charges arising upon the same, doe amount to 117*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*," for the use of sir Edmund Verney. Within a few hours afterwards the good ship was under weigh.

The business was transacted in too much haste to turn out well. In nine months Tom Verney had found out that Virginia was totally
Returns home, unsuited to his careless, impetuous disposition, and had returned to England. His outfit was thus thrown away, and he was again upon his father's hands. In this emergency his brother Ralph was most kind to him, mediating with his father, and helping the silly boy in every way in his power. Sir Edmund, wisely determining to find him instant employment, sent him as a volunteer on board the
Volunteers in the sea service St. Andrew, a king's ship cruising in the channel ; and on the 4th June, 1635, we have two off-hand letters from the young volunteer "at the Downs." One has a misdate of twelve months, but both are full of vehement protestations of duty and affection to his father,

* Verney MS. 1st August, 1634.

and contain reiterated offers "to shed the best blood in his body" to do his brother good. On the 13th June we find him off the Isle of Wight, and on the 6th July at Plymouth. On the 24th August he had become tired of the sea-service, and coolly announced to his brother Ralph that he was about to take a journey into Flanders, "to see what fortunes a younger brother might attain unto," and if he liked the country, to live there and serve under the prince cardinal, being determined, he says, "never to go for Holland," because he should have better pay from the prince cardinal; "therefore, dear brother," he concludes, "I hope that you will speak to my friends for a little money to carry mee over thither; for, if they will send me non, I am resolved to go over with that little I have." Whether this freak took effect or not does not appear. For some months, at the close of 1635, we find him in no great favour with sir Edmund, lodging, in considerable dudgeon, with the keeper of the prison of the Marshalsea, a servant of his father. In the next year he took service in the army of France, and drew bills upon his brother Ralph for his equipments. The amounts were always faithfully to be paid immediately after "the next fight."—There, for the present, we leave him.

At this time sir Edmund was suffering greatly from sciatica, "which mustris wright me worde," remarks sir John Leake, "is your new name for an owld ache." His pains and lameness sent him to the doctors, and from them to the quacks, amongst whom an "old cobbler" figures conspicuously. Finally he went to what was then termed "the Bath," his son Ralph, who was also out of health, keeping him company. A pleasant letter, written from thence by sir Edmund to his daughter-in-law, the wife of Ralph, gives a glimpse of the life they led at that fashionable place of summer resort amongst our ancestors.

Desires to go to Flanders.

Enters the land service of France.

Sir Edmund's indisposition.

He goes to "the Bath."

SIR EDMUND VERNEY TO MRS. RALPH VERNEY.

Good dawghter,—I cannot prevaile with your husband to leaue me. I cannot gett him from me without a quarrell. Therefore, good heart, forgiue

vss boath, since his absence is against boath our wills. Hee is euery daye in the bathe; I praye god it maye doe him good. For my parte I am sure I fiend none in it, but since I am come here, I will try the vttermost of it, that I maye not bee reproacht att my returne for dooing things by halues. Att our first coming the towne was empty, but now it is full of very good company, and wee pass our time awaye as merrily as paine will giue vss leaue. In discharge of parte of my promiss, I haue written to my lady Gawdy and Mrs. Siddenham. I knowe not wher they are, but I presume you doe. I praye send thes inclosed lettres to them. Comend mee to neece Hobart and Doll, to Natt, if hee bee still with you; and soe, deere heart, farwell.—Your louing father and faithfull frend,

ED. VERNEY.

Bathe, this 20th of August [1635].

[Address] For my dawghter Verney thes.

We now resume our extracts:—

1635. *June 12th.* Lett me tell you, that for ought I can learne or understand, 'tis cleere that very great advantage may [be] had by taking upp moneyes, and securing the use of them for twentie yeares, and laying them out on purchases here. Here is now to be sould 1,200^{li} a-yeare—my father is my author, who speakes knowingly—for less then 10,000^{li}. Suppose the money payed for it fullie as much, the use of all will amount to eight hundered pounds annuallie for 20 yeares. I beseech you, will it not be a mightie benefitt to gaine during the 20 yeares by this very lande 400^{li} a-yeare, and after the expiration of them the whole twelve hundered a-yeare cleerly and for nothing? You will say, I am sure, that it is much. And yet it is not more then you may have, and that of one there. I meane the earle of Annandale.* Enquire of him—if you thinke this worth the enquiring after—if he would not sell his lands in the north of Ireland; and what he would take for them. Within these tow yeares he would have taken 9,000^{li}. but what he will doe now I knowe not. Onely this my

Profitable investment for capital in Ireland.

* Sir John Murray, a well-known personal attendant and favourite of James I. created earl of Annandale, 13th March, 1624-5. He had many grants of lands from king James.

father tells me, that they are worth 1,200^l. a-year, and that they lye all together. And for the rents thereabouts, he, who very well knowes it, because of his dealings thereabouts, and his management of my lorde Folliott's estate, sayes—imagine my father still—that they are noe more uncertayne there than in other parts of the kingdom, nor liable to other hazards then what the rest of the kingdom is subject unto ; unless it be what intestine rebellion or forreine invasion does occasion ; and from these I hope we are, in every parte, farre. Onely this I must tell you, that this estate lyes sixe score miles, or neere soe many, from this towne ; and that it's all planted with Scotts. But truly these, methinks, are noe considerable exceptions, when the benefitt is once looked on. If you intend this, send to me and I will give you an account of the value of this estate, and what els soever may concerne it, the best I can.

Plantation of
Connaught.

The plantation of Connaught goes on. I have written to your father and my grandfather * by Jerman largely of it, and by this berrer some what. One you have (I presume) allreadie seene, the other I am confident you will see, and therefore I will at once spare your trouble and mine in useless repetitions. Onely this, to what is in them sayed, I will add—that my father knowes me a much obliged man to my grandfather there and thee, and I have tould him of this foot post's going thither purposely, that your father might, uppon occasion of a letter from my lorde here, the more opportunely ingage my father to serve him. Lett my grandfather make what uses of it he pleases, or doe upon it what he thinkes fitt. I assure you I thinke of the marshall's sending to my father, not out of any fond humor because of his neereness to me, but meerely and solely and totally because I will conceale noe thought of mine from thee. I beleave he can not have in the kingdom a fitter instrument to further his business, for my father is one that has a hande in the ordering of this business himself ; he is one in the good opinion of sir George Radcliffe and the deputie : he goes the progress with the deputie, can as well instruct your father's agent, who ever it is, as—I will say noe more then—an other man. He is one, in a worde, faythfull in what he undertakes, and true to all trusts reposed in

* In what sense Dillon applied the title of grandfather to sir Edmund Verney does not appear. It was probably merely a term of familiarity and affection. Sir Edmund on his side termed Dillon grandson.

him, and if your father commaunds him, I dare undertake for what lyes in his power. . . . I shall goe the progress here.*

1635. *September 17th.* I goe the next week (after I have written unto you) unto Insequinns † wedding. ‡ Lord Inchi-quin's wedding.

1635-6. *January 5th.* I pray send your brother § to Oxford as soone as you can. I will allow him forty pound a yeare, and he shall have a cloath sute made him against Easter, or sooner if neede require.|| Advise him to husband it well; and more I will not allow him. . . . The king goes to Newmarkett on Monday sennight. He goes through in a day.¶ Allowance for a student at Oxford.
The king's movements.

—— *19th.* To requite your noos of your fish, I will tell you as good a tale from hence, and as trew. A merchant of Lunden that writt to a factor of his beyoand sea desired him by the next shipp to send him "2 or 3 apes." He forgot the "r," and then it was "2 o 3 apes." His factor has sent him fower scoare, and sayes he shall have the rest by the next shipp, conceaving the marchant had sent for two hundred and three apes. If yourself or frends will buy any to breede on, you could never have had such choyce as now. In earnest this is very trew.** Value of an "r;" a cargo of apes.

—— *March 7th.* My lorde deputie goes shortly into England; it may be then a good tyme for my grandfather [sir Edmund Verney] there to order things that doe concerne his business. I shall, I presume, over with him.†† Strafford coming to England.

* James Dillon to Ralph Verney, from Dublin.

† Murrough, sixth baron, and afterwards created first earl of Inchiquin, distinguished for military skill and many soldierlike exploits during the Irish rebellion. He married Elizabeth daughter of sir William St. Leger, president of Munster.

‡ James Dillon to Ralph Verney, from Dublin.

§ Edmund, who had just left Winchester. He was entered of the favourite Magdalen hall.

|| In sir Edmund's next letter, dated 11th January, he says, "for Munn, it is trew I did ever intend to paye for his gowne over and above his allowance; but what the other charges will come to I knowe not. But if hee will provide his gowne himself, I will allow him for that and his entrance 10*l.* besides his allowance. You shall herewith receive a letter to his tutor."

¶ Sir Edmund Verney to Ralph Verney, from the court.

** Sir Edmund Verney to Ralph Verney, from London.

†† James Dillon to Ralph Verney, from Dublin.

1635-6. *March 9th.* The bishopp of Lundoⁿ* is lord treasurer. Tho. Hubbart is dead, and to be buried this night.†

Lady Essex and Will Uvedale.

Circumstances which led to lord Essex's separation from his second wife.

——— *16th.* Raphe, ther are divers reports of my lord of Essex's business ‡—but the trouth agreede by all partys is thus:—My lord was gone into the country to his brother of Hertforde; and one night, Will Udall beeing with my lady most part of the night, about tow of the clock in the morning, my [lady] sayes shee sent her mayde downe for some beere. The mayde goeing throughe the hall was seas'd on by some of my lord's servants. Shee demanded the reason of it, and badd them lett her goe, for she must returne to her lady, but they tould her shee should not. Shee begann to cry out, but they instantly muffed her, and carried her awaye: and presently gave sir Walter Deverex nootice of it, who presently taking Mr. Winckfield, an ould servant of my lord's, alonge with him, went softly upp to my lady's chamber, and ther they found Will Udall sitting on the bedd side with his cloathes on and his cloake about him. Udall, seeing them come in soe, askd sir Walter what the business was that hee was upp att that time of night. Hee answered, that hee was to speake with my lady. Wheruppon Udall riss ofe the bedd and walkt to the window, and lent ther till Deverex speaks to my lady. When Deverex had done, hee went his waye againe, without saying anything to Udall.

He beeing out of the chamber, my lady cald Udall to her, and tould him what Deverex had sayed to her—which was this. Deverex tould her, that hee was sorry to fiend her in that unseemly manner; that it did not become her in her honner to have a younge gentleman aloane with her att that time of night; that the woarld had taken nootice of an affection of hers to Mr. Udall, and this act of hers did confirme it; that it was soe highe an injurye to my lord, his brother, that hee would presently give him noetice of it, and having sayed thus much, hee presently went to his chamber and

* "March 6th, Sunday. William Juxon, lord bishop of London, made lord high treasurer of England; no churchman had it since Henry the Seventh's time."—Laud's Diary, p. 53, ed. Wharton.

† Sir Edmund Verney to Ralph Verney, from London.

‡ Every body knows the history of the first marriage and divorce of Robert earl of Essex. This letter discloses the fate of his second marriage, contracted in 1631. The lady was Elizabeth daughter of sir William Paulet of Edington, in the county of Wilts, knight. They had one child, a son, who died in infancy.

dispatched a post to my lord with the stoary of what he had seene. The lady was surpris'd with what Deverex had sayd to her, and gave him little in answer. But when shee had tould Udall what Deverex sayed, shee desired him to bee gone, which hee did, and paste throughe the howse without having any thing more sayed to him. Uppon this some messages past between Udall and Deverex, but noe challenge, as it is likely you will heare ther did, for soe it is sayed heere; but ther was noe sutch thing.

My lord of Essex, uppon the receipt of Deverex letter, presently returned a messenger to him, with a comand to put my lady out of the howse, and to tell her, that if shee went out quietly, shee should have the better conditions; but shee refused it, and stays still in the howse. They are after much adoe—my lord beeing now come to towne, but not to the howse—by the mediation of frends, come to this agreement: shee is to have 1300^l a-yeare for her maintenance, and shee must give upp all her interest of joynter, therds, or dowry. Now I will tell you the judgment that is made of this business heere by most peep. Ferst, I should tell you that this was plotted by my lord when hee went out of towne, for he avows it to be soe; for which hee is much condemned, as beeing a cource taken neyther agreeing with his honner [nor] that judgment that his frends wish hee had. This act of his is much cried out on by all in generall. My lady is by thos that favour her most condemnd of great indcretion, and by others shee is woarce thought of. Sir Walter Deverex is undone for taking in hand soe mean an office, unless hee had done more to. His part of it exposes him to many scornes and censures; some saying, that if his mother had beene soe watcht hee had not beene heere to watch others now; besides many other scornes putt uppon him; for it is grown a byewoord about the towne, if tow bee togeather, a therd party to saye “I will Deverex you.” The younge men doe all wish they had had Udall's* parte of it, and the wiser sorte doe wish hee had beene farther ofe;—and ther is an end of that business.†

* The sir William Uvedale who was a party in this affair was of the Hampshire family before referred to (pp. 61, 69). He was paymaster of the royal forces during the civil war. Lloyd designates him as “the most accomplished,” and describes him as “a handsome man, and as knowing as much learning, long travels, and great observation could make him.” (Mem. of Loyal Sufferers, p. 655.)

† In a subsequent letter sir Edmund Verney remarks:—“I find the citty and the country differs in oppinion, for here my lord and his brother are most despised, and the

The other news is, that my lady Bridgwater is dead, and my lord Carlile is so verry ill that it is certainly believed that [he] cannot live manny weekes.*

The earl of Arundel's mission to the emperor.

1635-6. *March 23rd.* My lord marshall is presently going ambassador to the emperor. It will be a fine journeye † Mr. Fotescue is now sir John Fotescue, a baronet of Nova Scotia ; for which he is not free of much censure. ‡

Ralph Verney's wish to accompany the earl marshal

1636. *March 30th.* I thinck my lord marshall is goeing a fine journeye, and noe man would be gladder of such an opportunity to lett you see something abroad then I should be, but for many reasons you cannot goe att this time. In the first place, you know I cannot settle my business without you, and thoughe that bee reason inoughe of an impossibility of your goeing with him, yett ther is another that will hinder it, and that is, that on Monday next, att the farthest, my lord must be gone. If neyther of thes will satisfy you, the third shall, and that is, hee will take noe boddy with him, for hee has refused my lord Russell,§ my lord Grandison,|| my lord Andrues [?] and, in breefe, all others, my lord Dawbingny¶ only excepted, and hee goes with him. Now I thinck your journey is att an end.**

ladye by most much doubted, and her descretion by all condemned, but Will Uvidall blamd for nothing but not having care inoughe to advise her to be more circomspect."—Sir E. Verney to R. Verney, 23rd March, 1635-6, from London.

* Sir Edmund Verney to Ralph Verney, from London.

† The circumstances of this journey form the subject of a scarce little volume entitled "A true relation of all the remarkable places and passages observed in the travels of the right honourable Thomas lord Howard earle of Arundel and Surrey, primer earle and earle marshall of England, and ambassadour extraordinary to his sacred majesty Ferdinando the Second emperor of Germanie, anno domini 1636. By William Crowne, gentleman." Lond. 4to. 1637.

‡ Sir Edmund Verney to Ralph Verney, from London.

§ See before, pp. 150, 159.

|| Son of sir Edward Villiers, brother of George Villiers duke of Buckingham. He died during the civil wars of a wound received at the taking of Bristol by prince Rupert. Clarendon's character of him, which is in the noble historian's best manner, describes him as a man of the purest virtue as well as of the highest courage. (Hist. Rebell. lib. vii.)

¶ George lord d'Aubigny, one of the sons of Esme Stewart duke of Richmond, by Catherine daughter and heir of Gervase lord Clifton of Leighton Bromswold.

** Sir Edmund Verney to Ralph Verney, from London.

1636. *April 1st.* If my lord deputies cominge into England may bee a cause to draw you hither, the sooner hee comes the welcomer he shall bee to mee, though I confesse I know but few that are fond of his presence. Nues here is non, but that your sister Nan Uvedall (that married Mr. Henslow) is the joyful mother of a brave boy.*

Unpopularity of lord Wentworth.

— *April 6th.* My lord marshall is gone. Corronell Goring † is goeing over, and desires to buy some naggs. I tould him of your baye nagg, and he much desires to see him. If the nagg be handsome and fitt for sale, I praye send him heather, and I will sell him for you, otherwise lett him aloane. The nagg I knowe is not at all fitt for you, therefore if hee bee in good case send him heather assoone as you can. If this letter fiend you att Latimers, you maye the better send him from thence. I would faine have you ridd of that beast, for, off all the horses I knowe, I doe not like him; butt hee will serue Mr. Goering's turne very well to take a view of his regiment.‡

Colonel Goring going to France, and wants a horse.

— *April 27th.* Good puss. . . . The plaage is likely to increase. If eyther you or my daughter can thinck of what you shall necessarily want, as gloves and such things, lett me knowe it in time, and I will provide them. I would faine haue the carrier bring upp a cart about this daye fortnight, if it may bee noo preiudice to him, and then, if the sickness increace, I will send downe some more wyne, and what els you thinck fitt; for, if it increace the tow next weekes, it is much to bee feared that it will bee a dangerous time here. . . . The king goes tenn mile hence a-hunting to-morrow morning; therefore, good night. My lord Carlile is dead.§

Plague on the increase. Preparations to be made against it.

* Ralph Verney to James Dillon, from Claydon.

† The well known commander of the king's horse under prince Rupert during the civil war; beyond all question one of the most infamous men of his day. Clarendon's delineation of the character of this great master of all kinds of wickedness, in which he introduces a comparison between Goring and Henry Wilmot earl of Rochester (Hist. Rebell. lib. viii.), is a masterpiece.

‡ Sir Edmund Verney to Ralph Verney, from London.

§ See p. 154. Sir Edmund Verney "to his much loving sister lady Verney, at Middle Claydon." This and another letter commencing and directed in the same way seem to be intended for sir Edmund's wife. He had no sister Verney, nor was there any lady Verney, except his mother, who was now residing with him in London, and his wife. The widow of his brother Francis was indeed alive, but she had married Mr. Clarke (see p. 101), and there is no trace of her being at Claydon, or intimate with sir Edmund or his family.

Sir Edmund's
new residence
in Covent Gar-
den, then just
laid out.

Sir Edmund Verney had now fixed himself in a large new house in the most fashionable part of the metropolis. Francis the fourth earl of Bedford, having settled his great drainage of the fens, had been turning to account his valuable estate of Covent Garden, then an open space of ground stretching away to the north from the back of Bedford-house, which stood in the Strand near the present Bedford-street. Amongst other improvements the earl had laid out the square of Covent Garden, and had erected the row of houses, principally on the north side of it, called "the Piazza." These were the most recent additions to the west end of the metropolis, and to the people of that day were what Tyburnia and the Gore-house estate are to ours. Sir Edmund took the last two houses in the Piazza on the eastern side of Covent Garden, running north from Great Russell-street, and now the Bedford coffee-house and hotel, upon lease from the earl of Bedford, at an annual rent of 160*l*. There were coach-houses and stables in the back premises, and it appears from the enumeration of fixtures, that, although the ordinary rooms had merely "casements," the principal apartments were distinguished by "shuttynge wyndowes," and that the door of almost every room had its "stock lock." A reservation was made of the earl's right to the "walk underneath the said messuage, commonly called the Portico-walk, as the same is now made and perfected by the said earl, but with power for sir Edmund Verney to expel youths playing in the said walk to his offence or disturbance." Parts of the houses were "waynscotted," a distinction deemed so important that "the use of the waynscott" was specifically granted in the lease, and all the separate pieces of "waynscott" were enumerated in a schedule of fixtures. There being as yet no sewer in this new district, sir Edmund fortified himself with a clause that if he was so annoyed by that circumstance as not to be able to continue there "with any conveyency," he might resign his occupation on giving the earl six months' notice.*

Part of these premises was occupied by sir Edmund's mother, and

* Verney MS. 1st November, 1634.

part also by Nathaniel Hobart. He had "a study" or chambers there, but his residence was at Highgate. Sir Edmund's next neighbour, from whom he was divided by "a fence wall," was Edward, afterwards sir Edward, Sydenham, between whom and the Verneys there was a special intimacy.

In one of the extracts just printed we have found Ralph Verney bearing testimony to the general unpopularity of lord Strafford, or, as his title then was, of lord Wentworth. There can be no doubt of the fact, but the assertion chanced to be a little ill-timed, for his friend Dillon was now engaged to marry Strafford's sister. In October, 1636, Dillon invited Ralph Verney to be present at his wedding, which took place at Loughton-hall, in Essex. Shortly afterwards we find the new married couple staying in Covent Garden, apparently with the Sydenhams, who were their mutual friends. Several notes full of overstrained compliments and expressed desires of meeting passed between Dillon and Ralph Verney; but the birth to the latter of a son and heir, christened Edmund, on Christmas Day, 1636, and an epidemical sickness, which was prevalent about that time, kept the two old friends from meeting again, or were the excuses for doing so. Dillon and his wife went to Ireland, and the correspondence and the friendship came to an end.

Marriage of
James Dillon.

25 December,
1636. Birth of
Edmund, son of
Ralph Verney.

Ralph's brother Edmund began life almost as unfortunately as Thomas. At Magdalene Hall he got into debt and into disgrace with the authorities. When he returned to Claydon, he brought home unpaid bills, principally tavern scores, and very disparaging reports from the rev. Henry Wilkinson, his tutor. Friend Crowther, who had just married and was getting comfortable at Newton Blossomville, was taken into council. He offered to receive the lad into his house, and undertook to ply him with the old notes upon logic, which had served the turn of Mr. Ralph, seasoned with good advice and judicious treatment. The offer was accepted gratefully. In July, 1637, Edmund made his appearance at the rectory at Newton Blossomville, a smart stripling, but devoid, as Mr. Crowther found to his sorrow, "of the very first grounds of logicke or other uni-

Young Ed-
mund Verney,
brother of
Ralph.

versity learning." The good Crowther brushed up his old acquirements, and seemed delighted to resume his tutorial functions; but in less than a month, ere the slightest impression could have been made, Crowther was taken ill, and, in spite of Dr. Bates, who "put him in great comfort" by offering "his life for his," the worthy tutor died. Edmund was very useful to the widow, and when she made way for the new incumbent, went to Hillesdon amongst the Dentons, where, removed from his dissipated Oxford associates, he soon acquired a good reputation as a steady fellow, fit for any duty, and always willing.

Thomas Verney. Thomas Verney in the mean time had transferred his services from France to Sweden. In November, 1637, there are tidings from him at Gottenburgh. In December he is at "Stockhollam," in high feather, and entreats his friends in England not to recall him home as he is learning the language and is in a fair way to preferment. In the next month the scene has shifted—he is on his way back to England; and, during the greater part of 1638, he was either in London or staying at the rectory at Claydon. His character may be pretty well judged from the tenor of his letters. We find him writing for his lace-band and cuffs, that he may fight a duel with credit to the family; speculating in horses; sending Ralph a "fox coat" in lieu of ten pounds borrowed of him; begging hard for six pounds more to discharge a debt of twelve pounds for lodging; entreating help to get out "to the West Indies, or to some unknown place in the world;" heartily tired of living "like a hermitt, or a country fellow," and anxious to be off again, even to New England, if his father will but let him have 200*l.* in money or goods. As a mode of preventing his sudden disappearance, Ralph, under his father's directions, seems to have kept him very low in his stock of clothes, and pitiable are his occasional entreaties for the "noble favour" of a further supply. "I have," he pleads, "neither bands, ruffs, shirts, boot hose, boots, or anything else, but is upon my back."

At one time he is all anxiety for a hat: "Pray let it be a Dutch felt;" "Mr. East's head is as bigg as mine, and his hatt will serve

mee." Then again, he scorns to wear a frieze coat with his cloth suit, and begs hard for a new coat, having only "one sorey thing, which," he says, "I bought about two months agoe att a broker's, and some say it is your old coat [Ralph's] that you gave to your man, and I confess it is very like yours, and as farre as I knowe, it was yours, therefore I pray doe but judg of the goodness of it." To the request for the coat are added by way of appendix, "2 paire of gloves, 2 paire of linnen stockins, 2 paire of plaine boot-hose topps, 2 paire of woollen boot-hose, and three handkerchiefs," all which follow hard upon a letter in which he professes himself so disgusted with his "hellish life" at the quiet rectory of Middle Claydon, that unless his father will send him to New England or the Palatinate, "before I will endure it," he says, "I will take a rope and make an end of myself, and then neither father, mother, brother, sister, nor any friend else shall take any more care of me."

At this time sir Edmund refused to see him. When at Claydon every one—even the servants—were cautioned against lending him money, and more particularly a horse, "lest he should sell him," whilst, on his side, we find him continually anxious to be allowed to outface some creditor who had gone to his father for payment of his debts, on the ground that they had "good pledges," all but one unfortunate "six and forty pound," as to which he had nothing to say. Whilst the New England fever was upon him he was full of anxiety to "read up" respecting the country, and wrote for book after book, as an emigrant's guide, mistaking the titles, wanting first one book and then another, and never getting the right. To sum up all, his letters not unfrequently end, with the appropriateness and self-knowledge which are characteristic of such a man—"Your constant brother, Thomas Verney."

Henry Verney, having acquired his knowledge of French to Henry Verney. the great detriment of his English, was sent out to take his share in the wars of the Palatinate, together with one of the Sydenhams, several Turvilles, and others of the English volunteers who were friends and relatives of the Verneys. The pro-

fession was chosen for him by his father, and was little liked by himself. "I tell you truly," he says, "I doe not like of it. I wod have you think it is not the firing of the boullots that fears me at all: but the true reson is, that I have always given my selfe so fer to the sports and plesurs of the world that I cannot giue my mind to this course of life; but to giue my father content and the rest of my friends also, I will tarry this somer in the country, for to learne the use of my armes, and to know the duty of a soger, that when I come of, it shall bee for my credit and honnor. It shall not bee mee that will be iudg of it, but my captaine. If hee say noe, beliuet I will not come of: for I had rather louse my life then to come of to be laught at, or to be slighted by my friends, which I doe think dous love mee." Horse-racing seems to have been the particular *penchant* of Mr. Henry, and in the winter he found opportunities for indulging it, even in an army on foreign service. Nothing was so acceptable to him as the Newmarket news of the day, nor any present so valuable as a bit or a saddle. His wish was "to follow the court," too often a mere excuse for a life of idleness, but there was nothing in him of the careless irregularity of his brother Thomas. He argued his case soberly, attended to what was before him, and kept himself out of debt. He had great contempt for "your spruce courters, and such as think uppon nothing but goeing to playes and in making of uisits;" his mind was fixed upon winning cups. "I can right you no nuse but of a horsmache as is to be run yearely at the Hagge, for a cuppe of 50 pounds, as every officer gives yearly 20 shillings towards the bying of it. I hope to win it afore I die myselfe. I have rod but to maches cense I saw you, and haue won them both. I hope like wise to win the cup for the third."*

Ralph Verney's
family.

In 1638, Ralph Verney lost his little daughter Anna Maria, Dillon's god-daughter, then four years old; she was buried on the 22nd May. His son Edmund, now doubly precious, is continually reported in the letters of this period as a fine strapping boy, giving promise of health and long life. On the 8th January, 1638-9,

* Verney MS. 28th November, 1638.

Ralph Verney had a daughter born named Margaret; on the 5th November, 1640, a son named John; and on the 3rd June, 1641, the number of his family was completed by the birth of a third son named Ralph. Margaret and Ralph both died in 1647, leaving Edmund and John the sole survivors of the family.

During these years Ralph Verney was becoming more and more a practised man of business. Immersed in the occupations of the court and his offices, sir Edmund had no time to bestow upon his family or his own private affairs. His son Ralph was everything to him. Ralph made all arrangements with his father's tenants and with his own younger brothers. To the latter, save for occasional consultation with sir Edmund, he really played the father's part. Sir Edmund nominally, but in reality Ralph, was the adviser of old lady Denton in various critical arrangements respecting her dower, which wonderfully excited the old lady's temper, but through which Ralph was able to steer his father and himself without giving offence to his uncle, sir Alexander. So, also, Ralph settled the testamentary affairs of tutor Crowther. Ralph was the general manager for his aunt, Mrs. Margaret Poultney, who had become a widow with considerable estates, and was a mark for the wife-hunters about the court; finally, Ralph was the confidential adviser of Elenor countess of Sussex, the wife of the "prime man of the Ratcliffes" before alluded to.* This lady was daughter of sir Richard Wortley, of Wortley, in the county of York, bart., and widow of sir Henry Lee, of Quarendon, in the county of Bucks, knight. The age and infirmities of the earl of Sussex were amply compensated by the activity of his lady. She had a pen always ready, although not always inclined to run into forms easily decipherable. "Swite Mr. Verney" was her constant correspondent, and the missives from Gorhambury, where these last inheritors of a noble title had succeeded as the temporary occupiers of lord Bacon's residence, comprise a great variety of subjects, from orders for hangings and carpets,

His increased
occupation and
correspondence.

* See p. 160.

with which the correspondence opens, to occasional allusions to affairs of state and echoes of the gossip of the court.

The public mis-
government,
1635-1638.

In the mean time the king vigorously pursued his course of retrogressive government. Churchmen, as in old times, were appointed to several of the highest offices in the state; within the church itself old pretensions to jurisdiction independent of the state were renewed, and old forms and practices which savoured of Rome were restored; old monopolies, abandoned by queen Elizabeth, were regranted, and new ones introduced to such an extent as to constitute a heavy and annoying tax upon every article in general consumption; ship-money was imposed, an old levy thought to be warranted by precedents of the time of Edward III.; large tracts of land were declared to be forests, and the old attendant grievances of forest laws were revived. These and many other renewals of obsolete oppressions were enforced by means which utterly destroyed the ancient constitutional defences of the subject's freedom. By tampering with the judges the ordinary courts were converted, in crown cases, into mere machines for carrying out the edicts of the sovereign; whilst the jurisdiction of the extraordinary tribunals was stretched arbitrarily so as to convert them into instruments of tyranny and court revenge. Illegal taxes were levied under the authority of council-warrants; proclamations were enforced like acts of parliament; parliaments were no longer summoned, and the courts were no longer courts of justice. Sir Edmund Verney was too closely connected with the court in which these principles were dominant, for us to derive much information respecting their real operation from the papers before us; but the following are some few evidences of the truth, which slips out as it were undesignedly.

Case of the
feoffees of im-
propriations and
the town of
High Wycombe.

There was an association of religious persons in the reign of Charles I. for a purpose similar to that which is now aimed at by Simeon's trustees. The design was to buy up impropriations and exercise the patronage in behalf of pious and able ministers. The scheme was in the hands of puritans, and although well thought of by the body of the people, and aided by large pecuniary contri-

butions, was, for very obvious reasons, extremely distasteful to archbishop Laud. Being determined to suppress the design, he pursued his usual course. He procured the trustees to be sued in the exchequer by the attorney-general. By a judgment deemed harsh, if not unjust, the design was declared to be illegal, and all the property which the feoffees had become possessed of was pronounced to be forfeited to the king.* The following petition was addressed to Laud in 1636. It explains one case in which the feoffees had interfered evidently with a good intention, and has the attraction of being signed by "Edmund Waller." The "Wickham" alluded to was High or Chipping Wycombe, not far from Beaconsfield. I have not found that the petitioners obtained any relief.

MAYOR AND TOWNSMEN OF HIGH WYCOMBE TO ARCHBISHOP LAUD.

To the most reverend father in god William, Lord Archbishop of Canturburie, primate of all En[g]land and metropolitane.

