

**SUFFOLK AND THE
GREAT REBELLION
1640-1660**

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Preface

It is now three centuries since the study of the Great Rebellion began to exercise its fascination over the minds of historians. The controversy that began in 1640 remains one of the events in English history still capable of arousing scholarly passions. The tercentenary of the Restoration, which terminated it, falls due this year. And yet the precise nature of the causes underlying the Great Rebellion is still unsettled. It is with the modest intention of shedding light upon those causes in one corner of the country that the present volume has been compiled. The invaluable work of a number of contemporary English and American scholars, notably Mr Christopher Hill, Mrs Keeler, Miss Wedgwood, and Messrs Brunton and Pennington, has pointed to the inadequacy of studying central institutions alone if we are to arrive at an understanding of the Civil War. The gentry, of whom we have in recent years heard so much (perhaps too much) were not interested solely in Parliament. In counties like Suffolk, or Kent, or Somerset, where they were relatively numerous, not more than one in twenty of them ever entered its doors. Their primary sphere of activity, I believe, was the local community: their 'country' was the shire. It is therefore of some importance to study them, not simply as members of Parliament, but as members of a county community.

The following documents have been selected with the main objects of revealing the characteristic features of the community of Suffolk, and of illustrating its response to the Civil War and the impact of the war upon its administration, its society, its towns, and its villages. Few English shires played a more decisive or distinctive role in the Civil War than Suffolk. It was not a typical county; perhaps no county is typical. In endeavouring to bring out its distinctive traits, I have throughout compared it with other shires, and in particular Kent, whose experience was so strikingly different from that of Suffolk, although the two counties were in an identical relation with Parliament.

The first section of the book is designed to illustrate the impact of the war upon county administration. It comprises the principal item in the volume, the Suffolk Committee Book, compiled by the Committee itself and consisting of the 'constitutional documents' governing its structure and procedure. Unlike the similarly entitled Dorset and Staffordshire volumes it tells us little about the daily proceedings of the Committee, but these I have attempted to indicate in a series of orders selected from a bundle of routine Committee orders in the Public Record Office, which happen to have survived the vicissitudes of time. In Suffolk, however, in contrast with other areas, the County Committee was overshadowed by the Committee of the Eastern Association, in which I believe Suffolk itself to have played a leading part. Much of the Committee Book itself bears on the county's relations with the Association, and the second section of the present volume

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is devoted to the Association exclusively: most of the documents have been selected from a small collection of papers retained by the Association's General, the Earl of Manchester, and now deposited in the Public Record Office. They are not intended to provide a connected story of the Association, for which readers will turn to Kingston's useful, if not unprejudiced, work; they are meant principally to indicate the counties' relations with one another, with their commander, and with Parliament. It is thought that these documents, especially the account of the Bury Conference of January 1645, in some sense complement those printed in Masson's *Quarrel between the Earl of Manchester and Oliver Cromwell* (Camden Society, N.S., XII, 1875).

The course of politics, however, even of local politics, is not determined solely within the arcanum of the committee room. It is also influenced by the daily life of 'ordinary people'. It is with this conviction in mind that I have devoted the third and fourth sections of the volume to the life of a West Suffolk village and an East Suffolk town. It is not suggested that the experience of either Exning or Ipswich was 'typical' of that of Suffolk as a whole: here, as elsewhere, every town and village varied, and the difference between East and West Suffolk was marked. But I believe we find in the former a strikingly detailed example of the way the Civil War could rend the peaceful fabric of a rural community; and in the latter a clear instance of the alienation of an important puritan town, from its intense loyalty to Parliament in the 'forties to its consistent obstruction in the 'fifties.

Ideally, it may appear to have been desirable to print the whole *corpus* of manuscripts from which each section of the volume has been chosen. Exigencies of space have precluded such a policy, and in the case of the extracts from the Ipswich Corporation Records in Section IV it would obviously have been foreign to the intention of the volume. My decision, which has received the General Editor's full support, does not, of course, prejudice the Society's long-term programme of printing or calendaring such important manuscripts in full. In selecting documents for the remaining sections of the volume, as in the case of the Committee orders, those perforce omitted have been mainly of a repetitive or extraneous nature. In these days of high printing costs, when record societies find themselves saddled with various conflicting claims, a policy of rigorous selection and full editing seemed unavoidable in the present case. Those familiar with the jungle of administrative archives in the seventeenth century will perhaps be grateful that the work of selection has been done for them.

I should like to express my gratitude to the authorities of the Public Record Office for permission to publish documents from the State Papers and Manchester Papers, and to those of the British Museum for permission to publish documents from the Egerton Manuscripts. Lord Tollemache and Mr E. Levett-Scrivener kindly allowed me to consult manuscripts in their collections, at Helmingham Hall and Sibton Abbey; and Mr Percy Millican furnished notes on the Norfolk committeemen. Of the many friends in Suffolk who have so generously helped me I should particularly like to thank Mr Leslie Dow, the owner of the Committee Book, who transcribed the whole manuscript for me, and supplied many notes on the members;

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Mr Derek Charman and his staff at the East Suffolk Record Office for unstinted help and for checking the documents printed from manuscripts in the Ipswich and East Suffolk Record Office; and Mr Norman Scarfe, without whose constant encouragement and unflinching assistance with Suffolk family history, and in many other ways, I could not have undertaken this volume. A mere foreigner cannot pretend to the historical insights of a native, and it is due to Mr Scarfe's wide knowledge of Suffolk history that my interpretation of the county's part in the Great Rebellion is not more imperfect than it is.

ALAN EVERITT

21 September 1960

ABBREVIATIONS

Add.	Additional Manuscripts, British Museum.
CCAM	<i>Calendar of the Committee for Advance of Money.</i>
CCC	<i>Calendar of the Committee for Compounding.</i>
CJ	<i>Commons' Journals.</i>
CCSD	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic.</i>
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography.</i>
E.88.15	<i>A Declaration and Ordinance of the Lords and Commons . . . for the associating of the severall Counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Isle of Ely, Hertford, and County of the City of Norwich . . . Also a Declaration and Engagement of the said Counties . . .</i> , February 1643.
E.114.36	<i>Speciall Passages . . .</i> , 23-30 August 1642.
E.202.39	<i>An exact and true Diurnall . . .</i> , 22-29 August 1642.
E.301.3	<i>A true Relation of the Araigment of eighteene Witches . . . at St Edmundsbury . . .</i> , 1645.
E.393.7	<i>Four Petitions to his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax</i> (from Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk, Bucks., and Herts.), June 1647.
E.444.7	<i>Mercurius Britannicus . . .</i> , 16-25 May 1648.
E.448.13	<i>For the Right Worshipful the Knights and Gentlemen Committees for the County of Suffolke</i> , 1648. [The Committee's published accounts.]
Egerton MS	Egerton Manuscript, British Museum.
ESRO	Ipswich and East Suffolk Record Office.
Everitt, Committee of Kent	Alan Everitt, <i>The County Committee of Kent in the Civil War</i> , Leicester, Occasional Papers, No. 9, 1957.
F & R	C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, <i>Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660</i> , 1911.
GEC	G. E. Cokayne, <i>The Complete Peerage</i> , 1910-1959.
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission, <i>Reports</i> .
ICR	Ipswich Corporation Records, Ipswich and East Suffolk Record Office.
Kingston	A. Kingston, <i>East Anglia and the Great Civil War</i> , 1897.
LJ	<i>Lords' Journals.</i>
PRO	Manchester Papers, Public Record Office.
Reyce	<i>Suffolk in the XVIIth Century: the Breviary of Suffolk by Robert Reyce, 1618</i> , ed. Lord Francis Hervey, 1902.
SP	State Papers, Public Record Office.

RULES OF TRANSCRIPTION

In the transcription of documents the original spelling has been retained, but for the convenience of readers, punctuation, capitalization, obsolete symbols, and the usage of 'u' and 'v' have in general been modernized, and abbreviations expanded, except where the original form was doubtful, or its retention seemed significant. Obvious errors have been corrected or individually noted. Doubtful readings and explanatory words have been enclosed in square brackets. Editorial notes and headings at the beginning of documents are enclosed in square brackets and italicized.

Introduction

I. THE COMMUNITY OF SUFFOLK IN THE CIVIL WAR

Few events in English history have gathered more legends than the Civil War, and in few regions is its traditional interpretation more distinct than in East Anglia. 'In these counties,' says the historian of the Eastern Association, 'arose the one man [Cromwell] whose acts were destined to colour all our subsequent history; and here arose, too, the ever-victorious Ironsides, who with the "Soldier's Pocket Bible" in their knapsacks, went forth with sturdy purpose and resistless valour . . . to carry the Parliamentary cause to victory at Marston Moor and Naseby. . . These men of the Fenlands . . . were prepared to judge the king, or rather his ministers, by principles of government; . . . the bulk of the people in these Eastern Counties were emphatically against the king and the bishops. . . Here, if anywhere, was to be found in a pre-eminent degree that "depository of the sacred fire of liberty" which history has justly credited to the old Puritan stock. . .'¹ Similar sentiments were expressed by Thomas Carlyle and W. D. Macray; and they survive, in a modified form, in the more temperate pages of S. R. Gardiner and C. H. Firth.

Historical legends are easier to ridicule than to reconstruct. In the present instance there is a good deal of truth in the traditional story. Probably in no other shire was support for Parliament more widespread than in Suffolk. The number of royalists and 'delinquents' in the county was extraordinarily small: a mere 75 families, or 98 individuals, in comparison with over 500 in a superficially similar county such as Kent. Less than 10 per cent of the gentry of Suffolk were sequestered, in contrast with over 60 per cent in the latter county. In all degrees of society large numbers of people were animated by a genuine dread of royalism and episcopacy. When all allowance is made for the rigging of petitions, it remains significant that 13,000 Suffolk people are said to have signed a petition containing a clause against Bishop Wren.² The incidents at Long Melford in 1642, when 'many thousands swarm'd to the pulling downe of . . . a gallant seat belonging to the Countesse of Rivers . . .', and at Stoke-by-Nayland, when 'Sir Francis Mannoche's house was pillaged of all goods, and as is said not his writings spared . . . nor his dogs', bear witness to a dread of popery among Suffolk country folk of exceptional intensity. 'This Furie,' said the Earl of Warwick's steward concerning the former, 'was not only in the rabble, but many of the better sort behav'd themselves as if there had been a dissolution of all government; no man could remaine in his owne house without feare, nor bee abroad with safetic.'³

¹ Kingston, 2, 3.

² CJ, II, 404.

³ Francis Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, 1779, II, xii, 23; Camden Society, LXVI, *Diary of John Rous, Incumbent of Santon Downham, Suffolk*, 1856, 122.

In the clamour for ecclesiastical reform, moreover, Suffolk was frequently in the lead: perhaps nowhere, except in London, did the dream of the New Jerusalem seem more vivid. Though we must beware of simplifying the causes behind the emigration to America, which were largely due to agricultural and industrial distress, there can be little doubt that a passionate desire to establish the divine commonwealth was also present.¹ It was with similar enthusiasm that great families like the Barnardistons approached the issues of 1640; and the same spirit survived among Suffolk factors and merchants so late as 1660, when all hope of realizing such aspirations in England as a whole was extinguished. In describing the character of members returned to the Convention Parliament for London, a Suffolk merchant told his friends at home that 'the 3 first [are] very choyce men for godlyness and a good life . . . the last is not much noted about religion, but ever countenanced good ministers, was present at the proclaiming the Act for abolishing Kingly Government, and deeply ingaiged in Bishops' Lands. . . ' 'It is verry much wisht and hoped,' wrote another, 'that the Countrys will every where take incouragment from this unanimous and joyfull election, to beesterr themselves for a sober and pious election, and that Ipswich will not bee the backwardest in there zeale in this particuler, both as to the towne and County choyce. . . ' ' . . . I understood to my great content,' a Suffolk maltster wrote to his wife, 'that the City had chosen 4 principall men: 3 very pious and against Bishops and the 4th no Episcopall man. . . God grant that in the countreys honest men may unite and be couragious, and have successe after the manner of this City. . .'²

Yet the conventional account of the part played by East Anglia in the Civil War also calls for modification. The strength of puritanism and the influence of Cromwell have been exaggerated. Cromwell was not the architect, still less the builder, of the Association. In 1643 a minor gentleman of Huntingdon had little weight with the Barringtons, Bacons, and Barnardistons of Essex and East Anglia. His own county was not one of the original members of the Association.³ He never entirely overcame the suspicion of its leaders, and his proposals for the New Model were flatly opposed by them.⁴

We do not and cannot know, as Kingston asserts, that 'the bulk of the people in these Eastern Counties were emphatically against the king and the bishops.' There were limits to enthusiasm everywhere. Within the ranks of the New Model itself, according to Richard Baxter, 'the greatest part of the common soldiers, especially of the foot, were ignorant men of little religion. . .'⁵ In the county of Suffolk there were many occasions when 'the

¹ The subject is treated in N. C. P. Tyack, *Migration from East Anglia to New England before 1660*, London Ph.D. thesis, 1951, and A. P. Newton, *Colonizing activities of the English Puritans*, New Haven, 1914. There is also much information to be found in the *Winthrop Papers* (Massachusetts Historical Society).

² SP 29/32, Nos. 105, 132, 110.

³ Huntingdon was originally associated with Derby, Rutland, Nottingham, Bedford, and Buckingham. F. & R., I, 49 (December 1642).

⁴ No. 88.

⁵ *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, ed. M. Sylvester, 1696, 53.

people' were not won over without a little compulsion or judicious flattery by the Committee of Both Kingdoms; there were many days 'apoynted a fast by the Parliament' which were 'not kept by all, but very few. . .'.¹ In 1643 the assessments for Manchester's army were 'in many parts of the County . . . ill paied, to the great preiudice of the present service. . .'. When soldiers fell 'sick and weake in the service, or beinge wounded returned home to there freinds in this County, . . . if there freinds be poore and not able to relieve them they usually meet with ill entertainment from there severall parishes to there greate discouragment. . .'.² Under the influence of knights and squires loyalty varied from parish to parish, in Suffolk as elsewhere: at Brome, for instance, under the Cornwallises, at Ickworth under the Herveys, at Stoke-by-Nayland under the Mannocks, or at Hintlesham under the Timperleys. In short, whenever we come in contact with 'the people' we find the same tangled web of local custom, feud, and prejudice as elsewhere, shot through with only an occasional thread of political principle or religious scruple.³ The same obstinate world of custom formed the basis of parties in Suffolk as in other counties: against its shores the good intentions of king, of Parliament, and of Cromwell too often beat in vain.

It would also be misleading to suppose that the county was devoid of royalist sympathy: it is a striking fact that the yield from sequestrated estates in Suffolk between 1643 and 1649 was higher than anywhere else. It totalled £40,917, compared with £33,268 for London, £28,651 for Essex, £22,618 for Kent, and £21,750 for Norfolk.⁴ In retrospect, it is true, the adherence of the South and East to Parliament in 1642 seems inevitable. But contemporaries were less certain of its loyalty than we are. In June 1640 Sir Thomas Jermyn wrote to three Suffolk men, including two prominent members of the Civil War County Committee, that the king 'doubts not but you will be ready with all care and diligence to advance his service. . . his Majesty having ever had a very good opinion of the love and duty of that County. . .'.⁵ There were always some in Suffolk who 'kept intelligence' with those in 'the king's quarters', and in 1648 there was reputed to be a 'considerable army of resolved men' in the county.⁶ In Bury, Aldeburgh,

¹ Essex Record Office, B/7 13, 38. 1502, f. 80 r.; cf. ff. 84 v., 98 v., 109 v., 130 r., 139 r. I am much indebted to Mr James Williams for lending me his transcript of this MS.

² Nos. 23, 56.

³ Cf. Section III, below.

⁴ SP 28/216, Account Book of Samuel Avery and others. Figures here and elsewhere are generally given to the nearest pound. The figure for Colchester has been included in the Essex total, and for Canterbury in that for Kent; the Suffolk total given in the account book is wrongly added, and is here corrected. Figures for other counties include: Hunts. £16,628, Middlesex £10,650, Beds. £9,659, Herts. £6,952, Cambs. and Ely £6,901, Westminster £5,422, Surrey, £3,246. According to the accounts published by the Suffolk Committee in 1648, the yield from Sequestrations was £42,568 between October 1643 and September 1647; it may be that the figures quoted above relate only to the two-thirds paid into the central government. See also note 5, p. 14.

⁵ HMC, *Reports*, XIII, iv, 460.

⁶ Cf. CSPD, 1644-5, 624; HMC, *Reports*, XIII, i, 462. There is much evidence of royalism among Suffolk clergy in the Minute Book of Manchester's Committee for Scandalous Ministers for Suffolk, preserved in Lincoln Public Library. I am much indebted to Sir Francis Hill for lending me his transcript of this manuscript.

and Lowestoft, not to mention towns in other eastern counties, such as Cambridge, Lynn, and Crowland, there was a powerful group in favour of the king throughout the years 1642-60. In August 1642 Bury St Edmunds had 'beene in great feares a long time by reason the magazine of this part of the County was in an inconveniente place', and the key in untrustworthy hands.¹ In the same month 'a great tumult [was] raised at Hadley and Ipswich of divers ill-affected and desperate persons, doing much mischief to the inhabitants of the said townes, pretending they were for the king and would not be governed by a few Puritans . . .'² Despite its supposedly impregnable puritanism the port of Ipswich was still said in 1647 to 'desire the king'.³ During the summer of 1648 there were risings all over the eastern counties, at Bury, Linton, Newmarket, Colchester, Thetford, Norwich, Stowmarket, and Cambridge. In 1656 'the spiritts of people [were] most straingely heightened and moulded into a very great aptness to take the first hint for an insurrection . . .'⁴ There is little cause for surprise in the fact that Suffolk, like other counties, welcomed the Restoration in 1660.

The really distinctive feature of Suffolk's attitude is not simply the strength of parliamentarianism or any supposed absence of royalism, but the almost complete absence of a middle party. There may well have been more sympathy with the *via media* than we know of: with the great nameless company of those who were neither royalist nor parliamentarian, neither Laudian nor puritan. It was a company which rarely defined its ideals in any political manifesto, and its evidence lies entombed in family letters and diaries, of which for Suffolk there are almost none. But the conclusion that it never organized itself into a *party* is inescapable. Essentially Suffolk was a shire of two parties only. In Kent more than nine out of ten delinquents were sequestered for taking part in local rebellions: they were not sufficiently 'royalist' to leave the county for Oxford, and yet they did not sympathize with Parliament. In Suffolk, by contrast, almost half those sequestered were recusants, most of whom had left the county, and a further 40 per cent were in arms with the king.⁵ There were virtually no leaders left in the county desirous or capable of sparking off any incipient opposition to the Committee. The few recusants who remained were too busy devising means of saving their estates, and too deeply suspected of treachery by the common people (far more so than in Kent), to provide effective leadership. They clung to one another to support their tottering fortunes, but their only hope of survival lay in strict political quietism.

There was therefore no real attempt by the king to influence Suffolk: there was no spontaneous local activity to build upon. It may have been

¹ E. 114. 36.

² E. 202. 39.

³ *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers*, ed. O. Ogle and W. H. Bliss, 1872, I, 358.

⁴ *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe . . .*, ed. T. Birch, 1742, V, 328.

⁵ This fact, coupled with the comparative efficiency of administration in Suffolk, helps to explain the large yield from sequestrations: recusants were not allowed to compound in order to regain their estates. It was also because in Suffolk sequestered property was 'let at so considerable a value as very few counties in England have the like . . .' where farming was efficient, rents were high. - CCC, 316.

true, as a royalist claimed, that in 1648 'the commons of Suffolke were so dispos'd to our assistance that there were above foure thousand men readie at an houre's warning to march to our succour, with soe greate a sense of our sufferings and their owne succeeding miseries that . . . one of the most considerable gentlemen of their countrie . . . thought they would have forced him out of his house to have lead them.'¹ But the fact is that, while the whole county of Kent was arming itself 'in defence of its liberties', and a large party in Sussex and elsewhere supported them, the corresponding rising at Bury woke no effective response in Suffolk. There were too many men like Thomas Staunton of Horringer, who 'after the warre was ended in [16]46 . . . returned back into Suffolke, which is my country, . . . in hopes of an opportunity of doing his Majesty further service. But then his affayres beeing reduced to that desperate lost condition, and the tyranny and oppression of the rebells growing furious and insupportable, I did . . . apply myselfe to merchant's affayres, and . . . settled myselfe in Spaine . . .'²

Neither was there at any time in Suffolk that hesitancy or procrastination which beset the gentry elsewhere. The obstinate questioning which produced the Kentish petition of 1642 and the appeals of Somerset and other counties on behalf of moderate episcopacy were not echoed in Suffolk. The new deputy lieutenants were active four months before those in Kent could be induced to accept a parliamentary commission. The anxious letters sent from one manor-house to another by families like the Oxindens, when fighting broke out, would have seemed an impious distrust in providence to the Barnardistons. During the war there was practically none of that 'ancient amity and good will', among 'men of different opinions in these dividing times', which characterized Kent.³ There was apparently little attempt on the part of committeemen to defend their delinquent relatives. The opposing parties were implacable from the outset. ' . . . Let me tel you,' said Brampton Gurdon to John Winthrop when the Short Parliament was dissolved in 1640, 'it comforteth the hartes of the honest men of bothe housen that thay yelded not to geve a pene to help the k[ing] in his intended ware agensst the Skottes . . .'⁴ Or take the words of a Cavalier at the siege of Colchester in 1648. The royalists, he says, had now 'found by sad experience the ruine which had overtaken us in the former warrs by our lazines, which was called moderation, and indifference to the cause, which was stil'd a pious distrust in the arme of flesh; but though it pleased God sometimes to give success extraordinarily to the justice of the cause, yet ordinarily he sells it to the industrie of men.'⁵

With the initial tendency of the county leaders to puritanism, the flight of the royalists to Oxford, and the absence of a middle party to divide loyalties, it was natural that the composition of the Suffolk county committee should remain remarkably stable between 1642 and 1660. The

¹ HMC, *Reports*, XII, ix, 26.

² HMC, *A. G. Finch*, I, 164.

³ Add. MS.44846, f. 26 v.

⁴ Massachusetts Historical Society, *Winthrop Papers*, IV, 1638-1644, 1944, 243.

⁵ HMC, *Reports*, XII, ix, 26.

frequent fluctuations and the clear breach in continuity of membership which characterized such bodies in other counties were not altogether absent from Suffolk, but they were less remarkable. In Kent not more than a dozen of the committeemen of 1647 were still sitting three years later: in Suffolk no fewer than 52 of the 61 members of June 1647 continued to sit after the king's death. From the beginning of the war the leading group within the committee was composed of the principal county families, and they continued to dominate the committee until the Protectorate or even the Restoration. Among them, for instance, were Sir William Spring of Pakenham, Sir John Wentworth of Somerleyton, Sir Robert Crane of Chilton, Sir William Playters of Sotterley, Sir Simonds D'Ewes of Stowlangtoft, Sir John Rous of Henham, together with three members of the Bedingfield family, four of the Parkers, Brookes, Norths, Gurdons, and Barnardistons, and seven of the Bacons. Of these men, most of the Bacons, together with the Barnardistons, the Bedingfields, the Brookes, the Gurdons, the Norths, the Parkers, the Rouses, the Springs, and the Wentworths survived beyond 1650. They included some of the wealthiest men in the county. Sir Roger North, for instance, is reputed to have had an income of £2,000 p.a., John Gurdon an income of £1,400, Sir Simonds D'Ewes of £1,300-£1,500, Sir William Playters of £3,000, and Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston, perhaps the wealthiest man in Suffolk, of £4,000. Very few of the royalists were supported by estates on this scale; perhaps only the Jermyns of Rushbrooke, whose property, scattered over three counties, was reputedly worth £1,420-£1,500 p.a.¹ Apart from the Jermyns, the Mannocks, and Sir John Pettus of Chediston, few Suffolk delinquents were of comparable social standing with the leading committeemen: only 14 of them were titled, in contrast with over 70 in Kent.

The Committee of Suffolk was in fact a kind of exclusive county club comprising most of the brains and much of the wealth of the shire. Its leaders were often closely connected with the dominant group in Parliament, or like Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston, Sir Roger North, and Sir William Playters belonged to that phalanx of senior members who looked back nostalgically to the golden age of Queen Elizabeth, and forward to an age of solid, ordered, puritan piety.² Such a club was exceptionally difficult to break up, and it is not surprising if it supplied much of the initiative behind the Eastern Association, and led its sister-counties to oppose the New Model reforms in 1645.

It is the support which the Committee of Suffolk gave to the Eastern Association which provides its chief claim to remembrance. There are various indications that Suffolk was leading partner in the Association; and if the victory of Parliament was in the last resort due to superior organization, Suffolk can claim a not negligible share in that achievement. The county gentry put at the service of the Association an administrative machine built up over the past three generations and a wealth of local precedent

¹ M. F. Keeler, *The Long Parliament*, 1954, 96, 156, 200, 236, 287, 306.

² Barnardiston and North were born in 1588, Playters in 1590, Sir Robert Crane in 1586, John Gurdon in 1595, and Sir Simonds D'Ewes in 1602. Keeler, *op. cit.*, 96, 145, 156, 199, 286, 306.

and experience which perhaps few counties could rival. The strength of the Association was not built up overnight: it owed much to the hard-work, the commonsense, and the administrative capacities of its members. Otherwise there would have been no Committee at Cambridge, no voluntary submission of the counties to its authority, and no victory at Marston Moor or Naseby. It was the absence of such an organization which rendered the South-Eastern Association negligible in comparison.¹

Such distinctive features of Suffolk and the Eastern Association constitute a difference of temperament from other counties and associations which in the last resort can no more be explained than differences of personality. Yet, given the initial tendencies of the county, there was much in the Suffolk economy to encourage the spread of parliamentary sympathy, to preclude the development of a moderate party, to produce a capable administration, and broaden the outlook of the gentry. Like that of other eastern counties, the economy of Suffolk, both rural and urban, was exceptionally advanced. Ipswich was one of the largest towns in England, and its livelihood, unlike that of Exeter or Canterbury, was entirely based on trade. Perhaps seven or eight thousand people were gathered within its fourteen ancient parishes, governed by a corporation jealous of its privileges, sufficiently independent to develop a distinct burghal hierarchy of its own, and with an outlook as insular and puritanical as any in England. Families like the Daundys had been prominent members of the Ipswich corporation for over a century; they were less inclined to sever urban connexions and found minor landed families than in ecclesiastical cities like Exeter, and more inclined to impose their political views upon the county.

There was, however, no fundamental antagonism between port and shire; for in few counties had the interpenetration of mercantile and agricultural enterprise gone so far. The covetous desire of factors and merchants, 'traversing all the countries and kingdomes of this inferiour world for gain', runs like a refrain through Reyce's *Breviary of Suffolk*. For 'such is the covetuousnesse of this world that, nott content with any moderate or large bounds of gaine it daily still desireth and labours for more.'² Enterprise was not confined to mercantile families in the towns, however; it was hardly less prevalent among the gentry themselves. All five brothers of Sir Thomas Barnardiston of Kedington were merchants: Nathaniel, Samuel, and Arthur in London, and Pelatia and William in Turkey.³ There can have been few families without close commercial connexions, and in the agricultural exploitation of their estates Suffolk landowners were as ardent as any. The county was one of the most intensively farmed in England, and its traditional specialization in dairy produce had been stimulated during the preceding century, both by the Henrician wars and by the expansion of the export market. There were probably many families, like the Rouses of Henham, who owed their wealth to the export of Suffolk cheeses in scores and hundreds to Calais,

¹ Cf. Alan Everitt, *Kent and its Gentry, 1640-60: a Political Study*, London Ph.D. thesis, 1957, chapter V.

² Reyce, 33, 40.

³ Samuel Fairclough, *The Saints' Worthinesse . . .*, 1653, Address to Lady Barnardiston, etc.

Boulogne, and Berwick for the royal armies, or to London and the Low Countries in time of peace. The gentry were neither absentees nor *fainéants*: every week Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston or his son Sir Thomas might be seen in the market-place at Haverhill or Clare. Their purchases took them to fairs all over Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, and to Bedford, Norfolk, Essex, Lincoln, and London.¹ They were among the 'many which, with a very wise and wary foresight, do much yearly improve and increase their estate . . .'²

Other counties shared a similar prosperity in this period; but the East Anglian economy had perhaps come of age a generation earlier than others. It was ready to receive the first, and puritan, phase of the reformation while other parts of England still remained 'medieval'. By the time the true anglican tradition of Jewel and Hooker had been formed, puritanism was already deeply rooted in the soil of Suffolk, not only among factors and merchants, but among the gentry. The gentility which consists in learning, valour, and justice, said Reyce, is here 'crowned with the purity of true religion and godly life, which is heere entertayned and embraced among this sort [and] is the onely and principall cause why so many worthy families have so long time remaned within so narrow a precinct.'³ 'In few other counties,' says Dr Collinson, 'did the Puritan Movement own such whole-hearted and powerful patrons.' It had 'much wider implications than the simple practice and protection of puritan religion. Puritanism infused their whole government [of the county] with something of the theocracy of Geneva . . .' When Queen Elizabeth attempted to obstruct its course by means of the judges at assizes, the gentry were 'grieved in their harts to se the judges . . . so mutch to abuse and littel to esteme the persons of most vawe' in the shire.⁴ The opposition to the crown which in many counties became centred in a small clique thus became in Suffolk the normal tradition; and by 1640 that tradition was ineradicable. Norths, Waldegraves, Parkers, Heveninghams, Barnardistons, Bacons, Gurdons, Rouses, Barkers, Playters: by the time war broke out these and other puritan families had governed the county for three generations. In 1642 they came to form the backbone of the county committee; and they continued to dominate it until the Protectorate.⁵

Of these families the wealthiest and most important were the Barnardistons. Suffolk was not a county, like Wiltshire, dominated by a single great peer, nor, like Kent, by a knot of twenty or thirty families of comparable standing. It was an oligarchy: but one in which the Barnardistons stood out as unquestioned leaders, as much by their moral stature as Puritans as by their riches or antiquity. Originating at the Suffolk village whose name they bore, they had emerged into prominence at adjacent Kedington during the sixteenth century. By 1640 they were headed by Sir Nathaniel and his son

¹ Essex Record Office, B/7 13. 38. 1502, *passim*.

² Reyce, 60.

³ *Ibid.*, 59.

⁴ P. Collinson, *The Puritan Classical Movement in the reign of Elizabeth I*, London Ph.D. thesis, 1957, II, 868, 875, 917. I owe much in the above account to Dr Collinson's illuminating account of 'Puritanism and the Gentry in Suffolk, 1575-1585.'

⁵ Reyce, 90; F-R., *passim*.

Sir Thomas, and the reverence with which father and son were regarded was altogether extraordinary. 'Consider [Sir Nathaniel] as pater familias,' said Samuel Fairclough, 'the governour and master of a family: . . . he permitted no known profane person to stand before him, or wait upon him . . . He had at one time ten or more such servants of that eminency for piety and sincerity, that I never yet saw their like at one time, in any family in the nation . . . truly they made his house a spirituall church and temple, wherein were dayly offered up the spirituall sacrifices of reading the Word, and prayer, morning and evening, of singing psalmes constantly after every meal, before any servant did rise from the table . . .' Towards his children Sir Nathaniel 'executed the office of an heavenly father to their souls . . . and many times . . . he would take them into his closet, and there pray over them, and for them. If at any time they had offended him, so singular was his moderation and wisdome toward them, that he would never reprove them, much lesse correct them in his displeasure, but still waited the most convenient time, untill which time they seldome discerned that he was angry by any other effect but his silence.'¹

But it was as a 'publick person . . . for his countrey, and the defence of the just liberties thereof', that Sir Nathaniel was most renowned. '. . . He did not refuse voluntarily to expose himself to a gulph of hazard and sufferings: wisse his suffering under the imposition of ship-money, coat and conduct-money, and the loan; for refusing whereof he was long time imprisoned in the gate-house . . . Wisse also his fidelity and integrity in the discharge of that greatest trust of all, I mean his service to his countrey as knight of the shire and member of the Parliament, unto which place he was constantly chosen on every occasion; not that he had a patent for the place, as some of his enemies . . . did cast out; but out of the experience and confidence they had of his resolution . . . whereby it came to passe that no sooner was one to be chosen . . . but presently the thoughts, eyes, and resolutions of all men were fixed upon him, and all cried for a Barnardiston, a Bardardiston. Which trust he received upon him, not out of any popular ambition to advance his own greatnesse, . . . nor . . . that he might domineer and trample upon his neighbours . . . but out of a mind and conscience devoted to the service of the Church and commonwealth therein: beyond which neither fear, favour, or flattery could draw him to act, or vote at all, absolutely refusing to be defiled with the king's portion . . .'² Though allowance must be made for the flattery of a domestic chaplain, it yet remains true that Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston stood out as one of the finest patterns of English puritanism. High-minded, able, public-spirited – and a little intimidating – in character as in family 'he was one of the top-branches amongst our Suffolk-cedars.'³

His was a kind of personality, however, that was absolutely impervious to new ideas. It seems an irony that gentle Suffolk should have encouraged the growth of a religious ideal so little softened by the graces of Christianity

¹ Fairclough, *op. cit.*, 17–18.

² *Ibid.*, 18–19.

³ *Ibid.*, 12.

or humane learning. The clergy were learned: according to Reyce there was 'never a bishop in this realme, nay in Europe' who could boast so many 'religious, grave, reverend, and learned ministers of God's holy Word' in his diocese. But among the laity there is comparatively little trace of that exuberant interest in history, heraldry, language, theology, philosophy, and political science which characterized the community of Kent.¹ Men like Barnardiston were far from ignorant; but they seem to have contented themselves with the practical spheres of life, with politics, colonization, and commerce. Their puritanism lacked any questing interest in the past; it looked beyond merely human custom to discover the pattern of that divine commonwealth which they wished to see established. Except D'Ewes and Bacon, few of the leading Suffolk gentry of 1640-60 appear as authors in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Reyce might ask 'what can bee more pleasing to the judicious understandinge than plainly to see before him the lively usage of elder times, the alteration of names clean worne outt, the revolution of families now wholly extinguished, the traces of antiquity, the memorials of our honorable ancestors . . .?'² But Samuel Fairclough did not attach great importance to 'the ancient lines of [Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston's] pedigree, or the antiquity of the family'; the 'honour of his birth' consisted in the remarkable piety of his early childhood.³

There was thus little in the history of Suffolk to modify the uncompromising attitude of the gentry, or to connect them with the traditions of moderate anglicanism. Whereas in Kent there were few gentry without near kinsmen in the Close at Canterbury or Rochester, and more than 60 gentle families who themselves stemmed from clerical stock, in Suffolk there were no cathedral clergy to establish any link with episcopacy, or to propagate a rival tradition to that of Calvin. Except Lady Elizabeth Brooke, there were few who wrote in the pietistic vein of the disciples of Hooker; and Lady Elizabeth was herself a Kentish Culpeper.

If there was much in the economy and traditions of Suffolk to promote sympathy with Parliament, there was also something in its social structure. Of the 99 leading families of the Suffolk County Committee, the origins of rather less than three-quarters are traceable with some certainty. Of these only 25, or 32 per cent, had been connected with Suffolk before the Tudor era; a further 25 had settled in the county by 1603, and 28 within the last forty years. Probably the majority of the remaining 21 should be added to the last group, since most of them were merchants. We shall probably not be far wrong in thinking that 70 per cent of the leading Suffolk gentry had arrived in the county since 1500; only three in ten were truly indigenous.⁴ In Kent, by contrast, nearly three-quarters of the gentry were indigenous

¹ Cf. Everitt, *op. cit.*, 22-4.

² Reyce, 2.

³ Fairclough, *op. cit.*, 12.

⁴ Reyce, 62-6, cites a list of 60 knights of Henry III's reign, and adds: 'such is the injurious vicissitude of this world's revolution that scarce six att this day are heere to bee found in right line discended from any of these brave martiallists'. For information regarding Suffolk family history I am deeply indebted to Mr Norman Scarfe.

to the county, and only one-eighth had settled there since 1603.¹ Although any general hypothesis must remain tentative until a comprehensive survey of the origins of gentle society is undertaken for other counties, there seems a marked connexion between the relative 'antiquity' of the gentry and the political alignment of their county. In Suffolk, where the gentry were mainly comparative newcomers, support for Parliament was widespread and organized opposition to the County Committee was negligible: in Kent, where they were exceptionally static and inbred, opposition to Parliament and the Committee was intense. The connexion must not be pushed too far: there were a number of important exceptions like the Barnardistons. But there is nothing inherently improbable in the hypothesis suggested. It was natural, where families were long rooted in the same locality, that they should support what seemed the conservative side.² They had seen less of the ways of other 'countries', and were more content with their native customs and traditions.

Both from their origins and their far-flung mercantile and colonizing activities, many Suffolk gentry were thus better acquainted with the customs of neighbouring or distant shires than the bulk of the gentry elsewhere. There is still abundant evidence of local feeling; but there was also a considerable body of Suffolk people who were capable of thinking in terms, not only of their native village and county, but of East Anglia as a whole. There were few serious geographical barriers between the seven counties of the Eastern Association. During the past century the vast expansion in agricultural traffic, utilizing East Anglian waterways and serving London and the continent, had done much to further the incipient economic unity of the region.³ Families like the Barnardistons frequently visited other counties; and their estates were notably less confined to the one shire than those of the gentry in Kent. Of 114 Suffolk landowners whose estates have been traced in the 'forties and 'fifties, at least 37 per cent possessed property elsewhere in the eastern counties, a further 9 per cent in London or Middlesex, and 17 per cent in counties farther afield. The estates of not more than one landowner in three lay wholly within the county of Suffolk.⁴ There must still have been large numbers of minor gentry who rarely went

¹ The figures are not exactly comparable, since they include delinquents as well as committeemen. But this does not account for the discrepancy, since Suffolk delinquents were so few.

² I do not mean they necessarily supported the king: when he seemed to innovate they tended to oppose him, as in 1640; when Parliament or Cromwell innovated they opposed them.

³ Cf. N. Williams, *The Maritime Trade of the East Anglian Ports, 1550-1590*, Oxford D.Phil. Thesis, 1952. I am indebted to Dr Williams for his kindness in allowing me to consult this valuable work.

⁴ This account is based on the records of the Committee for Advance of Money and the Committee for Compounding. Of those with property elsewhere in East Anglia, 16 per cent possessed estates in Norfolk and 13 per cent in Essex. The tendency to dispersal seems to be characteristic of the eastern counties: in a list of 21 Cambridge delinquents and papists, at least 12 apparently had land in other counties. In Kent at this time the estates of most gentry seem to have been confined not only to the one county but to a few adjacent parishes within it.

beyond their parish or market town. But the success with which the Earl of Manchester welded the seven counties into one whole was not entirely fortuitous: there had been a genuine community of interest between them for at least a century, and probably much longer.

II. THE COUNTY COMMITTEE AND THE EASTERN ASSOCIATION, 1642-1648

(a) *The County Committee*

In its broad outlines the County Committee of Suffolk closely resembled those established in other counties under parliamentary control.¹ The first reference to it by name occurs early in September 1642, by which time it had been operating for nearly two months.² But the striking fact in Suffolk is that a committee of the gentry had existed in all but name for upwards of fifty years before the Civil War; and it was from this body that the county committee itself developed. The deputy lieutenants and justices had been meeting at more or less regular intervals for the transaction of county business at least since the 1590s.³ There can be little doubt that committees in other counties had a similar origin; but the connexion is nowhere more distinct than in Suffolk. It is tempting to think that the idea of committee government may have suggested itself to Parliament from the example of Suffolk: though the evidence does not amount to proof, the suggestion is not improbable, since the county's members were prominent in the parliamentary opposition. The offices of 'committeeman' and 'deputy lieutenant' were in fact two aspects of one authority. Few men appointed to one position were not also appointed to the other. As committeemen they were responsible for the collection of revenue and the general government of the county; as deputy lieutenants they were responsible for military expenditure and for maintaining the 'peace of the county'.

The traditions, forms, and precedents of the Committee of Suffolk had thus been worked out many years before the business of war, by necessitating regular meetings at short intervals, metamorphosed the lieutenants' *ad hoc* meetings into a more or less regular institution. Before the war they had usually met at Stowmarket, where the county musters were held; they had also met at Bury and Ipswich for the east and west divisions of the county. After the war began, the County Committee met only at Bury, and it continued to meet there until 1648. Ipswich was the largest town, and Stowmarket was the most accessible centre for the county as a whole, which like other south-eastern shires - Essex, Hampshire, Kent, and Sussex - already possessed two sister 'capitals'. But there were several reasons why Bury should be selected, despite the claims of Ipswich and Stowmarket. It was nearer to the centre of fighting, and it was a protective bulwark to the

¹ Cf. Everitt, *Committee of Kent*, 1957.

