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Richard Cust

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THE PAPERS OF SIR RICHARD
GROSVENOR, 1ST BART.
(1585–1645)

Edited by
Richard Cust

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PREFACE

The manuscripts printed here are a selection of Sir Richard Grosvenor's papers, mainly drawn from the archive of the Grosvenor Estate at Eaton Hall Estate Office, near Chester. I am very grateful to His Grace the Duke of Westminster D L for permission to publish them.

The Grosvenor Estate documents have been made available to me at the Chester City Record Office. I am most grateful for the help and hospitality of the archivists there, especially Simon Harrison and Jacqueline Foster. My trips to the record office have always been a real pleasure. I also wish to thank Eileen Simpson, the archivist at Eaton, and Pat Knight of the Estate Office who have been most helpful in transferring documents to Chester. Ann Hyde, curator of manuscripts at the Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, U.S.A., has also been very helpful in answering my queries about Grosvenor papers deposited there.

My research in Chester was made possible by a Small Grant from the British Academy; and their award of a Research Readership has given me the time to write the introduction and carry out the editorial work. I am extremely grateful for their support.

I began work on Grosvenor in the late-1970s with Peter Lake. This led to a joint article on 'Sir Richard Grosvenor and the rhetoric of magistracy', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, liv (May 1981), 40-53, which I have drawn on extensively in this edition. Over the years Peter and I have spent a lot of time discussing Sir Richard and his view of the world. I am most grateful to him for his unfailingly stimulating comments and his generosity in encouraging me to go ahead with this edition. Colin Phillips has advised me on the problems of editing a collection such as this; Philip Morgan has given useful guidance as series editor; Don Gilbert has provided valuable help with translating Grosvenor's Latin; and Conrad Russell has done more than anyone to encourage my interest in the period to which Grosvenor belonged. I am grateful to all of them.

Most of all I want to thank Ann Hughes for her advice on the introduction and her encouragement and support in many other ways.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.P.C.	<i>Acts of the Privy Council of England</i> , 46 vols. (1890–1964)
B.L.	British Library
C.R.O.	Cheshire Record Office
C.C.R.O.	Chester City Record Office
Cust and Lake, ‘Grosvenor’	R.P. Cust and P.G. Lake, ‘Sir Richard Grosvenor and the rhetoric of magistracy’, <i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i> , liv (May 1981), 40–53
E.H., Grosvenor	Eaton Hall Estate Office, Grosvenor Papers
H.M.C.	Historical Manuscripts Commission
Heal and Holmes, <i>Gentry</i>	F. Heal and C. Holmes, <i>The Gentry in England and Wales 1500–1700</i> (Basingstoke, 1994)
Morrill, <i>Cheshire</i>	J.S. Morrill, <i>Cheshire 1630–1660</i> (Oxford, 1974)
Ormerod	G. Ormerod, <i>The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester</i> , ed. T. Helsby, 3 vols. (1882)
P.R.O.	Public Record Office
‘Stanley Memoranda’	P.H. Lawson, ‘Family memoranda of the Stanleys of Alderley 1590–1601 and 1621–1627’, <i>Journal of the Chester and North Wales Archaeological Society</i> , new ser. xxiv (1921–2), 81–101
V.C.H. <i>Cheshire</i>	Victoria County History, <i>Cheshire</i>
U. of K., Spencer	University of Kansas, Kenneth Spencer Research Library

INTRODUCTION

THE DOCUMENTS

The surviving papers of Sir Richard Grosvenor are divided between three main collections and a series of smaller deposits. The bulk of them belong to the Grosvenor archive at the Eaton Hall Estate Office, nr. Eccleston, Cheshire. As well as the letters, speeches, accounts and memoranda published here, these consist of deeds and settlements, accounts for the family's lead mines in north Wales, quarter sessions papers, royal proclamations, manuscript separates relating to public affairs, copies of verses and an account of the *Scrope v. Grosvenor* case from the fourteenth century commissioned from the Chester herald, Randle Holme.¹ The second main accumulation is amongst Holme's own papers in the British Library's Harleian MSS. These include letters and deeds, and the lists of signatories to the Cheshire Remonstrance of 1642.² The third consists of Grosvenor's parliamentary diaries for 1626 and 1628 which are held in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, along with a philosophical commonplace book in Latin which he probably compiled when he was a student.³ There are also small groups of Grosvenor letters amongst the State Papers in the Public Record Office and the Earwaker Collection at the Chester City Record Office.⁴ Finally several bound volumes, mainly of separates belonging to Grosvenor, which were sold at Sothebys in 1966 and 1967, are deposited at the Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, U.S.A.⁵

A feature of this collection is the relative dearth of correspondence. This limits the sort of questions one can ask about Grosvenor. It is difficult to find out much about his family relationships or financial affairs, or indeed the religious activities which were a very important part of his identity. But against this there are unusually plentiful examples of the rhetoric and language he used to project positive images of himself and validate his arguments. This is the aspect of Grosvenor that I have concentrated on in selecting documents for publication. My aim has been to bring together material which illustrates what Grosvenor thought it meant to be a godly gentleman and how he sought to match himself to this role. The two sets of advice to his son contain a detailed outline of the standards of conduct, both public and private, to which he aspired, even if his own practice fell short of his ideals; the address to the Cheshire electors and the two jury charges show, amongst other things, how he conceived of the duties of local governors and M.P.s and offered himself as a role model; and what little survives of his correspondence gives further insight into the way he presented himself in a variety of contexts. I have supplemented this material with personal accounts and a list of correspondents between 1636 and 1638 which reveal his social activities and

network of connections; and a catalogue of his separate collection in 1635 which illustrates the range of information that a gentleman might acquire in preparing himself for his public duties.

The three speeches and list of separates are written out in his own hand in small paper books, measuring 8" × 6".⁶ The advices, accounts and list of correspondents are all contained in a commonplace book, measuring 7" × 5", which consists of two books bound together.⁷ The first of these (covering pages 6–102) is in the hand of Grosvenor's son-in-law, Sir Francis Gamull. He used it to copy out important letters which came into his hands during the 1630s and to record adages and forms of address which he could employ in his own correspondence. Besides the two advices written by Sir Richard for his son, there are interesting letters from Gamull himself and from Grosvenor's legal adviser, Thomas Bavand. The second book (pages 104–258) is in Grosvenor's own hand. In addition to the personal accounts and list of correspondents, it contains details of his bonds and debts from 1624–1629 and 1632–1636 and notes on the costs he incurred in various law suits.

EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS

The documents published here have been transcribed in full. There are two surviving copies of the 1636 letter of advice. The earlier text has been used throughout, with variations in the later text indicated in the notes.

Original spelling has been retained, with the following exceptions: abbreviations have been silently expanded where the meaning is certain; and archaic forms of lettering have been modernised (for example 'ye' transcribed as 'the', and where appropriate 'ff' as 'f', 'i' as 'j' and 'con' as 'tion'). Extraneous information or additions to the text have been placed in square brackets. Passages in Latin, or in italics in the original, have been italicised. Punctuation has been modernised. The use of the upper case has been kept to the minimum. And corrections, omissions, changes and words which are illegible have been indicated in the notes.

THE MAKING OF 'A GODLY GENTLEMAN': SIR RICHARD GROSVENOR (1585–1645)

In December 1628, Nathaniel Lancaster, an aspiring Puritan minister in Chester, dedicated a funeral sermon to Sir Richard Grosvenor. He claimed that

the fervent zeale and universall approbation of our county give wnesse to your deserts for a chiefe pillar in the publike affaires of this kingdome; . . . their shrill cryes prevaile without resistance, notwithstanding your modest denial of the office of *a father of the country*.⁸

Sir Richard was at the height of his powers. He had recently been elected to serve as knight of the shire for Cheshire for the third time. He was the most trusted

public figure in west Cheshire, earning the sobriquet of 'the honest chancellor' for his role in arbitrating local disputes. He was revered by the local historian William Webb for upholding the traditions of a lineage which displayed 'many . . . virtues' and 'linked many families together of great dignity and repute.'⁹ And he was hailed by the foremost Puritan minister of the shire, William Hinde, as a paragon of the godly gentleman.

Both the university in his youth and the countrey in his riper age may and will seale him a worthy testimony for a gentleman of an amicable and sweet disposition and of a studious and religious carriage and conversation . . . both in his person and calling . . .¹⁰

Grosvenor's fortunes were to decline rapidly soon after this. He spent most of the 1630s in the Fleet prison after acting as surety to his brother-in-law, Peter Daniell esq., who defaulted on his debts. But during the 20s he enjoyed a status and reputation which was second to none among the Cheshire gentry. How he acquired this position, and sought to sustain it, is the main theme of this introduction.

In the jostling, competitive world of county society status and reputation had constantly to be asserted and defended. In part they rested on the supports referred to above: illustrious ancestry, a good education, public service as J.P. and M.P. and close contacts with the godly ministers who did so much to shape respectable local opinion. Wealth and social contacts, and appropriate levels of display and hospitality, were important; so too was a more brutal relish for litigation which could deter challenges to one's 'good name'. But a crucial element in all this was the extent to which an individual was seen as conforming to notions of gentility. This brings us to the theme of contemporary image making, to which early modern historians are directing more and more attention.

It has recently been argued that Englishmen in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries displayed a new interest in fashioning their identities, through manipulating the narratives, symbols, languages and discourses which formed contemporary culture. These processes worked in more than one direction. At the same time as displaying a considerable capacity to invent themselves, their aims, their actions, even – according to recent narrative theory – their thought patterns, were structured by these same cultural resources. Grosvenor is a good example of these processes at work. His prominent position in Cheshire rested to a considerable extent on the success of his self-fashioning. He managed to persuade a variety of audiences that here was a man who epitomised the contemporary ideal of the 'father of the country'; and the way he achieved this is revealed, at least in part, by the documents published here and his occasional contributions to parliamentary debate, which have been published elsewhere. By studying the discourses and languages that he deployed, one can see how he played to these audiences and sought their approval and assent. At the same time one can also pick up ways in which his own conduct was shaped and structured by the assumptions implicit in these same discourses and languages.¹¹

This brings us to a second theme of this introduction: what Grosvenor's political activities tell us about the nature of contemporary politics. Recent work by revisionist historians has stressed that the dominant discourses in English political culture in this period were about consensus and unity. In parliament and elsewhere politicians harped on the need for co-operation between crown and subject, and concessions were offered and deals struck to make this possible.¹² Grosvenor certainly fits this picture. In his speeches he constantly advocated the need for king and parliament to work together to maintain the existing order; and during 1642 he was one of the leading lights in a local campaign to prevent the breakdown of this unity and the onset of civil war. But within this view there was also considerable potential for division. If a breakdown in unity occurred it needed to be accounted for and Grosvenor, like many of his contemporaries, tended to adopt explanations which highlighted the influence of 'evil counsellors' close to the king. Although this does not appear to have undermined his loyalty to James and Charles themselves, it did lead him to criticise royal ministers and thereby oppose the crown. Grosvenor's activities, then, provide an interesting sidelight on the way in which conflict could emerge within a political culture which emphasised unity.

* * *

Sir Richard Grosvenor was essentially a provincial figure. Born in 1585, the only surviving son among seventeen children, his family could trace its origins back to a nephew of Hugh Lupus, the first earl of Chester.¹³ This was a source of considerable pride, but also a certain amount of anxiety over upholding the Grosvenor tradition. In 1629 when faced with the crippling burden of his brother-in-law's debts, Sir Richard lamented that 'It were a killing misery for mee to be the overthrow of soe auncient a family as hath continued in Cheshire ever since the Conquest'.¹⁴ Like many gentry, he took a keen interest in the history and status of his lineage. He inherited a heraldic commonplace book from his father in which he continued to record the births and pedigrees of his family and kin, and he carried out some of his own research amongst documents and charters loaned by fellow gentry. In 1629 he commissioned the Chester herald, Randle Holme, to make an illuminated transcript of proceedings in the Scrope v. Grosvenor controversy of 1385-9. This included the evidence of over two hundred witnesses assembled by his ancestor Sir Robert Grosvenor to demonstrate the family's standing in the shire and support the claim to their ancient coat of arms.¹⁵ But perhaps the most conspicuous display of his pride in ancestry was the sumptuous funeral monument which he erected in Eccleston church in 1624. This was a memorial to himself, his three wives and his parents, covered with the coats of arms of the Grosvenors and the families into which they had married [*see cover illustration*]. It was not uncommon for gentry to commemorate themselves in this way within their own lifetimes and, in effect, it provided a concrete representation of the claims to local eminence that William Webb had recorded in his county history.¹⁶

Grosvenor's three marriages were with the daughters of leading local gentry. Along with the marriages of his sisters and his children, these created a kinship

network which stretched across much of southern and western Cheshire. His first marriage, at the age of fifteen, to Lettice Cholmondeley, brought him into the orbit of the family ranked second amongst the county elite. Even after Lettice's death in 1612, he remained close to the Cholmondeleys, in particular his mother-in-law, the redoubtable Dame Mary. He corresponded with her and acted as executor to her will; she received visits from her Grosvenor grandchildren up to her death in 1625; and it was at Dame Mary's house, Vale Royal, that Sir Richard was knighted when James I visited the county in 1617.¹⁷ His second marriage, to Elizabeth Wilbraham in 1614 brought an even closer alliance. His brother-in-law, Sir Richard Wilbraham, a county justice and deputy lieutenant, became in time his most intimate friend and confidant. Wilbraham acted as overseer to his father's will, stood surety for Grosvenor's debts, entertained him at Christmas, kept up a weekly correspondence with him when he was incarcerated in the Fleet and worked closely with him in local politics.¹⁸ Apart from Wilbraham, the only senior justice to whom Grosvenor was particularly close was Peter Daniell esq, his fellow knight of the shire in 1626. Daniell had married his sister, Christian, and was the family's most trusted adviser until the late 1620s, when he defaulted on his debts and left Sir Richard to face his long spell of imprisonment.¹⁹ Grosvenor's landholdings in and around Chester also brought him into contact with some of the city's leading aldermanic families. His legal adviser was Thomas Bavand esq, a barrister at the Inner Temple, but also the offspring of a family which had provided city mayors and M.P.s.²⁰ However, his closest friend here was again a member of his immediate family, Sir Francis Gamull, who married his daughter Christian in 1624 and later became Mayor of Chester and city M.P. Grosvenor intervened on several occasions to promote Gamull's interests and ambitions; and Gamull reciprocated by maintaining a regular correspondence with Sir Richard and copying his letters of advice into his commonplace book.²¹ Like so many of the upper gentry, then, Grosvenor's social world was built around his kin by marriage. He attended their weddings, christenings and funerals, entertained them at dinner parties, visited them at Christmas and met up with them when he was in London. It was their portraits he would probably have hung on the walls at Eaton and their coats of arms which embellished his funeral monument.²²

But his social contacts were not confined to the upper gentry. The evidence provided by his deeds and bonds, and the lists of those to whom he wrote letters in 1636–8, also reveals a network of social inferiors, lesser gentry and yeomen for the most part, with whom his affairs had become entwined. Prominent among these was William Colley of Eccleshall, executor of his father's will, manager of the family leadmines in North Wales and Sir Richard's chief man of business.²³ They also included Roger Hurlton of Chester and John Massy of Coddington, again both relatives by marriage, William Glegg of Lower Kinnerton, Richard Wright of Pulford and Thomas Steele of Eaton, his principal manservant. These were all near neighbours, drawn from the area of Grosvenor's estates which stretched south and west from Chester to the borders of Wales. They helped manage his estates, acted as sureties for his debts and serviced the family trusts. In return Grosvenor displayed the 'downward deference' which has been seen as a characteristic of the

upper gentry in this period, offering them hospitality, legal support and patronage.²⁴ Grosvenor's social horizons, then, were bounded by the county, at least up to the 1630s, when he was involuntarily transplanted to London. According to the coats of arms arranged in order of precedence which were on display at the Leghs' family seat at Adlington Hall in 1611 he ranked fourteenth among the Cheshire elite;²⁵ and he was one of the local worthies whose deeds were recorded in the commonplace book kept by Thomas Stanley of Alderley.²⁶ He had no ambition for preferment at court and conceived of his role as member of parliament largely in terms of service to his shire. This was the world to which Grosvenor felt he belonged, the world whose judgements counted for him in matters of status and reputation.

However, his local concerns were mediated by a series of national perspectives. The clearest examples of these were provided by his education. From an early age Grosvenor was introduced to the mix of Calvinist and humanist ideals which was so influential in shaping a national gentry culture in this period.²⁷ It had been the prime concern of his parents, he claimed, to ensure that their children were brought up in the Protestant religion. To this end, at about the age of ten, he was taken into the household of John Bruen of Stapleford, an archetypal godly gentleman who educated the offspring of Cheshire families. Here he was exposed to a vigorous regime of catechising, bible reading, psalm singing and household worship.²⁸ However, the formative influence on his religious development was probably provided by university. At the age of thirteen he went up to Queen's College, Oxford, where he was amongst the minority of gentry who stayed four years to graduate with a B.A. Queen's was renowned as the principal seminary for godly ministers in Oxford and it seems likely that the Puritan atmosphere in the college had a powerful impact on the young Grosvenor. He later described college tutors as 'the fathers of spirritts, as haveing more influence over the resemblances of soules then carnall fathers over bodies'; and his own tutor was probably the Puritan William Hinde, who served as college fellow before taking up his living in Cheshire and later praised Grosvenor's 'studious and religious carriage' in his life of Bruen.²⁹

His religious upbringing was reinforced by the arts undergraduate course at Oxford. This consisted largely of a training in rhetoric and logic to prepare for disputations, which were the principal means of assessing a degree. A Latin logic notebook, which Grosvenor probably compiled whilst he was an undergraduate, shows him going through the exercises required of disputants, stating various moral and philosophical questions then summing up the arguments needed to answer them. The wide reading in classical authors that this entailed was also intended to serve a broader purpose. It provided a training in practical ethics which humanist educators saw as essential for equipping a gentleman to fulfil his roles as head of the household and local governor.³⁰

The legacy of Grosvenor's education was principally apparent in two areas: his adoption of patterns of godly behaviour which led to him being described as a Puritan; and his respect for learning. Grosvenor's advice to his son provides the clearest indication of his aspirations to personal piety. He urged him to adopt a

regime of personal prayer and family worship similar to that in the Bruen household, to show diligence in reading the Scriptures and to attend sermons whenever the opportunity offered. He also insisted that he should display public support for preaching ministers, something for which he himself was praised by Nathaniel Lancaster.³¹ But perhaps the most forthright expression of his puritanism was his uncompromising hostility to popery. He urged his son to 'Abhorre popery' as a

mock religion patched together of mens traditions and vanities, without ground of Scripture or collor of truth to any but to such as the God of this world hath blinded.

As shall see this was fundamental to his political, as well as his religious, beliefs.

Complementing Grosvenor's godliness, in the eyes of contemporaries like Hinde, was his learning. Grosvenor described learning as 'the best ornament that can beautifie a gentleman'³² and devoted considerable energy to continuing with the education he had received at university. One aspect of this was his efforts to train himself in the art of public speaking. Although Grosvenor was not a particularly stirring orator – lacking the appearance of spontaneity which was regarded as the hallmark of an effective parliamentary speechmaker³³ – his addresses were sufficiently eloquent to persuade his fellow gentry that he was a suitable choice to deliver the jury charge and to represent them in parliament. He worked hard at developing his technique. Lessons learnt at Oxford were reinforced by diligent practice in drafting and redrafting speeches, many of which were never delivered. He also kept extremely full diaries of the debates he witnessed in parliament, which enabled him to study the techniques of others and garner material for his own use – as with the passage on toleration for catholics in the Commons Petition of 1621 which he worked into his election address in 1624.³⁴ Much of his speechmaking was painfully derivative. He culled phrases from a mixture of classical and contemporary sources and constantly recycled them – for example, an image of the Commons extinguishing wildfire with milk to demonstrate their moderation appeared in a draft speech for the 1626 Parliament and again in three drafts for 1628.³⁵ His speeches resembled nothing so much as a patchwork of contemporary clichés, stitched together to meet the needs of the occasion. But in this respect they were similar to the bulk of public rhetoric in the period; and it was in their references to familiar images that much of their effectiveness lay.

Another feature of his public speaking – and indeed his private letters of advice – was his extensive use of Latin. He sought to illustrate many of the points he made by reference to aphorisms or *sententiae* which contemporaries regarded as authoritative distillations of classical wisdom.³⁶ These aphorisms were most effective when used sparingly; but this was not Grosvenor's forte and he often gives the impression of including them simply to show off his erudition. On occasion his over use of Latin could backfire, as happened when he delivered a long speech during the house of commons' subsidy debate of 27 November 1621. The second half of this appears to have been entirely in Latin, which prompted the

unusually tart comment from the parliamentary diarist Edward Nicholas, that 'Sir Richard Grosvenor here out of his papers read us a large lecture'.³⁷ Grosvenor does not appear to have tried this again. However, he did continue to scatter short Latin passages throughout his speeches; and for the most part they appear to have been well received, particularly by the less demanding local audiences.

Grosvenor was also one of the growing number of early-Stuart gentry who built up a large library. Unfortunately no contemporary listing of its full contents has been found; however, a catalogue of the library at Eaton in the late nineteenth century included nearly a thousand items published before 1645.³⁸ It seems likely that most of these would have been in the library in Sir Richard's day since the types of material and the range of subjects covered matches that of well over a hundred volumes which – from bookplates and other evidence – can definitely be identified as belonging to him.³⁹ If so this would have made it one of the larger gentry libraries of the period.⁴⁰ Grosvenor's father had laid a foundation by 1584, mainly with works of history and theology (including Calvin's *Institutes*, Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* and polemical works by godly authors such as William Fulke and Percival Wiburn).⁴¹ Sir Richard added to this with regular purchases, some of them recorded in his personal accounts for 1636–8.⁴² The bulk of the pre-1645 holding at Eaton was again works of history and theology (including collections of Pauls Cross and Fast sermons, important contributions to theological debate, such as Richard Montague's *A Gagg for a New Gospell* and numerous works of anti-papal polemic by authors such as Alexander Cooke, John Gee, William Prynne, Thomas Scott and Thomas Moreton); but there were also works of poetry, moral philosophy, heraldry (including a copy of Thomas Milles', *Catalogue of Honour*, presented to him by Lady Cholmondeley), together with 272 pamphlets (mainly from 1641–2) and a collection of manuscript separates giving accounts of contemporary politics.⁴³ Grosvenor took considerable pride in his library, leaving instructions that it be preserved intact by his son and passed down 'from heire to heire of my family whilst it shall please God to preserve the same in my name.' It was also of considerable practical value in his public role. The details of treaty negotiations, military ventures, schemes for reform, resolutions by the judges and so on, which were contained in his large separate collection, for example, allowed him to speak with knowledge and authority on contemporary events.

The principal end of Grosvenor's pursuit of learning was service on the commission of the peace. Like most leading county gentry he regarded this as his natural calling, something to which 'we [are] all borne', as he told the grand jurors. However, he had to wait until November 1619, two months after his father's death, before he was appointed. He entered the commission at eighteenth in the order of ranking amongst the local gentry, but rose to sixth when he purchased a baronetcy in February 1622, which confirmed his status as senior justice in the area around Chester.⁴⁴ He was a conscientious enough justice, although by no means one of the most active;⁴⁵ however, in October 1626 his career came to an abrupt end when he was removed from the commission.

The reason for this is something of a mystery. He was one of the victims of a general purge of J.P.s between July and October 1626 which he later described as

punishment for those speaking out against Buckingham in the recent parliament. But there is no evidence of him actually having done this, and it seems more likely that what landed him in trouble was his involvement with the Commons committee to investigate recusant officeholders.⁴⁶ Several of those purged appear to have been picked on by Buckingham for naming his clients to the committee. It is possible that, as he was to do in 1628, Grosvenor presented the name of Thomas Viscount Savage, the leading Cheshire courtier of the day, and thereby incurred the duke's wrath.⁴⁷ Whatever the reason for his removal, he was never restored to the commission. By the time other gentry were returning in late 1628, he was in trouble over Daniell's debts. However, he did remain active in other areas of local government, for example as an arbitrator of disputes both in the county and the city of Chester.⁴⁸ He also served as a forced loan commissioner in February–March 1627.

This is a revealing episode because it highlights Grosvenor's habitual loyalty to the king. When Savage, the privy council's representative came to Chester to launch the loan at the beginning of February, he initially encountered stiff opposition. Many local governors and subsidy payers had misgivings about the legality of the loan. However, Savage negotiated with them and made it clear that the king had a personal stake in the loan and regarded it as a crucial test of loyalty. This seems to have done the trick, certainly as far as Grosvenor was concerned. Within a few days he had set an example by offering his own payment of £20 and then took a leading role in persuading subsidy payers to co-operate as well.⁴⁹

In some counties this level of involvement with the loan would have been enough to disqualify him from election to parliament in 1628. But Grosvenor's local prestige was so high that he was returned for the third time. This was the more remarkable because during the 1620s the county appears to have been operating a rota whereby candidates normally served only once, to ensure that the honour of representing the shire was shared around.⁵⁰ Grosvenor was acceptable to leading gentry and freeholders alike. In 1621 he was elected to the second county seat without a contest in the presence of an array of senior gentry. In 1626, when there was a bitter feud lasting three days over the second seat, he was 'approved of all men' for the first. And again in 1628, when preparations for a similar contest were under way, the matter was settled by the gentry and Grosvenor was chosen for the first seat.⁵¹

Grosvenor's electoral success appears to have been based on his ability to project himself as the ideal servant of the 'country'.⁵² In part this meant being seen to attend to the local interests of his constituents, something to which he devoted considerable effort whilst at Westminster. The local issue which most concerned him was the charging of excessive fees in the County Palatine court at Chester which he first raised in 1621, and returned to in 1626 and 1629, as well as pursuing in his election address and jury charges.⁵³ In 1621 he also spoke out over concealments on the Prince of Wales's lands in Cheshire and the import of Irish cattle, which was undermining local farmers.⁵⁴ And when it looked as if the parliament was to be adjourned before a programme of legislation had been completed he entered an eloquent plea on behalf of local taxpayers.

When we come into the country what will they think of us? . . . We have given subsidies and have brought home nothing for them. I pray God we be not subjects of their fury . . .⁵⁵

But serving the 'country' also implied speaking out on a range of broader issues, in particular those relating to the defence of protestantism and the liberties of the subject.⁵⁶ Here Grosvenor's activities were shaped by his vision of the political order. He subscribed to the ideal of a highly integrated political system in which centre and localities were bound closely together and stability was preserved through unity between king and people. The king ruled primarily in order to fulfil the divinely ordained purpose of defending the faith and parliament functioned as adviser to the king and the people's representative. When the integrity of the political order was threatened king and parliament were expected to work together to produce remedies and legislation.⁵⁷ This was a powerful, widely-shared vision which encapsulated many of the commonplaces of contemporary politics and underpinned many of the concerns linked with the 'country'. In many respects it was a rather conservative vision, emphasising the maintenance of the status quo. But, as has been suggested, within it there was considerable potential for conflict which tended to be realised when the system came under threat or appeared to be breaking down. 'Country' politicians, including Grosvenor, tended to explain this as a consequence of the corrupting influence of papists, Arminians and 'evil counsellors' close to the king, and sought remedies which involved opposition to royal courtiers or ministers. It was out of this that conflicts could develop, as Grosvenor's parliamentary speeches demonstrate.

The issue which featured most prominently in these was the defence of Protestantism. As he showed in the quarter sessions charges in which he called on jurors to seek out and punish recusants and Jesuit priests, or in the election address which recommended M.P.s who would act vigorously against toleration for Catholics, he was determined to counter the threat from popery.⁵⁸ In 1621, like many in the Commons, he was preoccupied with the fall of the Palatinate of the Rhine and Catholic advances in the Thirty Years War. He called for the Catholic, Edward Floyd, who had rejoiced at Frederick's defeat, to be 'sent to the Tower with his papers and beads'. And in the November subsidy debate he supported armed intervention on the continent with an impassioned plea: 'Shall religion be extirpated and the king's children thrust out of their inheritance and shall we sit still?'⁵⁹ In 1626 the Commons' main business was the impeachment of Buckingham and Grosvenor tended to remain on the sidelines. His only significant intervention, according to parliamentary diarists, was a warning of the dangers of a popish fifth-column siding with a foreign invader – something he also drew attention to in his jury charge earlier in the year⁶⁰ – and exposing a recusant officeholder, like Savage, as one of the ways of meeting this threat. In 1628, and particularly 1629, however, religion was increasingly to the fore and this pushed Grosvenor into a more prominent role. Again his main concern was the threat from popery, what he described as 'the grief of griefs'; but by 1629 he was also alarmed about Arminianism. In a lengthy report from John Pym's committee on religion, he

outlined the dangers that it presented to Calvinist doctrine and the principle of co-operation between crown and people. These were summed up in the person of Roger Manwaring, the court preacher who had upheld the legality of the forced loan.

This man attempted to make his holy function a means to seduce the king's conscience, to misguide his judgement, to disjoint his affection from his people, to avert his mind from the calling of parliaments . . . to break in pieces that cord and to wrest in sunder that chain which links and ties and unites the affections of the prince and people together.⁶¹

The 1629 speech indicated that, for Grosvenor, defending protestantism was closely linked with regular meetings of parliament and the traditional liberties of the subject. All three appeared to be under threat by the late 20s and in these circumstances he was prepared to attack royal ministers and move further down the road to opposition than at any stage in his career. In the 1621 Parliament and in his 1624 address to the freeholders he had expressed concern about 'evil counsellors'; but these were undertakers or projectors, like Sir Giles Mompesson, who had already been disowned by the crown.⁶² By 1628 the situation was much more serious. In a draft speech of 3 June he delivered a wholesale condemnation of government policies over the past eighteen months, including the forced loan. He and other M.P.s had been sent to Westminster, he maintained,

full charged from our country with many complaints touching our lost liberties, the violation of justice, the beggery of our country, the imprisonment of our bodies . . . the seizing of our goods . . .

This had led them 'to search out the authors of those counsels which have brought these miseries upon us . . .'. At this stage Grosvenor was reticent about naming any of the 'authors', but a few days later he did so. As part of the growing clamour against Buckingham, he prepared a speech in which he called for the duke to be 'sequestered from the king's person' because his 'excessive power abused, to the king and commonwealth's detriment, is the cause of our danger.' This was followed in 1629 with another attack on royal ministers, calling for an investigation of the 'secret direction and command of some eminent ministers of state' who had undermined the drive against papists.⁶³ By the standards of the day such initiatives could hardly be described as radical; but they do illustrate how the search for causes of a breakdown in unity could lead even as instinctively loyal a politician as Grosvenor to oppose the crown.

These parliaments marked the high point of his fortunes. By the end of 1629 he was in the Fleet prison and was not released until after December 1638 when Daniell made provision to meet his debts out of his son's marriage settlement.⁶⁴ The confinement put an end to Grosvenor's hopes of returning to the Cheshire bench and also appears to have caused him financial difficulties. A lack of sources for studying his finances makes it difficult to be precise about this; but during the

1630s he sold his manor of Tushingham and assigned his other estates to trustees to pay off a lengthy list of debts.⁶⁵ However, imprisonment did have its compensations. The regime at the Fleet was fairly relaxed. There was a basic requirement to reside there but no close confinement; so Grosvenor was able to dine out and tour round London, make at least one visit to Cheshire and, under the provision known as 'the Rule', spend much of 1636–8 in Reading. There, as his personal accounts show, he enjoyed all the amenities that a county town could offer. He spent much of his time in the company of senior Berkshire gentry – such as Sir Thomas Vachell, Sir John Darrell, Sir John Blagrove and his chief companions, Sir Francis and Lady Knollys – meeting them at local taverns, dining and gossiping with them, playing at bowls and cards and then taking trips out to visit their houses and attend their parish churches.⁶⁶ These were the regular social activities of the upper gentry, and Grosvenor appears to have been uninhibited by Puritan strictures against drinking and card games. He also enjoyed similar opportunities in London. He met and drank with acquaintances such as Sir Robert Hyde, and on one occasion took a tour round 'the king's shipp' moored at Woolwich, which was presumably the newly built *Sovereign of the Seas*.⁶⁷ Grosvenor broadened his horizons during his imprisonment, but this did not mean that he lost touch with Cheshire. His correspondents between 1636 and 1638 were principally friends and relatives from the county and he received a weekly newsletter from Sir Richard Wilbraham full of information about the latest political and social developments.⁶⁸ As a result in the late 1630s he was able to re-enter county life relatively painlessly. Although he had lost most of his offices he remained an influential figure, being called on to arbitrate a dispute in Chester over the Short Parliament election in 1640.⁶⁹ And during the following two years he played an important role in events leading up to the outbreak of civil war.