Whereas sundrie of your petitioners whose names are hereunder written did heretofore give unto the late feoffees of impropriations sundrie summes of money, amounting in all to 260^{li}. upon theire undertakeing to add unto the revenues of the church of Wickham, for the maintenance of the perpetuall viccar there, and his successors, 40^{li} a yeare for ever, and for some yeares they did there upon allow the present viccar that proportion, and did lay out those monies on the purchase of the rectorie of Aylesburie or some other impropriation bought by them, all which are now by the said feoffees conveyed to his majestie, and the said guifte of your petitioners, and undertaking of the said feoffees for the good of the said church, like to be frustrated, unles by your graces mediation to his majestie some course be taken to the contrarie,

Your petitioners, in the behalfe of the said church, which is nowe to remaine in the disposition of his majestie, most humblie beseech your grace, of your just and pious disposition and zeale for the good of the church, to be a meanes to procure from his majestie some direction to his majesties attorney generall, or such other as your wisdom shall seeme

* Rushworth, ii. 150.

meete, that out of the proffitts of Aylesburie, or some other impropriation purchased as aforesaid, such somme of money may be rayseed as shalbe necessary, and employed for the purchase of some revenue of 40^{li} a yeare to be added to the said church for the maintenance of the viccar there; and your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

Richard Nellsson, maior	William Sanders, jun.
John Gybbons	William Sanders, sen.
Mathew Patafars	John Field
Edward Winch	Stephen Bates
John Eles	James Weedon
Thomas Bedder	Frauncis Kempe
John Collins	J: Ric: Archedale
William Cary	EDM: WALLER
Samuell Harris } Baylefes	Will: Walmer
John Harding	William Freer.

Authority to
take greyhounds
for the king's
sport.

The next paper relates to one of the minor grievances of that period—the seizing of greyhounds for his majesty's sport. It may easily be conceived what an annoyance such a power intrusted to the hands of farm servants and gamekeepers might become. The following warrant authorises two men of that class to take all such dogs as they think will be useful to his majesty, wherever they may be found, and to whomsoever they may belong.

WARRANT FROM THE EARL OF NORTHAMPTON TO ALL JUSTICES OF
PEACE TO ASSIST WILLIAM ROADS AND RALPH HILL.

To all justices of peace, mayors, sheriffs, bayliffs, constables, and all other his majesties officers and ministers to whom it shall or may apperteyne, greeting:—

WHEREAS his majesty, by his highnes lettres patent, bearing date the seaventeenth day of may in the fowerth yeare of his raigne, did license and authorize mee, Spencer earle of Northampton, by the name of Spencer lord Compton, master of his majestys leash, and my assignees, to take for his majestys vse, and in his majestys name, within all places within his majestys realme and dominions, as well within franchises and libertyes as

without, such and so many greyhounds, both dogs and bitches, in whose custody soever they be, as I the said earle of Northampton, by the name of lord Compton, or my assignees, shall thinke fitt and convenient for his majestys disport and recreacion, as apperteyneth, from time to time, at all seasons, like as my predecessors masters of the leash, or any other for them, in the time of his majestys progenitors, king Henry the eighth and king Edward the sixth, or his late sister queene Elizabeth, or of his late deare father king James of happy memory, deceased, were authorised by them heretofore. AND ALSO, his majesty did thereby authorize me the said earle of Northampton, by the name of the lord Compton, and my assignees, to seize and take away all such greyhounds, beagles, or whippetts, as may any way be offensive vnto his majestys game and disport. AND FURTHER, willing and commanding thereby all justices of peace, mayors, sheriffs, bayliffs, and constables, and all other his majestys officers and loving subiects, that vnto mee the said earle of Northampton, by the name of the lord Compton, and my assignees or deputyes, in the due execucion of that his majestys license and authority, they be ayding, helping, and assisting, when and as often as neede shall require, without their mollestation, lett, or contradiccion, as they and everie of them will answeare for the contrary at their perill; as in and by his majestys said lettres patents vnder the great seale of England more at large it doth and may appeare: NOW KNOW YE, that I the said Spencer, earle of Northampton, master of his said majestys leash, have lycensed and authorized William Roads, of Middle Claidon, and Ralph Hill, of Wendover, in the county of Buckingham, servants to sir Edmund Verney, knight marshall of his majestys howshold, my deputies and assignees, for the space of six whole and entire yeares next ensuing the date hereof, to take and seize to his majestys vse, and in his majestys name, within all places within the said county of Buckingham, as well within franchises and libertyes as without, such and so many greyhounds, both dogs and bitches, in whose custody soever they be, as the said William Roads and Ralph Hill shall think meete and convenient for his majestys disport and recreacion, in such and as ample manner and forme as I, the said earle of Northampton, may or might haue done if this deputation or assignement had neuer been made. And, likewise, I the said earle of Northampton doe hereby authorize and depute the said William Roads and Ralph Hill to seize and take away all such greyhounds, beagles, or whippetts as may any wise be offensive to his majestys game and disport,

as fully and amply as I myselve, by vertue of the said authority from his majesty, may doe ; I, the said earle of Northampton, ratifying and allowing whatsoever the said William Roads and Ralph Hill shall lawfully, by vertue of the said lettres patents and this my deputation or assignment, doe and execute. In wites whereof, I have herevnto sett my hand and seale, the fiue and twentieth day of May, in the twelfth yeare of his majestys raigne of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, &c. anno domini 1636.

Capital conviction by the treasurer or comptroller of the king's household.

The following paper relates to a proceeding which must have been of daring illegality, although, it is to be feared, too much in accordance with the spirit of that time to have attracted much attention. A woman, perhaps a servant in the royal household, was charged with stealing one of his majesty's dishes. She was tried before the treasurer or comptroller of the household, found guilty, and capitally sentenced. There were two courts held before these functionaries which had cognisance of criminal cases, but both these courts were of limited jurisdiction. One, created by 3rd Henry VII. cap. 14, gave them authority to try members of the royal household who conspired to kill the king or any great officer of the state. The other, created by 33rd Henry VIII. cap. 12, gave them jurisdiction in cases of blood-shedding within the limits of the royal court. It is obvious that neither of these statutes could have had any application to a case of a theft.

REPRIEVE OF ELIZABETH COTTRELL.

His majesty, understanding that one Elizabeth Cottrell was condemned at the verge holden on Thursday last for stealing one of his majesty's dishes, hath commanded me to signifie his pleasure, that the said Elizabeth Cottrell shalbe reprived from execution till his majesty's pleasure be further knowne. Whereof the right honourable the treasurer and comptroller of his majesty's household, and all others whome it may concerne, are to take notice, and cause his majesty's pleasure to be performed accordingly ; for which this shalbe their warrant. Dated at Westminster, 21 January, 1637.

FRAN. WINDEBANK.*

* Appointed secretary of state in 1632.

The following paper has reference to another of the minor grievances of those days;—the supply of provisions for his majesty's buckhounds. The circumstances stated sufficiently indicate the peremptory and inconsiderate way in which this claim, whether legal or the contrary, was enforced.

Supply of provisions for the king's buckhounds.

JUSTICES OF ESSEX TO THE MASTER OF THE BUCKHOUNDS.

SIR,—At our beinge at theise our present quarter sessions for this countye of Essex, the great inquest and divers others of this countye did informe vs, that, contrary to former vsage and costome, some of your inferior officers have sent out warrants in your name for the sendinge of provisions of hay, strawe, and otes, for his majesties buckhounds, out of seuerall partes of the countye, whereof some of them are neere forty miles distant from the place wyther they were to bee sent. Nowe, for as much as the countrye is in composition with his majestie for otes, and the liberty of Haveringe pretendinge exemption from payment of composition, and haveinge, as wee are informed, in that regard undergone by themselves all charges of that nature at such times as his majestie is in those partes; wee shall requeste you, in the behalfe of our countrye, that you woulde bee pleased for the future to giue order vnto your inferior officers not to issue out anie other warrants in this kinde then hertofore hath been vsed and accostomed, and that, for the presente, such as, eyther for shortness of time or remotenes of place, haue not performed the service, may be freed from anie troble for the same. And soe, not doutinge of your frendly respecte vnto the countrye, which wee shall acknowledge as vnto our selves, wee rest your assured loveinge frends,

THOMAS BARRINGTON.*

W. MAYNARD.†

THOMAS WISEMAN.‡

Braintree, this 22th of July, 1637.

To the Right worshipfull our much respected frend Mr. Robert Tirhitt, esq., master of his majesties buckhounds, give theise.

* Sir Thomas Barrington, second baronet, and head of the Essex family of that name.

† Son of the first lord Maynard, and himself afterwards the second lord.

‡ Probably sir Thomas Wiseman of Rivenhall, knighted 1604, and a man of large wealth. Morant's Essex, ii. 146.

Sir Edmund Verney obliged to relinquish his patent for garbling tobacco.

Sir Edmund Verney's patent for garbling tobacco had lately yielded him a considerable income, but the new lord treasurer Juxon having determined to make a fresh financial arrangement of the revenue from this source, it was found that the authority conferred by sir Edmund's monopoly stood in the way. It therefore became necessary for sir Edmund and his partners to surrender their patent back to the king upon a consideration. The new scheme was not designed to relieve the trade, or diminish the price of tobacco. It was merely an expedient to put more money in the pockets of certain courtier speculators, and to increase the return to the exchequer. Lord Goring, the head of the new company of proposed patentees, wrote thus upon the subject to sir Edmund:—

LORD GORING TO SIR EDMUND VERNEY.

Noble knight marshall,—We are now growing to a conclusion in our work of preemption, and therefore I thought fitt to advertise you soe timely thereof as that you may not be in any kinde surprised about your garbling pattent, which we demand as a prime and speedy help to the first motion in our buisines.

My lord treasurer hath it already, amongst other powers, that we demand for this service. Loose therefore noe time for your owne advantage uppon the composition from his majesty, since it wilbe of such necessary consequence to his work—for so it is, and likely to be noe slight one if it hit.

If you please to adventure heerein, I pray let me with all convenient speede heare from you, for we ar now buying upp all the tobacco we can heare of; what I say to you is the same I know to our worthy friend sir Ralfe Clare.*

This inclosed is for your better cleering with my lord marquis, which you may use as you please. The case is quite altered with us, and therefore I hope his lordship will consider it accordingly, all being out of meere respect to our former engagements and for noe other end or comeoff whatsoever. If he please to doe as I doe, he shall command his proportion and

* Sir Edmund's partner in his garbling patent.

leade the whole company. And soe with my best love and service to your good selfe, I rest your faythfullest freind and humble servant,

GORING.*

February 1, 1637-[8].

For the noble knight marshall my worthy friend.

Lord Goring and his partners received their new authority under a commission, dated 16 March, 1636. It gave them large powers of regulating the sale of tobacco, and having been preceded, as we find it was, by the commissioners buying up all the tobacco they could find on their own account, must have been a fruitful source of very shameful fraud. Neither sir Edmund nor the marquis of Hamilton, the nobleman alluded to in the last passage of lord Goring's letter, had any share in the new scheme.†

Authority over dealers in tobacco granted by commission to lord Goring and various other persons.

Another patent in which sir Edmund Verney had an interest was that for the regulation of hackney coaches. These useful vehicles are said to have first appeared in the streets of London in 1625, the earliest stand being at the Maypole, in the Strand. In 1635-6, under pretence of the disturbance to the king, his dearest consort the queen, the nobility, and others of place and degree, in their passage through the streets, the destruction of the pavements, the pestering of the streets from the number of coaches which plied for hire, and their general and promiscuous use, the king limited by proclamation the power of hiring hackney coaches to persons desirous of travelling to a distance of three miles or more out of town, and declared that every proprietor should be bound to keep four able horses for the royal service when required.‡ These restrictions having failed to accomplish their desired end, the master of the horse was empowered to grant licences to fifty persons, each having twelve horses, to whom the power of keeping hackney coaches was to be

Sir Ed. Verney interested in patent for regulating hackney coaches.

* George Goring created lord Goring in 4th Charles I. and earl of Norwich in 20th Charles I. father of the colonel Goring mentioned before at p. 171.

† *Fœdera*, xx. 116.

‡ *Fœdera*, xix. 721. The proclamation is dated 19th Jan. 11th Car. I.

limited.* The master of the horse at this time was the marquis Hamilton, the nobleman alluded to at the close of the last letter.

Also in patent
for sealing
woollen yarns.

Sir Edmund Verney was also a partner with John Polgreene, of St. Martin's in the Fields, gentleman, in a patent for searching and sealing woollen yarn before it was sold or wrought into cloth. There were twenty-four partners, and sir Edmund advanced fifty pounds towards the payment of preliminary expenses.†

Hardship of
crown rights or
claims enforced
in the court of
wards.

We have seen one example of the hardships engendered by the abuse of the court of wards ;—in the following document we have another. Lady Verney's sister Margaret had been married, as we have stated, to John Poultney or Pulteney, esquire, of Misterton, in Leicestershire. He died on the 15th May, 1637, leaving various lands which were held in chief of the crown, to his widow for life, and after her decease to his three sisters and the infant son and heir of another sister who was deceased. There was no present interest intended to be given to any of these persons except the widow ; but it was held that by some legal crotchet, in consequence of the fourth of the heirs in reversion being under age, although he was not in wardship to the crown, nor could be, for his father was alive, the crown was entitled to the present profits of his share of the reversion during his minority. In the following petition it will be seen that Mrs. Pulteney submits to this hardship, and prays to be allowed to take a lease of the portion to which the crown was held to be entitled.

To the right honourable Francis lord Cottington, master of his majesties court of Wardes and Liveries.

The humble peticon of Margarett Pulltney, the relict of John Pulltney, esquire, deceased.

May it please your lordship—That your peticoners late husband died about twelwe daies since, seized of divers mannors and landes in the county of Leister and elsewhere held in chiefe, which are in jointure to your

* Fæd. xx. 159.

† Verney MS. 27th July, 1638.

petitioner during her life, from the graunt of her late husband, who dyed without issue, and the revercon of the said landes is to come to three of his sisters living, and to Thomas Aston, an infant within age, the sonne of sir Thomas Aston, knight baronett, by Magdalen, his late wife, deceased, who was another of the sisters and co-heires of her late husband; and your petitioner being informed by her counsell, that though the said sir Thomas Aston bee living, and noe wardship of the body can bee during his life, yet your peticoners jointure is impeachable for a fourth part of a third part, during the minority of the said Thomas Aston,

Humbly prayeth your lordship to admitt your petitioner to take a lease of soe much of her jointure lands as shall become due unto his majestie during the minority of the said Thomas Aston, and allsoe to grant her a cortt to find the office, and she shall be bound to pray for your lordship.*

We now resume our general extracts:—

1636. *June 19th.* I received your two notes, for, till I saw your name under written, I knew not they were letters, and, trust mee, I begann to doubt whither this drouth, amongst other things, had not causde a dearth of paper, but finding your watch inclosde that scruple vanisht, when behold I discovered the precious estimation of time to bee the cause of that concisenes, whereuppon I gave speciall charge to East to rectify the motion, which by my next I intend to returne so perfect that the sunn it self shall not give you a more strict aaccount of the minutes. I should now inlarge my self to give you thanks for the frendly care you have taken to provide us a place of refuge during this contagion, but favours soe weyghty oppress and stupify, leaving us though great yet dumb examples of gratitude. The knight marshall, sir Edmund Verney, graced us lately with his company some two houres, not reckoning one spent in knocking at the gate, for the house was soe drownde in sylence that there wanted nothing but a red cross to make him believe the plague was there.†

— *July 12th.* My lorde deputy goes on Saterdag to court, and I

The lord
deputy's move-
ments.

* Memorandum indorsed: "The original of this petition was delivered the 25th of May, 1637."

† Nathaniel Hobart to Ralph Verney, from Highgate.

must attend him thither, because he takes his leave there uppon Sunday, and sees the court noe more untill the king comes to Rufforde.*

1636. *July 17th.* Aboute that tyme [the 28th of this month], or perhaps a little before, our deputy of Ireland goes into Yorkshire, and he sayes that I must kill a buck with him there this summer.†

Sir William
Uvedale.

————— 30th. I am not a little rayled at for not visitinge my freinds in Hampshire, I meane sir William Uvedall ‡ and the rest of that good family, but I cannot thinke of any such thinge untell I have seene you. I wish your occations would give you leave to go thither with mee. Our stay should not bee longe, for we would come backe before the kinge comes to Woodstock, which is about the 26th August.§

————— *August 3rd.* My lorde deputie is now going away from hence. This night I attend *him*; to-morrow, *you*. ||

Hair-cutting at
Oxford.

————— *August 25th.* Good brother,—There is a proctor for every house during the king's continuance in Oxford, and the cheifest thing that they wil endeavour to amend is the wearing of long haire; the principal protested that after this day he would turn out his house whomesoever he found with haire longer than the tips of his eares. I beleeve this severity will last but a weeke; therefore I pray, if you can conveniently, send for me towards Satterday.¶

————— *October 22nd.* To-morrow I must to Croyden to wayte on my lorde deputie. He is there. I am assured of it by sir George Radcliff, who came to me yesterday to Loughton Hall, and brought along with him the letter from my lord deputie, which you may remember was wished for. Perhaps we may meet with both of them on Tuesday [the day of Dillon's marriage.]**

Preparations
for war.

1636-7. *February 6th.* There is a great preparation in embrio. There wants but a benevolence from the subject to give it life, and then, have at

* James Dillon to Ralph Verney, from London.

† James Dillon to Ralph Verney, from Windsor.

‡ The gentleman whose intimacy with lady Essex led her into so much trouble. There is amongst the Verney papers a very furious love-letter addressed by him to mistress Ann Temple, one of the family at Stowe, in May, 1635.

§ Ralph Verney to James Dillon, from Claydon.

|| James Dillon to Ralph Verney, from London.

¶ Edmund Verney to Ralph Verney, from Magdalen Hall.

** James Dillon to Ralph Verney, from Hackney.

the Spaniard! The rumor hath much perplext the Spanish ambassador, who upon conference with his majestie would inforce a consequence from thence of a breach of peace; but the king replide, he would but assist his nephew, as the king of Spaine did the emperour. The designe, if it be well pursued, must in all likelihoode produce excelent effects. We have hitherto but lopt the branches, and made the tree thrive the better, but now wee shall strike at the roote. In this action the Hollanders and my lord Craven* joine. Though I dare not ranke him with kings and princes, yet, trust mee, his bounty may challenge a prime place amongst them. I dare say there are some Itallian princes would shrinke at soe great an undertaking, nay, and they should pawne their titles, and spoyle their subjects, they would not bee able to furnish such a summ. Yet what is all this but a small part or portion of those vast treasures left him by his father? And what was hee? *Filius populi*. What stock had hee to begin withall? A groate;—an excelent pedigree! What saies the court of this man? They laugh at him, and desire things may be reduced to their first principle. Would you have my opinion of him? Truly, his wealth is his greatest enemy, and yet his only frend. It begetts, in his inferiours, a disguise friendship; in his equalls, envy. His vanity makes him accessible to the one; the meanness of his birth, person, parts, contemptible to the other; and though in those great ons envy bee the true motive, yet his many follies rendring him obnoxious to a just censure, that passes away unseene. Had fortune conspirde with nature and ranked him according to his degree, he might have crept away among the rout, his levities unknowne,

Lord Craven's
liberality.

His wealth and
descent.

* William, first baron and ultimately earl of Craven, one of the prime notabilities of this period. Three of his peculiarities are touched upon in the present letter; his want of a pedigree, evidently deemed a great offence; his vast wealth; and his almost boundless liberality. He soon afterwards proved himself in the wars of the palatinate to be a brave soldier, and was finally united, as is thought, by a private marriage, with the rash but beautiful princess who stirred up all that strife. The ambition which led her to urge her incompetent husband to accept the proffered crown, in order that she might be a queen, probably induced her to prefer an ambiguous connection rather than an open marriage with the titled but meanly descended man whose wealth was her support, and his devotion to her service her best protection, for many years. Lord Craven's father was a London tradesman. He was lord mayor in 1611. Lord Craven contributed 10,000*l.* at one time for the purpose alluded to in this letter. Charles II. received from him 50,000*l.* at the least before the Restoration.

or if discovered, they might have procurde him as gay though not soe rich a coate as now he weares.* Are you not weary? Truly, I am. The candle bidde mee goe to bedd; therefore, good night.†

Ship-money
declared legal.

1636-7. *February 13th.* That the judges have declared in the case of the shippmoney, that the palsgrave hath publisht a *protestatio*, disavowing all acts of the emperor or the diet as voyde, in regard there wanted two electors; viz. himself and the bishop of Triers:—it is much wondered at.‡

Healing for the
evil.

— *March 28th.* Good puss, as for thos peeple you wright about to have cure for the king's evell, I will have all the care of them I can; but till Good Fryday hee will heale none. I beleeve hee will heale that daye, and in Easter hollidayes.§

Siege of Breda.

1637. *October 26th.* In our a prochess there has bine nothing don cence the taking in of the hornworke; but in count Williams a prochess wee lost some to hundred men of the choitchess,|| and divers offesers besides, in faling in of the hornworke. After, as thay had sprung there mine, and where in the worke, thay where beate out of it for want of there seconds comming up, which were the Duchthes. This was all the servise that was seene afore the towne that is wourth speking of, but wee lost great store of men that where shot in our a prochess by misfourtune. The towne is now ours, and it was given up the six of October by the nue stile, and the 10 of the same mounth thay marcht out of it, with wan and fifty flying coulers, and the[re] was not at all gest to be a bove sixteene hundred men, straglers and all. This is all the nues that I can wright you word of.¶

* In his answer to this letter, dated the 11th February, 1636-7, Ralph Verney remarks, "Wee heare much of a great navie, but more of my little lord Craven, whose bounty makes him the subject of every man's discourse. By many hee is condemned of prodigality, but by most of folly."

† Nathaniel Hobart to Ralph Verney, from Covent garden.

‡ Nathaniel Hobart to Ralph Verney.

§ Sir Edmund to lady Verney.

|| Choicest: the writer had been so long in France, that his English was often at fault.

¶ Henry Verney to Ralph Verney. This letter relates to the siege of Breda, an atchievment of great importance in those days. The Spaniards had taken the place by famine, after a dreadful siege of nearly eleven months, in 1625. Their garrison had been a great trouble to the surrounding country, and the prince of Orange determined to regain the town. After long preparations, the object of which was kept profoundly secret, the prince suddenly concentrated his forces round Breda, at the end of July 1637. The result appears in the report of young Henry Verney. Among the prominent Englishmen who

Towards the close of 1638 Thomas Verney became outrageously dissatisfied with his secluded life at Claydon. Idleness, as he wrote to his father, "puts many wicked thoughts into one's head." True he could read, and walk "in att one doore, and out att the other;" but "reading doth but exercise my mind, and not my body, and too much of one thing is good for nothing, but a little of each will refresh a man's witt;" and so he begged and prayed that his father would but employ him.* Utter disgust of an idle life was probably the feeling which the father desired to produce in the mind of his wayward son, but at the same time without driving the foolish fellow to desperation. His letter was turned over by sir Edmund to that general man of business, his son Ralph, who was now constantly residing with his father in Covent Garden. Ralph wrote to his brother to come up to town immediately. He did so, on a very dirty day; but instead of hastening to the Piazza, or "the Peheatso," as he was accustomed to write the word, whither he had been invited, he preferred to establish himself in "the Strand, att the beare and ragged staff," whence he announced his arrival, "extreame wett, and very weary besides," which he says "hath caused me to make the more haste to bed." Besides being wet and weary, he was also, it appears, very unwilling to put himself in the way of meeting "Mrs. Hubbert,† for two or three respects." The bear and ragged staff, he

Thomas Verney's dissatisfaction with a quiet life at Claydon.

Comes to London.

served and suffered on this occasion, one to whose after career we have already alluded was in considerable danger. We read, in a contemporary account, that on the 23rd August, young colonel Goring, whose valour, it was said, appears in his youth, not "in blossomes but in fruits," received "a faulcon-shot in his ancle, which, to the eye of the chirurgeons, appeared so dangerous that they concluded he could not escape unlesse his legge were cut off: the noble gentleman bore the hurt patiently, but not the conclusion of his chyrurgeons; he resolved rather to lose his life than his limb." His chaplain, "Doctor Calfe," ultimately induced him to give his consent, and the surgeons were preparing to perform the operation, when "an old expert chyrurgeon commeth in, undertaketh the cure, and performed it happily, it being now scarce a blemish to the eye, and discernable onely by a little halting." *Diatelesma. The second part of the moderne history of the world, containing this last summers actions.* 4to, Lond. 1638, p. 82.

* Verney MS. 18th October, 1638.

† Wife of Nathaniel Hobart and sister of "Doll" Leake.

assured his brother, was "a very convenient lodging;" but on the morrow he would pay his respects to the family in Covent Garden. Our next notice of him is in a letter from Ralph to Henry, from which we learn that he had "gon to the Barbathos; and I feare," continued Ralph, "not at all amended; for about three days before hee went hee played me a slippery trick, though I had many deepe protestations to the contrary. It was not discovered till he was goan."* It appears from other letters that he was sent to Barbadoes upon the recommendation of the earl of Warwick,† who had an interest in that colony, and a resident agent there, a captain Futter. Thomas Verney's first report from Barbadoes will be found extremely characteristic, and in spite of its length very far from being unworthy of perusal.

THOMAS VERNEY'S ACCOUNT OF BARBADOES. ADDRESSED TO HIS FATHER, SIR EDMUND.

Settled at Barbadoes.

Has 100 acres of land.

Incloses an invoice of what he wants.

His prospects.

Right worthy Sir,—I am (according to your command) settled with my very loving freind captaine Futter, where I intend (God willing) to stay till such time I can heare from you, which I hope will be within a few months, or els it will be noe staying for mee in the Barbados. I have obtained one hundred acres of land, but not knowing how to dispose of it unless I can have such a supply as the invoice makes mention of,‡ which, if I can have such a supply which is according to my expectation, I make noe question but (by the grace of God) to rais my fortunes in a few yeares; nay, I shall be able in one yeares time to returne back the principall, which is a great encouragement both to you that doe disburs the money, and likewise a greater encouragement to have mee continue here, which could never yett stay any where. More I could say to you for your encouragement, but that time will not give mee leave.

* Verney MS. 9th January, 1638-9.

† Robert Rich, second earl of Warwick, afterwards the commander of the fleet for the parliament, "a man," says Clarendon, "in no grace at court, and looked upon as the greatest patron of the puritans, because of much the greatest estate of all who favoured them." (Hist. Rebell. book 3.)

‡ The invoice was afterwards amended and enlarged: see it at p. 197.

In regard you were pleased to lay your command upon mee at my departure from you to send you a true relation of the countrey, which I have now don in as much brevity as I could devise.

Complies with his father's directions to give a true relation of the country.

It is the best and healthfullest in all the westerne islands; thanks be to God, here is want of nothing which is nourishing both for soul or body; but I doe think it very requisite to give you the true relation of the countrey in perticulers, (that is) to sett you downe in the first place what good doctrine we have, then what good laws we have, and soe to proceed to the fruits that doth grow on the land, and, lastly, to tell you what doth most annoy us.

First, to begin with our teaching. It is not soe good as I wish it were, yett in some places of the land it is very good; but I hope, if my lord of Warwick hath bought the island,* that we shall have better orders in the island than we have hitherto had.

The theological teaching in the island.

The next thing I am to informe you with is the law of our island, which is (thanks be to God) indifferent good; and it would be far better were it not for some justices that doth make laws one court, and break them the next; but we trust in God, when Mr. Marsham comes, that all things will be altered; untill he doth come to us, we that be under the law must be obedient to the law as it is, as I take it, in the 8th of the Romanes.

Its laws.

Now another thing I am to give you notice of, which is the fruits that this land doth beare every month in the yeare, which is a great comfort to us, and the fruits are these which follow:—Oranges, lemons, limes, plantines, potatoes, pine apples, guaves, and many more which I have not time to tell you the nature of them, becaus I am other wise prevented; yett I will name them, and in my next letter tell you the natures of them,—pepper, cinamon, ginger, etc.

Its fruits.

For your oranges, they are fairer then any that comes from your southern islands, which you should say your self if I could invent how to transport them over without spoyling of them.

Oranges.

Your lemons are farr greater then those I ever saw in England; you should likewise see them if I knew how.

Lemons.

* Barbadoes was first settled under the authority of letters patent, granted by James I. (hence James town) to James Ley, afterwards earl of Marlborough. A subsequent grant was made by Charles I. to James Hay, earl of Carlisle, to whom the earl of Marlborough surrendered his rights on payment of a perpetual rent of 300*l.* per annum.

- Limes. Another fruit here is your limes, which is much about the bigness of a crab, and farr sower then a crab, which (when they are ripe) wee cutt in the middle, and squize the juce of it into fayre water, and it makes very good beuerage.
- Plantains. Yett the best fruit is behind, and that is plantines, which is good divers ways, either raw, stewed, baked, or fryed, or to make a very fine cool drink, which is very small, and very pleasant for the pallat, and that is called plantine drink.
- Potatoes. The next is your potatoes, which is very nourishing and comfortable. It is the best provision we have in the land, both for our selves and servants, but chiefly for them, for they will not desire, after one month or two, noe other provision but potatoes boyled, and mobby to drink with them; and this as we call mobby is only potatoes boyled, and then pressed as hard as they can till all the juce is gon out of the root into fayre water, and after three houres this is good drink. Soe we brue in the morning to drink att noon, and att noon to drink att night, and so every day in the yeare.
- Mobby, what it is.
- Pine apples. Now the last and the best fruit is your pine apples; and there are two sorts of pines, a queen pine, and another which I cannot well call to mind, theirfore I will omitt it. Now the queen pine when it is in your mouth, doe but imagine a tast and that relisheth of it,—soe it be luscious. It is held to be such a dainty fruit, that king Jeames swore that it was the apple that Eve cosned Adam with. I might speak much more of this pine, but whilst I am a writing the description of it it makes mee long after it, and I beleeve that you will long till you have tasted of it, which I heartily wish you had one in your hand at the reading of this my letter, but I feare it will not be till such time I come myself, becaus they must have a great care in the carriage of it, or else it will be but labour in vaine.
- Guaves.
Pepper.
Cinnamon.
Ginger.
- Here are likewise guavees and pepper, cinamon, and ginger, growing in this little island, and many other good things, which doth greive mee that I have not soe much time to speak of them att larg; but the next time you heare from mee expect a larger description of the countrey: soe now I proceed to my last thing, and that was this:—the evils that doth most annoy us, and that is partly and chiefly drunkenes, your landcrabs, etc.
- Annoyances in the island.
- Drunkenness. First, drunkenness. Were it not for that great sin, this would be one of the bravest islands that ever I saw or heard of; but this sin doth soe much increas amongst us, that I have seen upon a Sabbath day, as I have been

walking to church, first one, presently after another, lye in the highway soe drunk that here be land-crabs in the land, that I shall speak of by and by, that have bitt of some of their fingers, some their toes, nay, and hath killed some before they have wakened; yett this doth not att all affright them. More I could say, but as they are beasts, soe lett mee leave them like beasts, and proceed to speake a word or two of your land-crabs.

Thees land-crabs are innumerable, that you shall have them certaine Land-crabs. months in the yeare be soe thick in the highwayes, that, let us doe what we can, we shall have them bite through our shoes, that we are not able to undoe them till wee break their claws; they are very like our sea-crabs, but nothing att all soe good, becaus most of them are poysonous.

Yett one thing more I forgott, which is worth your observation, and that Tree-cabbages. is cabiges, that grows on trees, some an hundred foot high; they are not altogether soe sweett as our English cabige, neither doe they knitt as ours doe, but they are very good to be eaten. Likewise we have a root that we call Cassander. cassander, that makes excellent beare and bread. The beare it makes is as strong as our ten shilling beare in England, and the bread is very fine and white, although not soe toothsome as ours.