² See, for example, CJ, II, 753; LJ, V, 245.

³ Helmingham Hall MSS., Committee Book of D.L's. and J.P's.

county. It was also open to the royalist influence of the Jermyns, which it was necessary to suppress. And it already bore many of the features of a county town: 'St Edmondsbury is a very beautiful inland town full of rich shops and tradesmen, the streets spacious and the houses well built,' many of them 'inhabited by the gentry, who resort thither from all parts of the country.'¹ So early as 1615 there were complaints that the residence of 'knights and gentlemen' in Bury, away from 'their owne howses, raised the price of victualls' in the town.²

Apart from the County Committee at Bury, there were separate committees, consisting of half-a-dozen or so members, appointed for Bury town, for Aldeburgh, and for Ipswich. Only the last was of much importance. There were also four subcommittees, as there had been before 1640, for the four county divisions of Beccles, Bury, Woodbridge, and Ipswich. Their work was concerned mainly with collecting assessments, and they were composed of the general committeemen resident in the four divisions. For the division of Bury there were occasional meetings at Botesdale and Thurlow, where Bacons and Soames lived; but there is no proof of regular meeting-places, and these subcommittees were less powerful than the similar 'lathal committees' of Kent.

There was also, in theory at least, a Sequestration Committee, charged with the administration of estates confiscated from recusants and delinquents. In practice this body was identical with the general County Committee, which does not seem to have concerned itself greatly with the details of sequestration business. It was more efficient to entrust the task to the capable hands of John Base, the Solicitor-General for Sequestrations in Suffolk.

Finally, there was the Accounts Committee, set up as in other counties in 1645. Personally, this body was distinct from the general Committee, since its function was to audit its accounts. In some counties a deep rift developed between the two bodies; but in Suffolk the Accounts Committee remained a valued and subservient assistant to the general Committee, charged with the principal task of collecting arrears.

The primary function of the general County Committee was the raising of money and troops. If Suffolk had raised the full sum assessed under all ordinances between the outbreak of war and June 1648, it would have contributed upwards of £372,500 (or an average of £62,500 p.a.) to the parliamentary cause, *plus* an unknown amount due upon the Propositions, the Fifth and Twentieth Parts, and Sequestrations. Between June 1648 and the Restoration the sum due from the county would have been at least £398,333, or an average of £33,300 p.a.³ In fact, Suffolk is probably the only county for which we can estimate with any certainty the actual sum raised. In June 1648 the Accounts Committee published accounts covering the preceding six years, and these show total receipts of £337,971, including £42,568 upon Sequestrations, £37,849 upon the Propositions, and £28,645

¹ HMC, *Reports*, XIII, ii, 265; P. Heylyn, *A help to English History*, 1709 (first published 1641), 504.

² Helmingham Hall MSS., Committee Book of D.L.'s. and J.P.'s., f. 15.

³ Calculated from ordinances and orders in F. & R., CJ, LJ.

upon the Fifth and Twentieth Parts.¹ There was also a certain amount of revenue contributed in kind, including 20 ounces of plate, 120 quarters of malt, 211 cheeses, 51 firkins of butter, 17 bacon flitches, 3 packs of clothes, and 'some shoes, stockings, and other like necessaries' upon the 'second contribution to Ireland'.²

For Suffolk we are also fortunate in possessing several hundred orders illustrating the expenditure of the money thus raised, and the day-to-day administration of the Committee.³ Apart from the payment of troops, the raising of horses probably occupied more attention than any other single task. Horses were begged, borrowed, or requisitioned all over the countryside, and purchased in scores and hundreds at fairs and markets in Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdon, Lincoln, and Northampton. Both horses and troops were billeted in many East Anglian inns, particularly in Cambridge and Ipswich, and at the Christopher, the Wild Man, the Wrestlers, the Crosse Keyes, and 'Goodwife Glover's' in Bury St Edmunds. The carriers of Bury and the watermen on the Ouse and Cam were employed in transporting these troops and horses, and carts and wains were commandeered from Suffolk country folk to convey arms to Cambridge.⁴ Ammunition and accoutrements were purchased principally in London, but also on occasion from ironmongers who came from the Black Country, 'travelling in the associated counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and the like', and carrying 'such wares as are useful for the Parliament forces, as bits, stirrups, spurs, and other necessaries . . .'.⁵ The care of the sick and wounded was a matter of much concern to the Committee. Injured troops were often unwelcome in their native villages, where they became a burden on the poor rates. There were frequent pleas to Parliament for a definite provision for them. The surgeons of Bury and Ipswich were hard-worked in curing the 'lame and maymed.' There were piteous petitions from orphans, and from widows and 'fatherlesse infants'; the pay of their deceased relatives was invariably in arrear. There were also several payments to distressed ladies from Ireland; and on one occasion the treasurer was ordered to pay £3 to Mr Bevill, 'being a gentleman and much wounded in the Parliament service, and Norffolk having shewed their charitie [to him] already . . .'.⁶

The expenses of this administration are not easy to estimate; the few surviving account books for Suffolk are lacking in detail. In general the high collector was paid 1d. in every pound received, and the parish collectors shared a further penny between them. The published accounts of the Committee include a total of £677 spent over a period of six years in collecting and convoying money to London, and in payment of salaries to the treasurer, collectors, receivers, clerks, and messengers. In all probability

¹ Totals calculated from accounts in E. 448. 13. The above figures probably underestimate the sums received, since certain accounts (e.g. for Sequestrations) cover a rather shorter period than 1642-48.

² E. 448. 13, 4.

³ A selection of these is printed below, Nos. 62-79.

⁴ SP 28/243, orders of the Committee.

⁵ HMC, *Earl of Denbigh's MSS.*, 79.

⁶ SP 28/243, orders of the Committee.

there are a number of like payments concealed under other headings in the accounts. Even so it is clear that the administration was more efficient than in Kent, where over £500 was spent on salaries alone in a period of seventeen months.¹ The comparative expenses of the committeemen in the two counties are also remarkable. In Kent the committee had spent £3,091 on their 'seraglio' at Knole between January 1644 and June 1645. In Suffolk, Peter Fisher, the 'register' of the Accounts Committee, was 'bold to affirm that I can find but £865 19s. 0d. paid to you [the committeemen] for your attendance six yeares as Committees upon the service of the County: and that not out of any moneys rayseed by tax upon the County, but paid out of the sequestred estates of delinquents.'² The housekeeping of the committeemen was thus modest to a degree: the cook was allowed only 1s. 6d. for providing 'diet' for each gentleman, 8d. for each of their servants, and 18d. for the ministers who occasionally 'sett att the Committee table . . .' Only at 'the tryall of the witches' in 1645 or at 'the entertainment of the Right Honourable the Earle of Warwicke' did the committee become more free-handed. On the latter occasion they expended 'the somme of five pounds, four shillings, six pence' – of course out of Sequestrations.³

The membership of the committee has already been alluded to.⁴ As in other counties, there was a considerable number of 'floating members', appointed for a year or two, or for only a few months. Altogether, between February 1643 and January 1660, a total of 219 men sat on the committee at some time or another, although at any one time there were rarely more than 55 committeemen before 1649, or 80 thereafter. It would be rash to assume that this brevity of tenure among the majority was in many cases due to political causes: committeemen were overworked and unpaid, and the office was not always coveted among the farming gentry who comprised the bulk of these 'floating members'. But the striking feature in Suffolk is that from the outset the leading county families formed the dominant group within the committee, and that many of them continued to sit without intermission until the Protectorate. The *volte-face* in the allegiance of such families between 1648 and 1650 in other counties is not entirely absent in Suffolk; but it is far less marked than elsewhere.

There were a number of reasons why this should be so. Generally speaking, so far as we can judge, the puritanism of Suffolk was rather of the 'presbyterian' than the Independent cast. There were many noteworthy Independent families in the county, like the Brewsters of Wrentham; but the presbyterian classical system instituted in Suffolk was supported by almost all the leading committee families – Parkers, Bacons, Brookes, Rouses, Norths, Springs, Gurdons, and Barnardistons among them.⁵ That being so, one would have expected a clear breach of allegiance between

¹ Everitt, *Committee of Kent*, 38.

² E. 448. 13, 1.

³ SP 28/243, orders of the Committee.

⁴ See pp. 15–16.

⁵ Cf. *The County of Suffolke divided into fourteene Precincts for Classicall Presbyteries . . . 1647*, where these families are shown to be members of the presbyteries of East Bergholt, Ipswich, Halesworth, Beccles, Coddendam, Bury, Lavenham, and Clare. But it is doubtful

1648 and 1650. But county politics rarely moved in exact alignment with those of Westminster; they were influenced by local factors not reflected in Parliament, and they were principally concerned with the paramount necessity of preserving the fabric of local society. Even in politically minded Suffolk the breath of abstract principle rarely disturbed the still air of the Committee Room. The loyalty of English counties tended to be determined as much by characteristics inherent in their own administrative and social structure as by political developments in London.

This assertion is borne out by a comparison between the Committee of Suffolk and that of Kent. In 1642 the two counties had been faced with much the same administrative problem. They were similar in area and population; in some respects they were not dissimilar in social structure; they had a comparable number of gentry, perhaps 700 or 800 each; and both were economically advanced. How were two large counties to be efficiently governed on behalf of Parliament? Bury was nearly 60 miles from the extremity of Suffolk, and Knole over 70 miles from that of Kent. It was a thankless task for part-time officials with farms or shops to attend to, to travel such distances by foot or on horseback; it was impossible for many of the committeemen to attend regularly at Bury or Knole. It was largely because the two counties adopted a different solution to this problem in 1642 that they followed so different a course thereafter.

In Kent there had for centuries been a tradition of self-government in the lathes, and this was taken over and extended in the Lathal Committees set up during the war. These subcommittees occupied more and more of the attention of magnates in remote parts of the county, like Sir Edward Scott and Sir James Oxinden, while the County Committee became the preserve of a small clique under the chairmanship of Sir Anthony Weldon. A cleavage thus developed between lathes and shire which ultimately led to the overthrow of committee rule in 1648. In Suffolk this antagonism did not develop. There was not so strong a tradition of regional government in the county divisions as in Kent. The committeemen adopted instead the simple expedient of dividing themselves into small groups sitting week and week about in rotation, while the six chairmen attended at Bury for one month only at a time, taking the chair in succession. Thus while the government of Kent developed into a dictatorship, and an intensely unpopular one, that of Suffolk remained, as before the war, an oligarchy of county

how far the evidence can be pressed: the Brewsters and some other known Independents were also members. Perhaps many Suffolk families shared the same religious platform as the Barnardistons. Both Sir Nathaniel and Sir Thomas were Presbyterians, but, like Cromwell, they were not wedded to forms of ecclesiastical government. Like many other Englishmen, perhaps more than is realized, they were principally interested in the development of a particular kind of Christian piety. '... I acknowledge mysef a presbyterion,' Sir Nathaniel wrote to John Winthrop, 'yet such a one as can and doe hartely love an humble and pious Independant ...' He was a Presbyterian 'only in this regard, in that I conceive it consisteth best with the constitution of our government, and in that regard if I weare with you I should ioyn with you, for truly I cannot yet see any certayne and generall set forme of dysipline set downe in the word of God universally; if ther be the Lord discover yt to us in his good time.' - Massachusetts Historical Society, *Winthrop Papers*, V, 1645-1649, 1947, 145.

families under the unofficial suzerainty of the Barnardistons. Few men anxious to serve the committee were excluded from county government, and everyone was satisfied.

Within this peculiar form of local government in Suffolk the position held by Sir Nathaniel and Sir Thomas Barnardiston was unique.¹ Neither son nor father played a really active part in the daily proceedings of the Committee. Neither of them ever seems to have taken the chair. Indeed the details of committee business were principally left in the hands of comparatively minor gentry. Of the members present at 85 meetings of the Committee between September 1643 and October 1645, Edmund Harvey attended 38 times, Thomas Chaplin 34 times, Nathaniel Bacon 25 times, Thomas Cole 20 times, and Henry North, Richard Pepys, Thomas Gippes, and Gibson Lucas 18 times. Of the greater gentry only Sir William Spring attended more than 18 meetings. Yet the control of the Barnardistons in all matters of county government was never relaxed. It is not without significance that letters from Parliament and the Committee of Both Kingdoms were generally addressed to 'Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston and the rest of the Committees of Suffolk.' The designation symptomizes the relative ease with which Parliament retained control of a county like Suffolk, where a single family was paramount, in comparison with Kent, where county leadership was divided between twenty or thirty.

There was thus much in the administration of the county of Suffolk to preclude the development of that antagonism between county and committee which became so fierce elsewhere. It would be erroneous to suggest that the committee provoked no opposition. Families like the Scriveners of Sibton Abbey were plundered and persecuted on very scant grounds, and they flouted committee authority accordingly.² The estates of recusants were squeezed and wrung until the sequestration commissioners themselves could not 'see how any considerable increase of rent could be obtained . . .'³ The Beaumont letters show that John Base, the Solicitor, often meted out the same 'hard measure' as sequestrators elsewhere. When Edward Wenyewe 'tooke the best oportunitie to deale with him in his chamber alone, by his owne apoyntment . . . and claime his promise of all furtherance [of the Beaumonts' case], he violently flewe of, and denied that ever he promised me the least in that businesse . . .'⁴ There were doubtless many men like John Howe of Sudbury, who, when pressed for his Fifth and Twentieth Part, refused either to pay it or to divulge his name, 'sayeing it was Croaker . . . all which time hee caused [the high collector's] men to bee beaten . . .'⁵

Yet in comparison with other counties, relations in Suffolk between shire

¹ The Bacons might have claimed equality with the Barnardistons; but there are a number of indications that the chief members of the family concerned themselves at this time principally with affairs in London and with legal business, rather than county government.

² MSS. of E. Levett-Scrivener, Esq., at Sibton Abbey.

³ CCC, 316.

⁴ ESRO, 50/1/189, letter of 9 March 1645-6.

⁵ SP 28/334, John Thrower's Account Book for the Franchise of Bury and Guildable of Ipswich.

and committee were relatively harmonious. Not that the county was, as Kingston suggests, through and through parliamentary. But, under the eye of the Barnardistons, the Committee was on the whole more efficient and more conscious of its responsibility to the county than many elsewhere. It never attained the arrogant ascendancy of some county committees, because it delegated a large part of its power to the Committee of the Eastern Association. It was less unscrupulous than the Committee of Kent in wielding the weapon of sequestration, because in a county more sharply divided it had less opportunity of doing so. It had inherited a fine tradition of conscientious administration, and the committeemen evidently held themselves bound by methods and precedents established before the war. They carefully compiled a volume containing the 'constitutional documents' governing their authority and procedure.¹ Like their predecessors they took considerable care of their records: they paid their carpenter John Hart 12s for 'makeing of a waynescott box to keepe the evidences and writings of this Comittee . . .'² Their accounts were audited and published in 1648 with the express intention 'that this County may receive satisfaction that the moneys rayseed upon them hath been employed for their own defence and use of the publick, not to any private interest, as rumored . . .'³ By the simple device of the rotational chairmanship they prevented the development of internal dissension; and they indulged in no ostentatious display to excite the envy of their enemies.

(b) *The Eastern Association*

A comprehensive history of the Eastern Association would require a volume to itself; only the barest summary of it can be given here. But it was primarily in terms of the Association that East Anglians thought, only secondarily in terms of the counties or the country at large. It was principally with the Committee at Cambridge, not the separate county committees, that the government corresponded. Whenever the expression 'the Association' or 'the Associated Counties' was employed – by Parliament or Army, at Oxford or in London – it was always the Eastern Association that was referred to. The charmed expression lingered on into the 'fifties,⁴ and it was revived, whenever danger threatened, years after the institution itself had disappeared.

We have already seen something of the underlying social and economic factors which encouraged the formation of the Association. Yet the idea of a union of counties did not originate in East Anglia. Initially it met with many obstructions from its members, and the association never amounted to an amalgamation. The counties still retained many of their powers and were always jealous of their independence. According to Rushworth the

¹ Cf. Section I.

² SP 28/243, order of the Committee. The Committee Books of the D.L's. and J.P's. before 1640 are preserved in the muniments at Helmingham Hall and in the British Museum.

³ E. 448. 13, 1.

⁴ CSPD, 1656-7, 44, 50.

plan was devised in November 1642 in answer to the association of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, and Durham, under the Earl of Newcastle.¹ During the following weeks, declarations or ordinances associating the five eastern counties, eight Midland Counties, and four south-eastern counties were promulgated. In fact only the first had any vital existence at this date. Its strength and popularity were shown by the fact that other shires were eager to join it. Hertfordshire was initially proposed as a member of the Midland Association, but was eventually linked with the eastern shires in December 1642.² Buckinghamshire wrote to the Association vainly pleading to be admitted 'into your Society' in February 1643.³ Huntingdon was added in the summer of the same year, and Lincolnshire in the following autumn.

The constitutional basis of the Association was of great importance. It was twofold. It did not consist solely in the Eastern Association Ordinance passed by Parliament, but also in the Resolution or Declaration of the Counties, in which they 'freely and most willingly for ourselves doe associate . . . and doe promise to doe our utmost indeavors . . . to further the effectuall associacion for the peace of the said Countyes.'⁴ Without this Declaration the Ordinance of Parliament – 'whereunto we do most willingly give our assents' – would not have sufficed to establish the Association. The eastern counties never retreated from this constitutional position, and they never ceased to regard the Association as existing solely 'for the peace of the said Countyes.' Each of them still paid its own troops and appointed its own officers. Initially each had its own treasurer at Cambridge, and all continued to levy their own assessments throughout the War. They regarded the Committee at Trinity College, set up by their own delegation of power, as their servant, not their master; and their forces were not to be 'carried out of the said several and respective Counties wherein they are or shall be raised' without their consent.⁵ The original motive behind the Eastern Association was entirely provincial and defensive.

In consequence of this provincialism the Association ran into many difficulties during the course of its first year. The attendance of commissioners at Cambridge was anything but enthusiastic. The counties were 'far more willing to pay [assessments] to the country's [*sc.* county's] use than to be carried away by a stranger' to Cambridge.⁶ The pay of their troops was always in arrear. In May 1643 the men were said to be 'so mutinous that unless they can have after the rate of 12d. a day they will stay no longer.'⁷ In October Colonel Cromwell 'wept when he came to Boston and found no monyes for him from Essex and other Countyes . . .'⁸

¹ John Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, 1721, V, 66; *cf.* CJ, II, 865.

² *Ibid.*, 895, 897.

³ No. 13.

⁴ No. 12; *cf.* E. 88. 15.

⁵ LJ, VI, 615.

⁶ HMC, *Reports*, VII, 551.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 550.

⁸ Egerton MS. 2647, f. 296.

The Committee's 'pressing necessities' were then such that 'unles some speedyer course bee thought uppon to furnishe the Treasurie here accordinge to the rule of proporcion sett uppon each County within the Association,¹ wee must not only discontynue this comission [of the Committee at Cambridge] but that army must totally disband, many of them beinge at that point already . . .'² The Committee itself was 'in danger of dissolution through the non-appearance of Commissioners', and its 'very subsistence . . . questioned' by the recent Act of Parliament adding Lincolnshire to the Association.³ The same disgruntled group of men had been sitting at Cambridge since the spring, and in October, after repeated pleas by their chairman Sir William Rowe for relief, they refused to sit any longer. The town was 'full of malignants', and its defence against the approaching enemy seemed impossible. Sir William Rowe returned to his manor-house at Stansted Mountfitchet and wrote to Sir Thomas Barrington: 'what will now become off that or any thinge els at Cambridge I am afraide to coniecture, sinc you have beene deafe to so many letters off advertisement for so much as conduceth to the preservation off it from you, by forbearing so long to send men, money, or commissioners. I was never such a trifler as to write or speake to wast; the issue will to soone shew you that I informed you truely . . .'⁴

But these difficulties were in reality the growing pains of a youthful institution. They were the result of an insufficiently firm grasp on the part of its commander Lord Grey of Warke. Within a few weeks of the appointment of Manchester as his successor in the late summer of 1643 matters began to mend. There had always been a powerful 'Committee of the Eastern Association' in London, composed mainly of East Anglian peers and Commons and charged with the general direction of its policy.⁵ The weakness of the Association lay in the laxity of administration at Cambridge: it was this which Manchester set out to revolutionize.

The earl's reputation has suffered severely through comparison with that of Cromwell. He was neither an able politician nor an inspiring general. But it is questionable whether the victories of the New Model could have been achieved without the administrative system built up by Manchester in the Eastern Association during the eighteen months he was commander-in-chief. Counties like Suffolk willingly put at his disposal the administrative

¹ Cf. No. 38.

² Egerton MS. 2647, f. 231.

³ HMC, *Reports*, XIII, i, 135, 136.

⁴ Egerton MS. 2647, f. 359.

⁵ Very little is known of this body at this period, when it seems to have been meeting in the Exchequer Chamber. By 1645-8 (when it was meeting in the Duchy Chamber) its most active members were Miles Corbett, the chairman, who attended 32 out of the 34 recorded meetings, William Heveningham (16 meetings), Thomas Toll (13 meetings), Sir William Masham and Thomas Lister (11 meetings each). It is significant that these leaders were members of the extreme party in Parliament, and there is a probability that the London Committee supported Cromwell in 1644-5 just as the Cambridge Committee supported Manchester: the former on the side of 'Independency' and centralization, the latter on that of 'Presbyterianism' and devolution. But the evidence is not conclusive. - SP 28/251, orders of the Committee in London.

experience which they had withheld from Sir William Rowe. After the autumn of 1643 the Committee at Cambridge began to command instead of plead. It ceased to be the servant and became the master. Its meetings were consistently attended by the earl when at Cambridge. Its orders were generally issued in his name. Two treasurers were appointed by 'the Right honourable the Earle of Manchester, Maior Generall of the associated Countyes . . .'¹ The committeemen were granted an allowance of 35s. a week towards their expenses. The military purchasing hitherto kept in the hands of the counties was now largely taken over by the Committee at Cambridge. The many references in John Weaver's Account Book to payments large and small made 'by my Lord's order' bear witness to Manchester's detailed control of its proceedings.²

The earl's control over the county committees themselves was equally vigilant. In October 1643 he was empowered to appoint such commissioners 'as his lordship shall hold fitting' to assess and levy the 'money to be raised within the said severall countyes', who were 'to have the same power . . . as the Committees . . .'³ In February 1644 he issued 'Instructions' to the Committee of Suffolk 'to the intent the Committe . . . may for the time to come regulate there proceedings in such manner as may . . . be answerable to my expectacion . . .'⁴ In the following month he issued further 'Instructions', and appointed committees in each county to execute the ordinance for 'removing scandalous ministers', adding: 'For my part I am resolved to employe the utmost of that power given unto me by the ordinance for the procuringe a gennerall reformation in all the Associated Countyes . . . expectinge your forwardnes and hertie joyninge with me herein . . .'⁵ The ministers ejected in the Eastern Association were in consequence more numerous than in any other area: there were 152 of them in Suffolk, 152 in Essex, 132 in Norfolk, 80 in Lincolnshire.⁶

It is not difficult to imagine the reaction Sir William Waller would have provoked if he had issued such commands to the Committee of Kent. But Manchester succeeded in a task in which both Waller and Cromwell failed – that of winning the full confidence of the Association he commanded. He always regarded himself as 'employed in [their] service', and told them that he held it 'a respect due unto you to give you an account of my proceedings . . .'⁷ As he informed the Committee of Both Kingdoms in 1644, 'your Lordships very well know the obligacion I have to those countyes who have, as farre as in them lay put this trust upon mee';⁸ 'it is expected from

¹ SP 28/139.

² For Weaver's Account Book, see No. 89.

³ F. & R., I, 309.

⁴ No. 52.

⁵ No. 47; F. & R., I, 371.

⁶ A. G. Matthews, *Walker Revised*, 1948, xiv. But Matthews' sources vary considerably in completeness from one county to another.

⁷ Egerton MS. 2647, f. 319.

⁸ Camden Society, N.S., XII, 1875, *The Quarrel between the Earl of Manchester and Oliver Cromwell*, ed. D. Masson, 33.

mee that I should serve those Countyes to their protection who did both raise these forces and doe still pay them to this intent.¹ The counties themselves regarded his commands as 'a large measure of your Lordshipp's confidence of us, which, though some have laboured to begett to diffidence and distrust, but prevented by a more noble speritt which dwell in your Lordshipp of wisdome and constancie, have the more confirmed us in our not new taken up resolutions to serve yow, and more and more inflames them to confirm your Lordshipp's commaunds . . .'²

Manchester thus won the counties' reverence because he commanded it. He was a great territorial magnate whose power they could not fail to recognize. He held to what were perhaps already antique notions of 'hospitality'. He put his household and his 'retainers' at the service of the Association, from his domestic chaplains down to 'my Lord's watermen' on the River Ouse. It may be that his patriarchal outlook was one which has little appeal for our own day, and with which in the exigencies of the time Cromwell was naturally impatient. But when Cromwell himself was faced with the problem of governing the country ten years later, he found that the crusty prejudices of those who thought like Manchester were not altogether mistaken. It was principally the patriarchal attitude of the Barnardistons, together with their personal loyalty to the Protector, that prevented the unrest of the county in the 'fifties from developing into organized opposition to his régime. Elsewhere Cromwell was then forced to rely upon minor gentry, and in seventeenth-century conditions they were unable to provide a settled polity. The sword by which their rule was upheld could transform society, but it could not sustain it.

It was in such conditions as these, barely eighteen months after Manchester's appointment, that his quarrel with Cromwell and the crisis concerning the New Model arose. Contrary to the impression given by Kingston, Cromwell had not been the principal figure in the Eastern Association. It had needed other qualities than his brilliant insight and military determination to weld reluctant counties into a united body, and form an efficient institution to control them. In that task Cromwell himself played only a minor part: he was too busy campaigning to devote much thought to the thankless labours of local administration. But disturbing rumours of Cromwell's methods and ideals were rife; and his occasional electric letters to the Committee at Cambridge were not reassuring. He had been heard to say that he would depopulate the Isle of Ely of its 'wretches and ungodly men' and 'place in it godly and precious peopell, and he would make it a place for God to dwell in . . .' 'Wretches and ungodly men' were unhappily numerous in that anglican stronghold, and 'whole famalyes' of Independents had been brought 'into that Ile from London and other places' to supplant them. Captains had been appointed from 'such as have filld dung carts,' and Cromwell was said to have commanded the Committee of the Isle 'that they should not release any prisoner committed by his

¹ SP 21/17, Letter Book of the Committee of Both Kingdoms, f. 139.

² No. 85. The letter is from the Committee of Norfolk, but it is also typical of the attitude of other counties.

officers, so that the hole Ile is soe awde that they dare not seeke for their libertyes.¹

It is easy to ridicule Manchester and his supporters and accuse them of snobbery in objecting to the advancement of 'such as have filld dung carts'. The accusation is facile, because the particular objection was merely symptomatic of a deeper concern. Cromwell's ruthless methods and meteoric career had opened up vistas of distracted worlds wherein the whole fabric of civilization, as the leaders of the Eastern Association understood it, seemed to crumble. On the wings of overmastering faith, Cromwell eagerly rode the whirlwind. But if he himself was unable to perceive where faith would lead him, there is surely little to surprise us if ordinary human beings were more timid. The New Jerusalem reputedly established in the Isle of Ely did not bear much resemblance to that which families like the Barnardistons had envisaged in 1640. Not till they realized, years later, that Cromwell too was at bottom anxious to preserve the old order of society, did they come to support him with any enthusiasm, or trust his intentions. In the autumn of 1644, despite the victory at Marston Moor, there seemed little security beyond the bounds of the Eastern Association. It was not unnatural that the seven counties should support Manchester, whom they were sure of, and oppose Oliver Cromwell.²

In January 1645, therefore, a great conference met at Bury St Edmunds with the intention of opposing the formation of the New Model.³ Representatives were summoned from each of the seven counties, and the chair was taken by a member of the Committee of Suffolk. With the exception of certain objections tentatively offered by Hertfordshire, the solidarity of the Eastern Association on this occasion was complete. It came down firmly on the side of those who advocated a purely defensive war. It was held that the New Model would impair 'the mutuall succour of the Counties' and abrogate 'the ends and purposes of the Association'. The counties reasserted their claim to control their own forces and pay their own men: and, since well over half the monthly sum required to support the New Model was assessed upon them,⁴ their claim was perhaps not altogether unreasonable.

The issues raised at the Bury Conference, however, ran deeper than control of forces or convictions as to how the war should be conducted. A question of sovereignty was also involved. During the past century-and-a-half the power of the 'county community', as a unit of English local society,

¹ Camden Society, N.S., XII, *The Quarrel between the Earl of Manchester and Oliver Cromwell*, ed. D. Masson, 1875, 73, 74.

² Cf. Nos. 86, 87. It is interesting that in these circumstances Cromwell is said by Sir Samuel Luke, on 21 November 1644, to be making 'all the means he can to reconcile himself to the Earl of Manchester, and his faction intend this winter to have their wills of Crawford. I believe his chiefest aim in the reconciliation is to that purpose also, though his wisdom may conceal it. He has sent Mr Dell home and said if the Synod would not think he jeered them, he would send to them for a minister, and any should be acceptable so he was learned and pious . . .' I am much indebted to Mr H. G. Tibbutt for this reference from Stowe MS 190, and for other information from his forthcoming *Calendar of the Letter Books of Sir Samuel Luke* (Beds. Historical Record Society).

³ No. 88.

⁴ Nearly £30,000 out of rather less than £54,000.

had been gradually gaining ground at the expense of other local groups and of the state. The gentry, who headed that society, were never more powerful than during the Civil War, and nowhere more conscious of their power than in the counties controlled by Parliament. The Conference at Bury opened with the reading of the 'Resolution of the Counties' by which the Association had been set up, as well as the 'Declaration of the Parliament'. The chairman 'craved leave to observe . . . that there must be a body of an armye by joyning together of the Counties', and that 'this body must serve for the mutuall defence of the said Counties.' The 'safety of the kingdome . . . was not our worke,' it was said. The 'way of the Parliament' was to be studiously observed, but reference to its authority was avoided. It is difficult not to detect in the Association's demands, 'debates', and 'conclusions' a veiled claim to some share in sovereignty along with that of Lords and Commons.

It is doubtful if the claims of the 'county community' ever reached a higher point. Their danger lay precisely in the fact that they were made by the friends, not the enemies, of Parliament. In the last resort there could be no question as to the outcome of the challenge. The Association would not have actively opposed Parliament as the county of Kent did in 1648. As Cromwell foresaw, if its demands had been granted, local warfare might have become endemic, and the issues of 1640-42 would have remained unsettled. But the fact that the claims were made at all is of profound significance. During the 1640's English society everywhere came to a distinct turning-point. In the event of dispute, was the House of Commons or the local society it purported to represent ultimately supreme? Men like Sir Roger Twysden in Kent felt no doubt that, in law, members of Parliament had 'absolute dependance' upon their constituents. There were evidently some in East Anglia who shared similar convictions. But the course of historical logic was too strong for them. The passing of the New Model Ordinance shortly after the Bury Conference gave a decisive answer in favour of the Commons.

III. THE NEW MODEL AND AFTER

With the formation of the New Model Army, offensive warfare became a reality. Manchester was replaced by Fairfax and Cromwell, and the Association was compelled to get on with its new commanders as best it could. The following months, however, were not without their difficulties in the eastern counties. There were complaints that the treasurers of 'the Earl of Manchester's Association' kept back the soldiers' pay; at the end of March the matter was referred to 'the Committee where Mr Scawen has the chair, to call the several Counties of that Association to account, where the obstruction is, that those arrears come not in . . .'¹ In April and May there were 'distractions in Suffolk' among some of the 'old soldiers' from Manchester's army. In June the Committee of Both Kingdoms reported to the Commons

¹ CJ, IV. 85.

how difficult it would be to get the counties of the Association to join with Sir Thomas Fairfax, 'unless care be taken for providing money for them . . .'¹ For some time the Earl of Manchester, not Cromwell, continued to be thought of as head of the Association, and the county of Norfolk gratefully wrote to him 'to returne that tribute of acknowledgments and thanks which wee confesse your honour may not onely expect but is iustly due to your Lordshipp for your greate care and respect unto this Associacion . . .'² In ecclesiastical matters the Earl continued to dominate the Association until it virtually came to an end in 1647.³

But with the victory of Naseby dangers began to recede, doubts were dispelled, and the position of Cromwell was confirmed. His own outlook and that of the Eastern Association became for the time identified, if never identical. As well as commanding the forces of the Association, Cromwell now assumed the leadership of the Committee at Cambridge, which henceforth became more vigorously controlled by the Committee in London.⁴ The two bodies continued to meet almost daily until 1646.

With the end of the war the eastern counties realized for a brief period their full triumph. It would be but a slight rhetorical exaggeration to say that London and the Eastern Association had conquered England: and there were many in Suffolk and other counties who now saw in their triumph the justification for imposing their will on the rest of the country. There were repeated pleas that the Association should now receive favoured treatment in assessments, and that counties which had supported the king should be penalized. There were also demands that the religious settlement already partially established in Suffolk should be extended to England as a whole. And in June 1647 a petition was presented to Fairfax from Hertfordshire demanding the complete disfranchisement of Devon, Cornwall, Wales, and other counties 'wholly disaffected to the proceeds of Parliament . . . until such time as it shall appear that their former enmity and rancor against the Parliament be laid aside'.⁵

In these conditions it was not to be wondered at if cavaliers returning from Oxford found little foothold in counties like Suffolk: their estates remained under sequestration, and they were sometimes compelled to travel overseas in the guise of merchants. Despite extravagant rumours in the summer of 1648 that 'the beacons should have been fyred soe that ten thowsand men might have risen up in armes', the rebellions in East Anglia in 1648 were suppressed with comparatively little difficulty.⁶ There was probably widespread sentiment in their favour; but it had been successfully divested of potential leadership by the Sequestration Committees. In Suffolk, at least,

¹ CSPD, 1644-5, 387, 496, 570.

² PRO 30/15/3, No. 569.

³ Suffolk was divided into classical presbyteries under Manchester's authority in 1645-7. - *The County of Suffolke divided into foureene Precincts for Classicall Presbyteries . . .*, 1647.

⁴ There is a probability that the crisis between Manchester and Cromwell had been paralleled by a crisis between the Cambridge and London Committees. - *Cf.* note 5, p. 30.

⁵ E. 393. 7.

⁶ *Cf.* Nos. 91, 95.

royalism remained a largely underground movement of which, in the absence of family papers, we know almost nothing until the Restoration.

But the mood of victory did not last. It was rapidly succeeded by one of disillusionment. With the death of Charles I, the flight of the cavaliers, and exile of the Court, the emphasis shifted from domestic matters to events at sea. With the naval warfare and mercantile troubles of the 'fifties, Suffolk, and particularly Ipswich, were closely connected. There was much piracy, by both cavaliers and foreigners. Impressment during the wars with Holland and Spain became a dreaded burden; it was evaded by every kind of ingenious expedient.¹ That only two men on one occasion, and none on another, could be pressed into service in one of the largest and most puritan towns in England bears witness to the changing temper of the county. The days of ardent volunteering were over. The vision of the New Jerusalem was fading. The whole Suffolk coast was in a state of weariness and unrest.

Through all these changes of outlook and fortune the county continued to be guided by the same group of families as in 1640. Several members of the committee had now seceded; others had died. As its membership expanded in the 'fifties there was the same influx of minor gentry as in other counties. But the Suffolk Committee was never swamped by its newcomers as were others. Bacons, Bedingfields, Brewsters, Gurdons, Heveninghams, Hobarts, Norths, and Soames: these and other county families continued to dominate it until the Protectorate and the Restoration.

They were themselves still headed by the Barnardistons of Kedington. Sir Thomas had succeeded to the position formerly held by his father, who died in 1653, lamented in a volume of elegies entitled *Suffolk's Tears*. Neither son nor father was the kind of man capable of giving a lead to the country at large. Their puritanism was too rigid either to accept new ideas or to sympathize with old ones: the ways of other regions, south or north or west, were strange to them. But if after years of change and decay there was still truth in the idyllicized portrait of the community of Suffolk depicted by Robert Reyce in 1618, it owed much to the influence of the Barnardistons. It was characteristic of the gentry of Suffolk, said Reyce, to 'meett often, conversing most familiarly together, which so winneth the good will one of another with all reverent regard of the meaner sort, true love and unfeyned affection of their neighbours, that if differences doe arise, which are very seldome, such is the great discretion ever tempered with love and kindnes among them, that these devisions are soon smothered and appeased . . . Such is the religious unitie wherewith in all good actions they doe concurre, that whatsoever offendeth one displeaseth all, and whosoever sattisfieth one contenteth all'.²

¹ Cf. Nos. 121-128.

² Reyce, 60.

I. The Committee of Suffolk

THE SUFFOLK COMMITTEE BOOK, 1641-1645¹

[The 'Suffolk Committee Book' bears little resemblance to the volumes which have been printed for Dorset and Stafford² and which exist in manuscript for a few other counties. It reveals little of the daily proceedings of the County Committee or of what life in Suffolk was like under its regimen. Superficially it is thus less interesting than other 'Committee Books'; but in one sense it is more significant. It appears, in fact, to be unique, since it is principally a collection of the constitutional documents of a committee: of the basic records which formed its foundation, which marked out its position and policy, and which governed its relation with other institutions in East Anglia or London. We have, for instance, numerous parliamentary ordinances; Lord Grey's commission to the deputy lieutenants of the five counties setting up the Eastern Association (No. 35); two important orders governing the sitting of the County Committee (Nos. 41, 55); and an interesting letter from Buckinghamshire to the Association, desiring 'that you would admitt our distressed Countye into your Society . . .' (No. 13). It is thus no accident that the bulk of the papers in the volume bear on the Committee of the Eastern Association, which began as the offspring of the county committees but, under the authority of Manchester, rapidly became their master. Nor, probably, is it accidental that such a volume should survive for Suffolk, since under the dominion of Bacons and Barnardistons there were perhaps few counties where local precedent and responsibility were more scrupulously observed by the committee³ or where political and constitutional issues were more widely realized among the gentry. (It was also in Suffolk, at the Bury Conference in 1645, that the constitutional claims of the 'county community' reached one of their highest positions: cf. No. 88).

The volume has sometimes been referred to as 'the Bury Committee Book', and in common parlance the Committee was often described as 'the Committee at Bury St Edmunds' (cf. No. 60). It was in fact, however, the County Committee that was referred to, not a committee for Bury or for West Suffolk. Initially a separate body had been nominated for the town,

¹ ESRO, T.264. The volume is entitled on the spine *Ordinances of Parliament, Commissions, etc, 1641-1645, Suffolck* and at the foot 'MS'. In the following text, items readily accessible in print are given a calendar entry only.

² C. H. Mayo (ed.), *The Minute Books of the Dorset Standing Committee, 1646-1650*, 1902, and D. H. Pennington & I. A. Roots (eds.), *The Committee at Stafford, 1643-45*, 1957.

³ Cf. Nos. 31, 32. It is significant that the Suffolk Committee was apparently the only one to publish its accounts. It did so specifically to satisfy the county. - E. 448. 13.

but it is doubtful how far it formed a distinct entity like those of Norwich and Canterbury. The whole committee structure, indeed, was weaker in Suffolk than in Kent or Dorset or Staffordshire: the authority of the Eastern Association overshadowed it.

The manuscript was formerly in the possession of the family of Brewster, and was possibly compiled by Robert Brewster of Wrentham Hall, who was a prominent committeeman (1642-60).¹ When the Hall was pulled down about 1801, the volume was picked up by the Rev. William Barlee, the rector, who presented it to his brother-in-law D. E. Davy, the well-known Suffolk antiquary (died 1851). From Davy it came into the hands of D. C. Meadows of Great Bealings, a connexion of the Brewsters. In 1951 it was purchased by Mr Leslie Dow of Newbourne from J. L. Borelli of Farnham, Surrey, who had acquired it from his brother C. E. Borelli. Mr Dow has recently deposited it in the East Suffolk Record Office.]

[1] [Letter from William Lenthall, Speaker of the House of Commons, to Sir William Castleton, high sheriff, and the justices of the peace for Suffolk, 'for the expediting of the Protestacion', 20 January 1642. Printed CJ, II, 389.]

[2] [Order of Parliament for printing the Protestation and despatching copies to the counties, cities, and boroughs, 5 May 1641. Cf. CJ, II, 135.]

[3] [The preamble to the Protestation, 3 May 1641. Printed CJ, II, 132.]

[4] [The Protestation for defence of the protestant religion, his Majesty's royal person, the power and privileges of Parliament, and the liberties of the subject, and for preservation of the union and peace of the three kingdoms, 3 May 1641. Printed CJ, II, 132.]

[5] [Explanation of certain words in the Protestation, 12 May 1641. Printed CJ, II, 144-5.]