Grosvenor was a leading member of what John Morrill has called the 'middle group' in Cheshire. This was a group of gentry who stood out for peace and moderate accommodation against royalist defenders of episcopacy and Puritan proponents of radical reform. The other leaders were Sir George Booth, chairman of the county bench and leading deputy-lieutenant, Grosvenor's close friend, Sir Richard Wilbraham, and Wilbraham's brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Delves. Morrill has argued that this group lacked any discernible political principle, beyond a desire to preserve local order and, as such, epitomised gentry neutralism in 1642.⁷⁰ However, a re-examination of the activities of the group, highlighting Grosvenor's role within it, suggests a different assessment.

During 1640 and 1641 Booth and Wilbraham were described locally as the 'patriots', which implies that they had taken on the mantle that Grosvenor had so successfully assumed in the 1620s. This continued to mean standing up for traditional liberties, supporting an active role for parliament and defending the Protestant religion against papists. They were the senior J.P.s at a meeting of quarter sessions in October 1640 which decided to petition parliament over the grievances of ship money and coat and conduct money; and during the elections of that year they campaigned as 'popular patriots', opposing Sir Thomas Aston, one of the Gentleman of the Privy Chamber at court, and helping to secure the return of

Booth's Puritan son-in-law, Sir William Brereton, and their ally, Peter Venables esq., who had stood out against ship money.⁷¹ Grosvenor was not publicly involved with the election campaign; but his close association with Booth and Wilbraham became clear during negotiations for a petition in defence of episcopacy early in 1641.

The petition was prompted by a radical proposal from local Puritans for the abolition of bishops. This alarmed Wilbraham, in particular, and he and his friends began negotiations with Sir Thomas Aston to produce a moderate counter-petition. Booth and Grosvenor were drawn into the discussions, but they could not agree on the wording; so Aston and his allies went ahead by themselves, presenting an uninhibited defence of episcopacy to the house of lords in February 1641. A reply from the radical Puritans prompted a second Aston petition which now purported to speak for the 'nobility, gentry and inhabitants of the shire'.⁷² This gave the 'middle group' an opportunity to intervene and distance themselves publicly from both Aston and the radical Puritans. They drew up an Attestation – signed by Booth, Wilbraham, Delves, Grosvenor and some forty-seven other local gentry – condemning the petitioners' claim to speak in the county's name, 'without publique trust and appointment' and declaring their support for the Commons' efforts to secure 'the publique peace & flourishing estate of the whole kingdome'.⁷³ Aston later asserted that the 'middle group's' opposition had nothing to do with religious principle, a verdict Morrill has endorsed, arguing that the divisions were part of a long-standing rivalry for local pre-eminence.⁷⁴ But this seems a rather partial reading of the evidence. Later in the year the 'middle group' were willing to join with Aston and his allies when the petition was about the defence of the prayer book and liturgy, on which all were clearly agreed.⁷⁵ It appears more likely that over episcopacy there were substantial differences of opinion.

The 'middle group' appear to have been trying to position themselves between the unequivocal defence of bishops which Aston offered, and the wholesale sweeping away of the order proposed by radical Puritans. They were reluctant to commit themselves to a positive statement on the issue because, as they said in the Attestation, this might 'nourish discontent in our country'; but individuals like Grosvenor surely had an opinion. The pamphlets in Eaton Hall library in the late nineteenth century included a 1641 collection on the topic of presbyterian alternatives to an episcopal church; and in May 1641 Grosvenor received a letter from Sir Francis Gamull at Westminster, discussing reform of the bishops and approving parliament's schemes to curtail their interference in politics.⁷⁶ It seems likely, given their expressions of support, that the 'middle group' favoured the Commons' interim proposals worked out between May and July 1641 whereby power would be given to groups of local gentry commissioners and godly ministers to suppress sectaries and use episcopal income to promote a preaching ministry.⁷⁷ This was the alliance of 'magistracy and ministry' which Grosvenor and moderate Puritans like him had extolled on other occasions.

The 'middle group' which came together during these discussions on the church remained intact until September 1642. Morrill has characterised their stance as one

of pure neutralism. 'Faced by the threat of social disintegration and incomprehension at the course of events at the centre', they 'closed ranks behind county barriers.'⁷⁸ Viewed from the perspective provided by Grosvenor, however, the 'middle group' appears neither as insular nor as uncomprehending as this suggests. They maintained close links with the county M.P.s, Brereton and Venables; and if the contents of the pamphlet collection at Eaton are any guide, there was plenty of information available to make a reasoned assessment of events at the centre.⁷⁹ The stance of the 'middle group' can probably best be described as moderate support for parliament, provided that it pursued its ends through peaceful negotiation with the king. One concern in particular encouraged them to look to parliament as their natural ally: the fear of popery.

In October 1641 a Catholic rebellion broke out in Ireland which transformed the political situation in Cheshire as it did over much of England. The county faced major problems of order and organisation as it became the main thoroughfare for refugees fleeing the bloodshed and soldiers on their way to suppress it; and there were real fears of a Catholic uprising, given substance when several Catholic officers were arrested at Chester. In these circumstances the 'middle group' turned to the centre and petitioned the Commons for assistance. They did not let them down. Sir William Brereton was sent down to the shire to sort out the disciplining of the troops; and parliament sanctioned new measures to disarm Catholics following petitions from Cheshire and elsewhere and a particularly comprehensive survey of local recusants.⁸⁰

The 'middle group' also petitioned the king, urging him against making an intended journey to Ireland lest this leave them exposed to 'the popish faction' who were simply waiting 'an opportunity to bring to birth their cruel conceptions'. Instead he should return to Westminster, settle his differences with parliament and consult over how best to meet the danger. Although the petition might be taken to imply that it was the king rather than parliament who needed to make concessions if settlement was to be achieved, it was well received when it was presented to him in May 1642.⁸¹ This encouraged the 'middle group' to make a further appeal for national accommodation.

The Cheshire Remonstrance of August, was addressed to both king and parliament and supported by over eight thousand signatories. Grosvenor was at the centre of the campaign to promote it. The original copy of the Remonstrance probably remained amongst his papers, before being acquired by the Chester herald Randle Holme; and his annotations show that throughout August and early September he was co-ordinating the collection of signatures. It is also possible that he had a hand in writing the Remonstrance. It deployed his customary rhetoric of unity, praising king and parliament for remedying the ills of the commonwealth, condemning those who tried to declare for one or the other and affirming their existence as a single whole.

Kinge & parliament beeinge like Hippocrates twinns they must laugh and crye,
live and dye together; and both are soe rooted in our loyall hearts that we
cannot disjoynt them . . .⁸²

This was the line the 'middle group' sought to hold in the summer months of 1642.

They were encouraged in this by contacts with their M.P.s. Peter Venables came down to the shire to meet Wilbraham and was reported to have high hopes that a peace would be negotiated on the basis of the Nineteen Propositions. Sir William Brereton – who at this stage appeared as a more moderate figure than he later became – visited Booth in June and was dissuaded from trying to raise troops through parliament's Militia Commission.⁸³ It must at least have appeared to the 'middle group' that there were men of goodwill at the centre seeking accommodation. During July and August they persisted in efforts to prevent royalist or parliamentary supporters escalating the conflict locally. These culminated in a concerted appeal to Lord Strange on the 25 August not to execute the king's Commission of Array. They put forward the Remonstrance as the true expression of county opinion and asked that there 'bee a cessation of armes upon both sides and that some moderate persones may bee employed betweene his Majestie and the saide houses of parliament for the state of the question and cleeringe of the pointes in difference . . .'⁸⁴ Morrill has argued that the 'middle group' went even further and raised a third force to keep the peace locally; but this is based on a mistaken conflation of the Remonstrance and reply to Strange with articles of pacification for the West Riding of Yorkshire.⁸⁵ Nevertheless the negotiations with Strange were impressive testimony to their determination to prevent war.

The 'middle group's' efforts finally collapsed in September when the king came to Chester. He summoned the leaders before him and then carried five of them – including Delves and Wilbraham – off to captivity in Shrewsbury. Booth defected to parliament and Grosvenor's son, Richard, joined the royalists, later taking a leading role in the defence of Chester.⁸⁶ At this point we lose sight of Sir Richard in the sources. He probably retired to Eaton until his death in September 1645.⁸⁷

* * *

Grosvenor's vision of the political order not only shaped his conduct during the 1620s and early 1640s, it also did much to enhance his local status. For within this vision a crucial role was played by the 'godly magistrate' or 'parliament man' who provided the main link between centre and localities, parliament and 'country'. This was, of course, a role that Grosvenor envisaged for himself, and by promoting its significance he was, in effect, underwriting his own claims to local eminence. This brings us back to the issues raised at the start of this introduction: how a leading local politician like Grosvenor was able to draw on contemporary cultural resources to construct positive images of himself. In Grosvenor's case, most of these images reflected contemporary notions of what it meant to be a virtuous and godly gentleman. Through his speeches and conduct he was able to display a series of qualities which persuaded contemporary audiences that he matched up to the ideal of a 'father of the country'. How he achieved this is the main theme of the remainder of this introduction.

Before investigating this, however, it is important to consider the various genres he employed which structured the way he approached the discussion of gentility.

The two letters of advice to his son belonged to a literary form which had become common amongst the early Stuart gentry. Its origins could be traced back to classical models – of which the most familiar was Cicero's *De Officiis* – but there were also recent examples, such as Lord Burghley's precepts for his son and James I's *Basilicon Doron*. Grosvenor was aware of these. The library at Eaton contained a copy of the *Basilicon Doron* and he himself copied out Burghley's precepts in 1614.⁸⁸ The letter of advice provided a means by which fathers could inculcate proper moral and ethical standards into their offspring. Sometimes it was even passed down from one generation to the next, as happened to Grosvenor's longer letter which was still being copied by his great grandson, Thomas in 1674.⁸⁹ Most advices combined reflections on personal experience with maxims and precepts which pointed up the appropriate lessons to be drawn from these. They appear to offer a comprehensive account of the gentry's concerns, but this can be deceptive because, true to their Stoic origins, most letters of advice selected those aspects of gentility which related to conscience, virtue and service of the commonwealth. Grosvenor's were no exception. Although elsewhere he set great store by his family's ancient lineage, this received no more than a passing mention in the advices; and when he discussed finance he made no reference to his extensive involvement in the often sordid and competitive business of leadmining, concentrating instead on the gentleman's traditional, paternal role as a landowner.⁹⁰

Aspects of what it meant to be a gentleman were also discussed in his jury charges and election address, although here the focus was very much on 'public' duties. The jury charge had developed in the late sixteenth century to become a regular feature of meetings of quarter sessions. Its original purpose was to advise jurors on specific legal responsibilities and the content of statutes; but by the early seventeenth century it broadened in scope and often resembled a lay sermon, similar to the sermons delivered at assizes. Local governors were exhorted to follow their consciences, fight sinfulness and fulfil their calling in the service of God and commonwealth.⁹¹ In this respect Grosvenor's charges, with their frequent reference to Calvinist and humanist notions of magistracy and good government, were typical of the genre.⁹² Originally delivering the charge had been the responsibility of the chairman of the bench, but by the early seventeenth century it was usually delegated to justices with a reputation for wisdom and eloquence, and had become something of a mark of honour. So Grosvenor's performance of the task was further testimony to his local standing.⁹³

The pre-election address was a much less regular occurrence. Something of the sort may have been common in Cheshire – since the sheriff, Sir John Done, was also said to have 'made his speech' prior to the 1626 election – but if it happened elsewhere evidence of it has eluded historians.⁹⁴ Grosvenor's address bore marked resemblances to the jury charge, on which it was presumably modelled. Although containing a much fuller account of the political situation, which was necessary if electors were to make an informed choice, there was the same focus on the obligation of freeholders and members of parliament to serve the commonwealth and the same reliance on Calvinist and humanist precepts.⁹⁵ Grosvenor's surviving addresses were all important public or family performances which were no doubt

as carefully crafted as his parliamentary speeches. They also provided ideal vehicles for the images of himself that he sought to project. But what of the content of these images?

Grosvenor's concern with Calvinist forms of piety and his standing amongst the godly has already been discussed. However, it is also worth looking at the parallel values of Stoicism which he absorbed through his classical studies. The two classical authors he cited most frequently were Seneca and Cicero. Above all, it was their concern to conquer the passions through the use of reason and maintain integrity in the face of fortune that he sought to pass on in his letters of advice.⁹⁶ He warned his son that if he was to exercise authority and gain respect a gentleman must first control 'the rebellious affections of his owne nature . . .'. This meant displaying moderation and self-restraint wherever it was feasible. He should avoid quarrelling with his wife and always 'speake to her in the language of love . . . So she will observe it is judgment not passion that discovers her error.' He should exercise self-control in the company of others, particularly with regard to drink: for 'the vertue of temperance is an ornament best befitting a gentelman.' And he should try to believe the best of his neighbours and deal with them in a spirit of mildness and reconciliation.

Remember that a violent cowrse is not alwaies the readiest way of defence . . . Constantine laughed att those who stoned his statues and Theodosius pardoned those who dragged his . . . itt is the carracter of an excellent nature to forgive as much in an other as reason may parmitt . . .⁹⁷

How much attention the young Richard paid to these injunctions is unclear. His father acknowledged that he was 'naturally given to passion'.⁹⁸ But for Grosvenor himself they appear to have represented real aspirations. It was in keeping with this that he assumed an attitude of Stoic forbearance when he was imprisoned in the Fleet. His letter of advice in 1636 passed over the way in which his brother-in-law had abandoned him to his fate and referred instead to the enlarged understanding he had gained from the experience of suffering.⁹⁹ This sort of stance was much admired in early Stuart England and helps to explain why Grosvenor was such a respected and trusted figure in local politics.

But piety, moderation and forgiveness were not the only qualities Grosvenor envisaged in the ideal gentleman. Within his household he should be loving and firm, offering care and guidance to his children and servants, but also instilling into them a godly order and discipline. Towards tenants he should be 'kind & loveinge': for 'they are planted under you not to be tirranized over, but to bee protected.' In the case of the poor he should be charitable. And amongst his neighbours he should foster harmony and agreement, composing differences when these arose, striving to 'bee a chancellor rather than a justice . . .'. Above all he should be honest: for 'the best endowment of the minde is honesty' and 'honest men have this vertue which makes them honored and esteemed, they are allwaies just of their wordes and religious to hould what they promise.'¹⁰⁰ Honesty also had important and specific political connotations – and this brings us to Grosvenor's discussion of the 'public'

aspects of gentility which was the most prominent single theme in his letters and speeches.

For Grosvenor the first duty of a gentleman was service to the commonwealth. Like most of his contemporaries he subscribed to the Stoic notion that a life of active involvement in politics (*negotium*) was generally preferable to one of philosophical contemplation and withdrawal (*otium*). In some circumstances *otium* could be justified – Grosvenor's period in prison was a case in point – but most of the time the 'tribute of action' that 'eviry man owes his cuntrey', as he put it, should come first.¹⁰¹ This sense of priorities was reinforced by the Calvinist stress on the need for the godly to combat sin. This meant becoming an active citizen, not only for the sake of religion and right order, but also to stave off God's judgements on those who connived at wickedness.¹⁰² Hence Grosvenor's lengthy strictures against drunkenness, perjury and swearing.

The principles which should guide gentlemen in the service of their country were summed up for Grosvenor in the distinction between 'public' and 'private'. At one level he used these terms simply to distinguish between family and personal concerns and those which related to a broader public interest. But at another they took on a moral force and potency which allowed them to stand for fundamentally opposite approaches to government and magistracy. Here 'private' meant what was selfish, corrupt, even tyrannical – putting 'proffitt, kindred, alliance, frendshipp, revenge and all by respects' before the common welfare, as he described it. 'Public' was its antithesis, a concept which embraced the common good or the common weal and the duty of a gentleman to serve it unselfishly.¹⁰³ He told the grand jurors that the cardinal principle which should guide them in their work was '*Mementote reipublicae*', which meant literally be mindful of the public thing, but which he translated as 'be mindfull of the commonwealth.'¹⁰⁴ This was where 'honesty' became so important. It summed up the qualities that service of the public required.

It was the mark of an 'honest man', according to Grosvenor, 'ever to bee more respective of the publique interest of [his] countrey then that more private of [his] nearest and dearest frends.'¹⁰⁵ This had different connotations in different public contexts. For magistrates and grand jurors it meant being vigilant and courageous in pursuing wrongdoers, incorruptible in the face of pressure or bribes, impartial in the exercise of judgment and above all faithful to their consciences in all circumstances.¹⁰⁶ For members of parliament and those thrust on to a national stage, the list of qualities was even more demanding. The ideal knight of the shire, as Grosvenor described him in 1624, should be chosen from

such as are quicke of capacitie, nimble of apprehention, ripe in judgment, sound & untaynted in their religion, faythfull and trustie, those that are conversant in the affaires of the countrey & who throughlie understand the nature of this Countie Palatine and such whose courage (uppon all occasions) dare comaund their tongues without feare to utter their countreyes just complaints & grievances.¹⁰⁷

With its emphasis on a staunch protestantism and willingness to speak out about local grievances and the liberties of the country, this was a classic portrait of the contemporary ideal of the 'honest patriot'.¹⁰⁸ But by the late 1620s even more was expected. As a consequence of the political divisions of the forced loan, serving the 'public' had come to mean opposing the crown. This was reflected in Grosvenor's draft speech for the Commons on 3 June 1628, where 'honest men' had become those who had been prepared to speak out against Buckingham in 1626 and who suffered imprisonment for resisting the loan.¹⁰⁹

The range of virtues that Grosvenor discussed provided moral guidance on many aspects of a gentleman's life. But what effect did this have on his own conduct? Here the sparseness of his correspondence causes difficulties. We know next to nothing, for example, about his family life or how he coped with long periods as a widower. We also know very little of his religious activities, although clearly this was an important part of his identity in the eyes of contemporaries. There are, however, some pointers in what little survives. One of his tenants writing in 1630 acknowledged that he had been allowed generous terms on his lease and referred to Grosvenor's reputation for 'favour and goodnes' to 'those who have the happiness to live under you.' In 1634, when it looked as if his son might become involved in litigation over a boundary dispute, he was quick to urge arbitration. The list of religious books and works of practical devotion which he took with him from the Fleet to Reading in 1636-7 suggests at least an intention to pursue the regime of personal piety that he recommended to his son.¹¹⁰ Such scattered fragments are hardly conclusive; but they do suggest at least some effort to match his actions to his ideals. Perhaps the most striking instance of this was his attacks on Buckingham and royal ministers in the 1628-9 Parliament. As has been emphasised, these were rather out of character for someone as instinctively loyal and cautious as Grosvenor. In some respects, of course, he was simply following the logic of his ideological perceptions. But there was also a sense in which he wanted to present himself as an 'honest patriot', and this meant standing up and speaking out in what he saw as the public interest.

The impact of all this on Grosvenor's reputation is rather clearer. Plenty of evidence has been cited to show that he was admired and trusted as honest, learned, godly, eloquent, the archetype of 'a father of the country.' This was undoubtedly an important element in the status he enjoyed within Cheshire, demonstrated most clearly in his repeated election as a knight of the shire. But more surprisingly he also seems to have enjoyed a similar identity outside the shire. This was even picked up by the London creditors hounding him for Daniell's debts who tried to turn it against him by smearing him as 'a smooth tongued puritanicall companion'.¹¹¹ Grosvenor did not much care for the description, but it does provide an interesting illustration of his success in establishing a particular image for himself.

It would be hard to claim that Sir Richard Grosvenor was a major figure in the national politics of the early Stuart period. His contributions in the house of commons were too limited and occasional to make much impact; and when he might have influenced events elsewhere, for example by resisting the forced loan,

he tended to hold back and avoided confrontation. But at a local level he was outstanding, one of the leaders of the Cheshire gentry who set the tone for much of local politics in the 1620s and early 1640s. It is in this that his significance lies. For in many respects he can be seen as personifying the clichés of gentry political life. The ideals he espoused in his rhetoric reveal much about how they liked to imagine themselves. His stress on the need for 'honesty' in politics was at the heart of the 'country' values which so many espoused. And his rise to the top of the county's political hierarchy was a demonstration of the qualities they respected. He could hardly compete with the wealthiest county families, like the Savages or the Cholmondeleys in hospitality or display, but he could outshine them in terms of wisdom, eloquence and service to the commonwealth, and this was what secured his status. If one wants to understand, then, what it meant to be a godly gentleman in early Stuart England one can hardly do better than examine his career and writings.

NOTES

- 1 E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/1–85; E.H., Grosvenor Historical and Legal Misc., 4–6; E.H., Grosvenor Estate Papers, Box 60/1; W. Beamont, *A Calendar of Ancient Charters preserved at Eaton Hall, Cheshire* (Warrington, 1862); *Schedule of Deeds and Documents in the Muniment Room at Eaton* (Chester, c.1900) (a copy is held at the C.C.R.O.).
- 2 The following volumes include Grosvenor manuscripts: B.L., Harl. MSS 2002, 2081, 2095, 2103, 2107.
- 3 Trinity College, Dublin, MSS E.5 17; E.5 33–36; 417.
- 4 P.R.O., SP 16/140/32; 151/78; 152/25; C.C.R.O., CR 63/2/691/4–6.
- 5 U. of K., Spencer Library, MSS D114, D152, D153, C193, C250 (I am most grateful to Ann Hyde, the curator of manuscripts, for information on these volumes). The C.C.R.O. has an annotated copy of H.M.C., *Third Report* (1872), 210–16, 'The manuscripts of the most honourable the Marquis of Westminster at Eaton Hall, co. Chester', which indicates the items sold at Sothebys.
- 6 E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/19, 25, 51–2.
- 7 *ibid.*, 2/22.
- 8 N. Lancaster, *The Proove of Profession. Tabitha's Funerall. A Funerall Sermon for Martha Bate, preached at St John's Church, Chester, 14 Dec. 1628* (London, 1628), sig. A2. Italicised in the original. This volume is not listed in the *Short Title Catalogue*. The only copy known to me is in the C.R.O., H 25.2.
- 9 Cust & Lake, 'Grosvenor', 51–2; P.R.O., SP 16/448/43; Ormerod, ii. 588–9. He was described as 'Grosvenor's mother-in-law' in a verse life of his mother-in-law, Dame Mary Cholmondeley written in 1627 by her solicitor, Thomas Lytler: C.R.O., DBC 2309/1/11, p. 70.
- 10 W. Hinde, *A Faithfull Remonstrance of the Holy Life and Happy Death of John Bruen of Bruen Stapleford in the County of Chester* (London, 1641), p. 97. The life was written at some point between Bruen's death in 1625 and Hinde's in 1628.
- 11 S. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* (London, 1980); K. Sharpe and P.G. Lake eds., *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (Basingstoke, 1994), 12–20. For an attempt to apply some of the approaches advocated in these two studies to the career of another 1620s politician, see R.P. Cust, 'Wentworth's 'change of sides' in the 1620s', in J. Merritt ed., *The Political World of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, 1621–1641* (Cambridge, 1996).
- 12 R.P. Cust and A.L. Hughes, 'Introduction: after revisionism', in Cust and Hughes eds., *Conflict in Early Stuart England* (Harlow, 1989), 1–10. See, for example, C.S.R. Russell, *Parliaments and English Politics 1621–1629* (Oxford, 1979), 5–14, 53–4.
- 13 E.H., Grosvenor Historical and Legal Misc., 6, fos.6–7. Following Ormerod, I gave Grosvenor's

- date of birth as 9 January 1584 in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. *Missing Persons*; but the above list compiled by his father, giving dates of birth and godparents for all his children, clearly indicates that he was born on 9 January, 1584/5. J. Guillim, *A Display of Heraldrie* (London, 1638), p. 150.
- 14 E.H., Grosvenor Historical and Legal Misc., 2, an illuminated pedigree of the family, commissioned by his father in 1597; P.R.O., SP 16/140/32 (below p. 39).
 - 15 E.H., Grosvenor Historical and Legal Misc., 6, fos. 5–7, 55, 96; Historical and Legal Misc., 4; N.H. Nicolas, *The Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy*, 2 vols. (London, 1832). For other gentry evincing a pride in ancestry and family history, see Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, 20–3; P. Styles, 'Sir Simon Clarke', *Birmingham Archaeological Society Transactions*, 66 (1945–6), 6–34; *idem.*, *Studies in Seventeenth Century West Midlands History* (Kineton, 1978), 1–41.
 - 16 B.L., Harl. MS 2151, fo. 79v; Ormerod, ii. 828. On funeral monuments and their importance for representing lineage, see N. Llewellyn, 'Claims to status through visual codes: heraldry on post-Reformation funeral monuments', in S. Anglo ed., *Chivalry in the Renaissance* (Woodbridge, 1990), 145–60. Randle Holme recorded that Grosvenor's monument was defaced in 1643 (B.L., Harl MS 2151, fo. 79v) and it has since been destroyed.
 - 17 J.T. Hopkins, '"Such a twin likeness there was in the pair": an investigation into the painting of the Cholmondeley sisters', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 141 (1991), 7–15, 37; *Cheshire Sheaf*, 10 (Feb., 1913), 17–18.
 - 18 *Schedule of Deeds and Documents in the Muniment Room at Eaton*, p. 261, Box Q2; *Cheshire Sheaf*, 22 (Dec., 1925), 84; E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/22, pp. 179–195, 233–5 (below pp. 78–95); C.C.R.O., CR 63/2/691/4–6.
 - 19 Ormerod, ii. 843; *Cheshire Sheaf* (Dec., 1925), 84; E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/10; 12; 22, pp. 217–31; A.P.C. 1628–9, xlv, p. 398.
 - 20 B.L., Harl. MS 2002, fos. 61–7; *Calendar of the Chester City Council Minutes 1603–1642*, ed. M.J. Groombridge (Record Soc. of Lancs. and Ches., cvi, 1956), 133, 192; P.W. Hasler ed., *The House of Commons 1558–1603*, 3 vols. (London, 1981), i. 465–6.
 - 21 Ormerod, iii. 475; M.F. Keeler, *The Long Parliament* (Philadelphia, 1954), 182–3; E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/22, pp. 17–21, 34–5, 37–55, 179–95 (below pp. 26–38, 79–95); P.R.O., SP 16/448/43; 449/14.
 - 22 Morrill, *Cheshire*, 2–4; A. Fletcher, *A County Community in Peace and War: Sussex 1600–1660* (London, 1975), 44–53. For Grosvenor's attendance at the funeral of his father-in-law, Sir Hugh Cholmondeley in 1601, see B.L., Harl. MS 2129, fo. 67r. For a list of godparents of his brothers and sisters, see E.H., Grosvenor Historical and Legal Misc., 6, fos. 5–7. For the commissioning and exchange of portraits amongst his kin, see Hopkins, 'Cholmondeley sisters', 1–32. The famous Tate Gallery portrait of *The Cholmondeley Sisters* probably shows Grosvenor's first wife Lettice, with his daughter Mary, alongside Mary Calverley. The Calverley's collection of paintings at Lea Newbold in the 1620s included a portrait of Grosvenor's father.
 - 23 *Cheshire Sheaf* (Dec., 1925), 84; E.H., Grosvenor Estate Papers, Box 60/1; Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/22, p. 44 (below p. 33); B.L., Harl. MS 2002, fos. 27–35, 61–7, 153–8.
 - 24 *Schedule of Deeds and Documents in the Muniment Room at Eaton*, pp. 215, 261; B.L., Harl. MS 2002, fos. 61–7, 153–8; E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/22, pp. 44–5, 179–95 (below pp. 33–4, 78–95); P. Collinson, *De Republica Anglorum or History with the Politics Put Back*, Cambridge Inaugural Lecture 1989 (1990), 28–9.
 - 25 C.C.R.O., CR 63/2/22. Part of this display, originally set up by Thomas Legh in 1581, has been uncovered and can be seen in the Great Hall: *Adlington Hall, Cheshire* (English Life Publications, 1987), 10.
 - 26 'Stanley memoranda', 81–102.
 - 27 M. Todd, *Christian Humanism and the Puritan Social Order* (Cambridge, 1987); Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, 243–7, 359–74.
 - 28 E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/22, p. 37 (below p. 29); Hinde, *Life of Bruen*, pp. 34, 68–76, 97.
 - 29 *Alumni Oxonienses, 1500–1714*, comp. J. Foster, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1892), ii. 615; C. Dent, *Protestant Reformers in Elizabethan Oxford* (Oxford, 1983), 171–7; E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/22, p. 41 (below pp. 31–2); Hinde, *Life of Bruen*, p. 97.