Thus much of the description of the countrey for this time, and what fault I have committed in describing of it impute it to my weakenes, but lett mee humbly desire your acceptance, and that shall be enough satisfaction for the writer. Now if your goodness should not accept of it, then lett mee humbly begg of you to lett one of your servants cotype it out, and send it downe to my ever loving friend Mr. Aris, who will, I am confident, smother my folly, and accept of it as though I had sent him a greater A copy of this letter to be sent to Mr. Aris, the rector of Claydon. present.

Deare sir, lett this be an ingagement for mee for my new lead-life, and assure your self, before I could tell soe much of the countrey as I have, it cost mee many a weary step and watchfull night, yett all that I can or ever could doe cannot be a sufficient ingagement to you who hath all wayes been a deare and most loving father to mee. Now I leave you to Him that made you, praying day and night for your health and happiness in this world, and everlasting life in the world to come. Your most dutyfull sonn,

THOMAS VERNEY.

From the Barbados, the 10th of Febr. 1638.

The articles invoiced will not cost more than 200*l*.

Principal to be returned with use in twelve months.

Sir,—The invoice may perhaps daunt you att the first sight, yett two hundred pound will pay all, one hundred for the mens passages, and the other to buy all those perticulars, and then after one yeares time I shall be able (by the grace of God) to returne the principall with use; yett I humbly desire you to send mee over foure cases of strong waters, two for the men to drink att sea to comfort them their, and two after their arrivall. For my own part I cannot drink non, therefore it may cost you the less price, which will be five pound att the most; soe once againe I humbly take leave, and rest your most obedient sonn,

THOMAS VERNEY.

A few further wants.

A little before I closed up my letter I was examining my stock, and finding of it to be very weak, I thought good humbly to intreat you for two hogshheads of beef, four ferkins of salt butter, two jars of oyle, ten pound of pepper, a pound of nuttmeggs, and tenn pound of suger. Now if I have not all this I must be glad to eat roots and feed upon loblolly the year long, till I have some hogs to kill of mine owne, and this loblolly is far wors then your plow men doe eat in England.

Twenty holland cheeses will doe mee a great courtesy in this island.

[*Address.*] To his ever dear father,

SIR EDMUND VERNEY; thees present.

Letter to his mother.

His reformation.

And his wants.

This letter came accompanied by one to his mother, full of vehement protestations of reformation, and resolutions, “by the grace of God, to lead a new life, which I hope you will rejoyce,” he naïvely adds, “when you hear it *from others.*” He explains that he is now building a sorry cottage to harbour his men when he has them, which he hopes will be very speedily, and reminds the good lady at Claydon that, when he has done building, he shall want household stuff, “as some plate, spoons or the like; then pewter and brass of all sorts, and linnen of all sorts,” both for himself and his servants. He was unwilling to trouble his father about such “a business,” which “did not belong to him;” and “the parcells,” he proceeds, “I need not name, but will leave them wholly to your own discretion.” Having accomplished this appeal to the heart of the mother and housewife,

he breaks off in great haste, having discovered that he has many letters to write.

On the 20th May he repeated his application to his father, sending also a new and enlarged copy of his modest invoice of wants, which we will print as a note.* He recommends a friend, one of the chief merchants that trades for those parts, to be employed in the purchase and shipping of the required articles, and forwards a testimonial from captain Futter, who assures sir Edmund that his son is “an

Which he urges
again shortly
afterwards.

* An inventory of such necessaries as are usefull for mee in this country.

Imprimis ; twenty able men, whereof two to be carpenters, two sa[w]yers, a weauer that can weaue diaper, and the other a taylor.

Item ; twelve dozen of drawers, twelve dozen of shirts, and twelve dozen of shoes ; six dozen of cours neckcloths, six dozen of cours linnen stockings, larg enough or els they will not be seruiceable, six dozen of cours munmoth capps. Now for ammunition ; twenty good musketts, twenty amunition swords, with twenty belts and twenty pair of bandiliers.

Item ; two great iron kettles containing twelve gallons a peece, two great iron potts, one holding eight gallons the other six, two little potts about two or three gallons a peece, and a stew pan : Now for necessaries for the plantation ; fue dozen of broad hoes and three dozen of narrow hoes, fue dozen of axes, a dozen of bills, and two dozen of hatchetts. Nayles of all sorts to build with, ten thousand of double tens, ten thousand of single tens, and ten thousand of six peny nayles. Now for thread to mend their cloths, and twine to mend their shoes, and cours bedtick to make them hamacks to lye in ; for thread ten pound, ten dozen of twine, and an hundred yards of cours bedtick with fifty dozen of hamack lines ; soe much for that ; yet I had almost forgott fouer dozen of spades, and fouer dozen of pickaxes, a hunderd pound weight of powder, half a hunderd of pistoll bullets, and a quarter of a hunderd of good cotton match. Now for some necessaries concerning myself. As first, for one good cloth sute, and one taby or good stuff sute. Now for necessaries concerning household prouision : First, fouer hogsheads of good beef, fouer firkins of butter putt up in earthen potts, becaus of keeping, fouer jarrs of good sweet oyle, ten pound of sugar, [a proof that the cultivation of the sugar-cane had not then been introduced into Barbadoes,] as much pepper, some nuttmeggs, cloues, and cinamon, twenty holland cheeses, or good chessheir chees, a hogshead of good bay salt, an hunderd weight of good castle sope, three pound of starch, and a pound of blew starch, an hunderd weight of good wax light, that keeps best from melting in this country. Six cases of strong waters that the men may euery morning drink a dram to keep them in health ; for my part I drink non. I need not putt downe tooles for euery tradesman, for I beleeeue you will not send them unfurnished, for if you doe they will doe mee but little seruice.

Fouer bolts of canvas to send cotton home in.

extraordinary good husband and careful." These letters reached England on the 22nd of July, 1639, ere which time events of both public and private interest had for a time driven master Tom almost out of the minds of his English friends.

Mrs. Pulteney, a rich widow.

Mrs. Margaret Pulteney was a wealthy and probably by no means an unprepossessing widow. The annoying interference of the court of wards, founded upon the presumed right of the infant son of sir Thomas Aston, soon came to an end; for the boy died, his mother's rights descended to her surviving sisters, and Mrs. Pulteney's very handsome jointure was entirely freed from the intermeddling of the crown. Her letters upon this and other businesses are those

Her character.

of a clever determined woman, with no slight share of the puritanic tinge which is apparent among all the Dentons and the Verneys. Crowther, to whom Mrs. Pulteney was a valuable patroness, esteemed her highly as a religious person, and testified his regard, as well as his gratitude, by a large bequest of ten pounds "to buy her a ringe." By her influence over the mind of her late husband, he had been led away from dissipations in which he had been accustomed to indulge. His case indeed seems to have been the not uncommon one of a rake reformed by a sensible and right-minded wife. Of course, from the moment of his death she had many suitors; and some of their love-letters which she transmitted to Ralph Verney—of course only those from writers whom she had determined in her own mind to reject—are amusing specimens of a literature which never alters. The bewildered amazement with which the writers contemplate her beauty and perfections of every kind, the agonizing deaths they must die if she prove unkind, the ravishing delight with which they would live upon her slightest command, the freedom of their adjurations by the "sacred heavens," and so forth, testify to the stereotyped character of the appeals which excited gentlemen have in all ages thought it right to make on such occasions. Of the proposed matches, on which she consulted her "good cosen" (as she designated her nephew, Ralph

Had many suitors.

Sir J. Paulet.

Verney), one was with sir John Paulet, afterwards second lord

Paulet of Hinton Saint George, who had “2500*l.* per annum in demeanes, whereof 800*l.* per annum was parsonage land, and held of the church, subject only to 300*l.* of old rent, and his mother’s jointure of 100*l.* per annum.” Mrs. Pulteney’s mother, lady Denton, set herself against this gentleman because his property was at a distance from Buckinghamshire. “For the man,” remarks Mrs. Pulteney, “shee sayes she canot, as far as she sees, dislike him.” Such an objection raised a feeling in his favour in the breast of the widow. “It was knowne,” she remarked, “before ever he cam into the howes, where his estate laye.” He had made his approaches through her brother, sir Alexander Denton. She therefore requests Ralph to “axe” him of “the passages” that had been between them. “For my owne part,” she says, “I pray God send me a good husband, and I care not wher his land lies.” My lady Deincourt, a sister of Henry lord Falkland, was an earnest suitor for her son Francis, who was favoured by lady Denton because she heard that he had a greater estate than sir J. Paulet. The gentleman also wrote very fiery letters, but his person was not acceptable to the good widow. “For my part,” she said, “I thinke all the riches in the world without content is nothing; soe this liberty I will take to my selfe, that is, to make choice of one as I can afecte;—as for him, I find I canot.” In this manner she kept her suitors at bay for many months. Hillesdon was besieged by the rivals for her hand during the whole of 1638. Wealth was treated by her so scornfully that her friends thought it right to remonstrate upon her disregard of worldly substance. “I am very wiling,” she replied, “to take your council in having richis enoufe; all ouer natewers is to apte to set ouer hartes on that which is worst for us; but I hope I shall neuer put my trust in unsartin richis. Some men,” she added, “will liue beter with 500^{li} *per anam* then sum will with fiftine, if thay be roring feloes.” Sir J. Paulet plied his suit assiduously, and when her spirits failed, or she made a blunder in a direction, it was declared that she was in love. “I can asure you,” she replied, “I

Hon. Francis
Deincourt.

am not in love, although sum say I am, and that it is with a J. P. to, but it is with that J. P. that is gone, then." By the end of 1638 Paulet gave up the chace, and two lords appeared in the field; one a lord Howard, a widower with five children, who were much objected to, although their father's suit was powerfully urged by the lord chamberlain,—a very high authority in the estimation of sir Edmund and Ralph Verney; the other lord's name does not appear, but between them both, and under the persecution of her own friends, Mrs. Pulteney lived in considerable disquiet down to March 1639. Some promise she had given the lords by way of keeping them from quarrelling, or some incautious words which they had construed into a promise not to decide for either within a certain time, left her exposed to the attacks of both, and led to the inference that one of them was ultimately to prevail. Which of them it was to be, was an anxious question with the Verneys and the Dentons, and no little play was made amongst them to throw the game into the hands of the one they severally favoured. Above all things they were anxious that the lady should keep faith with the lords-suitors, and should give no offence to the lord chamberlain.

8th January,
1638-9. Birth
of Margaret,
daughter of
Ralph Verney.

It was whilst the Verneys were at the very height of their uncertainty respecting the decision of the wayward widow, that Ralph Verney had a daughter born, 8th January, 1638-9. Mrs. Pulteney stood godmother, and gave the child her own name of Margaret. This event was followed by a change in public affairs which threw both these families, and half the families in the kingdom, into commotion.

Rise of the
troubles in Scot-
land.

Charles I.'s
principles of
government.

Charles I. had now for several years been at variance with his Scottish subjects upon a subject of the deepest interest. That monarch aimed, in the government of the countries under his dominion, at the accomplishment of two leading objects; first, the absolute centralization of all the powers of the state in himself; and, second, a level uniformity of submission in all his people. These were the purposes designed to be effected by the "thorough" policy of Strafford and of Laud. In conformity with the first of them, England was

to accept the king's will, as declared by the privy council, in place of her ancient government by parliaments; Ireland was to bend to the authority of the king's lieutenant, enforced by a powerful army; and Scotland was to render to the mandates of the sovereign, dated from London, an obedience which would never have been required or thought of in the old time, when their king resided in the Scottish capital, and filled the throne of Scotland only. All this was of course mere usurpation and tyranny,—a clear breach of the king's coronation oath, which bound him to govern by law and not by prerogative. How practically enforced.

The endeavour to enforce uniformity was no less tyrannical, and more foolish, especially when applied, as in the case of Scotland, to the subject of religion. The disciples of that religious school, to which king Charles very sincerely belonged, have always considered ecclesiastical uniformity to be a point of the most essential importance. Religious unity there already existed between Scotland and England. Both churches had been reformed upon protestant principles. But it was not enough that men should hold the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, that they should profess the same faith, and live and die in the same hope, unless their ecclesiastical government were administered by officers of the same name and authority, their church services were conducted in accordance with one common prescribed ceremonial, and their ministers were habited in the same kinds of vestments. From his accession Charles set his heart upon assimilating the church of Scotland, both in government and in practice, to that of England. He desired that the limited episcopacy of Scotland should be endowed with all the power of the English hierarchy, and that the simple services of the presbyterian worship should be formalised, as it was deemed in Scotland, by the adoption of the English book of common prayer. Charles thought himself bound by his own principles, both political and religious, to accomplish this uniformity. As the centre and source of government, in church as well as in state, he imagined that he could not consistently speak one ecclesiastical language in England, and another in his northern dominions. What was true in the one country was equally His determination to enforce ecclesiastical uniformity between England and Scotland.

so in the other. Without uniformity, he should seem to contradict himself, which no man more disliked.

Sets forth a book of canons of his own authority.

Also a book of common prayer.

In executing his project he never considered what were the opinions of his Scottish subjects; he acted as if his own feelings as governor were alone to be consulted, and the duty of the people were simply to obey. By his own authority, therefore, without the consent of either parliament or general assembly, without even so much as consulting the Scottish privy council, the king sent down from London, in May, 1635, a book of canons for observance throughout Scotland, which entirely altered the form of government of the Scottish church. Afterwards, in December, 1636, a book of common prayer was published, and ordered to be adopted, under the authority of a royal letter, and with the concurrence of a selected number of the Scottish privy council.

The adoption of the prayer book resisted.

The validity of these acts of royal authority might perhaps by some ingenuity have been brought by the clergy before the ordinary tribunals for determination, but in the way in which the question was presented practically to the people, namely, by certain of the clergy submitting to the king's mandates, and reading the common prayer, the only course which seemed open to the laity—for in those days dissent was out of the question—was either to adopt the common prayer book, or violently to refuse to permit it to be read. We all know that they did the latter. The service was riotously interrupted, and the lords of the council, who were almost all in heart opponents to the service-book, took advantage of the tumults to urge upon the king the propriety of referring the whole subject to the consideration of some constitutional authority. In the mean time the reading of the service-book was not enforced.

Real subject in dispute.

Although the dispute which had thus arisen seemed to turn only upon the adoption of the common prayer book, and has been so treated in subsequent times, it in fact involved the whole question of the validity of the king's assumption of an absolute authority in ecclesiastical affairs—a wide and dangerous subject of contention. The king, confident in the power of his sovereign authority, behaved with

great peremptoriness, and the bishops of Scotland with singular indiscretion. The people refused to submit to the royal mandates, and were so incensed by the conduct of the bishops that they determined upon the total abolition of episcopacy. To effect these objects the covenant was entered into and signed with unparalleled enthusiasm by nearly the whole of the Scottish nation. General assemblies were held in which the book of canons and the service-book were condemned; bishops were removed out of the church; and the whole framework of the presbyterian system of ecclesiastical government, as it exists in Scotland to this day, was settled almost by acclamation; finally, when Charles treated all this as a rebellion, the Scottish people flew to arms, and determined to defend themselves, their "kirk and covenant," against any power which his majesty might be enabled by the people of England to bring against them.

The Scots condemn the canons and service-book and abolish episcopacy.

In all this there was little revolutionary disturbance. After the first outbreak of indignant feeling, in which no one was seriously injured, the guidance of the popular cause fell into the hands of men of station and eminence, who conducted it with admirable calmness and decision. It was agreed that a war in defence of their ecclesiastical liberty was both justifiable and necessary, and they determined to carry it on with vigour. The natives of Scotland, who were serving in the armies on the continent, were called home to train recruits; the people were roused to exertion by pulpit declamation; every fourth man in the kingdom was summoned to bear arms; merchants were commissioned to purchase equipments for thirty thousand men; committees were appointed in every county to superintend the training of the people to the use of arms; the castles of Stirling, Dumbarton, and Edinburgh, esteemed the chief fortresses of the country, were occupied and garrisoned; and beacons were raised on every eminence to give warning of approaching danger. Considering the poverty of the country, and the slight means at the command of the covenanters, there is probably no example in the history of nations of a people arming in self-defence more quietly, more generally, or with more calm and yet determined enthusiasm.

Prepare to defend themselves by arms.

Means they employed.

The king's
scheme for the
invasion of
Scotland.

King Charles's plans for the restoration of his authority by force of arms were laid with no little skill. Himself at the head of a considerable English army was to march into Scotland from Berwick; Strafford with an army of Irish recruits was to land in the Clyde; the marquess of Hamilton was to command a fleet of sixteen sail, which was first to land five thousand men in the north of Scotland, and then to take up a station for general assistance in the Firth of Forth; the marquess of Huntly, the head of a Roman Catholic family, and who had great influence in Aberdeen, was to secure the north of Scotland, and afterwards to march southward to join the king; and finally, the earl of Antrim was to invade Argyleshire with another Irish army of ten thousand men.

Means for carry-
ing it out.

On paper, and as a mere scheme of invasion, nothing could be more overwhelming. Nor was the king without a supply of money towards the expence of operations so extensive. A parliament, the only legal mode of obtaining assistance from England, he had determined not to call: but his hereditary revenues yielded an income amply sufficient for the supply of all his ordinary necessities; there was a considerable surplus revenue in Ireland; monopolies, loans, and ship-money produced a large extra sum; the nobility and the military tenants of the crown were called upon to serve according to their bounden duty; many persons in the north of England were obliged by their tenures to take arms against the Scots whenever summoned; the clergy, as having a special interest in the question in dispute, were called upon by the archbishop of Canterbury to contribute in money, and those in the province of Canterbury only were assessed to the amount of 9,465*l.*; the Roman Catholics also were appealed to by the queen, and aided largely both in purse and person. Thus powerfully supported, and personally animated with the strongest determination to resist what he esteemed to be "the impertinent and damnable demands"* of the Scottish people, the king proceeded vigorously in his preparations. He believed his Scottish crown as well as his reputation to be at stake,† and omitted no means of strengthening his cause.

* Rushworth, ii. 752.

† Ibid.

Sir Edmund Verney, who was bound by official duty to accompany the king, received the following summons, setting forth the time, place, and manner of his attendance.

7th February,
1638-9. Sir
Edmund Verney
summoned to
attend the king.

EARL OF PEMBROKE AND MONTGOMERY TO SIR EDMUND VERNEY.

After my hearty commendations, itt having pleased the kings most excellent majesty to resolve upon a royall journey to York, and there to have all his sworne servants of the chamber to attend him, of which number yourselfe beinge one, I am therefor to signifye his majesty's royall pleasure unto you, that, all occasions sett apart, you be in readines in your owne person by the first of Aprill next, att the citty of Yorke, as a curassier in russett armes, with gilded studs or nayles, and befittingly horsed, and your servant or seruants which shall wayt upon you horst in white armes, after the manner of a hargobusier, in good equipage, there to act and doe such duties and services as may be expected from or shalbe required of you; which yf your necessary occasions in respect of your other capacity or place in his majestys service will not permitt, you are then to send for you and in your stead, as a gentleman of his majestys most honorable privy chamber, some gentleman of quallity, in all poynts provided according to the directions above given, to wayt for you; which not doubtinge but you will most carefully observe, as also give me a speedy accompt of the receipt hereof, I rest your very loving freinde,

PEMBROKE & MONTGOMERY.

Whitehall, the 7th of February, 1638.

To my very loveinge freind sir Edmund Verney, knight,
one of the gentlemen of his majestys most honorable
privy chamber in ordinary.

This summons came upon sir Edmund Verney at an evil time. He had spent his Christmas at Gorhambury, and the countess of Sussex, who was more intimate with him than almost any of his friends, wrote thus to his son Ralph respecting his visit. "Your good father, mythought, lokede uery sade hear this crismas: i fearede he hade bene discontentide some way; but he tolde me it was not so, but

Inconveniencies
to sir Edmund
Verney attend-
ant upon such a
summons.

Multiplicity of
his business.

that he was often in a great dell of pane. i pray God he may get some helpe, or else it will shorten his time, i doubt; wee hade but very littill discourse conserninge his fortune; i was tilling hime how happy he was in you, and he sade he was so indede, for no man hade a better childe, and many more good wordes he sade of you, which plesed mee very much to know you was uppon so dear and kainde termes.”* Lady Sussex was accustomed, as might be guessed from this extract, to speak to sir Edmund Verney upon what she terms here his “fortune,” and in other letters his “debtes.” In spite of appointments and partnerships in monopolies, his affairs were not at all in a satisfactory condition, and he himself, what with his court, his prison, his patents, his duties as knight marshal, and as a gentleman of the privy chamber, was involved in such a continual round of business relating to other people, that he never had time, as we have before remarked, to look into that which concerned himself. His friend the countess urged upon him a thorough inquiry, and Ralph was at hand ready to assist in his clear methodical way; but the meshes which were around sir Edmund were too strong to be broken except under the pressure of a greater necessity than existed in his case, by a man overwhelmed with business on the one hand, and troubled with the constant pain of a wearing *sciatica* on the other. With all his affection too for his son Ralph, and his constant well-placed trust in him, sir Edmund’s position in reference to his personal affairs formed a subject which was never broached between them. He had lived on, under the circumstances which we have before stated, probably never entirely free from debt, and, when money was wanted, was accustomed to look not to a more accurate adjustment of his ways and means, but rather to some new source of income as the shortest mode of extrication. At present he was all anxiety with respect to a new or modified patent for the regulation of hackney coaches, in which he was jointly interested with one Robin Lesley. In addition to these more inti-

* Verney MS. Jan. 1638-9,

mately personal interests, sir Edmund was still engaged in the delicate negotiation between his mother-in-law, lady Denton, and her son sir Alexander, for a new settlement of the family property, and was deeply concerned for Mrs. Pulteney, and in the choice she was expected to make between her two suitor-lords.

There was yet another and a higher cause of dissatisfaction which pressed upon sir Edmund Verney, on the receipt of his summons to don his armour against the Scots,—a dissatisfaction in which he was but a type of a very numerous class of Englishmen. Upon the question which was the foundation of the dispute, he believed the Scots to be in the right. Whether he went the length in his own mind of vindicating the Scots in their armed opposition to the will of the king is a point we cannot settle, but certainly he was one of that large class of persons in England who, being displeased by the conduct of the bishops, especially of archbishop Laud, had their affections in that way alienated from the established church. Episcopacy itself, as a form of church government, came to be regarded by them with distaste, when they found its power exerted, as it was then in England, not to evangelise the community by the faithful teaching of christianity, but chiefly to enforce an external conformity to usages and innovations which were deemed papistical, and to discourage, as being righteous overmuch, and if necessary even to persecute, all those, whether amongst the clergy or the laity, who aimed at raising the tone and standard of christian practice. To all men who entertained these opinions, and under the ecclesiastical administration of archbishop Laud the number was daily increasing, it was a sorrowful thing to put on “russet arms with gilded studs or nails,” to leave their homes and wend their way to York, in order to enforce upon a neighbour nation, even although that nation were, as Clarendon phrases it, “those vermin” the Scots, an ecclesiastical system which worked so ill.

With sir Edmund Verney, whatever were his private feelings, no other path was open than that of obedience. He made his will on the 20th March, and within a few days afterwards set out for York.

His concurrence in the religious part of the dispute with the Scots.

20th March, 1638-9. He makes his will, and leaves London immediately afterwards.

His will contains an affecting proof of his confidence in his eldest son. He appoints him his sole executor, "having had experience," he states, "of his fidelitie unto me, and of his love for his brothers and sisters." Sir Edmund directs his body to be buried at Middle Claydon, with as little pomp and charges as his executor conveniently may, and he leaves 20*l.* as a stock for the benefit of the poor people of the parish. To his sons Thomas and Henry he gives annuities of 40*l.* per annum. To Edmund, and to each of his daughters, they being all otherwise provided for, he leaves 5*l.* To his nephew, Edmund, son of his uncle Urian, an annuity of 5*l.* To Doll Leake, 20*l.* To John Rhodes, his faithful servant and bailiff at Claydon, an annuity of 5*l.* To another servant, Thomas Clancy, the same. To Ralph Verney's wife, for whom his attachment was always constant, 40*l.* for a ring, "which I desire her," he says, "to wear for my sake." To his mother 20*l.* To his dear and beloved wife "all such moneys as are at the date of his will in her custody," and half his linen, with the use of half his plate and household stuff, which were to be shared with Ralph, and all his "fuell of wood, furze, and cole," at Claydon, and the coach, and four of the coach horses, with their harness and furniture. He also gave stuff for a mourning gown to his women legatees, and cloth for a mourning suit and cloak for the men. His will contains also a long preamble, which strongly indicates his religious sentiments.

Edmund Verney joins the army as a volunteer.

Sir Edmund was one of the gay cavalcade which accompanied the king on his journey to the north. Young Edmund Verney, who joined the army as a volunteer, set out a few days earlier. After a sudden but sorrowful parting with friends in London, the young soldier went into Buckinghamshire on his way to the north. In a letter dated Hillesdon, the 21st March, he thus bids farewell to Ralph, and details his expectations of the coming campaign:—

EDMUND VERNEY TO RALPH VERNEY.

21st March, 1638-9. Edmund's anticipations of the nature of the expedition.

Sweete brother,—I came away in that unexpected sodaynes that I had scarce time to give a farewell to those friendes that were then within, and beleeve me I was much greevd that you were not of that number, although

I know it would have brought me to a farr more sad departure, because then I must have bidden the adue to one whome I may truely terme dearest to me; for my part, I thinke the journey will prove but an ordinary progresse, and then I shall have the happines of seeing you againe next winter, if not the latter end of the summer; but if it should come to blowes, yet why should not I thinke of escaping as well as any other? All though I'll speake it, and yet forget vaine glory, that I'll endeavour to attempt as much as any in a brave way, and yet my ambition in this is not comparable to that which I receive by my constant remaining your most affectionate servant,

EDMUND VERNEY.

Hillesdon, March 21st, 1638[-9].

For my most approved good brother, Mr. Raph Verney.
at Hillesdon,* these be delivered.

Sir Edmund's first letter from the army dissipated the notion that the Scots would yield to a mere shew of force;—which was the opinion of the king, as well as of young Mr. Edmund Verney. No man ever trusted more through his whole reign to the strength of the king's name than Charles I. Confident in the reverence inspired by every exhibition of royal authority, he regarded, as we are told by Clarendon, "the pomp of his preparations more than their strength," and had yet to learn that mere shows strike awe only in willing worshippers. There was a strength in the principle for which the Scottish people had taken up arms which defied the influence of the outward braveries of war.

The betrayal of the king, of which it will be seen that sir Edmund complains, and which became the cry of the royal party, consisted merely in this: that the king had surrounded himself by people who made it their business to imbibe his feelings and echo his opinions, forgetting that the highest duty of royal councillors is to tell their master the truth. Strangers themselves to any feeling so earnest

* A mistake for "Covent Garden," where other letters, as well as this, prove Ralph to have been at this time.

and emphatic as the determination which animated the great body of their fellow-countrymen, and accustomed to bow submissively to every expression of the royal will, such men never dreamed that other people would resist what they all but worshipped.

1639, April 1st.
Sorrow at part-
ing.

SIR EDMUND VERNEY TO HIS SON RALPH.

Good Raphe,—Since prince Henrys death I never knew soe much greefe as to part from you ; and trewly, because I saw you equally afflicted with it, my sorrow was the greater. But, Raph, wee cannott live always togeather. It cannott bee longe ere by course of nature wee must bee severd, and if that time bee prevented by accident, yet wee must resolve to beare it with that patience and courage as becomes men and cristians ; and soe the great God of heaven send us well to meete againe, eyther in this woarld or in the next.

The king be-
trayed.
Edinburgh and
Dumbarton
castles yielded
up.

The king has been basly betrayd. All the party that hee hoped upon all this while has basly left him. As wee are this day informed, the two cassels of Edenbrough and Dunbarton are yeelled up without one blowe, and yett they were boath provided soe well as they were impregnable soe long as they had vittle, which they wanted not.

Also, Dalkeith,
with the regalia.

Dekeeth,* a place of greate strength, † wher the crowne and septer laye, is yeelled to, and the covenanters has taken awaye the crowne and septer, and a greate deale of armes and munition to ; yett my lor tresorer of Scotland ‡ undertooke to the king to keepe all that safe ; and all thes are given upp without one blowe. Aberdine wee heare (but I must confess that news is not soe certayne that I can saye it for a trewth) is yeelled upp to, and noe blowe given ; and the king sent 4000 of the choyssest armes hee had

* Dalkeith.

† Sir Edmund was mistaken respecting the strength of Dalkeith. The earl of Traquair consulted a military authority upon the subject, and was told that it might be made defensible against a sudden assault, but, "considering that they were all covenanters round about," it was not possible to retain possession of it. The earl states that the country, almost to a man, was favourable to the covenanters ; "few or none daring so much as appear to give advice in anything might seem against them." They seized the regalia "in great joy and triumph, and carried them away with all the reverence they could show, and placed them in Edinburgh castle." Rushworth, ii. 908.

‡ The earl of Traquair.

theather; soe that now I am confident the shew of making a party ther for the kinge has been only to gett arms from uss, and to feede uss with hopes till they were fully provided.

My lord Clifford* sent woard this morning to the king that the inhabitants of Carlile had left the towne, uppon a fright they tooke of the highlanders coming suddenly uppon them, but hee has put 300 men into the towne, and they saye they are resolved to fight it out. The hilanders are in number 2500, and six canuon, as they heare.

Fear of the highlanders at Carlisle.

Wee cannot heare wheather my lord of Essex bee in Barwick or not; by to morrow wee shall know; heere is this day gone from this country 2000 men to second him.

The earl of Essex marched to occupy Berwick.

My lord Trequare, the tresorer of Scotland, came last night to towne, and is this day, since I writt my other letters, confiend to his chamber; † wee expect some others maye heare of it to, that I will not name, for the king has beene basly betrayde by them, and that wee shall all smart for. Saye little of this to the woemen, least it fright them. You [shall] shortly heare from mee againe. I heare noething of my armes.

Lord Traquair committed to his chamber.

Your loving father,

Yorke, this Monday [1st April, 1639],
3 of the clock after noone.

ED. VERNEY.

Comend mee to honest Natt Hubbard, and the God of heaven bless you. Remember to see Gorhambery ‡ as soone as you can.

If Nedd Sidenham bee not on his waye, comend mee to him, and acquaint him with what I have writt. Tell him and Charles Gawdy that I could wish they were boath heere, for the king has but few about him, and that is a shame to uss all att this time, when, beleeve mee, the danger is more then is apprehended ther wher you are.

I hope you have sent awaye my waggon. I thinck my man Peeter and I am parted; if hee comes to Lunden bee not deceived by any falce mes-

* Henry, lord Clifford, afterwards the fifth and last earl of Cumberland.

† The king, writing to the marquess of Hamilton on the 2nd April, says, "I have commanded Traquaire to keep his chamber until he give me an account how he left Dalkeith without striking one stroak, and before any cannon was brought before it." The account was given and Traquair was discharged within a few days. (Rushworth, ii. 904, 906, 908.)

‡ That is, the countess of Sussex, who, as we have stated, occupied Gorhambury.

sage; wright privately as much to Roads. The king goes to see the fortification at Hull on Thursday next.

Addressed

For my sonn Raphe Verney.*

Sir Edmund's next letter confirmed the news of the surrender of Aberdeen, the only place of importance in which, under the influence of the Gordons, who were Roman catholics, the covenant met with any active opposition. This event placed the whole country in the hands of the covenanters.

SIR EDMUND VERNEY TO RALPH VERNEY.

1639, about 4th
April.
Aberdeen sur-
rendered.