[6] [Resolution of House of Commons that any person refusing to take the Protestation is unfit to bear office in church or commonwealth, 30 July 1641. Cf. CJ, II, 230.]

[7] [Order of Parliament authorizing 39 Suffolk gentry, the bailiffs and portmen of Ipswich, and four townsmen of Bury St Edmunds to 'call together all such persons as they shall thinke fitt within the Countye of Suffolk', tender to them the Propositions for raising horse, men, and arms, and receive their subscriptions, 28 July 1642. Printed LJ, V, 245.]

[8] [Order of Parliament appointing treasurers and commissaries to 'receive and prize' the money, plate, and horses subscribed on the Propositions in Suffolk, 10 December 1642. Printed LJ, V, 346.]

[9] [Order of House of Commons that the receivers of money and plate upon the Propositions in Suffolk retain £4,000 for defence of the County. Printed CJ, II, 825 (mispaginated 829).]

[10] A letter from the Earle of Essex [to the Committee of Suffolk] Gentelmen

Wheras I ame informed that their are diverse horses latly raised in your

¹ I am much indebted to Mr Leslie Dow for the following notes on the manuscript.

Countye to be employed for the service of the kinge and parliament, and haveinge appointed Mr Robert Nelsonn to be Captaine of a troope of horse under my command, I doe hereby praye and authorise you out of such horses so rayسد or to be rayسد to deliver unto the sayd Captaine Nellsonn three score and fowrtene able and sufficient horses for the furnishinge of his troope that so he maye be inabled with all convenient speed to attend the service of the state accordinge to his commission. Dated this 30th of November 1642.

Winsor, this 30th
of November 1642

Your affectionat freind,
Essex

[11] Order of the deputy lieutenants of Suffolk, the 31th of Januarii 1642[-3]

It is this daye ordered at Bliborough in the said Countye, by the deputy liuetennents hereunder named, that Captaine Nellsonn shall remayne in the Countye with the troope of horse that he have rayسد for the safety of the Countye, to be employed upon such service as wee shall see needfull for the peace of the Countye; and wee have agreed that hee shall have for the month of Februarii next the sume of £308 l8s. 8d. for his paye, his officers' and troopers'; and wee doe order that the one halfe of this sume be payed him presently and the other halfe foreteene dayes after, and wee doe appoint Robert Brewster, esqr., to disburse the sayd sumes out of the subscription monye now in his hande. In Wittnes wherof wee have hereunto subscribed our handes,

John Wentworth Rob: Brooke Nath: Bacon Rob: Brewster

[12] The forme of the Asociacion of Suffolk, Norffolk, Essex, Cambridgshier, Hartfordshier, Isle of Ely, and Countye of the City of Norwich subscribed unto by those whose names are hereunder written at Bury St Edmonds, the 9th daye of Februarii 1642[-3]

Wee whose names are hereunder written freely and most willingly for our selves doe associate accordinge to the order of both Houses of Parliament, and doe promise to doe our utmost indeavors, by assemblinge the inhabitants of our severall Countyes respectively and by our owne example and best persuasions, to further the effectuall asociacion for the peace of the said Countyes.¹

¹ This document, with No. 35, formed the basis of the Eastern Association. The 'order of the Houses of Parliament' refers to the Declaration of Parliament for associating Norfolk, Essex, Suffolk, etc., of 20 December 1642 (F. & R., I, 51-2). It is significant that the Declaration alone was not regarded as having set up the Association without this formal agreement between the counties. Cromwell's county of Huntingdon was not one of the original members of the Association: though Turrell Josslin signs for the county, it is not mentioned in the heading to the document or in the original order of the Commons (CJ, II, 883, nispaginated 887, 10 December 1642), or in the Declaration of Parliament. Lincolnshire was not added till September 1643. The preponderance of Suffolk names is one of several indications of the leading part played by the county in the Association: cf. No. 88.

*Suffolk:**Burye St Edmonds*

Thomas Gipps
 Thomas Chaplin
 John Bright
 Samewell Moody

Suffolk

John Wentworth
 William Springe
 William Soame
 Morrice Barrow
 Isack Appleton
 Robert Brewster
 Nathaniel Bacon

Norfolk

John Palgrave
 John Potts
 Miles Hobert
 Thomas Hoogon
 John Spilman
 John Cooke
 Robert Woods
 Philip Calthorp

Huntingdon

Turrell Joslin

Cambridgeshier

Thomas Martin
 Miles Sandis
 Oliver Cromwell
 Thomas Duckett
 Robert Castle
 Robert Clerke

Essex

William Roue
 Thomas Huniwood

[13] A letter sent from the inhabitants of Buckinghamshir directed to Colonell Cromwell and the rest of the Commite for Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, Cambridgshier, Hartfordshier, Ely, and the Cetty of the Countye or Norwich, [7 *February 1643*]

Noble Sir,

Though unknowne unto you yet wee are bolde to offer unto your view these fewe lines understanding that you have a meetinge of severall adjacent Countyes about you to (wee hope) a religious and good purpose. Wee could wish that you would admitt our distressed Countye into your Society and be invighted to keepe an enimye from your owne.¹ Our condicions wee shall not need to wright unto you but referr that to the relation of the gentlemen whome wee have thought fitt to imploye in this imbassage unto you. They will be redye to informe you how easeye a thinge it maye be, by the helpe of the Countye, to keepe the ennimy from aprochinge to you, for a few townes well quartered betwixt Northhampton and this place will secure you all. It is our unhappinesse to invight an armye into our Countye to repell an other, which wee wish you maye never know the necessity of. But if you shall please to incline to the propositions these gentlemen will recomend unto you, you shall finde (as yet) a place of plentye which wee had rather freindes should partissipate of than our ennimydes dovower. Whatsoever you shall hold reasonable for us to doe wee shall labor to effect, and doubt not but our Countye will doe as much as cane be expected from a Countye partly plundered. Wee shall truble you no further but refer you the residue to our agents, expectinge neyghbouringe assistance though wee should be excluded the associacion, which wee beleive was never intended to be so

¹ 'An Ordinance for the association of the Counties of Northampton, Leicester, Derby, Rutland, Nottingham, Huntingdon, Bedford, and Buckingham, for the mutuall defence one of another' had been passed in December 1642 (F. & R., I, 49). It may be that like the South-Eastern Association ordinance, it had not taken effect through the failure of the counties to agree. The three signatories to the letter are appointed to the Bucks. Committee in the ordinance. The Eastern Association apparently did not consent to the county's request.

THE COMMITTEE OF SUFFOLK

inclusive to your selves as to exclude all others. But this wee leave to your wisdomes to consider of, and our selves to be reputed your most humble servants,

Henry Bulswell¹ Thomas Turill Richard Grinville
 Alsburye, this 7 February 1642[-3]

[14] The paye of a troope of horse and there officers for a month is as followeth, [1643?]

	For a day			For a month		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
The captain's paye	1	4	0	33	12	0
Six horses paye	15	0		21	0	0
Leiuettennent	8	0		11	4	0
Fower horses	10	0		14	0	0
Cornet	6	0		8	18	0 ²
For three horses	7	6		10	10	0
Quartermaster	4	0		5	12	0
Two horses	5	0		7	10	0 ³
Three corporalls	9	0		12	12	0
Two trumpits	6	0		8	18	0 ²
A sadler	2	6		3	10	0
A smith	2	6		3	10	0
A trooper	2	6		3	10	0

The sume of a monthe's paye for the officers is £95 6s. 0d.⁴
 For paye of 13 horses and riders belonginge to the officers is £45 10s. 0d.

[15] The [*daily*] paye of a troope of dragoners and there officers is as followeth, [1643?]

	s.	d.
The captain	15	0
Five horses	5	0
Leiuettennent	4	0
Three horses	3	0
The cornet	3	0
Two horses	2	0
Two sergints	3	0
Two horses	2	0
Three corporalls	3	0
Three horses	3	0
Two drumers	2	0
A dragoner	1	6

¹ i.e. Bulstrode – a mistranscription no doubt by the compiler of the Committee Book.

² On the basis of a month of 28 days, this figure should be £8 8s., not £8 18s.

³ Apparently an error for £7.

⁴ An error for £59 6s.

[16] The pay for a regiment of foote,¹ [1643?]

	For a day	For a month
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
A collonell	2 5 6	63 0 0
Leiuetenent collonell	1 10 0	42 0 0
Sergent major	1 4 6	33 12 0
Seaven captaines, each	15 0	147 0 0
Seaven leiuetenments, each	4 0	56 0 0
Seaven ensignes, each	3 3	46 0 0
Twenty-one sergints, each	1 6	44 10 0
Quartermaster	[blank]	7 0 0
30 corporalls	1 0	42 0 0
A provest marshall	4 0	7 0 0
A carriage-master	[blank]	4 4 0
One preacher	[blank]	11 4 0
One chirurgion	[blank]	5 12 0
One drume major	[blank]	2 2 0
Twenty-eyght drumes, each	[blank]	28 0 0
Two mates, each	[blank]	7 0 0
		Sume £541 16 0
Eleven wagons for a regiment		£440
For holberts, drumes, partisons, and collors		£80
For surgon's cheste		£15
For a provest marshall		£7

[17] *[Ordinance of Parliament for levy of a weekly assessment in the 'associated Counties' (excluding Essex), for the pay of their forces raised against the Earl of Newcastle, 6 September 1643. Printed LJ, VI, 207.]*

[18] *[Order of the House of Commons summoning sheriffs appointed by the king to attend the House 'in safe custodie', 28 November 1642. Printed CJ, II, 867 (mispaginated 871).]*

[19] A warrant sent from the right honorable the Earle of Manchester, as followeth, [23 November 1643]

These are to authorise you to secure the persons of all such as have or shall refuse to pay any tax or rate imposed upon them by Ordinance of Parliament, and to bringe them before me or such persons as I shall appoint to Cambridg to answe for such there refusuall and contempt; and hereof faile you not. Given under my hande this 23th day of November 1643.

To all colonells, captains,
maiors, sherriffs, bailiffs,
constables, hedbroughs, to
all collectors, and others
whome this presence shall concerne.

Manchester

¹ The list has probably been incorrectly copied into the Committee Book; it contains a number of discrepancies.

[20] [*Order of the Committee of Suffolk,*] November 20th, 1643

It is this day ordered that from henceforth there shall be no discharge or defalcacion of any part of the 5th and 20th part assessed upon any person within this County, without a certificat to this board from all the Committes or assessors in that devision where such assessment was made that the one halfe is paid according to the sayd ordinance, and reasons expressed in such certificat for discharge or defalcacion of the assessment so made.

per Edm. Lealam, Registr. Committ. Com. Suff.

[21] [*Order of the Committee of Suffolk,*] first December 1643

Whereas, by diverse ordinances of Parliamt for the weekly assessment, twopence in every pownde is allowed to the collectors for every sume of mony collected and paid by them to the treasurers,¹ in pursuance of which ordinance, in respect of the paines taken by the petty constables or subcollectors in every towne in collecting and payeing of there monys to the cheife collectors, wee are of opinion it is the intent of the ordinance, and therefore thinke fitt and order, that one peny of the above said twopence in every pownde be allowed to the petti constables or subcollectors out of the above said twopence of the collectors.

per Edm. Lelam, Registr. Committe Com. Suff.

[22] [*Order of the Committee of Suffolk,*] die Mercurii, 13th December 1643

Forasmuch as the arears of mony within this County must speedily be payed or else our forces must of necessity disbande, and the debts now due rest unsatisfied: it is this day ordered that Mr Edmond Dowe shall hasten in his accompts for all the arears appointed by him to take care before the first day of Januarii next, that so a speedie course may be taken for gathering in of those arears. And to the ende that all arears due from this County upon the two last warrants sent forth for the weekly pay for two monthes for the right honorable the Earle of Manchester's forces maye likewise be accompted for and gathered, it is thought fitt that, accordinge to the foure devisions of this County (Bury, Ipswich, Woodbridg, and Beccles), in every devision that two gents be appointed to take the care thereof. And for that ende Sir William Springe, Bar., and Mr Harvie for Bury devision, Mr Thomas Tirrill and Mr Francis Bacon for Ipswich devision, Mr Nathaniel Bacon of Friston and Mr William Bloyse for Woodbridg devision, Mr William Heveingham and Mr Robert Brewster for Beccles devision are hereby desired to take this burthin upon them, it beinge likely to prove very usefull for present service. To that ende they are hereby authorized and desired to sende out there warrants to call before them all constables, collectors, and treasurers within there severall devisions, at such times and places as they shall thinke fitt, and cause them to passe there accompts and to take such order for the calleing in of the arears within there severall devisions as they shall thinke fitt, so as the Committe at all times upon sendeing to the gentlemen aforesaid maye know what mony is behinde and in whose hands it remaine. And it is further ordered and expected from the said gentlemen

F. & R., I, 153, 239, ordinances of 7 May and 3 August 1643.

that they sende in there severall accompts before the first day of Januarii next to the Committe. And it is ordered that all charges extraordinary in sendinge messingers or otherwise for furtheringe the service shalbe allowed the gentlemen aforesaid. And wheras there is a warant now sent forth for a weekly tax for eyght weekes from the first of this instant December, the gents. aforesaid are hereby allso desired to take care for the takeinge in of those accompts and calleing in of the said monys and payeing of the same in such manner as is now ordered by an order beareinge date the daye of the date of these presence and hereunto annexed,¹ provided that this order is to continue but for two monthes from the said first day of December, and then the gents to be eased of that truble.

[23] [*Order of the Committee of Suffolk,*] die Mercurii, 13 December 1643 Forasmuch as the mony taxed upon this County for the maintayning of the forces now raised under comand of the right honnorable the Earle of Manchester in many parts of the County are ill paied, to the great preiudice of the present service and disquieting of the Committe here seting, to the intent therefore that the severall forces maye be duly paied according to the proporcion annexed and the service not neglected, and that it may appeare in what parts of the County the negleth [*sic*] be, and that the Committe within there severall devisions maye take care thereof for the future: it is this day ordered that all the collonells, captains, comanders, and soldiers shall receive there paye oute of the severall devisions in this County in manner followinge:

Ipswich devision and the high collectors thereof shall paye monthly	
To Colonell Russell's regiment	£1,000
To Captain Godard	£240
To Captain Hunte	£140
Beccles devision and the high collector thereof	
To Captain Johnsonn	£340
To Captain Tuladaugh	£240
To Captain Langerish	£140
Bury devision and the high collector thereof	
To Colonell Walton's regiment	£900
To Captain Poe	£340
To Captain Hunt	£200
Woodbridge devision and the high collector thereof	
To Captain Samewell Moodye	£340
To Captain John Moody	£340
To Captain Langerish	£100

[24] [*A further copy of the ordinance noted under No. 17, supra.*]

[25] [*Order of the Lords and Commons directing that horse and foot be raised in the County, ready to be conducted 'to sume rendezvous', for prevention of the king's advance towards London, 21 October 1642. Printed LJ, V, 414. Cf. No. 26, infra.*]

¹ See the following order.

[26] Die Martis, 25 Octoberis 1642. Att the Committe of the Lordes and Commons for the safety of the Kingedom.

Wheras you have received directions from us to come to London with your forces raysd out of your Countye, these are to let you understand that wee have appointed quarter for them at Kentish Towne in the Countye of Middelsex, and wee desire you to bringe them imeadiatly thither.

To the Deputi Livetennts of the Countye of Suffolk

Northumberland Pembrook [*and*] Mungomory

Warwick Holland Perpoint Gilbert Jerrard

[27] To the honorable Committe at Bury. The humble pitticion of the cheife inhabitants of the liberty of St Ethelrids and of Hoxon hundred, on the behalfe of themselves and others well-affected within the County of Suffolk, [*December 1643.*]¹

Showeth

That wee doe with much thankefullnes acknowledg the great care and industry you have taken for the quiet and prosperity of this County, whilst others have bene tormented and broken with oppression and distraction: and as for that, so now for settinge on foote so good a worke as the necessary arminge of the well affected people and the just discovery of the other latly manifested in your comands and directions sent to the severall hundreds, a worke wee confesse of singular use, not only for the preservacon of our selves in quietnes and tranquillity but even for the putinge an ende to the bloody distemper of the nacion, which our sad herts mourne to see. In which comands and directions wee doe humbly observe that there is not such sufficiency and fullnes of authority given as is requisit for the careing on so great a worke with power and effect with equallity and proporcion upon all, without which wee humbly conceive the willinge partie will be discouraged, contencions raised, and the designe lost in the execution. For the seasonable prevencion whereof, that the burthin may be equally and indifferently borne by all, that everyone that injoye a part in the felicity and peace of the County maye likewise beare a part in the defence and savinge of the County, wee doe humbly offer to this Committe these desires and consideracions followeing:

1. Wee humbly desire that in this time of danger all men well affected from the age of 16 to 60 in this County may forthwith be put into armes, disposed and cast into companies and troopes, both of horse and foote,

¹ Another (printed) copy of the petition is in the British Museum (669. f. 8. 41). From Bury the petition was sent to the Earl of Manchester and the Committee at Cambridge. On the way thither it was signed by 2,000 people, who, it was said, 'wyl spend their last drop of blood in defence of the Parliament and the famous City of London.' (London had relieved Gloucester in September; Pym died in December.) The letter printed with it, to an unnamed correspondent, adds: 'I have sent it you up to publish the same; it may be it will comfort your City to see others of your mind. I beleeve it will be at the Parliament about Friday at the furthest, for a confirmation of our desires: it was drawne by many able gentlemen and divines, and the same petition is now on foot in Norfolk . . . I beleve by that time the report is come at Oxford, the Cavaliers will have no great mind to visit us as they much threaten . . .' The petition was clearly an 'arranged' one, like so many in this period, often bearing little relation to local sentiment. 'Signatures' were easily come by in an unlettered society and sometimes forged wholesale.

commanders in cheife, captaines, and other officers nominated and appointed, the same to be chosen by the major part of the persons to be listed, with the approbacion of the deputy leivetenants of this County, to be excersised this winter season, the able sort to finde and serve on horse, the residue on foote.

2. Wee desire that all men of abillity may arme themselves at there owne charges, and for others that are not of abillity wee desire they may be armed with muskits and other usefull weapons out of the magazins of the County and out of the armes that have or shall be taken from malignants and disaffected persons, and with such armes as shall be lent to that service by persons well affected.
3. And seeinge that malignants and disaffected persons are not to beare armes in this bussines but to be disarmed, and yet altogether unreasonable that they should be exempted from burthin, wee desire that all such may be taxed in a full proportionable parte in mony to this service, and also all others of abillity that shall not beare armes in this bussines, all which maye goe towards the arminge of the poore foote that are not able to arme themselves and yet are willinge to doe service in this cause, and what these shall fall short to be supplied at the generall charge of the hundred or County.
4. Wee desire that a full and sufficient power and directions may be given for the calleing of all men together within these severall hundreds or devidions, and to take a list of there horses and armes and allso to take the subscriptions of such as are willinge to finde armes in this service, and to tax or proporcion such as shall be found malignants or disaffected and all others of abillity that shall not beare armes in this bussinies, and that in cause of refusal or refractoriness sume pennalty may be inflicted.
5. Seeinge it is comanded that a discovery should be made of the ill affected clergie and others, and wee haveing observed by severall longe experiance what prevaileinge influances their bolde advices and conversations have had and still have into the mindes and affections of unstable and weake people, which is yet more evedintly confirmed by such parishes wher such are, wee desire sume power and authority may be given for the callinge in of such fitt persons out of every parish wher such are, to testify in that behalfe, whereby there maye be a more full and through discovery made then as yet hath bene.
6. Wee desire the Committe would be pleased to use sume speedie and effectuall meanes for the representinge these our faithfull and humble desires to our highly honored Major generall of the Associated Counties,¹ for the more full and powerfull authorising of these thinges, whereby they maye be put in execution before the winter season be over, which passeth swiftly, that wee may be able to rise as one man to defend our County from invadinge and to assist our bretheren bleedinge in the felde.

¹ Manchester was appointed major-general of the Association in August 1643, in place of Lord Grey of Warke.

And your pitticoners shall not only praye for the felecyti of this vigeleut Committe but shall be redy piously to sacrificse our lives in your defence.

[28] By the Committe at Bury St Edmonds, the 29 of December 1643
 Whereas complaint is made to us by the inhabitants of Brandon Ferrye that diverse soldiers travailing through that towne take free quarter, which is very distastfull to the Committe, it is therefore ordered that no free quarter shall be allowed to anye soldier whatsoever, and if anye demande it the constables and officers are to apprehend such parties and bringe them before us, and they shall be made examples. And it is further ordered that if any post horses be taken in the said towne of Brandon, they that would have them shall paye the usuall paye for rideinge poste.¹

[29] [*Order of the Committee of Suffolk,*] 4 Januarii 1643
 In pursuance of an order of the right honorable the Earle of Manchester, it is this daye ordered that Nicholas Peck of Northcove, gent., who was formerly appointed high collector for the hundreds of Waingeford, Mutford, and Lothingland within the Devision of Beccles,² shalbe still collector; and wee doe hereby give him authority to imploye troopers for the bringinge in of such monyes of them who shall refuse to paye the same accordinge to the warrants to the said Mr Peck and ordinance of Parliament.

[30] All charges for the County of Suffolk thus devided in a £100, [*Winter, 1643-4?*]³
 The Frauncis [*i.e. Franchise*] of Bury and the Libertie of St Eldreds, halfe, £50
 The Giuldable, viz. the Liberty of Ipswich and Devision of Beccles, the other halfe, £50
 The Francis of Bury thus proportioned in the severall hundreds to £100

Blackborne hundred	£5 0s. 0d.	} Sume total is £33 6s. 8d., which is the third part of the County charge
Thewestry hundred	£4 0s. 0d.	
Thing with Bury	£6 0s. 0d.	
Lackford	£3 6s. 8d.	
Babergh hundred with Sudbury	£6 13s. 4d.	
Risbrige hundred	£5 0s. 0d.	
Cosford hundred with Hadly	£3 6s. 8d.	

¹ Brandon lies on the Little Ouse River, between Bury and King's Lynn, which had fallen to the Parliamentarians in September and was now garrisoned by the Association's forces. - Kingston, 135-3.

² The Beccles Division was one of the four regions into which Suffolk was divided for purposes of assessment, the other three being Bury, Woodbridge (or the Liberty of St Ethelred), and Ipswich. In each the resident committeemen formed a sub-committee similar to, though less powerful than, the Lathal Committees in Kent. - Cf. Everitt, *Committee of Kent*, 10-11.

³ This item defines the proportion of each £100 assessed on the county which is to be raised in each division and hundred.

The Liberty of St Eldred's thus devided in the hundreds to a £100

Loes hundred	£4 3s. 4d.	} Sume total £16 13s. 4d. beinge a sixth part of the County charge
Whilford hundred	£2 15s. 7d.	
Thredling hundred	£1 7s. 9½d.	
Plumsgate hundred	£3 9s. 5d.	
Colnis hundred	£1 14s. 8½d.	
Calford hundred	£3 2s. 6d.	

The Liberty of Ipswich beare three parts of halfe the County, and this rated to a £100

Hoxon hundred	£8 0s. 0d.	} Sume total is £30, beinge three parts of halfe the County charge
Hertsmer hundred	£8 0s. 0d.	
Bosmer and Claidon	£6 0s. 0d.	
Samford hundred	£5 0s. 0d.	
Stow hundred	£3 0s. 0d.	

Beccles Devisiion beare two parts of halfe the County, and thus devided to a £100

Blithing hundred the halfe of the two pts	£10 0s. 0d.	} Sume total is £20, which is two parts of the five of halfe the County charge
Waingford hundred, two parts of Blithinge	£6 13s. 4d.	
Lothingland halfe hundred, two parts of of the three of Waingford	£2 4s. 6d.	
Mutford halve hundred, one part of the three of Lothingland halfe hundred	£1 2s. 3d.	

Mdd. that the towne of Ipswich payeth £33, which is to be deducted in every hundred pownde.

[31] Suffolk: ad Assizies tent' apud villa' Gippii in Com' predict., die Veneris nono die Marcii, anno xiiij Car' Regis [1638]¹

It is ordered that every inhabitant within this County haveinge any mannors [?], messuages, lands, and tenements in diverse severall townes shall from henceforth be rated for all duties to his Majestie in every towne where there said mannors, lands, and tenements doe lye accordinge to rit, and not otherwise, notwithstandinge any custome or use heretofore used to the contrary.

per Cur. Parker

[32] Suffolk: Ad Assizis ten't apud Bury St Edmonds die Lune vicesimo quinto die Febr' anno Reg' Carol' etc xiiij [1639]

Upon readinge of an Order of the sessions of the xvj Januarii in the fourth yeare of the raigne of our late souvraigne Lord Kinge James of famous memmory [1607], and of another order of the sessions the xvj of Januarii

¹ The presence here of this and the following item illustrates how far the Committee of Suffolk was guided by pre-war precedent. It evidently held itself bound by the principle laid down in these Assize orders that every inhabitant should be 'rated for all duties to his Majestie in every towne where there said mannors, lands, and tenements doe lye . . .'

THE COMMITTEE OF SUFFOLK

in the fiftenth yeare of his said majestie's raigne [1618], concerninge the paiments of rates within the County; and likewise upon readinge of another order made at the Assizis holden at the towne of Ipswich the 9th of March now last past, and upon debat of the matter in open Court, it appeared that the said orders of the sessions were not accordinge to lawe: but that all the rates, taxes, and duties whatsoever to be paid for any mannors, lands, or tenements within the said County ought by lawe to be paid within the severall townships where the said mannors, lands, or tenements doe lye respectively, and not elsewhere. It is therefore ordered that all rates taxes and duties whatsoever to be paid for any mannors, lands or tenements within the said County shall be rated, taxed, and paid within the severall townships where the said severall manors, lands, or tenements or any of them doe lye: the said former orders of the sessions of the peace to the contrary notwithstandinge. And if any of the said townes within the County of Suffolk shall finde themselves greived with any the rates or taxes now set and rated upon them and entred into the high constables bookes, it is ordered that the justices of peace of everye hundred, callinge before them all parties so greived, shall set new rates and taxes, accordinge to the quality of there lands, as shall be agreeable to justice.

per Cur. Parker

[33] Suffolk. [*Proportion of assessments in the County divisions, 1644?*]¹

In the Franchise's townes		The Guildable	
Baberch hundred	£34	Blinthinge hundred	£52
Blackburne hundred	£32	Wainford hundred	£32
Cosford hundred	£17	Mutford	£11
Blackford hundred	£18	Lothingland	£17
Risbridge hundred	£33	Hoxonn hundred	£25
Thingo hundred	£18	Hartsmer hundred	£35
Thewestry hundred	£24	Stow hundred	£16
The towne of Bury	£[nil]	Bosmer and Claidon	£38
		Samford hundred	£31
		The towne of Ipswich	£12
The Liberty of St Eldreds			
Counis hundred		£13	
Carlford hundred		£18	
Thredlinge hundred		£6	
Willford hundred		£18	
Plumsgat hundred		£24	
Lois hundred		£19	

¹ The divisions of Ipswich and Beccles are comprised in the Guildable. The divisional proportions are roughly similar to those in No. 30, but St Ethelreds is rated a little more highly.

[34] [*Assessment of Suffolk, 1643-1644*]

A note what the severall hundreds in this County of Suffolk are and ought to be charged, weekely and monthly, to the raisinge of £1250 weekely imposed upon this County by authority of Parliament,¹ to the maintaynance of the right honorable the Earle of Manchester's forces for three monthes beginninge ye third of October 1643, the towne of Ipswich beinge proporcionably cast into the severall hundreds, as followeth

A note what the severall hundrds in Suffolk are and ought to be taxed, weekely and monthly, to the raisinge of £1875 weekely imposed upon this County by authority of Parliament,² to the maintaynance of the right honorable the Earle of Manchester's forces for foure monthes beginninge the first of Januarii 1643, the towne of Ipswich beinge cast proporcionably into the severall hundreds as followeth

	per weeke	per mensem	per weeke	per mensem
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
<i>Bury Devision</i>				
Blackborn hundred	60.12. 6	242.10. 0	90.18. 9	363.15. 0
Thedwestrye		194. 0. 0	72.15. 0	291. 0. 0
Thing and Bury		291. 0. 0	109. 2. 6	436.10. 0
Risbridge	60.12. 6	242.10. 0	90.18. 9	363.15. 0
Lackforde		161.13. 4	60.12. 6	242.10. 0
Cosford and Hadley		161.13. 4	60.12. 6	242.10. 0
Baber and Sudbury		323. 6. 8	121.15. 0	485. 0. 0
	[<i>blank</i>]	1616.13. 4	606. 5. 0	2425. 0. 0
<i>Woodbridge Devision</i>				
Loes hundred		202. 1. 8	75.15. 7	303. 2. 6
Willforde		134.15. 9½	50.10.11	202. 3. 8
Thredlinge		67. 7.11	25. 5. 5½	101. 1.10
Plumsgate		168. 6. 8½	63. 2. 6	252.10. 0
Colnesse		84. 3. 4	31.11. 3½	126. 5. 2
Carlforde		151.11. 3	56.16. 8½	227. 6.10
		808. 6. 8	303. 2. 6	1212.10. 0

¹ Cf. F. & R., I, 292, ordinance of 20 September 1643.

² Cf. F. & R., I, 368, ordinance of 20 January 1643-4 (operative retrospectively from 6 January).

THE COMMITTEE OF SUFFOLK

	per weeke		per mensem		per weeke		per mensem	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
<i>Ipswich Devison</i>								
Hoxonn hundred			388.	0. 0	145.	10. 0	582.	0. 0
Hartsmer			388.	0. 0	145.	10. 0	582.	0. 0
Bosmer and Claidon			291.	0. 0	109.	2. 6	436.	10. 0
Samforde			242.	10. 0	90.	18. 9	363.	15. 0
Stowe			145.	10. 0	54.	11. 0	218.	5. 0
Ipswidge			150.	0. 0	56.	5. 0	225.	0. 0
			1605.	0. 0	601.	17. 6	2407.	10. 0
<i>Beccles Devison</i>								
Blithin hundred			485.	0. 0	181.	17. 6	727.	10. 0
Waingford			323.	6. 8	121.	5. 0	485.	0. 0
Lothingland			107.	15. 6½	40.	8. 4	161.	10. 4
Mutford			53.	17. 9½	20.	4. 2	80.	16. 8
			970.	0. 0	363.	15. 0	1455.	0. 0
Summ total	[blank]		5000.	0. 0	1875.	0. 0	7500.	0. 0

[35] A commission to the deputie liuetennents and others of the five associated Countyes, [*from Lord Grey of Warke, 21 April*] anno 1643¹ Whereas the Lords and Commons now assembled in Parliament have thought it a thinge most fitt and necessarye for the present state of the kingdome and did order accordingly that all lord leiuetennents, deputie liuetennts, collonnells, captains, and other officers and all other well affected persons inhabitinge within the severall Countyes of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridg, Hertford, the Isle of Elye, and Countye of the Cittie of Norwich shall and maye associate themselves and mutually aide succour and assist one another in the defence and preservations of themselves and of the peace of the said Countyes; and whereas by commission from the Lord Gennerall the Earle of Essex, I, William Lord Graye of Warke, ame appointed and authorised aswell to command in cheife as major gennerall of all the forces to be raised in the associated Countyes aforesaid for defence of the said associacion; I, the sayd William Lord Graye of Warke, in pursuance of the authoritie given unto me by an ordinance of Parliament, and for the better orderinge of the affayers abovemenconed committed to my care and trust concerninge the associacion, have thought fitt to nominate, appoint, and make you whose names are here under written commissioners for the said

¹ Cf. No. 12 and footnote. William, 1st Lord Grey of Warke (d. 1674) was son of Sir Ralph Grey of Chillingham, Northumberland. His commission as commander of the Association's forces was cancelled when he refused to serve as a parliamentary commissioner to Scotland in July 1643. He was succeeded by the Earl of Manchester. - *DNB*, s.v. Grey; *GEC*, VI, 168-9. The list of commissioners here named by Grey is similar to those nominated in the Eastern Association Ordinance of 10 August 1643. - *F. & R.*, I, 242-3.

associated Countyes, the Isle of Ellye, and the Countye of the Cittie of Norwich, that is to saye:

Sir John Hubbart, knt. and barronett, Sir John Palgrave, knt. and barronett, Sir Miles Hubbart, knt., Sir Thomas Hoogan, knt., Sir Thomas Gaudey, knt., Sir Isaac Ashlye, knt., Sir Edward Ashly, knt., Thomas Windham, esqr., John Spillman, esqr., John Cooke, esqr., Francis Jermy, esqr., Robert Wood, esqr., Robert Wilton, esqr., William Cooke, esqr., Thomas Wrighte, esqr., Martin Sidley, esqr., Thomas Sotherton, esqr., John Brewster, esqr., Thomas Russal of Balsham, esqr., for the said Countye of Norffolk;

Sir Edmond Bacon, knt. and barronett, Sir William Springe, barronett, Sir William Soames, knt., Sir Thomas Barnardiston, knt., Morrice Barrow, esqr., Nathaniell Bacon of Friston, esqr., Nathaniell Bacon of Ipswidge, esqr., Robert Brewster, esqr., Edmond Harvye, esqr., Francis Bacon, esqr., Isake Apleton, esqr., Thomas Turrall, esqr., James Hubbarde of Mendham, esqr., Gibsonn Lucas, esqr., Thomas Cole of Haverhill, esqr., William Bloyse, esqr., William Lawrence, esqr., for the said Countye of Suffolk;

Sir Thomas Hunniwood, Sir William Roe, Sir Hennrye Holcrofte, Sir Richard Everard, John Sayer, esqr., Arthur Barnardiston, esqr., John Wright, esqr., Richard Harlakenden, esqr., Edward Pallmer, esqr., Timothie Middleton, esqr., Deane Tindall, esqr., William Umfreyvile, esqr., John Eldred, esqr., [blank] Reade, docter in phisick, John Eliston of Gestingthorpe, esqr., William Attwood of Waltham, esqr., for the said Countye of Essex;

Sir John Cutts, knt., Sir Thomas Martin, knt., Francis Russell, esqr., Thomas Cooke, esqr., Torrell Josselin, esqr., Thomas Simonds, esqr., William March, esqr., James Tomsonn, esqr., Thomas Duckett, esqr., Robert Castle, esqr., Robert Clerke, esqr., Edward Clench, esqr., Dudley Pope, esqr., Thomas Bendish, esqr., John Welbore, esqr., Richard Foxton, esqr., and Samewell Spauldinge, gent., for the Countye of Cambridge;

Sir John Reade, knt. and barronett., Sir John Garrard, Sir John Wittwonge, John Haydon, esqr., Ralph Freeman, esqr., William Leaman, esqr., Adam Washington, esqr., William Priestly, esqr., Gabrill Barbor of Hertford, esqr., John Robotham, esqr., John Kinge, docter in phisick, Hennrey Mewtis, esqr., Ralph Pemberton, esqr., Captaine John Scrogges, Richard Porter, esqr., Anthonye Stratford, esqr., for the said Countye of Hertford;

Sir Miles Sandis the younger, knt., John Hubbartt, esqr., Huberston March, esqr., and Thomas Castle, gent., for the said Isle of Ellye;

Samewell Smith, esqr., Adrian Permerton, deputie maior of the Cittie of Norwich, John Toolye[?], Edmond Burman, Mathew Peckover, Henrye Watts, Mathew Linseye, William Simonds, aldermen of the same Cittie, and John Grenewood, sheriffe of the same Cittie, for the said Countye of the Cittie of Norwich.:

And doe deligate and give unto you full power and authorite by your selves, or anye other persons to be nominated and substituted by or under you, to doe, execute, and perform all and every the instructions, articles, and thinges hereafter in these presents mencioned and expressed, hereby

willinge and requiringe a due performance thereof and redye obeadiance to the same, as well by you the said Commissioners as also by all deputie leifetenants, collonells, leiftennt collonells, captaines, and other officers and persons whome it shall or maye concerne, viz. :

Firste, that you the commissioners abovenamed, or two at the leaste of every of the aforesaid Countyes and one of the Countye of the Cittye of Norwich, with all convenient speed doe assemble and meet together at the towne of Cambridge, and there to continue at the least for the space of two dayes; and the maior part of you so assembled shall and maye from time to time call unto you such or so manye of the residue of you the said commissioners abovenamed (except they be members of the Commons' House of Parliament) as upon anye occation shall happen to be absent from anye such meetinge or assemblye, so that there be a constant and dilligent attendance given by a compleate bodye of you the said commissioners, and that there be no discontinuence or sessation of your meeting but onlye by adiourment from daye to daye or from place to place for so longe time as the maior [*part?*] of you so assembled shall thinke fittinge;

Secondly, that you the said commissioners that shall at anye meetinge have power to acte by vertue hereof shall and maye adiourne your meetinge from place to place and from time to time when and as often as the greater number of you present shall thinke convenient, but none of them to depart or absent yourselves from the said service but upon leave and licence of the greater number then present; and you shall appoint such registrars and clerkes from time to time for the furtherance of this service as you or the greater number soe present shall thinke fitt, and to allow them such recompence for there paynes therin as you or the graeter number soe present shall hold convenient;

Thirdly, that anye eleven or more of you the comissioners abovenamed, whereof there shall be two of everye the said Countyes and one of the Countye of the Cittie of Norwich then present, shall have full power and authoritie in my absence to holde a meetinge, and the maior part of those eleven or more to decree, act, and performe whatsoever in your descretions shall seeme meete and expedient to be acted and done for the furtherance of the said service, and that nothinge shall be of validity or force except it be agreed upon by the maior part of the eleven of you the said commissioners at the leaste;

Fourthly, that all matters that shall happen to come before you the said commissioners at anye of your said meetinges shall be determined or decided by the maior part of you that shall be then present;

Fifthly, that all addresses whatsoever concerninge the said service and associacon shall be made unto you the sayd commissioners at your said meetinge, and all commands and directions by anye officers or other persons shall issue from you with subordinacion to the Lord Gennerall his Excellencie and me the said maior gennerall;

Sixthly, that you the said commissioners or persones abovenamed, and every of you respectively, shall from time to time take especiall care of and put in due execution, by yourselves or others to be substituted by you, as well all orders and directions of parliament now made or hereafter to be

made as also such commands or directions as hereafter shall happen to be given unto you from the said Lord Gennerall his Excellency and me the said maior generall concerninge the said Associacion;

Seaventhly, that in the severall Countyes and Isle aforesaid and the Countye of the Cittye of Norwich and there corporacion townes and places of the said Associacion, all and everye the collonells, leifetennts collonells, serjent maiors, captaines of horse and foote, and all other officers, together with the soldiers, both trained bands and others, shall march to such place and places and be in rediness to performe and acte all such directions, orders, and comands as theye shall receive from you the said commissioners appointed as aforesaid;

Eyghthly, that all treasurers, collectors, and others imployed in the said service shall receive and issue forth from time to time all such sune and sumes of monye, and all keepers of stores and magazenes such powder, armes, and amunicon, as you the said commissioners, or the greater part of you present att your meetinge as aforesaid, shall appointe under your handes;

Ninthly, that all persons imployed or which shall be imployed or have authority or comand to take horses, monye, plate, or armes from anye delinquents or malignants doe from time to time render a just and true accompt thereof unto you the said commissioners at your meetinges, and deliver and dispose thereof as you shall order and appointe, to the end the State maye have the sole bennifitt of the seasures, and also to the end that under the culler of such authoritye no person that is well affected shall be in anye wise damnified, whereof you the said commissioners are to take especiall care, and that you the said commissioners shall register or cause to be registered all such horses, monye, plate, and armes so to be seised, causinge them fairly to be written in a booke by you to be kept for the same purpose;

Tenthly, that whatsoever power or authoritye the deputie livetennents of anye of the said associated Countyes, Isle of Elly, or Cittye of Norwich, and other corporacons, citties, townes, and places within the said asociacion respectively, have you the said commissioners abovenamed, or the maior part of you at your meetinges assembled as aforesaid, shall have, exercise, and put in practise over and within all and everye the said Counties, isles, citties, townes, and places associated;

Eleventhly, that all members of the Commons' House of Parliament that shall have leave of the said House, and all deputie leivetenants of the said Countyes, Isle, and Cittie that are allowed to be deputie livetendants by both Houses of Parliament, shall have like power in voteinge, decidinge, and determinge with you the said commissioners;

Twelfthly, that it shall be in the power of all citties, isles, and corporacions wthin the said asociacion who have power of leivetennts within themselves to send one of the deputie livetendants out of there liberties respectively to all or anye of the saide meetinges of you the said commissioners, and that the said deputie leivetenants shall have power in voteinge, decideinge, and determinge wth you the said commissioners;

Thirteenthly and lastly, I doe give and allow the said commissioners a

common seale, ingraven with my coate of armes, for the sealeinge of all such orders, warrants, and commissions as are made by them or issue from them accordinge to the purport of this commission.