- 30 J.K. McConica ed., *The History of the University of Oxford*. Vol. III. *The Collegiate University* (Oxford, 1986), 695–711; M.H. Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition 1558–1642* (Oxford, 1959), 86–90, 107–115, 123; Trinity College Dublin, MS 417 (I am grateful to Ann Hughes for information about this volume); Todd, *Christian Humanism*, 59–65.
- 31 P.R.O., SP 16/152/25; E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/22, pp. 17–18, 39–40 (below pp. 26–7, 30–1); Lancaster, *Tabitha's Funerall*, sig. A2. The incumbent of Grosvenor's home living at Eccleston was William Harrison, a model godly preacher who had earlier been sponsored by the crown to combat popery in the north-west: R.C. Richardson, *Puritanism in North West England* (Manchester, 1972), 20; W. Harrison, *The Difference of Hearers* (London, 1614), epistle dedicatory. Harrison was presented to the living by Sir Richard Wilbraham: Ormerod, ii. 830. The chief executor of his will was William Colley: C.R.O., Cheshire wills, Wm Harrison (d.1625).
- 32 E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/22, p. 41 (below p. 31).
- 33 See the comments on this subject by Sir John Eliot, comparing the appearance of spontaneity in a speaker such as Sir Robert Phelps with the laboured orations of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd or Sir Robert Naunton: *Proceedings in Parliament 1625*, eds. M. Jansson and W.B. Bidwell (New Haven, 1987), 507–8, 555.
- 34 See, for example *Proceedings in Parliament 1626*, 3 vols., eds. W.B. Bidwell and M. Jansson (New Haven, 1991–2), iii. 259–60; *Commons Debates 1628*, 4 vols., eds. R.C. Johnson, M.F. Keeler, M.J. Cole and W.B. Bidwell (New Haven, 1977–8), iii. 52, 310, 518; iv. 76–7, 323. The editors of the *Commons Debates 1628* have identified Grosvenor as the most thorough of all the diarists for the parliament. He recorded almost twice as many speeches as anyone else and attended debates and committees with great diligence: *ibid.*, i. 23–6.
Historical Collections, ed. J. Rushworth, 4 vols. in 7 (London, 1659–1701), i. 40–3; E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/19 (below p. 4). The passage had originally been used in John Pym's speech of 28 November 1621, which Grosvenor may also have had as a source: *Commons Debates 1621*, eds. W. Notestein, F.H. Relf, and H. Simpson, 7 vols. (New Haven, 1935), ii. 463 (I am grateful to Conrad Russell for pointing out this derivation).
- 35 *Proceedings in Parliament 1626*, iii. 259; *Commons Debates 1628*, iii. 52, 518; iv. 77. For his repeated use of a favourite Latin adage *omnibus in rebus faelicitur omnia cedit, si statues finem principiumque Deum*, see *Commons Debates 1628*, iv. 77; E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/19; 2/22, p. 17 (below pp. 5, 26). For another favourite image of the 'chain which links and ties and unites the hearts and affections of the Prince and People together', see *Proceedings in Parliament 1626*, iii. 260; *Commons Debates 1628*, iv. 77; *Commons Debates for 1629*, eds. W. Notestein and F.H. Relf (Minneapolis, 1921), 68–9.
- 36 E. McCutcheon, *Sir Nicholas Bacon's Great House Sententiae* (English Literary Renaissance Suppl. iii, Amherst, 1977), 21–8. On the mastery of Latin as an important skill for a gentleman, see W. Ong, 'Latin language study as a Renaissance puberty rite', *Studies in Philology*, lvi (1959), 103–24.
- 37 *Commons Debates 1621*, iii. 462. Elsewhere in his diary Sir Thomas Barrington never recorded more than a phrase or a few words in Latin; in this case it was the whole of the second half of Grosvenor's speech. For Nicholas' comment, see Edward Nicholas, *Proceedings and Debates in the House of Commons in 1620 and 1621*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1766), ii. 219.
- 38 E.H., Grosvenor Library Lists, no. 1417, *Catalogue of Eaton Library* (Chester, 1897).
- 39 A typed catalogue of the books in the muniment room at Eaton Hall c.1966 (formerly in the C.C.R.O.) lists 77 printed volumes with a bookplate, binding or inscription indicating that it belonged to Sir Richard Grosvenor or his father and a further 28 of these volumes have been identified amongst those purchased for the Rosenbach Library, Philadelphia, U.S.A. in 1929: L.A. Morris, *Rosenbach Redux* (Philadelphia, 1989), 53–111; 37 volumes, some of them the same, with their purchase prices were listed by Grosvenor's father in 'A note of such bookes as I have 1584': E.H., Grosvenor Historical and Legal Misc., 6, fo.146; and a further 43 printed books belonging to Grosvenor, again with overlaps with the first list, can be identified through his accounts: E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/22, pp. 123, 140, 144, 158–9, 166 (below pp. 52, 59, 61, 71–2, 76).
- 40 Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, 277–80; D.J. McKitterick, *The Library of Sir Thomas Knyvett of Ashwellthorpe, ca. 1539–1618* (Cambridge, 1978), 1–2.
- 41 E.H., Grosvenor Historical and Legal Misc., 6, fo.146.

- 42 E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/22, pp. 144, 158–9, 166 (book purchases); pp. 164, 167 (manuscript separate purchases) (below pp. 61, 71–2, 76, 74, 77).
- 43 *Catalogue of Eaton Library, passim*; 'Books in the muniment room at Eaton, c.1966' (formerly in the C.C.R.O.); E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/25 (below pp. 43–51).
- 44 E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/51, fo. 2r (below p. 8); P.R.O., C 231/4, p. 184; C 193/13/1.
- 45 He generally attended two or three meetings of quarter sessions each year, but otherwise his name is rarely mentioned in the order books and sessions files for the period: C.R.O., QJB 6a, Order Bk. 1618–40; QJF 49–54.
- 46 Birmingham Reference Library, Coventry MSS, Commissions of the Peace no. 22; R.P. Cust, *The Forced Loan and English Politics 1626–1628* (Oxford, 1987), 188–9; *Commons Debates 1628*, iv. 76.
- 47 Cust, *Forced Loan*, 189; *Commons Debates 1628*, iii. 61, 63; iv. 319. The lists of those reported to the committee in 1626 are too fragmentary for it to be certain whether or not Grosvenor named Savage: *Proceedings in Parliament 1626*, ii. 138–9, 175–6, 323; iii. 139–40, 312–13. For Savage, see Cust, *Forced Loan*, 25, 121–2, 200, 206–7.
- 48 A.P.C. 1628, p. 183; T.H. Davies Colley, *The Family of Colley of Churton Heath*, ed. W.F. Irvine (London, 1931), 54; E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/22, p. 1; P.R.O., SP 16/448/43; 449/14; C.R.O., QJB 9a, Order Bk. 1640–2.
- 49 Cust, *Forced Loan*, 121–2; E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/21; P.R.O., SP 16/56/72. For the widespread misgivings about the legality of the loan, see Cust, *Forced Loan*, ch. 3. Grosvenor himself condemned the loan as illegal during the 1628 Parliament: *Commons Debates 1628*, iv. 76.
- 50 V.C.H. Cheshire, ii. 106–7; M. Kishlansky, *Parliamentary Selection* (Cambridge, 1986), 27–31.
- 51 P.R.O., C 219/37, no. 76; 'Stanley Memoranda', 99–100; B.L., Harl. MS 2125, fo. 59.
- 52 Cust and Lake, 'Grosvenor', 48–50.
- 53 *Journals of the House of Commons* (1803), i. 606; *Commons Debates 1621*, iii. 149, 360; *Proceedings in Parliament 1626*, iii. 323–4, 392, 397; *Commons Debates for 1629*, 194; E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/19; 2/51, fo. 8v; 2/52 (below pp. 5, 13, 23).
- 54 *Commons Debates 1621*, iii. 213; *Journals of the Commons*, i. 534, 615, 625.
- 55 *Commons Debates 1621*, ii. 407.
- 56 'Introduction' and R.P. Cust, 'Politics and the electorate in the 1620s', in Cust and Hughes, *Conflict in Early Stuart England*, 19–21, 134–62.
- 57 Cust and Lake, 'Grosvenor', 48–53.
- 58 E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/51 fos. 4r–6v; 2/52; 2/19 (below pp. 9–11, 19–20, 2–5).
- 59 *Commons Debates 1621*, iii. 125; ii. 454.
- 60 *Proceedings in Parliament 1626*, ii. 141; E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/52 (below p. 20).
- 61 *Commons Debates 1628*, vi. 76–7; *Commons Debates for 1629*, 65–9.
- 62 *Commons Debates 1621*, vi. 268; E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/19 (below pp. 5–6).
- 63 *Commons Debates 1628*, vi. 76–7, 323; *Commons Debates for 1629*, 69.
- 64 A.P.C. 1628–9, p. 398; A.P.C. 1629–30, pp. 154, 178, 189; P.R.O., SP 16/140/32 (below p. 39); B.L., Harl. MS 2095, fos. 57–68. On the hazards of acting as a surety, see Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, 161–2.
- 65 B.L., Harl. MS 2002, fos. 27–35, 61–7, 153–8, 171–2, 185–7.
- 66 *ibid.*, 2107, fos. 150–1; E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/22, pp. 163–9; Harl. MS 2095, fo. 141; Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/22, pp. 123–62 (below pp. 52–73). For a volume of papers collected by Grosvenor relating to the regime at the Fleet prison, see U. of K., Spencer MS D114.
- 67 E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/22, pp. 165, 167 (below pp. 75–6).
- 68 *ibid.*, pp. 179–95 (below pp. 78–95); C.C.R.O., CR 63/2/691/4–6.
- 69 P.R.O., SP 16/448/43; 449/14; V.C.H. Cheshire, ii. 113. The only office Grosvenor appears to have held in this period was that of subsidy commissioner: *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Addenda 1625–49*, p. 630; C.C.R.O., CR 63/691/1; 692/1.
- 70 Morrill, Cheshire, 32–60; *idem.*, *The Revolt of The Provinces* (London, 1976), 36–7, 44–5.
- 71 Morrill, Cheshire, 32–3, 38; C.R.O., QJB 9a, fo. 13; V.C.H. Cheshire, ii. 107–8; P.R.O., SP 16/449/14; C 219/43/pt.1/77,78; P.G. Lake, 'The collection of ship money in Cheshire during the 1630s', *Northern History*, xvii (1981), 67–8.

- 72 B.L., Add. MS 36,913, fos. 66–7; J. Maltby, 'Approaches to the study of religious conformity in late Elizabethan and early Stuart England' (University of Cambridge Ph.D thesis, 1991), 214–22.
- 73 B.L., Add. MS 36,913, fo. 64; Maltby, 'Religious conformity', 222–3.
- 74 B.L., Add. MS 36,913, fos. 66–7; Morrill, *Cheshire*, 47.
- 75 House of Lords Record Office, Main Papers, 21 December 1641; Maltby, 'Religious conformity', 226–8.
- 76 B.L., Add. MS 36,913, fo. 64; *Catalogue of Eaton Library*, pp. 392–3, 406–9; B.L., Harl. MS 2081, fo. 93.
- 77 A. Fletcher, 'Concern for renewal in the Root and Branch debates in 1641', in D. Baker ed., *Studies in Church History*, xiv (1977), 279–86.
- 78 Morrill, *Revolt of the Provinces*, 36–7.
- 79 A. Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War* (London 1981), 107–8; B.L., Add. MS 11,333, fo. 130; Morrill, *Cheshire*, 41–2; *Catalogue of Eaton Library*, pp. 380–409. This collection consisting of parliamentary speeches, reports on the trials of Strafford and Laud, declarations by king and parliament and county petitions, is similar in scope to the *Thomason Tracts* for 1641–2. For another gentleman who was said to have been able to make up his mind about national events on the basis of the printed pamphlets he received, see the account of John Hutchinson of Owthorpe, Nottinghamshire in Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, ed. J. Sutherland (London, 1973), 53.
- 80 Fletcher, *Civil War*, 136–57, 202; H.M.C., *Fifth Report Appendix* (1876), pp. 349–52; B.L., Add. MS 11,333, fos. 130, 134; *Tracts Relating to the Civil War in Cheshire*, ed. J.A. Atkinson (Chetham Soc., new ser., 65, 1909), 2–4; Fletcher, *Civil War*, 211–12, 247; C.C.R.O., CR 63/2/7.
- 81 *Tracts Relating to the Civil War*, 42–4; B.L., Add. MS 36,913, fo. 60; Morrill, *Cheshire*, 55.
- 82 B.L., Harl. MS 2107. For annotations in Grosvenor's hand, *ibid.*, fos. 59, 69, 111, 119, 120, 138, 142, 146.
- 83 Morrill, *Cheshire*, 41–2; *Journals of the House of Lords*, v. 174.
- 84 Morrill, *Cheshire*, 57; Bodleian Library, Ashmole MS 830, fos. 282–3.
- 85 Morrill, *Cheshire*, 57–9; *idem.*, *Revolt of the Provinces*, 159–60; Fletcher, *Civil War*, 385 & n.
- 86 *Memorials of the Civil War in Cheshire by Thomas Malbon and Providence Improvided by Edward Burghall*, ed. J. Hall (Lancashire and Cheshire Record Soc., xix, 1889), 25–6; Morrill, *Cheshire*, 59–60; B.L., Add. MS 36,913, fo. 122; P.R.O., SP 23/187, fos. 965–7.
- 87 For the directions for his funeral at Eaton in September 1645, see B.L., Harl. MS 2129, fo. 17.
- 88 Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, 243–7; *Cicero. On Duties*, ed. M.T. Griffin and E.M. Atkins (Cambridge, 1991), xvi–xxi; *Advice to a Son*, ed. L.B. Wright (Folger Documents, Ithaca, 1962), ix–xxvi, 9–13; *Catalogue of Eaton Library*, p. 29; E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/3.
- 89 E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 3/5.
- 90 *ibid.*, 2/22, p. 37, 44–5 (below pp. 29, 33–4). For Grosvenor's involvement in leadmining, see *Calendar of the Wynn (of Gwydir) Papers* (National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1926), pp. 143, 161; E.H., Grosvenor estate papers, box 60/1; *Handlist of the Grosvenor (Halkyn) MSS* (Clwyd Record Office, Hawarden, n.d.), 3–4.
- 91 W. Lambard, *Eirenarcha or Of the Office of The Justices of Peace* (London, 1591), pp. 310–82; J.S. Morrill, *The Cheshire Grand Jury, 1625–1659* (University of Leicester Occasional paper, 3rd ser., i, 1976), 21–4; A. Fletcher, *Reform in the Provinces* (London, 1986), 166–71.
- 92 E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/51, 52 (below pp. 8–25). For examples of the 'lay sermon' style of jury charges, see the drafts of Sir Francis Willoughby's charges in Nottinghamshire in the 1590s and Sir John Newdigate's in Warwickshire in the 1600s: Nottingham University Library, Mi O 16/1–17; Warwickshire Record Office, CR/136, B659–723.
- 93 Willoughby and Newdigate, and also Sir Thomas Beaumont and Thomas Cheke esq. who delivered the charges in Leicestershire and Hampshire, all enjoyed contemporary reputations for learning and eloquence: A.T. Friedman, *House and Household in Elizabethan England* (Chicago, 1989), ch. 1; V.M. Larmine, *The Godly Magistrate. The Private Philosophy and Public Life of Sir John Newdigate 1571–1610* (Dugdale Soc. Occasional paper, 28, 1982); R.P. Cust, 'Honour and politics in early Stuart England: the case of Beaumont v Hastings', *Past & Present*, 149 (1995), 71–2; *A Royalist's Notebook*, ed. F. Bamford (London, 1936), 139–40.
- 94 'Stanley memoranda', 99; Kishlansky, *Parliamentary Selection* refers to a similar speech made by

- Viscount Scudamore in Herefordshire in 1661, but has no early Stuart examples apart from Grosvenor: *ibid.*, 129.
- 95 E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/19 (below pp. 1–7).
- 96 For the influence of Stoicism in late-Tudor and early-Stuart England, see McCutcheon, *Bacon's Great House Sententiae*, 29–58; M. Todd, 'Seneca and the Protestant mind', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 74 (1983), 182–99; B. Worden, 'Constancy', *London Review of Books*, 20 January–3 February 1983, 13–14.
- 97 E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/22, pp. 50, 18, 20, 48–9. 'Let reason and not will rule you in all matters', was his basic advice: *ibid.*, 2/24 (below pp. 36, 27–8, 35–6, 41). For an excellent discussion of the moral and legal background to the desire for reconciliation, setting Grosvenor's injunctions in context, see S. Hindle, 'The keeping of the public peace', in P. Griffiths, A. Fox and S. Hindle, *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1995), 213–48.
- 98 *ibid.*, 2/22, p. 49 (below pp. 35–6).
- 99 *ibid.*, p. 38 (below pp. 30).
- 100 *ibid.*, pp. 40–2, 45, 42, 53, 45 (below pp. 31–2, 34, 37).
- 101 R. Tuck, 'Humanism and political thought', in A. Goodman and A. Mackay eds., *The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe* (Harlow, 1990), 43–51; E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/22, p. 54 (below p. 38).
- 102 P.G. Lake, 'Defining Puritanism – again?', in F.J. Bremer ed., *Puritanism* (Massachusetts Hist. Soc. 1993), 10–12; E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/51, fos. 6v, 9r–11r; 2/52 (below pp. 11, 13–15, 21, 23–4).
- 103 E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/22, p. 52; 2/19; 2/52 (below pp. 17–18). For a fuller discussion of the 'commonwealth' ideals on which this distinction is based, see Q. Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1978), i. 221–8.
- 104 E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/52 (below p. 17).
- 105 *ibid.*, 2/19 (below p. 1).
- 106 *ibid.*, 2/51; 2/52 (below pp. 8–25).
- 107 *ibid.*, 2/19 (below p. 1).
- 108 Cust, 'Politics and the electorate', 134–62.
- 109 Cust, *The Forced Loan*, ch. 3,4; *Commons Debates 1628*, iv. 76.
- 110 B.L., Harl. MS 2095, fos. 137, 141; E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/24; 2/22, pp. 123, 140 (below pp. 41, 52, 59).
- 111 P.R.O., SP 16/152/25 (below p. 40).

I. ELECTION ADDRESS 1624

[*E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/19*]

[*Endorsed 2 Febr 1623, my speech at the election of knights for the parliament*]

Secundo Febr., apud Cestria 1623

Gentlemen, you understand by this writt which hath bene read unto you the cause of our errant and meetinge here at this tyme, to witt for the electinge and choosinge of two knights for the bodie of this countie to attend the great councell of the ensuinge parliament.

Concerninge which busines (in regard of the place I hould amongst you) I shall desire you would give mee leave in a word or two to deliver myne advice wherein I will deale plainely and freely as best becometh a free spiritt, without feare of any, without affection to any: for I will never bee soe much in bondage as not to reserve a freedom to¹ shewe my selfe an honest man and ever to bee more respective of the publike interest of my countrey then that more private of my nearest and dearest frends:

*Securus agit cui mens est conscia recti
Vana nec umbrarum spectra videre putat.*²

And first I would wishe you to take into your consideration the waight of this busines which must bee layd uppon the shoulders and performed by the abilities of these your knights. And when you throughly understand that you will with greater care and conscience, with more judgment and lesse partiality, seeke forth for this service and nominate for this employment gent[lemen] everie way apted and fitted therto, such as are quicke of capacitie, nimble of apprehension, ripe in judgment, sound & untaynted in their religion, faythfull and trustie, those that are conversant in the affaires of the countrey & who throughlie understand the nature of this Countie Palatine, and such whose courage (uppon all occasions) dare comaund their tongues without feare to utter their countreyes just complaints & grievances. The waight of this imployment is understood by takinge a viewe of the nature of a parliament.

A parliament is the most honourable and highest court of the kingdome, havinge an absolute jurisdiction and an unlimited power to dispose of the lives, limms, states, goods, honours and liberties of the subject, yea and of their religion too soe

¹ a struck through

² 'He whose mind is conscious of right acts free from care and does not fancy he sees vain spectres of ghosts.'

farr forth as concerneth the free publike and outward profession thereof. And therefore it behooveth us to bee verie warie whome wee elect.

In our owne perticuler occasions wee can bee carefull enough to act anie thinge that may perfect our desires. But shewe mee that man (and I will reverence him) who conceiveth his dutie to bee as greate, and his care as much, for the publike, and whose practise doth second his judgment.

If anie of us hath a controversie with another and bee contented to referr the difference to frends, how warie will wee bee in nominatinge our arbitrators. And if our judgment blind us not wee will choose such to deale for us as wee suppose are for their wisdomes able to discerne of our right and title, and in regard of their affection and professed love are soe fast knitt and tyed unto us that wee dare trust them. And shall wee bee thus carefull in our own particulers for trifles and toyes, which deserve not to bee spoken of in comparasion of those more greate and publike affaires? And ought wee not to bee much more carefull³ whom wee elect in this greate arbitrement (as I may call it) of our owne and our posterities future happines?

Marvell not though I compare this imployment to an arbitrement: for I thinke there seldome hath beene or ever will bee anie parliament but there have bene and will bee some busie headed workinge politicians attendinge opportunities and wicked projectors watchinge advantages to bringe in bondage both church and commonwealth.

[Obiect. *marginated*]

But you will demaund of mee what needeth all this? What newe feares arise that wee should now bee more cautalous and curious then heretofore?

[Answere *marginated*]

I answere it hath bene the happines of ourselves and our predecessors to have bene for many yeares past wittnesses of those golden and halcyon daies which they and wee have enjoyed under the happy governments of that blessed saint of famous memory Queene Elizabeth and his Majestie, wherein everie man sate in peace under his owne vine and followed his imployment in safety and enjoyed the fruites of his labours without once payinge tribute (as I may say) forth of his sweate to blood sucking projectors; when everie well devoted person might serve his God with all encouragement; when wicked Tobiases and Sanballatts durst not oppose the buildinge of the walls of Gods church; when there was a difference put betwixt light and darknes, the light of the pure Gospell of Christ and the darknes of poperie & superstition, more blacke and darke then the Egiptian or Cymerian darknes; when wee triumphed over those our adversaries, the defenders of that antichristian hierarchie, and by the power of good and wholesome lawes tymely and truly executed kept under those Gibeonites; when our merchants waxed rich & trading flourished; when wee were a stay to our frends and a propp to our neighbours, a terroure to our proud insultinge foes, a mirroure to all the world. Nay what could wee have desired of God to have enjoyed more then wee did, except more thankfull hearts which might have bene a meanes for the perpetuatinge of this our happines?

3 MS damaged, part of word supplied.

And this (for soe longe tyme) uninterrupted prosperity of ours hath soe lulled us uppon the bedd of security, and soe dulled our spiritts, that wee are become incapable of anie doubts of mutation, insensible of any feares of alteration. Wee have thought our prosperitie soe deeply rooted, and our happines soe firmly settled that there was an impossibilitie wee could ever bee deprived of it.

And this deadnes and dullnes hath bene the cause why in many places those who have power to elect knights and burgesses for parliaments have not thought it worth their labour to travell and bringe their bodies to the place of election, conceivinge any man who would put upp the finger and sue for the place a meete person for that imployment, never estimatinge the worth of the men, nor once callinge to mynde that wee put into their hands in trust our lives, our states and that which should bee dearer to us then both, our relygion.

But if ever there were cause given us to looke backe and take a diligent survey of the practise of our auncestors, if ever there were tymes to move us to reassume that auncient care of our predecessors in this respect, now is there greate cause wee should doe the one and the tymes invite us to the other.

For consider with mee a little the hopes and insolencies of the papists, to what a height they are growne. Have they not (as it were) made open proclamation to the world that the tymes are now come they have soe longe hoped for and that they expect at the least a publique tolleration of their religion? And I am easily perswaded to beleeve that (if they bee not prevented by the carefull, religious and conscionable choyce of the comonwealth) they will bee soe brazen fac'd as to attempt it this parliament: for there may well bee suspition where deedes make confession. That favour which it hath pleased his Majestie to affoord them out of his innate goodnes and peaceable dispostion through the intercession of forraine princes and their ambassadors, in hope thereby to procure peace in forraine parts to those of his owne religion persecuted for the profession thereof, and to begett in his owne untoward subjects a more willinge conformitie and readie obedience to his lawes, hath this succeeded accordinge to his Majesties hopes & expectation, or hath it wrought those ends for which soe greate favour was extended? Nothing less; nay rather (this royall grace conferred uppon subjects soe ill deserving) are not hereby their multitudes and numbers doubled, their pride and insolencie encreased, soe that their hopes exceede all bounds and are not to bee conteyned within the lists and limitts of moderation & discretion which hath throughe their default produced prodigious effects.

They have anticipated the favour they looke for and prevented the tymes they hope after. They have assumed to themselves a tolleration of their religion without authoritie and in the cheife cittie of this kingdome doe by multitudes frequent the priviledged houses of ambassadors where they blush not to bee seene dayly goinge in and cominge forth from masse as frequently as others goe to church and feare not the penalties of lawe. Besides they have alsoe not obscure places both in that cittie and in all other parts of this kingdome where they exercise their religion in a more publique fashion then men of a discrete temper would doe. Moreover their preists and Jesuites, traytors by lawe, those instruments of darknes (who were wont not to bee seene but either in transformed shapes or disguised habitts) have dared at

noone day in the face of the sunne, in the open streetes, to affront the reverend ministers of the gospell.

And some of their proselites, our too neere neighbors, have of late (in a petition preferred by them to a forraigne agent) traduced and in a manner appealed from the justice of this kingdome. Some of whose goods beinge seized by the publike officer for fines imposed on them for misdemeanours by the honourable Court of Starr Chamber, of others by the Highe Commission Court, yet doe they not blushe to affirme that they are thus persecuted for their conscience and desire him to interpose his power and authoritie that their goods may bee restored them againe, a meanes certainly to open too wide a gapp for dependancye uppon forraigne princes, daungerous to any state, not tollerated in other parts and I hope will not longe bee endured in these.

Thus you see with what wings they fly and how their thoughts carrie them where they would bee. But as yet (blessed bee God) their fortunes place them where they should bee. And I hope (and am confident in my hopes) that these eyes of myne shall never see that abomination allowed in this kingdome by publike authoritie. Nether can it enter into my thoughts to conceive that though they should (which God forfend) procure a partie in parliament fittinge their purpose, yet that his Majestie would ever give his royall assent to their desires, havinge formerlie (to his perpetuall honour) proclaimed to the world by his learned penn the soundnes of his judgment in discoveringe the errors and the religious thoughts of his heart in detestinge the doctrine of popery, a religion incompatible with soveraignty.

But who knoweth the counsell of the Allmightie? Our unthankfullnes hath bene greate and may justly cause him to turne away his face from us. Wee know the goulden candlestickes are removed out of Asia long agoe and what are wee better then those churches?

I reade in holy writt in the Booke of Judges that an angell, a prophett, came and told the Israelites (Gods owne people) that because God had commanded them to make noe covenant with the Canaanites, those wicked idolaters, but to destroy them, and they had not obeyed, therefore sayth God I will not cast them out before you, but they shall bee as thornes in your sides, and their Gods shall bee a snare and destruction unto you. I will make noe application but leave that to you that heare mee.

Yet take this alonge with you that if the papists once gett a tolleration they will not cease till they obtaine an equalitie with us; from an equalitie they will aspire to a superioritie; nether will they there rest (soe restles are their spiritts and soe active their religion) till they have used all plotts and practises for the quite extirpation of our religion. And this at this day is their ayme throughout christendome. And he that seeth it not is willfully blynd. If they cannot worke their ends by more mild meanes they have the Jesuites, those incendiaries of Christendome, who can teach them how to raise upp their powder devills againe.

*Flectere si nequeant superos acharonta movebunt*⁴

4 'If they cannot sway heaven they will mobilise (the powers of) hell.' The quote is adapted from Virgil, *Aeneid*, 7.312 (I am grateful to Don Gilbert for this identification).

Tell mee then have you not now more cause then ever to bee carefull in a religious choice.

Nether would I have you to rest contented in your choice and stay there but to goe a little further and commaund your knights that if there bee occasion offered they shall in the name of their countrey, and as by speciall commaund of the countrey, make publike protestation against a tolleration of religion or the repealinge of lawes formerlie made against recusants.

Soe shall you performe your duties to God, the kinge, the church, your countrey, yourselves and leave the issue to God who disposeth of all things accordinge to his owne good pleasure, yet with this comfort,

*Omnibus in rebus faeliciter omnia cedent
Si statues finem principiumque deum⁵*

Thus farr have I overboldly presumed of your patience which I finde soe propitious that it emboldens mee to crave leave to add one other reason which may perswade you to choose gentlemen of sufficiencie.

When at the last convention of parliament I had the honour and trust to bee your servant there, I observed the many greivances complayned of under which the comonwealth groaned and laboured, and from which that worthy house sought to free it.

The multitude of the pattents of monopolies of all sorts adjudged by that house as greivances most of them both in the creation and execution, the many and shrill outcries against corruption in the courts of justice, and emptyinge of suiters purses by extorting of undue fees there, the decay of trade & consumption of coyne to the impoverishinge of the whole kingdome: these and such like (as they were fitt subjects for a parliament to treat of) soe did that house take indefatigable paynes in findinge out the causes of those growinge evils and propoundinge the remedies. But alas those greate paynes and care yeilded not soe plentifull an harvest as was expected, though they were not altogether fruiteles. Wittnes that exemplary punishment inflicted uppon a prime officer of this kingdome for corruption unto the terrour of others.

Besides his Majestie takinge notice from the parliament of the damage susteyned by many of his graunts (which otherwise had still bene kept from his knowledge) was pleased by his proclamation to decry many of them and shewed himselfe (like a true father of his countrey) as willinge to call them in as wee were to complaine of them.

And here give mee leave to doe his Majestie right who hath suffered much in the misinformed opinions of his subjects conceivinge that his Majestie had bene knowinge and willinge enough that these caterpillers, these projectors, should have fedd and preyed uppon his people, whereas the truth is though wee found many of

5 'Everything comes out happily if you set God at the beginning and end in all affairs.'

the streames issuing from the fountaine to bee corrupt, yet the fountaine itselfe to bee pure, cleare and uncontaminate. It appeared to us that when any petitioned to his Majestie for a graunt of this kinde (though the projectors aymed onely at their owne gaine, not caringe what hurt redounded to the comonwealth) yet they apparrelled their petitions in honourable habitts, fittinge the presence of a prince and pretending the specious shewes and faire pretences of good and profitt to the comonwealth & honour to the kinge. Yet his Majestie unwilling that his people should take any prejudice by his graunts tooke this course to give himselfe satisfaction (for this is one of the miseries of princes, they must see and heare by other mens eyes and eares) hee made choyce of some men learned in the lawes to whome hee referred the consideration of the petition and who were commaunded to report to him whether such a graunt were not against the lawes of the kingdome. And when these had delivered their judgments that by lawe hee might graunt it yet would not his Majestie bee therewith satisfied, well knowinge that many things which are lawfull are not expedient but may bee prejudiciall to the comonwealth. And therefore hee used alsoe to make a second reference to some persons eminent in the state to examine the conveniencie and inconveniencie of the graunt. And *hinc lacrima*, hence came all the wronge: for these referrees mannie tymes proved to bee persons interessed in those graunts (for that was the pollicie of the projectors). And these referrees by their partiall reports deceived his Majestie and prejudiced the land.

I could recite unto you the many worthy bills of the last parliament some whereof passed both houses, some the lower house, others in good forwardnes to passe which had they received life by the royall assent I dare say this land would have bene (through the blessinge of God) as happie and flourishinge as ever. But alas wee all knowe they wanted true essence, suddainelie vanishinge.

But my hopes are that this parliament will not suffer all that care and paines to bee fruitles, but endeavour by all meanes to give life and forme to their predecessors conceptions. And in this respect alsoe you ought to bee carefull that you choose men of sufficiencie. I would give you more reasons to perswade you to a carefull election, but I have already troubled your patience too longe and these may suffice.

Thus have I chosen to expose my selfe to your censures rather then to the checke of myne owne conscience. And now give mee leave to tell you the opinion and resolution of these worthy gent[lemen] who sitt about mee, uppon whose care, judgment and experience in well governinge & managing the affaires of your cuntry as a greate part of the peaceable and well beinge thereof doth consist. Soe have they in this present election bene carefull to shewe themselves like themselves and have guided their thoughts and settled their desires uppon such gentlemen for this service as are without exeption, whome in their names and myne owne I propound unto you.

Not that hereby wee assume any priviledge in the election more then what wee freelie confesse belongeth to the meanest amongst you: for a freedome of voyce is your inheritance and one of the greatest prerogatives of the subjecte which ought

by all meanes to bee kept inviolate and cannot bee taken from you by anie commaund whatsoever.

But our hopes and desires are you would soe farr joyne with us as you⁶ see us respect your good and cast behind us all private respects.

The gent[lemen] are Mr William Booth and Mr William Brereton of Ashley. And if any man dislike them you have free libertie to discover your mynds.

Richard Grosvenor *vic.*

II. GRAND JURY CHARGES, 1625 AND 1626

a) [E.H., *Grosvenor Personal and Misc.*, 2/51]

[Entitled on cover A Charge 1624]¹

[fo.1v] A Charge geeven to the Jurie at the Quarter Sessions held within the Shirehall in the Castle of Chester upon Tuesday the 24th day of January 1624 by mee Richard Grosvenor.

[fo.2r] Gentlemen, I neede noe other witnes then myself to informe mee of myne owne unfittes to undertake this charge. Yet the thirsting desire I have (upon all occasions) to doe my countrey service (for thereto are wee all borne) makes mee at this tyme to sleight myne owne infirmities and to passe by my many imperfections without looking on them lest by viewing of them (whilest I am speaking to you) I should with the sence thereof bee stricken dumbe and soe appeare before you like the picture of Harpocrates, the God of Silence, with my finger on my lipps and soe deprive you of your expectation. I will therefore adventure upon your censures and (as I can) laboure to acquaint you with that charg wherewith at this tyme I have charged my self, in the entrance whereof it will not be amisse for mee to use a word or two (as a remembrancer) in recalling to your memorie what formerly you have hard and learned, to wit:

1. The necessitie of this present service.
2. The bonds and tyes wherein you are obliged to performe your parts uprightly.
3. The proffit that will redound both to your selves and countrey if acted conscionably.