Two hundred
of the townsmen
come to
Newcastle.

All Scotland
gone.

Raphe,—Last night ther came certaine news that Aberdine is deliverd upp too, without soe much as a bluddy nose; soe that to mee it seeme apparent that they have only pretended to make a party for the kinge ther to cussen [him] of armes, munition, and monny, to weaken uss and strengthen [them]selves; for they were 6000 men well armd, in a resonable defencive towne, well vittled, and yett never strooke one blowe for it. Ther are 200 of the townsmen come to Newcastle, but all the armes are delivered to the covenanters, which were 4000 of the best armes the king had. Naye, they might have sent [us] our arms againe if they had pleasd, or might have throwne them and the powder into the sea, and made them useless to them as well as to us, but they have deliverd all, and in my consience were only sorry they had noe more for them; soe now all Scotland is gone. I would it were under the sea, for it will aske a greate time, and cost much bludd, to reduce them againe; but, when wee are past treating with them, I doubt not but wee shall suffitiently beate them in time, and I hope wee shall beginn this summer.

I am infinitely afraide of the goute, for I feele crewell twinges, but I hope to starve it awaye, for, God willing, I will drinck but once a day. I praye putt your mother in miend to send mee thos papers of powder I gave her to keepe for mee, for they are excellent to prevent the gowte. As I came heather I was in soe much hope of a peace that I bought a fine hunting

* Memorandum by Ralph Verney: "Received 5 Aprill, 1638." [sic.]

nagg by the waye. I would I had my monny in my purse againe, for I feare I shall not hunt in haste againe. I will send him home to grass by him that brings Godwin. I cannot yett heare of my armes, but they will come time inoughe, for wee shall doe noething this moneth yett. I have not heard from any frend since I came heather, althoughe ther comes messenge[r]s daily. Comend mee to thy good wife, and to all my frends with you. Farwell.

Your ever loving father,

ED. VERNEY.

Addressed

For my sonne Raphe.*

On the 5th April there are tidings from young Edmund, who was with his regiment at Selby. Everybody there was in the full bustle of preparation. "What with exercising and divers other petty employments," he writes, "we are kept in that perpetual action that I have yet but small time to present my service to any of my friends."† In such circumstances, London, we may be sure, was full of rumours. "We here," writes Ralph Verney's wife to his grandmother Denton, "that they have turned all that are of the king's side into England, and that they have stopped all passages, soe that the king can have noe certeine intelligence of their proceedings." Preparations at Selby.
Rumours in London.

In the meantime events of interest to all the Verneys were transpiring at home. No sooner had sir Edmund left London, than Mrs. Pulteney betook herself to her friend and counsellor, Ralph Verney, and whispered in his ear the interesting tidings that she was married! Whilst contending lords had been rivals for her hand, a stranger had stepped in and carried off the prize. She had been married secretly, and her husband had now gone to the north to join the expedition against the Scots. Ralph's first feeling was one extremely natural to a person accustomed to give, at the least, their full share of reverence to all official dignitaries. He was Mrs. Pulteney discloses to Ralph Verney that she has been secretly married to a Roman Catholic.

* Memorandum of Ralph Verney: "Received 8 Aprill, 1638." [sic.]

† Verney MS. 5th April, 1639.

thunderstruck at a proceeding which was not merely irregular, but was disrespectful to the lord chamberlain and the two lords. He was seriously apprehensive that his father or himself might be thought to have connived at a breach of faith with their official superiors. He was clearly of opinion that Mrs. Pulteney had said or written something to the lord chamberlain which might be construed to bind her to choose one of her two lordly suitors, and in those days of council-table government it was difficult to conjecture what might not ensue from the disregard of such an engagement. But this official view of the lady's new position was soon swallowed up in another consideration, which Ralph Verney truly judged to be of far higher moment:—the gentleman whom Mrs. Pulteney had chosen was a Roman Catholic. These are days in which the pain and grief excited in 1639 by such a circumstance will, to many persons, seem strange and exaggerated. There are amongst us families which, under recent circumstances, have been made practically acquainted with the painful estrangements, the agonising separations, the divided interests, and perverting influences which necessarily result from such alliances; but in that day they excited in the members of the religious party with whom the Verneys must be classed, not so much a feeling of regret for the practical inconveniences which were certain to result from them, as a sentiment of religious aversion or even of horror. Such an act was looked upon as a kind of infidelity, and people shrank from those who lapsed into it with unreasonable and indefinite feelings of dislike. But we must do justice to Ralph Verney. Although he saw that, in the general estimation, such would be the result of this marriage, he comforted and counselled the determined widow, and from the first took his stand by her side, ready to do every thing in his power “to abate the infamy,” these are his own words, “which must of necessity fall upon her.” His manly and friendly course brought upon him the great anger of his grandmother, who, violent herself in her opposition to her new son-in-law, could not see any thing but connivance in Ralph's greater kindness. The gentleman

Feelings with which such marriages were then regarded.

Ralph Verney's conduct.

who caused this commotion was, according to all that appears of him, a poor but respectable man of excellent family, and one against whom nothing could be alleged save his religion. He was William, third son of William the second lord Eure, who was distinguished, like his father and grandfather, for excellent service done in the disputes and wars with Scotland. They were of an ancient family, seated for centuries in Northumberland, and celebrated for a bravery which Mrs. Pulteney's husband proved that he inherited by his subsequent conduct during the civil wars.

Mrs. Pulteney's husband; the hon. William Eure.

Ralph Verney's first care was to communicate the tidings to his father. He advised his aunt to write to sir Edmund; but, fearful of the shock of a full disclosure, it was arranged that she should not at once reveal the fact that the marriage had been accomplished. The way in which he received the news appears in the next two letters, which are in some respects extremely touching.

Partial disclosure of the marriage to sir Edmund.

SIR EDMUND VERNEY TO RALPH VERNEY.

Raphe,—I have received your letter by Siddenham, and that which Price brought. I had a letter too from my sister Poultney, which grieves every vaine in my hearte. I have written to her againe, but I feare it is in vaine. Shee has utterly ruinde her reputation if shee goes on in this waye, and trewly I thinck it will goe neare to kill her mother if ever shee marryes as I feare she will. I praye take occation to speake to her, and tell her playnly of her folly, for I doubt not but shee will discover her intentions to you, and desire your wife to deale effectually with her. Shee once tould [me] shee would never marry, and I could heartely wish shee meant it. Urge that to her, and, if it bee possible, gett her but to forbearre marriage. Time and absence maye coole the violentest affection. If you can but make her sencible of the infamy that this match will bring uppon her, it maye divert the marriage for the present. Advise her to goe to Hillsdon as soone as maye bee, and lett your wife playe the parte of a frend now, and (if it bee possible) preserve her from a perpetuall shame. But I feare all will come to late, for I doubt it is gone to farr already; yet, till you know that, lett her not sleepe in quiett till you have gotten some promiss to forbearre boath marriage or contract for a time. I vow I am soe madd with greefe and

1639, 7th April.

Sir Edmund's grief for Mrs. Pulteney.

Advice Ralph Verney should give her.

anger, for her sake, that I knowe not what to saye or doe, but were I ther, I vow to God I would make a strange hasard to breake it; but, whir I am, I can but talke, and I am weary of that too; soe the God of heaven direct her to doe that which maye bee for his glory and her honner.

The Scots do not oppose the king in securing the borders.

Heere is noething more of news then what I have already sent you. Wee are happy that the enemye opposes not our securing the borders; if they should, our disorder and ignorance would be our ruine. In haste, farwell. Your ever loving father,

ED. VERNEY.

Yorke, this 7th of Aprill [1639].

Comend me to all my frends with you; and tell Natt. Hubbart I will not wright to him till I can give some account of his business. I am sorry to heare Mrs. Garland is sick, for trewly I doe not know wher to place my mother to her liking. I praye take all the care you can for her, and wher shee desires most to bee, ther doe you indeavour to serve her. Except I were uppon the place I cannott tell what more to saye. I praye lett mee heare how businesses goes att the marshall seas, boat[h] in the prison and in the courte. I have written thancks to sir John Lentall for his kiendness and care of mee. I praye doe soe much as goe over the water to him, and give him thancks from mee to; and inquire of him wheather Haul be in fault or not.

Addressed

For my sonn Raphe Verney.*

SIR EDMUND VERNEY TO MRS. RALPH VERNEY.

1639, 9th April.

Sir Edmund's affection for her.

Good daughter,—I knowe noe news to send thee, nor will I use any thing of cerimony with one soe neare mee. I would faine tell thee how much I love thee, but trewly I cannott. I knowe not any waye soe trewly to express it, as to saye you are in my affection equall to your husband. Beleeve mee, sweete heart, I can never love thee more, and I hope I shall never love thee less.

Daughter, I know you have a great interest in my good sister Poultny.

* Indorsed by Ralph Verney: "Received 10 Aprill, 1639."

I begg of you to use all your credditt with her to bee carefull of her selfe. I feare she will doe a foolish and a wicked thing. I vow to God my heart is soe full of greefe for her, that I cannot fiend rest any where. God of his mercy give her grace to avoyd the misfortune. Comend mee to all my frends with you, and thos at the next howse. Farewell; your trewly loving father,

ED. VERNEY.

Yorke, this 9th of Aprill [1639].
For my deere daughter Verney, thes.

In a few days the whole truth was communicated to sir Edmund, who wrote as follows:—

SIR EDMUND VERNEY TO RALPH VERNEY.

Raphe,—Last night I received divers letters from you, and I thinck all of them that you writt of. I can now only answer one that I received this morning, in which was inclosed a letter from my sister Poultny. In that letter she tells mee her business is paste recall, and I will tell you my soule is greeved for her misfortune. Since it is done, it were good she would consider what is fitt for her to doe, to save her honner and discretion, as much as maye bee in this case. It maye be her judgment maye bee as much blynded in this as shee was indiscreete in her choyce. I praye deale cleerely with her, and lett her preserve as much of her discretion and reputation as shee can; for, beleeve mee, shee has made a large forfeit of them boath. In my oppinion, shee has noe waye but to conceale it, if it bee possible, till the end of summer, and then lett him renew his sute againe, and take her, since hee must have her, but wheather it can be kept privatt or noe soe long that I cannot tell. If shee should proove with chield, the concealing of it might increace her infamy; soe that as the business makes mee madd, the waye to preserve her now distracts mee as much. How it has beene carried I beleeve shee will tell you, and from thence you can better tell how to advise her then I can. Heereafter I must love my frends less, that I maye disgest theyr misfortunes better. This woeman laye soe neare my heart that I shall fiend her folly ther whilst I have an hower to

Mrs. Pulteney has revealed that she is married.

Advice to be given to her.

live. The post is in such haste I can saye noe more. Excuse my not wrighting to your mother.

Your loving father,
ED. VERNEY.

York, 9 of clock at night, this Easter night;
[14th April, 1639].

For Mr. Raphe Verney, att sir Edmund Verney his house
in Covent-garden, this.*

On the day following sir Edmund wrote more at leisure, but in the same strain, with the addition of some remarks on other matters of business. We print the whole letter, as even in the mere business portions of it there are passages which strongly indicate character.

SIR EDMUND VERNEY TO RALPH VERNEY.

Both the suitor lords state that Mrs. Pulteney agreed to keep herself disengaged until Michaelmas.

Sir Edmund's distress at first hearing of the marriage.
Lady Denton.

Raphe,—I writt to you last night in haste. I am att more leysure now, and yett I cannot thinck to saye more concerning my sister than I have done, only thus farr to second the advice of keeping the marrage concealed a while, for I fiend from boath the lords that shee assured them shee was yett a free woeman, and that shee would keepe her self soe till michellmas, without ingaging her selfe to any boddy; soe that if it shall bee discovered that shee is now marrid, shee will appeare a foolish and a falce woeman. I would faine [save] her creditt as much as I could, and, as the case stands, I know noe better waye then what has been advised. It may fall out that the business has beene soe carried att Lunden that other councells may be better, therefore I praye consider every thing well, and advise the best according to the occation. All I have to doe now is to greeve for her, and that I would put ofe too if I could; but trewly I cannott. I protest to God, when I redd your letter, a palsye tooke my hands, soe that in five houers I could hold noething stedly. This inclosed letter I received from my lady Denton when my waggon came. You maye see by it that shee has gotten some little light of it. I praye bee carefull to burne it when you have redd it.

* Memorandum, indorsed "Received 16th Aprill, 1639."

Send this inclosed letter to Mr. Lasly,* but till all bee done parte with Mr. Lesly. noe monny. I have beene to much a foole alreddy, yett had not thes vnhappy accidents fallen out I knowe I had made a good business of it.

When I returne I will speake with Thomas Maye. It is trew hee is Thomas May. to have 3*l*. a yeare for five years, but hee left mee in the learch for repaires and divers other things. Saye nothing of it till I returne, if ever "If ever I re- I doe returne; otherwise give him 10*l*. to quitt all. I praye call uppon turn." Tom Birt to send mee a note how the officers behave themselves, and Report wanted as to conduct of officers and profits of court. what the proffitts of courte have beene since I came away. I praye goe to Nedd Herbert from me, and tell him I will not wright to him till I can send him an inventory of the Scotts I have kild. I praye lett thes An inventory of Scots killed. inclosed letters bee deliverd according to theyr directions. Remember to wright to your brother Harry, and lett him know I am wher I cannott send Brother Harry. to him. Remember my service to my sister Poultny. I writt to her but yesterday, soe I wright not now. For my neece Turvill, I praye paye her Niece Turvill. the 14*l*. eight shillings, deducting the monny I layd out for rent, according to the note I left with you. It was above 10*l*. I thinck; and take an acquittance for 14*l*. 8*s*. remaying in my hands of sir Richard Hubbarts monny. How much that was I doe not remember, but I thinck you have a note will shew it. The 500*l*. shall bee payed in Maye next. I have not yett spoaken with my lord St. Johns. Your loving father, Lord St. John.

ED. VERNEY.

I praye send mee woard what hands are to the boand of 6000*l*., and why Lord Kinnoul. my lord Kanoole did not seale it. Comend my best love and blessing to thy good wife, and forgett not my service to our next naybours.

The defeated suitor-lords soon began to suspect their fate. Rumours got afloat of the influence possessed by Mr. Eure, and the earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, the lord chamberlain, in the interest of his friend lord Howard, determined to address a letter of inquiry to Mrs. Pulteney, which he shewed beforehand to sir Edmund Verney. An account of this matter is in the next letter.

* "Robin Lesly," one of the king's pages, was engaged with sir Edmund in the new patent respecting hackney-coaches, which was now pending.

SIR EDMUND VERNEY TO RALPH VERNEY.

1639, 19th
April.
Sir Edmund's
arms to be sent
to Newcastle.

The king will
be there on 30th
April.

The lord cham-
berlain about to
write to Mrs.
Pulteney.

What answer
she should send.

Raphe,—I well hoped Mr. Siddenham would have sent thos arms to Newcastle, but if they bee come to Lunden, I praye paye for them and send them to Newcastle to mee by the first good shipp you can; and direct them soe that they may eyther fiend mee out, or els to bee left att the maiors of the towne, wher I will inquier for them. Wee shall bee ther on Tewesday seanight, and ther wee shall staye but a verry little time, therfore I praye send them with all the speede you can, and carefully made upp. I knowe not the maiors name, but that is the most noetorious place for mee to inquire for them, I will goe theather a daye or tow before the king. Sir Art. Ingram assuers mee the monny shall be payd uppon the daye. I thinck I sent you woard in my last letter that I had writt to Robin Lasly, and forgott it when I had done. I have now sent you his letter unsealed; read it, and seale it upp, and send it him.

This daye my lord chamberlaine cald mee to him, and shewd mee a letter hee has writt to my sister Poultny. It seems Mr. Evers, or his frends, has bragd of theyr interest ther, and my lord has gott noetice of it. I durst not advise against the letter, least hee should discover that I knew something of it, but I would give anything to have prevented it. In the letter hee takes noetice of the reports hee hears, and because hee cannot beleeve it, hee desires to bee able to make answer for her, and that hee maye the better doe soe hee desires warrant for it under her owne hand. I confess I am vext to thinck how shee should answer it; but, in my oppinion, the best waye will bee neyther to deny it nor avow it, but to returne a mannerly and a doubtfull answer; I thinck this letter will come to your hands first. I praye remember my service to her, and acquaint her with what I saye, and advise with her about the answer the best you can. Comend mee to all my frends with you, espeatially to my poore daughter Verney. I have not time now to saye any thing of knights boand and Lanes. Farwell; your ever trewly loving father,

ED. VERNEY.

Yorke, this 19th of Aprill [1639].

[Addressed]

For my sonn Raphe.*

* Memorandum, indorsed "Received 23 Aprill, 1639."

Mrs. Pulteney's affection for Mr. Eure guided her through the entanglement in which she had involved herself. "The unlucky deed," as we learn from Ralph Verney,* "was very privately donn, and those few that were present have faithfully promised secresie." Confident in her new husband's friends, she would neither absolutely confess nor deny anything to her relations. Fencing skilfully with all remarks and inuendoes, and "avoyding the room" in case of difficulty, she kept her own secret, and braved the gossip of which she soon became the general subject. "I understand by your mother," she writes to Ralph, "as the town makes havock of my good name; but let them devise ther worst, I defie them all. Non in the world can call me to an acount for my actions, for i am not in any ons tewishion, as I have sent your mother word."† Her answer to the lord chamberlain ran thus:—

Mrs. Pulteney's conduct in reference to the disclosure of her marriage.

Her answer to the lord chamberlain.

MRS. PULTENEY TO THE LORD CHAMBERLAIN.

25 Aprill, 1639.

My lord,—The many favours you have been pleased to conferr upon mee inforce me now, amongst other my infermities, to discover how weake a scribe I am. I am soe universally possessed with the scence of those many noble curtisies I am guilty of receivinge from your lordshipp, that I am as utterly ignorant how to deserve as desperate to requite them; my life or fortunes I doe not value if they could satisfie; my affections I cannot soe commaund as to place or displace them at another's will. I am a woeman, and tis like they may somewhat prevaile over my weaker reason in the choyse of my husband, wherein I shall not principally aime at lands or honors. In obedience to your lordshipp's comaunds I opened my lord Howards letter, and for his good will I hartily wish him as much happiness as hee can thinke. Only in this businesse I humbly begg of your lordshipp to cease any further sute, for I cannot graunt it. If I have not yet given the true reason therof to your lordshipp, I have not donn itt to any the nearest of my freinds; and thus I humbly crave leave in silence to remaine your honors most obleiged servant,

1639, 25th April.

Thanks for innumerable favours.

Her affections cannot be commanded.

Cannot grant lord Howard's suit. The true reason not yet revealed to any one.

M. P.

* Verney MS. 18th April, 1639.

† Ibid. 21 May, 1639.

This letter was probably written for her by Ralph. She left town for Hillesdon immediately after despatching it, and some few days afterwards begged Ralph to send her the copy of it. At the same time she reported how things went on at Hillesdon.

MRS. PULTENEY TO RALPH VERNEY.

1639, 28th
April.
To send her her
answer to the
lord chamber-
lain.
Reception at
Hillesdon.

Future plans.

Sweet nephew,—I left the answer of my letter to my lord chamberlin with you. Pray when you have rit it oute send it me againe, for it may be he may question sumthing at his pleasure. None here mistrust aney thing at all of you know how [i. e. who], for they make them sure of me for “no,”* but thay find mee verey coole in the bisnis. Pray will you right to your father to prevent my lord Howerds sending to me aney more; for if he should send hither, my mother would take it ill if shee sees not the leter, and it may be as he may have a touch of you know how [who], and I would not willingly have it discovered it. I am resolved, for ought I know yet, not to let him com down hither, but to let my mother know of it abought a wicke before I goe from her, and desier her not to speake of it, but I will first put † my other gentilman. I dow talke between jest and good ernist, so as thay know not how to take me; so I am resolved to dow till it be reveled; thus, in great hast, I rest your loving aunt,

MARY PULTENEY.

Aprill 28, 1639.

For Raph Verney, Esq. att sir Edmund Verneys
house in Coven Garden.

Sir Edmund, repeating his advice, adds, on the 26th April, a word or two about Mr. Eure.

For that unhappy woman I think it best conceal it till the end of summer, and lett her by discource prepare her frends ther to expect something from her that she will not yet discover. The business is such as what way soever shee takes all will be judged folly, but to conceale it yett I thinck is best. The lords doe boath saye shee promist before my wife to keepe herself free from the least ingagement to any till our returne.

* Probably a nickname for one of the suitor lords.

† “put,” in the sense of “put aside.”

I saw her choyce heere in buff the other daye, as if he meant to goe into the field with uss. If he does, some lucky bullett maye free her of this misfortune. The news of this place you may finde in sir John Lentalls letter. The small pox is soe hott, and the feaver, at Newcastle, that I thinck wee shall staye at Durham.

Mr. Eure in buff.

Contemplated movements.

Another subject of correspondence between Ralph Verney and his father was the projected new arrangement respecting hackney coaches. Ralph Verney procured the necessary legal documents to be prepared, and in doing so consulted "Mr. Roles," no doubt the celebrated lawyer who was author of "The Abridgment," and afterwards chief justice. He gave them honest and free advice both with reference to the nature of the contemplated monopoly, and with a shrewd and sagacious foresight of the perils with which the aspect of the times surrounded all such businesses. "Mr. Roles desiers me to tell you," writes Ralph, "the project is illegall, and therefore tis a very bad security for soe much money as you have and must lay out upon it; and further, hee saies if you are made receiver of this money, you will be taken for the first projector, and therefore liable to actions by the statute of monopolies, and in an high degree censurable in parliament; therefore he would advise you to put some other name into the receiver's warrant." There was another difficulty which came from the opposite quarter. The king's troubles were increasing. His expedition against Scotland was not popular. In spite of the old national prejudices against that country—the result of centuries of ill-will; in spite also of all the aid which could be given to the anti-presbyterian crusade, both by the clergy of the church of England and the Roman catholics, it was but too evident that the hearts of the people remained untouched. It was necessary for the king to do something by way of regaining lost popularity. He therefore issued a proclamation against monopolies. From his "manour at York," his majesty, whose "royal care and providence" was said to be "ever intentive on the public good of his people," informed his loving sub-

Sir Edmund's contemplated commission for the management of hackney coaches.

Objections raised by Mr. Rolle.

The king quashes various monopolies by proclamation dated 9th April, 1639.

Multitude and variety of existing monopolies.

jects, on the 9th of April, 1639, that he “now discerned” that a variety of recapitulated grants and commissions had been found far from those grounds and reasons whereupon they were founded, and in their execution had been notoriously abused. He was therefore pleased, “of his mere grace and favour to his loving subjects (with the advice of his privy council), by his regal power,” to declare a great variety of his own late grants void. The minuteness of these monopolies, the vexatious length to which they had extended, may be judged from the purport of some of the grants which were now quashed. One was for gauging red-herrings, others were for marking iron made within the realm, for sealing bone-lace, for marking and gauging butter-casks, for sealing linen cloth, for gathering rags, for sealing buttons, and so forth. Well did sir John Culpeper describe them as being like the frogs of Egypt. They “have gotten possession of our dwellings, and we have scarce a room free from them. They sup in our cup. They dip in our dish. They sit by our fire. We find them in the dye-vat, wash-bowl, and powdering-tub. They share with the butler in his box. They have marked and sealed us from head to foot. They will not bate us a pin. We may not buy our own clothes without brokage.” A proclamation which professed to put an end to exactions so meanly inquisitorial and vexatious was of course extremely popular. “It gave great satisfaction,” says Rushworth, “to the king’s subjects in the north, and much more in the south, for these projects and monopolies had been grievous to the people, who cast out words of an indisposition to march in the army whilst these burthens were upon the people.”* Its effect upon sir Edmund’s new project for managing hackney-coaches will be seen in the following.

RALPH VERNEY TO SIR EDMUND VERNEY.

22nd April, 1639.

The attorney-general suggests that sir Edmund’s project

Sir,—This afternoon Mr. Attorney† sent for me, and desired mee to informe you that the charter and indenture concerning the coachmen is

* Rushworth, ii. 917.

† Sir John Banks.

drawne, and that hee would willingly dispatch it, (being tis a businesse of yours,) but because there is a proclamation newly come out, which I have sent you in a packet of letters by little W. Murray, that damnes divers projects of the same nature, he thinks it fit that I should acquaint my lord keeper and my lord privy seal with it before it proceeds any further, least they should stopp it after you have been at a great charge to bring it soe farr as there seales. Hee pretends to advise this merely out of friendship to you, for hee findes since the proclamation was made they are very cautelous how they let any thinge of this nature passe. Truly hee seemes to bee very desierous to pleasure you in what hee can; but I find all men in these times are soe full of falcehood that I know not how to credit any man's words.

may be objected to as opposed to the proclamation of 9th April.

Sir Edmund answered:—

SIR EDMUND VERNEY TO RALPH VERNEY.

Raphe,—I confess my ignorance was such that I did not at all doubt the legallity of beeing receaver; but now I know it, I praye tell Roben Lasly that I will by noe means have my name in it. If hee thincks the using of his owne name will hinder it att the seale,* ther must some other bee putt in; but who that shall bee, trewly I cannott name upon this suddain, for I am now taking horse for Durham. It is but a little while since I received your letters, and I cannot thinck of one fitt to putt in. If eyther hee or you can fiend any ther, doe it. I conceave it needes not bee any man of any considerable condition, for the king intends it to Roben Lasly, and will understand the receaver to bee only in trust for him; and my lord keeper, if hee have a resolution to stopp it (as I beleve hee has), will stopp it whos name soeuer is usd in it, for hee knows the benifite of it comes to Roben. Therefore I advised Roben, by my lord marquess means, to know wheather the keeper would pass it or not, and I thought hee had done soe. But it seemes hee neglected it, and now the marquis is away I beleve it will never pass. Acquaint Roben Lasly with thus much, but I have not

1639, 25th April.
Sir Edmund will not have his name as receiver.
Is just taking horse for Durham.

* Lesly had an opinion that if his name were "in it, my lord keeper, who is his bitter enemy, will stopp it." Verney MS. 20 April, 1639.

time to wright to him, nor to any of my trends, therefore you must excuse mee to them all att this time ; and, beeing the warrant is not drawne to bee without rendring an account, ther must bee a new one prepared, for I am suer Mr. Atturney dares not insert anything into the warrant now signed. When the new warrant is drawne, ther maye bee another named in it for receaver, such as hee and you can thinck on, for I can thinck of none as yett. As soone as I have time I will wright to Hall and the pronothory, but now I cannott ; my things are all gone, and I must follow. Notwithstanding my haste I will give you some tutch of news.

Letter from the
covenanters to
the earl of
Essex.

Yesterday the king received a letter from my lord of Essex that was sent him to Barwick,* from the lords of the covenant. I thinck ther was 20 of theyr hands to it. Hee sent it sealed upp, as hee received it, to the king ; but with the letter they sent a cobby of it open, to the intent that if my lord made any scruple of receaving it, yett the messenger might read it to my lord. The letter was to this purpos : first, they express great civillity to my lord, and they seeme to wonder that a man soe well affected to the peace and wellfare of his countrey will appeare in such a waye as hee does in this business, and they wonder that ther is such unusuall preparations for warr in England ; and they take noetice of the dilligence that is usd for the fortifyng of Barwick, protesting that they never had a thought of offering the least injury to this kingdome. That they have often represented theyr greevances to his majesty, and by reason of some ill minded men of theyr nation can obtaine noe answer of them. They saye, they heare the king is coming towards them with a powerfull army, which they conceive is intended to fall upp on them. They farther saye, that they have done noething but what is warranted by theyr laws, and they conclude with a great desire of amity and peace with this kingdome ; adding to it, that if they bee invaded, they must and will defend themselves and ther

* In the first apprehension resulting from the suddenness with which the covenanters overran the whole of Scotland, it was rumoured that they intended to seize upon Berwick. The earl of Essex, "the most popular man of the kingdom, and the darling of the swordmen," as Clarendon terms him, and who was lieutenant-general in this expedition under the earl of Arundel as commander in chief, was sent forward to secure that important station, which he did in all haste against an enemy who had no such design. Such was the imperfection of the king's intelligence. Essex would have marched at once into Scotland, but the king forbade.

libertys as long as ther is a man living amongst them. All thes hedds are in the letter; but, in my oppinion, they are exprest with a great deale of modesty. Yett my lord generall (who is tender of the honer of the king) Modestly expressed, but deemed insolent. thincks it full of insolence and braving the king. In breefe, I feare it will rather exasperatt then mollify, and add fewell to that fyer that raged inoughe before. Trewly I thinck it will come to blowes, but you must not saye soe to your mother. The king increases his army, and makes all the haste hee can theather, but I hope it is but to see what party will come to him, for our men will bee long ere they learn theyr lesson. Thinks it will come to blows.

I have not yett seene my armor, for it is att Newcastle, but I beleeve ther is never a long gauntlett sent with it. I bespake it, and was promist one by Hill, but in my absence I feare hee forgott it. I praye speake with Hill about it, and if hee has sent none, lett him make one with all the speede hee can possibly; for it will kill a man to serve in a whole curass. I am resolved to use nothing but back, brest, and gauntlett. If I had a pott for the hedd that were pistoll prooffe, it may be I would use it, if it were light; but my whole hellmett will bee of noe use to mee at all. And a pot for the head. I praye goe or send about this the next daye after you receive this letter, and speake to Hill to make it with speede, and lett it be sent to the mayor of Newcastle for my use, and I will take order with him about it. I hope ther will be some shippes coming dayly to Newcastle for coals; by some of them you must send it, with an extraordinary charge to deliver it with all speede to the mayor.

I praye thanck your wife, Nance, Doll, and honest Natt, for theyr kiend letters, but trewly I can wright to none of them now. My best love to them all, and my service to all my frends with you, and all the next howse. Say noething of this gauntlett to your mother, it maye give her causless fears. The Lord God of heaven bless you.

Your loving father,

ED. VERNEY.

Yorke, this 25th of Aprill [1639.]*

The king remained at York until the 29th April. Moving north-ward he slept that night at Raby, the seat of the treasurer of his 1639, April 29th. The king re.

* Memorandum, indorsed "Received 29 Aprill, 1639."

moves to Raby, and the next day to Durham. household, sir Henry Vane. On the next day his majesty reached Durham, where he was received enthusiastically by bishop Morton. Sir Edmund, who had preceded the king to the city of the palatine bishop to make arrangements for his majesty's reception, wrote from thence as follows:—

SIR EDMUND VERNEY TO RALPH VERNEY.

1639, May 1st. Raphe,—I have beene thes two dayes att Durham, and because the king was not heere, I imployd my time in letters of cerimony to my frends, with a purpose to send them by the first opportunity. About an hower since I receaved a packett from you, in which the businesses of the coaches was. I can att this time returne you nothings in answer of that, for I must send this letter verry early in the morning by Mr. John Tyrringham,* which I knew not of till within this hower; and were it not by him I should not dare to wright at all, for I feare many of my letters are not come to your hands, or, if they have, yett I beleeve they have beene opend after they went from mee, for now wee have gotten that curiosity heere to examin who sends news to Lundoon, so that I shall bee verry fearefull to wright heereafter; but, because I am confident of this bearer, I will tell you trewly how I conceave things goes heere.

News letters to London opened.

Present state of things with the army.

The king urged on to fight by the earl-marshal;

and from Whitehall.