Given at Maidenhead, under my hande and seale, this 21th daye of Aprill in the 19th yeare of the raigne of our moste gracious souveraigne Lord Charles, by the grace of God of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland Kinge, Defender of the Faith, etc., and in the yeare of our Lord God 1643.

[36] Instructions [*by the Committee of the Eastern Association*] for the trained bandes of horse and foote in the severall Countyes of the associacion to be put in execution by the deputie lieutenants, [*c. May 1643*]

By vertue of the power which is given unto us from the high courte of Parliament, the Lord Generall his Excellencie, and the Lord Graye of Warke, gennerall of the Associacion for the preservacion of the five Countyes of Suffolk, Essex, Hertford, Cambridge, Norffolk, the Countye of the Cittye of Norwich, and the Isle of Elye in associacion; therefore wee, the commissioners for the associacion now sittinge at Cambridge, seariouly consideringe the necessitie of reduceinge the trained bandes of everye countye in associacon to due order for service in these times of warre, have thought fitt to recomend these insuinge instructions to the deputie lieutenants of everye Countye, and doe hereby order that anye two or more of the deputie lieutenants shall in every division of there severall hundreds of there severall Countyes give commission to every captaine of every company of the trained horse and foote to muster there foote companies once every month and to excercise them everye weeke, and the horse every month, that so all defects may be redressed. And for the performance of these instructions it is ordered:

[1] That by the commission of the deputie lieutenants or anye two of them, or by order from this board, everye captaine of horse and foote shall be authorised to send forth warrants to the high constables for to put in execution the aforesaid instructions, and everye high constable in every division of there severall hundreds of there severall Countyes that shall refuse to execut there warrants in the [*premises?*] to the full shall be fined 40s. for the first offence and duple for the next, and so dublinge as ofte as hee or theye shall offend, and everye pettie constable offendinge 10s. for the first offence and duple for the next, and so dublinge so ofte as hee or theye shall offend.

And every captaine that shall refuse or neglect to make out there severall and respective warrants or muster there soldiers shall be fined for his first offence £5 and for the second offence duple, and so everye time to duple as ofte as hee offends after, and shall loose his captaine's place with disgrace in the heade of his companye by the deputie lieutenants. Everye lieutenant that shall refuse or neglect to performe there service due to there place and office shall be fined for his first offence fifty shillings and for the second offence duple, and so everye time after to duple as ofte as hee offend, and shall loose his lieutenant's place and be casheired with disgrace in the heade of the companye by the deputie lieutenants. Everye insigne

that shall refuse or neglect to performe there service due to there place shall be fined for his first default or offence thirte shillings and for the second offence duple, and so everye time after to duple as ofte as hee offendes, and shall loose his insigne's place and be casheired with disgrace in the heade of the companye by the deputie leivetenants. Everye sergient that shall refuse or neglecte to performe there service shall be fined 15s. for everye time he or theye offende, and shall lose there sergiant's place and be casheired with disgrace in the heade of the companye by the deputie leivetenants. Every soldier that shall neglect to performe there service, haveinge summons, shall loose and be fined tenn shillings for everye time, and for non-payement everye such soldier to be committed to the house of correction in the Countye wher such soldier shall offend by the high constable of that division whereof hee is high constable, and shall be disarmed, and a good supplie sent in his roome, such as the deputie leivetenants or anye two of them or the captaine shall approve of, except such high constables, and pettie constables, captaines and officers of bands and soldiers cane shew cause to the contrarye by the allowance of the deputie leivetenants or anye two of them.

2. That anye two or more of the deputie leivetenants in everye hundred or division and everye captaine once everye month shall view the armes of every soldier, that so theye maye be usefull for service, and if anye refuse to bringe in there armes the partie that so refuseth shall be interpreted an enemye to the kinge and parliament and shall be fined five pounds for everye time so offendinge, and be disarmed.

3. That every finder of armes that weareth not his owne armes shall paye his or there soldiers for there service at the rates of twelve pence for foote a daye and 2s. 6d. for horse. And if hee or theye refuse, hee or theye shall be fined after this manner: everye person that findeth armes, everye daye hee makes defaulte shall paye tenn shillings and everye parish 40s. or more accordinge to the discretion of anye two or more of the deputie leivetenants. All which sumes shall be taken by distresse and sale of the offender's goods and payed into the treasuries of the severall Counties, accordinge to the rules allredye directed by the late ordinance from both Houses of Parliament for the lord generall.

4. That anye two or more of the deputie leivetenants shall order in everye division of every hundred in every there severall Countyes that a constant rate shall be made for the payement of the officers of the trained bandes; and shall have, every daye that theye excercise and lye in garishon within the associacion, the captaine halfe paye, the rest of the officers and soldiers whole paye, and this rate to continue duringe the warre.

5. That anye two or more of the deputie leivetenants shall appoint every soldier of a bande powder and match for everye daye theye excercise accordinge to the discretion of the deputie leivetenants.

6. That all deputie leivetenants, colonells, leivetenant colonells, sergiant maiors, captaines, and all other infearour officers and soldiers, as well trained bands as other foote and horse, shall be obediant to the comands of the commissioners and shall answeere there neglect at this Board at there perills.

Finis.

[37] A commission from the Earle of Essex his Excelencie in establishment of the former comission from the Lord Graye, [22 May 1643]¹ Robert Earle of Essex and Ewe, Viscount Hereford, Lord Ferrers of Chartlie, [Lord] Bourcheir, [Lord] Lovaine,² nominated and appointed captaine gennerall of the armye employed for the defence of the Protestant [religion], the saffety of his Majestie's person, and of the Parliament, the preservacion of the lawes and libertis and peace of the kingdome, and protection of his Majestie's subiects from violence and oppression.

Wheras the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament have thought it a fitt and necessarye thinge for persons to joyne in mutual assistance one with another in these distracted times for the defence of the Protestant relidgeon, the lawes of the lande, the power and priviliges of Parliament, etc., and therefore have ordained by there ordinance³ that the Countyes of Essex, Suffolk, Norffolk, Cambridge, and Hertford, with the Countye and City of Norwich and the Isle of Elye shall joyne one with another in asociacion for the defence and preservacion of the peace of the said Counties; and have further ordained that William Lord Graye of Warke should be comander in chiefe over the forces of the five associated Counties, and that I, Robert Earle of Essex, captaine gennerall of all the forces raised by authoritye of Parliament should give him comission to be mayor generall under me of the aforesaid forces and instructions for the managing of the same, which I have accordingly performed; and findinge that such have bin the vigilyncy and care of the Lord Graye, not only to see to the regulating and ordringe of the forces by mine instructions, nowe they are drawne out in service, but allso have invested severall gentlemen of quallity and trust dwelling in the severall Countyes now associated with a comission for the security and preservacion of the said Countyes in his absence against all forces, rapine, plundringe, and other enormityes that might otherwise have happened by the malevolencye of the ill-affected at home and the violence of the enymie now spoyelinge the kingdome: which comission I have throughly perused, and doe not onlye approve and allow but authorise, ratifye, and confirme the same; and doe hereby declare that what the aforesaid persons in there discretion have done by imprisonment or otherwise in excecuting the intent and scop of his lordship's comission, or shall doe therin, or in persuance of anye other instructions from me accordinge to the authoritye of Parliament given me, shall be protected and defended by the same power of Parliament against all preiudice whatsoever. In confirmacion wherof I have sett my hande and seale this two and twentieth daye of Maye in the ninenth yeare of the raigne of our sovraigne Lord Kinge Charles, etc., and in the year of our Lord God 1643.

Essex

¹ For Grey's commission see No. 35.

² Of the titles here claimed by Essex, the 'earldom' (sc. countship of Eu in Normandy) belonged to the Earl of Bath, and the barony of Lovaine 'never existed as a peerage dignity . . .' - GEC, V, 141, notes (a) and (c).

³ The 'Declaration for associating Norfolk, Essex, Suffolk, etc.,' 20 December 1642, is referred to. - F. & R., I, 51-2.

[38] The proporcion for the six associated Countyes, ordered by the Committe of the house for the Asociacion, [c. June 1643?]¹

A meedium for £2500 or 2500 men: the rule of proporcion

Huntingtonsheire	100	Cambridge	200
Essex	600	Hertford	200
Suffolk	600	The Isle of Elye	100
Norfolk	660	The Countye and City of Norwich	40

Which proporcion is to be held lesser or more, in monye or men, for all the severall associated Countyes and places [*who have*] resolved and agreed upon the proporcion, that these proporcions shall be positively observed in all the associated Countyes and places upon all severall occasions.

[39] [*Declarations to be tendered to officers or members of the Committee and to those rated to lend to Parliament.*] Aprillis 27th anno domini 1643 I doe acknowledge that the Parliament orders and ordinances, as they issue forth now, are as fully to be yielded obeadiance unto as the orders and ordinances of former parliaments, and this I testifye with my herte and that because the kinge's authority and power is there, though his person be not.

Wittnes my hande. . . .

Wee whose names are hereunder written, beinge rated to lend to the Parliament and beinge trusted to deliver in the value of our estates, are willinge and doe consent that all that is concealed or is over and above what is informed shall be sequestred for the kinge and Parliament.

[40] An Ordinance of Parliament for the raiseinge of 2000 foote to send to gaurd the Associacon 22 Julii 1643. [*Printed CJ, III, 179. According to the 'rule of proporcion' here suffixed to the ordinance, 480 men were to be raised in Essex, 480 in Suffolk, 528 in Norfolk, 160 in Hertford, 160 in Cambridge, 80 in Huntingdon, 80 in Ely, and 32 in Norwich, totalling 2000.*]

[41] 12th Januarii 1643[-4]. By the Committee at Bury²

In a lesser Committe then formerly there cannot be three deputy leive-

¹ This important 'Committe of the house for the Association' originated simply as a committee of the House of Commons, composed principally of the Association's M.P's; it remained separate from the Eastern Association Committee at Cambridge, but it soon came to include members of the House of Lords. It acquired a secretariat of its own and offices in Westminster and before long became a distinct institution, guiding the general policy of the Association. The Committee at Cambridge dealt rather with the details of military administration, though the division of function was not sharply defined. Each of the county associations, it seems, except the South-Eastern, had a similar London committee; the absence of any combined committee for the South-Eastern Association was a major factor in its weakness.

² The peculiarities of the Suffolk Committee revealed in this item and No. 55 were of considerable importance. Neither its chairmanship nor its composition were continuous: its six chairmen sat for one month each in rotation, and its forty-odd members were divided into small groups sitting at Bury successively, week and week about. Thus, on the one hand, the dominating clique or 'cabinet' which ousted the bulk of the committeemen from power in a county like Kent did not develop: each social group and family retained its own position. On the other hand, with its changing composition and chairmanship, the committee was less of a permanent institution than those elsewhere; it never attained an omnipotent position, and there was no revulsion against it in the second Civil War. It is also noteworthy that none of the chairmen here nominated was of primary importance socially. In Suffolk leading county families like the Barnardistons tended to operate behind the scenes or through the Eastern Association Committee at Cambridge.

tenants accordinge to the ordinance of Parliament:¹ it is this daye ordered that the former committe shall stand, and that there shalbe these six cheyermen: Mr Harvey, Mr Cole, Mr Nathaniel Bacon, Mr Francis Bacon, Mr Peeps, and Mr Reade: everyone to sett one month successively, the month to begin the next Tewsdaye. If the cheyerman at any time have an occasion to be absent dueringe the month hee shall have power to appointe any one of the committe in his steade dueringe his absence, with the consent of the committe. The cheyerman is besides to attende his proper weeke,² in regaard hee will else be a stranger to the bussiness.

Butts Bacon	John Wentworth	Will. Soome	John Rous
Maurice Barrow	Tho. Pips	Henn. North.	Tho. Baker
Nath. Bacon	Ro. Brewster	Theo. Vaughan	Fra. Brewster
Edw. Reade	Sam. Moodey	Tho. Chaplin	Peter Fisher
Ro. Duncon			

Letters written to the Committe at Bury

[42] [*From the Committee of Parliament and the City for raising money for the Scots, 12 January 1643-4*]

After our herty commendacions, these are to informe you that wee have herewithall sent you commissions for the execution of two ordinances of Parliament of the 16th and 27th of October 1643.³ Wee need not inlarge our selves unto persons of so much worth and knowledge of how great importance the speedie execution may prove to the advance of the true protestant relidgion and the settlinge of the rights and liberties of the subiects in these three kingdoms. For your proceedinges in this service wee have sent you herewithall certain papers contayning the manner of the proceedinges of the committe here,⁴ which wee have founde usefull and which you maye make use of as you shall see cause, and severall printed bundles of both the said ordinances, and the formes of tickits for voluntary loanes, and the formes of assessments. There needs nothinge to be added but to assure you that the greate truste and confidence wee have of your faithfulness and good affections and abillitys moves us in a speciall manner to make choice of you for the carrieinge on of this worke, which is of so great consequence that your times and industrys cannot be spent in a service of more publicke consequence; and therefore as wee make no

¹ The phrase is obscure, but it seems that with the proposed reduction in the size of the Committee, there would be too few deputy lieutenants to meet the required attendance of three at each meeting (owing to the division of the Committee into groups sitting in rotation). No ordinance reducing the membership is traceable, though the Committee of October 1644 was slightly smaller than that of September 1643 (38 : 42).

² i.e., as well as attending his month as chairman, he was also to attend his week as committeeman.

³ The commissions referred to are Nos. 43 and 44. The ordinance of 16 October was 'for the repayment of all such sums of money as are . . . lent . . . for the speedy bringing of our brethren of Scotland into this realme . . .': that of 27 October for raising £66,666 13s. 4d. 'by way of loane' for the Scots. (Suffolk was assessed at £5,000, Norfolk £6,000, Hertford £3,000, Essex £5,000, Cambridge £2,000, Huntingdon £1,000, etc.). - F. & R., I, 311, 322-3.

⁴ The Committee at Goldsmiths' Hall, see No. 45.

doubte so wee doe most earnestly intreate you will imploye the utmost of your intrest and care in the managing hereof. Your loveing freinds,

Nath. Barnardiston Henn. Vaughan¹ Ro. Renolds
Oliver Sinion Anth. Alby² John Longe James Purstowe

To our very worthi freinds Sir Edmund Bacon, Sir William Springe, and the rest of the gentlemen named in the commission. 12 January 1643

[43] [*Commission referred to in No. 42, under ordinance of 27 October 1643*] Whereas by an ordinance of both Houses of Parliament for raiseinge of mony for the better inablunge our bretherin of Scotland for our assistance and defence in this common cause of our religion and liberty, beareinge date the 27th of October 1643, it is amongst other thinges ordained that the committe of Parliament and City of London appointed for this service shall have power to name in each County three or more persons of ranke and integrity, which said persons so nominated shall have power to put the said ordinance in execution as in and by the said ordinance doth and may appear: wee doe, accordinge to the said power given to us, nominat you Sir Edmund Bacon, Sir William Springe, Sir Thomas Barnardiston, Sir William Soame, Sir John Wentworth, knts., Maurice Barrow, William Heveningham, Robert Brewster, Francis Brewster, Brampton Gourdon, senr., Brampton Gourdon, junr., William Tirrill, Edmund Harvey, Samuel Moodey, Nathaniel Bacon of Ipswich, Peter Fisher, Roger Duncon, Nicholas Bacon, Nathaniel Bacon of Friston, William Bloyse, Isake Apleton, Henn. North, senr., esqrs., to put the said ordinance in execution in the County of Suffolk, accordinge to the true intent and meaninge thereof and the trust reposed in you. In wittnes whereof wee have hereunto sett our hands the 13th daye of Januarii 1643[-4].

Nath. Barnardiston Ro. Renolds. Henn. Vane
Oliver Sintjohn.Jo. Longe Antho. Alby² James Purstow

[44] [*Commission referred to in No. 42, under ordinance of 16 October 1643*] Whereas an ordinance of both Houses of Parliament of the 16th of October 1643 is passed for the repayement of all such sumes of mony as are or shall be lent by any person or persons for the speedie bringeinge of our brothers of Scotland into this realme for our assistance in this present warre, and wheras wee are appointed a committe for raiseinge of the said loanes and sumes of mony, and amonge other thinges have power and authority to advance the service of raiseinge the said sumes by voluntary loanes and contribucions in such manner and by such meanes as wee shall finde to be most conducable thereunto: wee, in pursuance of the said power given unto us by the said ordinance, doe appointe and authorise you Sir Edmund Bacon, Sir William Springe, Sir Thomas Barnardiston, Sir William Soame, Sir John Wentworth, Maurice Barrow, William Heveningham, Robert Brewster, Francis Brewster, Henn. North, junr., Thomas Tirrill, Francis

¹ Probably Sir Henry Vane the younger (M.P. Hull). Barnardiston was M.P. for Suffolk, Renolds for Hindon, Sinion (*sc.* St John) for Totnes, Irby for Boston.

² *i.e.* Irby – a mistranscription no doubt by the compiler of the Committee Book.

THE COMMITTEE OF SUFFOLK

Bacon, Brampton Gourdon, senr., Brampton Gourdon, junr., William Tirrill, Edmund Harvey, Samuel Moodey, Nathaniel Bacon of Ipswich, Nathaniel Bacon of Friston, William Bloyse, Isake Apleton, Peter Fisher, Robert Duncon, Nicholas Bacon, and Henry North, senr., to advance the said service by voluntar耶 loanes or contribucions in the County of Suffolk by such meanes as you shall finde to be most conducable thereunto. In wittnes whereof wee have hereunto sett our hands the 13th daye of Januarii 1643[-4].

Nath. Barnardiston Ro. Renolds Henn. Vane
James Spurstow Oliver Sintjohn John Longe Anth. Alby¹

[45] The manner of the proceedinges of the Committe at Goldsmith Hall for raisinge of mony for our bretherin of Scotland, whereupon the thinges ensuinge are propounded to your consideracions, [*January 1643-4*]²

1. You are desired to take notice that, though the ordinance which gives authority of assesseinge the persons that shall lende, beareinge date 27th of October 1643, appointed the sume of [*blank*] to be lent in the County of [*blank*], and that none shall be assessed whose estate is not worth £1000, yet it is intended and desired that a greater sume maye be procured upon the Ordinance of Voluntary Loane, beareinge date the 16th of October 1643, and any person of any estate whatsoever maye lende and may be desired to lende to this service upon the said last mencioned ordinance.

2. You are likewise desired accordinge to the ordinance of the 27th of October to appointe two or more persons presently in each hundred who maye send out warrants to sume in each parish and use all meanes to informe themselves of the names of the persons in each parish which maye lende, and what sumes they maye lende. And because a great parte of the friute of these ordinances will depend upon the integrities and diligence of the persons to be appointed by you in each hundred, you are desired to be extraordinary carefull of their choise, that their affections and parts may be fitt for the imployment and that you would give them especiall order to attend it.

3. You are desired to use all care and give punctuall direccions that the returnes of the names in each parish and sumes they are fitt to lend be brought to you with all possible speed; and after the returne that you will, by the meanes of the said persons formerly appointed by you, forthwith send unto each person fitt to lend in each parish ticketts of what they are to lend; and you are likewise desired to use all diligence to gitt in their money according to the said tickets, that thereby you may procure as much as may be to be brought in upon the Ordinance of Voluntary Loane of 16th October 1643.

4. You are desired to take care that some twelve of the richest and worst affected in each hundred be assessed the summes they are fitt to lend immediately upon the returnes of their names and summes they are fitt to

¹ i.e. Irby.

² This item is the enclosure referred to in No. 42; see note 3, p. 59.

lende, and that stricte course and speedie be taken for leveyinge the said sumes aforesaid upon them, by distresse, imprisonment, or otherwise, as by the ordinance of the 27th of October 1643 is appointed, that by there example the rest maye be quickned to lende withe the more speed.

5. You are desired likewise for this purpose to devolve and spreade abroad both the ordinances together, and to appointe the minister in each parish to reade them in the church and to exorte the people to a free and cherefull contribucion to so good and necessary a worke. And for the farther incorigment of all persons to lende with cherefullnes, you are to cause it to be throughly and universuall understood that by the ordinance the mony lent by voluntary loane are to be repayed before any of the monyes lent upon the assessment.

6. You are likewise desired to appointe the same treasurers for both the ordinances, and to direct them what place they shall constantly sitt in, that when any persons come to paye in any mony it maye certainly be received. And that the said treasurers maye better know what they are to receive and upon which of the ordinances, you are desired to send unto them a liste of the monyes of each person you send tikets unto, with the sumes how much they are writt to for, as allso the names and sumes of such as are assessed. And the said treasurers are to be directed to keepe the accompts distinct, how much mony is received upon the one and how much upon the other ordinance, and to certify every tenn dayes at furthiste unto your selves what sumes of mony they shall from time to time have in there hands; and you are desired once in every tenn dayes to certifiye the Committee at Goldsmithes' Hall of your proceedings herin.

7. You are likewise desired to appointe some persons to register the acquitances which the treasurers shall give and to subsigne the entry of them, which acquitances so subsigned shall be sufficient for the lenders upon eyther of the ordinances to receive the mony lent, accordinge to the true intent thereof.

8. You are likewise desired, as ofte as you cann conveniently, to certifiye this Committe of your proceedinges in this service, and the names of any persons you appointe in each hundred, or of any collectors or others employed, that shall neglect there dutie and care in this bussines, with the nature of there neglects that further course maye be taken accordinge to there demerits.

[46] [*Manchester's commission to William Dowsing to execute the ordinance of 28 August 1643¹ for defacement of superstitious images, pictures, and inscriptions, 19 December 1643. Printed C. H. E. White, The Journal of William Dowsing . . ., 1885, 6-7.*]

[47] [*Manchester to the Committee of Suffolk, 12 March 1644, enclosing a Commission [No. 48] and Instructions [No. 49] for executing the ordinance*

¹ F. & R., I, 265, date this ordinance 26 August; Edward Husband, *A Collection of all the publicke Orders . . .*, 1646, 307, gives 28 August.

of 22 January 1643-4 'for regulating the University of Cambridge, and for removing of scandalous ministers in the seven Associated Counties.']¹

Gentlemen,

I sende you by this bearer a commission with instructions for executinge the ordinance of Parliament against scandalous minesters within your County. I neyther doubt of your abillitys nor affections to further this service, yet accordinge to the great trust imposed upon me herein by the Parliament, I must be earnest with you to be dilligent herein. You know how much the people of this kingdome have formerly suffered in there persons, soules, and estats under an idle ill-affected, scandalous, and insolent clergie uphelde by the bishops, and you cannot but foresee that there preshures and burthins will still continue, although the forme of government be altered, unless great care be taken to displace such minesters and to place orthodox and holy men in every parish. For let the government be what it will for the forme thereof, yet it will never be good unlesse the parties employed therein be good themselves. By the providence of God it now lies in your power to reforme the former abuses and to remove those offenders. Your power is great, and so is the trust reposed in you, and your fault will be no lesse if you doe not well discharge this great truste. If a generall reformation follow not within your Countye, assuredly the blame will be laid upon you, and you must expect to be called to accompt for it, both here and hereafter. For my part I ame resolved to imploye the utmost of that power given unto me by the ordinance for the procuringe a gennerall reformation in all the Associated Countyes, and expectinge your forwardnes and hertie joyninge with me herein I rest,

Cambridge, 12th March 1643[-4] Your loveinge freind to serve you,
Manchester

[48] [*The commission referred to in No. 47, 12 March 1644*]

By vertue of an ordinance of the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled to me directed, intituled an Ordinance for Regulatige the University of Cambridg and for Removinge Scandalous Minesters in the seaven Associated Countys, I doe authorise, constitut, and appoint you, Sir John Wentworth, knt., Nathaniell Bacon of Friston, Robert Brewster, Nathaniell Bacon of Ipswich, Francis Bacon, William Bloyse, Francis Brewster, esqrs., Peter Fisher, Robert Duncon, and John Base, gen., or any five of you, to call before you all ministers and scholemasters within the County of Suffolk that are scandalous in there lives, or ill-affected to the Parliament, or fomentors of this unnaturall warre, or that shall willfully refuse obeadiance to the ordinances of Parliament, or that have deserted there ordinary places of residence, not beinge employed in the service for Kinge and Parliament, with full power and liberty to sende for any witnesses and to examin any complaint, testimony, or evidence against them; and

¹ Manchester was to 'appoint one or more committees in every County, consisting of such as have been nominated deputy lieutenants or committees by any former ordinance . . . every committee to consist of ten, whereof any five or more of them to sit in any place . . . the said earle shall appoint . . .' - F. & R., I, 371. Nos. 47-50 and the ordinance itself clearly show Manchester's ascendancy in the Eastern Association. There was no parallel to his position elsewhere. Cf. also No. 52.

you to certifie the names of such minesters, upon oathes of such persons as shall and may be produced to give proofes against them, to me. And I doe hereby further authorise and appoint you to adminester the late Covenant,¹ taken or to be taken of all the three kingdomes of England, Scotland, and Ireland to all persons within the said County and to perform and execut all other thinges directed by the said ordinance within the said Countye. And whatsoever you or any five of you shall doe in the premisses, this shall be your warrant. Given under my hand and seale the 12th of March 1643[-4].

Manchester

[49] Instructions from the Earle of Manchester in pursuance of this commission, as followeth, [*March 1644*]²

1. You are with all speed and dilligence to applie yourselves to the speedie and effectuall executinge of this ordinance, and for that ende you are to devide your selves into severall Committes (five of you beinge a Committe), and to appoint certain daies for your sittinge in severall places within the County, that so by the easines of access may be incoridged to addresse themselves to you with there complaints.

2. When any complaints are made unto you and articles preferred against any minesters, you are to sende out your warrants to the wittnesses, as also to the minesters, to appeare before you at the time and place appointed. I thinke it not fitt that the partie accused shoulde be present at the takeinge of the depositions because of discountenancinge the wittnesses and disturbinge the service. But when the depositions are taken upon oath you are then to lett the partie accused have a coppie of them, if hee will pay for it, and to give him day to returne his answe in writtinge and to make his defence at another meetinge to be appointed within 14 days or thereabouts.

3. You are to returne both the accusacion and the defence under your hands sealed up to Mr Good or Mr Ashe,³ whome I have appointed to receive the same, who thereupon shall receive such further directions as shall bee thought fitt.

4. If the partie accused will not appeare nor make his defence, you are to certifie the cause of his absence and neglect herein, for if hee be non-resident or in armes against the Parliament or the like, I shall proceed against him notwithstandinge. And because it is founde by sad experiance that parishoners are not forward to complaine of there minesters, although they be very scandalous, but haveinge this prise and power in there hands yet want herts to make use thereof, too many beinge enimyes to that blessed reformation so much desired by the Parliament and lorth to come under a

¹ 'The Solemn League and Covenant' was taken by the Commons on 25 September 1643. — S. R. Gardiner, *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1625-1660*, 1906, 267-71.

² Cf. No. 47 and footnote.

³ Simeon Ashe, d. 1662, was one of the leading presbyterian divines and became chaplain to Manchester at the outbreak of war. William Goode was also chaplain to Manchester, and the two men wrote jointly, in 1644, 'A particular relation of the most remarkable occurrences from the United Forces in the North' in vindication of their patron. — *DNB*, s.v. Simeon Ashe; A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 1934, 16; see also Nos. 106, 107.

powerfull minesry, and sume spareinge there minesters because such minesters doe gain the good opinions of there people, for the present doe spare them in there tithes, and thereupon are esteemed quiet men or the like: you are therefore required to call before you sume well affected men in every hundred, who haveinge no private ingagement but intendinge to further the publike reformacion, may be required and incoraged by you to inquire after the doctrins, lives, and conversacions of all minesters and scholemasters, and to give you informacion both what canne be deposed and who cane depose the same.

5. And for the incoragement both of the commissioners and prosecuters in this service, every commissioner shall be allowed 5s. *per diem* that hee sits in executinge this ordinance, to be paied by the sequestrator of the County, who is hereby required upon demand to pay it and who shall be allowed it upon his accompt; out of which monye it is desired that the clerk may receive sume paye, that so the clerke may not discourig the prosecutors or informers by demaunding fees, eyther for warrants or coppies of the proceedinges, unlesse the writtinges be very large and the parties will voluntarily give him sumthinge.¹

6. You are to proceed against all minesters and scholemasters that are scandalous in there doctrins or lives, non-resident, ignorant, or unable for the service, idle, or lazie, and all that are any wayes ill-affected to the Parliament or the proceedinges thereof, expressed eyther by speechis or actions.

7. You are to require the parishnors to make choice of a fitt and able minester to succeed, who must bringe unto me a very good testimonyall, from the best affected gentry and ministry of the County, of his sufficiency, as also of his life and conversacion. And you are to take specciall care that no annabaptist nor antinomian be nominated, but only such as are very orthodox in there opinions and such as the Assembly of Devines now assembled at Westminster will allow of.

8. You are dilligently to inquire of the true value of every liveinge that shall be questioned before you, and to certify the same, as also the estate, livelyhood, and charge of children of the partie questioned, that so I may know what allowance to make to the partie upon the sequestracion, for to maintayne his wife and children accordinge to the ordinance of Parliament.

9. Lastly, you are required to use all other meanes accordinge to your directions for speedinge this service.

Manchester

[50] A forme of the warrant sent out by the Committees for execution of this bussines, [1644]

Suffolk

By vertue of an ordinance of Parliament and a commission to us and others directed from the right honorabable the Earle of Manchester, for the takeinge

¹ The official encouragement of informers brought to the fore an unsavoury class of persons whose activities greatly injured Parliament's reputation. Their methods may be studied in the records of such bodies as the Committees for Compounding and for Advance of Money. See also introduction to Section III, below.

complaints and informacions upon oath againste scandalous minesters and scholemasters within this County, wee require you to give notice to the parties whose names are hereunder written to appeare before us upon . . . , beinge the day of next, at the Signe of in , by 8 of the clock in the morninge, to testifie there knowledge concerninge certaine articles exhibeted against R. . . . M. . . . of E. . . . , Cler., and likewise you are to give notice to the said R. . . . M. . . . to appeare then and there before us, dated this day of 1643.

To P . . . F . . . of B . . . , for execution hereof, and to R . . . M . . . , C . . . D . . . , E . . . F . . . , and G . . . H . . . , wittnesses.

[51] Aprill this first day 1644. A comand from my Lord of Manchester for the listinge of all batchilers, as followeth:

All minesters of each congregacion are hereby required, the next Lord's Day after the receipt hereof, to publish these ensuinge sumons and to speake to the stiringe up of all that have shewne there affections to the cause of Christe in Associatinge and Covenantinge, that they now put there engagements into speedy practise.

By Edward Earle of Manchester, Maior
Gennerrall of the Associated Countyes.

Forasmuch as it is judged to be high time for all that are true protestants to stire up one another to come to help the Lord against the mighty, these are therefore to require all batcheldors (except those [*who*] have or shall lende £20 upon the Propositions¹ or be students in the University in the Ministry) after publication hereof presently to repaier and meet one another at the chiefe towne next adiacent, and there to list themselves before one or more of the deputie leivetenants, who are desired to attend for that purpose at the usuall place in each devision. And every 200 men mett and listed are hereby allowed to agree together by most voyces, with the advice of the said deputie leivetenants and one or more of the ancient and best affected in each towne, who are hereby desired to attend, to chose there owne captaines and officers and presently to fall into exercise and be redy to march upon occasion. And if any batcheldor of the degree above said shall neglect or refuse this service for the space of six dayes, that then the constables of each towne is hereby required and authorized to apprehend the partie and carry him before the next deputie leivetenant, who is hereby authorized to committ the partie to prison, there to remayne. And if the constables refuse or neglect to doe this, then hee shall forthwith forfitt the sume of £5; and the deputie leivetenant for his neglect or refusall the sume of £10.

To the deputie leivetenants of
the County of Suffolk, and to eyther of
them, who are hereby desired to be
dilligent in promotinge this worke.

Manchester

¹ 'The Propositions' were the Declaration of 9 June 1642 under which money, plate, and horse were subscribed to Parliament. — F. & R., I, 6-9.

[52] [*Manchester's instructions to the Committee of Suffolk, 12 February 1643-4*]¹

To the intent the Committe of the County of Suffolk may for the time to come regulate there proceedinges in such manner as may continue the peace of the County and be answerable to my expectacion, I have composed these instructions followinge:

1. Whereas I have sent commissioners into the said County to raise mony upon every person for there 5th and 20th part,² my meaninge is that the said commissioners shall deliver to the Committe of the said County sittinge at Bury St Edmonds a perfect accompt what they tax and raise in every hundred and towne upon every person, that so the County may receive satisfaction what the sume of mony amounts unto. And my intencion is that the said commissioners, in there said tax, shall proceed very favourably with the poorest of farmers, and also with such as have but £5 per ann. or £50 in goods: but more especially with such as have shewne themselves well-affected to the Kinge and Parliament or have great charge of children or be impotent or verye aged.

2. That the County may certainly understand how all there monyes are disposed I have appointed Sir William Springe, baronitt, Edmond Harvey, esqr., and Samewell Moodey, gen., treasurers and receivers of all monyes heretofore taxed and raised or hereafter to be taxed and raised within the said County, except the mony taxed by my commissioners for the payement of the forces of the said County and other charges; and that they shall have power to call all other and former treasurers and receivers of mony before them and take there severall accompts, and that they hasten in all arrears and make payement thereof to William Leaman and Gregory Gawshall,³ esqrs., whome I have appointed treasurers for the whole associacion, whose aquitances shall be sufficient discharges to the said treasurers.

3. That the forces of horse and foote sent out of the said County may be paid with the mony raised within the said County, my meaninge is that the said Mr Leaman and Mr Gawshall shall constantly issue out the monyes raised out of the said County to the severall forces of horse and foote by eaquall proporcions, and all to one and the same daye, so that aswell the comandars as comon soldiers may attend the service and not be inforced to repaier to the Committe of the County for any supply; and that the said Mr Leaman and Mr Gawshall doe constantly every month deliver to the said treasurers, upon request, an accompt how the monys have bene disbursed, with a list of the forces paid and what is in arreare to every regi-

¹ This item illustrates Manchester's ascendancy in East Anglia. If Sir William Waller had attempted to issue such instructions to the Committee of Kent, he would have received short shrift from Sir Anthony Weldon. Cf. Nos. 47-50, and note 1, p. 63.

² The '5th and 20th part' refers to the assessment levied on the personal and real estate of those who had not contributed under 'the Propositions' of 9 June 1642. - F. & R., I, 145-55.

³ William Leaman was a member of the Committees for Hertfordshire (1643-60), the Eastern Association, Hunts. (from 1647), and Cambs. and Middlesex (from 1648). He sat in the Long Parliament as recruiter for Hertford. Gregory Gawshall or Gawsall was a Norfolk committeeman (1643-52 or later); he also sat on the Association Committee and was high sheriff for Norfolk (1649).

ment, troop, and company, that thereby suply of mony may be saesonably made by the said treasurers of the said County.

4. That from henceforth no horse shall be taken or seased within the said County without the approbacion and privity of the deputie leivetenants or Committes of the said County (unlesse horses of recusants and delinquents). And I doe hereby authorize Sir William Springe, barronit, Maurice Barow, esqr., Francis Bacon and Edmond Harvey, esqrs., or any two of them, to secure the persons (haveing notice thereof) of any who shall seize or take horse otherwise and sende every such person so offendinge to me to be proceeded against for such his contempt: for my pleasure is that all recrutes and levies of horse be dispatched by the Committe of the said County upon my letter to them to be directed, and no commission granted till horse and armes be redy.

5. That the treasurers of the said County shall have allowed them and there agents for there paines for all the monyes in arreare 1d. in the ponde and the subcollectors the like; and that the 6d. in every ponde upon the new ordinance shall be thus devided: 2d. in every pound to the treasurers of the said County and there agents, as much to the treasurers of the Association, one penny to the high collector, and as much to the subcollector.

6. If there be a necessity to raise horse and foote for security of Yarmoth or the Iland adjacent, my meaninge is that the County of Suffolk shall not be at the whole charge but that the raiseinge and payeinge of such forces shall be borne by the Associacion [*according*] to the rule of proporcion,¹ or that the service may be performed by sume forces allredy raised.

Given under my hande 12th February 1643[-4]
Manchester

[53] [*Order of the Committee of Suffolk,*] 29 March 1644

Wheras wee are informed that in this time of greate danger diverse of the trained bands in this County are much altered, which in time (if further permitted) will make the said trained bands neyther of strengeth nor repute, besides there will not be able men left for other publike service: it is therefore thought fitt and so ordered that no captain shall discharge any of his trained soldiers but shall cause all such as be discharged and ought to serve againe, aswell clothworkers as others, to serve againe in there armes, unlesse they be so aged or impotent as no way fitt for service.

[54] [*Order of the Committee of the Eastern Association,*] Cambridge, sexto die Aprillis 1644

Upon the pitticion of the inhabitants of the five hundreds belonginge to the devision of Ipswich² and a reference thereupon made by the right honorable the Earle of Manchester unto this Committe for settlinge the matters contained in the said pitticion: it is this day ordered that the Thursday after Easter be appointed the day for settlinge the bussines concerninge the towne of Ipswich at Cambridge, the question beinge whither to the five

¹ For the 'rule of proporcion', cf. Nos. 38, 40.

² Hoxne, Hartsmere, Bosmere and Claydon, Samford, and Stow.

THE COMMITTEE OF SUFFOLK

hundreds or to the whole County the proporcion of any gennerall charge laied upon the said towne doth belonge. And notice hereof to be given to the Committe at St Edmonds Bury.

Sam. Smith Edw. Skypw[orth] Tho. Simons Ro. Castle
Isack Pullen Will. Leaman H. Mildmay Edw. Clench
Tho. Bendish Theo. Vaughan

[55] [*Order of the Committee of Suffolk,*] Joves, 25 Aprill 1644¹

It is ordered that every Saturday after dinner the Committes are to breake up and return to there houses, if they please, and that the new Committe which are to come and sitt in there steade are to appeare and meet at Bury upon Munday in every weeke by twelve of the clock; and whosoever faile and come not to diner upon the Saterdag and Munday are to pay there ordinary, and hee that doth not sitt out his whole week is not to receive anything towards his charges unlesse his departure be upon urgent occasions.

Fran. Bacon W. Spring Tho. Baker Ro. Duncon
Nicho. Bacon Henn. North Gibson Lucas Rich. Pupplett
Edward Reade Tho. Gibbs Will. Some Tho. Tirill
Ro. Brewster Fran. Brewster

[56] [*Order of the Committee of Suffolk,*] May 2nd 1644, for incoragment of all soldiers that shall goe forth in this service and shall fall sick or receive any wounds

Wheras many soldiers fallinge sick and weake in the service or beinge wounded returne home to there freinds in this County, where if there freinds be poore and not able to releive them they usually meet with ill entertainment from there severall parishes to there greate discouragment, it is therefore this day ordered that great care be taken for the releife and speedie recovery of all such persons, and to that end it is hereby ordered that all sick and maymed soldiers of this County that shall come from there collours with certificats from there captaines of there good behaviour, of there beinge sick or maymed in the service, if they repaire to Bury St Edmonds they shall there be provided for untill they be recovered in such manner as they shall be thought fitt to be sent home to there freinds, that upon there perfect recovery they may returne to there colours. For which end it is ordered that Jasper Shephard of that towne, gen., shall take the care of all such soldiers and shall see them carefully provided for, of all necessaries so as they shall neyther want lodginge, diett or meanes for there recovery: Robert Goodrige, gen., the cirurgion, beinge likewise ordered to attend upon all such persons. And for there paines and care therein, the said Jasper Shephard and Robert Goodrige shall have allowance from the Committe.

[57] [*Order of the House of Commons for removal of 'suspicious persons' and recusants from the lines of communication, and for putting the forces of London and the counties in a posture of defence, 15 May 1644. Printed CJ, III, 493.]*

¹ Cf. No. 41.

[58] [*Order of the Committee of the Eastern Association at Cambridge*,]
29th of Aprill 1644

Ordered that the Committe in each County shall forthwith call the treasurers for maimed soldiers in each county to accompt, and that the Committes order them to pay such monyes as are in there hands to such persons as they shall thinke fitt for quarter and mayntainence of the maymed, wounded, and sick soldiers in each of the said Countyes; and if such monyes shall not be sufficient for releife of the said soldiers, then the receivers of the 4 monthes weekly assessment in each County shall pay the remainder of the said charges, which shall be allowed upon there accompt.

Manchester He. Mildmay Nath. Bacon Ed. Clench
Rob. Winter Tho. Cooke Hump. Walton

[59] [*Order of the Committee of the Eastern Association at Cambridge*,]
30 Aprill 1644

Ordered that all the areragis of sendinge scoutts and messengers, drages to fetch in mony, charges of the commissioners' clerk and dorekeeper, releife of lame and sick soldiers in there travell, or for sendinge soldiers to there collers, fire and candle at gaurds, and all other the like emergent charges ariseinge in each particular County of the asociacion, shall be allowed to each County, out of the treasury for the asociacion, from the monyes ariseinge by anye meanes other then the weekly assessment for the foure months¹; which said charges shall be allowed upon certificat thereof under the handes of five of the Committe of each County of the asociacion upon there treasury accompt.