[fo.2v] First

1. The necessitye of this service may bee understood by that strict commaund layd upon us by [2^o: He: 5:4 *marginated*] the statute of 2^o: He: 5 wherby wee are enjoyned to keepe our sessions foure tymes a yeare every quarter once. And it is a part of our oathes to hould them accordingly: for the wisdom of parliament well knew that the oftner justice shalbee publikely administred, and the lives and condition of malefactors inquired into, the more carefull will such bee to conforme themselves to the rules of obeydience and the more fearefull to oppose theire maners to the censure of soe great a court. And you (Gentlemen) are the persons who are at this tyme trusted (as the eyes of your countrey) to spye out and bringe such to theire deserved punishment.

2. Secondly, the bonds which tye you to deale uprightly are:

1. First that religious oath which you have taken beefore God and us whereby

1 The MS has suffered damage which has rendered some words illegible. Where possible these have been supplied.

you have strictly bound yourselves to act your parts truly and faithfully without any feare, favoure or any by respect. You have invocated God to witnes your uprightnes² to punish and revenge all partiality. I need not tell you the nature of an oath or the daunger of it. Onely I desire you would think of it as of a most sacred action which is [fo.3r] not to be sleighted as a matter of bare forme, but to be accounted of great waight and moment. And though custome in often taking an oath may with some irreligious persons lessen theire esteeme thereof, yet I hope your religious judgments are better grounded. And I wish that (as oft as you lay your hands upon the sacred volume for this purpose) you would remember that soe oft you renew your obligation with God and a necessitie is layd upon you to performe the covenants you have undertaken to him who will not be dallied with all.

A second bond which may tye and moove yow to deale faithfully in this your present employment is a consideration of the trust reposed in you by your³ country. You know how hatefull a thing it is to bee treacherous where a man shalbe trusted by his familier frend. And certayne it is that (by how much the publike good is to bee preferred before any private mans respect) by soe much more hatefull were it for you to frustrate the expectation of your country (who hath thus far trusted you with the affaires which tend to her peace) then to a private man to betray his frend.

3. Beesides consider the benefitts which will accrue to yourselves and us all by your faithfull indevoours:

[fo.3v] 1. You shall live in peace without disturbance.

2. You shall travell throughout the countrey about your occasions in safety.

3. You shall enjoy your goods, your possessions and whatsoever els God hath blessed you withall, free from feare of violence.

But I have made myne abode too longe in the entrance. I will now enter into the charge itself. Wherein, because the paticulers are many and of soe different nature as the plenty and variety thereof destroyeth the memory (espetially soe weake an one as myne is at the best), I will therefore begg this boone at your hands, that (without tax) I may use the benefite of my papers, the usuall way to supply that defect of nature.

Neyther will I surcharge eyther you or myself with all the paticulers incident to this service: for I purpose to insist onely upon such as I find most usefull for the present tymes, referringe the rest to your experience gayned by your longe and ofte employment in this and the like service.

[Charge division *marginated*] The matteres inquireable beefore us are eyther:

1. First such as have a more neere relation to God and religion, and soe from there spirituall condition I tearme them causes of piety.

[fo.4r] 2. Or secondly such as touch the safety of his Majesties person or the preservation of that principall diamond of his diademe, his supemacie in causes ecclesiasticall. These are of a mixte nature and I may call them matters of regalitye.

2 and crossed out.

3 faithfull crossed out.

3. Or thirdly such as more properly concerne the politike government of the commonwealth and soe of a more temporall composition, and these I stile matters of morality or civility. Soe that all the offences you are now to present are such as are enemies or opposite to piety, regality or civility. But I must crave pardon if I tye not myself precisely to follow myne owne division throughout my discourse, because I find it necessary sometymes to mix them together.

The first kynd of offenders that I would move you to take notice of are some of them (for all such we can not inquire after) I say are of them who though they live amonge us yet are not of us, though we injoy their bodily presence yet there affections are estraunged, their harts stolne, from us; and these are of the number of those who are made drunke with the cupp of that whore of Babilon. And because every dropp in that cup hath an inchauntinge quality, and is of such a generative nature as begettis offenders, many of them inquireable here. I will as playnely, and as briefly, as I can heape them up together.

[fo.4v] And I wish that (as you tender the preservation of the religion you professe (which is the life of your soules) you would both now and at other tymes bee more careful then heretofore you have bene in discoveringe those locusts which eate up and devoure the seedes of loyalty and religion, and who laboure to seduce our wives and children from their profession whereby the later prooves disobaydient to their parents, the former unconstant to their husbands, and both of them (with all such others over whom they prevayle) disloyall to their prince and countrey: for these are the effects of popish lectures and blynd obeydience.

[Forren power *marginated*] And therefore if any person have malitiously menteyned by any meanes, eyther by word or deed, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of any forreyner ever claymed or usurped within this realme. [Power of Pope *marginated*] Or if any man have defended the power of that man of sinne the Byshopp of Rome within these dominions.

[Supremacy *marginated*] Or if any of his Majesties subjects have soe far forgott their duety to their soveraigne as that they refuse to give him what is the right of all kings within there severall kingdoms, I meane supremacy over causes ecclesiastical, and soe shall deny to take the oath of supremacy being lawfully tendered him, you are to present these.

[fo.5r] As alsoe such as have by any meanes practised to absolve or perswade any of the kings subjects from their obeydience or from the religion established here to the Romaine religion together with such as have bene soe seduced and the willinge ayders and knowinge menteyners of them.

[Jesuits Priestes *marginated*] If any person have received or harboured the worst of men, any Jesuits or seminary priestes, soe made by authority derived from the sea of Rome you must carefully discover them. For these nests where soe uncleane creatures are fostered are fit to be pulled downe that they may noe longer become receptacles to harbour such soule-devouringe harpies as these which have already made such infinite spoyle amongst us. Our countrey affords too many such and all of them can hardly escape the knowledge of some of you. If you would disclose but one of these upon whom the severitie of the lawes might be duely executed the rest of those poore seduced innocents would for feare turne over a new leafe and

the severe correction of one would kepe the rest in a great deale more awe least by continuinge of their lewd courses they might chaunce bringe themselves for companie together with their guests to the gallows.

[fo.5v] [Masses *marginated*] You are alsoe to geeve us notice of all such . . .⁴ as you knowe to have sayd or hard masse, an idolatrous worshipp since the last pardon which (as I take it) [ha]d⁵ relation to the 20th of December 1623. Such alsoe as harbour recusants in their houses, whether servants or others, though themselves come to church, it matters not much in this case: for I shall ever suspect such to be but hollowe harted Protestants. And if there were not housholders to bid welcome to such popish guests, nor masters to intertayne such irreligious servants, we should hardly have one in a parish of that profession.

[Schoolemaster popish *marginated*] And equall to any of these mischeefes is the kepinge of a popish schoolemaster, a daungerous kind of man whose practise and profession is noe thing els but to poyson the pliable capacite of youth that soe their riper yeares may be made incapeable (without the greater mercy of God) of any religious knowledge afterwards. Hunt these forth of your countrey and you shall find a great decay of popery.

The next offender is a bird of the same feather and taught in the same schoole. [fo.6r] [Sacrament contemned *marginated*] If any man have by any contemptuous words depraved, despised or otherwise contemned the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, or have spoken agaynst the receivinge thereof under both kindes as it is practised by the Church of England by warrant from the first i[n]stitution⁶ thereof, you are to bring them beefore us to bee better catechised.

[This tyme his Majesties pardon came for all recusants in prison *marginated*] Neyther ought it to disharten or discourag eyther you or us from doinge our duties herin because his Majestie hath bene pleased of late to extend his favoure in pardoning some particular offenders of this nature: for in him is a fountayne of mercy. And as the sunne shines both upon the just and unjust soe his Majesties royall nature (compounded of justice and mercye) communicates and empties itself in both capacities, as hee seeth reason, to whom he will.

To us at this tyme hath he committed part of his justice to bringe offenders to the stake and soe to provide matter fitt for his mercy to work upon. To himself he reserveth his mercy the more therby to magnifie . . . [go]dnes⁷ of his nature. And thus hee striveth by his goodnes to outvie (as it were) the ill defects of his [fo.6v] worst subjectes that soe (if possible) he might by faire meanes recall them from their errors and make them capeable to understand their daunger or els to leave them inexcusable before God and man, and soe fitt subjects for his future indignation and justice. And therefore let us . . . lly⁸ goe on still in our begun course and bouldlie call to account the forenamed offenders.

4 One word illegible.

5 MS damaged; word partly supplied.

6 MS damaged; word partly supplied.

7 MS damaged; one word illegible and part of word supplied.

8 MS damaged; word partly illegible.

[Sacrilidge *marginated*] Many other things are of like ecclesiasticall nature as sacrilidge, witchcraft, prophesyng, perjury, disturbinginge of preachers, fightinge in church or churchyard: in all or any of which if you know delinquents acquaint us with them.

[Swearing *marginated*] And amongst offences of this nature I may mention that of prophane swearing and cursinge, a high degree of impietie agaynst which the late session of parliament hath made a worthy act, appoyntinge twelve pence to bee payd for every oath, or if the partie be not able to pay the penalty to sitt 3 hours in the stockes. But because the justices of peace are more properly trusted the execution of this law⁹ the sessions, I will not geeve it you in charge, but to ourselves. [fo.7r] And I wish wee may all in our severall places bee severe thereto, because it soe neerely concerneth the honour of God and glory of his name which hath beene too much dishonoured and blasphemed by foule mouthes.

[Lay causes *marginated*] I come now to lay causes and yet all those are not meerely temporall but (as some of the former) of a mixt nature. [Petite Treason *marginated*] And first of petite-treason, a deegree of murther more hatefull then others in regard of the neere trust reposed in those who are obliged by the lawes of God and nature to preserve (even with the hazard of their owne) the lives of those whom they doe murther. And this is when wives kill their husbands, servants there maisters, or clerks their ordinaries.

[Murther *marginated*] And as these soe are you likewise to present all other kinds of murther which are committed in could blood, of malice forethought, of what nature soever, whether by poysoninge or otherwise.

[Bastard *marginated*] And by an act made this last session of parliament that woman is is[sic] declared a murtherer who being brought to bed of a bastard child shall indevoure so to conceale it eyther by drowning, secret buryinge, or by any other way that it may not come to light whether it [fo.7v] were borne alive or not. And she shall suffer death as a murtherer, except shee can prove by one witnes at the leaste that the child was dead borne.

[Manslaughter *marginated*] You are alsoe to enquire of manslaughters which are not done of p . . . sed¹⁰ malice, and of there severall kindes, as stabbinge, to which the benefit of clergie is denyed. And here give mee leave to be earnest with you to have a speciall regard and care of these bloody offences. This is that cryinge synne which hath much polluted and blasted the reputation of this our countrey and hath left such staynes and blottes upon it as can not easily bee washed away. It is a wonder to mee that there should bee soe many monsters amongst us in soe civill a countrey who neyther consideringe there is a heaven to reward the good, nor hell to punish the wicked, dare thus pollute their soules with the act of soe inhumane a cryme. But when Grace can not contayne within her limittes, impiety (with the divells assistance) thrusteth onto such infernall stratagems.

9 MS damaged; two words illegible.

10 MS damaged; word partially illegible.

[Buggerye *marginated*] The next offender you are to inquire after is the beastly buggerer, a sinne agaynst God and nature. Yet are these frequent in Italy [*fo.8r*] under the Popes nose and are more capeable of pardon then hee that shalbe discovered to have read a chapter in the sacred booke of Gods word.

[Rapes etc. *marginated*] Rapes, maryinge of a second husband or wife the first livinge, robbery, cutpurses, burglarys, burning of houses, breking of prison beinge committed for fellonye, Egiptians, daungerous rogues wanderinge after once branded in the shoulder, these all are such felonies as with there accessories are within our conusance and to bee presented by you. [Petite Larcenies *marginated*] And soe are alsoe petite larcenies where the goods stolne exceede not the value of 12d. [Fines etc. in the name of others *marginated*] There is one other felony soe made by an act this last session; and though I never hard of that kind of offender in these parts yet it is fitt to acquaint you with it. And by virtue of that law you are to inquire if any man have acknowledged, or procured to be acknowldged, any fyne, recovery, deede inrowled, statute, recognizance, bayle or judgement in the name of any other person not privie or consenting to the same such shall suffer death as fellows without benefite of clergie, before the making of which law many good subjects have bene undone and lost there whole estates by such leude practises and there was noe remedy in law to relieve them.

[*fo.8v*] The offences that followe are of a lower strayne yet still to bee reformed. [Extortion *marginated*] Such is extortion (of more or greater fees then are due) by any officer, whether sheriffe, ordinarie, coroner or other. This verily is a fault worthy to bee looked into for it doth insenseably (like a consumption) worke upon the purse of the subject and hath thriven much of late dayes. For compare . . .¹¹ the present accounts of fees almost in every office with former, even in our owne dayes, and you shall find them much increased.

[Watch *marginated*] You are alsoe to inquire if watch and ward have beene duely kept according to the lawe. If this were better looked to we should not bee pestered with such swarmes of rogues from all partes as wee are. But till some constable bee made a severe example for neglectinge his duety in this respect, wee shall find noe reformation.

[Riotts *marginated*] You must likewise present all riotts, routes, unlawfull assemblies, forcible entries and detayners: for such abuses as these tollerated may beegett murther and rebellion. And if they bee not smothered in the conception the birth may prove prodigious. And wee [*fo.9r*] see by experience that it ever maketh men to presume to run headlonge into all kind of villany when way is geven to their first discomposure and unjoynted behaviour.

[Alehouses *marginated*] But above all of this nature I wish you to bee strict in searchinge after the offences of alehouse keepers and there guest the drunkard. Those houses are the very bane of this countrey, a receptacle for knaves and harlottes, the robbers counsell chamber, the beggers nurcerye, the drunkards

11 MS damaged; one word illegible.

academye, the theeves sanctuarye. Here are you deprived of the obeydience of your sonnes, of the duty of your servants.

[Assise of Ale *marginated*] Looke to there assise, to there unseasonable intertaynement of suspected persons and others in the night tyme, on the saboath dayes and to the disorderly tipling in there houses. [1d Ale *marginated*] Present there overprises. For workmen or travelers penny ale is stronge enough: too good for drunkards, agaynst which kind of monster, sometymes a man, sometymes a beast, we can not bee too cruell.

[Drunkerds *marginated*] From this beastly vice proceeds many mischeefes. The love of this inchauntinge liquor makes men wast there witts, consume their wealth, impoverish there estates, begger there posterity, mispend there tyme and drawes them into leude company which is the most pestilent infection that is. [fo.9v] Many have suffered ship-wrack upon this rock and those that have tasted of the waters issuinge from this fountayne fynd them noethinge els but poysoned streames. And of such a congealinge and conglutinatinge nature are these pott-societyes that if a man once take delight in them he shall hardly forsake them. But as that which most delights most confounds the sence, soe (use beegettinge a habite which in tyme turneth to a second nature) ungracious company whom in our cupps wee take to bee our dearest frends doe in conclusion proove our most daungerous enemies, beecause (as I said before) when wee would wee can not leave them. Neyther is this kind of frendshipp to bee trusted to as firme and reall when wee have moste need to try our fast frends: for *amicitia quod cotrahitur[sic] inter pocula vitrea est et fragilis*.¹² Cup friendship is as brittle as glasse, as easely dissolved as a glasse is broken.

If then you would have comfort of your children keepe them from these places where there first intertaynement is some soporiferous potion to stupifie there senses, there best company for the most part some base condiconed beggerly unthrifts, there best musick a bawdy songe and oft tymes there last farewell a broken pate, if not a deadly wound. [fo.10r] If you expect service from your servants restrayne them from such meetings and present myne hoste whoe soe willingly geeves intertaynement to all commers and will discontent none by drivinge them from his house: for it is the end of his studie, the height of his ambition,¹³ to keepe his ale from sowringe.

There are but 4 morall qualities required to the essence of a good servant and they are:

1. *Fidelitas in corde*
2. *Taciturnitas in lingua*
3. *Celeritas in pede*
4. *Comitas in fronte;*

that is

1. Faithfulnes in the hart
2. Silence in the tongue

12 The Latin should read *quae contrahitur* (I am grateful to Don Gilbert for pointing this out).

13 *desire* crossed out.

3. Speed in the feete

4. Cherefulnes in the countenance.

And this loathsome vice of drunkenes destroyeth all these.

1. First how can that man bee faithfull to discharge the commaunds of his master when he hath noe commaund over his owne sences. His hart is then a straunger to him and he hath noe use of reason. For drunkennes (as one well sayth) is the funerall of an intelligible man whom onely tyme and abstinence can ruscitate. [fo.10v] And wee may see by observation that these men fishes (who delite to swime in *liquido*, in liquor) have commonly dull understandinge and muddye affections. How then may I trust such?

2. Secondly a drunkerd can never conceale my secretts: for *Ebrietas operta recludit*¹⁴ and a drunken man forgetfully speakes of that in his cups which if hee were sober should bee buried in silence. Hee then speaks that he should forgett, hee then forgetts that hee should speake.

3. Thirdly a drunkerd can make noe speade, what hast soever my busines requireth. For (if the alehouse bee in his way) it serves in steed of a trammel to take of his speed and he must needes visite myne hostesse as he passeth by. And when he commeth forth (if by chaunce he call to mynd his errant) he finds his feete soe unwilling to goe forward (which hee perceaveth by their reeling and making of indentures) that hee is easely perswaded to returne (without dispatching his busines). And he thanks them for doinge him soe good service if they carry him back from whence hee came before hee fall asleepe.

4. And fourthly of all men the drunkerd goeth about his busines with least chearfulnes. [fo.11r] The carактер of a malecontent is printed in his forehead, murmur takes up her seate in his face, and hee counts him an unmanerly fellowe that will presume to put him in mynd of his forgotten busines. In the meane tyme his swolne eyes seeme to the behoulders ready to part from the place of there first dwellinge.

The lawes are good to prevent these disorders and severe enough to punish the offenderes. Let it bee your diligence to give us notice of the offenders and it shall bee our care to instruct them in the punishments.

[Hares *marginated*] The next offenders I would commend to your care are such as are enemies to the sports and pleasures of gentlemen to whom the law allows such recreations as are not held fitt for persones of a meaner condition, and these are those who distroy hares by tracinge them [Tracinge *marginated*] in the snowe or kill them with harepipes or any other engines; likewise those who [Pheasants *marginated*] take pheasants or partridges with netts or any other devise. And as you must present these, soe alsoe stealers of deare and conies. [fo.11v] [Shooting *marginated*] You must alsoe present those that shoote in peeces at hares, pheasants, partridge, pidgeon, hearne, duck or any other foule prohibited. Of which kind of offenders, this our neighbour citty affords plenty who (by their bouldnes in continuall offendinge) proclayme that they thinke the charter and priviledge of there citty should patronize and protect them from punishment in the countrey.

14 'Drunkenness reveals things hidden.'

Myself have heretofore caused diverse of them to bee indicted, but I never yet hard that any of them were punished. Where the fault is I know not.

[Forestallers *marginated*] You must not forgett forestallers, regrators or ingrossers. These make your marketts scarce and deare. And yet by a clause in an act of the late session it is made lawfull for any man to ingrosse corne and eyther to store it up in there granaries or to transport it when the severall graynes doe not excede the different prises that are there mentioned for every kind of corne.

[Falsewaighte *marginated*] If any have bought or sould by false waightes or unlawfull measures present them: for false balances are an abomination to God, but a perfect waight pleaseth him. And I hould it as haynous an offence to cozen the subject by this by way as it is to robb him by the high way.

[fo.12r] [Inholders, hostleres *marginated*] The next thinge I would commend to your consideration is a late act made the last session of parliament in behalf of travailer who have beene continually grated upon by the covetous and unconscionable extortion of inhoulders and hostlers. And by authoritie thereof you are to present such inhoulders and hostlers as (livinge within any market towne in this county) doe make any horse bread themselves in their hostery and doe not buy the same at the common bakers, and of good size and waight according to the prices of corne and grayne in that market. Or if any inholder or hostler within this shire doe not sell there horsebread, hay, oates and other provander, and alsoe all kind of victuall both for man and beast, for reasonable gayne, havinge respect to the prises of such things in the next adjoyninge marketts.

[Punishment *marginated*] The penalties are theise: for the first offence, 1. Fine accordinge to the qualitee thereof; 2. The 2d offence a moneths imprisonment without bayle; 3. For the third to stand on the pillory without redemption; 4. And for the fourth offence they are disabled for ever kepinge an inne afterwards.

[Cotages, inmatas *marginated*] You must inquire after those who erect cottages without layinge foure acres of land to them and such as take inmates into there houses. [fo.12v] These are a great cause why wee have soe many poore amongst us and these houses breed beggars, those idle drones who can not abide to labour in any good course of life.

[Bridges *marginated*] And lastly the decay of bridges and highwayes ought to be part of your care and charge. These beinge well repayred and mentayned are a great meanes to promote commerce and traffique betwixt us and our neighbours.

There are many more matters by the law committed to your charge which you shall doe well to take notice of, as occasion shall present them to you, for the good and service of the countrey. And soe I leave the whole to your care and the blessinge of God upon your labours.

b) [E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/52]

[Endorsed A Charge]¹⁵

Gent.,

I will not strive to attire my charge in any other fashion or ornaments then a playne naturall dresse, for that will best suite with my nature and skill and your capacities. It is the best charg wee can give and the first you should learne *mementote reipublicae*: be mindfull of the commonwealth. If I sayd noe more this were sufficient to inform you of your duety. This is a taske can never bee urged too often by us and therefore *mandite remandite*, chewe it, call it to mynd agayne and agayne. For that can never bee taught too earnestly which can never be learned too perfectly: *Nunquam satis dici, quia nunquam satis disci potest*. An age is not enough for this one precept, but sessions after sessions you have neede to be put in mynd of your duety to your countrey and therefore it is ordayned that you shold ever have your charge before you fall to your inquiry which because it is soe common and usuall is soe little esteemed of some that it rather sounds there sence then worketh upon there judgmentes. Such are like the catadupes whom the continuall fall of Nylus makes deafe,¹⁶ a shew certaynely of a diseased mynd in whomsoever it is found and that there retention is not good: for if it were the nourishment that they receive hereby would bee more solide and the countrey would find much more good by this service then many tymes it doth.

I have observed in my tyme three mayne enemies which hinder the perfection of this service:

1 The first is a feare to offend great men our superiours.

2 The second is favoure and affection we beare towardses our frendes and neighbours.

3 The third is foolish pittie extended where not deserved.

Yet none of these wilbe able to stand in your way if you take that course you should doe.

1 First there is noe reason you should be possessed with the least feare of offending any man (bee he never soe great) whilst you doe your dutie because God is greater then the mightiest and lookes first to be served, first to be feared. And by keping a good conscience you shalbe armed against all opposition. *Si recte facies, hic murus aheneus esto. Nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa*.¹⁷ And good conscience is like a brasen wall and soe it is indeede for Bias being asked

15 This charge is undated, but from internal evidence can be ascribed to 1626. It was probably delivered at the Chester meeting of quarter sessions in January, which Grosvenor attended: C.R.O., QJB 6a, fo.147.

16 This refers to the dwellers by the waterfalls on the River Nile who never heard the roaring of the river because the sound was so familiar to them.

17 'If you will act rightly, let this be a brazen wall, never to have anything on your conscience and to have no guilt which will cause you to turn pale.'

*Quid esset in vita metu expers*¹⁸ answered it was a good conscience. And having this noe great man can, noe good man will, wrong you.

2 Secondly favoure many tymes perverts justice, and affection eyther stopps or diverts the cleare current thereof when a friend or kinsman proves intercessor in a busines: for *affinitas est quasi immunitas*, affinity is a kind of immunitie. It is too common with us to give way to such to moove us by words and letters and to prevayle with us. And if wee strayne not a little to shew them a trick of our office and promise them all favoure, however . . .¹⁹ deserve it, we feare to loose the interest we have in there love. To meete with this foule rub I would wish you to take notice of Agesilaus answeare who (beinge with much importunity urged to graunt an unseasonable request) the man charginge him that he had promised to graunt his desire, answered *Recte sane, siquidem justum est quod petis promisi; si minus dixi non promisi*: True sayd the kinge if it were just to graunt thy desire I then promised, but if not I spoke onely, but promised thee not. And never let such promises bynd you: for *publica privatis antiferenda bonis*.²⁰ Yet I would advise you to have peace with the persons of your friends, kinred and neighbours but to wage warre with there vices.

3 Thirdly foolish and fond pittie doth often tymes soe far possesse you that you hold it an act of cruelty not to spare those who eyther plead poverty or with a pitifull looke make shewe as though they repented them of there falts whereas it is your parts onely to present the truth of the falt and ours to punish or shew mercy where wee find cause. And wee see by experience that this pittie many tymes proves great cruelty to the whole countrey. For when malefactors shall soe easely passe through your fingers and there owne just feares, and soe escape there desert, what doth this but encourage them to run on in there bad courses hoping still of the like successe?

I know that some kind of natures are easier wonne by mildnes then force, according to that of Seneca: *Ingenia nostra ut nobiles et generosi equi melius facili freno reguntur*.²¹ But such as you are to deale with (for the most part are men of an other spinning, and by favouringe those you fayle in your hoped ends. I speake now of grosse offenders for although by your connivinge you may happely think you doe them a good turne, yet you doe nothing less. For it is true *Improbum atque hominem infamem aliquando habuisse latendi fortunam nunquam fiduciam*²²; that notwithstanding the wicked and dishonest man may cover and conceal his actions from publike viewe, yet his conscience will like Cayne never suffer him to be at rest. Indeede such kind of wicked malefactors may thus by favour and good fortune escape the punishments of there villeny, but not from the terror and giltines thereof in there consciences. And except you avoyde these rocks in this service whereto

18 'What in life was free from fear.'

19 One word illegible.

20 'The public interest must be put before private advantage.'

21 'Like noble and well bred horses, our natures are better ruled with an easy bridle.'

22 'A wicked and disreputable man has sometimes had the luck to escape punishment, but not with a clear conscience.'

you are now called, you can never be accounted faithfull servantes to your countrey *lege optima*, accordinge to the Roman phrase, in full and complete maner.

Neyther would I have you shew yourselves too hasty in your resolutions: for *Canis festinans c[aec]los*²³ *parit catulos*,²⁴ and therefore let not your first apprehensions settle your judgments in any busines, but view and review them: for *secundae cogitationes sunt sapientiores*, second thoughts are always the wisest.

And now I come to acquaint you with the particulers beinge the substance of my charge wherein my method shalbee first to begin with those lawes which shall concerne religion and then proceedinge with others which concerne the commonwealth.

By mee, saith (wisdom), kings rayne. They are the immediate vicegerents under God upon earth, both in spirituall and temporall causes within their owne severall kingdomes and they are subject to none els: to him they must bow their scepter and to noe other earthly power acknowledge superioritye. And blessed be God, it is just soe with us. It hath beene an unspeakable blessinge and mercie upon this land that our princes have now a good while since thoroughly understood their owne due and have vindicated their right forth of the usurpinge hands of a forraine prieste taking Paracelsus counsell: *Alterius non sit qui suus esse potest*.²⁵

[Usurper's power *marginated*] Soe that now none shall dare to mentayne eyther by word or writinge that same formerly usurped jurisdiction or power of the Pope claimed within these realmes or perswade others to bee reconciled to that religion. If you know any such you are by noe meanes to connive at them, as alsoe those who deny his Majesties supremacye [Supremacy *marginated*] are to be presented.

[Pristes Jesuites *marginated*] And because those that instruct them in their disobeydience and hatch and nourish in his Majesties subjectes these corrupt humors, these daungerous errors, are priests and Jesuits soe made by forraine power, therefore hath the law commaunded them as noysome vermine not to infest the countrey, not to dare to set footing in this kingdome which if the[y] transgresse it hath designed them to a place fitt for them, the gallows. For it is noe reason that those who can breath nothing but treachery and treason should have alike priviledge with better subjects to enjoy the benefite of our English aire.

[Maynteners of them *marginated*] And as there is a capitall punishment ordayned for them, soe there is also for those who shall ayde, harbour or relieve them if you can discover them.

[Masse *marginated*] And a shrewd penalty upon all such as shal bee present at their idolatrous service of the masse.

[Schoolmaster popish *marginated*] And because the youth of this kingdome shold not be bred up in that wicked religion, but be trayned up in the feare of God which is avers to that Antichristian profession (for *Quo semel est imbuta recens*

23 This word is partly illegible.

24 'A bitch in haste brings forth blind puppies.'

25 'He who can be his own man must not be another's.'

servabit odorem testa diu),²⁶ therefore are both popish schoolmasters prohibited, and such as testify there liking of that religion by intertayment of such, [Kepers of them *marginated*] are to undergoe sharpe punishment.

[Sacrament *marginated*] And soe also are all such as by any words or gesture doe deprave or contemne the blessed sacrament of the Lords Supper as it is administred in this famous church.

These are all within your inquiry and it stands you upon to shew yourselves true sonns of the same church by your diligence in findinge out these forenamed offenders, that by makeinge them knowne to us we may make them knowne to the world to be enemies to the kinge, the state and religion, and as such to receive their deserved punishment.

And here give mee leave to expresse the joye and contentment which all truly religious have conceived at the constancy which our gracious soveraigne hath professed in maynteyninge (as he is *Defensor fidei*) the true and auncient religion, and which hee hath abundantly testified by his late proclamations, the one to banish priests and Jesuits, the other to recall all his subjects children from the seminaries beyond seas where they are poysoned with popery and made capeable to become traytores.

But specially hath he shewed his zeale by grauntinge his late commission wherby he commaundeth all magestrats that have authority to putt all lawes made agaynst recusants strictly in execution, and hath piously dedicated his owne due forth of there estates to the defence and strengthninge of this kingdome.

And I doubt not but as his Majestie hath piously begun, soe he will proceede constantly; and to think otherwise were to disparage his uprightness and to prophane his zeale. If there be any that hope otherwise, *Careant successibus opto*.²⁷

Now therefore seinge the lawes are as forceable as ever, and we are invited by his Majestie to use the strength of them, we ought all of us in our severall places deale faithfully towards God and our cuntry by huntinge out those foxes which have too longe beene suffred to prey upon this our vineyard. And there is a great reason why kinge and state should be more severe agaynst them now then at other tymes which we shall easely be perswaded to beeleeve if we consider the jealousies that his Majestie justly hath of the princes of the house of Austria upon whom our recusants wholly depend for the underproppinge of there staggering religion. Soe that if there should bee an invasion as there was in 88 they would sooner take parts with them then with their owne naturall prince, although they were sure to find from them noe other favoure in conclusion but what the Ciclope of Homer promised to Uliesses to eat him up last of all. And this is the reason why the state holds it not safe to trust these men with the keepinge of there owne armes.

But I proceede. [Sac[r]ilidge, wichcraft, prophecye *marginated*] The offenders which next I will charge you with are such as commit sacrilidge, practise

26 'The wine-jar will keep for a long time the odour with which it was imbued when fresh.' The quote is from Horace, *Epistles I*, ii, 69–70 (I am grateful to Don Gilbert for this identification).

27 'I wish they may not enjoy success.'

wichcrafte, use prophecyinge, disturbe preachers, fight in church or churchyard, all of them beinge offences of high nature, are not to be winked at if you can discover them.

[Perjury *marginated*] And more especially doe I wish you to bee earnest agaynst such as forgettinge that precept of God himself, *You shall sweare by my name in truth*,²⁸ sweare they regard not what, nor how falsly. They care not whose states they ruine soe they may gayne themselves or there frends a trifle. They ballance there soules which are of inestimable price with a toy, a noethinge.