Our army is but weake, our purce is weaker, and if wee fight with thes foarces, and early in the yeare, wee shall have our throats cutt; and to delaye fighting longe wee cannott, for want of monny to keepe our army togeather. My lord marshall † putts on the king to fight by all the wayes and means he can possibly devise, dayly urging the king how nearly it concerns him in honner to punish the rebells, telling that they are weake, and not able to encounter him. Then the king is perswaded to it, toe, from Whithall, with all the industry that can be immagind. The catholiks makes a large contribution, as they pretend, and indeed use all the means and wayes they can to sett uss by the ears, and I thinck they will not faile of theyr plott. I dare saye ther was never soe raw, soe unskillfull, and soe unwilling an army brought to fight. My lord marshall himself, I dare saye, will bee safe, and then he cares not what becomes

* One of the gentlemen of the privy chamber.

† The earl of Arundel, who was commander-in-chief under the king.

of the rest. Trewly heere are manny brave gentlemen that for poynt of honer must runn such a hasard as trewly would greeve any heart but his that does it purposly to ruine them. For my owne parte, I have lived till paine and trouble has made mee weary to doe soe, and the woarst that can come shall not bee unwellcome to mee; but it is a pittie to see what men are like to bee slaughtered heere, unless it shall pleas God to putt it in the king's hearte to increace his army, or staye till thes may knowe what they doe, for as yett they are as like to kill theyr fellowes as the enemye. I beleeve we shall staye here and att Newcastle till towards the end of Maye.

Sir Edmund weary with pain and trouble.

Want of discipline in the army.

I writt to you to send mee a long gauntlett, if ther were none sent with my armes. I praye send it assoone as you can. Heere has beene a whisper of an accomodation betweene uss and the Scotts, but I see noe hope of it. Keepe this to your self, and burne this letter. * * * * I praye deliver thes inclosed letters, but desire all my frends to excuse mee heereafter if I wright not soe often as I would doe, for trewly I dare not send news, and I am unwilling to expose my foolish lynes to the descant of grave counsellors. * * *

No hope of accomodation.

Dares not send news.

I am extreame weary, and now I will give you boath the day and the hower I wright this letter, which is, this Wensday the ferst of Maye, att three of the clock in the morning, att which time I am verry sleepy. I have dated all my other letters this daye toe, thoughe they were written yesterday and Monday. I should have writt to Natt Hubbart, but by my troth I am not able. I knowe he will forgive mee. I longe to heere of his liberty. Farwell, your ever loving father,

ED. VERNEY.

My lord Saye is att liberty and gone home; ther was never soe weake a thing done as the comittment of that man.*

Lord Saye's committal.

* "Received 6 May, 1639." The commitment of lord Saye arose thus:—Strafford, then viscount Wentworth, imposed upon all the Scots employed in the royal service in Ireland an oath that they would submit to all his majesty's royal commands, and not enter into any covenant or bond for mutual defence without the king's authority. The king, approving the example, not only imposed the same oath upon all Scottish persons employed in his service in England, but caused it, or something very like it, to be tendered generally. Two English peers, lord Saye and lord Brooke, "positively refused," says Clarendon, whose

Dr. Denton accompanied the expedition professionally.

Sir Edmund's brother-in-law and Ralph's uncle, Dr. Denton, whom we last heard of as practising physic at Oxford,* had since removed to London. He now accompanied the northern expedition professionally, and seems from the following letter to have been with the party who dashed off to secure Berwick. Returning from thence, probably with the earl of Essex, to Durham, whilst the king was there, he wrote to Ralph as follows. There was as yet no enemy near the borders. It was a little unnecessary, therefore, to alarm sir Edmund's friends with reports of his rashness.

DR. DENTON TO RALPH VERNEY.

1639, May 5th.

Rashness of sir Edmund.

Wants Read on wounds.

Raph,—Wee have noe need of foolinge, we have an enough of that here. If the wisest were not a little guilty of it, wee might be happier then now wee are likely to be. Your father is as he useth to be for matter of health. His wisdome I feare begins to fayle him. I pray God the event doe not proove it by exposinge him selfe to more daunger then he needes. My journey to Barwick hath not yett given me leasure to be sicke. When I goe that way againe, I much suspect my entertainment both for health and quietnesse.

I pray buy me Dr. Read his treatise of wounds,* and send it to me as soone as you can. It is a thinn booke in quarto, and if it be only stitched it will be noe more then two quire of paper. I referre you to

statement of the contents of the oath is very inaccurate, "in the king's own presence, to make any such protestation. They said, 'If the king suspected their loyalty, he might proceed against them as he thought fit; but that it was against the law to impose any oath or protestation upon them which were not enjoined by the law; and in that respect, that they might not betray the common liberty, they would not submit to it.' . . . They two were committed, at least restrained of their liberty; yet they discovered too much the humour and spirit of the court in their daily discourses upon that subject, so that the king thought it best to dismiss those lords, and require them to return to their houses."—*Hist. Rebell. lib. ii.*

* Page 152.

† Dr. Alexander Read, a celebrated London physician of those days, published in 1638 a "Treatise on the first part of chirurgery, containing the methodical doctrine of wounds." 4to. Lond.

Nat concerning Robin. When wee are once past Newcastle, you must looke for noe more letters from your assured lovinge uncle,

W. DENTON.

May 3, 1639, Durham.

I committ the distribution of love and service to your disposall, and my duty to ons owne wife Doll.

[*Addressed*]

For Mr. Raph Verney.*

Still at Durham, sir Edmund wrote thus on the 5th May:—

SIR EDMUND VERNEY TO RALPH VERNEY.

Raphe,—I have returnd you with this letter all thos warrants you sent mee, and the king has signed them. Hee promises to send to have them pass att the seals, which I will sollicit. I have usd my owne name for receaver upon your advice in one of your letters; but if you fiend it fitt that I should name another, ther is power in the warrant, which I did by advice from you too, soe that if you see cause you maye name another whome you thinck fitt. I like well of thos petitions to my lord keeper and lord privy seale from the coachmen.

1639, May 5th.
Warrants signed by the king respecting the hackney-coachmen.

* * * * *

A little time now will discover what I am unwilling to beleeeve till I must needes; but this daye I spake with an understanding Scottshman, and one that is affected the moderate waye. Hee is confident noething will satisfye them but taking awaye all bishopps, and I dare saye the king will never yeelde to that, soe wee must bee miserable. The quarrell is allmost begun alreddy, for this daye news is come that marquis Hamillton has take[n] fower Scotch shipps. God send all well, but I now doubt it verry much.

The Scots will not be satisfied unless bishops are taken away, which the king will never yield.

I praye paye the harniss maker the 14s. for the ould bill, but his new harniss is not woarth above 3l., therefore do not pay him that. I pray inquire for the news heere of Natt Hobart, and send mee his protection assoone as you can. Direct it in my absence to Nedd Siddenham, for I maye be out of the waye. Poore Roben Turvill is as ill as hee was, and in the

* Memorandum indorsed, "Received 8 May, 1639."

same cource of phisick att Newcastle. Munn has had an ague,* but I knowe not wheather it bee gone or not. Comend mee to your wife, and all my frends with you, and thank Doll for her letter. Your loving father,

ED. VERNEY.

Durham, this 5th of May [1639].

[Addressed]

For your selfe.†

On the 9th May, sir Edmund Verney, in attendance upon the king, had gone forward to Newcastle, whence several of sir Edmund's next despatches are dated.

SIR EDMUND VERNEY TO RALPH VERNEY.

1639, May 9th.

Mr. Eure has sold his land and is going to settle about London.

Rumour says he is a vast spender with poor relations.

Report of the numbers of the Scottish forces.

Raphe,—Mr. E[ure] is not come on with uss, but I heare hee has sould all his land and means to settle about Lundoon, wher hee is suer to have a ritch widdow. I heare hee is a vast spender, and has a father and a brother to releeve that has not bredd to eate. He sould his land for six thousand pownd. All this layed togeather, God help some boddy!

My lord Trequare and my lord Dyele ‡ came yesterday out of Scotland. Trequare tells the king (and hee desires his majesty to putt him in any prison heere and hange him if it bee not trew that he sayes,) that the covenanters has 2000 as good hors as wee have any, and that they have 2000 others that are not soe good, but yett verry usefull, and

* In a letter of the same date as this from Edmund Verney, he states, "We rose from Celby within a little after the writing of my first letter [p. 213], and then upon the march I had divers shrewd fits of an ague, but now I thank God it hath left me, and I am as well as ever I was in my lyfe. We are now at Ryton, within five miles of Newcastle, but we dayly expect orders to march away, though I beleeve it will not be above twelve miles beyond Newcastle, when I am confident we shall stay till the foote come up to us, which I beleeve will be at least this fortnight, for wee left them at Celby, and not half of them gathered together. * * * I verily beleeve that within one month or sixe weekes wee shall see what businesses will come to. Wee that either are or would be souldgers feare the best and hope the worst."

† "Received 8th May, 1639."

‡ Dalzell [?]

40,000 foote, as good men as that nation can affoord, redly to receave [us] at five dayes warning, and therefore desires his majesty to goe with a foarce fitt to incounter this strength, or els all his men will bee cutt in peeces. My lord Dyeale affirms the like uppon his life. But my lord marshall The lord mar- shal anxious to engage. is of another oppinion, sayes thes are but braggs, and presses the king extreamly to make haste to them. The kinge is inclynd to beleeve the marshalls intelligence rather then theyrs, and has given warning to march The army to advance in a week ; from hence the next week. Wee shall march our whole army togeather in a boddy, with our cannon, and after wee goe out of this towne wee are to lye in the feelde every night. Our army consists of 2000 horse its number, and 10,000 foote, and that is the most, and more by some reasonable proportion, boath of horse and foote, then wee shall have with uss, or that will come to uss, unless marquis Hamiltons foarces comes to uss. and condition. Our men are verry rawe, our armes of all sorts nawght, our vittle scarce, and provition for horses woarce ; and now you maye judg what case wee are in, and all for want of monny to keepe uss till wee maye bee better men, or to bring more men to uss. Comend mee to all my frends, and soe God send uss well to meete eyther in this woarld or in the next. I will wright to you againe assoone as I heare what the Scotts will do in obedyence to the proclamation, which certainly will come to nothing.* Farwell ; your loving father,

ED. VERNEY.

Newcastle, this 9th of May [1639].

[*Addressed*]

For your self.†

SIR EDMUND VERNEY TO RALPH VERNEY.

Raphe,—Sir Peeter Killigrew has stayed longer for the kings letter then 1639, May 11th. hee expected, and I having received a packett from you three howers since, I have broaken upp my packett againe to insert this letter in answer to this last of yours dated the 7th of May. For most of your letters I thinck I Letters missing.

* The king offered "indemnity" to such as should within eight days lay down their arms, declaring such as would not obey rebels, and setting a price upon their heads. Burnet's Lives of Hamiltons, p. 120.

† "Received 17 May, 1639."

Going into the field, where he will not be able to write.

have received them, but I am suer many of myne to you has miscarried, for trewly I have never failed sending twice a weeke att least, and some weeks oftner, but I much feare they are gotten into ill hands. I will heereafter keepe a note of all I send or receive, and the date of them. But I shall not wright often now, for wee shall goe into the feeld presently; nay, the king himself and all his army, after wee goe out of this towne, will lodg in the feelds every night, and noe man must looke into a village.

Business of the hackney-coachmen, how to be managed.

I sent Roben Lasly's business by Mr. Webb, my lord duke's secretary, who went from Durham on Monday last. If Mr. Lasly has a miend to come hee maye, for I doe not see how hee gives any assistance to the business; but, if hee bee ther, I would have him deale soe with the coachmen that as little clamor maye bee rased as possibly can bee, and that must bee by getting the 50 coachmen to take under them as many others of the poore men about the towne as they can, that they may not complaine. This must be done privatly, for if the poorer sort discover a feare of complayning they will cry out the more.

Arms received.

I have received all my arms that you sent, and I have a long gauntlett, but I have never a short one, nor is it any matter, for I will never use more then back and brest. I pray hast away my pott, and take care it bee wide inoughe, for this is soe much to little that noe boddy but a made man could have beene soe madd as to mistake soe grosly; therefore take care it be wide inoughe now.

Scots advanced towards Berwick.

This afternoone ther is news come for certaine that 2000 Scots are come within 10 mile of Barwike. They saye 8000 more is coming after them, and 2000 more are gone to lye neare Carlile. Wee shall soone have blowes now, but I beleeve it will bee skirmishes with the hors, and noe battle till towards the end of summer. It is folly to thinck any longer of a peace. Wee shall bee suddenly ingaged now. God of his mercy send uss well to meete eyther heere or heereafter. God of heaven and earth bless you and all yours. Farwell; your loving father,

ED. VERNEY.

Newcastle, this 11th of May, five a clock after noone.

SIR EDMUND VERNEY TO RALPH VERNEY.

1639, May 11th. Raphe,—I have tryed my arms, and the heddpeece is verry much to little for mee. If the pott I expect dayly from him bee soe to I am undone.

Head-piece does not fit.

I praye send to him about it assoone as you receave this letter. This will come uppon noe part of my head, it is soe verry little. The rest of my arms are fitt, but I shall never use more then back and brest.

As I was thus farr in my letter, my lord chamberlaine sent for mee, and tould mee the sadd news of sweete Mrs. Henslows death, desiring mee to breake it to her father. Trewly I cannott express my greefe for the loss of her. She was one that I had an extreordinary esteeme for, and to whos love I owe much. I have now lost her; if shee had lived a few weeks longer shee mought have lost mee. I will wright to Mrs. Rogers, and inclose it in this. I praye send it to her. The God of heaven bless you and yours. Farwell; your loving father,

Death of Mrs.
Henslow.

ED. VERNEY.

Newcastle, this 11th of Maye.

[*Addressed*]

For your selfe.

The forebodings of Dr. Denton, the melancholy allusions of sir Edmund to approaching danger in the field, and some expressions in one of his letters to Nathaniel Hobart indicative of a determination to volunteer to accompany lord Holland on a contemplated mission to the borders, effectually roused Ralph's fears for his father's safety. On the 10th May, Ralph addressed a strong remonstrance upon the subject to his father, and a letter to Dr. Denton urging him to use his influence to prevent sir Edmund's putting himself forward in the way suggested; "Oh, Doctor," writes Ralph, "if my father goes to the borders, hee is lost. I know his corrage will bee his distruction. Noe man did ever soe wilfully ruine himselfe and his posterity." "If you goe," he remarks to his father, "knowinge your forwardness, I shall never thinke to see you more, but with grief confesse that never man did more wilfully cast himselfe away." The next letters contain allusions to this subject and report further progress.

SIR EDMUND VERNEY TO RALPH VERNEY.

Raphe,—My designe of goeing to the borders with my lord of Holland had only matter of kindness, none of danger in it; yet because it might

1639, May 16th.
Lord Holland's
design of going

to the borders
is put off.

Are all going to
the borders.

Will not seek
ruin nor avoid
hazard dis-
honourably.

seeme soe to my frends, I was desirous they might not know it. But that designe was putt ofe, and now wee are all goeing theather : wher I desire you to putt soe much trust in mee as to beleeve I will not willfully thrust my self in danger, nor will I thinck you could wish mee to leave any thing undone when it falls to my turne to bee in action. Raphe, I thanck you for your good advice. It has boath exprest your judgment and affection, and I praye lett mee intreat you to beleeve, I will neyther seeke my ruine, nor avoyde any hasard when that little honner I have lived in may suffer by it ; but trewly I thinck wee are not in much danger of fighting. * * *

Your loving father,

ED. VERNEY.*

DR. DENTON TO RALPH VERNEY.

Barbing-scissors
can neither be
bought nor set.

King moves to-
wards Berwick
on Thursday
next, 23rd May.

His majesty's
intentions.

Will leave no
stone unmoved
to counteract
sir Edmund's
fighting designs.

Raph,—I received your letter with newes of my booke. I shall deferre my thankes for them untill you send me a paire of barbinge sissers, here beinge none that are eyther to be bought or sett. Your father is yet well in body, and att a good distance from the borders. The kinge goeth towards Barwicke on Thursday next, and intends to intrenche himselfe within 5 or 6 miles of it, but on this side Tweede, and, soe longe as he keeps there, I presume wee shall be in safety. I hope that the kinge doth not intend to fight this summer, but thinckes, by drawinge his forces soe neere them to tempt them to bringe out their forces in a body, and by that meanes to exhaust them ; but I feare he will be cozened, for I beeleeve that they be as cunninge as they be wicked. The newes of their beinge 12,000 in a body within four miles of Barwick is false. This is the best cordiall that I can send you att this distance. Be confident that I will leave noe stone unmoved that I conceive may knocke your father's fightinge designs on the head, and preserve him. If I can but keepe him from goinge out in parties I hope he will returne with safety. I shall be very sensible of any the least hazard that I shall thinke he may be in, and if all the witt and power I have or can make may prevent it, it shall be noe fault of your assured lovinge uncle,

W. DENTON.

Newcastle, 16th [May], 1639.

* No direction ; " Received 18 May, 1639."

Remember my humble service to all in both houses and to wife Doll.

[*Addressed*]

For Raph Verney, esq., att the knight marshall
his house in the Coven Garden.*

In preparation for departure to the borders, Edmund wrote a kind of temporary farewell to his brother, full of the rumours rife in the army.

EDMUND VERNEY TO RALPH VERNEY.

Sweete brother,—I am now ready to march to the very borders of Scotland, and have made a very hard shift to present my service to you and the rest of my freindes before my departure herehence, for it may be a month before I shall have convenience and leasure of writing to you againe. The newes here is that my lord of Roxborough is committed at Newcastle hupon his sonn's turning covenanter.† There is an old servant of Lasleyes come to the king, who is sayde to have made a greate relation of his masters intentions. The first night he found good entertainment, but on the next day was committed close prisoner. The marquesse‡ is neere the Holy Iland, whither wee are marching, but I beleeve shall never joine with us; for when wee doe fall on the Scotts (as we are confident wee shall within a month or five weekes, or it may be much less), the marquess shall on on one part, my lord of Donluce with the Irish on another, and the maine body of the army on a third, which I verily beleeve will be by Barrwick syde. The king is advised not to stirre from Newcastle. My lord chamberlaine hath not stood to say that he is a traytor that gives contrary counsell. Now, sweete brother, fare you well, and I pray excuse this relation, although you doe heare some contradiction of it hereafter, for I must tell you that contradictions were never more frequent than now; 'tis the truest I can

1639, May 18th.
Ready to march
to the borders.
News in the
army.

* "Received 18 May, 1639."

† The king, according to Burnet, was so gracious as to tell lord Roxburgh that he believed him innocent, yet, for example's sake, he found it necessary to keep him under some mark of his displeasure. *Lives of Hamiltons*, p. 138.

‡ The marquess of Hamilton in command of a fleet with a considerable body of troops on board: two regiments of which were shortly after landed at Berwick.

heare. One stayeth for my letter, and I can only tell you that I am, and will ever remaine, your most affectionate brother and servant,

EDMUND VERNEY.

Mitford in Northumberland, May 18th, 1639.

[*Addressed*]

For my much esteemed brother Raph Verney, esq., these present.*

SIR EDMUND VERNEY TO RALPH VERNEY.

1639, May 19th. Raphe,—Though I writt but yesterday, yett I have now mett with another oppertunity to send to you which I cannott omitt. Every hower now produces eyther something that is new, or some alteration of our former resolutions. The king maks all the hast with this little army into the feeld that possibly hee can. To-morrow part of it marches awaye, and the rest follows as fast as it can. On Fryday the king will bee wher hee designs to intrench. The king has sent for 8,000 men more to him with all speede. Lasly threatens to fight uss, but if hee comes not quickly hee slips a fair occation, for when wee are intrencht and thos men come to uss wee shall not much feare him, which now wee doe, for if hee bee able to bring 10,000 men to uss any time thes twelve dayes, beleeve mee wee are in verry ill case. My lord of Holland is not yett come to uss. We beleve hee is in Scotland, for hee was mett att Barwick, but noe boddy heere seemes to know any such thing. Wee have had two of the coaldest dayes heere that ever I felt, and I feare if it continues it will kill our men, that must lodg uppon the ground without any thing over them any time thes tenn dayes. Remember to send my pott assoone as you can. The wiend is now contrary for any shipping coming to uss, and that troubles full soare, because wee are in doubt of present action. Comend mee to thy wife, and all my frends, and soe go[o]d night. Your loving father,

ED. VERNEY.

Newcastle, this fryday night, late, the 19th of Maye [1639].

[*Addressed*]

For my loving sonn Mr. Raphe Verney, att sir Edmund Verneys howse in Covent Garden, thes with care. †

* "Received 23 May, 1639."

† "Received 21 May, 1639."

At length the king's army marched onwards to their intended place of encampment. Charles I. was evidently distracted by contradictory councils. Lord Wentworth, trusting that in a little while the Scottish people would quarrel amongst themselves, begged of the king not to advance; untrue reports of the strength of the covenanters, and consciousness of the weakness of the royal army, seconded this unwise advice. If the council of lord Essex and others who urged a bold advance had been adopted, the king might have dictated his own terms in Edinburgh, and, for a time, have re-established his authority over Scotland. The next letters report the incidents of the advance from Newcastle.

SIR EDMUND VERNEY TO RALPH VERNEY.

Raphe,—As it falls out, I am verry sorry you were soe curious to try the pott, for an ill one had beene better then none. I doubt it may come to late now, yett when it is done send it away by the first shipp. I have not time to wright to Jack Tyrringham, but I praye tell him that I doe not heare him cald for. Lett him doe his business and then come; in the mean time it were well done to send his brother, if hee intend him, to my lord of Essex, otherwise I conceive hee neede not send him at all. I have written to my sister Poultney; when you have redd it, seale it upp and send it her, but desire her to say noething of my wrighting to her, because I have written to noe boddy els. * * *

1639, May 22nd.
Pot wanted as soon as possible.

Now for the business here,—It stands thus: part of our army, and indeede all of it except the privy chamber men, is marcht away to the rendezvous, which is within fower mile of Barwick.* To morrow the king removes, and will bee ther the next daye, if noething happens to change his resolution. I am instantly goeing to view the grownd, and place his tent redde against hee comes. My lord of Holland has beene thes six dayes upon the border, and till now the Scotts have not been seene in any great number, thoughe wee have often heard of great armys coming towards us; but hee advertises the king now, that ther are 1500 men come to the

Army has marched off to the camp.

The king going thither on the morrow.

Lord Holland's reports as to the intentions of the Scots.

* The king's encampment was at the Birks, a rising ground above Berwick, and commanding a considerable view of the Scottish frontier.

borders allready, and that they are informd ther is 15,000 foot and 4000 horse following them a pace, all which they expect ther by Satterday next. If this bee trew, and that they will make use of the advantage they have us att, I doubt they will foarce uss to a dishonourable retraict, or els the kinge must hassard this army, which certainly hee will not doe att this disadvantage; but wee have had so many alarms of greate armys comming, when ther was in trewth noe such thing, that wee beleeve this will proove a bragg too. Withinn tenn or twelve days we expect a great supply to our army, and if they lett uss aloane till they come to uss and that wee are intrencht, wee thinck they will not bee able to hurt uss, and yet wee shall always vex them. For my part, I beleeve that if ever they can make a foarce against uss, it will bee now before wee intrench, for I neyther thinck them fooles, nor soe well natuerd as to suffer themselves to bee almost blockt upp on all sides if they can helpe it. Some are of oppinion that they are a little devided since the proclamation, for it is certaine the covenanters has forbidden any man to read it uppon paine of death, and this [it] is conceaved stumbles many that are misled by an implicit faith.

Reinforcements expected.

Now or never is the time for the Scots to attack.

Account of a chance encounter in which the first blood was drawn.

Ther was some dussen troopers of Mr. Goering's that were riding uppon the Scottish border; theyr business was to inquire after Mr. Goering, who was ridden privatly out to view the passages, and not returning soe soone as was expected, they went in search after him. Wher, uppon a sudden, they might perceave about 30 horsmen making a pace towards them. Charles Price, who comands Goerings troope, was ther, and stayed till they came, and askt them if they were frends to the king. They answered "yes;" soe bedd them uncock theyr peeces, and his men should doe the like. They denyed it. Why then, sayes Price, lett uss putt of our hatts on boath sides and parte. In the mean, a muskett was shott at Prices corporall and broake his arme, and hurt him in the boddy. With that one of Price his men shott and kild one of the Scotts, and then they were willing on boath sides to leave one another. My lord of Holland wrightt to my lord Hume to acquaint him with the manner of the business, and to excuse it, who returnd for answer that hee desird my lord of Holland to keepe the English ofe from the Scotts border, or els thes accidents would often happen, and drawe on greater inconveniencys. This is the first bludd has beene drawne in the business; if more must bee lost in this unhappy

quarrell, I praye God it maye bee att the same rate. * * * The Lord
God of heaven send uss well to meete.

Your loving father,

ED. VERNEY.

Newcastle, this 22nd of Maye [1639.]

[*Addressed*]

For your selfe.*

SIR EDMUND VERNEY TO RALPH VERNEY.

Raphe,—Wee are now incampd within two mile of Barwick, and by to 1639, May 29th.
morrow wee shall be intrencht. Wee have seene noe enemy as yett. Wee The army en-
heare Lasly is within 12 miles; it is sayed hee has with him 5000 men, camped.
and that within six dayes hee will make them upp 20,000; but wee have
had soe manny braggs from them of great armys, when in trewth ther has
beene noe such thinge, that I knowe not what to beleeve of them. Wee
fiend all the meaner sort of men uppon the Scotch border well inclynd Meaner people
to the king, and I beleeve when time serves they will express it well; but favorable to the
the gentlemen are all covenanters, and I beleeve most men are weary of the king; the
government ther now, for they lay heavy burdens uppon the people. Ther gentlemen all
are some propositions made to some about the king to mediate a peace, but covenanters.
they are soe highe and soe insolent that they are not to bee herkned to. I Propositions for
am confident they will desend to better conditions, and, in earnest, the king peace.
is most willing to suffer much rather then have a warr, soe that I hope it
will prove a peace. Lasly has now the title of soverain amongst them, and Leslie's great
the best lord amongst them sitt att a great distance below him, and, under authority.
a lord, noe man putts on a hatt in his presence. All the government of
the warr is committed to him, and of the state to, which is to me verry
strange. Wee heare the man is soe transported with this greatness that
hee gives offence to all the nobillity, and I beleeve they will desire a peace
to free themselves of him againe. I have been heare this three dayes in
the camp, ordering of things ther for the king's coming to morrow to lodge The king comes
ther. * * * The king lyes in Berwick att this time. I doe not yett to the camp to-
heare of my pott, but I have left one to call to the mayor of Newcastle morrow.
every day for it. Comend mee to all my frends, and take care to send thes

* "Received 27 May, 1639."

inclosed letters. Excuse my not wrighting to my other frends. God bless thee and thy wife; thanck Nan Hobart for her letter; but I will wright noe more to her till I can send her woord of a certaine peace. Farwell; from your ever loving father,

ED. VERNEY.

From the camp, this Wensday the 29th of May [1639].

Wee are now 11,000 foote, and wee shall be 5000 more within 6 dayes.

[*Addressed*]

For your selfe.*

DR. DENTON TO RALPH VERNEY.

1639, June 2nd.
Sir Edmund
quartered at
Twissell.

Leslie's posi-
tion.

Raph,—I have receaved the booke and sissers. Your father hath quartered himself with my lord of Holland att Twisill, four miles from the king, and six from Barwicke. I have spoken to him my selfe, and sett sir William Vuedall and Sidenham uppon him, but I can gett noe great assurance from him. There is yett noe danger. I would have beene quartered with him, but there was noe roome. There can be nothinge done but I shall heare in a trice, and I shall hearken very diligently after him. * * * I pray call to Mr. Bell for six balls *orbiculi bezoartici*, which send to my mother, which are the cordiall she sent to me hither for, and lett her knowe soe much. * * * Lessly lyes 12 miles distant from us with 25,000 men, and except hee stirr first it is thought [the king] will not stirr. My love and service to both houses, and to the old grannam.† * * *

Your assured loving uncle,

WILLIAM DENTON.

Barwick, June 2, 1639.

The surest way to send your letters for your father is to direct them to mee at Barwick, by the thorough post.

[*Addressed*]

For Mr. Raph Verney, att sir Edmund Verney his house
in the Coven Garden, these; with care.

* "Received 11 June, 1639."

† Old lady Verney, sir Edmund's mother, who was still alive.

On the 31st May, the Scots having now advanced within a few miles of the royal camp, the earl of Holland, the king's general of horse, endeavoured to surprise their advanced guard, which was stationed at Dunselaw. ^{Attempt to surprise the Scots at Dunselaw.} Leslie's scouts brought him intelligence of the meditated attack. He thought it prudent to retire, and when a body of 2000 English horse dashed into the little town of Dunse, not a covenanter was to be found. The people received the king's soldiers with seeming joyfulness. The earl read the king's proclamation at the market cross, and then returned to the camp at the Birks, without having so much as seen an enemy. The only result of this expedition was a quarrel between the earls of Newcastle and Holland, in consequence of the latter having placed the Newcastle troop of volunteers, which bore the prince's colours and was composed of gentlemen of fortune, in the rear.

On the 3rd June another expedition was set forth to Kelso, which forms the subject of the following letter.

SIR EDMUND VERNEY TO RALPH VERNEY.

Raphe,—I have received all thos packetts you wright ofe, and yester-^{1639, June 4th.} daye, just as wee made our retraict, I received your letter of the 28th of Maye; and because I speak of a retraict, I will in the first place tell you the business. The king was informd that att a towne called Calsell ther was some foarces of the Scotts intrenching, and to prevent theyr intrenchment hee sent out a 1000 horse and 3000 foote to fall upon them, and beate them out of the towne if wee could, for hee was assuerd by his intelligence that ther was but 3000 foote in the towne; but though this was not knowne to my lord of Holland himselfe till 7 o'clock at night, for hee was imployed as chiefe comander, yett by tenn of the clock the next morning that wee got theather with our horse, wee fownd att the least 6000 or 8000 men ther, manny of them coming into the towne. Just as wee came theather, the march from our camp theather was soe longe, that our foote and cannon was five miles behiend uss,* and the Scotts by theyr skouts upon every ^{Meditated attack upon the Scots at Kelso.}

* "That day proved sultry hot, the like not known in the memory of man." Rushworth, ii. 935.

The movement
observed by the
Scottish scouts.

The Scots
strangely
united.

The numbers of
their army.

The English
army not strong
enough to
attack.

The Scots aware
of the king's
want of money
and men, and
consequently
very proud and
insolent.

Consequences
of this second
failure.

hill, perceaving that wee had neyther foote nor ordinance with uss, marcht presently towards uss with all theyr foote and about 400 hors, and in spight of out teeth made uss soe discreete as to make our retraict, soe that wee had not one blowe. The trewth is wee are betrayed in all our intelligence, and the king is still made beleeve in a party that will come to him, but I am confident hee is mightily abused in it, for they are a peeple strangly united, and att this time Lasly is within fiveteene mile of us with a verry strong army, and ther is att another side att Calsell 8 or 10,000 men verry well appoynted, and that is within twelve mile of uss, soe that now I thinck the king dares not sturr out of his trenches. What counsells hee will take, or what hee will doe, I cannott devine; but if this army bee lost that wee have here, I beleeve the Scotts maye make theyr owne conditions with Ingland, and therefore I could wish that all my frends would arme themselves and tennants assoone as they could. Wee want monny to increace our army, and the strength wee have heere will only defend our selves. I doe not conceave it of foarce to doe any harme to them, soe wee dayly spend our monny and our honner togeather; and soe much for that,—now for my business. * * * When my pott is done let it bee quilled and lyned, and sent to mee, for heere is noe hope att all of peace, and wee are like to have the woarst of the warr, in respect the king wants monny and assistance, which makes the Scotts insufferably prowde and insolent, in soe much that every English man's heart is reddy to breake with rage against them heere. * * * Comend me to every boddy. Your loving father,

ED. VERNEY.