Manchester Nath. Bacon He. Mildmay Tho. Cooke
Rob. Winter Hum. Walton Edward Clinch

[60] By the Committe at Bury St Edmunds, the 25th of Julij 1644²

1. It is this day thought fitt and soe agreed by the Committe that every person who hath cleere estate of £120 *per annum* shalbe charged one foote armes in the trained bands and one light horse wth a troope sadle, case of pistolls, and sword; and that every person of £100 *per annum* and no more shalbe charged with one dragonere and one foote armes; and that every person who findeth a light horse and one foote armes shall chouse whither hee will serve on his horse or in his trained armes.

2. That all such persons as be not charged with armes by the ordinance shall serve in other men's armes not able to serve themselves, and for recruit upon impresse.

3. That such forces as shall be raised shalbe exercised once every monthe after harvest, unlesse the deputie leivetenants comand otherwise; and that every person charged with armes shall pay to him that serveth in his armes eight pence *per diem*, a quarter of a pound of powder, and convenient match.

¹ The phrase probably means that the charges were to be met out of receipts from Sequestrations. In Suffolk, as elsewhere, as much as possible was charged on Sequestrations, which were paid only by delinquents, instead of on Assessments, which were borne by all.

² This order no doubt results from the 'Ordinance for putting the Associated Counties . . . into a posture of defence by the better regulating of the trained bands, and raising other forces . . .' 3 July 1644 (the day following Marston Moor). - F. & R., I, 462.

4. That every person charged with armes shall be left to the Committe within there severall devisions to charge them at there descretions haveinge a respect to there charge and other circumstances.

5. That the Deputie Leivetenants and Committes are to subscribe such horse and armes accordinge to there respective estats.

6. That every person of £300 *per annum* [shall be charged with] one light horse compleatly armed, viz. a troope saddle, back and brest, heade peece, case of pistolls and sword, and one dragone; and every person of £500 p.a. two light horses compleatly armed as aforesaid, and so upwards after that proporcion, accordinge to the discretion of the Deputy Leivetenants and Committes within there respective devisions.

7. That all sperituall liveinges, amenities, and rent charges for life shall be rated at 7 yeares' purchase, and all plundred minesters that come in upon sequestracions at 3 yeares' purchase.

[61] [*Order of the Committee of Suffolk*], 4 June 1645]

Accordinge to instructions received from the Committe of Both Kingdomes, wee doe constitut and appoint Collonell Bloys, Captain Hodgies, Thomas Bacon, Francis Brewster, Robert Brewster, Thomas Tirill, William Tirrill, Thomas Blossse, John Brandlinge, Robert Duncon, and Peter Fisher, and Francis Bacon, or any two of them, to take care of the execution of the instructions lest [*sic*] for Langerford [*sc. Landguard Fort*] as they shall see cause.¹ Two of them are to continue and joyne with Ensigne Barnes untill others come to supplye there places, till further order be taken by the Committe of Both Kingdomes.

Junij 4th 1645

Nath. Barnardiston John Gourdon

SELECT ORDERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF
SUFFOLK, 1644-1652²

[*The following orders illustrate the variety of business dealt with by the Committee and the way in which its power was felt in the county. Topics covered include the carriage of money to London, watching Felixstowe Beacon, prosecuting a pirate, supporting a widow and 'three very small fatherlesse infants', demolishing redundant garrisons, purchasing tobacco pipes for committeemen, paying alehouse-keepers for quartering troops, the trial of 'witches' at Bury, and the Conference at Bury regarding the New Model.*]

[62] By the Committee att Bury St Edmunds, the 8 November 1644

It is ordered that Mr Lelam³ deliver unto Smith, a poore butcher of Bury, one

¹ A fortnight earlier the Committee of Both Kingdoms had 'received information that there is some practice against the Fort att Landguard Point . . .', and instructed Captain Hunter, 'to putt yourselfe with fivety men into that Fort . . .' - J. H. Leslie, *The history of Landguard Fort, in Suffolk*, 1898, 27-8.

² From orders in SP 28/243, except No. 70, which is from SP 28/251. Notes and endorsements confirming the receipt of money and the like have been omitted. The orders not printed here are principally of a routine nature.

³ Edmund Lelam was alderman of Bury and registrar of the Committee. The fact that he held both positions illustrates the close association in Suffolk between the Committee and other local institutions, thus precluding any rivalry between them.

of the lame horses of the dragoones in leiu of a horse that was killed with carrying up of money to London for the state's use.

Gibson Lucas Fr. Bacon Sam. Moody Edw. Rede
Tho. Gippes

[63] By the Committee att Bury St Edmunds, the 23th of January 1644[-5] It is this day ordred that Mr Lelam shall pay unto the widdow of Mathew Cole, for watching of Felixtow Beacon from the seaventeenth day of October untill the thirtieth day of January 1643[-4], the summe of six pounds, beinge for three monthes and three weekes.

Wi. Bloys J. Hodges Fr. Bacon Ro. Dunkon
Tho. Chaplin

[64] By the Committee at Bury St Edmunds, 21^o February 1644[-5] It is this day ordered that Mr Lelam pay unto Sir William Springe, barronett, Frauncis Bacon and Edmond Harvey, esquires, the some of eighteen pounds towards their charges in attending the Committee for the Safety of both Kingdomes a fortnight, being employed by the Committee with busines of great concernement to this County, and this shalbe your warrant, which is to be paid out of the £5000 money.¹

Tho. Barnardiston Bra. Gurdon John Wentworth
Ro. Brewster John Rous Henry North

[65] [*Order of the Committee to Alderman Lelam upon the petition of a widow, 8 May 1645[?]*]

Mr Alderman, this petiteoner's case is lamentable. Let the pore widdowe have £20 for the present. May 8th.

Fr. Bacon W. Spring Tho. Chaplin

[*Petition referred to in above order, from Anne Alliston of Sudbury, widow, 'to the right worthy Captaine Eyers'*]

Humble sheweth that the husband of your poore petitioner, Roger Alliston, was one of your soldjers, and was willinge to venter his life in the cause of Christ, and did endure some hardshipp both by his imprisonment at Newarke and other wayes in the service, which was not unknowen to your worships, and for ought I ever herd was very forward uppon all occasions to doe his duty. But soe it hath pleased God that in the service he hath lost his life, and had at the time of his death neere twenty pounds due to him for pay, and hath left me, a poore distressed widdowe with three very small fatherlesse infants, the eldest of five yeeres of age, and not any estate to the value of five shillings. My humble desire is that towards my releife your worships would bee pleased to afford me that paye which in right was due to him at his death, for as I am credibly informed you have lately

¹ The Committee of Both Kingdoms, consisting of members from both England and Scotland, was set up in February 1644 to control the united armies (S. R. Gardiner, *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1625-1660*, 1906, xli, 271-4). The 'busines of great concernement' probably relates to events during the recent New Model crisis, when Suffolk took a leading part in the Association's opposition to the proposed reforms. Cf. Nos. 71, 88.

received monyes to paye the arreers of your soldjers, whereby the poore widdowe and fatherlesse children shall bee ever bounde, as in duty, to pray for your saftie and happines.

John Mead, Maior

[66] By the Committee at Bury St Edmunds, 22^o die October 1645

Ordered that Mr Base, out of the third parte of sequestration money, doe pay to Mr Alderman of Bury St Edmunds the some of one hundred and thirty pounds, by him to be paid to Sergeant Godbold and Mr Woodward for the defrayinge of all their charges expended in twoe journeyes from London to Bury, and his staye there about one moneth about the tryall of the witches and other malefactors in the severall goales in this County.¹

[67] By the Committee at Bury St Edmunds, 11^o Marcii 1645 [-6]

Whereas Capteyn Whiting, a pirate,² was taken upon the coaste of Suffolk with £4 16s. in his pockett, whereof 14s. was geven to the watchman and one other that apprehended him and 50s. to divers that brought him up to the Committee for their charges, and the remainder, being 32s., is deposited in the hands of Mr Lelam, it is this day ordered that the fifty shillings laid out in charges in bringing him up be laid out of the third part of the sequestracion money³ and be added to the 32s. in Mr Lelam his hands, which is to be allowed upon his accompte,⁴ and that and the 32s. is to be laid out in defraying of his charges. Which said 50s. was paid in our presence according to this order.

W. Hevingham W. Spring Will. Lawrence

Robt. Reynolds Gibson Lucas

[Noted:] Received by mee William Ashe, keeper of the Countrey Gaole in Bury, of Mr Lelam the abovesaid some of fower pounds two shillings to and for the use of Capteyn Whiting, I say received £4 2s.

William Ashe

¹ John Base of Saxmundham was solicitor-general for Sequestrations in Suffolk. Eighteen 'witches' (including two men) were tried at Bury and executed on 27 August 1645; 120 more suspects remained in prison because the judge was forced to postpone the trial 'by reason of the neere aproaching of the Cavaliers.' Most of those accused had bewitched corn and cattle, or men, women, and children; but Mr Lowes, elderly parson of Brandeston, 'confessed that he bewitched a ship neere Harwidge so that . . . the said ship was cast away, wherein were many passengers, who were by this meanes swallowed up by the mercilesse waves . . .' He had 'preached about three score sermons after he had made his covenant with the Devill . . .' The prosecution of witches reached its peak in this puritan county. Four searchers were appointed, two men and two women, who went from town to town, shut their suspects in a room, stripped them 'starke naked', searched for 'any teats and dugs', and set them 'upon a stoole' for 24 hours until 'their severall impes' came to suck them. If the impes refused to come, the witches would be 'mightily perplexed and much tortured . . . and . . . be strangely out of order, and fome at mouth . . .' - E. 301. 3.

² Piracy was a cause of frequent concern in this mercantile county (*cf.* No. 120). Whiting was imprisoned in the county gaol at Bury and sequestered by the Committee.

³ *i.e.*, the third part of receipts from sequestrated estates, which was retained by the County, the remaining two-thirds being paid over to the central government.

⁴ Under the system of accounting then prevalent, Lelam was 'charged' with his receipts from assessments, etc., and 'allowed upon his accompte' or 'discharged of' the payments authorized by the Committee.

[68] By the Committee at Bury St Edmunds, 3^o die September 1646¹
 It is ordered that Mr Lelam pay unto Frauncis Lelam,² for riding five dayes journey, and for horsehire, horsemeate and charges, to Beccles, Woodbridge, and Ipswich Divisions,³ with warrants to the cheife constables and letters to collectors for gatheringe of three moneths' pay for the sleighting and demolishing of the garrisons of the Easterne Asociacion, the somme of two pounds two shillings sixe pence; as alsoe for three dayes' iourney, horsehire, horsemeate, charges, and paynes in carrying of letters to Mr Nathanuell Bacon, the bayliffs of Ipswich, Mr Base, and Mr Curtis for collecting and gathering in of the arreares of the garrison money, and bringing in the money at this sitting, by order from the Committee of the Easterne Asociacion, twenty five shillings sixe pence, being in the whole three pounds eight shillings, which is to be paid out of the third part of the sequestracion money, and it shalbe allowed upon accompte.

R. Pepys John Rous W. Heveningham Edm. Harvey
 Sam. Moody

[69] By the Committee at Bury St Edmunds, 9^o October 1646
 It is this day ordered that Mr Lelam pay unto the severall innkeepers and alehowsekeepers what money is due unto them upon the bills under the hand of Capteyn Playford for the quartering of his soldiers in Bury, being about eight pounds, which were goinge to London and soe to Ireland, out of the third part of the sequestracion money, and it shalbe allowed upon accompte.

R. Pepys W. Heveningham Tho. Chaplin Sam. Moody
 Ro. Dunkon

[70] [*Order of the Committee.*] October 10th 1646
 Wheras upon an order of the Lords and Commons for the Eastearne Association,⁴ dated August 27th 1646, it is ordered that the Committee of the County of Suffolk should veiw the ordinance and amunition belonging to the Asociacion which should be brought from Cambridge to Ipswich, and shall have liberty to make change or sale of such of the decayed powder and broken armes as shalbe most necessary to be sould, and it appearing upon veiw to some of us that some of the powder and armes aforesaid are decayed: we therefore, according to the said order, allow of the sale of twenty barrells of powder and the broken musketts, and of the fourth part of the match which is decayed, and we appoint Mr Peter Fisher, according to the order, to make sale therof and to render an accompt therof to the Committee of the Asociacion.

Nath^{ll} Bacon Fr. Bacon John Base Th. Brandlinge
 Ro. Dunkon

[71] By the Committee at Bury St Edmunds, 6^o Novembris 1646
 It is ordered that Mr Lelam pay unto Frauncis Lelam his brother for his

¹ The order is typical of many indicating the supremacy of the Committee of the Association over that of the county.

² His brother.

³ *Cf.* note 2, p. 47.

⁴ i.e., the Eastern Association Committee in London: see note 1, p. 58.

horsehire charges, horsemeate, and paynes in travelling to Norfolk, Essex, Cambridge, Hartford, and Huntingdon with letters from this Committee to the severall Committees of those Countyes for a generall meeting,¹ according to his bill, the somme of fifty shillings out of the third part of the sequestration money, and it shalbe allowed upon accompte.

Henry North Tho. Tirell Tho. Chaplin Peter Fisher
John Base

[72] By the Committee att Bury St Edmunds, 6^o January 1646[-7]

It is this day ordered that, in consideracion of Mr Theophilus Vagghan's paynes and care in the attendance att London upon the Committee of Both Kingdoms, for a report to be made from them to the Parliament, in a buissines of might and consequenc agitated by the Committee of the whole Associacion sitting at Bury about two yeare sithence, in which employment the said Mr Vaighan contynued seaven or eight weeks at London by the appoyntment of this Committee, that he bee allowed and payd the some of twenty pounds out of the moneyes which the sayd Mr Vaughan brought carefully and delivered unto the Committee and by order of the Committee payed the same into the hands of Edward Lelam, which twenty pounds shalbe allowed to Mr Lelam upon accompt.

R. Pepys Tho. Tirell Tho. Baker Tho. Bacon Edw. Rede
Tho. Gippes

[73] By the Committee at Bury St Edmunds, 6^o die January 1646[-7]

It is ordered that Mr Lelam pay unto Frauncis Lelam the somme of two poundes thirteene shillings sixe pence for horsehire, horsemeate charges, and his paynes according to his bill, for deliveringe of warrants to the highe constables of this County for keeping of the fast, according to the ordinance for unseasonable weather, out of the third parte of the sequestration money, and it shalbe allowed upon accompte.

R. Pepys Theo. Vaughan Tho. Bacon Tho. Gippes
Edw. Rede

[74] By the Comittee att Bury St Edmunds, 3 February 1646[-7]

It is this day ordred that Mr Lelam doe pay unto Robert Turner for his attendance one the Comittee the first weeke in January and Febreuary, and likewise for fiering and candell and tobackopipes, the some of one poundes [*sic*] fowerteene shillings, and itt shall bee allowed him upon his accompt. -- £1 14s. 0d.²

Tho. Bloss Gibson Lucas Henry North Ro. Dunkon
Tho. Chaplin Peter Fisher

¹ The reference here and in No. 72 is to the conference held at Bury on 30 January 1645 (No. 88), at which the Association opposed the formation of the New Model. It is noteworthy that it was apparently Suffolk that summoned the conference. Francis Lelam spent six days in delivering these letters.

² Robert Turner was 'doorkeeper' to the Committee. His duties included the provision of firing, candles, and - with Thomas Bird the cook - the committeemen's dinners. His wages and expenses generally amounted to about £2 to £4 a month. - SP 28/243.

[75] By the Committee at Bury St Edmunds, 5^o die Aprill 1648¹

It is this day ordered that Mr Peter Fisher, one of the sub-committees for takeing the accompts within this County, be appointed to collect and gather in the arreares of the moneys raised within this County for the garrison of Newport Pagnell, and to pay the same into Mr Broad at London, appointed by the Committee of Lords and Commons to receive it; and that all the arreares be gott in and paid by May day, according to an order of the Lords and Commons of the Eastearne Association.²

Richard Peppys Henry North Wi. Bloys Fran. Bacon
To. Chaplin Sam. Moody John Base

[76] By the Committee at Bury St Edmunds, 13^o October 1648

It is this day ordered that the Committee of Accompts be desired to discover what monyes they knowe are in arreare and in the power of the Committee to dispose of whereby Capteyn Poe³ and others may be satisfied what is in arreare to them, and that at the next generall meeting this Committee may be satisfied therein.

Edmund Harvey Tho. Barnardiston John Base
W. Heveningham Sam. Moody W. Soome Gibson Lucas
R. Dunkon

[77] By the Committee for the County of Suffolk, June 16th 1649

Wheras Mr Peter Fisher hath beene of the Committee for the takeing of the Accompts of this County for the space of above fower yeares, and hath beene employed as Register⁴ therin, and hath taken extraordinary paines therin and discovered and gotten in many arreares for the benefitt of this County which otherwise would have beene lost, and hath also beene at great chardges in severall iourneyes about the same: it is ordered that, out of such moneyes as he is ordered to receive belonging to this County to dispose of, that he be allowed the somme of two hundred pownds for satisfaction for his paynes and chardges heerin.

John Wentworth Nath. Bacon R. Brewster Ro. Dunkon
Fr. Brewster

¹ This and Nos. 76-79 illustrate the close control exercised by the general County Committee over the Accounts Committee. Committees to audit local accounts had been set up in many counties in 1644-5. Sometimes they acted as a check on the general committee, and the rivalry between the two bodies came to a head in the second Civil War. But in Suffolk there was no such antagonism: the Accounts Committee remained the junior partner, and itself had to account to the general Committee, who employed its members in collecting arrears (*cf.* No. 78, and see Everitt, *County Committee*, 49-52).

² i.e., the Eastern Association Committee in London, see note 1, p. 58.

³ Captain William Poe, who appears frequently in the orders of the Committee, was an officer in Cromwell's regiment. - W. C. Abbott, *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, 1939, II, 768.

⁴ Despite the statement in No. 79 that 'no such officer' was allowed, the 'register' was the principal official of this and other Accounts Committees: preparing their warrants, composing letters, negotiating with other bodies, and 'privy to all their transactions'. His usual stipend was £50 p.a. - *Cf.* Everitt, *op. cit.*, 45.

[78] By the Committee for the County of Suffolk at Stowe market,¹ September 27th, 1649

Whereas ther is information given us from the Committee for takeing Accompts within this County that ther are divers arreares in the Collectors' hands of moneyes raised for the maintainance of the Brittish Army in Ireland, and for the garrison of Newport Pagnall, and that an act of Parliament dated August 15th 1649 is brought unto them for the payment of five hundred pownds unto Maior Generall Skippon out of the arreares of this County: it is ordered that Mr Peter Fisher doe collect and gather in the said arreares for the payment of the said five hundred pownds, and that they be gathered speedily, and that accompt therof be given to this Committee at ther next generall meeting, and soe from tyme to tyme, as they shall meet, of what is done therin, and to allow three shillings in the pound for the collectinge.

Tho. Barnardiston Tho. Tirell James Hobarte Fr. Bacon
Bram. Gurdon

[79] By the Committee for the County of Suffolk, August 16th, 1652
Whereas by an order formerly made by us, dated June the 16th 1649,² Mr Peter Fisher was ordered to be allowed the sum of two hundred pounds, and therein he was named Register for the Committee of Accounts, which being excepted against, as wee are informed, there beinge noe such officer allowed, neverthelesse wee did then and doe still thinke it fittinge, for his great paines in that worke and his great charges in collectinge of arreares by orders of the Committee of this County, that the said summ of two hundred pounds mencioned in the former order should be allowed him, though not as Register as in the order is mencioned.

Nath. Bacon R. Brewster Fr. Brewster Ro. Dunkon

¹ Stowmarket seems to have become the meeting-place of the Committee after the Bury rising in 1648, the first formal meeting there taking place about 10 June 1648 (*cf.* Kingston, 257). It had also been the usual meeting-place of the deputy lieutenants on county business before 1640 (Helmingham Hall MSS, Minute Book of D.L's. and J.P's.). Later in the Interregnum, as mercantile and naval interests came to the fore, Ipswich became the seat of the Committee.

² No. 77.

II. Suffolk and the Eastern Association

CORRESPONDENCE, 1643-1645

[Of the following letters, the first three reveal the problems that faced the Eastern Association Committee in its early months. The counties were reluctant to forgo any point of sovereignty, and until the Earl of Manchester was appointed major-general in August 1643 the Association remained in continual danger of disintegration. Nos. 85-87 indicate the earl's ascendancy in the Association, the reverence with which the counties regarded him, and the fundamental identity of his and their outlook. Both regarded the war as essentially a provincial affair, and the armies as raised principally for their own defence. Their position, if limited, was consistent, since the Association had been formed for mutual defence, not for attack. Nos. 80 and 81 illustrate the initiative taken by Suffolk in the Association; Nos. 83 and 84 the limits of East Anglian enthusiasm for the cause; and Nos. 86 and 87 the counties' eagerness to support Manchester at the time of his quarrel with Cromwell.]¹

[80] [Committee and Deputy Lieutenants of Suffolk to those of Essex, 20 July 1643]²

Gentlemen,

Wee have received late advertisement from the commissioners att Cambridge³ of the enemye's neere approach; the same wee beleive is with you. Wee are of opinion that it concernes us to consider of a speedy course to make a defence. In our judgments it were very requisite that the cheife gentlemen of all the associated Counties should meet at Cambridge the second or third of August, where wee may debate and resolve of such thinges as may secure us; and that you in the meane time (as wee) would speedily send some forces to keepe of the danger which otherwise may befall us before our meeting. Wee are credibly informed that for the present our forces their doe treble yours, which is farre from the intencion of our Asociacion in which respect we hope you will send the greater number uppon this alarum. Whether of the dayes you agree uppon we desire to

¹ It has not been considered appropriate to print other documents in the Manchester Papers and Egerton manuscripts; their references to Suffolk are merely casual.

² Egerton MS. 2647, f. 41. The letter is one of many small indications of the initiative taken by Suffolk in the Association.

³ i.e., the Committee of the Eastern Association. The full title did not come into use till later, when a distinct institution had developed from the commissioners' meetings at Cambridge. The term 'Eastern Association' was rarely employed at any time; the usual designation was 'the Association' or 'the associated Counties.'

understand with speed, that wee may give timely notice to the gentlemen in Norfolk, who are remote from Cambridge. Soe in hast wee rest

Your affectionate freinds and servants,

W. Spring Nath. Barnardiston Tho. Barnardiston
Maurice Barrowe Edm. Harvey

Stanton, July 20^o, 1643

[81] [*Committee and Deputy Lieutenants of Suffolk to those of Essex, 27 July 1643*]¹

Gentlemen,

We have receyved a letter from Collonell Cromwell earnestly presing the assembling of the Comittee out of all the Associated Countyes at Cambridge; we have likewise receyved an ordinance of Parliament for the rayseing of 2000 men within the Associated Countyes to marche with all speede to Cambridge; which ordinance and letter we conceive is likewise sent to you. We have sent out our warrants for the rayseing of our proportion of souldiers, which we intend shalbe redy to marche to Cambridge upon Wedensday the 9th of August: we desyre if it may be that you would provyde your proportion of souldiers to be then likewise ready, and that some of you, the comissioners, would likewise agree to meete with some of us then at Cambridge, that soe there may be a concurrence with our forces and with our advices for the happy continueing of the safetye and peace of these Associated Countyes. And soe we take our leaves and rest

Your assured freinds and servants,

Will. Playters W. Spring Maurice Barrowe
Nath Barnardiston Tho. Barnardiston Phil. Parker
Brampton Gurdon Isaac Appleton Wi. Bloyse Fra. Bacon

Stowmarkett, July 27th

[*Noted*] Gentlemen,

We desire that you will acquaint the Hartfordshire gentlemen with the contents of this letter.

[82] [*The Committee of the Eastern Association at Cambridge to the Committee and Deputy Lieutenants of Essex, 3 August 1643*]²

Gentlemen,

Wee have continuall and fresh allarams of the danger of the associated Counties by approaches of the Earle of Newcastle's Army, which is now att Gainsburgh executing the Commission of Array, and hath with him 4000 foote besides horse. The Lord Willowby and those att Lincoln have sent for Colonell Cromwell to releive them there, without whose helpe they cannot subsist there longe. The foote that is with the colonell is very inconsiderable att present; if heere bee a defeate or retreat, itt is easie to iudge what will follow. This wee have by certaine relacion which wee cannot but acquaint you with, and againe crave your helpe. Heere are 4 companies of your County nowe in this towne, and wee desire 6 companies more att

¹ Egerton MS. 2647, f. 72.

² *Ibid.*, f. 110. Similar letters were probably dispatched to the other counties. Other letters (e.g., ff. 197, 209, 214) amplify the difficulties which beset the Committee of the Association during its early months.

least, with a month's pay to be added to them out of your County, and forthwith to be sent. Wee have writt for and expect a greater proporcion out of the other associated Counties. If yow now desert us, give us leave to tell you wee feare wee shall not sett heere, nor in these parts any longer, to trouble you with letters any more. If your forces doe come, wee are assured, by God's blesseing, to quitt the asociacion from the feares of the northorne forces for this yeare. Wee purpose to morrow to send away three companies of foote to Stannford¹. Wee have noe more to write, but to assure you wee are

Your humble servants,

Tho. Cooke Tho. Symonds Edw. Clenche James Thompson
Miles Sandys William Harlakenden Miles Corbett
Wi. Symondes

[83] [*Memorial of the Committee for the Eastern Association at Cambridge to the House of Commons (?)*, c. February 1644]²

The Committee for the Asociacion att Cambridge humbly crave the consideration of these perticulers insueinge:

That the provision of the weekly assessment is not sufficient to discharge the charges of theire proportion of the warre for these reasons followinge:

First, because they are to pay the souldiers for thirteene monthes and they have allowance only but for twelve monthes.

Secondly, there is noe allowance in the late ordinance³ for the generall [or]⁴ officers of the army, nor the traine of artiller[y, nor the]⁴ supernumerary companies, troopes, and regiments, nor for changes of garrisons and seiges, nor for raisinge, armeinge, coatinge, and recruteinge of horse and foote, nor for occasionall charges of allarums, nor for many other emergencies, which have bene estimated att above twelve thousand pounds charge monthly over and besides the weekly assessment, as hath been presented in an establishment in September last delivered to Sir Anthony Ireby and others by the auditor Dr Stane and others of the saide Committee.

Thirdly, much of the money assessed by the ordinance cometh not to this treasury att Cambridge, partly in regard itt cannot bee collected by reason of plunderinge by the enemy, depopulations, and other difficulties, and partly because beinge collected itt is charged by superiour powers and perticuler comittees of Counties in the hands of the collectors in the Counties out of the way of the ordinance.

Fourthly, by these meanes a greate debt is contracted upon the Asociacion and there must bee some provision made for the discharge thereof: therefore is not the Committee for the Asociacion att Cambridge to bee

¹ Probably Stamford, taken by Cromwell a week earlier.

² PRO 30/15/3, No. 574. HMC, VIII, ii, 62, assigns this document (with a query) to 1645. But several of the dates in the Report are clearly incorrect, and from internal evidence the date here suggested seems unquestionable. Part of the document is quoted (with a number of mistakes) in Kingston, 375-6.

³ The 'Ordinance for the recruiting . . . of the forces of the seven Associated Counties . . .', 20 January 1644. - F. & R., I, 368.

⁴ Margin of document damaged.

blamed if, after five monthes sollicitinge for releife, the souldiers still cry out for want of cloathes, food, and pay, and contract diseases and dye upon the guards, to the daily greife of all that are true-harted and well-affected.

Nath^l. Bacon H. Mildmay Wm. Leman Gre. Gawsell
John Brewster Isaac Puller Th. Coke Rob. Castell
Robert Vinter

[84] [*The Committee of Both Kingdoms to the Committee of Suffolk, 30 July 1644*]¹

Gentlemen,

Wee have formerly written unto yow to expedite the rayseinge of that proportion of forces appointed for your County by the ordinance of the 12th of July last; and for that the tyme therein prefixed is already elapsed, and the service of very great consequence, and in regard that the proportions of some Countys are ready as they have signified unto us, and desired the appointment of a rendezvous, we doe againe earnestly recommend the same unto you, that you will with all expedition make them ready to march and give us notice thereof that wee may assigne a rendezvous. By reason of this delay, the forwardnesse of other places brings upon them a very great burthen and produceth nothing to the publike service; which cannot be carryed on without the concurrence of all. Wee desire the oportunities offered may not be neglected, nor the charge (which now seemes great) be multiplied by drawing out this warre (and the mischeife of it) to a greater length, which by a present and effectuall prosecution might be brought to an happy and speedy end. Wee doe earnestly desire yow with all to have a care of the recreuts of my Lord Manchester's army, beeing both services of very great consequence.

Signed in the name and by the warrant of the Committee of Both Kingdomes by

Derby Howse,
30th July 1644

Your very loveing friends,
P. Wharton Jo. Maitland

[85] [*The Committee of Norfolk to the Earl of Manchester, early in November 1644*]²

My Lord,

Wee bless God, as wee have iust cause, for the good successe of the armys in generall, soe for your Lordshipp's in perticular, with your preservation. Wee alsoe give your Lordshipp humble thankes for your late adventures at Newbery, and for those many favours formerly received as testimonyes of your Lordshipp's good affecion to us. And now [*your*] honoring us with your Lordshipp's warrant for dispose of money is a lardge manifest of your

¹ PRO 30/15/3, No. 539. John Maitland (1616–82), later 2nd Earl and 1st Duke of Lauderdale, was a prominent member of the Committee of Both Kingdoms. Philip Wharton, 4th baron Wharton (1613–96) was son of Sir Thomas Wharton of Easby, Yorks. – *DNB*.

² PRO 30/15/3, No. 550. This and the two following letters show the Association's complete confidence in Manchester, in spite of his recent 'palpably negligent' conduct at Newbury (28 October; *cf. DNB*), and in striking contrast to its suspicion of Cromwell.

Lordshipp's confidence of us; which, though some have laboured to begett to diffidence and distrust, but prevented by a more noble speritt which dwell in your Lordshipp, of wisdome and constancie, have the more confirmed us in our not new taken up resolutions to serve yow, and more and more inflames them to observe your Lordshipp's commaunds, from which it will much trouble us if necessity shall make us at any tyme to deviate, though wee know in all such cases your Lordshipp's aptnes to pardon.

As for this busynes of Crowland,¹ wee have both for men and money bin forced to the burden, lyeinge cheifely upon us, when by ingagement all the rest of the Association is equally interested to assist, and yet wee may well say some of the countrys will scarce take notice of it. Your Lordship have much incorageed us by your often declaringe our forwardness for the raysinge of your army, which is for the defence of this County as well as the rest of the Association, and doubt not since of your Lordshipp's good acceptance of our care and dilligence for your recrutes and money, being well assured of your Lordshipp's reallity to preserve us. Wee beseech your Lordshipp if it may stand with the juncture of affaires, that yow will improve your interest, that the Parlyament may hasten you into the Association, that soe wee may (by the blessinge of God) be secured both from our enemys and these extraordinary and vast chardges which have often fallen upon us, to the much impoverishinge and disablinge of us. Wee are very confident your Lordshipp naturally takes care of the Associacion, it beinge your proper chardg, and wee are very jealous least wee be made incapable of rendring to your Lordshipp what is iustly due, and wee [*are*] very ambitious to tender, and what your Lordshipp may iustly challenge from, my Lord,

Your Lordshipp's most humble servants,
Will. Pardon J. Hobart J. Spelman Fra. Jermy
John Palgrave Robt. Jermy

[86] [*Colonel Henry Mildmay to the Earl of Manchester, 6 December 1644*]²
May it please yor Lordship,

This bearer can enforme yor Lord ship of the condition of the Newarkers: hee asuers mee Prince Rupert is in Lestersheire and expected at Newarke with 2000 horse. If soe, your Lord ship's men before Crowland will bee in danger.³ I would yor Lord ship could spende some time at Cambridge; it woulde much advantadge yor Lord ship's affaiers, both publicke and perticular. It extremely troubles mee to consider the miserable condition this towne of Cambridge will bee in if but five hundred horse should come against it in the condition 'tis now in. I besetch yor Lord ship to acquainte the

¹ Crowland, after falling to the parliamentarians in April 1643, was regained by the royalists in October 1644, and recaptured by the parliamentarians in December. – Kingston, 107, 177, 181; *cf.* No. 86.

² PRO 30/15/3, No. 526 (incorrectly calendared as from Sir Henry Mildmay in HMC, VIII, ii, 60). Colonel Henry Mildmay, of Grays, Essex, was a prominent member of the Association Committee.

³ See note 1, above. There had been various attempts by the royalists to relieve Crowland in the preceding weeks, from Newark and elsewhere. – Kingston, 179–80.

Committee of both Kingdomes what they must expect from this place unless they dismiss your Lordship from the engagement of your army so far west, that you may be at liberty to keep those your friends¹ in safety that maintain your Lordship's army. This Committee would be forward to serve your Lordship in your late particular.² I could wish your Lordship would let us know what would be most advantageous to your Lordship. I do believe if your Lordship would spend, though but six days at Cambridge, 'twould prove much to your advantage. I pray God deliver your Lordship with honour and honesty from all your enemies, expected and prayed for by your Lordship's obliged and humble servant,

H. Mildmay

Cambridge, December 6th

[87] [*Colonel Henry Mildmay to the Earl of Manchester, 24 January 1644-5*]³

May your Lordship please,

Since I parted with your Lordship I have had discourse with many men of as many minds; if it were fit to trust it in paper I would mention some particulars. Yet thus much: your Lordship's faithfullest friends and simplest enemies are in this Association. The Committee is good at this time. Mr Cooke and Mr Castle is to be at London one Monday next, with the treasurers and their accounts; they were gone before I came at Cambridge, otherwise I should have procured some other in Mr Cooke's room to London, for I conceive he may do better service at Cambridge than London. I think your Lordship may do well to employ him back againe. Wednesday and Thursday next I shall be at Bury, where three of every County in the Association meet to advise what to do for our safety in this our neglected condition: I presume your Lordship has heard of it before.⁴ If your Lordship would have any thing done as concerning your Lordship's business, it will be a good opportunity to agitate the matter. Your Lordship has many faithful servants here, whoe if they do not your will, 'tis because they know it not. With these I humbly present my selfe

Your Lordship's humble servant,

H. Mildmay

Cambridge, January 24

*THE BURY CONFERENCE, 30 JANUARY 1645*⁵

[*The original Self-Denying Ordinance had passed the Commons on 19 December 1644, but was rejected by the Lords on 15 January. In the same month 40 of Manchester's officers signed a petition for his continuance in*

¹ i.e. the Eastern Association.

² Cromwell had exhibited his charge against Manchester on 25 November, and the earl replied a few days later.

³ PRO 30/15/3, No. 530.

⁴ Mildmay refers to the Bury Conference recorded in No. 88.

⁵ PRO 30/15/3, No. 565. The record was evidently compiled for the Earl of Manchester himself. A summary of the MS, with many inaccuracies, is given in Kingston (192-4). Kingston is misleading in attributing the insularity of the counties partly to the 'apathy of their commander . . .' (191).

the service; but on 21st Fairfax was nominated general of the proposed army. The New Model Ordinance was passed on 15th February, and the Self-Denying Ordinance on 3 April.¹ It was in these circumstances that the following conference was summoned to oppose the New Model. With the exception of the objections tentatively offered by Hertfordshire, the solidarity of the Eastern Association was complete. Throughout, the leading part was evidently taken by Suffolk: the conference was summoned at Bury, not Cambridge; 12 of the 32 members were Suffolk men; the chair was taken by 'one of Suffolke'; and the 'whole diet was discharged' by the Committee. See also Introduction, pp. 33-34].

[88] The result of a conference at the meeting of Deputy Lieutenants and Committees, selected and deputed from the Committees of the severall Associated Counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Hartford, Cambridge, Huntington, and Lincolnshire, January 30, 1644[-5], at Bury St Edmonds. At the day and place aforesaid appeared out of Norffolke Sir John Palgrave, Sir Edward Ashley, Mr Southerton, Mr Germy, Mr Woods, Mr John Spelman, and Mr Toby Frier; of the city of Norwich Mr Greenwood; out of Suffolk, Mr Barrow, High Sheriff, Sir William Spring, Sir John Wentworth Mr Henry North the elder, Mr Francis Bacon, Mr Tirrell, Mr Thomas Bacon, Mr Lucas, Mr Chapplein, Mr Gipps, Mr Brampton Gurdon, junior, Mr Nathaniel Bacon; out of Essex, Collonell Henry Mildmay, Mr Raymond, Mr Eldred, Mr Sorrell; out of Hartfordshire, Lieutenant Collonell Coxe, Mr Daughs; out of Cambridgeshire, Mr Clenche, Mr Thomson, Mr Parker; of Huntingtongshire, Mr William Drewry; from Lincolnshire, Sir William Brownlow, Sir Thomas Trollop, Mr Mountegue Cholmeley.

The chaire being appointed unto one of Suffolke, he first gave them all thanks for their concurance, desired their attendance to the point propounded, and not to cross one another in their speeche; and because the letter from the Committee of the Asociacion to the Counties intimated that the Asociacion was in danger of disturbance, he first read the foundation of the Asociacion by the Declaracion of the Parliament and Resolution of the Counties in these words:

The Declaration of the Parliament:²

Section 1: The Lords and Commons declare that they hold it a thing fitt and necessary for the present estate of the kingdome, and doe accordingly ordaine that all lord lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, collonells, captaines, and other officers, and all well-affected persons inhabitants in the severall Counties of Norffolk, Suffolk, Essex, Hartford, Cambridge, and Huntington shall and may associate themselves and mutually succour and assist in the

¹ T. Carlyle, ed., *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, Everyman, 1926, I, 162 n.; S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War, 1642-1649*, 1901, II, 129; *DNB*, s.v., Edward Montagu, Earl of Manchester.

² The 'Declaration for associating Norfolk, Essex, Suffolk, etc.', 20 December 1642, is referred to (F. & R., I, 51-2). The preamble, with 'section' (sc. paragraph) 2 (giving the D.L.'s., etc., power to raise forces, etc.) and part of 'section' 3 (relating to power to march forces out of the counties), is omitted in the above document. The commission to Manchester is added, and there are a number of verbal discrepancies from the original declaration.

mutuall defence and preservacion of themselves and the peace of the said Counties from all rapins, plunderings, spoilings of papists and ill-affected persons.

Section 3 [sic]: And taking into consideracion the necessity of appointing a commander-in-chief over the forces which are or shall be raised in the Counties aforesaid, or any of them, for the service aforesaid, the Lord General is ordered to grant commission to the Lord Gray, and the Lord Gray yeelding up his commission another hath been granted to the Earle of Manchester, whoe hath been and yet is the cheife of all the Associated forces.

Then was read the Resolution of the Counties upon this declaration, which was: To aid and assist one another under the command and conduct of suche person as now hath or hereafter shall have by the authority of the Houses of Parliament the commande in cheife of all the forces of the said Counties, according to the trew intent and meaning of the said order.¹

The chaireman hence [*sic*] craved leave to observe three things: 1, that there must be a body of an armye by joyning together of the Counties; 2, that this body must be under one heade; 3, that this body must serve for the mutuall defence of the said Counties.

And then he desired the opinions of them all in this proposall:

1. Whither is not the Associacion impaired in the mutuall succour of the Counties, if the proposition of the new model of the armye proceede to effect in the Parliament? After the vote had passed through many of them affirmatively, a gentleman of Hartfordshire propounded that it be not impaired in regard it might be for the safety of the kingdome. To this it was replied that notwithstanding it might be for the safety of the Kingdome, yet that was not our worke, being then mett as committees for the Association. Then Mr Spelman propounded that he could not pass his vote till he knew what the new modell of the armye was. To this it was said that the same is sett downe in books in print, but the gentleman pleading ignorance thereof Collonel Mildmay recited the same as he had been informed at London and as he had read the same in printed pamphlets. The vote hereupon passed in the affirmative through all.

The chaireman then propounded a second question in these words:

2. How farr the incorporating of our Associated army in the new modell dothe impaire the Associacion? Affirmed by the most that the consistence thereof was taken away, and by all that the ends and purposes thereof are abrogated.