It is a fearefull vice, the punishment whereof Cicero, a heathen, expresseth excellently in these wordes, *Perjurii poena divina exitium, humana dedecus*: that is the punishment that is inflicted from God for perjury is eternall distruction and from man perpetuall ignominye.

Neither is God many tymes satisfyed with the grievous plagues he sends upon the persons and fortunes of the perjured wretches themselves, but makes there children also feelee the waight of his displeasure, as Claudian well observes sayinge

*In prolem dilata ruunt perjuria patris
Et poenam merito filius ore luit*²⁹

[Suborners of perjury *marginated*] And with these as fitt to draw together you must yoke such as have procured and suborned any to committ wilfull perjury.

And as this sin of false swearinge is most odious to God and man, so is that ordinary, customary, habituall takinge of Gods name in vayne hatefull to him alsoe, who hath said it (and we may beelieve him) that for oathes the land mourneth. Wee have a good and wholesome law which exacteth 12d for every idle oath and curse. But alas I feare that too many of ourselves are guilty of this sinne, els wee would be more forward to vindicate the honoure of Gods name from blasphemous tongues and be more charitable to the poore by our not deprivinge them of the forfeitures which are dedicated to their reliefe.

[Lay causes *marginated*] I am now come to the second part of my taske wherein I must charge you to present such as be offenders agaynst many lawes of different nature concerninge the commonwealth. But beinge soe many I will onely poynt at some of the principall, and if (to spare tyme) I name but few of them yet you must not take my silence for a discharge from medlinge with those I shall omitt when opportunity shall present them to your consideration.

[Murther *marginated*] And first of murther, whereof I find three degrees.

[Petit treason *marginated*] The first, and highest degre is that of petite treason, when wives (who ought to participate and beare with there [husbands]³⁰) makes the one half of prosperity and adversitie) doe kill ther husbands, or when servants (who

28 Italicised in the original.

29 'The falsehoods of the father fall belatedly on his offspring, and the son despite his own truthfulness pays the penalty.'

30 Word supplied.

should venter ther own for preservation of there masters) take there lives from them, or when clerkes deprive there ordinaries of there beinge.

2. The second degree is when a man shall upon forethought malice slay another or poyson him.

3. The third is when a lewde woman beinge delivered of a bastard child shall laboure to hide and conceale it by downinge, secrett buriall or any other way, wherby it may not appeare whether the child were borne alive or not. This is a sinne which cries for vengeance and rather then it shalbe undiscovered God will worke miracles, and though he doth sometymes protract it of purpose to mollifie or harden mens' harts, as he pleaseth, yet oftentimes hee maketh the actor an instrument to discover his owne murther. And when the murthertherer[sic] sitteth³¹ most secure then he heapes coles of fire on his head and cuttes him off with his sword of justice.

[Manslaughter *marginated*] The next offence you are to inquire after is manslaughter, very nere of kin to murther and a fearefull cryme in Gods sight; however, our lawes are more favourable for the punishment in allowinge the benefite of clergie because it is not committed in could blood. Yet take heede you clogg not your consciences by coveringe murthers under the fairer presentment of manslaughter.

[Buggery felonies *marginated*] There are many other felonies within the compasse of your inquiry which I will onely name unto you as *buggery*, *rape*, *maryinge*³² of a second husband or wife the first livinge, robbery, cutpurses, breaking of houses eyther by day or night, *roguish egiptians*, *unfaithfull servantes imbeselinge*³³ ther masters goods to the value of 40s or above, huntinge in the night in any forests or parks disguised and daungerous rogues wandringe havinge formerly bene branded in the sholder.

[Fines in the name of others *marginated*] And as fitt companions to hange with the former are such as shall acknowledge, or procure to bee acknowledged, any fine, recovery, deede inrowled, statute, bayle or judgment in the name of any other person not consenting thereto, to which kind of men is denyed the benefite of clergie.

[Soldiers departing *marginated*] And consideringe the tymes I would wish you strictly to inquire after two other felonies: the one is of such souldieres as having received the kings pay and beene inrowled have departed from their captayne without his licence under his seale. There are of late soe many able men (who had formerly bene pressed for his Majesties warr service) returned into these parts that I feare some of them, if they were narrowly sifted, would be found and brought under the daunger of this law.

[Plague *marginated*] The other is of such as havinge bene infected with the plague and commaunded to kepe house have notwithstandinge, with the sores

31 *sits* crossed out.

32 Italicised in the original.

33 Italicised in the original.

uncured, wilfully and contemptuously gone abroad into company and thereby hazerded the lives of many others.

I have hard of some such and if you could find out but one of them who might dye for his offence it would be a good warning hereafter to others and might bee a meanes to save the lives of multitudes: for by such villany many have perished.

[Accessaries *marginated*] These offenders have also there accessaries before or after the offence committed which you must alsoe present.

And now I have done with felonies I proceede to offences of other natures.

[Extortion *marginated*] And first of extortion, whether practised in spirituall or temporall courts. When the ordinary, officiall, deans, sheriffs, bayliffes or any other officer shall by coloure of, or for doinge his office, take greater fees then belongs to them, or then have bene formerly payd, or if any of them or their clerkes take any fee or reward for expedition in doinge there office, these are all punishable. And for my part I must confesse I know not by what right or power the judge of a court may give way or warrant for the alteringe and raysinge of fees. And if in this I bee deceived, *errari[sic] cum patribus*³⁴: I err with a late parliament which was of that opinion. And I hope that all courts shall in due tyme bee brought back to review their auncient fees: for that is there only due. In the meane tyme if you know any who have transgressed in this kind you are bound to acquaint us with them that they may heare from hence they have transgressed there limittes and wronged the subject. And if there due fees will not content, and bee able to mentayne them, let them eyther leave there places to others who would willingly take them upon those honest tearmes or receive the reward of there covetous, gratinge extortion.

[Watch *marginated*] You must alsoe inquire whether the constables have caused watch and ward to be duely kept accordinge to the law, the want whereof is a mayne cause of soe many burglaries and other theveries dayly committed. And if for the neglect of this soe necessary a service we would inflict some exemplary punishment upon the constables and such as being warned by them to watch have sleighted such commaund, I think the whole countrey would blesse us for it and would enjoy much more peace and safety, beinge therby freedde from the daunger of wanderinge rogues, which for want thereof swarme in every village.

[Riotts *marginated*] You must also present all riotts, routs, unlawfull assemblies, forceable entries, receiveinge of goods upon false tokens, champertres, common barrettors and such like.

[Alehouses *marginated*] And more carefully you must looke after the disorders of alehouses, where for the most part the forenamed offences are hatched: for drunkennes is the bawde and usher to all sinnes. What good doe those gayne who hawnt and frequent them, but too late repentance after they have wasted there wealth and fortunes? For these are the stages where many take post horses to run out of their estats. Besides the tymes have of late bene soe fearfull that wee

34 'I erred with the fathers.' The Latin should read *erravi* (I am grateful to Don Gilbert for pointing this out).

should rather *defraudare genium*, bee abstemious and debar ourselves from our alemeetings, then *indulgere genio*, to pamper and make much of our genius. Yet upon our soleme fastinge dayes these houses gave as free entertaynment to there tenants, drunkerds and gamesters, as upon any other day, to whom I will give this advise with Seneca, *Remove ista lusoria arma decretoriis opus est*: take away the tables and the pott, the state hath neede of, and hath appoynted, other more usefull weapons to bee employed.

[Forestallers *marginated*] If you knowe any forestallers of your marketts, regrators or ingrossers of any comodities, especially of victualls, let us heare of them. These spoyle your marketts and inhance those commodities which must be had at any rate and undoe the poore. *Esuriem populo grande tulisse nefas*.³⁵

[False waights *marginated*] If you know any that have bought or sould by unlawfull waights and measures, or such as are not marked or signed by officers appoy[n]ted for that purpose, or any that use double measures, a measure and a measure, accordinge to scripture phrase, the lesse to sell by, the larger to buy with, these are close and cheatinge theeves and would bee mett with all.

[Inholder *marginated*] You must alsoe inquire if any inholder or hostler doe not in there prises of hay, oates or provander, or any other victuall, eyther for man or horse, use theire guests well and conscionably: for if they take not reasonable gayne (regard beeinge had to the severall prises of those things in the next markett) they are to undergoe a severe censure.

[Cotages, inmat's *marginated*] You must by noe meanes lett slipp the presentinge of such as erect cottages or entertayne inmates agaynst the law. These houses are they which (to the great damage of the neighbourhood) are many tymes built of purpose for such to settle themselves in that have bound there hands from all laboure and theire feete are beenummed and waxen stiffe from takinge paynes or care to live in a lawfull course. These must have fire out of theire neighbours hedges and hens from theire roustes. These intice servants to imbezile theire maisters goods and oft serve for intelligencers to acquainte good fellowes where they may fitt themselves with horseflesh. Therefore spare them not.

[Bridges, highwayes *marginated*] I would alsoe move you to take a view of the decay of bridges and highwayes. It were much for the profitt and contentment of this shire to have them more carefully repayred and mentayned which would be effected if there were a strict scrutinye of the neglectes of supervisors.

There have bene of late yeares great sommes collected within this county for this purpose and I could wish that (by an order of this court) some justices might be selected out of every hundred respectively to call before them the high constables that now are and that have bene in that place for soe many yeares past (as shall by this court be thought fitt) to give an account what money they have received and how they have disbursed the same. For I am perswaded that the countrey hath bene much prejudiced and abused by the not right employment of such collections to the same good purposes whereto they were dedicated.

35 'To have brought hunger on the people is a terrible wrong.'

And lastly I would wish you to have that respect to the gentlemen of your countrey by preserving the matter of there sports and recreations that you doe carefully present all such as are destroyers thereof.

[Hawkes egges *marginated*] Such are those who steale hawkes, or there egges, forth of the woodes where they ayrie; [Hares *marginated*] such as trace hares (of this sort the last great snowe hath afforded many and I hope that some of them are within your owne distinct knowledge); [Phesantes *marginated*] such as kill phesantes or partridges with settinge dogges, netts or any other engines; [Peeces *marginated*] those alsoe which carry peeces charged with haileshot or shute at any hares, phesant, partridge, pidgeon, duck or any other fowle prohibited. There are many offenders of this nature in these adjoyninge parts which would be found out.

[Conclusion *marginated*] And now you have hard your charge I will committ you to the blessinge of God with this briefe exhortation, that you would with constancy and courage presse forward to the perfectinge and finall performance of those busines which are committed to your charge. For it is a matter of nothinge to begin any work fortunately unles with industrious perseverance wee prosecute the same to absolute perfection. *Non satis est manum admovere aratro, si respiciamus atque opus inchoatum deseramus*: it is not enough to putt our hands to the plow if then wee looke back and leave the worke unperfected.

Use noe delay or protraction of tyme: for the commonwealth would not have her busines and imployments of importance procrastinated and put of from day to day. It wilbe prejudicious and obnoxious to your credite and estimation, unpleasant to the people and unacceptable to the commonwealth.

III. LETTERS OF ADVICE TO HIS SON, 1628 AND 1636

a) [E.H., *Grosvenor Personal and Misc.*, 2/22]

[p.17]

Sir R. Grov. letter to his sonne¹

Sonne, it hath now pleased God to settel you in a course of life which I hope shall prove comfortable to mee & happy to your selfe, if you put tow your helping hand and by your care & providence make your selfe capable of that blessednes which your match promiseth to us both.

You are henceforward to bee your owne guide, yet not freed from my care, from my counsell. The privileige of a father I will never part with & the duty of a sonne I hope you will never forget: the one bindes mee to advise, the other you to obay, and althou your absence freeth you from the surway of mine ey yet doth it not from the prospect of my love & care which makes mee at this time to set pen to paper & what I cannot do by worde to act by writings, well hoping that my love expressed this way will worke the desired efect & make a stronge impression in you when you shall seriously waigh both the counsell & the counseller, & find oppertunity to consult of the nature of my dealing thus with you.

1. First then you must knowe that you can expect no happie issue of your desires, nor good success to attende your actions unless you be carefull in the first place to serve God to whom you owe your selfe & what you have, & from whom you have received mannifold testimonies of love, in preserving you from great dangers which it behooves you oft to remember with thankfulness. Never goe forth of your chamber or studdy before you have piously craved his protection upon your knees & never enter into your bed untill you have acknowleged his mercies in the daies blessings. From such morning sacrifice you may with confidence expect the former, & from such evening exercise you promise a continuance of the latter accordinge to this verse

*Omnibus in rebus feliciter omnia cedent
Si statues finem principiumque deum.*²

I could much rejoyce if the place you live in were better furnished with preachers. When you have any preaching neere you absent not your selfe upon any occasion & bee an instrument as you meete with oppertunity of procuring sermons theire from your frendes [p.18] and acquaintance. And since you want that much to bee desired holye in your spirituall growth you must labour seriously to recompense, the forme by your frequent reading of Bible & other good bookes which you must not do of course, or for fashion sake, but out of conscience & an

1 This was written on the occasion of his marriage to Sydney, daughter of Sir Roger Mostyn of Mostyn, Flintshire.

2 'Everything comes happily if you set God at the beginning and end in all affairs.'

eager desire to bee bettered thereby. And my prayers shall bee that God will give a blessinge to that particuler.

My next advice is that you carry your selfe temperatly & sweetly towards your wife. Love her hartely, use her with all respect, bannish farre from you all harshness. Let her never tast the unwellcome fruit of bitter wordes, nor discover the darke cloudes of discon[ten]ted lookes. And this not onely at the first & while the fayre moone lasteth, but to observe it so longe as you shall keepe you togeather: for perseverance onely will crowne your love. If you shall att any time see in her any thing that may justly give you a distast, remember shee is young & apt to bee moulded to your minde if you marre not her temper. The ready way to reforme anything in her will bee to speake to her in the language of love & in the dialect of mildnes, not in anger & discontent, the one a way to mollify, the other a way to harden. So will she observe that it is judgment not passion that discovers her error, & such dealing will incline that sweet disposition which I observe to bee in her, most ready to comply with your will & desire, & bee as a stronge cyment to fasten her affection, to perpetuate her love; & here is great reason you should deale thus with her, whose constancy to you removed all those rubbs that were cast in your way & dispelled all those cloudes which were raised to darke the sunneshine of her favore towards you.

And on the other side if your wife shall att anytime lovingly reprehend you, misconstrue not her good meaninge. Let not youre passion oversway your judgement from thence to breede distast: for you must know that it is the part & duty of a good³ & vertuous wife not to conceale from her husband what shee discovers in him ether by herselfe or others fitt to bee [p.19] reformed. And I hope that her discretion both for time & place will bee such as make her desires & hopes compleat. Make her no stranger to any of your bussiness, but before you resoulve anythinge let her know your purpose: for seeing the good & ill must bee hers as well as youers, reason requires that she should bee made acquainted with the beginning as well as the ending. So shall you find her a faithfull yoakefellow, both in prosperity & adversity & ready to ether greive or joy, to accompany you & beare a part to your unspeakable comfort. Avoid as poison all jarrs and jealousies amoung you, but if there shall unhappily arrise any discontent, let it not remaine longe with you. Beware you breake not out into fury (for you are too hott) but withdraw till your better temper return to you, & then a kiss will end the quarrell, & let not unkindnes have time to settle & harden.

For directions how to demeane your selfe toward youre father & mother in law, I conceive you will not much stand in neede of, & I hope your owne discretion will guide you. Yet will I not bee wanting heerein allso. Their great respect shewed to you & yours, & the good opinion & hopes they conceive of you, doth justly challenge a large portion of duty of you to them both, besides there kindnes in so sweetly & fairly intertaining you as there owne childe & incorporating you in to that noble family must bee a stronge coard to ty you fast to them. Avoide not their

presence, but rather (when you may with good manners) press into their company. Go abroad with your father & when hee rides from home offer your selfe to attend him. Hee will willingly admitt of you (when hee shall find it fitt) for his companion or leave you at home (with his approbation of your offer) to play with your mother & wife. Advise with him in whatever you undertake, & trust his judgement before your owne which you shall do well to suspect when you find it differing from his. His years render him able & his affection willinge to bee your best guide, as you may observe his order in housekeeping [p.20] in manning his demesnes & whole estates. & if you make his providence your owne by your observation, I dare promise hee will pardon you that felony if hee reprehend you for any thinge hee conceiveth to bee amisse. Remember hee is now in my place. Take it as a testimony of his love that hee can not suffer you to goe on (it may bee in blindness) not knowing that you erred. And tho you may happily conceive you deserve no reprehension yet then make your excuse mildly, & you may easely greive him who doth all for your good.

Be kinde & respective towards your wives friends & put no difference betwixt them & your owne. Bee sociable with them, but beware of excess, & if you bee urged to that tell them that the vertue of temperance is an ornament best befitting a gentellman & that you mind not to leave the reputation you have gott of a civill repute, & rather leave the room & the company then suffer your selfe to bee dishonored by beeing made a beast through disorder. Bee loving & affable amongst there servants, yet knowe your distance. Be ready to [do]⁴ them what good you can & if the master or lady shall bee displeased with any of them use your power (so farr as with credde & good discretion you maye) to worke a reconsiliation. Speake⁵ kindly to them & let no occasion drawe harsh language from you: for that wil procure dislike amongst them. Let it bee your honor to compose them that their master know it not and meddle no further with them then you may without distast; & thus by givinge evry one with whom you live that which of right beelongs to them, & fitt for you, you shall endear your selfe to your father and mother, inshrine your hart into your wives bosome, ingage her frendes to bee yours, find the servants ready at your cale, which effects you cannot but foresee to bee the issue of this mine advise.

Now also is the time when you may learne to thrive in the world by playing the good husband under so provident a tutor. In this [p.21] let my advise not my example bee followed. These are the best counsells I could think on, on the sudden, & thus have I fitted them as most usefull for the present condition.

I can not expect you should perfectly in all points follow my precepts for there is no man (of riper yeares) so much master of himselfe who in somme actions, & at some time, doth not slipp in one kinde or other. Nay I will say further with Cicero, *In adolescente vellem quod amputem*: I would wish in a young man somewhat fitt to bee⁶ lopped off. But do you your endeavoure & esteeme those directions as the

4 Word supplied.

5 One word struck through.

6 One word struck through.

birth of a fatherly affection they may prove as a hedge to keepe you in your path & as a guide to reduce you into your way when you are out. If you make this use of them I have my desire, your selfe shall find the happinesse, your wife & parents shall reape the comfort, & I shall not cease to pray to God to bles you both & enlarge my joy in your children.

I have exceeded much the length of a letter which I meant not, but the latitude of a fathers heart in this kind admitteth of no limitts. Even so I bless you & leave you to the fountaine of blessings and wish my best love to your worthy father & mother, & my deare daughter, do rest your carefull father,

Rich Grosvenor

Eaton No[vember]. 10, 1628

signed Rich Grosvenor.

b) [p.37]

To my deare & only sonne, Rich Grosvenor Esquire⁷

1. My deare sonne, when I consider the greate & manifold favours which my good God hath conferred upon mee I find non comparable to this, that I was borne in a time of joy and happiness when the true light of the gospell was revealed & flowrrished in this kingdome after itt had for many agges bene clouded from our ancestors; and that I was the sonne & heire of virtuous & religious parents whose prime care was to educate mee & the rest of their children in the feare of God, and to season our tender years with the true knowledg of that saveing religion, which hath⁸ taken firme rooting in their owne harts.

2. And next to this grand favoure I account the blessinge of my children & amongst them of your selfe, beinge myne heire & only sonne liveinge, and from whome and your hopefull issue I promise my selfe the continuance of mine ancient howse and family, longe to florrish in eminency & prosperity.

And although I am thus happie in your beinge & in whose⁹ hopeful children which God hath given you, yet doe I howld my selfe not to have discharged the part and duty of a father till I have given you the best counsell which my poore ability & judgment can yeald for your future directions in the whole cowrse of your life & conversation, hopeinge that my care of your good will not prove fruitless, but that (when I am gone & laide amonge my fathers) you will (for my sake) spare some time to conferre with these my lines and bee advised by them: for *optimum*

7 There are two texts of this advice. The one used here is the earlier one, copied by Sir Francis Gamull in the 1630s. The later one was copied by Sir Richard's great grandson in 1674 in a volume he entitled 'Choice texts of Holy Scripture': E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 3/5, pp. 63–104. Variations from the earlier text are described in the notes.

8 had in 1674 copy.

9 those in 1674 copy.

*amutis et imortuis[sic] est consilium.*¹⁰ In them you shall trace [p.38] the affection of a father whose love is not *ignis in silice*: it is not like fire in the flint which can hardly be beaten out, but like fire in the bossome which cannot be hid.

This strength of affection which I find in my selfe towards you doth promise mee from you a returne of answerable proportion, in the virtue whereof I am confident you will not sleight myne advice, which if you should, I know not whose you will follow for *quem feras si patrem non feras*.¹¹

And lett not my counsell bee the less pretious in your esteeme because it proceeds from a prisoner who could not counsell himselfe to avoide this place of affliction, but rather even for that cause lett it bee of more value. Sorrow and mans life are sisters of one wombe, & though I have dearly bought myne experience, yett mine imprissonment hath enlarged the liberty of my minde, zeale & goodness being (for the most part) coldest in the sunnshine of prosperity & then aptest to gather heate when trowble commeth.¹² It is true that loss of liberty houlds the most mournfull ranke amonge all losses and is of the most bitter digestion. Yet even in this disconsolate estate of mine I have meet¹³ with the presence & assistance of my gracious God who hath given mee courage to undergoe (with hope and patience) this his scourge applyed to bringe mee home and draw mee nearer to him.

And heerein also doe I scolace my selfe and from thence I take noe smale comfort, that (except mine indiscreet folley in overmuch trust & confidence) *Non habeo in me quod testetur*¹⁴ *contra me*: I have [p.39] nothing reprochfull in my life but mine afflictions. Nether have I overlived the love of my frends, nor the esteeme of my deare contrey. But there is ever in humane thinges some mischeife which sticketh on¹⁵ the most smileing feliciteys & never giveth wine without a mixture of summe dreggs. My cheife care concernes & aymes att the welfare of your soule: for as the soule is by infinite degrees more pretious then the body, soe shoulde our care for the happiness of that transcend the care wee have of our bodies. But alas we see that most doe pamper and norrish this when they starve the other, as though men were borne to eate, drinke and sleepe, to take their pleasures only and spend their whole time in sports and wor[l]dly vanttys, never respecteing eternity and the future condition of their soules.

But you (my sonne) make more account of your pretious soule which Christ hath so dearly bought then of your body, your estate, your wife and children or all the world besids: for what shall itt proffitt a man to gaine the whole universe and lowse his soule? Cleave constantly to the religion¹⁶ you profess. Furnish yourselfe with true & sound knowledge that you bee not shaken in these wavering &

10 'The best counsel comes from those who are silent and departed.' The Latin should read *a mutis et mortuis* (I am grateful to Don Gilbert for pointing this out).

11 'Whom would you put up with if not your father.'

12 *cometh* in margin.

13 *mett* in 1674 copy.

14 *or tristetur* in margin.

15 *of* in 1674 copy.

16 *which* inserted in 1674 copy.

backsliding times with any ether example or cownsell of such as wander from the true path. Christ Jesus & his Appostle in the worde of life, the Scripturs, doe shew you a sure foundation whereon to rely with safety. Settle your faith theire and you cann nether fale nor faile.

Abhorre Popery. It is a mock religion patched together of mens traditions and vanitys, without grownd of [p.40] Scripture or collor of truth to any but to such as the God of this world hath blinded. Bee diligent in readinge the Scripturs and other godly & commendable authors. I have reasonable well furnished your library with good books, which I desire may bee carefully preserved att Eaton & kept there in remembrance of mee & to bee transferred to your posterity successively. Lett not your absence from church upon any Sunday (if God give you health) accuse you of negligence in Gods sirvis. And when you are there testifie (by your religious carriage & reverent behaviour) how much you esteeme of Gods howse and presence. Your example may much perswade and incorrage your neighbours & tennants to frequent the temple the oftner.

And that the worde of God may more efectually worke upon you I advice that you beare a loveing & tender respect to your minister to whom is committed the charge of your soule. And let not eviry idle & triviall cawse have power to disjoint your affection from him. If you give¹⁷ way to foster & entertaine a sinister oppinion of your pastour, you cannot reape that comfort and proffitt by his minnestrey that you shoulde. His instructions will then seeme harsh unto you & you will bee apt to quarrell with his doctrine. And the devill is ever ready to take howld of such an oppertunity to make a man out of love with the worde of God ittselfe. Beside this publick duty forgett not your more private devotions. And make your howse a Bethell, a howse of God, by calling your whole family together twice eviry day to pray unto God for his blessinges & praise him for his favours.

And forasmuch as the first education of childeren is an impression very tender and which (if not well mannaged in the beginning) filleth the whole life with disorders, bee you carefull in the [p.41] bringeing upp of your childeren. Let them in theire tender yeares bee¹⁸ learning daly somme good thinges, and though att first the[y] speake but like parratts yet knowledge will encrease with their years, and religion will by this meanes grow upp with them. If they bee capable of learninge, spare not¹⁹ for cost to give itt them and (through Gods blessing) you shall meete with a rich returne of your charges soe laide forth. And lett noe by respects cause you to neglect them in this perticuler since learninge is the best ornament that cann beautifie a gentleman. Time passeth away speedily an[d] therfore while itt is time place them where they may bee well educated, espeatially in the principles and rudiments of religion. But bee warey to what masters you committ the charge of them. Ireneus saith that tutors are the fathers of spiritts as haveing more influence

17 *roome* in 1674 copy.

18 From *bee . . . religion* omitted in 1674 copy.

19 *for noe* in 1674 copy.

over the resemblances of soules then carnall fathers over bodies; and therefore take heede & bee asured that you commend them to pious and honnest maisters. And heare I could chide myselfe for my careless folley in beinge tow facile and yealding tow much to the unreasonable tenderness, or rather fondness, of a grandmother to your prejudice. But I say noe more. I only advice you (out of the sence of your owne wants) to endeavour to furnish your sonns with this most excellent & pretious jewele of learninge.

²⁰Carrey a watchfull eye over the demeanor of your servants and bee well perswaded of them before you give them entertainment: for their behaviour contributs much to the credite or discredite of their masters. Burthen not yourselfe with tow many, but those you doe keepe allow them fitting competency²¹ that their rages shame you not. Proper men [p.42] will bee willing to attend you att as cheape and easie rates as clownes. See they bee scirvisible & honest. Lett noe common drunkards or night walkers bee longe lodged in your howse. Bannish profane persons, blasphemors and filthy talkers from your family if you desire to avoide the judgments of God and to keepe your children from beinge vitiated & corrupted by the contagious example of such.

Bee not prodigall in your housekeeping nor yett niggardly. The third part of a mans certaine revenue (mee thinks) were a fitting proportion to bee spent that way.

2. Bee charritable to the truly poore. Receive strangers, cloath the naked: ²²*ne patent[sic] miseria*.²³ The care of such is a worke worthy the care of the best & greatest. Christian soules are the true stones of a spirituall temple where God dwells as in his proude mansion; soe as to norrish & support the poore, being the pretious members of Christ, is to build a goodly temple. And that you may bee the better inabled to relive such, drive from your gatts those lusty rogu[e]s and sturdy beggars that are able to earne their owne bread by [their]²⁴ labore: the stokes and howse of correction are almes that best befitt them.

²⁵Suffer not your butlery and seller to bee converted into an alehowse and taverne for men to swill and drink themselves drunken. It is sufficient if strangers and your freinds attendans bee wellcom. *Hillaritatem* and not *ad Ebrietatem*; and more is too much.

Bee loving and cordiall to your sisters. They are all of them such as you may take comfort [p.43] in as I doe, and bless God for them. You have all one father and should have one hart. Your affections ought to bee united to strengthen you against the oppositions of all others; and the interest of one should bee the interest of you all. A howse devided cannot stand. Lett noe harsh carriage to any of them give occasion to the world to judg that you respected not your father. For if you love

20 New paragraph indicated in 1674 copy.

21 One illegible word crossed out here.

22 *et* inserted here in 1674 copy.

23 'Let not their wretchedness be exposed.' The Latin should read *pateat* (I am grateful to Don Gilbert for pointing this out).

24 Inserted in 1674 copy.

25 This paragraph is placed before the previous one in 1674 copy.

him, and his memory, you will never persecute him in his children. Had I forgott the duty of a father and unnaturally left them unprovided for, in that case religion & good nature will tell you that you ought to supply my neglect. Bee you a father to them as well as a brother and in my roome²⁶ protect them from injuries. Let them peacably injoy what I have bequeathed & left to them. Farr bee that wickednes from you to cale into question such deeds and conviances as I have made to them. It is like enough that somme villanes (for better I cannot terme them) may advice you to take counsell & examin the validity or formality of those my deedes and you cannot want lawyers who (for a fee) will bee doubbly diligent to seeke for a knott in a bullrush. But bee not you (my deare sonne) guilty of soe foule an iniurie to mee who have ever esteemed and doe now pronounce that child unworthy of his fathers blessing that deales soe iniuriously with him in his children. And know from mee that itt is better to admitt an outward distemper then an inward combustion.

Lett your respect to mee bee also noted in your love to my servants. Itt is a credite to a sonne to show & say theise were my fathers²⁷ and grandfathers men. I cannot [p.44] commend many to your care, seing my tedious restraint hath rendred mee incapable to imploy many. Yett some I have who have benn carefull of my business and scirvisable to mee in my troubles. Amonge the rest Bearde hath spent many yeares, even the prime of his time, in my scirvis; and out of love to mee hath benn contented to imprison himselfe never leaving nor forsaking mee. I have donn little for him proportionable to his scirvis. Hee hath ever been painefull, faithfull & trusty²⁸ to you. I leave him to bee cherished and better provided for, that he want not in his age.

I commend also unto you William Colley. Through his care & paines I have avoided many inconveniencys & losses which els I had suffered duringe my restraint by those many suits brought against mee. Your grandfather acknowledged him to bee faithfull and such hath hee approved himselfe to mee. What hee hath donn in any particulers in the mannaging of mine affaires was by my directions & (if hee did not disclose mine instructions without my previty, beinge the grownds of his acts) that argues his trust and honnesty, and you ought not to fault him therefore. Bury with mee all the ill will & unkindness formerly conceived against him. Retaine him in your favoure & you shall (I dare promise itt) finde his sarvis usefull to you.

Tho Steele hath also donn mee good scirvis. If you imploy him I dowbt not but hee will bee carefull to promote your proffitt and dilligent in acting what you referre to his trust.

Bee kinde & loveinge to your [p.45] tennants²⁹ and tender over them. Make not slaves of them, but use them soe that they may delight to bee commanded by you

26 The remainder of the sentence omitted from 1674 copy.

27 One word illegible.

28 *lastly* in 1674 copy.

29 *servants* in 1674 copy.

and to bee usefull to you. Remember they are planted under you not to be tirranized over but to bee protected, not to bee ruined but to bee fostered by you. Count itt your credдите to owne rich tennants and your glory when they live in plenty and are able with alacrity to cale you in & make you drinke when you pass by theire dores.

Let your fines bee modderate & accept of such scirvises as may bee performed without just cawse of repineing, lest otherwise the poore tennant cry (with the oppressed Isaralites) unto God for ease & hee take thire cawse in hand. And in theise particulers immitate the example of the best and not the most. Never quarrell with any of theire leases made by mee: for that were to fly upon mee not them. But if theire should bee any flaws in theire estates let your duty to mee, and religion to God, ciment them upp.

Bee honnest to all men: for the best ornament of the body is the minde and the best endowment of the minde is honesty, and itt is the greatest pollecie to bee an honnest man. Bee you such in all your accions and never promise more then you meane to performe: for honnest men have this vertue which makes them honnored & esteemed, they are allwaies just of theire wordes and religious to hould what they promise. Humanity and honnesty ever reapes its owne cropp and a good turne is never lost amonge men of worth.