This 4th of May [June, 1639].

[*Addressed*]

For my loving sonne, Mr. Raphe Verney.*

This second miserable failure annoyed and troubled the king beyond measure. He had been forewarned that the nobles and gentry of England were unwilling to enter upon an offensive war against Scotland. But he was loath to believe the fact. He dreamed that the uprising of the royal standard would call forth not merely the national energy and love of enterprise, but even the old national anti-

* "Received 12 June, 1639."

pathy under the influence of which both countries had so often and so deeply suffered. When the king listened to lord Holland's report of this last expedition; when he heard, as lord Holland stated the matter, that upon sending his trumpeter to command the Scots to obey his majesty's proclamation and retire, they coolly inquired whose trumpeter he was; being told my lord Holland's, "their answer was he were best to be gone;" and that thereupon, without striking a blow, "my lord Holland made his retreat, and waited on his majesty this night to give him this account;"* Charles began at length to see that the hearts of the English people were not in his quarrel. In both countries his course was adverse to the popular judgment. In Scotland there was a burning enthusiasm against him; in England there was none in his favour. It was a painful and fatal conviction, but the king acted upon it without hesitation. His policy was now to obtain a settlement, but to make it appear as if he were granting one. A few days before, "his majesty's sacred pen," to use the language of sir Henry Vane,† had authorised the marquess of Hamilton, who had again entered the Firth of Forth but was unable to effect a landing, to commit any act of hostility against the enemy which he thought proper. The king now recalled this authority. He informed the marquess that he himself should keep upon the defensive, and directed the marquess to come in person to consult with him as soon as he could leave his fleet and army "in a good and safe posture." In the meantime the covenanters, who had no more wish than the English people to enter upon a war unnecessarily, gave out that they should petition the king for a settlement as soon as they had taken the position which they thought expedient for the display of their strength and the protection of the borders. The next letter proves that their rumoured intentions soon reached the royal camp.‡

Lord Holland's report to the king.

Change in the king's policy.

Covenanters intend to petition for a settlement.

* Rushworth, ii. 936.

† Ibid.

‡ According to Baillie, our acquaintance Robin Leslie was sent into the camp of the covenanters to visit some of his relations, and encourage them to send their petition to the king. Letters, i. 215.

SIR EDMUND VERNEY TO RALPH VERNEY.

1639, June 5th. Raphe,—I writt to you yesterday, and to my best remembrance I dated my letter the 4th of May, instead of June. I was in haste, and that made mee leave out something that I had to saye, and that shall bee supplied now.

* * * If you heare of Mr. Willson, I praye tell him hee must have patience; the king is soe imployd heere that businesses of that nature are not considerable as yett, but what can bee done shall not bee neglected. The Scots are verry strong; they have 15,000 men within 12 miles of uss on the one hand, and are under command of the liuetenant-generall. Lasly himself will bee as neare uss, eyther this night or to morrow, on another side, with 30,000 men more. The covenanters sayes they will in all humility petition the king for redress of theyr greevances. If that maye bee heard and remidyed, they will laye downe theyr armes; if not, yett they will not assault any army wher the king is in person, but they profess they will instantly breake into Ingland with all the power they can make, and make the seate of the warr heere, for if they suffer the king to block them upp, they shall starve att home. All this they maye easily doe in spight of uss, for our army is very weake, and our supplies comes slowly to uss, neyther are thos men wee have well orderd. The small pox is much in our army; ther is a hunderd sick of it in one regiment. If the Scots petition as they ought to doe, I beleeve they will easily bee heard, but I doubt the roages will be insolent, and knowing our weakness will demand more then in reason or honner the king can graunt, and then wee shall have a fillthy business of it. The poorest scabb in Scotland will tell uss to our faces that two parts of Ingland are on theyr sides, and trewly they behave themselves as if all Ingland were soe. I heare our hopes from my lord of Antrim * are come to noething. Wee are intrencht, and must only stand upp on our defence, for I conceave wee are not able to hurt them. Roben Lasly is att Barwick; as soone as that can bee dispatcht hee will send it you. I have gotten a little time to wright to some frends. I praye see them sent according to theyr directions. Comend mee to your wife, and excuse my not wrighting to my other frends with you; they shall none of them heere

Strength of the Scots.

Covenanters about to petition the king.

If not heard they will breake into England.

Weakness of the king's army.

Scots say that two parts of England are on their side.

Lord Antrim.

* The earl of Antrim was to have landed in the west of Scotland, with a body of men from Ireland.

of mee till I see them. My lord chamberlayne is verry sick of an ague. Doctor Denton, I hope, will cure him. Farwell, the lord of heaven bless you and yours, and send uss well to meete againe. Farwell ; your loving father,

Lord chamber-
lain sick of
ague and under
care of Dr.
Denton.

ED. VERNEY.

From the camp this 5th of June [1639].

[*Addressed*]

For my loving sonne Mr. Raphe Verney.*

Your brother Munn is verry well, and behaves himself like an honest man heere.

Edmund
Verney.

I praye seale upp your letters in dubble paper, for the papers weares out by the waye, and your letters beeing unsealed, every boddy maye read them.

On the evening of the 6th June, the Scottish army advanced within sight of the English encampment. Such was the want of information in the royal camp, that the near approach of the rebel forces took the king quite by surprise. His majesty was ready to go to supper, as we are told by an eye-witness,† when “a gentleman” came to him with the tidings. Startled by information which “seemed so strange,” the king went out to behold the adverse troops, and from some neighbouring eminence “with his perspective glass” was easily able not merely to see them stretched out in the valley below, but could “count their tents,” and was, therefore, himself enabled to form some notion of their numbers.

The obvious and shameful defectiveness of the king's intelligence dispirited the royal army. The soldiers, also, began to complain of their supplies. The biscuit was mouldy, there was no water within the camp, nothing could be got out of Scotland, and the available provisions on the English border were soon exhausted, or were applied chiefly to the use of the border troops. The garrison of

English troops
dissatisfied.

* “Received 13 June, 1639.”

† Addit. MS. 15,914, fo. 98.

Covenanters
apply to be per-
mitted to treat.
The king's sti-
pulation.

Sir Edmund
Verney.

Berwick, which comprised lord Newcastle's troop of gentlemen, intercepted the principal stores of provisions, and could not bake or brew more than was necessary for themselves. The king's position was daily becoming worse, and would soon have been even critical. Nothing could therefore be more opportune than the application of the covenanters, made through lord Dunfermline, to be permitted to treat. To save appearances, the king insisted on his late proclamation offering pardon upon a return to obedience being publicly read in the Scottish camp. He complained that this proclamation had not been duly made known to his Scottish subjects. That being done, the king declared that he would hear any humble supplication of his subjects. This answer was sent into the Scottish camp by sir Edmund Verney, who was known to be acceptable to the Scottish people,* and in case of compliance he was directed to make the required proclamation. The result appears in the following letters, the second of which comes from the British Museum, but is so aptly illustrative of sir Edmund Verney's letters that I do not scruple to insert it.

SIR EDMUND VERNEY TO RALPH VERNEY.

Scottish army
lies six miles off.
The covenanters
have petitioned
to be allowed to
treat.

Raphe,—I knowe you long to heare what wee are doeing heere, and I have as great a desire still to informe you, and therefore I faile not to wright to you by every safe messenger, if I have any leysure for it. Wee are still att great quiett. The Scottish army, which is verry strong, lies now within six miles of ours. The lords of the covenant have petitioned the king that they maye represent theyr complaints and greevances by some of the English nobillity, for they saye theyr owne country men has benee falce to them, and has misreported them and theyr actions to the king. His majesty has assented to theyr petition, and has assigned six of our lords to meete with as manny of theyrs att our lord general's tent in our campe. They have petitioned for an assurance under the king's hand for theyr safe returne; but hee refuses it, and sayes they shall trust to his

† Baillie's Letters, i. 215.

ward. This difficulty lies yett in the waye, but I assure myselfe ther will bee a waye fownd to sattisfye them in that, and I doubt not but wee shall have a treaty ; what effect it will produce I cannott judg ; but I hope it will be a good one. Uppon theyr petition to the kinge I was sent by his majesty with a message to them, wherin thoughte I had a hard parte to playe, yett I dare bouldly saye I handled the business soe that I begatt this treaty, otherwise wee had, I doubt, beene at blowes by this time ; but I praye take noe noetice of this unless you heare it from others. I praye deliver thes inclosed letters, and excuse my not wrighting to my other frends. Comend mee to your good wife, and give her my blessing, which I send her with as good a will as ever I askt any. Remember my love to honest Natt, and every boddy els, but above all forgett not my humble service to my good lady Hobart. Farwell ; your ever loving father,

ED VERNEY.

From the campe this 9th of June, late at night.

[*Addressed*] For my sonne Raphe Verney.*

SIR JOHN TEMPLE TO ROBERT EARL OF LEICESTER.†

1639.

My lord,—By my last of the 5th of this present I gave your lordship an accompt of the approach of the Scottish forces. The day after they came and sett downe within view of our campe, and there begunne to entrench themselves, and picthed there tentes. Wee had not heere any notice of them untill a gentleman came to his majestie, as he was ready to goe to supper, and tould him the Scotts were now come so neare as wee might discern them, which seemed so strange as his majestie went presently oute to see them, and with his perspective glasse could easily distinguish and tel] their tentes.

Approach of the Scottish forces.

Way in which the king was apprised of their approach.

The next day my lord of Dumfarlin came to his majestie with an humble petition from the covenanters, wherein they did humbly beseech his majestie that he would be pleased to depute some English lordes well affected to the

Petition sent by lord Dunfermline.

* "Received 15 June, 1639."

† This title has been added by some modern hand. The earl of Leicester was Robert Sydney, of Penshurst, second earl of that creation. He was at this time ambassador in Paris.

Sir Edmund Verney sent back with the king's answer.

He reads the king's proclamation to the Scots.

Interview between the covenanters and the king.

reformed religion to heare there greivances. They sent a letter likewise to the same purpose directed to my lord of Hollande and the rest of the English lordes, a copy whereof I send your lordship heere inclosed. Heereupon his majestie sent back sir Edmund Verney with Dumfarlin, to lett them know that, before he would receive any petition from them, he would have his late proclamacion (which they had absolutely refused) publickly reade amonge them. This, since they saw it was his majesties pleasure, they now accorded unto, and assembling there cheife commaunders gave way to sir Edmund Verney to reade it openly in the army. When his majestie had receiued this satisfaction he then made a reference upon there petition, and gave liberty to such as the covenanters should chuse, to come freely hither and represent there greivances before such lords as his majestie would thinke fitt to nominate, which were my lord generall,* the earles of Essex, Salisbury, Holland, Barkshire, Mr. Treasurer,† and Mr. Secretary Coke.

The place appointed for there meeting was my lord generall's tent, whether this morning my lord Rothes and three other of the Scottish lordes repaired. They were received with great civility by my lord generall and the rest of the lords, and were no sooner entered into his lordship's tent, and scarce sate down, but his majestie came in most unexpectedly amonge them. The earl of Rothez began and made a longe speech unto his majestie, most humbly representing there sence of his displeasure, yet stoughtly clearing there loyalty. They endeavoured to give his majestie full satisfaction in seuerall particulars wherein they conceived his majestie had bin misinformed and notoriously abused by there own councitriemen. They cleared themselves from any intention to invade England, or from any thought or desire they had to shake off that soueraigne power and authoritie his majestie had over them, wherein thay spake so home, and so clearly remonstrated there owne duttefull affections and zeale to his gouernment, as his majestie, as is sayd, receiued good satisfaction therein. They stood much to justify the actes of there generall assembly by the lawes of there kingdome, and tould the kinge that if he would be pleased to giue them leave, they would bringe out those men that had abused them, and make the perticulars notorious unto him. His majestie was pleased to heare them with greate temper and patience, and not to expresse any dislike

* The earl of Arundel.

† Sir Henry Vane.

of what they represented unto him. They had some passages which could not but please his majestie well, and amonge others, upon an occasion that was offered, they told his majestie that if he would be pleased to lett them enjoy there religion and there lawes, thay would be willing to transport that army thay had heere in a readines for the recovery of the palatinate, and that without putting his majestie to any charge. The kinge sate to heare them till it was neare two of the clocke, and giuing him order to bringe him those perticulars they had delivered in writing, commaunded them to come again within a day or two, and to bringe whom they would with them; and so leaving them to dine with my lord generall and the rest of the lords he returned to his owne tent, where, after dinner, he called some of the Scottish lordes at court, and spake no very pleasing language unto them.

The king hath had lately a list given unto him of there army, and it appeared to consist of above 30,000 foote and 2000 horse, whereof they have 700 very good horse. Within these 3 dayes they are to have 10,000 foote more to come to them, as wee heare for certaine, and yett wee hope they will, as thay told his majestie, make there obedience to appeare most exemplary, and such as shall give no scandall to our religion.

Numbers of
the horse and
foot of the Scots
and English.

Our army encreaseth likewise, there being two regiments lately come to us, besides a troupe of horse and a regiment out of Northumberland, which Mr. Percy hath the commaund of. Our comissary generall assured me this day that wee should have neere 4000 horse in our army. But our hopes are nowe that wee shall have no neede of them. Wee are all in greate expectacion of an accommodacion, which is generally desired by all, except some few that are disaffected either to religion or the state. A fewe dayes will nowe discover the issue of this greate businesse, and by my nexte I shall be able I doubt not to give your lordship some accompt of it. I shall humbly desire your lordship to receive these perticulars (which my hast will scarce give me leave to over look) as a testimony of my affection to your lordship's service, and to believe I am really,

Peace desired
by all.

Your lordship's most humble and most faithfull servant,

[Unsigned.]

Barwicke, Jun. 11, 1639.

My lord marquis Hamilton arriued heere two dayes since, but hath left his shipes with 1500 men to guard the passage before Leith.

Our lordes heere seeme much discontented, and my lord of Bristow hath so caried himselfe as neither his majestie nor the rest of the lordes seeme much satisfied with him.*

SIR EDMUND VERNEY TO RALPH VERNEY.

1639, June 11. Raphe,—This daye the lords on boath sides have had a meeting. The Meeting with a deputation from the covenanters. king, contrary to expectation, went into the tent to them as they begann to enter into theyr business, but I thinck it will not hurt the business. The king heard them with patience, and answered with great moderation. This meeting does not give uss light inoughe wherby to judg wheather warr or peace shall follow. Thursday next is appoynted for a second meeting, and then it maye bee wee maye give a better guess att it. The Scotts have a good army, but farr short of what they have bragd on; trewly I thinck wee shall have the better army, for now our supplys are come to uss, wee shall bee able to make really 13,000 foote and 2,200 horse. They will have more foote, but are weake in horse, nor are they so well armed as wee, soe that I thinck they will hardly bee drawne to meete uss in open feeld, and wee have 2,000 foote more readdy att a dayes warning. This messenger is in haste and I have not time to wright to your mother; remember my love to her and to the rest of my frends; and soe with my blessing to thee and thy wife, I rest, your ever loving father,

Real strength of the Scottish army.

ED. VERNEY.

From the camp this 11th of June, late att night [1639].

[*Addressed*]

For Mr. Raphe Verney, att sir Edmund Verney
his house in Covent Garden, thes.†

Dr. Denton, unwilling to let it be supposed that he had exaggerated the danger into which sir Edmund was likely to fall, seems to have written the next letter principally to let Ralph know what

* This letter, formerly in Upcott's Collection, is now Addit. MS. Brit. Mus. 15,914, fo. 98. It is indorsed, in a hand almost contemporary, "Sir John Temple, 11 June, 1639."

† "Received 18 June, 1639."

great hazard his father might by possibility have encountered on the expedition to Kelso.

DR. DENTON TO RALPH VERNEY.

Raphe,—The very next day after I writt to you, your father was one of 1639, June 11. the 800 horsemen that were in a very faire way to be all cut off; for Sir Edmund pistols and carabins were all cocked, swords drawne, and trumpetts goinge one of 800 who were nearly cut off in the expedition to Kelso. to mouth, which had sounded had not some in the interim spied forces in an ambush, which made them to make an honorable retreat, since which time they have petitioned the kinge. Your father hath caried messages to and fro, and this day English and Scotch nobility meet att our generalls tent, and we are in great hope of an honorable peace; if not, your father havinge quartered himselfe with my lord of Holland, he will be almost in every daunger, and now noe perswasions can remove him thence; but I beleeve he will never stirr but with my lord. Remember my humble service to all att both howses. I can send you noe more newes, because I am 14 miles from the campe with my lord chamberlaine, who hath had an ague which left him yesterday, and soe I hope to be att the campe againe to morrow. *Vale*; your very loving uncle,

Subsequent proceedings.

WILLIAM DENTON.

Chillinghame, Junii 11, 1639.

[Addressed]

For Raph Verney, esq., att sir Edmund Verney
his house in the Coven Garden, thes.

SIR EDMUND VERNEY TO RALPH VERNEY.

Raphe,—This daye has beene the therd daye of treaty, and I beleeve 1639, June 15. there is noe more doubt now but that wee shall have peace. Every thing is No doubt of peace. agreed on, and Monday appoynted for a full conclusion. The king has promist them a new assembly, and to rattifye in parliament any thing that shall be agreed on in theyr assembly. They insisted much uppon a rattification of theyr last assembly, but the king would not yeeld to it. More What the king has promised. particulars I have not time to send you, nor doe I think your curiosity is soe greate but that the news of peace will sattisfy it. But now wee must travel to Edenboroughe to the assembly and parlament, soe that thoughe

wee have peace, wee shall have noe quiett a great while. * * * This daye I receaved a packett of yours of the 3d of June, wher I fiend I must dye a begger, for certainly noe man's purce has such a looseness as myne. I will not forgett Mr. Ward's venison. I heare noething of my pott from Hill. I will now keepe it to boyle my porrage in. You must remember my service to all my frends, and excuse my not wrighting to any of them. I am sure your mother will easily excuse mee, since I send soe good news of peace. Mr. Pearcy's haste will not lett me saye more. Farwell. Your loving father,

ED. VERNEY.

From the campe this 15th of June [1639].

I can saye noething of the coach business yett: now this is done I hope wee shall thinck of something els.

[*Addressed*]

For my loving sonne Mr. Raphe Verney, at sir Edmund Verney his howse in Covent Garden; thes with care.*

SIR EDMUND VERNEY TO RALPH VERNEY.

1639, June 16. Raphe,—To morrow wee expect a fynall conclusion of all businesses, but Peace to be concluded on the morrow. wheather wee shall see Lundon and returne to Edenborough, or goe to Edenboroughe now wee are heere, is yett a great doubt. I have noething more to saye, but to desire you to remember mee to all my frends, and soe farwell. Your loving father,

ED. VERNEY.

This 16th of June.

[*Addressed*] For my sonne Raphe Verney.†

SIR EDMUND VERNEY TO RALPH VERNEY.

1639, June 19. Raphe,—This daye the peace is happily concluded, and much to the king's honer. As soone as I can gett a copy of the conditions you shall have it. Within two dayes the king removes to Barwick; some are of oppinion hee will shortly see Lundon, and returne heather againe; others thincks his affaires will keepe him heere till his Scottish business be all finisht, and that will not bee till the middle of August. I have a great

* "Received 19th June, 1639."

† "Received 20 June, 1639."

desire to goe to the Bathe (for my payne troubles mee much), and returne
 heather againe before the king goes to Edenborough, but till I knowe how
 the king disposes of himselfe I can resolve of noething. I writt to your
 mother and you yesterday, and the daye before. I pray God the letters
 come safe to you. Comend my love to her, and excuse my not wrighting
 now to her, and to every boddy els. Comend mee to thy wife and the rest
 of my frends. Farwell. Your loving father,

Sir Edmund
 wishes to go to
 Bath.

ED. VERNEY.

From the campe this 19th of June [1639].

I praye see thes inclosed letters sent according to theyr directions, and
 as speedily as you can, that myne maye give them the first news of peace.

[*Addressed*] For your selfe.*

SIR EDMUND VERNEY TO RALPH VERNEY.

Raphe,—Thoughe I hope to see you verry shortly, yett because ther is
 some doubt of it I have heerewith sent you a box, and the coach busineses
 signd by the king are in it; gett it dispatched assoone as you can. The
 king has stayed heere in the feeld all this weeke to see his army sent awaye.
 To morrow hee goes to Barwick, but when hee will see Lundon is yett
 unknowne to any but himself. My hopes are that it will not bee longe
 before wee shall see our frends. For my owne part, assoone as I can fiend a
 resolution of his staye heere, I purpose to aske leave to returne, for I would
 faine goe to the Bathe. My payne troubles mee still, and I will try if I
 maye receive help ther. I praye wright to Will Roads presently to inquier
 out some grass for geldings, for I have bought fifty horses and geldings out
 of one troope, and they will bee att Cleydon about tenn dayes hence. The
 horses I will keepe att howse till I can sell them. Remember mee to all
 my frends; but because I hope to see them shortly I will wright to none of
 them. If I come not I shall now bee att leysure to weary them with letters.
 Adieu. Your loving father,

1639, June 21.

Coach-business
 signed by the
 king.

Who goes to
 Berwick on the
 morrow.

Will ask leave
 to return as
 soon as the king
 is settled.

ED. VERNEY.

From the campe this 21st of June, five of the clock att night.

Excuse my not wrighting to your mother, and comend mee to thy wife,

* "Received 22 June, 1639."

and desier her to choose mee some patterns of cloath to make mee a sute of cloathes, for I shall have occation to make some the next daye after I come to London.

[*Addressed*]

To my loving sonne Mr. Raphe Verney, at sir Edmund Verneys howse in Covent Garden, give thes, togeather with a box sealed up in a bagg; with speed and care, I praye.*

Sir Edmund was soon able to accomplish his desire. The king established his court at Berwick for a month, and sir Edmund took the opportunity to get away. Dr. Denton, who had no compunction at alarming his friends, wrote to Ralph as follows on his father's return, but the letter, through the doctor's extreme caution, was nearly a month on the road:—

DR. DENTON TO RALPH VERNEY.

1639, June
26th.

Sir Edmund to
be in London
on the 29th.

His quarrel
with one
Cunninghame.

Raphe,—I have formerly written to my brother Denton. I have sent an other letter by your father, and since I receaved yours I have written this, stuffed with old newes, and given it an old date correspondent to this. Your father will be with you on the 29th, and will make hast to the Bath, whether I intend to goe to him if possibly I can. I have sent him safe to you; it is your charge now to have a care of him. This item I will give you, that whereas one Cunninghame hath related to the queene that all the men runne away from Kelsay, of which number your father was, a relation soe generall distastfull to all that were there, that he will be in noe quiett untill he hath fought with them all; and I know your father's resolution is, though not to seeke him, yett to give Cunningham occasion enough to looke after him:—*verbum sapienti sat*. Make what use of it you please, but not a word as from me. My service to both houses. Your assured loving uncle,

WILLIAM DENTON.

Barwick, 6 Junii, *alias* 26, 1639.

[*Addressed*]

For Mr. Raph Verney; leave this with Mrs. Sydenham, att her house in the Coven Garden, to be delivered.†

* "Received 24th June, 1639."

† "Received 23 July, 1639."

Shortly after sir Edmund's arrival in London he and Ralph went to "the Bath," and in that way the latter did not receive Dr. Denton's cautionary letter for nearly a month. The doctor's fear of sir Edmund's meeting with "one Cunninghame" came to nothing; but the suspicions of the good doctor were probably not quite without justification, for sir Edmund had signalled his departure from the camp by being concerned in an intended encounter of a similar kind. We have alluded to the quarrel which arose between the earls of Holland and Newcastle, in consequence of the position assigned to the gay troop commanded by the latter on the bloodless expedition to Dunse on the 31st May. The earl of Newcastle, esteeming the prince's colours and himself affronted, by his troop being put in the rear, removed the royal colours from his flag-staff, and rode sulkily back to the camp. Holland complained to the king of this insubordination. His majesty, always jealous of the royal dignity in small things, justified and applauded Newcastle. There the quarrel rested until the peace. No sooner had the English army been disbanded than Newcastle challenged Holland. Time and place were settled, and the challenger and his second, Francis Palmes, "a man of known courage and mettle,"* duly presented themselves for the conflict; but, instead of the earl of Holland, there came to the meeting only his second, who was sir Edmund Verney.† The king had received tidings of the meditated combat; the earl of Holland was put under arrest; the same fate shortly afterwards befell the earl of Newcastle; and then the king, having them both in custody, interfered and made peace between them.

Quarrel between the earls of Holland and Newcastle.

Duel arranged.

Sir Edmund Verney second to the earl of Holland.

The rigid laws of court attendance allowed sir Edmund but a brief trial of "the Bath." We find him again in Berwick in the month of July.

SIR EDMUND VERNEY TO RALPH VERNEY.

Raphe,—I have received your letter, by which I find you have my lord chamberlaines warrants, but I know not wheather you have my lord

1639, July 21.
Warrants for bucks.

* Rushworth, ii. 946. † Lord Fermanagh's Genealog. Notes, p. 33. Verney MS.

of Hollands, for a leash of bucks about Windsor. Mr. Lucas, my lord's secretary, has order for them, and lives in St. Martin's Lane. Nedd Tyrringham has left order with his man for a buck for mee out of his walke in the greate parke of Windsor, but it must bee askt privatly in my name, and the keeper must have two dayes warning to send it, and then it shall bee deliverd in any place. I think it will bee a fitt place for a buck for Nedd Fust, in case I send you not a warrant from Robin Territt shortly; but if I send a warrant for the houl, then you may reserve Tyrringham's for another occation, because it is nearer. I will send warrants for more as soone as I can. I am sorry to heare the ill news of Harry Lee,* and of my mother, but I hope neyther are in danger. I heare nothing of Robin Turvill, not soe much as wheare hee is. The coachmen cannott expect any restraint of others till the pattent bee past, nor will the pattent pass till they have sealed the indenture, soe ther must bee a trust on the one side; after the pattent past I think ther must a proclamation follow to restrayne all others, and if Mr. Atturney will draw one to that purpos, and send it, I will gett it signed.

Harry Lee and
old lady Verney
both ill.

The coach
business.

Letters for
Henry and Ed-
mund Verney.

The latter going
to Holland to
serve under the
Dutch.

Uncertainty at
Berwick
whether the
king will go to
Edinburgh or
not.

I wonder you sent your letters for your brother Henry to mee, you maye send them more reddily from Lundo. I have sent two letters, the one to Captaine Apsly, the other to Captaine Honiwood; lett Munn take them with him; they will gett him assistance, and directions what to doe when hee comes, ther. Munn were best land att Flushing and soe goe directly to the army. Hee shall ther know certainly wher to fiend it. Hee maye doe well to make hast theather, otherwise they will saye hee comes against the time of goeing into garrison, therfore lett him bee gone by the first opportunity.

Wee are still uncertaine of what wee shall doe heere, but I am confident wee shall agree in the end, and then wee shall to Edenboroughe, but I beleeve it will not bee thes 12 dayes; our returne will not bee till neare Michellmass. I praye furnish your mother with some monny for her self, and some for your sisters. Present my service to all my frends, and soe farwell. Your loving father,

ED. VERNEY.

Barwick, this 21th of July [1639], six a clock att night.

[*Addressed*] For my sonn Raphe Verney.†

* Sir Francis Henry Lee, son of Elenor countess of Sussex, by her first husband, sir Henry Lee of Quarendon.

† "Received 24th July, 1639."

The uncertainty which hung over the intentions and movements of the king still continued up to the 24th July.

SIR EDMUND VERNEY TO RALPH VERNEY.

Raphe,—I have, heer inclosed, sent you three warrants for bucks; ther 1639, July 24.
 is one out of the holt which is fitter for Nedd Fust, and then lett Mr. More warrants
 Blower have the buck att Tyrringhame, and you may reserve the buck att for bucks.
 Mote parke for any other use, because it is neare you; you must lett your
 mother have some, but unless it bee for Mr. Warde, or for my lady Hobart,
 I would have you forbear disposing of the rest of the warrants till you
 heare from mee againe; for I know not wheather wee shall staye in thes Continued un-
 parts or returne to Lndon. I thinck to daye or to-morrow will tell uss, certainty as to
 but as yet it is not knowne. I am faine to wright this in my bedd, for sir the king's move-
 Henry Hungate, by whome I send thes letters, is goeing, and I forbore
 this letter till the last hower, in hope to have sent you certaine news, but
 as yett wee knowe not what wee shall doe. Farwell. Your ever loving
 father,

ED. VERNEY.

Barwick, this 24th of July [1639].

[Addressed] For my sonne Raphe Verney.*

On the very day on which Ralph Verney received this letter, the July 28th
 king, accompanied by some of the members of his household, and king leave
 amongst them by sir Edmund Verney, left Berwick on his return to Berwick.
 London. They travelled post, then the quickest mode of transit
 known, and riding, as Rushworth says, "260 miles in four days,"
 reached London on the 1st of August. 1st August
 arrives in
 London.

Thus terminated an expedition which teemed with lessons for Charles I.; but they were lessons which he never learned. Up to this
 time his course of misgovernment had been encountered by the Feelings with
 the adverse votes of parliaments and general assemblies. He now beheld which the king
 a new phase of the opposition which he had aroused. A portion of made peace.
 his subjects not merely confronted but dared and braved the power
 of the crown in the open field, whilst those who were nominally the

* "Received 28th July, 1639."

king's supporters never drew a sword on his behalf. The thousands who were arrayed against him were bound together by marvellous unanimity and enthusiasm; on his side there was no lack of show, but neither heart nor zeal. To make peace was all that the king could do, and he therefore made it. It was his best move, under the present circumstances of his game, and he therefore adopted it. But he did so merely as a move. He did not relinquish the game; he did not abandon his previous intentions; he did not accept the conditions of peace as a final settlement. On the contrary, in spite of the peace, he remained as determined as ever to enforce his canons and his service-book. He merely took advantage of the peace, in order to secure a delay until a more convenient season. In the few weeks which elapsed between his signing the articles of peace and his departure from Berwick, he thoroughly convinced the leaders of his Scottish subjects that he was as much as ever bent upon governing them according to his own notions, without paying the slightest real regard to their feelings or opinions; that he was, in fact, plotting the reversal of his concessions at the very moment that he was making them. Unhappy monarch! From first to last this was the cause of his ruin; that he imagined he could bind the whirlwind of the roused popular will with the green withes of a smooth and courtly trickery.

Under such circumstances the continuance of peace was impossible. The covenanters saw that to be the case almost from the first, and kept together the leading soldiers of their party. On the king's side it was not so. The men about the king did not sufficiently calculate upon the unrelaxing tenacity of the royal purpose. The English army was disbanded, in some cases, with insufficient payment, and in others, with an offensive disregard of the services rendered. The leaders were delighted to return to their homes, and were full of hope that all that was necessary had been accomplished. They looked to the parliament and general assembly, which were to meet in Edinburgh in the month of August, to restore all things to their customary quiet, and were the better satisfied with that result,

as being likely to lead to the calling of similar assemblies at home. If the grievances of Scotland were redressed in the old parliamentary way, it was hoped that it would not be long ere England would benefit by the example. Throughout the body of the English people there was a universal feeling of delight at the restoration of peace. The horrors of war are often forgotten by a nation excited and smarting under the infliction of wrong; but here, so far as England was concerned, there was no excitement, and no wrong, except that which she herself was called upon to sanction and enforce. "I am a much joyed woman," exclaimed the countess of Sussex, in a letter to Ralph Verney, which spoke the language of the country at large, "for the blesedenesse wee hear of pese."