3. The third question the chaireman propounded in these words: whither it be not necessary to indeavoure the repaire and preservation of the Association? The affirmative passed currant till it camme to the gent. of Hartfordshire, whoe insisted that the contrary thereto might be beneficial for the Kingdome and of the Counties in order thereunto. To this it was answered that the conclusions that were made were allwayes intended to be upon hipotesis submitting to the wisdome of the Parliament. Herewith Mr Francis Bacon said he hoped none there present supposed that any thing

¹ The sentence is from the 'Declaration and Engagement' of the Associated Counties published in February 1643. Cf. also No. 12 and footnote.

would be debated against the way of the Parliament, and thereupon propounded that a protestacion might be made to that effect. This was well liked of and the chaireman appointed to draw a protestacion to be subscribed by all. This was done, and the same concluded upon in these words:

Wee, Deputy Lieutenants and Comitees of the Associated Counties of Norffolk, Suffolk, Essex, Hartford, Cambridge, Huntington, and Lincolnshire, assembled this day concerning advise of the affaires of the Association, doe make protestation that wee intend not in any point debated upon or in any debate concerning suche point to prejudice or oppose the way of the Parliament, but onely to represent our feares and by joint advice to present our requests for the safety of the said Association unto those that are trusted with power to provide remedy.

This being concluded the vote passed through all in the affirmative.

The chaireman then propounded the fourth question in these words:

4. By what meanes and in what manner this indeavour should be acted, whither to have recourse to the Parliament or to the Committee of Both Kingdomes? It was concluded in the negative as touching the Parliament, least it might seeme to intrench upon the priviledges of the Houses. And as touching the Committee of Bothe Kingdomes, it was concluded in the affirmative.

5. Then the chaireman propounded whither it should be by petition or by letter? It was concluded by letter with instructions.

6. Then the chaireman desired their advice in the framing of the letter, as touching the nature and matter of the letter and instructions.

It was concluded that the letter should containe: 1, the causes of this meeting and conference; 2, the feares and complaints of the people; 3, the humble requests as touching the composing of these feares and satisfying their complaints and making up the recrewts. The causes of this meeting were declared to be: first, for the satisfying of the people; 2, for answer to their Lordships' letter concerning the recrewts of the army of the Associated Counties; 3, for advice in future mutuall assistance of the Counties. The feares of the people were declared to be: 1, danger of disolveing the bond of association; 2, the withdrawing of their armye from this their mutuall assistance by incorporating it with the other forces employed for the good of the Kingdome; 3, their disability of subsistance and consistance. Their complaints of extreame charge: [1,] not onely in maintaining their armye but of other forces employed for the generall affaires of the Kingdome and not relating to the mutuall subsistance of the Associated Counties; 2, their surcharges in raising the trained bands and ther auxiliaries in case of alarmes in the absence of the Associated armie. The requests to be: 1, for power by ordinance to imprest men and levy mony for facilitating the recrewts; 2, that eache County may pay their owne proporcion of their forces and that coate and conduct mony may be allowed out of the weekly assesments; 3, in case the associated forces should be drawne into remote parts, that the Scotts may be called to the beseeing of Newarke forthwith; 4, that their Lordships would have respect to the composing of the feares and settling the disturbed thoughts of the people.

The matter of the letter thus concluded the chaireman was appointed to draw up the letter accordingly. And this farr proceeded the conference in the forenoone.

In the afternoone the chaireman brought in the draught of the letter, which being first read throughout, all keeping silence, was read the second time, every period thereof being debated a part, and it was concluded in these words:¹

Right Honourable,

Wee hold it our duty to render an accompt to your Lordships of a generall meeting of Deputie Lieutenants and Comittees, selected and deputed from the seaven Associated esterne Counties, assembled at Bury St Edmonds to advise for the mutuall and future assistance of eache other for the composing of the feares of the people and for answer of your Lordships' letter concerning recrewts of our armie. And according to the result of the said conference wee humbly exhibite to your Lordships' consideration the sadd apprehentions had by the people of these Counties of the alteracion of the armie now in agitation in the Parliament, as that which will take away from them not onely the heade and body of their strength designed, promised, and by ordinance settled for their mutuall assistance, but allsoe deprive them of meanes of future subsistence and consistance and soe render their solemne promise of Association ineffectuall, which God Almightye hitherto hath graciously honoured by witness of concurrence with success of victory to the armie and generall peace for the most part even to their borders, to the wonderment of all observers and envy of the enemy. Wee may not conceale from your Lordships other their complaints of being left naked to the secret malignants at home and to the watchfull enraged enemy abroade, not to be withstood without hinderance of their callings and spending of their stocks upon alarms, as hitherto they have been, and yet deeply charged allsoe in maintainance of our army and other forces in service elsewhere. By all which your Lordships may conjecture how hardly recrewts will arise, especially to unknowne captaines and commanders. Nevertheless, for our owne parts none of these discouragements or any private regarde shall withdraw our zeale from the service of your honours, the Parliament, and kingdome, not onely in recrewt of our armye but by giving all incouragement wee are able to the forces to goe to the west or whither soever they shall be ordered, according to our proporcion in reference to the other armies. Yet for the facilitating of the said recrewts wee humbly offer to your Lordships that one ordinance or more may be passed to inable us to imprest men and to deduct mony for the coate and conduct of the souldiers out of the weekly assesments which shall be layd upon us, without which the worke can never be effected; and that for the encouragment of the souldiers eache County may have power to pay their owne men, and that somme provision may be made for reliefe of sick and maimed; and by this meanes wee hope the worke may prove successfull and seasonable. Which being donne, if we may not have their continuing assistance for our mutuall defence, which wee cannot but desire in consistence with the publiq, wee make this our

¹The letter is printed in LJ, VII, 177-8.

humble and most earnest request that our brethren of the Scotts Armye in the north parts may forthwith be speeded downe to Newarke and beseege that place, which hath been a sore to the Association from the begining of these warrs hitherto, and is like to prove an issue to waste the poore remainder of the meanes thereof, and more especially of our associated friends of Lincolneshire, if somme speedy proceedings be not made agains that place. This, together with the people's expectacion of your Lordships' care of them in relacion to this our humble proposall, will, wee hope, settle the disturbed mocions of their mindes and keepe them ready at your service, to whiche allsoe wee humbly offer our selves,

Your honours' devoted servants.

Bury St Edmunds, 30 January 1644[-5]

Other matters wee have further committed in remembrance to these gentlemen of the severall Counties, to whome wee humbly beseeeche your Lordships to vouchsafe a favourable admittance with their instructions.

Then did Mr Southerton of Norffolke bring in the Instructions, which being debated upon severally were concluded upon in these words:

1. That noe military power be exercised in the Associacion but by ordinance of Parliament.

2. That all the forces and magazines in eache County of the Association be committed to the care and disposall of suche persons as the Deputie Lieutenants and Committees of eache County shall confide in.

3. That every Committee may be enjoyned to pay their forces monthely, and in any case they shall faile of treasure sufficient, they may be inabled to advance mony upon interest to be repayed out of the next monyes. This will bothe prevent mutinies and [*encourage?*] usuall recrewts in a greate measure.

4. That the Deputie Lieutenants and Committees of eache Countie may put in execucion all former and future ordinances.

5. That the seaven Associated Counties and the two citties of Norwich and Lincolne may have their severall and certaine proporcions of men, mony, and horses set by Parliament.

6. That in case any alarme comme from a considerable body of the enemy to any County of the Association which shall bee and continue above three dayes, necessitating the raising of the trained bands or auxilliaries, that then the charge shall be borne by every County in the Association, according to proporcion.

7. That in case these forces now intended to be raised by authority of Parliament shall not be thought sufficient for accomplishment of a desired period to this destructive civill warr, that then this Association will use their best dilligence and indeavoure to raise their uttermost power and strength to joyne with proporcionable forces of other parts, with the Counties, for the speedy finishing and eradicating of this unnaturall warr.

The manner of presenting these was then agreed upon to be by two gentlemen of the Committees for eache County: for the County of Norffolk Mr Southerton and Mr Gemy; for Suffolk Sir Thomas Barnardiston and Mr Roberte Brewster; for Essex Collonel Mildmay and Mr Raimond; for

Hartfordshire Mr Daughs and Lieutenant Collonel Coxe; for Cambridge Mr Clenche and Mr Thomson; for Huntingtonshire Mr Drewry; for Lincolneshire Sir William Brownlow, Sir Thomas Trollop, and Mr Cholmley.

The whole diet was discharged by the Suffolk gentlemen.¹

And soe the meeting, which begunn with devotion, continued in unity and finished in love, ended worthy of an Association unhappy onely in this, that it was cut of by midnight.

JOHN WEAVER'S ACCOUNT BOOK, 1644²

[The following accounts supply many homely details of the military organization behind the Association's regiments. Horses are bought at Cambridge and Stamford, at Northampton Fair and in Bedfordshire; they are stabled temporarily in inns at Cambridge and Huntingdon, and put out to grass at Ely. Arms are purchased in London, conveyed by sea to King's Lynn, and up the Ouse and Cam to the Committee's headquarters. A Cambridge tailor supplies 'liveries for my Lord's watermen'; 156 tents are bought in London, and others are sent from Hull to York shortly before Marston Moor.]

[89] [Disbursements, 8 April to 12 September]

		£	s.	d.
April 8th	Payd to Captayne West in part for armes to be bought	2000	0	0
15th	Payd Captain West more for armes at London	1500	0	0
20th	Payd Mr Wormewell in part for armes	500	0	0
30th	Payd Mr Barker in full discharge of his account for armes	1050	0	0
	Payd by Mr Zinzan to Leiftenant Colonel Conningham	15	0	0
	Payd for posting	40	6	11
	Payd to a Lady that came out of Ireland	3	0	0
	Payd by him to Captaine Johnson's ensigne	1	0	0
	Payd more by the said Mr Zinzan to Maior and Captain Lilburne ³	10	0	0
	Payd him for posting	66	19	4
8th	Payd Captain West, to pay cannoneers	80	0	0
	Payd Captain Blackley for posting and other thinges	9	11	6
	Payd Thomas James, a Cambridge waggoner, for bringing armes from London	9	15	0
	Payd Leiftenant Russell to buy horses	500	0	0
13th	Payd Mr Botterill, clarke of the store at Lynn for his pay till then	53	5	0
	Payd Maior Alford for 16 sadles which he bought	12	16	0
	Payd Captain Knight for 30 sadles which he bought	12	0	0

¹ The bill of Robert Turner, the doorkeeper, and Thomas Bird the 'Committee cook' (attached to a loose order of the Committee in SP 28/243) amounted to £1 19s. 10d.: £1 1s. for '14 gentlemen at 18d. a man', 9s. 4d. for their 14 servants 'at 8d.', and 9s. 6d. for 'two pottells of sack' and two pottles and a quart of 'claritt'.

² SP 28/139. (Totals at foot of each page and repetition of dates omitted.) John Weaver was 'treasurer for the fift and twentieth part paid out of the Associated Counties.' Of receipts from the fifth and twentieth parts in this account (totalling £62,838 17s. 5d., August 1643–September 1644) Suffolk contributed £20,264 11s. 10d., Norfolk £19,607 14s. 1d., Essex £11,397 18s. 11d., Cambs. £7,537 3s. 11d., Herts. £3,799 18s. 8d. The disbursements of money received from the fifth and twentieth parts are here printed in full. Receipts, consisting of formalized entries of payments by local collectors, have been omitted.

³ John Lilburne (1614?–57) was now a major in Colonel King's regiment; on 16 May 1644 he was transferred to Manchester's own dragoons as lieutenant-colonel. His brother Robert (1613–65) was a captain in Manchester's army at this date. – DNB.

SUFFOLK AND THE GREAT REBELLION 1640-1660

<i>Disbursements, 11 April to 16 May 1644—continued</i>		£	s.	d.
April 11th	Payd Mr Dussing ¹ for armes delivered into the magazine at Lynne	322	9	0
6th	Payd Mrs Conningham by my Lorde's [<i>Manchester's</i>] order	5	0	0
	Payd Robert Child the gunsmith	4	12	0
	Payd the waggon master generall for his pay and other thinges till then	35	0	0
	Payd Mr Orpent, the commissary of victualls	10	0	0
12th	Payd Mr Stillagoe the master gunner, as by his bill	92	11	0
	Payd Mr Botterill towards his buying of armes, which he is to accompt for	100	0	0
	Payd for horsemeate at the Falcon, ² for State horses	1	13	0
15th	Payd John Nobles, a messenger from Mr Wormewell at Yarmouth, to give intelligence that armes were come to Lynn ³	1	10	0
16th	Payd Mr Webb of London, the remaynder of his bill for saddles	162	0	0
	Payd Leiftenant Russell to buy horses in Bedfordsheire	300	0	0
8th	Payd for 7 horses for Captain Horseman's troope, bought by Francis Hamb[er?] his leiftenant	58	10	0
	Payd for 11 horses bought by the same man for the same troope	86	5	0
	Payd for 44 horses bought at Cambridge, Aprill the 11th	291	1	8
	Payd Captain Temple for 10 horses bought by him, which my Lord gave him againe	69	2	0
	Payd for 43 horses, bought for Leiftenant Generall's troope, of the ordinance	318	10	0
	Payd Leiftenant Russell for 11 horses, bought at Cambridge, delivered to the waggon master	68	0	0
	Paid for horsemeate at the Crowne, as by the bill for troope horses	5	0	0
	Payd for horsemeat more, at the Falcon in Cambridge	8	0	
	Payd for horsemeate at the Sunne	1	1	0
	Payd for horsemeate at the Red Lyon	1	6	6
	Payd Colonel Walton towards finishing the worke at Lynne	300	0	0
	Payd Mr Botterill, which he had layd out, as per his bill	64	14	8
	Payd for 18 horses bought at Cambridge for Captain Horseman and others	129	15	0
	Payd Ralph Skipper of Cambridge for carrying 300 souldyers from Cambridge to Lyn	5	15	0
	Payd master smith and master carpenter by my Lorde's order	50	0	0
	Payd Captain Blackley for posting and other thinges	13	6	6
	Payd Alderman Moodey in part for armes bought by him	1000	0	0
	Payd him more the remainder of his bill	917	16	8
20th	Payd Leiftenant Russell to buy horses at Northampton fayre, which he is to accompt for	500	0	0
22	Payd for 52 horses bought at Huntingdon by Mr Vinter	320	15	0
20th	Payd there at the Chequer for meate for the State horses	10	0	
	Payd my Lord, which he layd out for horses at Bedford	300	0	0
	Payd to divers townsmen for horses bought at Bedford, by my Lord's order	88	18	4
	Payd for 10 horses bought at Cambridge, for Captain Bethell's troope, by John Pitchford	60	0	0
22th	Payd Leiftenant Russell more for horses	200	0	0
26th	Payd for 3 horses bought at Stamford for Captain Langurish	10	0	0
May the 1th	Payd Leiftenant Collonell Clifton to pay for carriages	10	0	0
	Payd Captain Busby which my Lord gave him	10	0	0
14th	Payd the scout master upon accompt	150	0	0
16th	Payd him more to make even his accompt	112	0	0
	Payd the leiftenant generall of the ordinance at five severall payments to carry on the trayne of artillery till June 26th, 1644	2500	0	0

¹ Probably Dowsing the provost-marshal.

² In Cambridge; The Crowne, The Sunne, and the Red Lyon are mentioned below, and the Chequer in Huntingdon.

³ Arms were frequently conveyed from London by sea, generally to Lynn and thence up the Ouse and Cam.

SUFFOLK AND THE EASTERN ASSOCIATION

<i>Disbursements, 18 April to 14 June 1644—continued</i>		£	s.	d.
May 16th	More payd the scout master generall upon a new accompt	100	0	0
20th	Payd Mr Pepper in full for his attendance by my Lord's order	18	0	0
	Payd John Besson, ingeneere, upon accompt	25	0	0
	Payd Maior Jourdan towards makinge the waggons and carts in Cambridge Castle, which he is to accompt for	100	0	0
April 24th	Payd for 9 horses bought at Cambridge by Mr Clinch and sent to Bury for Captain Moodey, as by his bill	65	10	0
	Payd John Caldcott, which he expended in carrying of horses to Ely to grasse, 10s., and paid for other chardges concerning them, 30s.	2	0	0
May 12th	Payd Leiftenant Russell more to buy horses for Maior Harryson	500	0	0
	Payd Captain Gowre in full discharge of his accompt for sadles	354	18	0
	Payd Leiftenant Russell more to buy horses	360	0	0
	Payd Ashley for boarde delivered for makinge up the waggons, by order of the Committee	10	13	0
28th	Sent up to London by Captain West's order to pay for 156 tents which are to come to the army	156	0	0
	Payd by Doctor Drake, by the Committee's order, at Cambridge for horses	27	10	0
	Payd Richard Fenner, waggon master, which he had layd out for necessaryes about the waggons, as by his bill	17	13	0
	Payd Mr Chinnery for horsemeate and other thinges	3	14	0
	Payd Mr [blank] Waterman for bringing of 8 loades of timber, carts, and other thinges from Boston to Cambridge as by his acquittance	22	0	0
	Payd for 24 sadles for Captain Lawrence his troope	23	2	0
	Payd Nicholas Tabor of Cambridge for coales which the smiths had	1	6	3
	Payd my Lord his pay from March the 2nd, till Aprill the 14th	514	10	0
	Payd Leiftenant Russell to buy horses for Colonel Sydney ¹	550	0	0
	Payd John Burton, a taylor of Cambridge, for makinge of my Lord's liffe guards' coates	5	0	0
	Payd by Maior Generall unto Captain [blank] which he received of Mr Kent	10	0	0
	Payd Nathanyell Gurry for bringing tents from Hull to Yorke	1	11	6
	Payd by Mr Harlackenden to Maior Duett by my Lord's order	50	0	0
	Payd at Gaynsborough to a woman whose husband was slayne at Lincolne	10	0	0
	Payd to another poore woman by order	3	0	0
	Payd by Mr Zinzan to Mr Field to buy him a horse	6	0	0
April 18th	Payd by Captain Boyce for victualls, firing, and other necessaryes, for the counts of guard at Stamford, which I repayd by my Lord's order	24	0	0
	Payd Mr Harlackenden for a horse delivered to Mr Price, in leiw of another received into the trayne	5	10	0
May 10th	Payd for a grey horse at Stamford, delivered to the waggon-master	5	1	0
	Payd for 40 horses bought there, by Mr Osborne, which were delivered to the waggon master and dragoones, with 4 to the marshall	131	14	2
	Payd Leiftenant Russell for a stoned horse, bought at Northampton and dyed at Stamford	6	15	0
June 14th	Payd for a grey gelding that was delivered to Captaine Knight in leiw of another delivered to the trayne	6	0	0
	Payd the Earle to Rutlande's man, trooper to Captain Dendy, for a horse which he rides	7	0	0
May 10th	Payd Edward Clegate, for bullets he made at Bedford	7	0	0
16th	Payd Robert Sherwood which he layd out for bringing of 500 muskets from Boston to Hull	1	15	0
	Payd by Captain Hippsly at Lincolne for two grey horses, and delivered to Captain Hammond	8	10	0

¹ On 10 May the Commons had ordered that the £400 due to Algernon Sidney for his late service in Ireland should be paid speedily, to enable him to equip himself for service in Manchester's army. — *DNB*.

SUFFOLK AND THE GREAT REBELLION 1640-1660

Disbursements, 16 May to 30 July 1644—continued

		£	s.	d.
May 16th	Payd by him for on bay stoned horse there and delivered to Captain Hammond	5	0	0
21th	Payd Captain Patterson, a reformatado, by order	30	0	0
	Payd Captain West upon accompt	20	0	0
	Payd Captain Bellone by order	5	0	0
	Payd for two mares taken from Yorke, and delivered on[e] to Bennett, on[e] of the liffe guard, and the other to [blank]	4	0	0
	Payd 3 French souldyers that had long wayted for employment, to beare their chardges to London	6	0	0
	Payd by Mr Harlackenden for [blank]	1	6	
June 28th	Payd Captain Hartbotle, which he had disbursed for fixing of armes, for his troope, as by his bill	2	11	6
	Payd Leiftenant Clarke, a reformatado, to beare his charges	2	0	0
	Payd Mr Rawle, who was recomended by the Lord Roberts	2	0	0
	Payd Leiutenant Colonel Rich his man, for two cornets he tooke at Marston More ¹	2	0	0
	Given to sicke and maymed souldyers at Tadcaster	6	3	
	Payd Richard Slight, a wounded souldyer of Captain Bethell's	10	0	
	Payd John Heaton for a sorrell horse and Thomas Busby for another, both delivered to the trayne of artillery	5	0	0
July 10th	Payd to the officers of Captain Langurishe's troope, 6 horses, which were delivered 4 to Captain Knight's troope and two to the trayne	20	0	0
	Payd to Gregg [ory?] Faryer of Crowland for cureing of horses in Holbeech Marsh	1	0	0
	Payd for two horses at Haslington ² delivered to two of my Lorde's liffe guard	2	5	0
	Payd by Mr Zinzan, which he payd for posting, as by his bills	37	19	6
	Payd him which he payd for bringing armes from Gaynsborough to the Leaguer	1	7	6
	Payd him which he had payd to souldyers for collors at Marston More	3	15	0
	Payd him which he had layd out at the bridge of boates, at the Isle of Axeholme	9	2	6
July 17th	Payd William Bray of the reformatado troope to buy him a horse and a saddle, having lost his owne at Marston More	5	10	0
	Payd Mr Murfett of Lyn for bringing of armes and ammunicion from Lyn to Yorke, and other things as by his accompt	31	6	0
20th	Payd Jeremy Attkinson's man, the scoutmaster's man, for 3 horses delivered to the trayne at Doncaster	2	16	0
	Payd Mr Glapthorne in part for keeping of State horses at Whitlesey	5	0	0
	Payd to Mr Edward Pickering, which he gave to sicke souldyers in their march from Yorke	10	0	
	Payd to Captain Bushell, leiftenant to Colonel Sydney for his advance money	20	0	0
30th	Payd to Mr Botterill, clarke of the store at Lynne, to make even his accompts, by order	119	7	6
	Payd him more upon a new accompt to come	200	0	0
	Payd Captain Gowre for saddles delivered in at Cambridge, by order	260	0	0
	Payd two French surgeons off the Isle off Axeholme, for cureing wounded souldyers, by order at Doncaster	2	0	0
	Payd by Mr Harlackenden, by my Lord's order, to sicke souldyers	5	0	
	Payd by him to John Parsons, a wounded souldyer of Colonel Cranford's regiment, 10s., and to two more troopers 5s.	15	0	
	Payd James Salmon a sicke souldyer under Captain Adder of Colonel Russell's regiment	4	0	
	Payd to Nathanyell Clarke, a lame souldyer dischardged	9	4	

¹ The battle of Marston Moor took place on 2 July. A number of entries about this date relate to military organization preceding and following the event.

² No doubt Heslington, 2m. ESE of York.

SUFFOLK AND THE EASTERN ASSOCIATION

<i>Disbursements, 27 June to 12 September 1644—continued</i>		£	s.	d.
July 30th	Payd by Captain Hipplesey to a sicke reformado trooper going to London		7	0
-	Payd Captain Jenkins, which he had laid out for mending of saddles and other thinges, about the troope	16	13	0
27th	Payd Beale, my Lord's trumpeter, for a gelding delivered to Captain Knight's cornett	3	0	0
	Payd to Comissary Robinson, for 8 horses which he bought and put into the trayne	10	0	0
Aug. 29th	Payd Captain Bethell for 6 hoeses which he bought for his troope, by order of my Lord	32	13	10
	Payd Mr Harlackenden for 4 horses turned to grasse, and a sadle	6	15	0
	Payd Captain Rawlin, a reformado, by order	30	0	0
	Payd the scoutmaster generall at severall times for intelligence, till August the 17th	570	0	0
	Payd Leiftenant Generall Hammond for the trayne of artillery, besides the £2500 paid the 19th of May untill September the 10th	1921	0	0
Aug. 16th	Payd Maior Holmes for a suite of armes which Captain Waylet lost of his at Yorke, and for 3 jouneyes into Essex	22	0	0
17th	Payd Captain Gowre, by order, in part for saddles now bespoke	300	0	0
20th	Payd William Bayspoole, clarke to the pioners at Lynne, in full discharge of a debentor, which my Lord signed him, for £23	18	0	0
	Payd Richard Nutt, which is due to Quartermaster Smith of my Lord's regiment, which he had disbursed for carriages	1	12	0
Sept. 12th	Payd to Captain Bryan Davis at Huntingdon, by order, to buy a horse	10	0	0
	Paid Mr Lawrence towards making up the waggons at Cambridge	40	0	0
June 27th	Payd Robert Sherwood for posting and other things, by order	21	5	0
July 4th	Payd Mr Barrat for 10 case of pistolls and one odde on delivered in to Mr Fulwood of Huntington	15	5	0
	Paied Mr ^{es} Wildbore of Cambridge for liveryes for my Lord's [Manchester's] watermen	35	11	0
	Paied at Stamford for a nagg for Henry Greene, Colonel Mountague's waggon master	2	10	0
	[Total disbursements recorded in this account]	58002	7	7
	[Balance of receipts (£65,148 1s 11d) ¹ over disbursements]	7145	14	4

¹ Including £2,309 4s. 6d. received 'out of sequestrations', the rest from the 'fifth and twentieth part'. See note to introduction to document.

III. Exning and the Royalist Risings of 1648¹

[Of the many sporadic risings in the east and south in 1648, that at Bury occurred in May, when the townsmen, encouraged by the local gentry, 'ran horribly mad upon a maypole.' Newmarket was another centre of disaffection, 'under pretence of horse-racing'. The rising at Linton (Cambs.) took place in mid-June, when 500 horse and foot gathered from the country about Newmarket, Exning, Lidgate, Saffron Walden, and elsewhere: they were led by Mr John Appleyard of Dullingham and defeated by Captain Robert Sparrow of Wickhambrook.² Colchester, garrisoned by rebels of Essex and Kent, was invested by Fairfax's army and the Suffolk trained bands in mid-June; it capitulated on 27 August.

The following documents are taken from a case brought before the Committee for Advance of Money in 1649–50. They relate principally to a handful of Suffolk men from Exning and Newmarket who were among the 500 rebels defeated at Linton. The facts are not easy to disentangle from the mass of contradictory evidence, of which a small part only is here printed. But from the final judgement³ it appears that the five defendants – John Morden, Thomas Poulter, and Oliver and Edward Bridgman of Exning, and John Bridgman of Newmarket – were victims of a group of local informers who hoped to revenge themselves for past injuries and secure some pecuniary reward by traducing their neighbours before the authorities. It seems that the defendants had raised men and horses in 1648 to send to Captain Sparrow at Lidgate; that these men missed their way going to the rendezvous, being in a 'strange country' and 'benighted'; and that they were arrested by the royalist Captain Winstanley while lodging at the Black Swan at Audley End, who apparently constrained some of them to fight for the king's party at Linton. Such a situation provided an opportunity for malicious neighbours to exploit, and the subsequent tale of accusations and examinations is all too characteristic of the period. But in this instance the four informers, headed by William Gibson, a renegade corporal from Fairfax's army, met their match.⁴ Morden, Poulter, and the Bridgmans pursued them with relentless determination from court to court and committee to committee until one of them

¹ The following documents are taken from a case before the Committee for Advance of Money in 1649–50. No. 90 is SP 19/A, 133, No. 43.

² See the following documents, and E. 444. 7; Kingston, 266–7 (where Sparrow is incorrectly described as 'colonel'). Robert Sparrow became one of the Suffolk Sequestration Commissioners in March 1654. – CCC, 673.

³ CCC, 1116.

⁴ The other three were Thomas Spooner, Thomas Cole or Cowle, and Allen Wyatt of Newmarket.

'was forced to sell his cow to beare his charges, and all the rest are exposed to great extremities.'¹

*Such was the tangled warp of English rural life from which the political parties of the Civil War were so often woven. We learn also how the war could rend the society of a Suffolk parish and poison the lives of simple peasants; how labourers, blacksmiths, and husbandmen were driven to take sides; how rumour and legend misled them; and how they lay at the mercy of contending squires each bidding for their support. In such circumstances we need not wonder if political and religious issues became confused.*²

[90] Severall articles whereupon witnesses [*for the prosecution*] are to be examyned upon [*oath?*], by vertue of an order from the Committee for Advance of Money, dated the 14th day of July 1649

1. First, where had you or any of you the horses and armes you served in or upon against the Parliament at Linton within the County of Cambridge the 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th dayes of June 1648?

2. Whether did you steale the severall horses and armes you served in or whether were they delivered unto you by the owners of the said horses?

3. What order and direccions did the owners geve to you or any of you when they did deliver the said horses and armes?

4. What moneys did any of you receive of the severall owners for your pay?

5. Howe longe were you in service for the kinge with your said horses and what fight were you in?

6. Whether did you deliver the horses and armes you had to the severall owners againe or whether were they loste in the service you were in and in what place?

7. What words passed betweene you and the owners of the said horses when you returned home againe?

8. Whether did any of you knowe any of those horse men at Linton that declared for the kinge?

9. Item, whether or noe doe you knowe of any person or persons to have been aiding or assisting to any of the king's party against the Parliament's the last yeare 1648 at the riseing at Bury, Colchester, Linton, or elsewhere, with horse, men, armes, money, or any other way; more especially what doe you knowe concerning Edward Bridgeman, John Murdon, and Thomas Poulter of Exning, Edward Gatteward, John Funston, and John Bridgeman of Newmarket?

[91] [*Depositions to above interrogatories, taken at Bury, 28 August 1649, before Thomas Chaplin and Samuel Moody, gentlemen*]³

[*Edward Howlett of Exning, yeoman, 32, deposes:*]

To the first and second hee saith that upon or about the 11th day of June 1648, being upon the Saboath day, hee received a horse and armes of one

¹ SP 19/A. 133, No. 81.

² There is a wealth of similar evidence in the records of the Committee for Advance of Money, relating to other villages, which has been little used by historians, local or otherwise.

³ SP 19/A. 133, No. 44.

Oliver Bridgeman of Exning, yeoman, whoe wished him to goe with William Axy and William Clacke whether they went, they all thre having formerly conferred together privately, one hower or thereabouts; whoe that night ledd him this deponent to Audley End, where they quartered at an inne called The Maydenhead, as hee thinkes. And the next day they went to [*Saffron*] Walden, where they mett a greater company neare upon one hundred, where they staid two nights. And upon the 14th day of the same moneth, twenty of the said company were drawne out by two capteyns, the one living in Walden and the other neare thereabouts as they tolde him, hee not knowing any of the said company but the said Clacke and Axy, and that the same day they came to Newmarkett being twenty in number or thereabouts, upon their horses and armed, hee this deponent riding the horse of the said Oliver Bridgeman, whoe gave him seaven shillings at his going out, towards his charges. And further deposeth that after they came to Newmarkett the said Clacke and Axy shewed the capteyns and the rest of the company Allin Wyott's howse, where they tooke him prisoner and carried him away, and alsoe tooke what goods they pleased of his the said Wyott's; and Clacke, whoe rode Edward Bridgeman and Thomas Poulter of Exning's horses, was the cause of takeing away of Allen Wyott's horse; and that the same night they marched backe to Walden and carryed with them the said Allin Wyott and his goods.

To the third and fourth he saith hee cannot further depose then hee hath deposed to the first and second articles.

To the fifte hee saith that hee this deponent was in the service against the Parliament five dayes; and upon Wednesday night after supper two or three hundred of them in company, being horse and foote, went to Audley End, and the next day they went to Linton with all their forces, where that night the enemy parte of the Parliament's forces fell upon them and routed them and tooke Clacke and Axy with some others prisoners, where Poulter and Edward Bridgeman's horse and armes were taken, they both having ioyned together for one horse and a man, and alsoe John Morden his horse was then loste and his man taken prisoner.

To the sixte and seaventh hee saith that after they were soe routed as aforesaid by the Parliament's forces at Linton, hee this deponent with his horse and armes returned home to his master Oliver Bridgeman, whoe sent him out, and delivered them to him; and hee askeing him this deponent the reason why hee returned soe soone, hee this deponent tolde him they were rowted and hee liked not the service, and asked him whether hee would goe againe but this deponent refused . . .

[*William Gibson of Exning, husbandman, 37, deposes:*]

To the nynth hee saith that Oliver Bridgeman the last somer in May 1648 did aske him this deponent whether hee would goe to Bury to take up armes for the kinge. But this deponent asked him what rewarde hee must have. Hee said if this deponent or any other went in with a horse hee should have five pounds, with foote armes three pounds, and if without armes twenty shillings. And this deponent then askeing him what hee and such as hee was should have if the countrey was overthrowne, hee the said Bridgeman answered againe and said, Well rewarded, and this deponent

should see it. And further saith that Thomas Poulter of Exninge upon May day 1648 askeing him this deponent whether hee would fight, hee answered him if hee liked the busines hee would. And then hee asked him whether hee would up armes to beate downe the troopers that were for the Parliament. Whereupon hee this deponent asked him whether hee thought that could bee done, and hee tolde this deponent it would, for the country would bee all up in armes against them within three dayes space, and that hee would lay him this deponent five pounds of it, and that the Parliament could not stande three weekes. And then this deponent demaunded what the Parliament must doe then. Hee said to him that they must either runn away or else stay and be hanged. And the said Thomas Poulter farther said that hee had had a warrant in his howse this moneth that hee that would not take up armes for the kinge must be hanged. And his wife soone after said when her husband's horse was sent to Linton that within three dayes there would not be a Rounde head nor the branch of a Roundhead lefte in the land. And this deponent further deposeth that John Morden of Exning would have caused a drummer to beate up a drum to gett soldiers together to goe to Bury against the Parliament when the mutiny was there in May 1648, and hee would geve them eight pence a day. And the said John Morden his wife sent one Richard Browne of Royston to fetch their carts gone thither with malte to come away with all speede to goe to Huntington to fetch the king's carriages. And the said Morden's wife did lend horses to capteyns and others to ride about the countrey to raise forces for the kinge; and after they were routed at Linton she did send one of the capteyns to Richard Redding his howse in Exning, being her husband's tennant, to be kepte seacrett, and sent him thither victualls and other provision. . . .

[*Allin Wyatt of Newmarket, plumber, 40, deposes:*]

To the nynth hee saith that Edward Gatteward and John Funston his sonne-in-lawe, both of Newmarket, in May 1648 were armed and in actuall warre against the Parliament in goinge to the Isle of Ely for the king's party with some thirty or forty more with Doctor Hodson, which this deponent did discover with a greate many officers with them, as colonells and capteyns; and that the said Edward Gatteward and John Funston were at Bury in May 1648 when the rising and mutiny was there for the kinge. And the said Edward Gatteward and John Funston did ioyn themselves in armes with divers others that came from Walden and Newmarket on the 14th day of June 1648 and plundered this deponent's howse and tooke away his horse and carried him away prisoner with them where they went, first to Burrowe Greene, where they mett together, and from thence they marched to Linton, to Westerleyes. And the said Edward Gatteward and John Funston did march in the fronte of the horse to Westerleyes by Linton aforesaid that night the said Edward Gatteward and John Funston his sonne marched in the front of those horse to Walden, being the 14th day of June 1648. That same night Edward Gatteward and John Funston did march from Walden to Audley End to the Earle of Suffolk his howse and quartered there that night. And further deposeth the next day they laye there and they with others went abroade a scoutinge into the highe wayes, the said Edward Gatteward and John Funston, and continued

till almost night, being the 15th day of the said moneth, and then they marched in the fronte of the horse to Linton, with matche and bullett and powder carried upon horse backe by them. And that night, being the fifteenth day, haveing an alarum geven by Capteyn Pickering, they were all up in a body; and the said Edward Gatteward and John Funston were upon the garde that night till the Parliament's forces came and routed them, and they ran away and afterwards were taken prisoners at Brandon by Capteyn Samuell Moody. . . .

[92] Interrogatories to be administred to witnesses to be examined on the behalfe of [*the defendants*] Edward Bridgman, John Morden, Oliver Bridgman, John Bridgman, and Thomas Poulter, by vertue of an order from the Committee for Advance of Mony, etc., dated the 21th of November 1649.¹

. . . 2. Item, whether did Edward Bridgman, Mr John Morden or his wife, Oliver Bridgman and Thomas Poulter, or any of them hire you in June 1648 to serve on their horse or horses under Captaine Sparrow? What direccions did they or any of them give you? To what place did you ride their horse or horses, and how came you to be amongst the king's party at Lynton?

3. Item, doe you know what direccions Edward Bridgman, Oliver Bridgman, John Morden, and Thomas Poulter or any of them gave to William Clacke, William Axey, or Edward Howlet when they rid out upon their horses in June 1648? . . .

6. Whether or no did Oliver Bridgman in May 1648 aske you or any other to your knowledge to goe to Bury at the insurreccion there? What conference had you with him concerning the same, and at what time and in what place had you such conference?

7. Item, doe you know that Mr Morden would have caused a drummer to beate up a drum to gather soldiers to goe to Bury against the Parliament? If yea, how came you to know it? Who was it that hee spake to? Did you heare him use any such words, or whether doe you know that he offered or paid any man eight pence a day to serve against the Parliament? Where, in what company, and to whome made hee any such offer? . . .

9. Item, doe you know that Mrs Morden did lend horses to captaines and others to ride about the country to raise forces for the king? Doe you know the time when and to whome shee soe lent any horses? Doe you know that Mr Morden was privy to the lending of any such horse? Testify the truth and the cause of such your knowledge.

10. Item, whether or no to your knowledge did Mr Morden or his wife send any captaine or other soldier of the king's party to be kept secret at Richard Reddington's, or any other place? Who was it and at what time was hee soe kept secrett and how came you to know therof? . . .

12. Item, what conference had you about May day 1648 with Thomas Poulter about taking up armes for the Parliament? Where and in what place had you such conference? . . .

17. Item, whether doe you know William Gibson of Exning? What repute

¹ SP 19/A. 133, No. 52

is he of, and of what life and conversacion? What words have you heard him use against the Parliament or their proceedings? Whether or noe did hee perswade you or any other to your knowledge to runne from the Parliament's forces to the king's party at Colchester, or what threatning or other speeches have you heard him use against Edward Bridgman, Oliver Bridgman, John Morden, and Thomas Poulter or any of them?

18. Item, what words did you heare between Oliver Bridgman and Edward Howlett when Howlett returned with Oliver Bridgman's horse? Did not Howlett tell him hee had been with Captaine Sparrow and was listed, or what did you heare Oliver Bridgman say concerning sending his horse to Captaine Sparrow? . . .

20. Whether did you demand of Allen Wyat in case Mr Morden, Edward Bridgman, John Bridgman, Thomas Powlter, Oliver Bridgman should loose their estates what hee should be the better for it, whether did he answere that hee should have a good share out of them, yea or no? . . .

22. Whether did you heare Thomas Cowle use any threatning speeches against Mr Morden, and what were those speeches?

[93] [*Depositions to above interrogatories, taken at Bury before Thomas Chaplin and Samuel Moody, gentlemen, 30 November and 1 December 1649*]¹

[*Matthew Rogers of Lidgate, tallow-chandler, 63, deposes:*]

To the 18th hee saith that one Howlett and Oliver Bridgman came to this deponent's howse at Lydgate, about the time the forces were going to Colchester, and Oliver Bridgman called this deponent out and desired him to helpe him to a man to ride his horse; and this deponent said hee had one already, and hee said hee would trust him no further, hee had dealt unjustly by him and if hee could not hire one in that towne, hee would goe to Captaine Sparrow and deliver his horse to him with his owne hand. And this deponent told him there was one in towne who had been a foot soldier, namming William Canham; then this deponent sent for the said William Canham, and Bridgman and Canham did agree, and the said Howlett who was formerly his soldier was dismiss, and Canham tooke the horse.

To the 20th hee saith that about three weeks since this deponent having some discourse with Allen Wyat did aske him what benefitt it would bee to him if these men, viz. Edward Bridgman, John Morden, Oliver Bridgman, and Thomas Poulter should be convicted. Hee said, then hee should have satisfaccion for the wrong hee had suffered.

[*John Matchet of Newmarket, saddler, 29, deposes:*]

To the third hee saith that Edward Bridgman, Oliver Bridgman, John Morden, and Thomas Poulter did bid this deponent make the furniture for their horses compleate, that Captaine Sparrow might finde no fault with them. And this deponent furnished them accordingly, and they marched away about noon that day. And further Oliver Bridgman said to his soldier that if they staid any longer then the time they had their pay for hee would send him more pay by the constable, and told him if hee could not reach

¹ SP 19/A. 133, No. 53.

through hee should ly at his uncle Rogers at Lydgate to save charges. And hee farther saith that the time when this deponent received this order was upon a Sabath day before Lynton fight. . . .