And as I advise you to bee honnest and religious in [p.46] your owne person soe I wish you to countenance religion and honnesty (to the extent of your power) in whomsoever you find it. With such bee you most familiar and cherrish them for your most intimate companions. Covett & thirst after the love of your neig[h]bours, for theire is nothing more soveraigne for the life of man then the affection of those neere whom wee dwell. Bee courtesouse & respectfull to them upon all occasions. Prevent them with kindness, outvie them in curtesies and bee more ready to do them good then they to require itt. *Omne bonum est sui diffusivum*. All goodnes doth communicate itselfe to others, and thus shall you winn & wedg theire harts to you, and upon all occasions you may assure yourselfe they will adhere and stick to you. A sweete & cortious deportment, tempered with morality and seasoned with religion, ever meets with itt deserved commendation: for they are the truest carracters of an ingenious disposition and the most powerfull servants of honnest pollicy. And when any one of your neighbours shall move you to doe him a fitting kindness, differ not the opportunity: for speede in any good office or charritable act gaines the more acceptance. *Qui tarde fecit diu nolluit*, saith Seneca. Hee that is slow in performing a good turne wisheth itt were longe undonn. And in another place the saide Seneca, *Odit verus amator neq³⁰ patitur moras*: love cannot endure delays or abide putt offs when a speedy resolution and a seasonable [p.47] execution to a friends bennifite settis a greater value upon the act and more firmly nailes to a man the hart and affection of him who reapes the bennifite.

Bee not prone to fale att odds with your neighbours, nor apt to misconstrue theire actions, but afford to all a candid interpretation: for itt is tow common a

thing by misconstruction to deprave whatsoever is most innocently donn or spoken. There are many of soe bad & ungodly dispositions that (if they observe a gentlman to distast a neighbour) are ready to add fuell to the fire, and are still filling his ears (itt may bee) with false & fained tales, att the best with unseasonable reports, to sett them att a further distance. And when a mans affection beginns to bee cowl'd (if judgment bee not the more predominant) such siccophants assume encourragment to spitt their venome: for as Terrence saith (*Nihil est quin male narrando possit deprav[ar]lier*).³¹ But you ought not to receive easily every idle tale that such pickthanks or itt may bee flattering servants will bring unto you: for (besides the discomfort to live att a distance with your neighbours) if you beleive & receive them, beinge false, you make your selfe as guilty of the rounge as the informer is. Soe true is that of Issidore: *Non solum ille reus est qui falsum dealiquo profert, sed et is qui cito aurem creminnibus*³² *praebebet*.³³ Men are partiall when once offended and angred, and *prima ira surda est et amens [si] dabimus illi spatium*,³⁴ saith Seneca: wee are tow ready to give audience to those who bringe these tales and reports tending & trenching to the disgrace & discredde of [p.48] those of whose affections wee have entertained a jelousy. But you (my deare sonne) bee not forward to heare or belive such, or if you heare them let not the first tale possess you soe farr as (that when you shall heare the contrary) you then receive itt with prejudice. Never let private informations forstall the innocency or just apolloge of any neighbour who shall tender theire justification.

I know that differences and suits³⁵ may commence betwixt deare freinds and loving neighbours, but where the feare of God is planted & pure love settled,³⁶ they will not bee able to disjoint affections & distract hearts. In such a case a faire & frendly way of composure would bee studded which (mee thinks) might bee by reference to some able & judicious freinds whose endeavours may putt an end to the controversy with more ease to the purse and content to the minde then any legall cowlse, which for the most part concludes doubtfully and ends costly. And nonn can dislike this christian way but men of froward dispositions and turbulent spirritts.

But supposing you meete with a froward adversarie who adds violence to a willfull & mannifest injury; what is to bee donne? Remember that a violent cowlse is not alwaies the readiest way of defence: for sometimes pollecy may (in such a case) do more then strength, as art may now & then do more then armes. And a seasonable, gentle usage may have power to charme when rigour helpeth to enrage. But what if you find yourselfe armed with power [p.49] as with will to revenge those injuries? Yet know that in a power of revenge conferring of curteseyes

31 'There is nothing which cannot be twisted by being misreported.'

32 *criminibus* in 1674 copy.

33 'Not only is he guilty who makes a false statment about someone, but also he who readily listens to the allegations.'

34 'First anger is deaf and if we give it time will become insane.'

35 *suits* in 1674 copy.

36 *seated* in 1674 copy.

confounds ingratitude and the greatest victory is that which is gott by clemency. Constantine laughed att those who stoned his statues and Theodosius pardoned those who dragged his, whereas itt is proper to base spirrits to seke to glutt themselves in revenge and to delight in the miseryes of their neighbours.

But the most noble soules are beawtified with the raies of clemency and itt is the carracter of an excellent nature to forgive as much in an other as reason may parmitt, when frowarde behaviour never befitteth or bennifiteth a cawse. A gentle answeare pacifieth wrath, as Solomon saith, when furious words, threats & tanting recriminations do noe good att all, but argue a distempred spirritt in the gall of bitterness. But if all this will not reclaime your adversarie and make him sencible of his behaviour and wronge, you are then blameless before God and man and may justly defend your selfe with weapons answeareable to those wherewith you are assawlted.

I have stooed soe longe upon this particuler because I know you are naturallly given to passion which (if not restrained) will much blemish you & your accions. Know (my deare sonne) that a generous spirritt should learne to modderate his passions, espeatially those which doe most commonly inflame in conversation, as collor, emulation, intemperance in discowrse and tow sudden apprehension of injuries: for when a mann lettis the raynes off his passion soe there is noe law, ether divine or humane, that [p.50] cann suddenly recall his spirritt to reason. They that desire to gaine the affections of other men must know how to bee maisters of themselves and how to command their owne affections, when they who suffer themselves to bee overruled by their owne passions deceive themselves and become thereby the cawse of their owne misery. Gregory makes the right use of power to bee *ut homo scit potens in seipso adversus seipsum pro seipso*. Hee should bee of power in himselfe against the rebellious affections of his owne nature that soe hee might bring himselfe to reason & goodness.

It is true that sometimes a man may have just cause to bee angrey and passionate, and then (as St Austin saith) *qui cum causa non irascitur peccat*: he sinneth in not beinge angry that hath just cawse to bee angrey. And in strange and unexpected accidents the best and most corragious spirritts pay some tribute to the naturall passions of men: for (as sometime I wrott unto you) noe man can have a soule soe puerified³⁷ that hee shall bee free from all resentments. For as those places where is nether sound nor motion savor ill, soe soules thus deaded & deafned are not allwaies most purified. But lett itt bee your care (my sonne) to repress all motions which combate against reason that they sparkle not in [the]³⁸ sight of others, both to your owne disadvantage and the ill example of those who shall bee witnesses thereof. Soe shall you appeare to have an humble, meeke & honnest spirritt, beinge a stranger [p.51] to pride which is the tynder of the worst dispositions: for a proude man takes noe notice of his owne vices and enviously overlooketh the virtues and good parts of others.

And now haveinge ended my directions for your carriage in such actions as concerne you a private gentlman let mee add a worde or tow of cownsell in your

37 *pacified* in 1674 copy.

38 *Inserted* in 1674 copy.

publick deportment as you stand in relation to authority, being a justice in commission of the peace.

When you are in execution of your office let noe private interests possess any roome in you. Walk upprightly in your place haveinge a judiciouse ey to the cawse without respect of persons. Remember your oath and worke not your owne ends by your publick callinge: for eviry good magestrate should have his thoughts soe strongly possessed with zeale of the common good that hee should have noe leasure to intertaine thoughts of private ends.

Proffitt, kindred, alliance, frendshipp, revenge and all by respects ought for that tyme to bee locked upp and not suffered to attend him lest they putt him in minde and bee urgent to remember him this business concernes such a friend, that such a cosen, such a servant etc. *Qui induit personam iudicis exuit amici*.³⁹ But alas I have too often seene men of worth blemish theire judgments, hazard theire discreetions and staine thire consciences by beinge tow facile in this kinde; and by giving way to thire more then sawcy servants to dare to whisper [p.52] in there ears & to move them even publickly (and with efect) to the perverting of judgment. But bee you industriouse and studious to informe yourselfe of the extent of your authority, what you can do in every cawse within your cognisance, and then sett your judgment & discretion on worke to sugest how farr itt is fitt to putt that power in execution (for many perticulers are referred to a justice his discretion) and then assume courage and act (in the feare of God) what you conceive to bee just without wavering or respect of any. And after a while when your resolut constancy shall (to your credдите) bee bruited abroad you will bee less sollicitated for unfitting favours which will bringe much content to your minde and peace to your conscience.

Never deale alone or undertake to bee judge in bussness concerning yourselfe as in matters of the peace, personall injuries, pettie trespasses and the like. But demand justice from somme of your fellowes and referre the hearing and determining thereof to them: soe shall you avoide the taxe of partiality in your owne case.

When poore snakes shall be brought before you to examine, beware that you fere [sic] them not; nether triumph over nor trample upon the misery of such: for that is to add misery to affliction. And in your examinations labor to discover the truth, but intrapp not poore semple men in theire owne words. Let them throughly understand themselves before you recorde theire examinations. And if you must punnish by imprissonment etc. doe your duty with sorrow which will worke more upon an offender to make [p.53] him sencible of his offence then bigg wordes, threats etc.

Bee a chancelor rather than a justice amonge your neighbours who are tow apt to fale into contentions and cownt itt an honor if you can compose their differences and keepe them from that pick-purse lawinge. If your neighbours demand from you the peace, one against an other (as itt is tow common a way of revenge upon the least unkindness) before you grant itt perswade & move them to a reconciliation. Such an end will bee lastinge and begett hearty peace. And in such a case prize not your clearks fee before the peace and quiett of your neighbours.

39 'He who assumes the role of judge lays aside the role of friend.'

Bee an ennemie & strict against the abuses in alehouses in which places many menn runn post out of theire estates and spare not your owne tenants who they [*sic*] less they⁴⁰ hant these trifeles⁴¹ howses the more able will they bee to serve you, better husbands to themselves and more comfortable to thire wives and children. Allow within your own allottment as few of that profession as may bee and only such as the cheife howsehowlders in every towne shall approve and commend to you as most fitt. Soe shall you shake the blame from yourselfe when they prove (as most of them doe) irregular.

When you are to goe to your monthly or other [*p.54*] appointed meetinges bee sure to bee there by the time limmited, and rather stay for the people then make them waite for you. These are apt to accuse a justice of pride and state when they must attend for him. And when you are mette make all fittinge speede to dispatch poore men who desire to bee att theire labore and to whom the losse of a whole day is very prejudiciall.

Thus have I shewed myselfe as a father of affection to you, soe a father of much weakness in myselfe. But rather than bee wanting to you I have unclothed myselfe. Yett is itt but before a soone who with Shem & Japhett will cover his fathers nakedness.

I now growe in years and am full of infirmitys and the time is dangerous by reason of that infectious sickness. My dayes are neere spent and my sunn drawes toward the west, and God only knowes how sowne I may be called hence to give you my last farrwell, in contemplation of which I first putt pen to paper, beinge resolved to include my advice in the length of a letter, but (once on worke) I found that my love could not bee soe narrowly confined and hence grew this length.

And now (my most deare sonne) what remaines. Eviry man owes his cuntrey a tribute of action and you are allready (in my lifetime) enterred into action. Remember that authority is a [*p.55*] touchstone which trieth eviry mans mettell, and that justice is the summary and absolute beawty of all vertues. Abide this touch, blemish not this authority, staine not this vertue.

You are accountable to God, to your contrey. Soe behave yourselfe in the execution of your office that God may approve you and your contrey bless you. To which I will also add my blessing, beseeching God to guide you in all your waies, make you happie in your wife and children, succesfull in your attempts, prosperous in your estate; settle his feare in your hart; make you an ornament to your contrey, a prope to his servants, a comfort to the poore and distressed; and carefull to followe these my last precepts, and beinge full of dayes crowne you with eternall happiness; continewe myne howse in yow and your prosperity to the end of time; and give us an happie meeting in heaven. Thus counselleth, thus prayeth

your father, carefull for your good
and happiness

Rich Grosvenor

Fleete August 10
1636

40 *if the* in 1674 copy.

41 *thrifles* in 1674 copy.

IV. LETTERS, 1629–1637

a) [*P.R.O., SP 16/140/32*]¹

[*Endorsed* To the right honourable my very good lord Dudley Lord Viscout Dorchester, his Majesties principall secretarie give these]

Myne humble duety remembred unto your lordshipp. The generall report of your noblenes gives mee incouragement to become a suiter to your honour, & to desire your favoure which shall² for ever tye a poore gentleman to bee your faithfull servant. Such is the misery of my present condition that (being with others ingaged much for an unfortunate, but more dishonest, brother-in-law) noe thinge will serve the creditors but present payment, which is impossible for mee to doe, which moves mee to flie at this tyme to the goodnes of my gracious soveraigne and to implore his mercie; not to defraud any (God is my record) but to gett from my fellow sureties and the principall what assistance I can. It were a killing misery for mee to be the overthrow of soe auncient a family as hath continued in Cheshire ever since the Conquest through my too much and foolish kindnes. Bee you pleased to bee the stay and protector of my house, for which both I and my posteritie shall acknowledge you our patron, and bee ready to die in your sevice. That noble gentleman my Lord of Lincolne will (I know) intreat your favour & acknowledge your goodnes towards mee. And thus in hope of your charitable indeavoures, I commend your lordshipp to Gods protection, and will ever bee your honours ready to doe yours service,

Richard Grosvenor

Aprill 8, 1629

b) [*SP 16/151/78*]

[*Headed* To the right honourable the lords of his Majesties most honourable Privie Counsell, the humble petition of Sir Richard Grosvenor knight and baronett]

That sheweth whereas in the month of Aprill last it pleased his Majestie by the advice of your honours upon the petitioners humble petition to graunt unto your petitioner his Majesties most gracious & royall protection, whereby he did take unto his protection the petitioners body & estate for one yeare after the date and thereby exempted him & his estate from all molestations, suites & troubles in the meane tyme as by the said protection under the Great Seale of England it may appeare.

Now soe it is may it please your honours that one Thomas Bennet gent, a creditor unto whome the petitioner stands engaged for Peter Daniell in the

1 The State Papers material published here is in the custody of the Public Record Office.

2 another *shall* struck through.

protection mentioned, his unfortunate brother-in-law, although he hath bene served with the said protection, yet giveth out that he careth not for the same, but will proceede in lawe to overthrowe it and get judgment & execution against the petitioner or his estate, and to that purpose he, together with one Tho Seaman, his attorney (likewise knoweing of the said protection) doe very vehemently persecute the petitioner at this tyme, contrary to the intent & meaning of his Majesties said protection.

May it therefore please your honours to give warrant unto some one of the messengers attending your honours for the taking of the said Bennett & Seaman into his custody to the end they may be forth coming to answeere theire contempts before your honours and receive condigne punishments for theire neglect.

And the petitioner as ever bound shall daily pray for your honours etc.

c) [SP 16/152/25]

[*Endorsed* To my my much esteemed frende Mr Osbalston at his house in Westminster these delivered. To be presented to my Lord on Wednesday.]

Sir, it was by your meanes that I found soe great respect, soe fast frendshipp, from the noble Lord Dorchester, by whose indevoure I procured (as you know) his Majesties protection for a yeare. Since when some of my creditors have indevoured (by proceedinge agaynst mee) to make the same fruitles, for which some of them have bene by warrant from the Lords attached, but upon there submission were released. But now lately was one Mr Thomas Bennett likewise by warrant seized on by a messenger of his Majesties chamber who carrieth himself violently, not onely in the busines, sayinge the lords were abused and the busines a base busines, but against mee alsoe in words, whereof I am very sensible, sayinge I was a base fellowe and a smooth-tongued puritanicall companion. He presumeth much upon the favoure of Sir Homphrey May. He is to appeare at the counsell board uppon Wednesday next. My desire to you is you would acquaint that noble lord herewith and my suite (by you) to him is he would be pleased to ad perfection to his owne worke and at that tyme be my frend and countenance my soe honest cause agaynst the violence of soe abusive a tongue. The sayd Mr Bennett when I sent one to shew him the protection sayd he cared not for it, but would notwithstandinge proceede against mee and have judgement.

If it please you to doe mee this favoure you will increase myne obligation to you, and I shall ever remayne a faithfull servant to that noble lord. Soe I rest ever your most faithfull frend,

Richard Grosvenor

Fleete, 22 November
1629

d) [E.H., *Grosvenor Personal and Misc.*, 2/24]

Sonne, I received your letter and was glad to heare of your safe returne. I longe to heare what effect my letter to Wllm Glegg tooke.

I received a letter from Mr Langford wherby he doth acquaint mee of a difference for making a dich betwixt his land and myne in the holding of Ned Davis for the deciding whereof he hath propounded diverse wayes of peace. But you reject all and will proceed noe way but by a Shropshire jurye. Take your fathers advise, be carefull to gayne and keepe the love of your neighbours without which I had rather not bee. Differences may arise betwixt the nearest frends, but it is a Christian part to try all faire way to decide them before extremity be used; and if in that way reason may not be had then may a man justly seeke for his owne by law. Mr Langford is an honest, religious gentleman and I think will bee ruled by reason. I would wish you to yeald to a reference and ech to make choice of one to end the cause. The neighbours must be spoken with for they are likest to discover the truth. I have written to Willm Colly to appoynt Steele to view it and speake with the neighbours. Soe shall you be fitted for a reference. Let reason and not will rule you in all matters. This is a trifle and not worth naminge.

Sir Robert Hide and Mr Windesor remember there loves to you. The later hath bene very ill yesterday with convulsions all over his body occasioned through a disorderly drinking of sack and strongwater the night before, but is now reasonable well agayne and promiseth to rore [*sic*] noe more.

Remember to send up the manuscripts. Remember my love and service to Sir Roger and my Lady and my blessing to my daughter and all hers. Soe I rest,

your loving father,
Richard Grosvenor

Fleete, Sep. 20
1634

e) [E.H., *Grosvenor Personal and Misc.*, 2/22, p.35]

[*Headed To the worshipfull my very lo[ving] cosen Willm Gamul, Alderman of Chester*]

Fleete, Oct. 23 1637

Sir, I am tould scince my returne hither that your sonne in law my cosin Throppe is now maior of Chester & that to his election was not wanting the best assistance of my sonne Gamul. I was hartely glad to heare itt & to gather from thence that there is that love & correspondency betwixt you & my sonne that nature and goodness requires. And I must wish that such a true & harty affection may roote in your harts as may make you both strive to outvie on an other in curtesyes. Soe shall you mutually enjoy each other & by clasping close togeather gaine both strength & comfort. I am confident that in this troublesome suit of my sonne Gamul with some

of your citticens there hee finds both your assistance & counsell, & that you will ever state a difference betwixt him (in whose veynes your owne blood streames) & his adversaries. And that . . .³ occasiones you & Mr Maior will not lett him suffer any prejudice which may bee prevented by ether of your power which is my hope & desires to you both, in confidence of which courtesye & respect & which I pray may bee ever reall & reciprocall. I commend mee to y.⁴ your worships friend & cosen,

R. Grosvenor

3 One word illegible.

4 Three words illegible.

V. LIST OF MANUSCRIPT SEPARATES, 1635

[*E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/25*]

A perticuler of such manuscripts as Sir Richard Grosvenor hath as they are bound up in severall volumes.¹

And it is myne earnest desire to my sonne that (as I have freely bestowed them with all my other bookes upon him) he will alsoe leave them and all such other bookes as hereafter I shall furnish him withall as freely and intirely to his sonne and heire and soe from heire to heire of my family whilst it shall please God to preserve the same in my name.

February 18, 1634 *anno regni Caroli Regis decimo*

Richard Grosvenor

Liber I

1 A large treatise of prohibitions with the arguments *pro et contra* betwixt the lord Archbischopp of Canterbury and other Bishoppes etc. and the Judges concerning prohibitions, *modus decimandi* etc. collected by Sir Edward Coke in the raigne of King James folio 1

2 An aunsweare of the kings letter for stay of justice, made by all the judges, 25 April 1616 145

3 The resolution of all the judges upon severall questions agaynst popish recusants made 1626 147

4 A relation of the proceedings against ambassadoures who have miscaried themselves agaynst the state where they are employed by Sir Robert Cotton 151

1 There are two additional volumes of separates belonging to Sir Richard Grosvenor in U. of K., Spencer Library.

MS D152 is headed 'Passages in Starr Chamber' and contains the following items:

'1. Information of Sir Robert Heath in the Star Chamber against Sir John Eliot, Sir Miles Hobart and Sir Peter Hayman knights, Denzil Holles and others, with the plea and demurrer, 1629.

2. Passages at the censures of Prynne, Bastwick and Burton in the Star Chamber and at the time of their punishment in the pillory, 1637 (fo.119).

3. Censure of Dr J. Williams, bishop of Lincoln, in the Star Chamber, 1637 (fo.177).

4. Copy of the challenge sent by the earl of Northampton to Sir F. Vere and the answer (fo.227).

5. Opinions of Manwood, Plowden, Wray and . . . about easements (fo.253).

6. Discourse of Courts of Record in and about London and Westminster (fo.303).

7. Speeches of the Lords in the Star Chamber on the censure of Bishop Williams, 1637 (fo.361).

8. Copy of record of Nicholas Fuller of Gray's Inn Case, 5 James I (fo.443).'

MS C250 is 'Proceedings in the Star Chamber against Henry Sherfield for breaking one of the windows of the church of St. Edmund in Salisbry, 6 Oct. 8 Car I, Hil. Term 1632.'

44 *The Papers of Sir Richard Grosvenor*

5 The opinion of the auncient doctors of the law whether it be lawfull for a prince whose subject is wronged by a forraigne prince to licence his subjects to detain the body and goods of that princes subjects who wrongeth 157

6 The antiquity, use and priviledge of citties, burroughes and townes by Mr Tate 161

7 A treatise of bayle and mayneprise by Sir Edward Coke 165

Liber 2

1 Lectures upon the Commission and Statute of Sewers by Mr Callis

2 A Remonstrance of the Commons in parliament to the king, 2° Ja. touching their priviledges and the violations thereof

3 A treatise against impositions without consent in parliament by Mr Hackwill

4 Records collected by Sir Robert Cotton

Liber 3

1 A treatise concerning the nobility according to the lawes of England

2 Observations concerning the nobility of England, auncient and moderne

3 The priviledges of the baronage of England by John Selden esq.

Liber 4

1 A treatise or an apologie for the raigne of Queene Elizabeth of famous memory fol 1

2 A discourse of court and courtiers, dedicated to the duke of Lennox 13

3 Considerations of entercourse, dedicated to the king 1630 107

4 *De Sepultura* by Sir Henry Spelman 153

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4 The arraignment and death of Marvin Lord Audeley and earle of Castlehaven with the confessions and death of Broadway and Fitzpatricke and a compendious discription of the said earle	92
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2 This is now U. of K., Spencer MS D 153.

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16 Passages in the Starr-Chamber agaynst Walter Long esq. for leaving his county being sheriffe of Wiltshire to attend in parliament	330
17 A briefe of the passages in the Star-Chamber concerning the earles of Bedford and Clare and divers other gentlemen for divulging a scandalous libell of projects written by Sir Robert Dudley	350

Liber 7³

1 The soveraignty of the seas of England proved by records etc. with a perticuler relation concerning the inestimable riches and commodities of the Brittish seas, by Sir John Burroughes knt and Garter King at Armes	1
2 A larg treatise of advowsons	44
3 Count Arundell his apologie upon his restraynt for accepting of the title of <i>Comes Imperii</i> with the priviledges of the same title	142
4 A discourse written by Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy and earle of Devonshire in defence of his mariage with the Lady Rich 1606	151
5 A commission for making lawes and orders for the government of English colonies planted in foraigne parts 1634	188
6 A note of the proceedings at the justice seat held for the Forest of Deane in July 1634 before Henry earle of Holland, Lord Cheefe Justice in Eyre etc.	193
7 A discription of Ireland	202

3 Items 1, 2 and 9 in this liber are in U. of K., Spencer MS C193.

8 Auncient orders to be observed by the officers at armes	230
9 The maner of election of the duke of Buckingham to the Chancelers place of Cambridge	257
10 An unhappy view of the duke of Buckingham	274
11 Sir John Haringtons letter to the earle of Devonshire and Viscount Cranbourn touching his desire to be Archbishopp of Dublin and L[ord] Chancler of Ireland	283

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1 The order of passing of bills in parliament divided into 8 sections	fol. 1
2 A briefe discourse proving that the house of commons hath equall power with the peeres in poynt of judicature	23
3 The submission and confession of the Lord Chancellor Sir Francis Bacon, Viscount St Alban 1621	30
4 The humble and personall submission of Sir Henry Yelverton knight, his Majesties Attorney Generall in the Star Chamber 1620	31b
5 Sir Walter Rawleigh knight his apology for his last voyage	33
6 A letter of advise to the commons house of parliament	35
7 A journall of the parliament holden at Westminster <i>anno reg Elizabethae</i> 35 1593 in the commons house, Edward Coke, the Queenes Solliciter being Speaker	51
8 A journall of the parliament held 39 <i>Elizabethae</i> 1597 concerning such things as passed in the Lords house, Serjeant Yelverton, Speaker in the commons house	147
9 The Lord Viscount Wentworth, Lord Deputy of Ireland, his speach delivered to both houses of parliament in the castle of Dublin, 15 July 1634	191

Liber 9

1 A discourse of the originall and fundamentall cause of naturall, customary, arbitrary, voluntary and necessary warr, that ecclesiaticall prelats have alwaies beene subject to temporall Princes, and that the Pope had never any lawfull power	
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- in England either in civile or ecclesiasticall affaires after Brittain was wonne from the Romane Empire, written by Sir Walter Raleigh fol. 1
- 2 An aunswere to certayne arguments raised from supposed antiquity and practise by some of the Commons house of parliament to prove that ecclesiasticall lawes ought to be enacted by temporall men, by Sir Robert Cotton 32
- 3 A discourse of the invention of shippes, anchors, compasse etc.; the first navall warr; the severall use, defects and supplies of shipping; the strength and defects of the sea forces of England, France, Spayne and Venice, with the five causes of the upgrowing of the Hollanders, by Sir Walter Raleigh 45
- 4 Advise of a sea-man touching the expedition intended agaynst the Turkish piratts, written by Nathaniell Knott and dedicated to Dr Laud Archbishopp of Canterbury 65
- 5 Reasons that it is most conveynient for marchants and of most consequence for affaires of state and security of his Majesties shippes to have the two offices of Lord Admirall of England and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports executed by one and the same person 102
- 6 A discourse pronounced by Sir Robert Cotton knight and baronett before the Lords of his Majesties councell being called by them to deliver his opinion touching the alteration of coyne, Sep. 2 anno 2^o *Caroli Regis* and since reduced by him into writing 111
- 7 The answer by the committees appoynted by the Lords to the proposition delivered by some officers of the mint for inhauncing his Majesties monyes of gold and silver, Sep. 2 1626 120
- 8 A remonstrance of the treaties of amity and marriage before tyme and of late of the house of Austria and Spayn with the kings of England to advance themselves to the monarchie of Europe, by Sir Robert Cotton 132
- 9 The abuses and remedies of the High Court of Chancery, written by Mr George Norbury and directed to the Lord Keeper 145
- 10 A letter out of Ireland from Mr Walsingham Greisley relating the arrivall there of Viscount Wentworth Lord Deputy and the ceremonies used when he tooke the sword 170
- 11 Orders appoynted by the Lord Deputie Wentworth to be observed by his secretaries and gentlemen-ushers 177

- 12 Mr Vincent Goekins his letter of advise to the Lord Deputy Wentworth touching abuses in Ireland fitt to be reformed 181
- 13 The copy of a letter to Sir Thomas Hetley knight, serjeant at law upon his request to be certified concerning the reported nunnery at Gidding in Huntingdonshire 195
- 14 A speech made by Dr Corbett, Bishopp of Norwich, to the clergye of his diocesse about their benevolence for the repaire of St Paules church in London 1634 206
- 15 Sir Kenhelme Digby his relation of the passages in the difference concerning Mistress Crofts 1630 214
- 16 The petition of the churches of forraine nations in London to King Charles 1634 221
- 17 The Lord Keeper Coventrie his speech to the Lord Cheife Justice Finch at his installation in the Court of Common Pleas Octob. 16 1634 225
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VI. PERSONAL ACCOUNTS AND LIST OF CORRESPONDENTS, 1636-1638

[*E.H., Grosvenor Personal and Misc., 2/22*]

[*p.123*]

Reddinge 1636.

I went from the Fleete upon Saturday Aug 20. That night I lay at Eaton and 21 came to Redding. That night I lay at the Georg. The next day I went to my nephew Henry Daniells at Caversham and stayed with him all night. The next day, being Tuesday Aug 23, I entered into the Rule and lay in my lodging in Mr Eades house in London Streete.

A note of what goods I brought with mee.

Bookes

A bible.

A psalme book.

Arcana Societatis Jesu.

Steps of ascention to God: a prayer booke.

Mars Gallicus: Alex Patrillii.

An explication of the 110 Psalme by Mr Rainold.

Disceptatio de Secretis Societatis Jesu.

Emanuelis Thesauri Caesares.

Alois Epigrammata.

Misteria Jesuitarum.

Hearing and doing the ready way to blessednes.

Orders for health.

Catalogue of Nobility & Baronetts etc.

[*p.124*]

2 looking glasses

a brasse hand candlestick

a standish & penknife

a bay gelding

curling irons

4 silver spoones

a silver saltseller

my redd rugg

1 down pillow with green silk lace

a fether bed

a woll bed

Beards a bolster

2 white blanketts

1 under old blankett

1 coverlett cheq red & yellow

1 bever brush
1 brush of bristles
1 folding cheare to carry
a gridiron

[p.125]

Charges in housekeeping

From 24 Aug	payd to Mr Wrathe in half of charges that tyme as	
till Sep 6	appeares by 3 bills	2-13-6
	payd to Mr Wroth in half of charges as appeares	
	by bill from the 5th of Sept till the 12 which I payd	
	Sep 13	1-19-11
	payd to Mr Wroth the 12 of Sept till the 19th in half	
	of that weeks charges	0-14-5
	payd to Mr Wroth from the 19th till the 25 Sept in	
	half of charges	1- 0- 7 ¹
	payd to Mr Wrath from the 26 of September ² till the	
	10th of October as by bill appeares half of the charges	4-3-11
	payd to Mr Wrath Dec 23 for half the charges of	
	house from the tenth of October till the 4th of Dec	15-1-0

[p.126]

payd to Mr Wroth Jan 19 for half the charges of	
house keeping from Dec 4	18- 2-6
	43-15-10

Jan 19	received from Mr Jennings by the appoyntment of	
	Mr Robert Bavand parts of 50 li. which he is to	
	returne	
	I say received	30 li.

[p.127]

1636

Wllm Colly payd 100 li. to Mr Robert Bavand in
Chester which hath bene thus returned me to Redding

Sep	Received from Thomas Porter to pay for a nagg when	
	I went to Redding	6- 0- 0
Sep 28	Received from Timothy Throckmorton by a poulterer	
	<i>vide</i> letter sent from Ric Palmer	10-0- 0

1 8 struck through.

2 *October* struck through.