Sir Edmund Verney reached London weak, dispirited, and full of pain. He found his family disquieted with many vexations. The questionable device for the concealment of Mrs. Pulteney's marriage had failed, as all such subterfuges do. Mr. Eure, we have learnt from sir Edmund, soon grew tired of following the Scottish expedition. Whilst his private affairs were in a state of such unsettlement, he was in no mind to fight for either bishop or presbyter. His wife, aware of his intention to return to the south, but under pretence of a christening, arranged to have her "red damaxe peticote and wascote" sent to her, and requested Ralph's wife to purchase for her "a blake taffity petticote and wascote, with a hansom lase, and [to] make yet oup with hanginge sleues, and a rowne skrite if they be worne."* Thus fortified, she slipped quietly away from Hillesdon, met her husband at some place on the road, where they at once announced their marriage, and returned to London as man and wife. The marriage, to add to the affliction of Mrs. Pulteney's friends, had been performed by a minister of her husband's church. "Sir," writes Ralph to his father on the 18th June, 1639, "the unhappy woeman was married by a popish priest. It seemes you writ to her to know, and shee, beeing I suppose ashamed of soe foule an act,

State of affairs
with the
Verneys, A.D.
1639.

Troubles which
ensued from
Mrs. Pulteney's
marriage.

* Verney MS. 25th May, 1639. Letter of Mrs. Isham; Mrs. Pulteney having an attack of ague.

desierd mee to informe you of it." The Verneys kept as much as they could aloof from Mr. Eure, although we find him sending "his love and sarvis" to Ralph, who continued to communicate frequently with his aunt. Some of her rents passed through his hands, and were at this time rather badly paid. "I hope," she remarked, "the peace of Scotland will make men part with their moneys more wilingly." Lady Denton, "ould and in troubles," as she described herself, received her new son-in-law with a favour which astonished every body. "The party," writes Mrs. Isham, another daughter of lady Denton, to whom she evidently refers, "is beter contented a great dele, and showes him more respecke then I thought she would a done." But the old lady retaliated upon the Verneys, whom she believed to have encouraged the marriage. "This unluckie businesse," says Ralph, "hath made my grandmother infinitely offended with my mother, my wife, myselve, and indeed the whole house, except your selfe [sir Edmund], for she often saith that you have dealt wisely, and honestly, and lovingly in this business, but all the rest of her children are fooles."

Many weeks had not elapsed after Mr. Eure had joined his wife, ere disagreeable reports got afloat respecting his estate. The world at large boldly spoke of him as a mere wife-hunting adventurer. Among the Verneys it was merely said that he had mis-calculated the amount of his estate. His wife warmly pronounced all such suggestions to be "bace reports," and settled the matter, so far as she was concerned, in a very easy way. "He hath not deceived me," she said, "for I never inquired after it." Her anxiety was for his conversion from Roman Catholicism; and great was her delight to find in him a willingness to hear either herself, or any she might bring; as for every thing else, she declared that, "his religion excepted," she "knew few like him." One unfortunate circumstance was connected with these reports. It was thought they were encouraged by Margaret Verney, one of sir Edmund's daughters, who had been brought up by her godmother, Mrs. Pulteney, and had received from her a generous gift of 1000*l*. The child was

accused of having consoled herself for her loss of importance consequent upon her aunt's second marriage, by talking against her new uncle. The whole family were thus involved in a world of trouble, which called forth all the good management of sir Edmund and Mr. Ralph, and many tears from Miss Margaret.

The countess of Sussex was in much sorrow at sir Edmund's return. By her first marriage with sir Henry Lee, the first baronet of Quarendon, cousin and successor of the famous sir Henry Lee of the reign of Elizabeth, K.G., she had one surviving son, sir Francis Henry Lee, the second baronet, who married a daughter of sir John St. John, of Lydiard Tregoze, and lived at Chelsea. Sir Francis, or as he was ordinarily termed sir Harry Lee—Henry being the favourite christian name in the family for many generations—went to the north with the king. His mother's second marriage was not acceptable to him, and they saw but little of each other. He promised to call at Gorhambury on his way to Berwick; but "he hath faled me," said his mother, sending on to Ralph Verney various letters, of which she designed to have made him the messenger, and consoling herself by begging her constant friend to secure her seventeen yards of a French figured satin, orders for which were received privately in London by a sir William St. Ravie. True the price was unreasonable, but she would rather give it than buy "any of the figurde satines that are to bee hade hear; thorty shillinges a yarde the axe, and the coler lokes lyke durt."

Death of sir Francis Henry Lee, only surviving son of the countess of Sussex.

By failing in his engagement to bid farewell to his mother at Gorhambury, sir Harry deprived himself of the last opportunity of bidding her farewell on earth. Death found him in the wars, although not on a battle-field. He managed to return to Chelsea from the north, but extremely ill. Bulletins were transmitted to Gorhambury. "The sent me worde," writes the countess,* "he was past all danger, and now the tell me he is dede. * * I cannot say much to you now, my hart beeing fuller of sory then I can expres to you, for my

* Verney MS. 24 July, 1639.

dear, dear childe!" An additional pang was inflicted when his will was opened.

Contents of his will.

This day [writes Ralph Verney to sir Edmund] I was sent for to Chelsey to the opening of poore Harry Lee's will, and the deed of trust. Now, because I know you desier to heare how the estate is left, I will in breife tell you what I remember of it. First, Ballenger, Lee, and some other lands are made over to you and Pickeringe and Cary, to bee sould for paiement of debts, but tis questionable whither this deed is good, beinge hee never sued out his livery. Secondly, all his other lands in Bucks and Oxford sheires are leased for 99 yeares to sir John St. John, sir Thomas Peniston, your selfe, Pickeringe, and Cary, uppon trust to pay all his debts, and such annuities, legasies, rent charges, and other somes of money, as the land now is or should bee by him or his predecessors, by will or otherwise, charged or chargable. Thirdly, by will hee hath made my lady Lee his sole executrix, and given her his coach and foure horses, all her jewells, furniture for on chamber, and such plate as she brought him, to her owne use; next, she is to have the use of all his other plate and household stuffe duringe the minority of the ward;* but if she dye or marry,† then it is to come to the trustees for the use of the ward; next, hee desiers she should have the wardshipp, but the marrage must bee purchased to the ward's owne use. Next, the ward is to bee allowed 60*l.* per anum by the feoffees, untell hee is 14 yeares old, and then 80*l.* till hee is 21 yeares old, and soe is the daughter; and the younger sonn‡ is to have 50*l.* a yeare untel 14, and then 60*l.* till hee is 21 yeares of age, and then hee is to have the inheritance of How's farme (which is about 120*l.* per annum), and 300*l.* per annum anuity for his life; but about this anuitie I doubt there may arise some difference; then the daughter is to have 5000*l.* portion, 2000*l.* wherof must bee paied at the day of her marrage or full age, and the other 3000*l.* within 6 mounths after my lady Sussex dieth (if the childe

* Sir Henry Lee, of Ditchley, the third baronet; well known to all readers of the history or the romance of the reign of Charles I.

† She married, secondly, Henry Wilmot earl of Rochester. She is mentioned in Clarendon's Autobiography, in connection with himself, Falkland, and Chillingworth. Part II.

‡ Sir Francis Henry Lee, the fourth baronet.

bee then married or of full age); and if my lady bee now with child of a sonn or daughter, it must have 3000*l.*, wherof 1000*l.* must be paid at the day of its marrage or full age, and the other 2000*l.* within 6 months after my lady Sussex dieth as aforesaid. Hee hath given divers small legacies, which are too longe for a letter; but my lady Sussex is not soe much as named (any otherwise then is above expressed), which I am hartily sorry for, because I know it will trouble her extreamly. . . . Sir Henry Lee's debts are about 4 or 5 thousand pounds. I pray bee advised how you accept of the trust, for hee hath given away more then I beleeve can bee raised out of the estate, and you are trusted already for my lady Sussex, and the writings may bee soe drawne that your acceptinge this trust may bee a prejudice to her; therefore I pray thinke well of it.*

Sir Edmund Verney's patent for the regulation of hackney coaches still remained incomplete. The king had passed the necessary papers, but the coachmen, who were in other respects willing to pay for licences from the new patentees, refused to do so unless their authority were made known to the world by a royal proclamation. Without such a document it was contended that interlopers would not be restrained. Sir Edmund—such is the corrupting influence of absolute authority upon even the best men who come in contact with it—saw no objection to the suggested course, and did not anticipate any difficulty in procuring the king's signature to a proclamation for the required purpose; but it is a most significant sign of the times, that the higher official dignitaries had begun to look upon proclamations with disfavour. The storm that was abroad clearly foreboded the rapid approach of a time when these things would go to swell the long catalogue of the subjects' grievances. The king's government had been hitherto mainly carried on by proclamations; but the anticipation of a *dies iræ* had at last begun to tell upon the responsible advisers of such a dangerous and palpably illegal course, Ralph thus communicated the fact to his father:—

Difficulties as to sir Edmund Verney's patent for the management of hackney coaches.

Proclamations out of favour.

The coachmen send mee word by Hackley that if you please to promise them that they shall begin to pay but from the time of publishinge the pro-

* Verney MS. 27th July, 1639.

clamation, they will seale the indenture; otherwise they will not, for they know there will bee noe re[st]rent untell the proclamation is out. Now, sir, if you please, I will desier Mr. attorney to prepaire a proclamation, and send it you to get it signed; only there is on thinge I must remember you off, and that is this, that Mr. attorney told mee, when hee passd the charter, the times were now ill for proclamations, and that he was confident the lords would not suffer it to passe if there were any proclamation with it: therfore I will doe nothinge in this untell I heare from you againe. But if you resolve upon a proclamation, I pray advise mee what I shall give Mr. attorney and Mr. Beale, for, now Mr. Cockshut is out of towne, I know not any that can direct mee.*

How sir Edmund overcame the scruples of the coachmen does not appear. He did not obtain any proclamation.

Tom Verney's
present position.

Tom Verney was almost forgotten amidst the business of the Scottish expedition. He was still at Barbadoes, but becoming extremely impatient for a stock of supplies according to his invoice. His friends the Futtters advised Ralph that "any time before Christmas" would be soon enough to send out servants, and there were rumours of a plantation in another island under the earl of Warwick, which it was thought might suit Mr. Tom better than Barbadoes. In the interval of his first return from the north, sir Edmund wrote to his wayward son the following skilful and characteristic mixture of encouragement and reproof:—

SIR EDMUND VERNEY TO THOMAS VERNEY.

Tom,—I am newly come out of Scotland, wheather I am instantly returning againe, soe that by reason of my short stay heere I cannott for the present answer your letter soe fully as I would doe, but I have left order with your brother to doe what can bee done in soe short a time, but this shipp makes such haste awaye, that I beleeve hee shall hardly gett any servants for you to send by this passage, nor doe I thinck fitt to send you manny now, for I am informed for certaine that my lord of Warwick

* Verney MS. 27th July, 1639.

has bought a greate iland neare the place where you are, and that hee Lord Warwick bought an island near Barbadoes. intends to plant it presently. I conceive you maye have better conditions much ther then wher you are, and I am suer you shall ever fiend my lord noble and favourable to you. My lord intends in February next to goe for this iland in person, and I thinck it will bee much for your advantage to transplant yourself theather. Assoone as I returne againe and that I know more of the business, I will informe you particularly of it; in the mean time take you noe noetice att all of this from mee. My lord of Warwick intends to fortify his iland presently, and then to plant when hee is safe from beeing beaten out of it, which is a cource I like best. Inable your selfe to knowe what is fitt for plantation, and lett mee alone to assist you, if you prove industrious and carefull of my directions, soe that I maye putt a trust and confidence in you, which as yett I dare not doe, because I have found you falce of your woard, and careless of all I have sayed to you. I doubt not then, but, with your owne help, to make you a fortune; but if you continue your ould cources I will certainly forsake you. I praye God direct your heart soe that I maye have cause to wright my selfe your loving father,

ED. VERNEY.

[*Addressed*] To my loving sonne Mr. Thomas Verney.

Henry Verney still remained in the service of the Dutch, and in Henry Verney in garrison at Breda. garrison at Breda. His fondness for horse-racing continued undiminished. In returne for "a padd and bitt, and all other furniture to itt," sent him by his brother Ralph, he opened his heart, and was sure that his brother would be glad to hear something that was an infinite gratification to himself. "I rod a mach," he explains, "of Rides a match. six mile with a Dutch man for 50*l.*, and won it; but it was not for my selfe, but for a friend of mine. This," he adds, in allusion to a request for a horse which Ralph had thought it better to decline, "this is to let you knowe, had you sent me a courser, it would not at all have made me the more in love with rasing."*

In the autumn of 1639 he obtained his lieutenantancy. By this time he had become well satisfied with his profession, had around him a

* Verney MS. 12th June, 1639.

knot of suitable companions, was friendly with his captain, one of the noble Veres, and seldom troubled his friends in England except to send him such things as "6 yards of coarse cloth, and 4 yards of baize," to make him a winter suit, "to lie upon the gards." He would not have it cost more than 12 shillings a yard, and "let it bee," he says, "of as sad a coler as you can get." He still reiterated his request for a horse, and "let him not be such an one as my kind aunt Pountne sent me." A recruiting agent came over from the young lieutenant's regiment, which afforded an excellent opportunity for a compliance with this request, and he urged it accordingly with true military foresight of the difficulties of transportation. He explains to his brother how "the nag's meate by the waye is to be provided for," and significantly begs him above all things not to send him "downe to Grauesinne until the person to whose charge he is to be committed is ready to embark. If you can help him," he adds, "to a man or to, I pray doe. Bridwell is seldome so empty but thay may spare some, and, for his honesty, I'le promise you not to enquier after it, for let him be neer so bigg a rouge the beter." Such was Mr. Henry Verney in 1639.

Edmund
Verney.

Pays his last
debt at Oxford.

Joins the Dutch
army in Flan-
ders.

In young Edmund there was rapidly developing a far higher character. On his return from the north he stayed for a while at Hillesdon, and took that opportunity of going to the Oxford Act. There he sought out such of his creditors as his father had left unpaid, and discharged them all except "a tapster at the greyhound," to whom he was indebted 17s. or 20s., "most of it mony out of this poore man's purse." The tapster had left the Greyhound, and Edmund could not find him, although informed that he still remained in Oxford. As soon as Ralph had money of his in hand, Edmund wrote to him from the Hague, begging of him to procure this man to be paid. "I thinke I shall be free with all the world when this man is discharged, and so I shall endeavour to keep myself while I breath."* He joined the army of the States in Flanders as

* Verney MS. 28th Jan. 1639-40.

an ensign in the "company" commanded by colonel sir Thomas Culpepper,* who received him kindly on account of old obligations to sir Edmund. "He and I" is the language of one of Edmund's earliest letters, "are as great as two beggars." But this friendship turned out to be one of interest on the part of sir Thomas. He was merely anxious to make what he could of his young friend by selling him promotion. As the autumn of 1639 advanced, Edmund's company went into winter quarters at Utrecht, when he gave himself up most assiduously, for seven or eight hours a day for many months together, to repair the deficiencies of his education, by acquiring a knowledge of Latin and French. Ralph, at his earnest request, sent him various historical books in those languages, to aid him in his studies. His colonel took advantage of the winter to visit England, and at the same time a lieutenant quitted the regiment. Edmund ardently desired promotion, and begged of his father to purchase for him the vacant lieutenancy, and to settle the terms for it with sir Thomas Culpepper personally whilst he was in England. But a few weeks' acquaintance had opened to him sir Thomas's real character. He now writes of him as follows:—

Character of sir
Thomas Cul-
pepper.

I pray take heede that my collonel over reach you not in it [the purchase of the lieutenancy]: *latet anguis in herbâ*. I confesse to you I shall fear him most when he speakes me kindest, for then it is when he may most securely deceive me. I should almost dote on the man if I could forget his covetousnes, but he shewes himself in that poor way [so] miserable, that he hath drowned all his good parts, and made himselfe most contemptible to all men in this country. But he is the fittest man to be of that condition of any that I know, for he knowes it and hath confessed it to me himself, and that it never troubles him.*

Again:—

I cannot choose but make many doubts of him. I know him soe well by his dealing with all other men, that I vow to God I cannot credit

* Of Greenway court, in Hollingbourne, co. Kent. See Hasted, ii. 466.

† Verney MS. 5th November, 1639.

his fairest and greatest protestations, for I am sure his greate god, gold-allmighty, is able to make him deceive the best friend he hathe in the world.*

The following magnifies sir Thomas's facility in making promises, and contains a glance at sir Henry Vane:—

Sir Henry
Vane.

Here are many most true storyes of him, which in my conscience you would rather wonder at then beleeve. He is a mighty fayre-spoken man, and I am confident shall promise you whatsoever you shall desire of him. You will say, what would I have more? Yes, I would desire that my father would take that course with him that sir Harry Vane doth. He tells him that what courtesyes or favours he sheweth to his sonn, he will studdy to requite, but will acknowledge none but what shall appeare reall; and by this meanes hath possest my collonell with such a feare of him that he hath confesd to me himself that sir Harry Vane is not a man to be incensd.†

Edmund
Verney's yearning
after Eng-
land.

Attachment to
his profession.

But not for a
war with the
Scots.

Edmund Verney's yearning after home and friends, contrasts strikingly with the absence of those feelings in his brother Henry. "England," Edmund writes, "is the same to me still as it was before I came out of it, and those that were my friendes then, those I esteeme my friendes now." His attachment to his profession was striking. Listen to the aspirations of the young soldier. "We heare," he writes, "that you are likely to have warre with France. Tis brave newes. Twere sport for us to heare that all the world were in combustion, for then we could not want worke. O tis a blessed trade!" But with all this fondness for war, it is observable how much he disliked the notion of a renewal of the contest between England, or rather between king Charles and the Scots. The probability of the failure of the pacification of Berwick soon reached the continent, and was thus commented upon:—

We here the Scotts buisnes goeth very ill and that the king hath entertained 4000 Spaniards, and as many Irish, that are now coming over, and

* Verney MS. 9th November, 1639.

† Ibid. 8th December, 1639.

hath all his former officers in halfe pay againe, and that the Scotts have done the lyke, and that you are to have a parlyament in England the 17th of February, or the beginning of March. It may be this may be newes as well to you as to us, and therefore I have writ you word of it. If it should be soe, and my father thinck it convenient that I should spend any more time in that service (otherwise I vow to you it is far from my desire), then I should rather choose to waite on my lord Grandeson,* thither then on any noble man in the kingdome. I pray when you doe see him, doe me the favour to present my most humble service to his lordship, for I confesse I soe unfainedly honour my lord that I have a greate ambition to live ever in his memory.†

Another letter, although in quoting from it we are passing a little beyond the date to which we are obliged to limit ourselves, is worthy of being remembered, not merely as expressing more clearly Edmund Verney's antipathy of a Scottish war, but also as indicating what were his expectations, and no doubt the general expectations, of the results of calling a parliament. The quashing of ship-money, the abolition of monopolies, and even the impeachments of Laud and Strafford, are here clearly foreseen.

Anticipations of what would result from a parliament.

I wonder none of your letters mention newes. Wee are as full here as ever we can hold, for it is credibly reported that there are thirty thousand men raying in England, that my lord of Northumberland is generall of the feild, my lord Connaway of the horse, sir John Connyers his lieutenant generall, and that collonell Goring shall command a third part of the army, and that these forces shall goe God knowes whither; for, the truth is, wee heare noe certainty of that. This is the newes that sounds merrily in our eares. Wee know that yee are to have a parlyament, but wee care not to aske whither the payment of shipp mony shall continue, or whither monopolies shall downe, or what lords, either spirituall or temporall, are lyke to be questioned. None of these last trouble our thoughts, but truely wee would gladly be informed of the former; therefore I pray, sir, when you write will you please to signify what trueth you

* See p. 170.

† Verney MS. 18th December, 1639.

know of these forces, or of what continuance they are lyke to be of, and when they set forth. My cousen Tyrvile continues very ill and full of payne, and doe but thinke what aggravation the newes of these present stirres are to one of his spirit, for I dare sweare he longs to be an actor in this comi-tragedy, or tragi-comedy, or whatsoever it proove; but truely he doth not yet seeme very desirous of it, because his sicknes is soe greivous that there is a greate doubt whither he escape with life or noe.

. . . Since I writ this letter I heare that the king hath vast summes of mony given him by his subjects, and that these forces are lyke to goe against Scotland: the former part I wish to be true, but shall ever pray against the latter.*

Probably the explanation of his anxiety to exempt the Scots from the horrors of war, is to be found in what appears in his letters at this time, his adoption of more serious religious views. This fact is not blurted out like his brother Tom's professions of amendment, but may gradually be gathered from his correspondence, until at last passages like the following leave no further doubt. After a reference to books which he had asked Ralph to lend him, he continues:—

There is one thing that I would begge of you to make a guift to me of, which is, Mr. Bolton's workes.† Most of them I can name to you, being these, his Walking with God, his Instructions for the Comforting of a right afflicted Conscience, and his Four Last Things. These I begge of you because I would make myselfe oblig'd to you for whatsoever good I shall be ever capable of; for, dear brother, I esteeme of you more then I can expresse, and though I think I shall not in any little time come into England to give you thankes in person, yet know and be assured that my hearte is with you allwayes. ‡

Particularly attentive to his costume and appearance.

Edmund Verney's puritanism was not at all inconsistent with great attention to the proper adornment of his fine manly person.

* Verney MS. 28th January, 1639-40.

† The Rev. Robert Bolton, incumbent of Broughton in Northamptonshire, described by Anthony Wood as "a most religious and learned puritan." He was also a very popular writer. Wood gives a list of his works. (Athenæ Oxon., ii. 515, ed. Bliss.)

‡ Verney MS. 30th January, 1639-40.

His desire was "ever to goe as handsomely cladd"* as possible, and his letters contain many commissions upon the subject of his costume. Having found it necessary to turn off his servant, he was desirous that Ralph should procure him a successor competent to trim his beard, an anxious subject to the young gentlemen of those days. Failing in obtaining a domestic barber, Mr. Edmund gave his own attention to his beard, and commissioned Ralph to send him a complete set of the instruments required for fashionable tonsure. The bill is of no great length, and may be of use in these days of revivalism.

A note of such things as I bought for Mr. Edmund Verney.

	£	s.	d.
Imprimis, one little berber's case and glasse	0	6	0
Item. Two rasers and a little paringe knife	0	5	0
Item. Two paire of sithers and a paire of beard irons	0	4	0
Item. Three horne combes	0	2	0
Item. Three horne combes more	0	1	0
Item. One box combe and one ivory combe	0	2	0
Item. One pound of sweet pouthier	0	4	0
Item. One dozen of gloves	0	12	0
Item. One pocket paper booke †	0	0	6
Item. For 3 yardes and halfe of gray broad cloath, London measure, to make a cloake, att 10s. 6d. the yarde	1	16	9
Item. For six yardes and halfe of baies to line the cloke, at 2s. 2d. the yarde	0	14	1
	£4 7 4		

To conclude our rapid glance at the state of the Verneys, and their connections at this time, we may state that sir Edmund's aged ^{Old lady Verney's decay.}

* Verney MS. 10th September, 1639.

† "I believe you mistook my hand and readd a 'paper' booke for a 'prayer' booke, for that it is I would desire you to send me." Verney MS. 20th February, 1639-40.

Sir Alexander Denton. mother had been ill, and was now rapidly wearing away. Sir Alexander Denton was in poor circumstances. Ralph Verney, prosy and punctilious in many things, was happy in his home, and generally beloved. The residence at Claydon seems to have been seldom or never occupied, and Ralph had just got to town his eldest boy, who had been brought up at Hillesdon by his grandmother Denton. The child was rustic and bashful, and his parents, who were strangers to him, were disappointed that he did not immediately take to them. Old lady Denton pleaded stoutly for her "sweet child." She would not hear him blamed.

i heare [she remarked] he is disliked, he is so strange. Sonn, you did see he was not soe, nor is not soe, to any where he is a quanted, and he must be woone with fare menes. Let me begge of you and his mothar that nobody whip him but Mr. Parrye; yf you doe goe a violent waye with him, you will be the furst that wil rue it, for i veryly beleve he will reseve ingery by it. And i pray bare with him the rathar for father and mothar [and] grandfathar was never so forward upon the furst aquantance. i hope he wil prove the wisar man in that very qualitye. Indede, Raphe, he is to younge to be strudgeled in any forsing waye. i had intelygence your father was trobled to see him soe strange. i pray tel him frome me I thought he had had more witt then to thinck a childe of his adge woulde be a quanted presently. He knowes the childe was feloe good a nofe in my house. i praye shewe him what I have written a bought him, and be shore that he be not frited by no menes: he is of a gentel swet nature, sone corrected.*

Such incidents may to some persons appear trifling, but if we desire to form an accurate conception of what sort of people our ancestors of the seventeenth century really were; if we wish actually to know, so far as it is possible, the men and women to whose earnest and right-minded patriotism we owe our present greatness, it is not enough that we study the representations of them by Vandyke, or

* Verney MS. 29th October, 1639.

observe how they acted merely on great occasions; we must penetrate, whenever we can do so, into their homes, we must sit with them in their chimney corners, follow them to their daily tasks, and think no fact useless which teaches us how they thought and felt in any given circumstances.

Sir Edmund passed the autumn of 1639 at Bath. His health was seriously shaken, and Ralph wrote mournfully about him to the countess of Sussex; but the November term brought him back, as in those days it did all the world, to London, where the following letter was addressed to him by the well-known Lionel Cranfield, the merchant earl of Middlesex, and once lord treasurer:—

Sir Edmund spends the autumn in Bath.

THE EARL OF MIDDLESEX TO SIR EDMUND VERNEY.

Sir,—My unfortunate kynsman Vyncent Cranfeild is by his improvidence fallen into troble, and is now in the custodye of your officers. I am informed you have used him with much curtisie and favor, for which I give you many thanckes, and shalbe glad of any occation to return them. The actions entred against him are accordinge to this inclosed paper, amountinge in princypall debtt to 3920*l.*, besides the 1200*l.* counterbond to Mr. Croocke and Mr. Hofton, for savinge them, lesse the two three hundred pounds, which is all for one somm.

As for the 120*l.* to Alexander Brett, which is the only dangerous action in your courte, that I have sattisfied and paid; as for the rest, I knowe formes must bee observed in all courts, and therefore sir John Suckling, my nephewe, and Mr. Charles Treanch, esquire, are contented to bee his bayle, and, for your farther securetye and indemnitye, I do hereby bynd my selff, my heyres, executtors and assignes, to save you harmelesse, and yf this shall not satisfie you, I desire you wilbe pleased notwithstanding for the present to free him, and I will forthwith give you any further caution to your content, for I praye you to rest confident no man shall suffer for doinge me a curtesie. Sir, I am, your very loving freind,

MIDDLESEX.

St. Bartholomew's, November 14th, 1639.

To my honorable frend sir Edmond Vernye, knight marshall, &c. theise.

Here, for the present, we come to a close. It was our intention to have carried down these extracts from the Verney Papers to the year 1642; but, warned by the space occupied by the year 1639, and the space which will be required for the papers of the next three years, we deem this a fitting place at which to stop. The contest between the king and his subjects, between government by prerogative and government by law, has begun. It remains to be seen how the battle came to be fought out, not on the barren Scottish border, but on the fertile fields of England, and how the Verneys were affected by the calamitous but in many respects glorious struggle.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

ACCOUNT OF MONEY RAISED ON PRIVY SEALS IN BUCKS, A.D. 1604.

A booke of the kings majesties privy seales sent into the county of Bucks, the second yeare of his highnes reigne, 1604, vnto the seuerall persons hervnder written, for the loane of the particular summes of money in them conteyned, deliuered vnto sir Alexander Hampden, knight, at seuerall times, as herin is sett downe.

	£		£
Sir Henry Lee, knight	200	Sir Anthony Grenaway, knight	40
Sir Robert Dormer, knight	100	Sir William Andrewes, knight	40
Sir Anthony Terringham, knight	50	Sir Thomas Temple, knight	50
Sir William Bowyer, knight	40	Sir Francis Fortescue, knight	30
Sir Owen Ogglesthroppe, knight	30	Sir Guye Foster, knight	20
Sir Thomas Denton, knight	30	Sir Richard Mompesson, knight	20
Sir Henry Longvile, knight	40	Sir Edwin Sandes, knight	50
Sir George Fleetwood, knight	30	Sir William Garrard, knight	30
Sir William Willoughby, knight	40	Sir William Burlace, knight	50
Sir Edward Tyrrell, knight	40	Sir Phillip Scudemore, knight	30
Sir Henry Barker, knight	30	Sir George Throgmorton, knight	30
Sir Edward Randall, knight	30	Sir Frances Goodwin, knight	60
Sir Fleetwood Dormer, knight	30	Sir John Pagginton, knight	60
Sir Christofer Hoddesdon, knight	40	Thomas Throgmorton, esq.	100
Sir William Perryam, knight	50	Sir Christopher Piggott, knight	50
Sir Thomas Challoner, knight	40	Thomas Piggot, esq.	30
Sir Francis Curson, knight	40	Richard Piggot, esq.	30
The lady Pellam, vid.	50	Edmund West, esq.	20
Sir Pecksall Brokas, knight	100	Walter Dennis, esq.	20
Sir John Dormer, knight	30	Richard Charnock, esq.	30
Sir William Cleark, knight	50	Robert Barker, esq.	40
Sir Richard Ingolsby, knight	40	Paule Rysley, esq.	20
John Crook, knight	50	Fardinando Pulton, esq.	30
Sir William Fleetwood, knight	40	Anthony Chester, esq.	30
Sir Everard Digbee, knight	40	Richard Haubery, esq.	40

	£		£
Paule Dorrell, esq.	20	John Raunce, gent.	20
Thomas Terringham, esq.	30	Thomas Farmer, esq.	30
Richard Cotten, esq.	30	Bennett Winchcomb, gent.	30
Edmund Kiddermaster, esq.	40	Thomas Patte, gent.	30
Robert Hovendon, doctor of dyvinitie	30	Richard Saunders, gent.	30
Erasmus Coape, esq.	20	Thomas Redman, gent.	30
Raphell Throgmorton, esq.	20	Symonn Mayne, gent.	20
John Ellmes, esq.	30	Sherrington Montgomery, gent.	20
Robert Williams, esq.	20	Mathew Claver, gent.	20
William Tottle, esq.	50	William Chalfon, gent.	20
Edmund Brudnell, esq.	30	Arthur Claver, gent.	30
John Moores, esq.	40	John Brinckhurst, gent.	20
Raynes Lowe, esq.	20	Thomas Jakeman, gent.	20
Thomas Duck, esq.	30	Leonard Bave, gent.	20
Edward Woodward, esq.	20	John Duncomb, gent.	20
Henry Manfield, esq.	20	William Duncomb, gent.	20
William Right, esq.	20	Edward Briteridge, gent.	20
William Penn, esq.	20	Edmund Duncomb, gent.	20
Mistres Mary Sandes, vid.	20	Thomas Harris, gent.	20
Mistres Amye Drewe, vid.	20	Robert Saunders, gent.	30
Mistres Ann Burlace, vid.	20	William Seriaunt, gent.	30
Mistres Ellenn Wentwoorthe, vid.	20	Edward Harte, gent.	20
Mistres Elizabeth Beake, vid.	20	Richard Abraham, gent.	30
Mistres Margery Leigh, vid.	20	Edmund Maior, gent.	20
Richard Trowghton, gent.	20	Richard Porter, gent.	20
Frauncis Duffield, gent.	20	William Sheppard, gent.	20
John Waterhowse, gent.	30	William Abraham, gent.	20
Edward Ardenn, gent.	20	Edmund Maior, gent.	20
Edmund Piggott, gent.	20	William Serieant, gent.	20
Anthony Frankishe, gent.	20	John Maunsell, gent.	20
Anthony Sawrye, gent.	20	John Jakeman, gent.	20
Thomas Eyrie, gent.	20	John Lamburne, gent.	20
Henry Fynch, gent.	20	William Sallter, gent.	20
Thomas Asshfield, gent.	20	William Whitfield, gent.	20
William Rufferd, gent.	20	William Whitfield, clerk	20
Frances Piggott, gent.	20	Symon Maund, gent.	20
Frances Duncomb, gent.	30	Thomas Taylor	20
Thomas Catesbye, gent.	20	John Beck	30
John Duncomb, gent.	20	John Fabian	20
Samuel Bosse, gent.	30	John Saunders	20
Baldwin Sheppard, gent.	30	John Urlinn	20
Robert Willowghbye, gent.	30	Brian Ironson, gent.	20

	£		£
Laurens Merrydale	20	John Turner	20
John Pytcher	20	Thomas Bowler	20
Edward Randole, gent.	20	Henry Newman	20
John Bowden	30	Christopher Egleton	20
Thomas Bowden	20	Isake Sheppard	20
John Parsonns	20	Robert Stephenson	20
John Hart	20	Thomas Redding	20
Leonard Briteridge	30	John Beard	20
Henry Briteridge	20	Nicholas Boss	20
Christopher Fendall, gent.	30	William Barton	20
Adam Langley	20	Thomas Breedon	20
Augustinn Belson	20		157

Received the before named priue seales the 17th day of August, 1604.