[*William Axy of Landwade, Cambs., servant to Sir Thomas Cotton, 24, deposes:*]

To the second hee saith that M^{rs} Morden hired this deponent in June 1648 to serve under Captaine Sparrow upon her husband's horse, and she gave him this deponent three daies pay with him and gave him direccions to goe to the randevouz which that day was appointed to be at Lydgate Green, and gave this deponent no other direccion either publique or private. And this deponent rid their horse from Exning to Newmarkett and so proceeded in his iourney towards the randevouz; and hearing Captaine Sparrow was advanced to Bathorne Bridge,¹ it was this deponent's purpose to march to him, but being a stranger in the country lost his way and so came to Audley Inne, where hee was surprized by Captaine Winstanley, who detained him this deponent with William Clacke and Edward Howlett at Audley Inne that Sabath day at night, and were brought to Walden next day and there were committed to one Captaine Wright, and hee kept them till they came from Walden to Newmarkett and from thence returned backe to Castle Compe² and so to Walden, either upon the Tuesday or on Wednesday following, and the next day went to Lynton with him the said Captaine Wright, and were there surprized by the Parliament's party and taken prisoners. And the said deponent saith that hee did not see Mr Morden that day hee went out with his horse, nor a long time before, nor ever had any conference with him about riding his horse, neither did hee know of his riding out untill that Sabath morning that M^{rs} Morden sent for him, hee being then at home at his father's howse in Burwell. The party that came for him, this deponent, was one Edward Halock, servant to Mr Morden. . . .

[*William Clacke of Newmarket, 22, deposes:*]

To the second hee saith that Edward Bridgman and Thomas Poulter hired this deponent to ride one horse which they found in June 1648, upon Sabath day, to serve under Captaine Sparrow, and gave this deponent only seven shillings and six pence for three daies pay with him, with direccion to goe to Lydgate Green to Captaine Sparrow. And being that day going thither and being come a mile beyound Newmarket with William Axy and Edward Howlett, where hearing that Captaine Sparrow was removed to Bathorne Bridge, the said deponent, with William Axy and Edward Howlett, went that way, but being belated in the night mistooke the way and came to Audley Inne to the Blacke Swanne there; where after they were come and entended to stay that night about halfe an houre after came in one Captaine Winstanley, belonging to the king's party, with six musqueteers, who came to them and chalenged them for scouts and secured their horse and armes and would have carried them that night prisoners to Walden, but the man of the howse past his word for their being forthcoming in the morning following. And hee went up with this deponent

¹ Baythorn Bridge crosses the Stour between Birdbrook and Wixoe in 'Barnardiston country'.

² Castle Camps, 5 m. SE of Linton, Cambs.

and the other two in the morning on foot to the said captaine to Walden, who caused them to be secured by Captaine Wright. . . .

[*Elizabeth Larkin of Exning, 35, deposes:*]

To the 7th shee saith that William Williamson came into Mr Morden's howse, this deponent being present, and asked M^{rs} Morden whether hee should beate up the drumm, and shee said if hee meant to be hanged hee might; and Mr Morden overhearing him came and said, When you are drunck you are prating, and further told him if hee would not leave his prating and begone hee would sett him out of dores, wherupon the said Williamson went out.

[*Richard Browne of Exning, husbandman, 28, deposes:*]

To the 8th hee saith that M^{rs} Morden did send this deponent to Royston about Easter was twelvemonth to fetch home her carts for feare the cavaleers should take the horses, and this deponent was not sent for any horse or carts thither at any other time. . . .

[*Edward Thredder of Exning, blacksmith, 35, deposes:*]

To the 17th hee saith that this deponent knowes William Gibson very wel and that hee, this deponent, was with the said William Gibson at Stoke Naylond in the Parliament's service when the seidge was before Colchester; and the said Gibson told this deponent that here hee was faine to ly in strawe and wish't this deponent to goe into Colchester, telling him there hee should have a bed to ly upon. And the said Gibson, being corporall and upon the guard there, deserted his trust and ranne away from his colours within few daies after hee had given this deponent such councill. And the last summer this deponent upon a Sabath day in the evening at Exning enquired of the said Gibson, What newes? Who answered, Noe good newes, the dreyners are going to take in the fens.¹ And this deponent asking him, Who sett them on worke? hee answered, The Parliament, and further said, A company of rogues, they have sett to a fine end, they will undoe us all. . . .

[*Henry Bangly of Exning, maltster, 28, deposes:*]

To the 22th hee saith that this deponent did heare Thomas Cowle say to Mr Morden's man in harvest last that hee would be revenged of his master because hee was a cause of his being amerced. . . .

[*Richard Plumbe of Bury St Edmunds, lieutenant to Captain Gooch, 28, deposes:*]

To the 17th hee saith that William Gibson, while hee was under this deponent's command, was a disorderly fellow and seldome would appeare at musters. And when there was any alarum, as in that at Cambridge and another at the Isle of Ely, the said Gibson never appeared at either of them.² And when the said Gibson was at Naylond when the seige was before Colchester, being a corporall there and upon the gaurd, hee did runne of from the gaurd and left his colours, and there were warrants sent out to apprehend him, but hee could not bee taken. . . .

¹ 'An Act for drayning the Great Level of the Fens . . .' was passed on 29 May 1649; 95,000 acres in Suffolk and five other counties were affected'. F. & R., II, 130-9.

² A typical instance of the slack military discipline which beset Parliament even in a county like Suffolk.

[*William Gibson of Exning, labourer, 38, deposes:*]¹

To the sixt hee saith that, when the rising was at Bury, Oliver Bridgman and this deponent had conference together, and this deponent asked the said Oliver Bridgman what they should have that goe to Bury. And hee the said Oliver Bridgman said that a horseman should have five pounds and a foot soldier with armes should have three pounds and a foot soldier without armes should have twenty shillings. And this deponent asked the said Oliver Bridgman what hee the said Oliver Bridgman should get if the country were overthrowne; and hee said that hee the said Oliver Bridgman and men of worth should be wel rewarded. The conference was in a close called Livet's Close in Exning, and this deponent was hedging there, Henry Palmer and his wife of the same towne being present and heard this discourse.

To the 7th hee saith that William Williamson told this deponent that Mr^{is} Morden did give him, the said Williamson, either a sicke or a dead bore [*sc. boar*] and twelve pence in mony to beat up a drum to raise soldiers to come to Bury when the rising was there; and young Mr Morden should be captaine over them, and shee, the said Mr^{is} Morden, would allow all such soldiers eight pence a day; all which the said Williamson told this deponent; and the said Williamson died about a quarter of a yeare after such discourse. But this deponent doth not know that Mr Morden or Mr^{is} Morden did give any mony to any man for that service. . . .

To the 9th hee saith that Mr^{is} Morden did lend two horses to two captaines or two lieftenants to ride about the country to plott the risings in the late warre, as this deponent was informed by William Clacke; and the said William Clacke said that Mary Reddington, wife of Richard Reddington told him so much. But this deponent knowes not what horses they were that were lent, nor to whome they were so lent, neither whether Mr Morden was privy to any such lending of horses or entertaining of such men.

To the tenth hee saith that Captaine Barker came to Mr Morden's howse presently after Lynton fight, and asked for quarter there, and they said there was none. And as hee was turning his horse to goe away Mr^{is} Morden looked out at the window and said to some of her servants, Hee looke [*sic*] like a good honest man: have him to Richard Reddington's howse. And the said Captaine Barker lodged there that night. All which this deponent was informed of by William Clacke of Exning, and the said William Clacke further told him that Mr^{is} Morden sent beer and provision to the said Captaine Barker, and further told him, this deponent, that Thomas Poulter was drinking and taking tabacco with the said Captaine Barker. But this deponent doth not know or hath heard of any other officer or soldier or other person that was sent to Richard Reddington's howse or to any other to be kept secret, neither by Mr Morden or Mr^{is} Morden.

To the 12th hee saith that this deponent being hedging for Thomas Poulter at his Six Acre Peice, there being nobody present but the said Thomas Poulter and this deponent, about Mayday 1648, did there heare Thomas Poulter aske this deponent if hee would fight; who answered, Yes, if hee liked the case. And then the said Thomas Poulter said, Will you take up armes to fight against the troopers [*of*] the Parliament army? And the

¹ SP 19/A. 133, No. 154. Elsewhere Gibson is described as husbandman.

said Thomas Poulter further said that there was a great many disbanded at Lynn, the townsmen have turned them out of the gates; and he said he would lay five pounds that within three daies the whole country will be up in armes. . . .

[*Examinations of witnesses, December 1649 and January 1650*]

[94] [*Examination of William Gibson of Exning, husbandman, c. 22 December 1649*]¹

. . . Saith that at the tyme of the late rising of the late king's partye at Bury in the said countye (or not long before) hee heard Oliver Bridgeman of Exning aforesaid say that the Parliament were a company of bankrupts that had spent their estates in horseracing and whoring, and now they sate to cheat the Kingdome. And further sayth that about the tyme of this examinats last examinacion at Bury (being on Saturday last) John Bridgeman of Newmarket in the said Countye, clothier, in threatning manner told this examinats that they (meaning his partye) wold not leave this examinats and the rest (meaning the other persons formerlye on the behalfe of the Commonwealth, as this examinats verily beleiveth) worth one groat. And lastlye deposeth, about the same [*time*] Edward Betts of Exning aforesaid told this examinats that hee heard Oliver Bridgeman say that when hee had agreed with the State hee wold clap this examinats in prison, where hee should lye and rott and never knowe why nor wherefore.

[95] [*Examination of Allen Wyatt of Newmarket, 22 December 1649*]²

Sayth that he knowes and hath knowne Oliver Bridgman from a childe. Sayth that he knowes that the said Oliver Bridgman had a horse at Elye and a man and armes compleate on the kinge's party against the Parliament. Sayth that he, this examinats, saw him there and was carryed along with him prisoner, which was about June 1648. Sayth that John Morden's man and Edward Bridgman's man were likewise there, and then and at that tyme these three were the first that entred this deponent's howse and plundered this deponent of his goods and carryed him away prisoner. Sayth that Clacke and Axie and Howlet about 16[?] June 1648, servants to John Bridgman, Oliver Bridgman, and Mr Morden, tooke a horse and his rider compleately armed goeing to the generall at Colchester and carryed the horse into the Lord of Suffolk's howse at Awdle End, where the rider was examined; and after examinacion Clacke aforesaid had the horse and rode on him to Lynton, where the said horse was taken againe by the Parliament's forces. Sayth that John Bridgman was questioned for his malignancy by the Committee for Cambridge, and by them imprisoned and fyned for his malignancy and discharged, whereof this paper examinats [*sic*] is a copie of his discharge; and became bound in a bond of an hundred pounds not to act or speake against the State againe, which bond lyes in Mr Bacon's hands of Greye's Inn his hands [*sic*]. . . .

Sayth that Edward Gatwood and John Funston were in the Isle of Elye against the Parliament; and that night they went the beacons should have bene fyred soe that ten thowsand men might have risen up in armes that

¹ SP 19/A. 133, No. 59a.

² *Ibid.*, No. 61

night, which to this deponent's remembrance was in May 1648: that the sayd Gatway and Funston were both in Bury and actors in the last insurreccion and at Lynton; likewise after the insurreccion at Bury was ceased, where they continued till they were routed at Lynton, and were in compleate armes, and that this examinat saw them there. . . .

[96] [*Examination of William Clacke of Newmarket, 23, 27 December 1649*]¹

. . . Sayth that about a mile from Newmarkett this examinat, William Axie, and Edward Howlett met with a stranger, and supposinge him to come from Lydgate asked him whether Captain Sparrow were at Lydgate. The said party made answere that Captain Sparrow was there but he had removed his quarters to Bathembridge. And this examinat, with William Axie and Edward Howlett, went as they thought to Bathembridge aforesaid but went to Audley End by mistake, and there lay all night and set up their horses at the Black Swan in Audley End aforesaid. Within halfe an hower after this examinat and the rest that were with him had set up their horses came one Captain Stanley [*sc. Winstanley*] downe and asked the man of the howse whether any soldiers were there, and the man answered, Yea, there were three; and presently the said captain secured the horses and set two musketeers at the stable dore. And the captain, with six attendinge him, came up the staires into this examinat's chamber, sayeing, Gentlemen, I heare that you are scouts of Sir Thomas Fairfax, and therefore I secure you and your armes; and soe tooke the armes lyeinge on the table and gave them to his souldiers that came up with him, and carryed this examinat and the partyes aforesaid downe stayres into the kitchin at the said Swan, and would have carryed them to Walden, and would have soe don but that the man of the howse engaged for this examinat and the rest to bee with their horses forthcomeinge in the moreninge. And in the moreninge Mr Birt, master of the Swan aforesaid, and this examinat and the other two partyes went up to Walden on foote to the said captain, where these parties were examined what they were; and because they would not be soldiers under him for the kinge, the said captain went downe to Awdley End and tooke away their horses and sent them to one Captain Wright, and kept this examinat and the other partyes at Walden prisoners for fower dayes untill they were routed. And after this examinat had made himselfe knowne to Major Sparrow who commanded the partye that routed the kinge's party, the said Major Sparrow gave this examinat liberty to goe home to Newmarkett, which he did accordingly. . . .

[97] [*Examination of John Bridgman of Exning, 30, 17 January 1650*]²

. . . Sayth that Oliver Bridgman, Thomas Poulter, and John Morden got riders at Newmarket for their horses, vizt. Axie, Clacke, and Edward Howlett. This examinat, by reason he could get noe rider at Newmarkett came home againe on foote, beinge unwillinge to goe to Captaine Sparrow and to returne home againe alone in the night. This examinat's father wished this examinat to repaire to Newmarket that night, and fetch home

¹ SP 19/A. 133, No. 65.

² *Ibid.*, No. 72.

his horse, which this examinat did. . . . Sayth that he, this examinat, blameinge Thomas Cole for seekinge to undoe his neighbours, [Cole] said that those that were his enimies he would be revenged off. Sayth that about three weekes agoe this examinat had some conference with William Gibson concerninge Oliver Bridgman, John Bridgman, and Thomas Poulter, John Morden and Edward Bridgman: amongst which conference the said Gibson said that they might have ended theire troubles at Bury when they were there, and have beene troubled noe further for him, if he had not beene arrested, for he would not have troubled them any more but that he thought that they caused him to be arrested and therefore gave in this testimony against them. . . .¹

[98] [*Petition of Allen Wyatt, Thomas Cowle, William Gibson, and Thomas Spooner to 'the Right Honorable the Committee for Sequestrations', c. 31 January 1650*]²

Humbly shew,

That your petitioners have beene great sufferers for their good affection to the publique interest, some of them by plunder and imprisonment, and all of them by other losse, hazard, and expence; and that they have beene ever forward to goe and ride, for the vindication of their freinds and conviction of the common enemy, farr beyond what their great charge and small estates are able to beare: which beeing well known to John Bridgman, Mr Murden, Oliver Bridgman, and Thomas Powlter (who are now under sequestration) they, the said parties, have lately procured orders for the carrying of your petitioners, sometimes to Bury, and another time to London, to bee examined as witnesses on their parte (having been formerly examined for the State) touching their sequestration.³ Yet so it is, that when all 4 of the petitioners did appeare at Bury, they would not at all examine two of them, nor any of the three that appeared at London; wherby it plainly appeares that their designe is not so much any good that they could expect to themselves as to ruine your poore petitioners (all of them haveing wife and children and but small meanes to maintaine them).

May it therefore please your honors, the premisses considered, to afford your petitioners such releife for and towards their losses and charges by their meanes sustained, ether out of the said delinquents' estates or otherwise, as to your grave wisdomes shall seeme fitt and reasonable. . . .

[*Further examinations of witnesses, February 1650*]

[99] [*Examination of Allen Wyatt of Newmarket, plumber, 40, 12 February 1650*]⁴

Sayth that Edward Bridgman, Oliver Bridgman, John Morden, and Thomas Poulter did send horsemen and armes to Walden in Com. Essex, where

¹ Gibson appears to have been cited before the manor court in some other matter, and amerced.

² SP 19/A. 133, No. 73.

³ They had formerly been examined in this case as witnesses for the prosecution (the State; see Nos. 91, 94, 95); the defendants now cited them as witnesses in their own behalf. Wyatt, Cowle, Gibson, and Spooner were also themselves prosecutors, with the State, to which they looked for 'recompense': cf. Nos. 99, 100.

⁴ SP 19/A. 133, No. 74.

newse was, before the sayd men and horses were sent, that the kinge's party were riseinge and then in or neere Walden. . . . Sayth that the men's names that rode the sayd horses were Howlet, Clacke, and Axie. . . . Sayth that the reason that induceth this deponent to thinke that they were joyntly consented to send those three riders abovesayd, with their horses to Walden aforesaid, is because that they were summoned by the lord general to goe southward and they went westward, and had the sayd riders in their howses before, and that Mr Bridgman and Mr Oliver [?Bridgman, Mr] Morden and Mr Poulter had word on the Tuesday night before their horses came to Newmarket that they were joynd to the kinge's party, and that Captain Harris brought them the sayd word. Sayth that Captain Harris, that was captain then and formerlye in the kinge's army, told these men soe in Newmarkett, where he was drinkeinge with some of them; and this deponent saw them drinkeinge together in the Faulcon in Newmarkett, but what answere they . . . made this deponent cannot say. . . .

Sayth that he this deponent was never promised any thinge by Captain Pickeringe or any others to make good the charge against the sayd persons or any of them; neither doth he this deponent looke for any recompence from any towchinge the same, but what the State shalbe pleased to give.

[100] [*Examination of Thomas Spooner of Newmarket, cordwainer, 44, 12 February 1650*]¹

Sayth to the 6th interrogatory that he this deponent knowes that John Bridgman of Newmarkett did in June 1648 furnish Captain Barker with a grey stone horse for the service of the kinge against the Parliament. Sayth that he, this deponent, did not see the sayd Bridgman deliver the sayd horse but this deponent saw the sayd captain and Mr Bridgman come in company together to Bridgman's backsyde, and presently after the sayd captain was mounted on the sayd horse, commandinge his company away that was then in the towne. Sayth that the sayd Bridgman told this deponent that he never sold the sayd horse to the sayd captain and therefore beleives that he gave him; and that the time that the said Bridgman sayd to this deponent that he sold not the sayd horse to the sayd captain was since Lynton fight, both at this deponent's shop in Newmarket and likewise at Bury. . . .

Sayth that neither by Captain Pickeringe or any other person or persons whatsoever this deponent was promised any allowance or reward for the prosecuteinge of the charge against the above sayd persons. . . .

[101] [*Examination of William Gibson of Exning, husbandman, 40, 12 February 1650*]²

To the first interrogatory this deponent sayth that to his knowledge Edward Bridgman, Thomas Poulter, John Morden, and Oliver Bridgman had prepared for six weekes before for the riseinge at Eley, Burye, and Lynton three men and horses to joyne with the kinge's party. Sayth that he, this

¹ SP 19/A. 133, No. 75. The interrogatories referred to in this and the following item do not appear to have survived.

² SP 19/A. 133, No. 76.

deponent, came to this knowledge by comminge into one William Rayment's howse at Lanwayd in Com. Cambridge, where there was one of the kinge's partye (but what his name was this deponent cannot say) was takeinge care what clothes he should carry with him into the Leagure. The sayd party then likewise asked this deponent whether he was minded to fight for poore Kinge Charles. This deponent then demanded what reward they should have that should fight for Kinge Charles. He answered, the Roundheads should be turned out of dores, the cheifest of them should be hanged, and the others should be their slaves. This deponent asked where they should have captaines, and he wished this deponent to goe to Oliver Bridgman and Thomas Poulter and they would direct this deponent to goe to Mr Morden's, where this deponent might be listed under his sonne to fight for the kinge when the kinge's party rose. Sayth that he this deponent never knew or heard that the sayd Mr Oliver [*sic*] Morden did ever list any for, or that he went him selfe to, the late kinge's party. . . .

To the third interrogatory this deponent sayth that a little before the beginninge of the late riseinge in Suffolk that Oliver Bridgman came to this deponente in a close where this deponent was at worke and asked whether the Parliament should have this deponent's cow and the kinge his calfe. And this deponent answered if that would doe the Parliament should have both. He asked whether the Parliament should get the day. This deponent sayd the Parliament was the Parliament but the day was the Lord's. And the sayd Bridgman sayd that there were none but bankerouts in the Parliament howse and such as have spent their estates in horse raceinge and whoringe, and that they now sit there to cheate the kingedome. . . .

Sayth that Mr Morden kept Axie and Clacke from the tyme that they were routed at Lynton untill harvest was don, and that they lay in Mr Morden's howse as houshold servants. . . .

Sayth that he this deponent was promised nothings by Captain Pickeringe nor any others for the prosecuteinge of the charge against the persons above-named but what the State allowed him, and how he should come by that this deponent cannot say. . . .

[102] [*Examination of Thomas Cooke of Exning, gentleman, 29, 14 February 1650*]¹

Sayth that on the 8th of February last this deponent had some conference with Thomas Cole of Exninge aforesayd towchinge John Morden and Oliver Bridgman, amongst which discouse Thomas Cole aforesayd sayd that he was summoned to appeare againe before the Committee upon Munday last, whereupon he gave these speches, That he was subpened up againe by Mr Morden, Oliver Bridgman, and the rest, which seeke for to ruine mee, but I hope ere longe for to be revenged of them, Oliver Bridgman, John Morden, and some others, and if they would have beene quiet and given me my pay I should have beene quiet, but seeinge I am forced to appeare againe I must now sweare for to undoe them or els they will undoe mee. For I have sworne nothings as yet to the purpose, and as for my pay I will have it, though it be seaven yeares first. . . .

¹ SP 19/A. 133, No. 78.

This deponent further sayth that he, Thomas Cole, would be revenged of Edward Bridgman his utter enemye. . . .

[103] [*Letter of Thomas Coke to Mr Edward Winslow, 30 April 1650, from Covent Garden, London*]¹

Sir,

I am intreated by a freind to move you in the behalf of some Suffolke men, who are to have a heareinge before your committee tomorrow. All that is desired is that you would afford them a favourable heareinge and all iust and lawfull favour. Their freind (who moves me for them) saies he is persuaded they were falselye charged and by a desire of revenge upon them, as he thinks ([*as,*] if the depositions be well weighed, wil appeare). I never saw them, neither do I know anie of the men, but send you here withall the letter which came to me on their behalf,² upon perusall of which I shall submitt it to your judgement and leave it to your wisdome to impart my desire to Mr Moyer, Mr Berners, and Mr Squibb,³ to whome with yourself is presented the due respects of

Your affectionate freind
Th. Coke

Covent Garden, April 30, 1650

¹ SP 19/A. 133, No. 80. The letter-writer (distinct from the examinee of No. 102) was possibly Thomas Coke of Chishall near Saffron Walden or Thomas Coke of Pebmarsh (both Essex committeemen). Winslow was a prominent member of the Committee for Advance of Money and the Committee for Compounding; he was frequently appealed to in this way (CCC, 194; CCAM, 929, 971, *et passim*; F. & R., I, 112, 243; II, 34, 170, 382). So far as the former body was concerned, this letter effected the termination of the case in favour of the defendants. In the following July the Cambridge County Committee complained to the Compounding Committee in London of the discharge of John Bridgman of Stetchworth, near Newmarket, who was 'as guilty as any man we know.' The Compounding Committee, however, saw 'no ground to disallow' the discharge, and the case dropped. Whether he is identical with John Bridgman of Newmarket is uncertain. — CCC, 282, 284.

² The letter has not survived.

³ Samuel Moyer, Arthur Squibb, and Josias Berners were Compounding Commissioners at Goldsmiths' Hall. — CCC, 194.

IV. Ipswich

[*The following documents reveal the alienation of a major seaport, from its enthusiastic support of the Parliamentary cause in the 'forties to its obstructive attitude in the 'fifties.*]

THE 'FORTIES

Urban Puritanism: The Ipswich Sabbath

[*There were perhaps few towns in England where the corporation was more thoroughly sympathetic to Parliament than in Ipswich, though even here we read that in 1647 the town desired the king.¹ The following documents show the corporation's close link with, and determination to exercise control over, the church and its ministers (cf. also No. 140). They encountered many difficulties in finding a suitable lecturer and went to considerable pains to secure one. There is something slightly comic in the bargaining of corporation and ministers, with their mundane demands discreetly wrapped in reverent Hebraisms.*]

[104] [*Order of the corporation, 7 March 1644*]²

Forasmuch as the Lord's Day nowe is and of late hath been much profaned within this towne, by usinge diverse pastimes and recreations, children sportinge and playinge in the streetes, and a great parte of that day after the publike worshipping of God ended wastefully and vainely spent in idle and needles sitting at doores, walkinge at the Key, in the feildes, and other publike places, to the great dishonour of God and the increasinge of that giult which lies upon this nation for the sin of sabaoth breakinge: nowe for the better sanctyfyng of that day and the more strict and due observinge of the fast dayes, and to the intent that after the publike service of God ended each family apart may spend the remainder of those dayes in the exercise of religious duties: it is ordered and agreed that all persons inhabitinge within this towne that after the twentieth day of March next shall prophane the Lord's Daye by sportinge or playinge at any games, walkinge at the Key, in the feildes, or other publike places in or neere this towne, by unnecessary roweinge in boates, washing themselves in the somer time, rydeinge of horses out further than to the nearest water, and leapinge, runninge, or otherwise sportinge with the said horses; and all masters and parents that shall suffer their apprentices, servants, or children to comitt any of the said offences or to bee playeinge and idleinge in the streetes uppon the Lord's Day or fast dayes, shall for the first offence forfeit 12d. and for every time soe offendinge afterwards 2s. . . . and that

¹ *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers*, ed. O. Ogle and W. H. Bliss, 1872, I, 358.

² ICR, General Courts Book, 18 Charles I – 32 Charles II, f. 10 r. and v.

the money hereuppon raised and levyed shall bee to the use of the poore of the parishe where the said offence shall bee committed. . . . And it is desired that this order bee published in the severall churches of this towne the next Lord's Day. . . .

Ipswich and its Ministers, 1641-1646

[105] [*Order of the Corporation, 23 February 1641*]¹

It is thought fitt by the assemblie this daye mett that Mr Puplett and Mr Tyler shall presentlie travell to London and by the advyse and ayde of Mr Cage, Peter Fisher, Robert Dunckon, and John Brandlinge or any three or twoe of them to petition the king's majestie for the obteyninge of the perpetuall eleccion of the ministers within the severall parishes of this towne which have latlie been questioned. And if it shalbe thought fitt, to gett the same confirmed by Act of Parliament and to get the statute of the 13 of Elizabeth for the makeinge of rates towards the meyn테인ance of the said ministers to be altered and amended, that the same rates maie be made from tyme to tyme, if the parishes shall please to alter them att any tyme. And allsoe to take suche fittinge course for the discharge of the suite agenst this towne and others in the Starre Chamber as they shall likewise thincke fitt. And that there chardgs in travell and all other chardgs and expens concerninge the effectinge of these businesses shalbe all borne by the towne.

[106] [*The corporation intreat Simeon Ashe to become town lecturer in place of Samuell Warde, deceased*]

[30 October 1641]² [*They appoint*] William Tyler, gentleman, Peter Fisher, and Josephe Pemberton, some of the cheife members and burgesses of the said towne forthwith to travell to the said Mr Ashe, and aswell by there owne labors and indeavors and intreaties as by the sollicitacion and indeavors of other godlie ministers and freinds of this towne, not onelie lett him knowe the earnest desiers and affections of the said towne butt allsoe by all meanes possible to obteyne the said Mr Ashe his acceptance of the said place. . . .

¹ ICR, Assemblies Book, 1620-1644, p. 315. Part of this order is paraphrased in Nathaniel Bacon, *The Annalls of Ipswicke*, 526. The statute referred to is 'An Acte for the payeing of the Towne of Ipswicke, which empowered the bailiffs and churchwardens of poorly endowed parishes to levy rates for maintaining ministers, etc. In Charles I's reign a dispute relative to the Act arose between the bailiffs and the clergy, which was brought before the Privy Council in 1637. It was decided that within the five parishes admittedly within the Act (St Mary-le-Tower, St Mary Quay, St Mary Elms, St Nicholas, St Lawrence) the bailiffs might levy the rates; but that since they could show no title to nominate the ministers (whose office before the Dissolution had been fulfilled by monks or chaplains of religious houses), that right lay with the crown. Hence the present petition for the 'perpetuall eleccion' of ministers by the bailiffs.

² ICR, Assemblies Book, 1620-1644, p. 322. Simeon Ashe (d. 1662) had been ejected from his living for refusing to read the Book of sports and to conform to other ceremonies. The town evidently did not bid high enough to retain his services; he may have officiated at Ipswich for a time (*cf.* CJ, II, 449), but when the war began he became chaplain to the Earl of Manchester (*DNB*; see also note 3, p. 64). On 24 December Mr Newcomein was invited to become lecturer and treated with similar deference (*Assemblies Book*, p. 327). He also refused, it seems.

[107] [29 November 1641]¹ Att this assemblie Mr Fysher is intreated to ryde presentlie to London to Mr Ashe, whoe is this weeke intended to come to Ipswich, and to accompanie him downe and to geve him an invitacion to repose him selfe in his staite within this towne att eyther of Mr Bailiff's houses or any other the portmen's, that he shall please. And his and Mr Fisher's chardges to be borne by this towne.

[108] [*The corporation desire ministers to encourage their parishioners to contribute to Sir John Meldrum, 19 December 1644*]²

It is agreed by the company heere present that whereas there is a letter come to this towne from Sir John Meldrum, knight, importinge that hee is in some streights thorough want of provisions and ammunicions and money to pay his soldiars, thereupon desiring the assistance of this towne and of other coast townes, as beeing most neerly concernd therein: it is hereupon ordered that this request of Sir John's bee made knowne next Lord's Day by the ministers of this towne to their severall congregacions, and that Messrs. Bayliffes desire the ministers to stirr upp their people cherefully to assist in this soe weighty a busines, and that Mr Bayliffes doe alsoe appoint some persons in every parish to repaire to the houses of all persons of abilitie and receive what moneyes they shall willingly contribute to a worke soe necessary.

[109] [*Matthew Lawrence to the corporation regarding his appointment as town lecturer, 5 January 1646*]³

Right worshipful and much honoured freindes,

Whereas I have lately received an order made in your assembly December 24 last past, wherein I was freely chosen publike lecturer of this towne, with profer of confirming [*sic*] upon me a salary of one hundred pounds *per annum*, with the house wherein I now dwell during my naturall life, in the same manner as Mr Samuell Warde (my worthy predecessor) enjoyed the same: I cannot but acknowledge this expression of your love with all thankfullnes, first to God, who is pleasd to make me the desire of his people, and next to this towne, for your great respects and kindnes to me. In answeere whereof, I conceive my selfe bound to express my resolution of satisfying your desires thus far, that howsoever, in regard of the sence of my own insufficiency for so great a place, the great want of ministers in other partes of the kingdom (especially amoungst that poore pastorless people and county [*Lincolnshire*] from which I came), the chaung that may possibly fall out either in the people calling or in the person called to any

¹ ICR, Assemblies Book, 1620–1644, p. 323.

² ICR, Assemblies Book, 19 Charles I – 32 Charles II, p. 15. Meldrum (d. c. May 1645) had been in command of part of Manchester's army in the spring of 1644; in the summer and autumn he commanded the Lancashire forces, and after the reduction of Liverpool the besiegers of Scarborough (but not till February 1645, according to *DNB*).

³ ICR, Acc. 2781, Letters, No. 33. J. Wodderspoon, *Memorials of the ancient Town of Ipswich . . . 1850*, 374, comments objectively on these proceedings. 'The congregation decreased under Mr. Lawrence. In 1647, his stipend was enlarged to £120 per annum, from which fact it may be understood that the corporation, at least, regarded his public labours as satisfactory . . .' He died in 1653. For his monumental inscription in St Mary Tower, see Add. 15,520 (to be printed in a later vol. in this series), f. 7, and *cf.* f. 9v.

place, together with the power of the church to dispose of ministers as they see cause; though all these, or any one of these, may iustly persuade me to make no absolute promise of continuance during my naturall life, yet I must needs confess (seeing your great affections to me have persuaded your judgmentes to agree in one vote that my poore endeavours may be acceptable and in some sort profitable amongst you) such is my love to this place and care of satisfying your desires, that I am resolved not only to wave my present call to another place of some outward advantage, but do freely promise thus much also (by God's assistance) for the future, that in case I shall at any tyme be called from this place to another, I shall not remove unless, by the counsell of able and faythfull ministers, it shall be concluded that my call from God is found to be stronger for removall then for continuance (which I conceive is as much as can well be desired of me in these distracted tymes). Thus with the returne of my due respectes and thankfull acknowledgment of all your favours, I do earnestly intreat the constant help of your prayers for the discharge of that place, which is so far above my abilities, as also your cheerfull comming together in the dayes of publique assemblies, with your carefull and tymely preventing such other meetinges, wherin the ministers of God do sufer much and the truth of God is like to suffer more. All which being seconded by your ready obedience to the gospell of Christ, I do assure you, it will be no small encouragement to me to continue

Your affectionate and much obliged servant in the
work of the ministry,

Ipswich, January 5, 1645

Matthew Lawrence

[110] [*Order of the corporation regarding Lawrence's appointment, 10 June 1646*]¹

Whereas Mr Lawrence hath by his letter of the ninth of June instant represented to this assembly that hee is in a great suspence whither hee shall stay still amongst us or remove backe into Lincolnshire whither hee is now called againe, in regarde the call on both sides hath begotten soe great a question in him which is the strongest that he conceiveth an apparent necessitie of callinge in counsell for his satisfaction, and hath allsoe offered these consideracions which are discouragements to him. First, that the aire where hee now lives is somewhat unsutable to his constitution, and therefore desires a howse in the upper parte of the towne. Secondly, the daily lessninge of our publique congregacions. Thirdly his double taske upon the weeke dayes, above the strength of his body, and for his ease therein doth offer that one of the lectures might bee held upon the Lord's Day, with the consent of ministers and people. And hath lastly given an intimacion of some advantage hee may have by his removall. In answeere unto which letter and the consideracions aforesaid, it is declared by this assembly that they doe and ever shall manifest all willingnesse to satisfie Mr Lawrence in all his desires within the powre of this towne. And therefore, as to his first demand, it is ordered and declared by this assembly that if Mr Lawrence shall please to make choise of any howse in any parte of the towne which

¹ ICR, Assemblies Book, 19 Charles I – 32 Charles II, p. 32.

may bee hired, they will hire it for him. To the second they declare that all the members of this assembly will bee carefull, both in there owne persons and with there families, to bee present att the publique congregacions, and will labour what they can to persuade others to the like. To the third this assembly cannot att present give a positive answeere in regard the consent of ministers and people is required to that; yet this assembly doth declare yf Mr Lawrence shall continewe with us they shall strive to give him all iust satisfaction they may, soe that hee may remaine comfortably amongst us and receive all further encouragement from us. And lastly as to Mr Lawrence his desire to have the question of his call brought to a speedy issue by the counsell of able and religious men, it is ordered that Mr Lawrence bee intreated to enforme Mr Bayliffes from time to time what his intencions and proceedings are or shalbe therein, that soe this howse may advise and proceed thereupon accordinge as occasion shall require.'

[111] [*The corporation appoint two divines to meet two appointed by Lawrence, 23 July 1646*]¹

At this assembly Mr Bayliffes doe certifie that Mr Lawrence in pursuance of his desires to have the question of his call determined by the judgment of able men hath nominated on his parte Mr Male and Mr Reyner, both of Lincolnshire, and doth desire Doctor Wallys may informe onely concerninge the state of his boddy; and doth request this towne to nominate two divines on their behalfe, offeringe the time and place of meetinge to bee the first Tuesday in August at Cambridge. Nowe this assembly doth approve of the persons chosen by Mr Lawrence and of the said time and place, and doe nominate on the behalfe of this towne Mr Brunninge of Seymer and Mr Hudson of Capell to the two divines chosen by Mr Lawrence, and Mr Bayliffes are desired to request the said divines to undertake this busines and to give them notice of the time and place. And further Mr Bayliffe Sparrowe, Mr Aldus, Mr Smythier, Mr Brandlinge, Mr Fisher, Mr Dunckon, and Mr Towne Clarke are desired to goe with Mr Lawrence and the divines and to intreate Mr Candler of Coddenham to goe along with them. . . .

Urban Defence

[*During the Civil War Ipswich was as remote as anywhere from the seat of fighting. As in other parts of East Anglia, the even tenor of local life continued unimpeded. As the following extracts show, however, the military crises which occurred from time to time summoned the town's enthusiasm to provide for its own defence. In August 1643 the corporation had voted a loan of several thousand pounds to Parliament (Assemblies Book, 1620–1644, p. 337). But by 1648 its generosity was becoming strained, and 'divers persons of abilitie' gave 'nothinge or not considerably uppon the voluntary contribucion' for the seamen guarding the town during the siege of Colchester (No. 119).]*

(i) Orders of the corporation in 1642–1643

[112] [23 November 1642]² . . . Mr John Blomfield and Mr Samuell Dunckon

¹ ICR, Assemblies Book, 19 Charles I – 32 Charles II, p. 36.

² ICR, Assemblies Book, 1620–1644, p. 331.

are requested to ride to Colchester this afternoon and treat with the ingeneere there and procure him to come hither to advise with this towne concerning what fortificacons are fitt to bee made for this towne. Allsoe it is agreed that the treasurer of this towne take care presently to buy and provide one hundred musketts with bandeleers, restes, and headpieces, and that such particular persons as will buy any of the same musketts shall have them at the same price they cost him, and such as shall remaine in his hands shalbee for the towne's use.

[113] [1 December 1642]¹ Allsoe the towne treasurer is appointed to buy six barrells of powder to bee laid upp for the towne store and shall allsoe buy twoe other barrells of powder to bee sould out to such perticular persons as will desire to buy of it at the same price which it shall cost him.

[114] [24 July 1643]² Att this assembly it is agreed that there shalbee fortificacions of brestworkes, pallisadoes, and other workes made in and about the towne, such as shall be thought fitt and advised by Mr Bayliffes and the deputy lieftenants and such other persons as Mr Bayliffes and the deputy lieftenants shall call to their assistance; and Mr Fysher the treasurer is hereby appointed imediately to provide 50 or 60 crowd barrowes³ and handbarrowes and some basketts.

[115] [27 September 1643]⁴ Whereas there are coales bought and laid upp for the poore, it is nowe agreed that the said coales bee sold to the smythes of this towne at forty shillings a chaldron and the money thereof arisinge and comeinge shall bee laid out uppou wood for the poore.

[116] [4 October 1643]⁵ It is ordered at this assembly that all the passages upp unto the wall ditches shall bee stopt upp which come out of any of the houses adioyninge to the ditches, and that the headborrowes shall give them warninge to stoppe them upp at their owne chardge, but howsoever they shall bee shut upp at the towne's chardge as all the other workes are done about the towne and all the steppes taken away and ditched against the goinges upp. Allsoe it is ordered that the treasurer shall set up a gate at the further end of the Friers' Bridge⁶ or where it shallbee thought most convenient by the treasurer and workemen, and the key to bee left at the little howse there with those whoe shall dwell in it. . .

It is agreed that the head borrowghes shall keepe the ordinary course in wardinge every day, and that the twelve constables and the petty constables added unto them shall keepe the night watches accordinge to their course. Allsoe none to be warned to warde but onely such as are in the poore's rate, but all to watch as have been usuall. Allsoe there shallbee fowreteene men towarde every day and thirtie two men to watch every night, wherein the

¹ ICR, Assemblies Book, 1620-1644, p. 332.

² *Ibid.*, p. 336.

³ i.e., wheelbarrow. - *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. 'crowd'.

⁴ ICR, Assemblies Book, 1620-1644, p. 338. Coal was required by the smiths to make arms, etc. With the king in control of the north, the coal-shortage was acute in the counties controlled by Parliament.

⁵ ICR, Assemblies Book, 1620-1644, p. 339.

⁶ In the Portmen's Meadow, in St Nicholas' parish.

portmen are willinge to beare their proporcions; allsoe to have fireinge provided and to ward and watch from six to six, and not one to departe before the other come, to begin this night. Allsoe it is agreed so much as in them is that there shall bee given to every of the sericants twenty shillings apeice for their paines in the former winters warninge watches, and the treasurer to pay the same.

Allsoe it is ordered that Isaack Day for the South Warde and Thomas Wright for the East Warde, Henry Parkehuist for the North Warde and Joseph Pemberton for the West Warde shall take viewe what smythes are in every warde and what coles they spend for their worke and their proporcion, and to have at 40s. per chalder out of the coles laid upp at Mr John Blomfeild's; and these are desired to give accompt of their proceedinges tomorrowe.

(ii) Orders of the corporation in 1648¹

[117] [9 June 1648]² . . . At this assembly it is agreed that there shall bee a stronge ward kept in this towne, to bee sett by the headborrowes. Noe man to bee warned toward but such as pay to the poore, and that every day there bee twenty men ward, and the ward to bee timely sett that the watch may not bee dischargd till the ward bee sett, and they to continewe till the watch bee sett at night; and that the constable that watcheth have three or fowre musketts goe with him in his walkinge watch, and a muskett at each corner. The powder, match, and bullet to bee delivered out of the towne's magazine. Allsoe that as many of the turne pikes as will turne bee shut upp every night, and the rest to bee made fitt by the treasurer to shut: and that the watch bell be runge at sunn risinge and sunn settinge, and at that time the watch and ward to bee sett and dischargd respectively. And that every householder watch in his owne person duringe this present time of daunger.