Octob 9 see letter, 8 Octob	Received from Timothy Throckmorton by Herne Mr Kynaston's servant	10-0-0
Nov 2	Received from Timothy Throckmorton by the hands of John Jennings at Readinge fifty pound	50-0-0
No 24	Payd to Mr Chipp and Mr Naylor by Mr Robt Bavand by way of composition for a debt of 50 li. principall due to Francis Mansfeld decesed that was the proper debt of Peter Daniell esq, as by note appeares	13-6-8
	In plush, satten and other comodities as appeareth by his note delivered by Mr Bavand for my use	
	soe the hundred pound is returned & I remayne in his debt	2-11-8
[p.128]	Payde to Roger Herenden my keeper at Redding	
Sept 7	Given to him	0-10s-0
Novem 5	sent him by Beard	0-10-0
Jan 5	sent him by Beard	1-0-0
Jan 19	sent him by Beard	5-0-0
[p.129] 1636	Grass for my gelding	
October 7	payd for 3 weeks grass in the Kings Mead and as much for 3 weeks before	7s-6d li.s.d. 0-15-0
[p.130]		li.s.d.
	payde to the woman who made my bed at Redding	
Octob 4	sent by Beard to widdow Justice for 6 weeks	0-6-0
Nov 11	sent by Beard to Mary Colly	0-6-0
Dec 20	sent by Beard to Mary Colly due for 6 weeks	0-6-0
Jan 19	sent by Beard to Mary Colly	0-5-0
[p.131]	for washing at Redding	
[This page is blank except for the heading]		

[p.132 is blank]

[p.133]

1636

March 7 1636 I came the second tyme from the Fleet to Reading and came to ly at Mr Bodens the 9th day.

	paid to Mr Boden for my dyet and lodging :	
Sep 5	paid to Mr Boden 20 li. which he the same day payd	
1637	to Sir Franc Knolles for Francis the gardener	20-0-0
8	lent to Mr Boden at Caversham to give the fisher who	
	tooke his carps	0-5-0
	payd to him more Octob when I came away upon all	
	accounts	10-0-0
		30-5-0

[p.134 is blank]

[p.135]

March 7 1636

expences

March 7	for a coach to carry me to Reading	2-2-0
	to the coachman	0-0-0
	spent at Maydenhead bayting	0-5-0
	shoing the gelding	0-1-4
	2 pair of gloves	0-2-0
	A pound of candles	0-0-5
9	to divers poore	0-1-0
	a glass	0-0-6
	a grater	0-0-1
	for a kay to the smith for study	0-1-0
	spent at the George	0-2-0
	ale at severall tymes	0-0-9
	given nurce Sturdy	0-1-0
	for cariage of trunks from London	0-5-0
	to a man who brought them up	0-0-6
	for carying them to the barg	3
	given to the servants at Caversham	0-6-0
12	a quart of sack at diner	0-1-0
13	a quart sack for Sir Fra Knolls	0-1-0
	ale	0-0-3

3 No sum entered.

	payd at the Georg for hors meat	0-6-6
	altering the chamber lock, the new key	0-0-8
14	spent at bowling alley	0-1-2
	sack at diner	0-0-6
15	ale morning	0-0-2
	to the joyner for work in my study	0-5-0
	more for work ther	0-2-6
[p. 136]		
March 15	given Sir Fr Knollis gardener	0-1-0
	lost at bowles	0-1-0
16	to a gardiner where I walk	0-0-6
	ale	0-0-3
17	to widdow Collys, a pore woman	0-2-0
	spent at the 3 Tunns	0-1-0
	for ale	0-0-3
18	to Cartwright the smith	0-0-3
	for oates 2 measures and a peck	0-3-8
	for a bolt	0-0-4
	lost at bowles and to 2 pore women	0-1-0
	at diner a pint of sack	0-0-6
19	sent to Captain Scot for Ipesleys note	0-4-0
	more to him for cariage of letters	0-6-0
20	ale for 4 persons & Sir Fr Knollis	0-1-6
	spent and lost at the bowling ally	0-1-6
21	lost at the bowling ally	0-1-9
	for Robin Ellis for letters	0-1-0
	spent at the 3 Tunns	0-1-0
	ink & paper	0-0-6
22	pd for wormwood beare 4 mornings	0-0-4
	6 quier of paper	0-2-0
	a quart of sack for Mr Bodens welcome home	0-1-0
	ale for Cos Bunby	0-0-3
23	a box of marmalad	0-3-0
	ale Sir F Kn[ollis]	0-0-3
	oisters	0-1-4
	a lobster	0-2-0
[p. 137]		
24	beare & ale	0-0-9
	a quart of sack	0-1-0
1637	for carriage of a cheese	0-1-0
	given Sir Fr Knollis coachman	0-1-0
25	for washing 2 weeks	0-4-0
	a pint sack at dinner	0-0-6
	ale for frends	0-0-7
	spent at the 3 Tunns	0-2-6

	26	given upon a briefe for fire	0-0-6
		ale	0-0-3
	27	whit wine breued for Lady Knollis	4 0-0-6
		ale ther	0-0-6
		lost at bowles	0-0-6
	28	spent at bowling ally	0-1-0
		pint of sack	0-0-6
	29	sack diner	0-0-6
		ale	0-0-6
		to a poore woman	0-0-2
	31	in ale & suger for Sir Fr Knol[is]	0-0-9
		spent of Sir Ge Sym[on]eds	0-1-4
April	1	for a pewtry [<i>sic</i>] bason	0-4-6
		spent at taverne	0-2-0
	2	ale	0-0-6
		to 2 poore women	0-0-3
		sent to Cap Scott for letters	0-10-0
	3	to a poor man	0-0-2
		ale	0-0-3
		spent at Bear	0-2-0
		given to workmen in the p.ndage ⁵	0-0-6
[p.138]	4	ale, suger Sir Fr Knollis	0-0-10
		at bowles lost and spent	0-1-6
		qt sack for Mr Phips	0-1-0
		pint sack for Mr Bodens sonn	0-0-6
	5	spent upon Sir Fr Knollis, Mr Edes etc	0-1-5
		to Sir Jo Blagraves coachman	0-1-0
		Mr Brownes farewell at Mr Hicks	0-2-0
	6	morning Mr Edes & other fyres	0-1-4
		lost at tables, pint sack	0-0-6
		sent to Mr Taylor parson of St Lawrence at Easter	0-10-0
		to the clark	0-2-0
		a load of billets	0-7-4
		for cariage from Caversham parke	6 0-2-6
	7	to the barber	0-0-6
		to Mat Frewen, the poore gardner	0-4-0
	8	spent in Sir Fr Knollis & other company	0-1-4
		oysters 2 hundred	0-2-6
		6 chickens	0-1-6
		6 pidgeons	

4 No sum entered.

5 One letter illegible.

6 No sum entered.

9	given at the communion	0-1-0
10	spent sack, white wine for niece Daniell & divers other of her	0-2-0
	at the taverne neph Daniell & others	0-1-6
11	pint sack dinner	0-0-6
	hard wax	0-0-3
	payd a score for wormwood drink	0-0-6
12	morning draught with parson Bunbury	0-0-6
	a beare with clark of check	0-1-0
[p.139]		
	to Mr Boden for phisick	1-0-0
	to Sir Fr Knolls cooke at Easter	0-5-0
13	spent in ale & sugar at my lodging upon the clarke of cheque, Sir Fra Knolls, Mr Pullen, etc.	0-1-4
	at the bowling alley	0-1-0
	at my lodging Sir He Raynesford, Sir Fr Knollis	0-2-0
	for basse, crab & makarell	0-1-0
14	to 2 poore women	0-0-6
	at bolling place	0-0-6
15	6 pidgeons	0-1-6
	at the Georg spent	0-1-0
	a quart sack to my lodging	0-1-0
	for cariage of things to London	0-0-6
16	to a poore woman	0-0-3
17	given to Sir Fr Knollis workmen	0-1-0
	given at Mr Harisons barne	0-1-0
	given Mistress Kenricks man	0-1-0
	given poor Mathew Frewen	0-0-6
	at the Beare with Cosen Bunb[ury], Sir Fr K[nollis] & Mr Boden	0-2-0
18	spent at bowling alley	0-1-6
	for hony	0-1-6
	to the boy for taking up coales	0-0-4
19	at diner bowling alley	0-5-0
	at 3 Tunns	0-1-0
20	spent with Dr Tucky	0-1-0
	at the Georg with Sir Charles Blownt	0-2-0
	more at the Bear	0-0-6
21	spent at the Castle with Lord Gerrard	0-9-6

[p.140]

Books at Reading March 10 1636.

A bible
Singing psalmes
Bb Montagues 1 tome
Mr Reinolds upon 110 psa[lm]
Nenesius of the nature of man
A treatise of the court
Hearing and doing by Mr Mason
The new art of lying, Mr Mason
Curiosities of nature
Stradae[sic] prolusiones Academicae
Drexelius of Eternity Eng.
Steps of ascension to God, a prayer booke
The perfect pattern of mans imperfections

Directions for the plague
Catalogue of nobility etc.
Dr Lawrenc sermon
A declaration of the Palsgrave's of the ceremonies used in his church
A direction to be observed by N N etc.
Altare Christianum
the communion table name and thing
the Palsgraves manifesto
Pontanus answear to Mr Seden
paraphrasticall discourses upon 51 psalme

[p.141]

Goods brought to Reading, March 7, 1636.

A silver saltseller
3 Apostle spoones, 2 of them delivered to Letice 14 March
1 broken silver spoone
A hand brass candlestick
A bristle brush
A beaver brush
2 looking glasses
A standish
A saddle & horscloth
1 trunk of linnens
1 trunk with cloathes
1 hatt case
A pewter bason marked R G
A brason laver old fashion

[p.142]

1637 Mony payd to Phillip Fuller my keeper		li. s. d.
Aprill 15	sent to him by Beard	1-0-0
May 26	payd to him	2-0-0
memorandum that Philip Fuller went from me to Windesore June 10th having beene away about a weeke before.		
Sep 18	payd to him more by my self	1-0-0
Octob 25	given to him more myself	1-0-0
27	more in full for 13 weeks at 7s the week, & 18 weeks at 5s	4-1-0
	I gave him 2s.6d. more In all	9-1-0
payd to Mr Boden		
Sep 5	payd to him 20 li. which he paid to to Sir Fr Knollis for Francis the gardiner	li. 20-0-0
8	lent him 5 s. at my nephew Daniells which he gave the fisher which took his carps	
Octob	payd him more in full	10-0-0
Phillip Fuller had		7

[p.143]

Aprill [1637]		
22	for oates	0-2-0
	a hundred of oysters	0-0-8
	at 3 Tunns	0-0-6
	for morning draught, lost at tables	0-0-6
	a quart of sack for Mr Metcalf	0-1-0
23 ⁸	morning draught Cosen Bunbury etc.	0-0-8
	at the Bear	0-1-0
	at diner, pint sack	0-0-6
	given to a poore man	0-0-6
	given to Beard	0-1-0
	sent to Cap Scott to pay for letters	0-10-0
24	to poore workmen	0-0-6
	at bowling ally	0-0-8
25	to poor women	0-0-4
	to Sir Fr Knollis workmen	0-1-0
26	at Beare	0-2-0
	at Castle with Mistress Bunbury	0-2-0

7 No sum entered.

8 4 struck through.

27 ⁹	morning draught for Sir Fr Kn[ollis] etc.	0-0-8
	a pint sack for Lord Thomonds man	0-0-6
	a quart sack Mr Wrath	0-1-0
	payd for worm[w]ood for divers morn	0-0-6
28	to the ferry man at Caversham	0-0-6
	given to Lord Cravens gardner	0-1-0
	a pint of sack	0-0-6
29	a quart of sack at dinner Sir F Kn[ollis]	0-1-0
	given Crooks catching drak	0-0-6
	chickens for diner Sir F K[nollis]	0-1-1
	spent at Castle & Beare	0-1-0
	payd for 43 dayes hay for a nag at 6d. <i>per diem</i> , & 3 pecks of oats	1-5-0
[p.144]		
Apr 30	given to a collection for fire	0-0-6
	a pint of sack at diner	0-0-6
	delivered to Captain Scotts nurce for his use	0-5-0
	a quart of sack for old Sir Fr Kn[ollis]	0-1-0
[May]		
1	given to Lettice the maid of Mr Bowden	0-5-0
	mornings draught	0-0-8
	given nurc Sturdy fayring for her sack	0-2-0
	with Mr Beverley at the Georg	0-1-0
	History of Modern Divines	0-2-6
	for a fairing to Mistress Kenricks maid	0-2-6
2	given to poor Mat Frewen	0-0-4
	to the landres for 4 weeks washing	0-7 ¹⁰
3	for a brasse laver 5lb at 9d. per pound, but 3d. lost at bowles	0-3-6 0-2-4
	pint sack at diner	0-0-6
4	beere at bowles	0-0-4
5	2 lobsters & 50 crafishes	0-2-6
	pint sacke at diner	0-0-6
	morninge draught	0-0-8
7	2 bushell of oates	0-4-0
	2 pair of gloves	0-2-0
	spent at the Georg	0-1-6
7	a pottle sack	0-2-0
8	to a poore man	0-0-6
	mornings draught for Mr Vachell	0-0-8
	to Robert Ellis for bringing books from London	0-1-0

9 Followed by 28, struck through.

10 Blank space.

[p.145]

May 9	a pottle brewd wine for Lady Capell at Beare	0-2-0
	spent upon Mr Coventry there	0-2-0
	a box of marmalad for L. Capell	0-3-6
	lost at tables, morning draught	0-0-8
	spent in my cosen He Brooks company at Reding	0-3-0
10	lost at tables	0-1-0
	to the barker	0-2-6
	to Mr Finch, Lord Finchs brother, wine	0-1-6
11	to Sir Fr Knollis coachman for going with me to Billingbeare	0-5-0
	to the Lord Thoroughgoods footman	0-1-0
	to one who opened the gates	0-0-6
12	spent at Georg	0-0-6
	a quart of sack at dinner Sir Fr Knollis	0-1-0
	at the bowling alley	0-0-6
13	for cariage of letters	0-0-6
	for a lobster	0-1-6
	for 6 pidgeons	0-1-2
	at the George	0-1-2
14	a pint of sack at diner	0-0-6
	beere	0-0-4
15	spent at Dorcester the Lady Clarks upon horsmeat	0-1-0
	given W Wheatley Sir F Kn[ollis] cochman	0-1-0
	a pint sack supper	0-0-6
	given to the clark at Dorcester church	0-1-0
16	morning draught Sir F Kn[ollis]	0-0-8
	to poore women	0-0-4
	for beer for Mr Wroth	0-0-3
	a bushell . . . ¹¹	...

[p.146]

17	spent at the Beare	0-1-0
	a payr of sheres	0-3-0
	to Robin Ellis for carriage books	0-1-0
19	at the Cardinalls hat	0-0-6
	for a preservative water against plague	0-4-6
	spent at the Bear with Mr Standen	0-1-0
	sent a pottle of sack to clerk of check when he was shutt up	0-2-0
20	at the Cardinalls hatt	0-0-6
	carriage of lettars	0-0-4
	2 crabbs	0-1-6

11 This line is partly illegible.

	a quart sack at dinner Sir Fr Knollis	0-1-0
	3 weeks for my nag at 3s. a week	0-9-0
21	given to a brefe for fire	0-0-6
	a qt sack at dinner Mr Lloyd	0-1-0
	a quart sack for Mr D . . . ¹²	0-1-0
	beere	0-0-3
22	at Cardinalls hat	0-0-6
	for cariinge a cheese from London	0-0-8
	for beere	0-0-3
	payd which was owing for beere	¹³
	a quart of sack & . . . ¹⁴ for Lord Cholmondlyes men	0-1-6
	at the Georg with Mr Walls	0-1-0
23	morninge draught	0-0-6
	at Castle wine for cosen W Wynne	0-1-0
	2 quarts wine for her servants at Beare	0-1-6
	given pore Mat Frewen	0-0-3
24	a quart of whit wine & suger for Mistress Wynne	0-1-0
	mornings draught	0-0-6
	at diner pint sack	0-0-6
	2 boxes marmalad for Lady Thomonds daughter	0-5-0
	. . . ¹⁵	0-0-8
[p.147]		
	a quart sack at . . . ¹⁶	0-1-0
	3 bottles of bottle beer	0-0-6
25	for the pacing of the nagg	0-10-0
	for mornings draught	0-0-6
	fo[r] a crab	0-0-8
	for a mullet	0-1-4
	for taking up bowles	0-0-6
26	at Cardinalls hatt	0-0-6
	carriage of 3 cheeses	0-1-0
	pint of sack	0-0-6
27	at Cardinalls hatt	0-0-9
28	a pint of sack	0-0-6
29	at diner pint sack	0-0-6
	spent at Georg	0-1-6
30	2 quarts sack Mr Wingfield	0-2-0
31	spent at Cardinalls hat	0-0-10

12 Word partly illegible.

13 No sum entered.

14 One word illegible.

15 Two words illegible.

16 One word illegible.

June	1	at the Cardinalls hat with 4 preachers	0-1-3
		at diner a pottle sack	0-2-0
		a crab for Sir F Kno[llis]	0-2-0
		at supper quart sack	0-1-0
	2	pint of sack at diner	0-0-6
		spent at the Georg	0-1-0
	3	morning draught at Cardinalls hat	0-1-8
		at the Beare	0-1-0
		at Georg	0-1-0
		a pig . . . ¹⁷	0-2-8
	4	a pint sack at diner	0-0-6
		beere	0-0-3
	5	to the boat man at Caversham milns	0-0-6
		spent with niec Daniell at Caversham	0-0-10
		a quart sack to Mr Hamnett	0-1-0
[p.148]			
June			
	6	a pint sack at diner	0-0-6
		spent at Beare with Tom . . . ¹⁸	0-1-4
		at George with clark of the Check	0-1-6
	7	at Cardinall hat	0-1-0
		for beere severall tymes from Caters	0-0-8
	8	at the Cardinalls hatt	0-0-6
		a lobster	0-0-10
		a crabb	0-1-4
		monk fish	0-1-0
	9	at Cardinalls hat	0-0-6
		sent to a poore sick woman	0-1-0
		a pint of sack diner	0-0-6
		for carriing letters from London	0-0-6
		spent at Georg upon Mr Vachell	0-1-6
	10	at Cardinalls hat	0-0-6
		at diner sack	0-0-6
		for cariage of letters from London	0-0-3
	11	given to a briefe	0-0-6
		pint of sack	0-0-6
		3 bottles ale	0-0-6
	12	at the Castle	0-0-6
		to Sir Tho Vachells gardiner	0-1-0
		to the prisoners	0-0-6
		a pair of shoes and pantofles	0-4-6
		at supper quart of sack	0-1-0

17 Word partly illegible.

18 One word illegible.

[p.149]

June

13	the barbor	0-2-6
	payd to Mr Eedes for the use of his house the last	
	yeare when I was ther	6-0-0
	given to Dick Phillips	0-1-0
	to a ferriman at Caversham	0-0-3
14	for horse hire to Arbeevile	0-1-0
15	a box of marmalate for Lady Pagett	0-3-0
	at the Georg Mr Edes farewell	0-1-0
	at Cardinalls hatt	0-0-2
16	at the Cardinalls hatt	0-0-6
	lost at cards at Abby	0-8-6
	for letters carriag	0-0-4
17	for carriage of letters to London	0-0-6
	Mr Brownes welcome home	0-1-6
18	quart sack, breued whit wine for Mr Denison	0-2-0
	sack and whit wine for Lady Vachell etc.	0-2-0
19	spent at Cardinalls hatt	0-0-6
	at Castle	0-1-6
	lost to Mistress Hamond at gleek	0-7-0
	for candles	0-2-0
	a quart sack	0-1-0
	at 3 Tunns	0-1-6
20	to my laundres for washing	0-10-4
	quart sack for clark Check	0-1-0
	at Georg	0-1-6
	quart sack for Mr Parkhurst	0-1-0
21	at Cardinalls hat	0-0-6
	bottle beare	0-0-6
	at 3 Tunns	0-0-8

[p.150]

22	spent at Cardinalls hat	0-0-6
	lost at gleeke with Mr Hamond & Mistress Knollis	0-18-0
	at Georg with Sir F K[nollis], Mr Browne etc.	0-1-6
23	a pint of wine for Ph Brereton	0-0-6
24	a pint of sack at diner	0-0-6
	6 quier of paper	0-2-0
	a quart brewed whit wine morning	0-1-0
	at the 3 Tuns	0-0-10
	for cariag of letters to London	0-0-6
25	pint of sack at diner	0-0-6
	bottle ale	0-0-2
26	at Cardinalls hat	0-0-3
	an elm [<i>sic</i>] & quarter of cambrick	0-8-0

	28	a hat & hair band	0-12-0
		at the Bear	0-1-0
		at the 3 Tuns	0-1-0
	29	a trout	0-1-8
		a salmon	0-5-6
		3 lobsters & 3 crabbs	0-8-6
		3 mulletts, 6 basse, 2 soles	0-5-0
		5 marrow bones	0-2-6
		12 hartichokes	0-3-0
		given to poore Frewen	0-0-6
		beere at Cardinalls hat	0-0-2
		spent at 3 Tunns with my nephew Daniell	0-0-10
			0-10-0
	[<i>Marginated</i> Sir Fr Knollis, Sir Tho Vachell, Parson Bunbury & there wifes at dinner]		
			3-8-8
	[p. 151]		
	30	given to Mistress Duells nurce	0-2-0
		6 hartichoks	0-1-6
		a rave [<i>sic</i>] of sturgeon	0-5-6
		anchovis	0-4-6
		4 yong turkies	0-6-8
		6 chickens	0-2-0
		to the nurse who bought them	0-1-4
		to the cooke	0-5-0
		wine for diner	0-11-0
		at the Beare Captain Molineux	0-1-0
		morninge at Cardinalls hat	0-0-6
		bottle beare	0-0-6
July	1	at Cardinalls hat	0-0-6
	2	to a poore woman	0-0-2
		given at the sacrament	0-1-0
		layd out for Captain Scott	0-2-6
		a quart of sack	0-1-0
	3	at Cardinalls hat	0-0-6
		at Georg	0-0-6
		at Castle	0-0-6
		a payre of bowling gloves	0-0-10
		for taking up my bowles	0-0-4
		give to a poore Cheshire man	0-1-0
	4	at Cardinalls hat	0-0-6
		at George	0-1-0
	5	at Cardinalls hatt	0-0-6
		diner at Castle	0-3-0
		for my man	0-0-6
		musike	0-0-6
		quart of sack 3 Tunnes	0-1-0

[p.152]

	at Cardinalls hat	0-0-6
	dinner at Titmarsh	0-2-6
	musick	0-1-0
	reckoning after diner	0-1-0
	to Sir Tho Vachells coachman	0-2-6
	to his footman	0-1-0
	at the 3 Tuns	0-1-2
7	with Tom Munkes at 3 Tunns	0-4-9
	at diner for him at the George	0-8-6
	a quart of sack at my . . . ¹⁹	0-1-0
8	at Cardinalls hatt	0-0-2
	a pint of sack for Hu Brereton	0-0-6
	lent Hu Brereton	0-5-0
	for a corale	0-4-0
9	a pint of sack for Mistress Colly	0-0-6
	for a pint of sack & quart of claret for Mr Seely }	... ²⁰
	for a quart of sack Mistress Lewes	0 . . ²¹
10	to the barber	0-2-6
	a paire of gloves	0-1-4
	at diner sack	0-0-6
	quart brued whit win	0-1-0
	pint sack Mr Vachall	0-0-6
11	to the judges undercook who brought half haunch venison }	0-1-0

[p.153]

12	for flower and butter for a pastie	0-6-0
	given towards morning prayer	0-2-0
13	for a quart of whit wine brued	0-1-0
	lost at Mr Studdes at pooly [<i>sic</i>]	0-1-6
	to the coachman	0-1-0
	at the George	0-1-6
	to Sir Fr Kn[ollis] coachman	0-1-0
14	spent at the Castle diner	0-3-0
	for my man	0-0-6
	spent theyr after diner	0-0-6
	at the Georg	0-2-6
	to a porter for a letter	0-0-2
15	a payre of bootes	0-9-0
	for soling a paire of boots	0-1-0
	spent at the 3 Tunns	0-1-6
	to horse hire 2 dayes to Dee	0-2-0

19 Word partly illegible.

20 Sum illegible.

21 Sum partly illegible.

16	fo[r] a pint sack diner	0-0-6
17	to musick at Henly	0-2-0
	for wine	0-1-0
	to poore wemen at Phillis Court	0-0-6
	to Sir Fr Knollis coachman	0-2-6
18	at the Beare & Castle 6d, 3-4 weeks	0-1-6
	for my horse at Graffe 7 weeks	1-3-4
	at Mr Nattertons	0-2-0
	at 3 Tunns	0-1-0
20	to Sir Fr Knollis coachman to Henly	0-2-6
	to Lord Gerards nurse	0-2-6
	to Nell Jynonts, spent on Mr Smith	0 . . 22
[p. 154]		
July		
20 ²³	given to the groome at Phillis Court	0-1-0
	a quart of sack for my cousin Birkenhed	0-1-0
19 ²⁴	my diner at ordinary	0-3-0
	my nans diner	0-0-6
21	sent to an offring at Henly for Nell at my Lord Gerards request	0-10-0
	for wine bestowed upon the Lady Mountnorris & the Lady Thorowgood }	0-5-0
	a pint of sack	0-0-6
22	a pint sack at diner	0-0-6
	later for 6 paire of cuff	0-3-5
	for Wllm Gunnes, Mr Wardens man	0-1-6
	at the Beare with Mr Standen	0-1-0
25	to Letice, the mayd at Mr Bowdens	0-10-0
	to my godson Dick Phillips	0-1-0
	a quart of sack for Mr Molins & Mr Knap	0-1-0
26	my ordinary at the Castle	0-3-0
	my mans & Wllm Gunnes diner ther	0-1-0
27	lost at bowles	0-0-6
	2 lurches	0-1-0
	gevent [<i>sic</i>] parson Bunbury wine going to London	-2-0
	a musk mellon	0-2-0
[p. 155]		
July		
28	to one for his boat angling	0-1-0
	to a poore woman at intreaty of divers wives in the towne }	0-1-0

22 Sum partly illegible.

23 19 struck through.

24 21 struck through.

29	18 Turkey eggs 3 for 2d, I gave her 6d more	0-1-6
30	given to silver nose [<i>sic</i>] a quart of sack	0-1-0
31	13 purses to putt seedes in a 3ble purse to Woodstock for going with his boat on angling }	0-1-4 0-0-8 0-1-0
August		
1	a quart brewd whit wine for Mr Bostock a quart claret for Mr Walker a pint of sack to Sir F Knolls at 3 Tunns	0-1-0 0-0-6 0-0-6
2	for 2 pair of leather spurrs	0-0-8
4	spent at Bear with Dr Tucker lost at backgamon lost at bowles payd 2 lurches	0-2-6 0-2-6 0-1-0 0-1-0
5	in wine upon Mr Anderson and his servants } for cariage of a box from London for a boat hire to Foss	0-2-6 0-1-0 0-0-6
7	I lent nurce Sturdy for 3 weeks whit wine, vinegar, milk to sillibub suger pottle sack, pottle claret for my landlord at a feast for La Knollis & others } suger a boatman	1-0-0 0-3-0 0-0-6
[p. 156]	a box for wormes for angling	0-0-8
8	a pint sack at 3 Tunns	0-0-6
9	to Bostock my nephew Daniells footman for going with me to Mr Libbs } given Mr Libbs butler spent at the bowling alley there	0-2-0 0-1-0 0-1-0
12	to Dee for cariag letters a quart sack for Sir Geo Symonds	0-0-6 0-1-0
13	a pint of sack	0-0-6
14	at the George spent	0-0-6
15	to my landress for washing from Ju 20 to the barber dinner at the Castle for my mans diner to the musick quart sack, quart claret to Mr Ed Savage & his lady at the Beare } in company ther of Sir F Knollis	0-10-0 0-2-6 0-3-0 0-0-6 0-0-6 0-1-6 0-0-6

17 ²⁵	2 pair of tweeser	0-2-6
	a glass & comb	0-1-6
	2 pair bandstrapp	0-1-6
	1 other pair of tweeser	0-3-0
18	spent at the Beare	0-1-6
	a pint of sack with a muskmellon	0-0-6
19	given to Mr Deane organist of Wrech[am]	0-5-0
	a pint sack	0-0-6
20	a pint sack	0-0-6
[p.157]		
21	lent Mr Deane organist at Wrexham	0-5-0
22	spent at diner	0-1-0
	at the Beare	0-1-0
	at Mr Baders for many gentlemen at the George, my sonn Browns farewell	0-1-0
23	to Maurice Hippesley	0-2-0
24	a pint of sack	0-0-6
	a quart sack for Mistress Rives	0-1-0
25	to the barber King to alter my landlords beard	0-0-6
	quart of sack for Mr Thurrallds diners	0-1-0
26	at Cardinalls hat morning draught	0-1-0
	carriage of 3 cheeses from London	0-1-6
	for bring them from the barge	0-0-2
	lost at cards to Lady Bridges	0-7-6
	a quart of newsack for Mr Th Lewes	0-1-2
27	pint sack, pint claret, a diner	0-0-10 ob
	given to Jo Walker for carrying my packett of letters to London }	0-1-0
	for making a sellibub	0-0-7
28	for new dressing my bever to Sir Francis Knollis coachman to Mr Standen	0-2-6
	3 pints sack for porter of Fle[e]t Harington	0-1-6
29	to the barber	0-1-0
²⁶ 29	quarter sack	0-1-0
30	for pint sack at clark of Check	0-0-6
	for quart mild sack with Sir Geo Simons	0-1-6
Sep		
1	spent at the Beare whit wine suger	0-2-0
	wine sent to Cosen Bunbury & spent upon his father	0-3-0
	cariage 2 cheses from London	0-1-0
	layd out for Captain Scot ribbens	0-1-6

25 16 struck through.

26 to Sir Fr Knollis coachman struck through on following line.

[p.158]

Sep

3	payd a quart of sack which I had lost	0-1-2
	a quart of sack at clark of Check	0-1-0
	2 bottles of beere	0-0-4
4	21 needle purls at 5d	0-8-9
5	at the Beare spent	0-1-6
6	spent at the Beare	0-0-6
7	for a trunk staffe	0-7-0
	at the Beare	0-1-2
	at the Castle	0-1-0
	oysters	0-0-8
8	to the boatman at Caversham Mill	0-0-3
	for carriag of letters	0-0-3
9 ²⁷	for quart of sack at clarks of Check	0-1-2
	for Bb of Durhams antidote	0-2-6
	a pint of sack with muskmellon	0-0-7
11	carriage of a keg of sturgeon	0-1-0
	a quart of clarett	0-0-7
	2 quarts sack	0-2-4
	at 3 Tunns with my nephew Daniell	0-2-6
	payd what I owed ther	0-2-3
12	to a poore minister	0-0-6
	given to Beard	2-0-0
	at the Georg	0-1-6
	a quart of sack at home	0-1-2
13	given Bostock who brought a side venison	0-2-0
	spent at the Castle ordinary	0-4-0

[p.159]

Sept

14	to a boatman at Caversham	0-0-4
	to the barber	0-2-6
	at the Tunns upon Mr Youngs	0-3-0
15	2 quarts clarett & 2 of sack for Sir Jo Darell & his lady }	0-3-6
	for 1 pound of suger	0-2-0
	given the Lady Clarks man with lawyere	0-1-0
16	spent at the Beare	0-2-0
	at the 3 Tunns	0-1-3
	for a dozen of hartichockes	0-2-0
17	bottle beere	0-0-6
	quart of sack	0-1-2

27 for cariage struck through on following line.