Received priuie seales directed vnto the seuerall personns hearevnder written, the 17th day of September, 1604.

John Duncket, gent.	Thomas East
— Burlace, gent.	Thomas Barringer, gent.
Sir Robert Gonson, knight	Thomas Lane
Thomas Wauler, gent.	John Seare
Bartholomew Tipping, gent.	James Tomson, gent.
John Biscoe	William Peeters, gent.
Thomas Butterfield	Henry Moncke, gent.
Symon Haynes	William Redding

16

Received priue seales directed vnto the seuerall personns of clergie hearevnder written the 9th of October, 1604.

	£		£
Richard Pilkinton, rector of Hambleden	20	Samuell Rieve, rector de Marshe	20
John Kinge, rector of Taplow	20	Humphery Alewoorthe, rector of Call-	
Richard Harris, rector of Hardwick	30	verton	30
Richard Brett, rector of Quainton	20	Roger Hackett, rector of Crawley	30
Henry Wilkinson, rector of Waddesden	20	Robert Challenner, rector of Agmon-	
Thomas Egerton, rector of Adstock	20	desham	30
Ralph Smithe, rector of Milton	20	George Clark, rector of Munckris-	
Richard Sandey, rector of Linford	20	borowe	30
Richard Smith, rector of Chalfont St.		Erasmus Webb, archdeacon of Buck-	
Gyles	20	ingham	20
William Swadden, rector de Horrwood		Bargerley, rector of Denham	30
magna	20		

16

Received the priue seales directed vnto the seuerall personns hearevnder written the
24th of October, 1604.

	£		£
Thomas Sankye, gent.	20	Richard Madge	20
John Garr, gent.	20	Richard Saunders, gent.	20
Doctor Steward	20	Robert Doyle, gent.	20
John Bell	20	Henry Howell	20
John Wells	20	George Carter	20
William Durdaunt	20	Gylpinn of Woolston	20
Thomas Wallcott	20	Robert Fitchew	20
Edward Ewer, gent.	20	William Findall	30

These persons hearevnder written remaine out of the sheare, and therefore the priue
seales to them directed are re-delivered to Mr. Thomas Kerry.

Sir Henry Lee, knight	Robert Williams, gent.
Sir Henry Barker, knight	William Sheppard, gent.
Sir Thomas Challenner, knight	Paule Darrell, esq.
Sir Edwin Sandes, knight	Sir Pexall Brockas, knight
Sir Fraunces Curson, knight	Thomas Throgmorton, esq.
Sir Edward Randall, knight	Bryann Ironson, gent.
Henry Finch, gent.	Augustinn Bellson, gent.
Fraunces Piggott, gent.	Thomas Farmer, esq.
Robert Willowghbye, gent.	Richard Charnock, esq.
Erasmus Cope, gent.	Robert Barker, gent.
Amy Drew, widdowe	Richard Haubery, gent.
Bartholomew Tipping, gent.	Thomas Duck, esq.
Edward Arden, gent.	William Wright, esq.
Edward Briteridge, gent.	Docter Steward
William Whitefeld, gent.	Edward Harte, gent.
Edward Randall, gent.	John Gare, gent.
Wallter Dennis, gent.	Fraunces Piggott

These personns hearevnder written discharged by the lords of the councell, as appeareth
by 3 certifiycats subscribed by Mr. Thomas Kerry.

Sir Christopher Piggott, knight	Richard Porter, gent.
Anthony Sawrie, gent.	John Jakeman, gent.
John Fabyan, gent.	Symonn Maunnd, gent.
Isake Sheppard, gent.	William Chalfon, gent.
John Beard, gent.	Thomas Eyre, gent.
John Waterhouse, gent.	Leonard Baven, gent.
Samuell Boss, gent.	John Lambert, gent.

William Seriaunt, jun., gent.	Thomas Lane
Raphaell Throgmorton, gent.	Sir Robert Dormer
Fraunces Fortescue, knight	Anthony Frankishe
Adam Langley, gent.	Sir Robert Johnson
William Barton	Richard Smithe, parson of Challfont
Thomas Bowden	James Tompson
John Saunders	John Urlinn
Baldwin Sheppard, gent.	Edmund Piggott
Arthur Clauor, gent.	John Duckett
Thomas Bowler	John Beck
Christopher Egelton	Christopher Kendall
Nicholas Boss	Walter Dennis
John Turnor	Sir William Bowier
Richard Saunders	Burlace, of Chesham
Edmund West	Sir William Oglethropp
John Duncomb	Sir William Burlace
William Redding £ 30	Sir Phillip Scudmore
John Parsonns 20	Sir John Paggington
Sir Edward Tyrrell, knight	Richard Piggott
Sir Richard Mompesson	Robert Barker
Richard Abraham	Fardinaundo Pullton
Thomas Harris	Richard Cotten, esq.
William Whitfield	William Tottle, esq.
John Mansell	Edward Kiddermaster
Thomas Sankye	John Elmes
Richard Madge	Edmund Brudnell
Sherrington Mongomerye	Sir Fraunces Goodwinn
Sir George Throgmorton	John Moores, esq.
Sir Guy Foster	Thomas Duck, esq.
Thomas Taylor	Bennet Winchcom
Sir Thomas Denton	

A note of such money as I have received since my last accompt made the 30th daye of August, 1604.

Imprimis remaininge in my hands att my last accompt with my master, £24.

A note of such money as I have received of the King's :—

	£
Per received the second of September of mistress Lees mann, of Okeley	20
Per received the 4th of September of Mr. Raynslowes mann, of Clifton Raynes	20
Per received the 6th of September of Mrs. Wentworthe, of Burnam Abby	20
Per received the 10th of September of my lord cheife barronns mann	50
Per received the 11th of September of sir Anthony Tiringhams mann	50
Per received the 17th of September of Mr. Brinckhowst	20

	£
Per received the 17th of September of sir William Gerrett	30
Per received the 17th of September of sir William Fleetwood	40
Per received of Mr. Mansfeild mann the 27th of September	20
Per received of sir Henry Longfeild the first of October	40
Per received of Mr. Thomas Piggott the first of October	30
Per received the 4th of October of Mr. Sannds	20
Per received the fourth of October of Mr. Edmund Duncomb, of Ivingoe	20
Per received of sir William Androwes the second of October	40
Per received of sir Anthony Grenewaye the 10th of October	40
Per received of Mr. William Duncomb, of Ivingoe, the 15th of October	20
Per received the 17th of October, of Mr. Paule Risslie, of Chitwood	20
Per received the 19th of October, of mistress Beake, of Hadnamn	20
Per received the 21st of October of Mr. Penn	20
Per received of Mr. Cotton the 21st of October	30
Per received of Mr. docter Howenden	20
Per received of sir Christopher Hodsden, and paid by J. Shepheard	40
Paid into the exchequer the 26th of October, £500.	
Per received of Mr. Harris the 29th of October	30
Per received of Mr. Haynes the 30th of October	20
Per received of sir John Cooke the 30th of October	30
Per received of Mr. dr. Swaddon	20
Per received of Mr. Reeue, parson of Marshe, the 10th of November	20
Per received of Mr. William Abraham, of Wingrave, the 10th of November	20
Per received of Mr. dr. Clarke, of Risborowe, the 13th of November	30
Per received of my ladye Pellham the 14 of November	5
Per received of Mr. Kinge, parson of Taplowe, the 17th of November	20
Per received of Mr. Challenor the 17th of November	30
Per received of sir Richard Ingoldsbey the 17th of November	20
Per received of sir Fleetwood Dormer the 23rd of November	20
Per received of Erasmus Webb, archdeacon of Buckingham, the 22nd of November	20
Per received of Mr. Tirringham, of Netherwintchingdon, the 23rd of November	20
Per received of Mr. Fraunces Doffeld the 24th of November	20
Per received of sir William Clarke the 25th of November	30
Per received of sir Thomas Temple the 26th of November	30
Per received of Mr. Bennett Wintchcomb the 30th of November	20
Per received of Mr. Thomas Waller the 30th of November	20
Per received the 14th of December of Mr. Smithe, parson of Millton	20
Per received of Mr. Pootes, of Cuddington, the 14th of December	30
Per received of Mr. Fraunces Duncomb the 10th of January	20
Per received of Kilpinn the 19th of January	20
Per received of Mr. Chester the 7th of February	20
Per received of Mr. Doyleye the 9th of February	20

These were all received by Frances Smith, servant to sir Alexander Hampden.

No. II.

ACCOUNT OF MONEY RAISED ON PRIVY SEALS IN BUCKS, A.D. 1626.

Privy Seales, 144, reed. 13^o Aprilis, 1626, of Edward Goeman, messenger.

Com. Buck.

	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
Sir William Challoner, of Steeple Claydon, knt. and bart. a privy seale for .	40	0	0	3 hund. Buck.
Sir Peter Temple, of Stowe, knt.	20	0	0	
Sir Richard Ingolsby, of Lenborow, knt.	20	0	0	
Symon Bennett, of Bechampton, ar.	10	0	0	
Lawrence Washingdon, of Westbury, ar.	10	0	0	
Anthony Grenaway, of Leckamsteed, ar.	10	0	0	
Thomas Dayrell, of Lillingstone, ar.	10	0	0	
Symon Every, of Maidsmourton, ar.	10	0	0	
William Lambert, of Buck, gent.	10	0	0	
Margery Lambert, of Buck, vidua	10	0	0	Discharged.
Symon Heynes, of Turweston, gent.	10	0	0	
Edmund Dayrell, of Lampard, gent.	10	0	0	
Robert Smith, of Akely, gent.	10	0	0	
Robert Smith, of Twiford, gent.	10	0	0	
Thomas Wake, of Marshgibbon, gent.	10	0	0	
George Palmer, of Thornton, gent.	10	0	0	
William Paxton, of Barton, yeoman	10	0	0	Discharged.
17	Summa	.	.	
	220	0	0	Privy Seales 17.
John Theed, of Leborne, yeoman	10	0	0	Cotteslowe.
William Cleavor, of Weedon, jun., yeoman	10	0	0	
Henry Bridges, of Edesborough, gent.	10	0	0	
Barnard Turney, of Lincelade, yeoman	10	0	0	
William Abraham, of Wingrave, gent.	10	0	0	
Sir Robert Lovett, of Sulbury, knt.	20	0	0	
Susan Meridale, de ead. widow	10	0	0	
Mistris Elizabeth Hampden, of Dunton, vidua	10	0	0	
George Cheshire, of Whitchurch, yeoman	10	0	0	Discharged.
The lady Cheney, of Drayton Bechampe	10	0	0	
William Duncombe, of Ivinghoe, gent.	10	0	0	
Gregory Pratt, of Marsworth, ar.	10	0	0	
John Fortescue, of Salden, ar.	10	0	0	
Robert Barker, of Harwood magna, gent.	10	0	0	

		£	s.	d.
	John Moore, of the Weild, ar.	.	.	10 0 0
Abated to 5 <i>l.</i>	Thomas Wigg, of Mentmore parsonage, yeoman	.	.	10 0 0
	Mathew Deveryll, of Swanburne, gent.	.	.	10 0 0
	John Graunge, of Mursley, yeoman	.	.	10 0 0
	Oliver Stiles, of Horwood parva, gent.	.	.	10 0 0
	The lady Grace Fortescue, of Salden, vidua	.	.	10 0 0
	John Adames, of Swanburne, yeoman	.	.	10 0 0
	Richard Meade, of Bragnam, yeoman	.	.	10 0 0
	22	Summa	.	230 0 0
Aylsbury.				
Abated to 5 <i>l.</i>	Richard Babbham, of Weston, gent.	.	.	10 0 0
	Thomas Moore, of Aylsbury	.	.	10 0 0
Abated to 5 <i>l.</i>	Richard Pawly, of Halton, gent.	.	.	10 0 0
	Robert Dormer, of Peterly, ar.	.	.	10 0 0
	Richard Seriant, of , ar.	.	.	10 0 0
	Thomas Randoll, of Cuddington, gent.	.	.	10 0 0
	Alexander Jennings, of , yeoman	.	.	10 0 0
	Sir Richard Moore, of Bledlowe, knt	.	.	20 0 0
	Joan Chuknoll, of Princes Risborow, vidua	.	.	10 0 0
	Thomas Hoare, of Aylsbury, yeoman	.	.	10 0 0
Abated to 10 <i>l.</i>	Sir Thomas Lee, of Moreton, knt.	.	.	20 0 0
pd.	Thomas Lee, of Hartwell, ar.	.	.	10 0 0
Discharged.	The lady Hoddesdon, of Dynton, vidua	.	.	10 0 0
	Christofer Hampden, of Wendover, ar.	.	.	10 0 0
	Henry Syred, of Monks Risborowe	.	.	10 0 0
	John Knight, of Great Missenden, yeoman	.	.	10 0 0
	Sir William Fleetwood, de eadem, knt.	.	.	20 0 0
	Lionell Randoll, of Kimble magna, gent.	.	.	10 0 0
	Thomas Bosse, of Bierton, gent.	.	.	10 0 0
	Nicolas House, ib. gent.	.	.	10 0 0
Pd. 10 <i>l.</i>	John Hampden, of Hampden, ar.	.	.	13 6 8
	Mistris Joice Fountaine, of Huckett, vidua	.	.	10 0 0
	William Hill, of Weston, gent.	.	.	10 0 0
	Christopher Eggleton, of the Grove, gent.	.	.	10 0 0
	24	Summa	.	273 6 8
Ashendon.				
	William Howlett, of Long Crindon, yeoman	.	.	10 0 0
Pd. 11 <i>l.</i>	Sir Fleetwood Dormer, of Lee, knt.	.	.	20 0 0
Discharged.	William Rice, of Ashendon, yeoman	.	.	10 0 0
	Arthur Claver, of Oving, gent..	.	.	10 0 0

	£	s.	d.	
John Sanders, of North Merston, gent.	10	0	0	
Thomas Betham, of Ashendon, gent.	10	0	0	It should have
Thomas Sumner, of Dynton, yeoman	10	0	0	come out but
Mistris Mayne, de eadem, vidua	10	0	0	did not.
Edward Greenvile, of Little Pollicott, gent.	10	0	0	
Sir John Dormer, of Dourton, knt.	20	0	0	
William Mayne, of Hogson, gent.	10	0	0	
William Whitfeild, of Shabington, gent.	10	0	0	
Richard Pigott, of Doddersall, ar.	10	0	0	
Augustyne Belson, of Brill, ar.	10	0	0	
William Pyme, de eadem, gent.	10	0	0	
George Carter, de eadem, gent.	10	0	0	
Symon Steward, of Gryndon, ar.	10	0	0	
Richard Beake, of Hadnam, gent.	10	0	0	
Edward Harte, of Brill, gent.	10	0	0	
John Duncombe, of East Cleydon, ar.	10	0	0	
John Busby, de eadem, gent.	10	0	0	
William Abell, de eadem, gent.	10	0	0	
21	Summa	230	0	0

Newport.

Sir William Andrewes, of Lathbery, knt.	20	0	0	
Robert Throgmorton, of Weston, ar.	10	0	0	
Roger Nicholls, of Willyn, ar.	10	0	0	
William Killpyne, of Wolson, gent.	10	0	0	
Sir Anthony Chester, of Chichely, knt. and bart.	40	0	0	
Thomas Aston, of Westbury, gent.	10	0	0	
Francis Catesby, of Hardmead, ar.	10	0	0	
Sir Kellam Digby, of Gayhurst, knt.	20	0	0	
The Lady Mary Digby, ib., vidua	10	0	0	
Sir Pecksall Brocas, of Little Brickell, knt.	20	0	0	
Chubnoll, of Astwood, gent.	10	0	0	
John Duncombe, of Great Brickell, gent.	10	0	0	
Thomas Kilpine, of Walton, gent.	10	0	0	
Sir William Fortescue, of Hanslapp, knt.	20	0	0	
Richard Saunders, of Wavendon, gent.	10	0	0	Discharged.
George Welle, de eadem, gent.	10	0	0	
Marke Parker, of Weston, gent.	10	0	0	
George Edwards, of Emerton, gent.	10	0	0	
Incent Castle, of Olney, ar.	10	0	0	
Thomas Stafford, of Tottenhoe, gent.	10	0	0	Abated to 5 <i>l.</i>
John Norman, of Shenley, yeoman	10	0	0	

		<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
	John Crane, of Loughton, ar.	10	0	0
	Sir Arthur Willmott, of Simpton, knt.	20	0	0
	Doctor Adkins, of Tickford end	20	0	0
	24			
	Summa	330	0	0
Chilterne.				
Disborowe.	Sir Miles Hubberd, of Great Marloe, knt.	20	0	0
	John Farmer, de eadem, ar.	10	0	0
Discharged.	Sir William Borlace, of Medmenham, knt.	20	0	0
	Mistris Alice Duffield, de eadem, vidua	10	0	0
	Knightly Duffield, ib., gent.	10	0	0
	Richard Archdale, of Great Wickombe, gent.	10	0	0
	John Goare, de eadem, gent.	10	0	0
	Richard Widmore, of Hitchendon, gent.	10	0	0
Burnham.				
	William Tohill, of Agmondesham, ar.	13	6	8
	Thomas Waller, of Becomsfeild, ar.	13	0	0
	Mistris Anne Waller, de eadem, vidua	12	0	0
	Bryan Jansan, de eadem, ar.	10	0	0
	William Pen, of Pen, ar.	10	0	0
Pd. 20 <i>l.</i>	Sir Gregory Norton, de eadem, knt. and bart.	40	0	0
	Francis Cheney, of Chesham, ar.	10	0	0
	Sir Henry Guilford, of Taploe, knt.	20	0	0
	Henry Manfeild, of Taploe, ar.	10	0	0
	Sir Edward Manfeild, de eadem, knt.	20	0	0
Discharged.	William Clarke, of Hitcham, ar.	12	0	0
	Henneage Proby, of Agmondesham, ar.	10	0	0
	Sir John Parsons, of Boveney, knt.	20	0	0
	Tobias Cage, of Burnam, gent.	10	0	0
	Thomas Garrett, of Dorney, ar.	10	0	0
	Thomas Stile, of Little Missendon, gent.	10	0	0
Stoke.				
	Sir Edward Coke, of Stoke, knt.	30	0	0
	The Lady Winwood, of Ditton parke, vidua	12	0	0
	Sir John Kidermaster, of Langley, knt.	20	0	0
	Sir Marmaduke Darell, of Fulmore, knt.	20	0	0
	Sir John Lawrence, of Iver, knt.	20	0	0
	Sir Edward Salter, de eadem	20	0	0
	Sir Edmund Wheeler, of Dotchatt, knt.	20	0	0
	Bonham Norton, de eadem	10	0	0
	Auditor Budd, de eadem, gent.	10	0	0
	Henry Bulstrode, of Horton, ar.	10	0	0
	Sir David Watkins, of Vpton, knt.	20	0	0
	5			
	Summa			

PRIVY SEALES

			£	s.	d.	
April 20	Imprimis of Marke Parker	. . .	10	0	0	pd. April, 1626.
21	of William Howlett	. . .	10	0	0	pd. Receipts.
21	of Mr. Thomas Dayrell	. . .	10	0	0	pd.
21	of Mr. Edmund Dayrell	. . .	10	0	0	pd.
25	of Roger Nicholls, of Willin	. . .	10	0	0	pd.
25	of George Welle, of Wavendon	. . .	10	0	0	
25	of Thomas Kilpin, of Walton	. . .	10	0	0	
25	of sir Kellam Digby	. . .	20	0	0	pd.
25	of the lady Mary Digby	. . .	10	0	0	pd.
25	of Matthew Deverill	. . .	10	0	0	pd. £100
25	of George Edwards	. . .	10	0	0	pd.
25	of John Grange	. . .	10	0	0	pd.
25	of Mr. William Lambert	. . .	10	0	0	pd.
25	of Mr. Robert Smith, of Akely	. . .	10	0	0	pd.
26	of Mr. Richard Pigott	. . .	10	0	0	pd.
26	of Mr. Henry Manfeild, of Taploe	. . .	10	0	0	pd.
26	of Mr. William Abraham	. . .	10	0	0	pd.
26	of William Hill, of Weston	. . .	10	0	0	pd.
26	of William Whitfeild, of Shabington	. . .	10	0	0	
26	of Mr. William Pen, of Pen	. . .	10	0	0	pd.
27	of Thomas Sumner, of Dynton	. . .	10	0	0	£100
28	of Mr. John Hampden	. . .	10	0	0	
May 2	of Mr. John Fortescue	. . .	10	0	0	pd.
23	of Mr. Lawrence Washington	. . .	10	0	0	pd.
24	of the lady Wynwood	. . .	12	0	0	pd.
29	of sir Thomas Lea	. . .	10	0	0	pd.
June 22	of Mr. William Tothill	. . .	13	6	8	pd.
22	of Mr. Thomas Stile	. . .	10	0	0	pd.
August 3	of Mr. Robert Dormer	. . .	10	0	0	
Summa			<hr/>			
			305	6	8	
			<hr/>			
June 22	Wherof paid into the chequer at one time	. . .	205	6	8	
March 15	Paid at another time	. . .	93	0	0	
			<hr/>			
Summa paid			298	6	8	
So rem ^t . in my handes £7, besides £23 received of my old master, which being added, there will remayne in my hands in all						30 0 0

OLD MASTER'S RECEIPTS.

			£	s.	d.
April 20	of Thomas Waller, of Beconsfeild	.	13	0	0
27	of sir Henry Guilford	.	20	0	0
May 4	of Mr. Edward Greneville	.	10	0	0
9	of Mr. auditor Budd	.	10	0	0
11	of sir Gregory Norton, part.	.	20	0	0
13	of sir William Andrewes, knt.	.	20	0	0
14	of Mr. Robert Throgmorton	.	10	0	0
19	of sir William Fortescue, knt.	.	20	0	0
26	of Mr. Beake, of Hadnam	.	10	0	0
June 22	of sir William Fleetwood, knt.	.	20	0	0
23	of sir Fleetwood Dormer, knt., part.	.	11	0	0
	of Francis Cheney, esqre.	.	10	0	0
August 3	of Symon Heynes, gent.	.	10	0	0
	of Mr. Robert Barker	.	10	0	0
Summa			194	0	0
Wherof paid to me at London 22 June, 1626, £25; wherof sergeant Peterson had 40s., so I received but					
			23	0	0
March 16, 1626. Paid since by Mr. John Denton into the exchequer			80	0	0
Summa paid			103	0	0
April 20, 1627. So rem ^t . in my old master's hands of the privy seale money			91	0	0

No. III.

ACCOUNT OF COAT AND CONDUCT MONEY LEVIED IN BUCKS
IN 1627.

The charges of 100 men set out into the low countries the 25th of March, 1627, amounting to 95*li.*, after the rate of 19*s.* a man ; for which 95*li.* the precepts were sent out, but by the remainder of 13 coates of a former store, and the abatement of halfe a daies march, it stood the countrey but in 15*s.* 6*d.* a man, that is, for coates, 12*s.* 2*d.*, and 1*s.* 4*d.* ouer in the wholl ; prest money, 1*s.* ; conductor, 1*s.* ; conduct, 1*s.* 4*d.*

Chilturne hundreds, for 25 men.

	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
The charge	23	15	0
Whereof			
Paid to Wetherhead	17	10	0
To bee allowed backe for prest money	1	5	0
And for 3 coates reserued vpon a former store	2	2	0
Sum	20	17	0
Remainder to bee answered thence	2	18	0

Newport hundreds, for 21 men.

The charge	19	19	0
Whereof			
Paid to Wetherhead	12	12	0
To bee abated for prest money	1	1	0
To be allowed back for 2 coates of a former store	1	8	0
Sum	15	1	0
Remainder to bee answered thence	4	18	0

Alisbury hundred, for 16 men.

The charge	15	4	0
Whereof			
Paid to Wetherhead	14	16	0
To bee abated for prest money	0	16	0
To bee allowed back for 3 coates of a former store	2	2	0
Sum	17	14	0
Remainder of surplusage due to them	2	10	0

Cottislow hundred, 13 men.	<i>£ s. d.</i>
The charge	12 7 0
Whereof	
Paid to Wetherhead	11 0 0
To bee abated for prest money	0 13 0
To bee allowed back for 2 olde coates of a former store	1 8 0
Sum	13 1 0
Remainder of surplusage due to them	0 14 0
Ashenden hundred, 13 men.	
The charge	12 7 0
Whereof	
Paid to Wetherhead	6 3 6
To bee abated for prest money	0 13 0
To bee allowed back for 2 coates of a former store	1 8 0
Sum	8 4 6
Remainder to be answered thence	4 2 6
Buckingham hundred, 12 men.	
The charge	11 8 0
Whereof	
Paid to Wetherhead	10 12 6
To bee abated for prest money	0 12 0
To bee allowed backe for 1 coate of a former store	0 14 0
Sum	11 18 0
Remainder of surplusage due to them	0 10 6
The surplusage to bee receiued out of Chilturue, Newport, and Ashenden hundreds, is	11 18 6
Whereout	
Due to Alisbury hundred	2 10 0
To Cottislow hundred	0 14 0
To Buckingham hundred	0 10 6
To Wetherhead, the gaoler, and constables of Alisbury	8 5 8
Sum	12 0 2
Which leaueth vnpaid	0 1 8

It is farther to be considered that Newport hundred laid doune 20*s.* to the conductor, which is to be charged upon the wholl sheir, for that the conductor received of Weatherhead but 4*li.* whereas his due was 5*li.*, which amounteth to 2*d.* a man and 3*s.* 4*d.* ouer, thus proportioned as neare the trew value as can be.

	£	s.	d.
Chilturne, 25 men	0	5	0
Newport, 21 men	0	4	3
Alisbury, 16 men	0	3	3
Cottislow, 13 men	0	2	7
Ashenden, 13 men	0	2	7
Buckingham, 12 men	0	2	4
Sum	1	0	0

Besides the restitution of surplusage from those 3 limmits of Chilturne, Newport, and Ashenden, to those other of Alisbury, Cottislow, and Buckingham, that have paid too much, the defaulters must be made pay, or els the accompt will never be perfectly made, which were returned to be:—

Wingrave	0	11	0
Horidge	0	3	0
Westbury	0	9	0
Barton	0	5	7
Richard Tomlins	0	0	9

The charges of 100 men conducted to Portsmouth the 23rd of May, 1627, after the rate of 20*s.* 8*d.* a man.

The precepts went out for 103*li.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, which is a surplusage of 5*li.*

Coates at 14 <i>s.</i>	70	0	0
Prest money	5	0	0
Conductor	10	0	0
4 daies march at 8 <i>d.</i> a man	13	6	8
Sum	98	6	8
Surplusage	5	0	0

Chilturne, 25 men.

The charge	25	16	8
Whereof			
Paid their wholl proportion; coates 17 <i>li.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> ; 4 daies march, 3 <i>li.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> ; prest money, 25 <i>s.</i> ; conductor, 50 <i>s.</i>	24	11	8
For parchment	0	0	6
Sum	24	12	2

Remainder 24*s.* 6*d.*, which sir Thomas Denton delivered back vnto Hathway.

Newport, 21 men.						
The charge	.	.	.	.	.	£ s. d.
						21 14 0
Whereof						<hr/>
Paid to Wetherhead	.	.	.	.	.	18 13 4
Which should bee	.	.	.	.	.	20 13 0

The 39s. 8d. to make it up, sir Thomas Tyringham at Buckingham, promised sir Edmund Verney should bee answered ; ouer and above which there resteth of surplusage, 21s.

Alesbury hundred, 16 men.						
The charge	.	.	.	.	.	16 10 8
Whereof						<hr/>
16 coates	.	.	.	.	.	11 4 0
4 daies march	.	.	.	.	.	2 2 8
Prest money	.	.	.	.	.	0 16 0
Conductor	.	.	.	.	.	1 12 0
						<hr/>
				Sum	.	15 14 8
				Remainder of surplusage	.	0 16 0

Ashenden hundred, 13 men.						
The charge	.	.	.	.	.	13 8 8
Whereof						<hr/>
For 13 coates	.	.	.	.	.	9 2 0
4 daies march	.	.	.	.	.	1 14 8
Prest money	.	.	.	.	.	0 13 0
Conductor	.	.	.	.	.	1 6 0
						<hr/>
				Sum	.	12 15 8
				Remainder of surplusage	.	0 13 0

Cottislow hundred, 13 men.						
The charge	.	.	.	.	.	13 8 8
Whereof						<hr/>
For 13 coates	.	.	.	.	.	9 2 0
4 daies march	.	.	.	.	.	1 14 8
Prest money	0 13 0
Conductor	1 6 0
						<hr/>
				Sum	.	12 15 8
				Remainder of surplusage	.	0 13 0

APPENDIX.

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Buckingham hundred, 12 men.						<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
The charge	12	8	0
Whereof								
For 12 coates	8	8	0
4 daies march	1	12	0
Prest money	.	.	.	.	.	0	12	0
Conductor	.	.	.	.	.	1	4	0
					Sum	11	16	0
					Remainder of surplusage	0	12	0
					Whereof in Wetherhead's hands	0	15	4

DEFAULTS.

Sir Henry Lea, in Ashenden hundred	.	.	.	.	.	0	14	0
Great Missenden, professedly denied	.	.	.	.	.	0	6	0

The charges of 50 men conducted to Plimmouth in August, 1627.

Coates at 14 <i>s.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	35	0	0
Prest money	.	.	.	.	.	2	10	0
Conductor	.	.	.	.	.	20	0	0
14 daies march at 8 <i>d.</i> a man	.	.	.	.	.	23	6	8
					Sum	80	16	8

Which cometh to 32*s.* 4*d.* a man.

Chilterne, 12 men and halfe	.	.	.	.	.	20	4	2
Newport, 10 men and halfe	.	.	.	.	.	16	19	6
Alisbury, 8 men	.	.	.	.	.	12	18	8
Cottislow, 6 men and a halfe	.	.	.	.	.	10	10	2
Ashenden, 6 and a halfe	.	.	.	.	.	10	10	2
Buckingham, 6 men	.	.	.	.	.	9	14	0
					Sum	80	16	8

Hereof no accompt can yet bee taken, by reason that the conductor is not yet returned, nor hath the draper been yet spoken withall since hee deliuered the coates; but, the precepts going out for an eeven summe, it is to bee doubted there wilbee defaults returned, though there came in money inough to set the men forward.



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