[118] [17 June 1648]³ Att this assembly it is agreed that in regard both our trained band and auxiliaries, horse and foot, are drawne out of this towne to Cattaway Bridge, therefore a stronge gard shall bee kept in this towne by the seamen nowe in towne, and that they shall bee paid. And for the raysinge thereof that there bee a voluntary contribucion thorough this whole towne.

[119] [30 June 1648]⁴ It is agreed that the seamen shall bee still continewd for the gard of this towne for three nights longer. And in regard it does appeare that divers persons of abilitie in this towne have given nothinge or not considerably upon the voluntary contibucion which hath been collected, nowe for that the chardge of payinge these seamen hath allready exceeded the somme which hath been given, and to the end that every man may beare his equall proporcion in the chardge who shareth equally

¹ The Bury rising occurred in May, and on 13 June Fairfax invested Colchester, where the Suffolk and Ipswich trained bands and auxiliaries joined him. The Linton rising, in which many Suffolk people were involved, occurred at the same time. See Section III.

² ICR, Assemblies Book, 19 Charles I – 32 Charles II, p. 61.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

in the benefitt, it is therefore thout fit and desired that Mr Bayliffes and the deputy lieftenants of this towne will make an equall rate throughout the towne, that soe the chardge may bee equally borne, but yet that the same bee demanded as a voluntary contribucion onely. And if there shall not hereuppon bee sufficient gathered to defray the whole chardge which is allready, and for three nights more shall bee, disbursed by the chamberlaines for the paiment of the seamen, then the residue shall bee paid out of the towne treasurye.

THE 'FIFTIES

[It is not difficult to see from the following documents why large seaports like Ipswich, so enthusiastic for Parliament before 1649, became discontented during the Interregnum. With the end of the war, the death of Charles I, and the exile of many cavaliers, the emphasis had now shifted to naval and maritime matters. Ipswich was brought into the forefront of events, and piracy of its merchants' goods and shipping was rife. Impressment during the wars with Holland and Spain was a constant menace, whose evasion aroused all the ingenuity of masters and seamen. That only two men on one occasion, and none on another, could be pressed in one of the largest and most puritan towns in England is striking: it was simply 'by reason of the interest the magistrates have in the shipping heere . . .' (Nos. 122, 124). *Nor did the unwelcome obligation to care for sick and wounded bring out the finer traits in the puritan character. The attempt to shift the burden on to Manningtree was scarcely ingenuous. The insistent demand for hard cash is unpleasant.¹ But one must remember, on the other hand, the long years of forced loans and assessments, compared with which the Ship Money of Charles I had been a triviality.]*

Piracy

[120] *[The corporation seeks relief from the House of Commons, 2 February 1649]²*

Whereas the enemy with diverse pirate shippes begins to bee verry prevalent at sea and hath taken diverse shippes uppon our coastes to the great spoylinge and hinderance of our trade and the impoverishinge of this towne, it is therefore ordered that there bee a letter written by Mr Bayliffes in the name of this towne to Mr Recorder and to Mr Francis Bacon and Mr Gourden,³ burgesses of Parliament for this towne, desiringe them to make a speedy addresse to the Honourable House of Commons in behalfe of this towne beseechinge them to take such course for our releife and redresse therein

¹ It is difficult to believe that the debt of £1,900 alleged by the bailiffs was crippling to a town of the size and wealth of Ipswich. There is reason to think, moreover, that the town had been treated lightly in the matter of assessments, in comparison with the Suffolk countryside.

² ICR, Assemblies Book, 19 Charles I – 32 Charles II, p. 70. Many of the cavaliers defeated in the risings of 1648 went overseas and took to acts of piracy along the East Anglian and southern seaboard, led by Prince Rupert.

³ The recorder was Nathaniel Bacon. John Gurdon of Great Wenham was a prominent member of the County Committee from 1643 to 1660; he represented Ipswich in the Short and Long Parliaments and Suffolk in that of 1654. – Bacon, *op. cit.*, 522 n.

as in their wisdomes they shall thinke meet. And Mr Brandlinge and Mr Caley are desired to goe upp with the said letter to London and to agitate in the said busines for this towne as occasion shall require, their charges to bee borne by this towne. And Mr Bayliffe,¹ Mr Brandlinge, Mr Robert Duncken, Mr Towne Clark, Mr Morgan, Mr Caley, Mr Wright, and Mr Balderoe are appointed a Committee to drawe upp the said letter and prepare if for the next assembly.

*Impressment*²

[121] [*Ambros Dinnison to the Navy Commissioners at Tower Hill*]³

From Ipswich this 4th of March 1652-53

Right Worshipfulls,

I salute you in the Lord, hoping in the Lord of all your good healths. I made bould to acquaint your worships howe farr I have proceeded. I have bin att Colchester, Malden, Wivenoe, and Harwich, and nowe I am att Ipswich, ready to proceed further. Very little is done for the present; men are very scarce, soe farr as I have yett gone, by reason of a great fleete of coaleyees, neere 150 sayle, gone out of Harwich the last Munday and Tusday, the first day of this instant March. This last night, being Thursday night, we did order our busines to presse att Harwich and Ipswich, bothe the same night. The maior of Harwich, with the captaine of the garrison to assiste him, was very free to forward that worke. Ther have bin some evell instrument [*sic*] that have done and [*sic*] very badd office by word or writing in makeing knowne that I was to come to Ipswich to presse seamen. As I came from Harwich, within two or three miles of Ipswich I mett 3 seamen rideing very hard; they knewe me, but I did not knowe them. Two of them did endeavour to unhorse me, but I blesse God [*I*] am very well. One did call me by my name and did say I would not be very well come to Ipswich, for they knewe my busines. I purpose this night (God willing) likewise to presse what men wee cann finde att Woodbridge, Orfford, and Aldeburgh, and soe proceed further as fast as I cann. I am sorry that I cannot doe that service that I thought I should a done. I cann give no accompt of this last night's worke; it was iudged by the bayliffes of this towne that it was not convenient to bee seene, in regard it was knowne that I was here. I shall give you an accompt att my returne backe to this towne againe. There are severall villages that I am informed of that if I goe there I shall finde a great menny fishermen that wilbe very serviceable. If your worships thinke fitt that I shall goe to those places as I returne backe, I pray lett me receive 2 or 3 lines from you to Yarmouth, and lett it be directed to Mr Chaffe, overseer of the 2 friggetts. Soe haveing noe more to trouble you att present, leaveing you to the protexion of the Allmighty I rest

Your humble servant to comand in what I may,
Ambros Dinnison

¹ The bailiffs elected in the previous September were Edmund Humphry and John Smithier. — Bacon, *op. cit.* 549.

² See also No. 135.

³ SP 18/48, No. 35. The text is in an ornate clerical hand, but the signature is almost illiterate.

[122] [*The bailiffs to the Navy Commissioners, 8 March 1653*]¹
Honourable,

Your letter of the 26th of February last wee received for the impressinge of such able marriners and seamen as could be found within this towne or the places adjacent, which, within one hour after it came to our hands, wee made out warrants to our officers accordingly, who after a strickt search found that all our marriners were two daies before your letter came to our hands gone for Newcastle, there beinge then about 50 saile gone out of this river, whose necessities for men were soe great that they were forct, not only to hier many men that had sildome or never used the sea before, but alsoe to give as much pay to a common man as is usually a master's wages. Wee coud presse but two, who are able younge men, to whom wee gave presse and conduct money, and have signed them ticketts describeinge their persons, and directed them to the clerke of the Cheque att Woolwich accordinge to your order. Wee desire the charge wee were out [*sic*] maye be repaid to this bearer Mr Thomas Thrower, which to the two men was eighteene shillings, which is all at present from

Your servants,

Richard Pupplet Nicho. Philips

Ipswich, the 8th of March 1652[-3]

[123] [*John Scott to the Admiralty Commissioners at Whitehall, 27 May 1653*]²

Right Honourable,

I am very sorry that I can give your honours no better account of my busines then at present I can. In obedience to your orders I came to Harwidge upon Tuseday night, where with all privacye and dilligence I did applye myselfe with the asistance of Captain Wright and his leiunt. and some souldiers to the impressinge of what men wee could finde, and in all the night could gett but one man. But the next morninge I found some fower more; but we not judging that imployment considerable, I went downe to Ipswidge upon the Wednesday with a seargt and a corporall and some souldiers, where I did aplye myselfe to the bayleifes for there assistence, who did appoint constables to goe with us, which we did two nights and one day. In all which time they nether of them gott us one man, onely some fower that we ourselves did finde, they pretendinge, at least, that all there men were at present at Newcastle or London. But there were some in towne, who we heard ran all away as soone as ever they heard of a press. I shall this morninge goe back to Harwidge with those few men I have. I cannot heare of anye of the vessells I am directed to enquire after in any of these ports, but must be forced to keepe them [*sc. the men*] on shore till I heare from you aboute it, which I humbly desire to doe by the first, as also what there allowance is to be whilest they are on shoare, untill which I shall allowe them some seven or eight pence per diem a man, and should be glad to heare whether my order will extend to press on board as well as shoare, I understandinge by the officers at Harwidge that it is never used,

¹ SP 18/48, No. 52.

² SP 18/36, No. 111.

but I humbly conceive would be most advantagious. I shall stay at Harwidge to heare your honours' farther commands by the next post, and then intend for Yarmouth after I have disposed of my men, unless I receive contrarye order from your honours, and shall omitt nothings whereby I may approve myselfe

Your honours' most humble servant,
John Scott

Ipswidge, May 27th, 1653

[124] [*Captain Robert-Hay Tubbe to Robert Blackbourne, secretary to the Commissioners for the Admiralty and Navy at Whitehall, 13 January 1654*]¹

Worthy Sir,

In order to the presse warrant I had from the honourable the Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navy, I came last nighte to put it in execution in this towne, where I had hopes to doe something in the same, but (by reason of the interest the magistrates have in the shipping heere) finde my endeavours altogether ineffectuall. I shall therefore make it my humble suite unto their honours (if they shall thinke it fittinge) they would bee pleased to lett mee have an order to repaire into Yarmouth roades, which I conceive to bee the best way to complete the number of our men, the want of which is the onely cause of our tarring in this river; or that they would appoint mee any other course conducible to that end. This I thought fitt (though abruptly, the post being now going hence) to advise you of. In the meane time I shall not fayle to doe what in mee lyes for the furtherance of the service. Your answer heereunto will much satisfie

Your afflicted frend and servant to see things goe thus crosse,
Robert-Hay Tubbe

Ipswich, January 13th, 1653[-4]

[125] [*Thomas Adames and Phillip Gethings to the Admiralty Commissioners, 28 February 1654*]²

Right Honourable,

In our last wee gave your honours notis that sum of our men we[r]e gon, and now wee have found out one of the masters of a collier that hath sent and taken sum of our men to goe with him to Newcastle. His name is Beniamine Hornigall of Ipswich. Hee could not chouse but know they weere our men when hee sent a kinsman to invit them to goe with him. Wee humbly desier your honours to take sum course with him, that by his example oathers may take warninge. It is usiall with them to carry away our men after they have beene borne upon our bookes, and when wee tell them of it thay slite us for it. Wee shall doe our best to get Harwich [*sic*], and remaine

Your honours' moost fathfull and humble servants,
Tho. Adames Phillip Gethings

Woodbridg, February the last, [16]53[-4]

¹ SP 18/78, No. 77.

² SP 18/79, No. 214.

[126] [*Captain John Bowrey to the Commissioners for the Admiralty and Navy, 24 February 1656*]¹

Right Honorables,

I have attended heare att Harwich upon the baylifes of Ipswich for prest men. But thay cannot gitt anny for us, by resson the baylifs cannot command them. What the resson is I knowe not. I finding that few came doune, I sent my boot [*sc. boat*] up to see if thay could pres anny, and in one night's tyme thay prest halfe a score, but war abused much by the tounes peapell. The cunstabeles themselves war aferd to go about with our folkes, the peapell due thretin them soo. Wee have about a score wee have gooten by our industerryes, and due intend this day as weather shall permitt to sett sale for the Hope. Heare are about a duzon sale of smale veseles that are ladden with butter and chease bound for London, and thay deare not to go forth without conua [*sc. convoy*], men of warr are so thicke heare. Vessells within the sandes heare are chased in every day. So for those that are bound up in the rivar I shall indevor to secur them so hy as the Hoope, and theare remaine tell your honnores' furder order.

John Bowrey

From Harwich, the 24th of February 1655-56

[127] [*The same to the same, 26 February 1656*]²

Right Honorables,

I have brought what men I could gitt from Ipswich to the Hoope, and due intend to put them aboard of the shipes heare that want. Wee have twenty; six wee have to speare of our one. When wee came away from Deapthford wee left a great many behind of our men. These men that wee did gitt att Ipswich wee ware faine to pres them ourselves: the baylifes could not beare anny command there. The tounes peapell did slitt [*sc. slight*] them much, and did abuse our pepell very much. Wee did conua [*sc. convey or convoy*] up with us sixtene sale of vesselles that ware in Harwich that did not deare to goo to see, men of warr are so thicke betuene the sands. So waighting upon your honnores' furder order, I remaine

Your honnores' humbell sarvant,

John Bowrey

From aboard the Eaglett ketch in the Hoope, the 26th of February 1655-56

[128] [*The same to the same, 4 March 1656*]³

Right Honorables,

According to your letter bearing datte the 27th of February, I am att Ipswich to see what men I can produce. Thay are verry hard to bee gained, for thay due so hide themselves in privat houses that wee cannot find them. I due goo myselfe in to publick houses to seck for them, but can find but

¹ SP 18/135, No. 40. Bowrey was captain of the Eaglett ketch. 'The Hope' is near Landguard Fort, Felixstowe. The war with Spain had begun in the previous autumn, and the mariners of Ostend and Dunkirk in the Spanish Netherlands were now 'actively employed in matching their quick-sailing privateers against the mercantile navy of England.' By mid-March 40 of them had secured 30 prizes in the Channel and North Sea. - S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649-1656*, 1903, IV, 240-1.

² SP 18/135, No. 71.

³ SP 18/136, No. 46.

few theare. What men are goot in wee are faine to busk¹ for ourselfes, for the offiseres of the toune duth not bring one to us. The fleat heare are reddy to sale, so I humbly conseve if thay had liberty to goo forth wee mit [*sc. might*] have men brought to us, wee lying about the Nes of Allford with annother vesell. Heare are four ships that come from Norroway with other smale veselles that desiare conua [*sc. convoy*] for the revar, for thay are afeard of smale men of warr that lyeth about the sands. The Norroway men war put in heare by them.

So waighting you honnores furdur order, I remaine
Your honnores' most humbell servant,
John Bowrey

From Ipswich the 4th of March 1655-56

The Sick and Wounded

[129] [*George Monck and Robert Blake, 'Generalls of the Fleete', to the corporation, 7 June 1653*]²

Gents.,

Wheras there are severall persons belonging to the fleet of the Commonwealth of England under our command that were wounded in the late engagement with the Dutch, for whome the Parliament by their resolve in December last hath taken care and provided for: wee have therefore thought fitt to send to your towne severall of them in the State's ship the Tenth Whelpe, desiring your specill care that they be duely drest and provided for with all things necessary for persons in their condicion. And care shall be taken that what you shall disburse herein be repaid by the State according to their resolves aforesaid.

We are your loving freinds,
George Monck Robert Blake

From on board the Resolution, the 7th June 1653

[130] [*The bailiffs to the Commissioners for the Admiralty and Navy, 14 June 1653*]³

Honorable,

Wheras wee have received one Fridaye last eightie wounded and sicke men by order from Admirall Moncke and Admirall Blake, and wee have provided for them and placed them in the most convenient places that wee could; and in regard the chiurgions [*sic*] appoynted by the State were not come downe, wee did appoynt four able chiurgions and three doctors of phisicke (the best wee could finde in thes parts) for to looke after them and dresse them and to administer phisicke to such as wanted. Wee did then likewise receive an order from the said admiralls to the collectors of the prize goods in our towne for the payement of the charges, but the collectors never receivinge any mony for goods cannot (as they informeth

¹ 'To buske' is to go, array, prepare, make ready. - T. Wright, *Dictionary of obsolete and provincial English*, 1857.

² SP 18/37, No. 53. The Dutch War had begun in 1651; 'The late engagement' refers to the battle of 3 June.

³ SP 18/54, No. 123.

us) make paiement of any. Therefore wee doe earnestlie desire your honors to take such speedie order for the supplieinge of us with mony for the defrayeinge this charge, according to the late resolves of Parliament in December last. The charge as neer as wee can compute will amounte unto fower score pounds per weeke. The coppies of the letter and order from the admirall wee have here inclosed sent you, and rest

Your servants,
Richard Puppel Nicho. Philips

Ipswich, 14th June 1653

[131] [*The bailiffs to the Council of State, regarding the service above-mentioned, 24 June 1653*]¹

Right Honorable,

. . . Wee have expended the severall somes in the inclosed accounts mencioned, which doe amounte to the some of one hundred fortie one poulds, eighteene shilling[s], 3½d., which wee have charged uppon Mr Richard Hutchinson, treasurer for the navy, accordinge to your honors' order. The charge was by us done with as much frugalitie as could be, the seamen beinge brought one shoare verie sicke and weeke and verie bare in clothes, and many of them will everie daie want clothes. Notwithstandinge wee hope the charge will everie daie decrease.

Wee remaine your honors' servants,
Richard Puppel Nicho. Philips

Ipswich, this 24th June, 1653

[132] [*Nehemiah Bourne to the bailiffs, 9 July 1653*]²

Gentlemen,

By Mr Whiting I iust now received yours, in answer whereunto [*you*] may rest assured that I am tenderly afected to the condition [*of your*] towne, and upon that account shal readily comply with any [-] you can move, for your accomodation, so farr as the pressing [*condition?*] of the publique affaires can admitt; and do fully concurr so [*far*] as to the distribution of a part of the sick men, espetially into su[*ch*] convenient places neere to Ipswich, that so the poore creatures m[*ay have?*] the comfourt and releife of the phisitians and chyrurgions which reside with [*you*]. As for Manintree, I had it in my resolution before I received yours [*to*] send what shal come to my hand thither as looking at that pl[*ace*] to be comodious for their reception. As for your care and ready compliance in apprehending the run away and stragling seamen, I heartily returne you thanks, and so remaine

Your very affectionate servant,

Harwich, 9th July 1653

N. Bourne

[133] [*The bailiffs to George Monck, 'Generall att Sea', 16 August 1653*]³

Right honorable,

Our necessities compells us with sorrowe of soule to expresse ourselves,

¹ SP 18/37, No. 137.

² ICR, Acc. 2672, Letters, No. 89. The MS is partly torn away. Bourne (*fl.* 1649-62) had been appointed rear admiral on 19 May 1652, but was later appointed to superintend the equipment and manning of the fleets. After the Restoration he emigrated to America. - *DNB*.

³ ICR, Acc. 2672, Letters, No. 88. There are several other letters relative to the same subject at this time.

IPSWICH

wee havinge neer a thowsand poore sicke and wounded souldiers and seamen in the towne, whose loud cries cannot but move all Christian hartes, and wee cannot but with our pittie of them expresse our inability of releiving them. Wee have expended all the monyes wee could comand or entreat for. Wee have allsoe paund our creditts to the uttermost, for wee havinge offered judgments uppon our estates for securitie, this is refused. Wee have often sent to London, but received noe returnes, and wee are likelie to see thes poore people perish for want of support (which wee hope in God will not lye at our doores), and unles present supply be made wee cannot hope better then to perish by them and with them.

Wee humbly rest your honnor's servants,
Richard Puppel Nicho. Philips

Ipswich, 16th of August 1653

[P.S.] Wee cannot propounde anie other remedie in this case of extremitie then to desire your order to Mr Weekes, solicitor for the assesments of this County, to supply us with mony for the present untill further order maie be taken. . . .

[134] [*The bailiffs to the Commissioners for the Admiralty and Navy at Tower Hill, the same day*]¹

May it please you,

Wee cannot disemble our condition. We have above nine hundred seamen and souldiers under our care that continually call for meate, drinke and physicke and surgery. We are soe farr ingaged that more mony we cannott procure. We shalbe within 2 dayes nigh £1900 in debt. We have done what lies in our power and can doe noe more then to mention the same againe to you. Wee thinke the lives of soe many men would concerne the State exceedingly to provide for: but we can doe noe more if you will not please to accept of our motion to you. We sent for £2000 from you with our accompts. We leave it to your consideration whither it will suffice for such a charge as we are att. Wee beseech you consider of our condition and suffer not the lives of soe many brave men to miscarry under your or our hands.

Your humble servants,
Richard Puppel Nicho. Philips

Ipswich, the 16^o August 1653

Victualling the Navy

[135] [*Captain James Tarry to the Commissioners for the Admiralty and Navy at Whitehall, 20 October 1654*]²

Right Honourable,

Since the writinge of this letter, the victualers at Ipswich have sent

¹ SP 18/57, No. 84

² SP 18/89, No. 50. The letter follows another, on the same sheet, in which Tarry, captain of the Jerzey frigate, informs the Admiralty Commissioners that he is ready to sail and desires an order to that effect, 'thinkeing the time long to heare from your honnours . . .'

me word by the steward that they will unhorse me if I sit not fast, because that I have found fault with their stinking beefe which they sent aboard of us. Furthermore, the victualers themselves say that that beefe wee have is all of on salting. But 5 hogsheeds wee have returned, which wee find not eatable, which is the cause that these gentlemen give these threatening languages [*sic*]. The victualers have had the beefe at Ipswich to survey by severall masters, which masters some of them have said they had rather meet with a Turkes man of war then with any of the Stat's shipp: I leave your honours to iudge whether such men are fitt to survey provision for the State's servis. This inclosed certificate concerns the provisions; whose names are within mentioned, they were the surveyors.

[*Noted:*] Look on the other side.

[*On dorse:*] Eduard Butter of the Tomsin of Ipswich, master, being out of comand of the shipp (our boate [*sic*] being aboard of him, according to your honours warrant to me directed, to press men) called his boy, commanded him to fetch him his cutlass, and called up his men, refusing to be obedient to this warrant, set them on our boatswain's mate with the rest that weare with him, and beate them, highly threatening to kill them if they offered to medle with anny of his men. Wee whose names be under writen doe humbly conceive this to be a very truth, certain of the men coming aboard, some wounded and other bruised.

Ja. Tarry Edward Simpson Rowland Bevans
John Moalamb¹

[*Certificates attesting the condition of the victuals mentioned in above letter*]

[136]² The 7th October 54. These are to certifie whom it may concerne that wee whome over [*sic*] names are under writen, by order, have bine on bord the Jerzey frigg^{tt} (Captain, James Terry), and there is two hodgsheds of beefe stinkes and two defeceted. In wittines heereof wee seat our hands.

Willyem Fowler Thomas Broune

[137]³ Wee whose names be under writen doe humbly certifie to your Honours that wee have experince, besides the daly complaint of the poore saylors, of the stincking and rusty condition of that bife wich is returned. In testimony whereof wee doe herunto subscribe our names this 20th instant 1654.

Ja. Tarry; Edward Simpson, left^{te}; Rowland Bevans, master;
John Moalamb, minister; John Furzer, boatswaine;
James Foxley, gunner; John Sharpe, stud^d [*sc. steward*];
Richerd Ingram, carpenter

¹ Compare the signatures with those to No. 137.

² SP 18/89, No. 51.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 55.

THE RESTORATION

Extracts from the Assemblies Book of the Corporation, 1659–1660

[In the unsettled conditions following Richard Cromwell's abdication, Ipswich was not slow to revive its old demands for local control of local military appointments and the militia. Such claims, dormant since the formation of the New Model in 1645, were everywhere being revived in 1659–60. In common with the rest of the country, Ipswich welcomed unfeignedly the return of the excluded members in February 1660, and the corporation issued appropriate instructions to its faithful servants the town ministers. But in the careful preparations and unwonted generosity with which it welcomed the return of the king there is a trace of formality. The normal Ipswich celebration with 'thancksgiven' and sermon was absent, and the unabashed enthusiasm of towns like Canterbury or Dover would not have been appropriate. There is perhaps a concealed tragedy in the way the town turns from its high hopes in the 'restoringe of the Parliament' (No. 140) to its formal presentation of 'twoe hundred pounds in gold and a cup of gold' to his Majesty. The keynote on that occasion was not spontaneous joy, but 'dutie and allegance' to 'our Sovraigne Lord the Kinge's maiestie . . .' (No. 143). For the dreams of a godly commonwealth with which Ipswich and Suffolk had gone to the polls in 1640 had not been realized.]

[138] [11 August 1659]¹ Agreed that Mr Bailiffes, Mr Recorder, Mr Brandlinge, Mr Dunken, Mr Maninge, Mr Daynes, and Mr Lindfeld shalbe a committee forthwith to drawe a petition to be presented to the Parliament for the settlinge of the malitia of this towne in the hands of some freemen of the town, as time out of minde of man it hath bin, and to bringe the same to the next assemblee to conferme the same.

[139] [25 February 1660]² Agreed that it shalbe endeavoured to gitt an order from the Parliament for the settlinge of the militia of this towne accordinge to the antient custome of this towne; and that there shalbe twoe letters writt by order of this house, one to the Councill of State and another to Mr Bacon about it; and that Mr Whitinge and Mr Lindfeild shall goe upp to London with the letters abovesaid and endeavour the obtaininge of it; and that it maie be desired that thes gentlemen hereafter named maie be comissioners for the management of the militia: that is, Mr Bailiffes for the time beinge, Nathaniell Bacon, esq., John Smythier, gent., Nicholas Phillipps, gent., Richard Haile, gent., Manuell Sorrell, gent., and Henry Whitinge, gent. . . .

Agreed likewise that a letter shalbe sent to the Lord Generall Mouncke about the easinge of the towne of some of the forces nowe quartered heere; and to acquainte him of the condicion of the towne for the quarteringe of them; and alsoe to desire that some course might be taken for the discharge of their quarters; and alsoe to indeaver the obtaininge of such monies as are

¹ ICR, Assemblies Book, 19 Charles I – 32 Charles II, p. 234.

² *Ibid.*, p. 240.

due to the inkeepers¹ from Leiftennant Collonell Pepps' companye, Captaine Ward's and Captaine Boucher's company, late of Collonell Salmon's regiment. . . .

[140] [25 February 1660]² This house doe approve of Mr Bayliffs' deliveringe the powder to the seamen one Thursdaie last for the dischargd of the great gunns of this towne then, it beinge for the reioycinge for the returne of the Parliament. . . .

Agreed that their shalbe a day of thancksgiven kept one Teusdaie next come sevendnight in this towne for returninge of thanckes to the Lord for his mercies to the nation in restoringe of the Parliament to their settinge and so many changes without bloud-sheddinge. And that Mr Bailiffs give notice of this order to the severall ministers of this towne; and that the ministers doe agree amonge themselves to carrye on the worke of that day.

[141] [7 May 1660]³ Agreed that there shalbe a letter writt to his Excellence the Lord Generall Moncke, from this house, that he would be pleased to order the custody of the fort at Langarth to some gentleman of this County of Suffolk. . . . Agreed that another letter shalbe sent to Mr Nathaniel Bacon about the same, and that Vicount Hereford and Sir Henry Felton shalbe mentioned in that letter; and, if [*Mr Bacon?*] thincke fitt, to propose them to the lord generall and make it the request of this house to him for one of them to have the custody of the said fort.

[142] [10 May 1660]⁴ Agreed that Mr Maninge, Mr Lindfeild, Mr Cosens, Mr Griggs, and Mr Keene shall take care for the beautifieinge of the gallerie and crosse against the time of the proclamacion of the kinge, and to take care to provide wine and banquettinge against that time. And agreed that Mr Parkhurst and Mr Wallis shall take care that there be fyve or six great gunns provided readie att the Common Key to discharge att the same time, and that they shall have powder delivered them out of the tresurie. It is ordered that the trained bands shall then meete and all the musketeers shall have halfe a pownde of powder each of them allowed them out of the tresurie and delivered by the chamberlyns, and a yard and halfe of match to everie musketeer allowed.

¹ For billeting the soldiers.

² ICR, Assemblies Book, 19 Charles I – 32 Charles II, p. 241. The Rump had been restored on 7 May 1659; the surviving members secluded from the Long Parliament were readmitted on 21 February 1660. At Bury St Edmunds 'bonfires were lit in every street. Soldiers carrying off the fuel were stoned, and taunted that the citizens would soon be strong enough to declare for King Charles and end the rule of rogues like the soldiers.' – Godfrey Davies, *The Restoration of Charles II, 1658-1660*, 1955, 96, 288, 290.

³ ICR, Assemblies Book, 19 Charles I – 32 Charles II, p. 245. Neither Viscount Hereford (who owed his connexion with Suffolk to his wife Elizabeth, da. of Sir William Withypole, through whom he acquired Christchurch Mansion) nor Felton was appointed, but the Earl of Warwick. – J. H. Leslie, *op. cit.*, 33; GEC, VI, 480. Hereford was a Suffolk committeeman from 1647 to 1652, and Felton from 1657 to 1660.

⁴ ICR, Assemblies Book, 19 Charles I – 32 Charles II, p. 246.

[143] [28 May 1660]¹ Agreed that there shalbe twoe hundred pownds in gold and a cup of gold of fiftie pownds presented to our Soverraighe Lord the Kinge's maiestie as a gift from this towne in token of our dutie and allegiance. And that Mr Bailiffe Sorrell, Mr Robert Sparrowe, Henry Cosins, Thomas Wright, salter, and Robert Clarke shall goe upp to London in order to the presentinge of the same. And Mr Bacons [sic] shalbe desired to ioyne with them. Agreed that the some of twoe hundred and fiftie pownds shalbe borrowed of Mr Luke Sewer, Henry Cosins, Robert Manninge, and Robert Clarke for one yeare for the use of the towne, and that they shall have for their securitie Portman's Meadowe and the meadowe and marsh latelie leate to Mr Joiner.

Petition to General Monck for 'a free and full Parliament', 19 January 1660²

[During Monck's march from Scotland to London, petitions for a 'free and full Parliament' were presented by a number of English counties. The following document, drawn up at a meeting held at Ipswich, purports to express the sentiments of Suffolk as a whole. The 'presentments of grand juries' to which it refers were generally regarded at this time as the authentic and official voice of the county, and in Suffolk it was natural to associate with them 'the desires of the seamen'. This is probably one of several copies of the petition circulating in the county for signatures. A letter from Suffolk for a free parliament was also presented to the Lord Mayor of London at about this time. – Thomason Tracts, 669. f. 23 (22).]

[144] May it please your Excellencie,

That our owne hearts may not accuse us of a negligence and supinesse unbecoming those distempers wee languish under, 'tis our desire that this application, humbly and affectionatly tendered, may be received as the effect of a just and serious resentment. To us at this distance the God of Heaven seemes to prompt you to do nobly, by depositing in your hands a full and happy opportunity, such as conspires to promote those ends which are worthy and generous. Your Lordshipp will need no other incitements then the publike concerne, and contriving an ornament to your name, by the additionall title of your COUNTRIE'S RESTORER. It must needs be tedious to see Government reeling from one species, from one hand, to another. Wee apprehend it much in your power to fix it. Are our sacred, our civil liberties deare to us? They sollicite a restitution to theire legall boundaries. Let your Lordshipp cast your eyes upon a Nation impoverish'd, disfigured, bleeding under an intestine sword. Let its agonies, its miseries, its ruines implore your assistance. To our sence the only redresse under God lyes in a free

¹ ICR, Assemblies Book, 19 Charles I – 32 Charles II, p. 247. The use of the regnal year in the Assemblies Book is not revived till 7 September 1660. Sorrell was elder bailiff and was knighted by Charles II (Add. 15,520, f. 10 v.). He was one of the corporation who hesitated to take the oaths in 1660. 'Mr Bacons' possibly refers to both Nathaniel, the recorder, and to Francis.

² ESRO, Saumarez (Shrubland Park) Collection, 722/138.

and full Parliament, whereunto our auncestors recours'd in resembling exigencies. And least your Lordshipp should suspect these to be our owne solitary thoughts, wee are not ashamed to acknowledge that the presentments of severall grand juries and the desires of the seamen in this County urged this addresse: which shall be pursued with all due testimonies of a cordiall adhesion to your Lordshipp in order therunto, by

Your humble servants,

Ipswich, 19 January 1659[-60]

Edw. Mann	Wm. Bolton	Rob. Broke
Ro. Clarke	Ja. Snellinge	Jo. Jermy
Hen. Teynton	Edw. Mandyl	Nic. Bacon
Will. Feast	John Throwge	Robert Brooke
Anth. Appeile	Roger S[<i>blank</i>]	Phil. Parker
Tho. Wright	Jo. Corbould	Wi. Bloys
Chris. Ludkin	Jo. Arnold	Tho. Bacon
Ric. Philips	Tho. Pupplett	Edm. Hervey
William Cooke	Char. Burrough	Nath. Bacon
John Coleman	Robrt. Osbourn	Tho. Edgar
Robert Rednall	George Mathewes	W. Blois, iun.
William Weekley	Laurence Mulliner	Tho. Dade
John Hayle	Andrew Trebeck	Jo. Acton, iu.
Miles Wallis	Rob. Hornigold	John Brooke
Robt. Daines	John Sicklemor	Willm. Acton
Edward Guell	Edmund Coleman	Tho. Smyth
John Frere	Thomas Vesey	Fra. Theobald
Joseph Burrow	William Flacke	Francis Colman
John Ward, jun.	John Andrewes	Michael Grigg
Titus Cumplaine	Henry Blomfield	Tho. Essington
William Comton	Francis Bloys	Maurice Barrow
Will. Ceely	Anthony Applewhite	Wm. Bright
John Gill	Thomas Smyth	Hen. Yaxley
John Eaton	John Goodall	Hen. Yaxley, jun.
John Reeve	John Barker	John Sheppard
John Brenn, junr.	John Tovell	Mill. Edgar
Robrt. Coppinge	Robt. Marryott, sen.	Henry Edgar
John Ballard	Geo. Gosnell	John Brame
Henry Terold	Sam. Alston	Robt. Vessy
William Hart	Richard Turner	Robt. Marryett, ju.
Edm. Gardiner	Tho. Mann	Willm. Blomfeild
John Sparrowe	John Houghton	Robt. Choppyns
William Noble	Edward Salter	John Brownrigg
Leo. Goodburn	John Blomfield	William Blomfeild
Richard Marum	Wm. Parker	John Brewse
Maurice Moseley	Hen. Gosnold	Anths. Blomfeild

IPSWICH

Hum. Robt'son
 Ric. Clopton
 Joshua Major
 William Lindsell
 Tho. Eliot
 Will. Shipman
 Peter Fisher
 Sam. Savadge
 Robert Aldus
 John Harvey
 Edmund Cottingham

Gil. Lindfield
 Daniell Everard
 Richard Martin
 Tho. Hasting
 John Frere
 Henry Harvey
 [2 names torn away]
 Wal. Deureux
 Ed. Devereux
 Henry Felton
 John Barker

Jon. Bright
 Jo. Deynes
 Willm. Buxton
 Will. Batty
 Benjamin Cuttre
 Fran. Copinger
 Robt. Brownrigg
 Robt. Peirson
 Daniel Meadowe
 Joel Trendle
 Edw. Shepperd

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[*The principal committeemen of Suffolk and other Eastern Association counties are identified by place of residence. Dates in round brackets denote the known period of office as committeeman for Suffolk; those in square brackets the period as committeeman for Ipswich. Since there are no committee lists between December 1652 and June 1657, or June 1657 and July 1659, the Interregnum dates can only be approximate: members described as sitting till 1652 may have continued to do so until 1657. In indexing place-names, the county designation has been omitted for places in Suffolk and well-known towns elsewhere.*]

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The Suffolk Records Society

FOUNDED 1958

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M. Bendix, ESQ., Barclays Bank Limited, Princes Street, Ipswich

Hon. General Editors

Normal Scarfe, M.A., The University, Leicester

G. H. Martin, M.A., D.PHIL., The University, Leicester

The Annual Subscription to the Society is 30s., due in September

Report of the Council for 1959/60

At the 30th September 1960, Membership of the Society stood at 297 (including 5 Honorary and 2 Life Members), compared with 325 at the same date in 1959, a reduction of 28. This reduction is due mainly to the fact that a number of people joined the Society at its foundation to obtain a copy of Volume I which was published as a memorial to the late Miss L. J. Redstone and her father, the late V. B. Redstone, and have not renewed their subscriptions. A further 32 copies of Volume I have been sold during the year, bringing the total number of copies sold to 395.

The Annual General Meeting which was held on the 1st April 1960, in the Town Hall, Ipswich, was addressed by the Rt Hon. the Master of the Rolls. Two Hon. Members, Mr Mark Wathen and Mr Geoffrey Smith were elected at this meeting.

Volume II *The Sibton Abbey Estates* edited by the Rev. A. H. Denney was published on the same day. Reviews of this book have been slow in coming out, but sales to members and others amounted to 302 copies by the end of the year. Volume III *Suffolk and the Great Rebellion*, edited by Dr Alan Everitt, is due to be published in December 1960, and Volume IV *The Corsiable Correspondence*, edited by R. B. Beckett, will be published jointly with the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1961.

During the year, the Council decided to establish a Fund to assist the two Suffolk Record Offices to purchase historical documents. The Record Offices have only limited funds each year for this purpose and the Council felt that an independent fund from which grants in aid could be made from time to time would be of the greatest assistance to them. The Council opened the Fund with a donation of £10 and, with other donations received, the total amount available at the end of the year was £73. The Council are not at this stage making any general appeal for support for the fund but they hope that those who have made use of the facilities provided by the Record Offices will, from time to time make donations, both large and small, as a measure of their appreciation of services rendered.

The Society's accounts show a balance of £1,370 7s 1d, on the current year's working. This is made up of £1,000 in investments and £297 at the Bank – plus the amount in the Records Account, which is earmarked for the record purchasing fund. This is a less satisfactory balance than had been hoped, mainly because the cost of producing Volume II, £720, worked out at £150 more than had originally been budgeted for. Whilst this excess expenditure did result in an extra 22 pages of text being included in the volume, it is a matter of some concern to the Council, and every possible step is being taken to see that a similar situation does not occur again. The item for Stationery and Printing was also up by some £40 on last year. This was due to the cost of printing an extra 8,000 prospectuses for circulation with the journal *History*.

The Council are well aware of the need to increase the Society's income in order to ensure that the present standard of publication is maintained and, if possible, improved. They have in the first place applied successfully to the Board of Inland Revenue for recognition as a charity, and as a result it is hoped that a substantial additional income will be forthcoming in the form of a tax rebate with the help of those members who are able to subscribe under Deeds of Covenant. In the second place, the Council are endeavouring to increase membership by circulating a prospectus each year to all those persons and institutions who may be interested in joining.

The following members of the Council are due to retire at the next Annual General Meeting, but are eligible for re-election:

Mr J. F. Burnet
Mr J. Campbell

Mrs Joy Rowe
Mr M. P. Statham

L. DOW,
Chairman

SUFFOLK RECORDS SOCIETY

Statement of Receipts and Expenditure for the period 1st October, 1959, to 30th September, 1960

RECEIPTS		EXPENDITURE	
1958/59	£ s. d.	1958/59	£ s. d.
Balance brought forward	1,617 1 11	Annual General Meeting	14 16 0
Subscriptions	410 9 5	Stationery and Printing	75 14 6
Casual Sales	38 12 6	Stamping, etc.	11 4
Regular Sales	15 15 0	Publication of Volume II	719 19 0
Dividends on Investments	46 10 0	Fee for preparation of Tax Claim	2 2 0
Tax Rebate	8 4 4	Subscription - British Records Association	1 0 0
Interest on Deposit A/c	15 16 10	Subscription - Suffolk Local History Council	5 0 0
Grants for Records A/c	63 7 0	Petty Cash	26 7 1
Profit on Sale of Investments	- - -	Balance carried forward	1,370 7 1
Sale of Surplus Sherry	- - -		
	<u>£2,301</u>		<u>£2,215 17 0</u>

ASSETS AT 30TH SEPTEMBER, 1960

1958/59	£	s.	d.
Cash at Barclays Bank:			
Current A/c	110	7	6
Records A/c	72	17	0
Deposit A/c	184	3	2
Petty Cash and Postages	2	19	5
Investments at cost:			
£312 16 3 Jamaica 6%	300	0	0
£700 0 0 5% Defence Bonds	700	0	0
	<u>£1,617</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>1</u>

M. BENDIX,
Hon. Treasurer
7.10.60.

I have examined the foregoing statements with the books and vouchers submitted to me. I have verified the balance at the bank and the investments held by the Society and in my opinion the statements show the correct financial position of the Society at 30th September, 1960.

F. WROE,
Hon. Auditor