72 *The Papers of Sir Richard Grosvenor*

18	given to the cook for dressing diner	0-10-0
	for 6 purles	0-2-6
	given to the nurce at St Giles	0-1-0
	at the Beare	0-1-2
19	a quart sack at home	0-1-2
	at the 3 Tunns spent	0-1-0
	given Crooks for helping	0-1-0
	given to Will Keeling for help diner	0-2-0
20	to Lettice wages	0-10-0
	at ²⁸ George	0-0-9
	a quart sack lost at tables	0-1-2
21	for Widders Psalmes	0-1-8
	Gifford Sermons	
	The poore doubting christian drawne to Christ	0-2-0
	The Christian Divinity etc. by Reeve	
	The Conflict of Job	0-3-0
	given Tom Laward fairing	0-0-6
[p.160]		
22	lost upon a bett in sack	0-0-8
	layd out for Captain Scot at his request	0-3-0
	3 quiers of paper	0-1-0
23	payd Mr Wattlington for dyet drink & electuary	
	as by note }	1-5-0
	given to Mr Ra Bowes boy who brought me	
	2 partridges	0-0-6
	payd to Cartwright for a lock	1-5-0
25	spent at 3 Tunns	0-2-2
26	given Tho Tull for carrying a box of roots to	
	London }	0-1-0
27	wine & suger for Mr Standen	0-3-3
	dinner at the Castle	0-4-0
	spent upon clark of Check & others	0-2-1
28	2 partridges for Mr Warden	0-2-0
	a pottle of clarett sent him	0-1-2
29	for wine sent to Sunning	0-4-0
	to a man who carried it	0-0-6
30	a pint of sack	0-0-6
Octob		
1	given at the communion	0-1-0
2	wine at Georg upon neec Daniell	0-3-0
	given Sir F Kn[ollis] gardiner for seeds of asparagus }	0-1-0
	a pint sack to Sir Fr Knollis to know sheriffs	0-0-7

3	Tho Steeles sonne	0-2-0
	spent at Castle	0-0-6
	a quart sack at home	0-1-2
4	spent at Georg & 3 Tunns	0-2-7
[p.161]		
5	for a skrine	0-3-6
	to the barbor	0-2-6
	given to Sturdy	0-5-0
	given Sir Fr Knollis coachman	0-2-0
	for ale	0-0-4
6	spent at Castle & Beare	0-1-2
	a pint of sack at diner	0-0-7
	a quart of sack for Mr Brabrook	0-1-2
7	ale for Mr Struggle	0-0-4
	payd Beare remaynder of a not	0-1-6
	for a reame of paper	0-6-8
	a frame for a screene	0-2-0
9	to Cartwright for a second kay	0-1-0
[p.162]		
Octob		
17	spent at the Georg	0-0-7
	to the laundress in full payment	0-13-0
	given to her above her due	0-2-0
	at Mr Watlingtons	0-1-6
	a[t] 3 Tunns for farewell	0-3-4
18	to the porter at Sir Fr Knollis	0-1-0
	at breakfast pottle sack	0-2-0

I went from Readinge

19	given officers at Chersey Mistress Hamonds	0-6-0
	given to the watermen above agreement	0-1-0
	spent at the Rose with Sir Ro Hyde	0-2-9
	at diner with Sir F Knollis spent	0-5-6
	morning draught with Captain Sparrow	0-1-0
20	at Tunbridges diner for self & Captain Sparrow	0-8-0
	spent at severall places till I came into the Fleete }	0-6-0
	to the porters of the Fleet	0-2-0
	for a cutwork band	3-0-0
	for needle work purls 8d a purle I gave her the 4d	0-7-0
[p.163]		

1637 I went from Reading upon Wensday Octob 18 and came into the Fleete
Octob, upon Saturday Octob 21

Octob

22	a pottle of sack for Sir Fr Knollis	0-2-4
	a quart of sack at Rose at night with him	0-1-2
23	medlers	0-0-2
	puddings	0-1-0
	ale morning	0-0-3
	given to Dod an old Cheshire man	0-1-0
	given to an old Welsh woman	0-1-0
	to Dr Cartmell our parson	0-5-0
	a quart sack to part with Sir F Knollis	0-1-2
24	oysters a peck & pint of sack	0-1-4
25	a quart sack at diner	0-1-2
	2 rabbitts	
	given bearers men who brought in ale	0-0-6
	for ale	0-0-2
	for a quart of sack Captain Wroth	0-1-2
	for 2 books Sally, Breda	0-0-9
26	return of a writt	0-2-6
	for 28 trees	2-15-6
	at the month at Aldersgate	0-6-0
	given the Moroco Ambass groomes	0-2-0
	given Phillip to wayt on me	0-2-6
	to the porters	0-1-0
	a booke	0-0-4
	ale in the morning	0-0-3
27	for a writt	
	return of the writt	0-2-6
	spent with cosen Maynwaring at Starr	0-0-7
	at Rose	0-2-0
	to Phillip for going . . . ²⁹	0-2-6
[p.164]		
	to the porter	0-1-0
	ale at Hiatts	0-0-4
28	neats foot & tripes	0-1-0
	2 rabbitts	0-1-1
	puddings	0-0-5
	oysters	
	sack	0-1-2
	a quart sack for Mr Robin.son	0-1-2
	at the Rose with sonn Browne	0-1-6
	for speeches at Bishop of Lincolns censure }	0-3-0
29	a quart sack at diner	0-1-2

29 One word illegible.

30	ale	0-1-4
	spent at the Castle with Mr Crompton	0-2-3
	supper	0-3-6
	a writt	
	returne of it	0-2-6
	to my keeper	0-2-6
	to the porters	0-1-0
	a quart sack for Mr Mostyn	0-1-2
	to Mr Peryes servant where I stood	0-2-0
31	for the projecter	0-2-0
	payd for 2 writts to Whittingham	0-5-0
	ale	0-0-6
	a pottle of sack for my son Browne	0-2-4
	a quart sack at supper	0-1-2
	a cople of rabbits	0-1-3
	given to G Harington the porter	0-1-0
	for speeches at Bishop of Lincolns censure	0-2-0
[p.165]		
[November]		
2	returne of a writt	0-2-6
	a quart sack at the Temple	0-1-2
	spent at the Mermaid in Cheapside	0-1-0
	to my keeper	0-2-6
	to the porter	0-1-0
3	puddings	0-1-1
4	4 widgeons	0-2-0
	2 dozen larks	0-0-8
	for dressing half them	0-0-6
	given to poore Sir Michael Grene	0-5-0
5	for dressing larks & widgeons	0-0-6
	given at the communion	0-1-0
6	puddings	0-1-0
	... ote ³⁰ herrings	0-0-4
	a pottle sack for Mr Libb	0-2-4
	a pottle sack for clark of Check	0-2-4
	to the porters	0-1-0
7	coles 6 bushell given to Mr Bavands Henry	0-1-0
8	for return of a writt	0-2-6
	spent a diner at Bores Head	0-6-0
	to a waterman	0-0-6
	ribban	0-4-8
	spent at the Horns with Sir R Hyde	0-2-3
	to Clark the waterman	0-2-6

30 Word partly illegible.

	to the porters	0-1-0
	to poore people	0-0-3
[p.166]		
9	payd to the butler for 2 diners in the parlar	0-2-0
	for Chillingworths booke	0-7-0
	for 2 bushell coles for Sir Michael Greene	0-1-3
	a rabbitt	0-0-10
	2 suites	0-0-6
3111	I sent Geog Starky upon his letter	0-10-0
	for 4 widgeons	0-1-8
12	for roasting 4 widgeons	0-0-8
13	given to Beard	0-5-0
	given to old Tash	0-2-0
	my diner to the butler Smith	0-1-0
	to one Mr Calvert a poore minister born	
	in Malpas & comming from Virginia }	0-2-0
	to a quart of sack for Sir F Knollis	0-1-2
	for puddings	0-1-0
	given Beard to get to speak with Mr Robertson	0-0-6
14	payd for 2 writts sent to Pennington & Prentice }	0-5-0
	oysters	0-1-3
	pottle sack at diner	0-2-0
	bottle sack for Sir Fr Knollis	0-2-0
	quart sack for Sir Henry Apleton	0-1-0
15	for 2 rabbitts	0-1-4
	for diner in parlar ³²	0-1-0
	to the cooke for roasting a rabbitt & 2 suites	0-0-6
	quart of sack for my landlord Boden	0-1-0
[p.167]		
16	breakfast at the Rose	0-3-6
	to the cooks at the kings shipp	0-2-0
	to the skipper for beere	0-0-6
	to the boatsen in part	33
	to my goddaughter Agrippina Gilborne	0-2-6
	to Mistress Gilborns mayd for servis	0-1-0
	for our dinner at Wolwich	0-3-6
	for a boat	0-5-0
	at the Horns Tavern	0-3-6
	at the Georg	0-1-4
	to the porter at the gates	0-1-0

31 *coles for Sir Michael Grene* struck through on following line.32 *Munday* struck through.

33 Blank space.

	to John Mynere	0-1-0
	for a writt returned	0-2-6
	to my keeper	0-2-6
18	books small	0-1-0
	2 rabetts	0-1-4
	beefe	0-1-6
	King of Moroccoes letter	0-0-6
19	my diner in the parler	0-1-0
20	2 rabitts	0-1-4
	diner for myself & nephew Daniell	0-2-0
	a pottle sack at diner	0-2-0
	for making up a cutwork band	0-1-0
	for puddings	0-0-6
21	manuscripts	0-2-6
	for ale	0-0-3
	for 5 yards of lace for 2 bands & 2 payr of cuffs }	0-4-7
	for dressing rabbitts	0-0-6
22	for soling a payr of boots	0-1-0
[p.168]		
22	a quart of sack for Mr Woodsan	0-1-0
	quart sack for sonne Browne	0-1-2
	to Jo Maynard	0-1-0
	to the porter	0-1-0
23	for 2 rabbitts	0-1-4
	to Mr Bradeley for 2 vessells of ale	0-14-0
	for making 3 bands & 3 payre cuffs & . . ivks ³⁴	0-2-0
	for a barrell of oysters	0-1-6
	to quart of sack by Mr Nichols	0-1-2
24	for pint of sack	0-0-6
	geven to my cosen Georg Starky	0-10-0
	for coles 6 bushell	0-4-0
25	for 4 widgeons	0-2-0
27 ³⁵	2 rabitts	0-1-4
	candles	0-2-3
	an elne [<i>sic</i>] of Holland for bands	0-7-0
28	to the post for carriag of letters	0-1-4
29	a peece of beefe rosted	0-1-6
30	2 rabbitts	0-1-4
	small coles	0-0-2
	to Pennington for one writt spent	0-2-6

34 Word partly illegible.

35 26 struck through.

Dec

1	1 clasping of books	0-3-8
	. . . ³⁶ of mutten	0-1-6
2	puddings	0-1-0
	2 widgeons	0-0-10
[p.169]		
5	to Rob Prentice for ingrossing a letter of attorney about livery in Shuttleworths tenement }	0-2-6
	a rabbitt	0-0-8
	roasting meat to the cook oranges lemons	0-1-0
	for letters to the post	0-2-0
6	2 rabbitts	0-1-4
	for roasting meat to the cook	0-2-3

[Pages 170-178 are blank]

[p.179]

Letters written by mee sence June 10 1636

June 10	one to my nurce one to Mr Tho Bavand one to Mr Robt Bavand 1 to Sir Ri Wilbraham 1 to Wllm Colly 1 to my sonne 1 to Capt Scott 1 to Mr Tho Turner	Delivered 11 June by Beard to Simon Dee all in one packet, directed to Capt Scott to be delivred
11	to the Lady Knollis with a cheese	
17	to Sir Ric Wilbraham to Mr Tho Bavand to Sir Richard Wynne to Mr Downes, vice chamberlyn to Wllm Colly to my sonne Gamull to my daughter Mall to my nurce to Capt Scott	Delivered 18 June by Beard to Norton all in one packet to Cap Scott wherein was alsoe the paper copy of Mr Nevetts book for Tushingham directed to Mr Tho Bavand

24	to Tho Steele to John Edwards of Cheveley to Wllm Colly To Mr Rob Bavand, accounts to my sonne to my daughter Mall to Sir Rich Wilbraham to Mr Lunsford to Capt Scott to my nurce	]	sent by Norton the same day in the evening to be delivered accordingly
[p.180] July 1	to Rich Wilbraham to my nurce 2 to Mall to Captayne Scott 3	]	sent by Simon Dee 2 July in a packett to Cap Scott
7	to William Colly	]	sent by my cosen
8	to Willm Colly	]	Munkes 8th July
7	to my sister Venables to my sonne]	
8	to Mall	]	by Philip Speed July
8	to Sir Ri Wilbraham to my nurce to Capt Scott to Mr Lunsford to Mr Robt Bavand to Sir Wllm Brereton	]	by Mr Conway, a packett to Cap Scott
14	to Mall	]	by Mr Owen Andrewe, examiner in the Kings Bench
15	to Sir Ri Wilbraham to my nurce to Sir Robert Hide to Mr Robert Bavand to Captayne Scott	]	sent in a packett to Cap Scott & sent by Timothy Throckmorton Mr Ro Bavands man
21	to the Lord Gerrard	]	sent to Henly by Beard
21	to my sonne Gamul to Mall	]	sent by my cosen Henry Birkenhead

[p.181]

July	23	to Sir Ric Wilbraham]	sent 24 July by Spicer, Mr Warden's servant
	22	to my nurse		
	22	to Capt Scott		
	22	to Mr Lunsford		
	26	to my nurse]	by Parson Bunbury
	29	my sonne Gamul]	delivered to Simon Dee in a packet directed to Capt Scott 29 July
		my sonne		
		my nurse		
	³⁷	to Mall		
		to Mr Lunsford		
		to Colonell Lunsford		
		to Capt John Starkie		
		to Mr Ge Matchett		
		to Sir Ri Wilbraham		
		to Capt Scott		
	29	to my mother Grosvenor]	sent by Mr Williamson of Reading
	30	to my nephew He Daniell]	sent by Bostock his footman
Aug	1	to Mr Nevett]	sent by Mr Walker
	3	to my daughter Gamul]	sent in a packett to Captayne Scott by Mr Aires, a fishmonger Aug 4
	3	to Mall		
	3	to my sonne		
	4	to Wllm Colly		
	3	to my nurse		
	3	to Capt Scott		
	3	to Sir Ri Wilbraham		

37 my mother Grosvenor struck through on line above.

[p.182]

Aug 11	to Mall		sent 13 Aug by Mr
12	to Wllm Colly	]	Frewen pewterer to
12	to Tho Steele		Captayne Scott with a
12	Sir Rich Wilbraham		box wherin were 6 of
12	my sonne Gamull		the letters and 2
12	my sonne		deeds sealed of
12	Mr Robert Bavand		Boswells house
12	Capt Milward		
12	my nurce		
	Capt Scott		
12	my cosen Roger Bradshaw]	
19	to my cosen Mr Robert Birkenhead	]	sent by Mr Deane organist of Wrexham
19	to Mall	]	sent Aug 20 in a
19	to my sonn Gamull		packett directed to
19	to Sir Rich Wilbraham		Capt Scott by John
19	to Wllm Colly		Walker
19	to Mr Lunsford		
19	Capt Scott		
19	my nurce		
19	Mr Robt Bavand		
24	to Cap Scott	]	sent by ³⁸ John Glover,
24	to my nurce	]	Mr Ric Warburton's
24	to Capt Scott another		servant
26	to Wllm Colly	]	sent in a packett to
26	to Mall		Capt Scott by Jo
26	to Sir Rich Wilbraham		Walker
26	to Mr Lunsford		
26	to Cap Scott		
26	to my nurce		
[p.183]			
Aug 30	to my sonne	]	sent the same day by
30	to Mall		Thomas Barker of Pulford

38 *Mr Pickis the preacher* struck through.

the same day

30	to my sonne		by Philip Speed about a suit with David Speed
Sep 2	to Sir Ri Wilbraham]	delivered 3 Sept to Bennet Baylie all in one packet directed to Cap Scott
2	to my nurce		
2	to Mall		
2	Cap Scott		
2	to Sir Robert Hyde		
3	to Mr Robert Bavand		
3	my sonne Gamul		
6	to Capt Scott]	delivered 6 Sep to Charles Gibbs to carry
6	to my nurce		
9	to my sonne]	delivered 10 Sept to John Walker all in one packett directed to Capt Scott
9	to Mall		
9	to Wllm Colly		
9	to my nurce		
9	to Capt Scott		
9	to Sir Richard Wilbraham		
9	to Mr Robert Bavand		
10	to Sir Robert Hyde		
10	to Mr Anth Aprice		
10	Cap Scott		
14	to my nurce]	by Georg Harington
16	to Mall]	sent by John Walker in a packett to Capt Scott 17 Sept
16	to Wllm Colly, with particuler given Mr Nevett & the former & last articles in parchment		
16	Sir Ri Wilbraham		
16	to my sonne Gamul		
16	to my daughter Gamul		
16	to Capt Scott		
17	my nurce		
[p.184] Sep 18	to my sonne John Browne esq]	sent by Sir Fra Knollis with letters of his

18	to my nurce]	sent by my cosen John Bunbury senior
21	to Cap Scott	[delivered to one Eaton servant to the houskeper at Theobalds who promised to send it to the Fleet 22 Sep
21	to my nurce		
23	to Sir Rich Wilbraham]	these 7 sent in a packet to Capt Scott by Mr Greenhough delivered the 22 Sep
23	to Wllm Colly		
23	to Capt Scott these 2 sent that		
23	to my nurce day by George Nethercott		
23	my sonn Gamul		
23	to Mr Robt Bavand		
23	to Mall		
24	to Capt Scott		
24	to my nurce		
26	to Mall]	sent to Mr Bavand with a box of roots to be sent to Chester by Tho Tull, Mr Cr bargeman
26	to Mr Robert Bavand		
26	to my nurce		
28	to Cap Scott	[sent 29 Sep by Mr Warden Ingram
	to my nurce		
30 ³⁹	to Sir Ri Wilbraham]	sent by John White all in a packet to Cap Scott, except that to Mr Nevett
30 ⁴⁰	to the Lady Wilbraham		
30	to Grace my daughter		
29	to Tho Nevett		
30	to Wllm Colly with Mr Nevetts letter included		
30	to Mall		
30	to my sonn Gamul		
30	to my nurce		
30	to Cap Scott		
30	to the Lord Bishop of Chester		
30	to Mr Robt Bavand		
30	to my sonne		

39 29 struck through.

40 29 struck through.

[p. 185]

Octob

2	to Thomas Steele]	sent by his sonne
41			
3	to Mr Sheriffe Th] in a packett to Mr Robt Bavand]	all 4 in a packet to Cap Scot by Mr Stamp
	Cholmley esq		
3	to my sonn Gamul		
3	to Mr Robt Bavand		
3	to my nurce		
7	to Sir Rich Wilbraham]	sent in a packett the same to Capt Scott by Mr Riddle living at Mr Currants in Fleet Street
7	to my sonne		
7	to Mall		
7	to my nurce		
7	to Capt Scott		
6	to Mr Ro Bavand		
8	to Mr Rob Bavand]	sent by Abraham Drawer at the George Taverne
8	to my nurce		
8	to Cap Scott		
10	to Cap Scott]	sent by Tho Tull with 9 parcells of my goods from Reading
	to my nurce		
10	to my nurce		by Mr Mathew
20	to my mother Grosvenor]	sent by Wllm Jenning with a rundlet of sack
24	to Sir Ri Wilbraham]	by the post
24	to my sonne		
23	to my cosen Ald Wllm Gamul		
23	to my sonne Gamul		
24	to Mall		
24	Wllm Colly		
25	to my nephew He Daniell]	by Newbery carrier
27	to Sir Fra Knollis jnr		
27	to Mr Boden		

41 2 to Mr Sheriffe Tho Cholmly esq
2 to my sonne Gamul struck through.

[p.186]

Octo

[*Marginated* These were sent from Reading]

13	to Sir Ri Wilbraham]	sent in a packet Capt Scott by Mr Walker senior
13	to Mall		
13	to my nurce		
13	to Capt Scott		
13	to my sonne		
13	to Wllm Colly		

16	nephew Henry Daniell]	sent by Bostock his servant
----	----------------------	---	--------------------------------

31	to my sonne with 2 kayes]	sent by the post
31	to Sir Ri Wilbraham		
31	to Mall with hens & trees		
31	to my sonn Gamul		
31	to Mall a second letter		

31	to Thos Steele]	sent by the servant of Tho Littler the wagan man with trees
----	----------------	---	---

Novemb

6	to Tho Cholmeley esq sheriff of Cheshire]	delivered to my nephew Daniell to send
---	---	---	---

7	to Mall]	sent by Beard sent by Tom Broughton
7	to Sir Ri Wilbraham		
9	to Tho Nevett		
9	to my mother Grosvenor		

14	to Mall]	delivered for the post by Beard at the letter office
14	to my daughter Gamul		
14	to my sonne Gamul		
14	to Sir Ri Wilbraham		
14	to Wllm Colly		
14	to my cosen Hope		

17	Wllm Colly]	sent by Tho Penny together with the conveyance made at my marriage sealed up in a box
----	------------	---	---

[p.187]

No[v]21	to Sir Rich Wilbraham]	sent by the post
21	to sonne with R Gra accounts		
21	to Mall		
21	to my sonne Gamul		
25	to Mr Wllm Hewett of Lecestershire executor to Mr Neale to send my bond up which is discharged]	sent by Mr Whaleys man
28	to Mall		
28	t[o] Sir Ri Wilbraham		
28	to my sonne Gamul		
28	to Tho Steele]	sent by Beard to the letter house for the post
30	to Mr Nich Boden		
30	to my sonne		
30	to my daughter Sydney		
Decemb	2 to Dr Bispam]	sent by Tho Booth with my conceptions of advise
1	to Sir Fra Knollis		
5	to Mr Nevett		
5	to my sonne		
5	to Mall]	by the post with a letter of attorney to Steele about Jo Shuttleworths tenement inclosed in my sonnes letter
5	to Wllm Colly		
5	to Sir R Wilbraham		
8	to Mr Nevett for 100 li.		
12	to Sir Ri Wilbraham]	by the post
12	to my sonne		
12	to Mall		
13	to my nephew Henry Daniell		
]	delivered to his brother Jo Daniell

[p. 188]

De[c]18	to Sir Ri Wibraham to my sonne Gamul to my sonne	]	sent post by my cos John Mostyn who rid post downe
Dec 19	to my cosen Elnor Munckas	]	sent to the letter office by Philip Speed
19	Mall		
19	to my sonne		
20	to my syster Chambre	]	sent to Mr Arth Tench to convey
21	to my landlord Boden	]	sent by Mr Mathewe
21	to my nephew He Danyell		
22	to Mrs Kenrick	]	sent by Mr Lydall student in the Temple
26	to Sir Ri Wilbraham	]	by the post
26	to Mall		
26	to my sonne Gamul		
26	to Wilm Colly		
29	to Mr Tho Vachell after his marriage	]	sent by Beard
29	to Sir Wilm Le Neve	]	by my servant Beard
30	to my mother Grosvenor	]	by my nephew Roger Massy
30	to my sister Massy		
Jan [1637/8]			
2	to Sir ⁴² W	]	by the post
2	to Mall		
2	to my sonn Gamul		
9	to Mall	]	by the post
9	to Sir Ri Wilbraham		
9	to Mr Tho Bavand		
9	to Sir Henry St Georg Norroy	]	by Beard

16	to Mall]	by the post
16	to Sir Ri Wilbraham		
16	to my sonn Gamul		
16	to Wllm Colly		
[p.189]			
17	to Tho Standish esq		
18	to Tho Standish esq]	by Beard
19	to my nephew Henry Daniell]	sent by Mr Mathews of Reading
19	to Mr Nicholas Boden		
22	to Wllm Marbury esq]	sent by Beard to the post
22	to Tho Steele		
23	to Sir Ri Wilbraham		
23	to Mall		
23	to my sonne Gamul		
23	to Wllm Colly		
23	to Grace		
25	to my nephew He Daniell]	sent by Mr Boden
29	to my cosen Ri Hunt]	sent by Beard to the post
30	my son about Gedington lead		
30	to Sir Ri Wilbraham		
30	to my sonne Gamul with a warrent for wardship of Ja H . . . ⁴³		
30	to Wllm Colly		
30	to Thomas Steele		
30	to Mall		
Febr 6	to my sonne]	sent to the post by Beard
6	to my sonne Gamul		
6	Wllm Colly		
6	to Sir Ri Wilbraham		
6	to Mr Whitby Recorder		
5	to Mall		
12	to Cap John Starkie]	sent by Beard

43 Word partly illegible.

12	to Peter Dod	]	sent by Beard to the letter offyce
13	to Sir Rich Wilbraham		
13	to Wllm Colly about Sy Hill		
13	to my sonne Gamul		
13	to my sonne		
13	to Mall		
15	to my bro Tho Cholemley sheriff	]	delivered to my nephew John Daniell
15	to my syster Danyell		
17	to my brother Hugh Cholmeley	]	in Mall's letter by Booth
[p.190]			
Febr 18	to my sonne	]	sent by Thomas Booth my sonn's servant
19	to Sir Rich Wilbraham		
19	to Mall		
	to my sonne Gamul		
22	William Colly about squire & cosen Bold	]	by Robin Jones
28	to Sir Richard Wilbraham to mediate for my Aunt Dichfield with her daughter my cosen Bold	]	by cosen John Dichfield
22	to my daughter Gamull about seeds and trees to Mall about seeds		by Robin Jones
23	to Mall with green trees and seeds	]	by Wllm Jennings the carrier
26	to Mall	]	sent by Beard to the letter house
26	to Tho Steele		
27	to Sir Ri Wilbraham		
March			
6	to Mall		by Philip Speed
6	to my sonne Gamull		
6	to my sonne		
6	to Sir Ri Wilbraham		
5	to Wllm Colly		

5	to Mr Tho Johnson Apothecary]	by Beard for seeds
7	to the Lady Ann Wield]	by Mr Nevett and Mr Bavand about 300li. owing her
9	to my sonne]	sent by Ge Bulkley, cos to Brertons clarke, stone[sic] to Mr Gauntley
9	to my nephew He Danyell]	by Lord Cravens groome
13	to my sonne]	to the post sent by Beard
13	to my sonn Gamul		
13	to Mall		
13	to Sir Ri Wilbraham		
20	to my sonne]	to the post by Beard
20	to Sir Ri Wilbraham		
20	to Mall		
20	to my sonn Gamul		
20	to Wilm Colly		
22	nephew Hen Daniell]	sent by his servant Thomas
24	to Mr George Woodson]	sent by Ellis, clark of the checks man
[p. 191]			
March 1638			
27	to my Daughter Gamul]	sent by Beard to the letter office
26	to Sir Ri Wilbraham		
26	to parson Bispam		
26	to William Colly		
26	my sonne Gamul		
26	to Mall		
28	to my nephew Hen Daniell]	sent by Tho his servant by a groome of Lord Cravens
29	to my landlord Boden		
30	to my niece Daniell with a pott & . . . ⁴⁴ from Mr Wheler		

April

2	to Hen Wynne esq]	by Beard
3	to my sonne]	sent by Beard to the letter office
3	to my sonne Gamul		
3	to Sir Ri Wilbraham		
3	to Mall		
3	to Grace		
6	to my nephew He Daniell]	sent by Robert Tyrrell
10	to Sir Rich Wilbraham]	sent by Beard to the letter office
10	to my sonne		
10	to my sonne Gamul		
10	to parson Bispam		
10	to Wllm Collye		
11	to my daughter Gamull]	sent by Mr Bavands boy with 16 kinds of seedes and a booke
13	to my daughter Gamul]	by Roger Carter with a box of roots of Beares yeast
15	to my nephew Daniell]	by Saltry a fisher of Caversham
17	to Mall]	by the post
17	to Sir Ri Wilbraham		
17	to my sonne Gamul		
20	to the Lady Coke about 200 li. debt of Peter Daniells]	by Mr Th Bavand
21	to my sonne]	by John Basford footpost of Chester
22	to my nephew He Daniell]	by the post
24	to Mall		
24	to Sir Ri Wilbraham		
24	to my sonne Gamull		
28	to my nephew He Danyell to my sonne advise about Mr Duckworth]	by his owne boy

May	1	to Sir Ri Wilbram]	by the post
	1	to my sonne Gamul		
	1	to my daughter Gamul		
	1	to my sonne		
	1	to my brother Massy		
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	5	to Sir Richard Lydall]	by his old servant
	5	to my sonne about Mr Duckworth]	by Robt Bavands man post
	7	to Sir Ri Wilbraham		
	8	to Wllm Colly with Mr Squires writ against P Daniel]	by the post
	8	to my sonne Gamul		
	9	to my sonne about Mr Duckworth]	by Mr Raphael Dacres
	12	to my sonne about Hamp Griffiths tenement]	by Cleords
	14	to my sonne Gamul]	by the post
	14	to my sonne		
	14	to Tho Steele		
	14	to Sir Ri Wilbraham		
	28	to Sir Ri Wilbraham for Robin Massy]	by He Maynwaring searcher at Chester
	19	to my nephew Hen Daniell]	left at the Georg in Bred Street
	22	to my sonne]	by the post
	22	to Wllm Colly		
	22	to Sir Ri Wilbraham		
	22	to my sonne Gamull		
	29	to Sir Rich Wilbraham]	by the post
	29	to my sonne		
	29	to Wllm Colly		
	29	to Tho Steele		
June	1	to my nephew H Daniell]	by Mr Knatchbull

4	to my nephew Hen Daniell	]	by Stanton gaoler of Reding
4	to my sonne	]	by the post
4	to Sir Ri Wilbraham		
4	to Wllm Colly about Mr Squire		
7	to my nephew H Daniell		
11	to my cosen Alexander Bradshaw	]	by Philip Fuller
11	to Colonell Lunnsford	]	by his servant
12	to my sonne	]	by the post
12	to Sir Ri Wilbraham		
12	to Wllm Colly		
13	to my nephew He Daniell	]	by Th Winters the Lord Cravens footman
13	to Mr Tho Bennett	]	by Beard
14	to Sir Richard Wilbraham	]	by my cosen Roger Wilbraham
14	to my sonne		
[p.193]			
15 ⁴⁵	to Sir Rich Wilbraham	]	by the post
15	to Wllm Colly		
15	to my sonne		
21 ⁴⁶	to my sonne	]	by the post
21	to Sir Richard Wilbraham		
21	to Sir Ri Wilbraham	]	by Mr Thomas Bavand
21	to my sonne	]	by Tho Booth
21	to Mr Arthur Turner	]	by my sonne Gamul man about La Wield
	to Mr Tho Nevett		
24	to Judge Hutton	]	by my sonne Gamul

45 13 crossed out and *date mistaken* in the margin.

46 18 crossed out and *date mistaken* in the margin.

24	to Sir John Banks, the Kings Atturney	]	by Cosen Jo Bunbury
26	to Sir Richard Wilbraham	]	by the post
26	to my sonne]	
26	to my nephew He Daniell	]	by ⁴⁷

[page 194 is blank]

[p.195]

Letters written by mee since my returne to the Fleet Octob 21 1638

Octob

22	to Sir Rich Wilbraham	]	by the post
22	to Mall]	
22	to my sonne Gamul]	
21	to Steel with 2 mares	]	by John Griffith of Cargurley
21	to Mall]	
29	to Peter Daniell about Sall of Lymm	]	sent to young Peter
30	to Mall	]	by post
30	to Sir Ri Wilbraham]	
30	to Mr Tho Bavand]	

Nove	5	to my daughter Gamul	]	by the post
	6	to Mall]	
	6	to my sonne Gamul]	
	6	to Sir Rich Wilbraham]	
	11	to Mall	]	by Mr Hen Maynwaring
	11	to Sir Ri Wilbraham	]	by Mr Georg Calveley
	12	to Mr Proctor parson of Shepperton]	
	13	to Mall	]	by the post
	13	to my sonne Gamull]	
	13	to Sir Ri Wilbraham]	
	13	to my daughter Gamul]	

47 Blank space.

16	to Sir Ri Lydall	]	by a bargman inclosed in Sir Richards letter
16	to Mistris Kendrick		
16	to Col Lunsford	]	by his man
19	to my niece Davenport]	by the post
20	to Sir Ri Wilbraham		
20	to Mall		
20	to nephew Edward Massy at Dunkirk		

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