

XV. *Some passages in the Life and Character of a Lady resident in Herefordshire and Worcestershire during the Civil War of the Seventeenth Century, collected from her Account-book in the possession of Sir Thomas Edward Winnington, Baronet, of Stanford Court, in the county of Worcester; with Historical Observations and Notes by JOHN WEBB, M.A., F.S.A.*

Read April 17, and May 1, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,

Tretire, December 12, 1856.

SINCE I had the honour of reading these papers to the Society of Antiquaries, I have been tempted to conclude that they would hardly be deemed of sufficient importance to be received into their *Archæologia*, though, in the absence of more learned inquiries, I know of no good reason why the curious old diary of an elderly lady of an ancient house should be beneath the notice of an antiquary. Your official communication has however settled the question; and, as I find that the MS. has been selected for publication, I send it to you very little altered from the form in which it was read. Should it appear that the subject has been anywhere treated with less gravity than may become these pages, it may be pleaded that the feeling was in some measure forced upon me by the nature of the materials themselves, in moulding them into the form in which they now appear.

I remain, yours sincerely,

JOHN WEBB.

At the period to which this brief memoir refers, the family of Conyngesby^a had long been settled in the counties of Salop and Hereford. Their first introduction from Lincolnshire, where they were of great antiquity, was into the lordship of Neen Solars,^b in Shropshire, by the marriage of Margery, daughter and heir of

^a Conyngesby. Out of an ample choice of the modes of spelling this name, varieties of which will hereafter occur, that has been adopted as the standard which appears in the prose inscription on the tomb. For the orthography of Jefferies I have taken Nash, the historian of Worcestershire, as my guide.

^b In the hundred of Overs, near Tenbury.

Roger de Solars, Lord of Neen, with John, son of John, Baron de Conyngesby, who was slain at the battle of Chesterfield,^a in the reign of Henry III. They afterwards established themselves in the noble mansion and domain of Hampton Court in Herefordshire;^b but Conyngesby of Neen was in these parts the elder branch of that honourable race.^c Towards the latter end of the sixteenth century, Humphrey Conyngesby, Esq. was lord of the manor of Neen—a singular person, whose ardour for foreign travel and chivalrous enterprise led him far and long from his home, and finally threw an impenetrable veil over his death. Less known than good old Sandys, whose celebrated “Journey” in the reign of James I. was for awhile one of the most popular accounts of the then existing state of Italy, Greece, Palestine, and Egypt, and for truth and classical illustration may still be read with profit and pleasure, Conyngesby had preceded him, as a traveller, about sixteen years;^d but during his life no communication had been made to the public of what he had observed and experienced abroad, and, but for the affectionate care of one who loved his memory, his fate and story would never have been handed down to posterity. But these were detailed upon a tomb erected in the church of Neen Solars in a remarkable epitaph, the most material part of which is as follows. It will speak for itself, and at the close will introduce to your notice the person who is afterwards to form the principal feature of this communication. Without reciting the quaint verses,^e which, according to the custom then prevalent, were inserted in sundry compartments, the prose will be of

^a This battle, or rather surprise of the rebellious barons under Robert Ferrers, Earl of Derby, by Henry the King's nephew, son of the Earl of Almaine, took place in the year 1266.—Dugdale, *Baronage*, i. 263.

^b In the parish of Hope-under-Dinmore, now the property and residence of John Arkwright, Esq.

^c MS. pedigree of the Conyngesby family.

^d Indeed he ended, as far as we have any account of him, within a few months after Sandys began. Conyngesby, as stated below, set out on his first expedition in April 1594, and on his last, October 10, 1610, the year in which Sandys went to Paris, on his way to Venice, about the time that Henry IV. was assassinated, in the early part of May.—*Relation of a Journey, &c.* p. 1.

^e For a further description of the present state of this monument, and a corrected copy of the inscriptions, I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Richard Baker, Rector of Neen Solars, and Miss Baker, my own copy taken at the beginning of the last century being not altogether perfect. The monument is mural, and represents Humphrey Conyngesby in armour: it is in the south transept, and is surmounted by the family arms and crest; but the motto, TACTA LIBERTAS, existing in 1719, has disappeared. Under the arms are these verses, in four separate compartments:—

(1.) TYME CVTTETH DOWNE THE BODY,
BVT CHRIST RAISETH VP THE SPIRIT.

sufficient length to exercise your patience, and will inform you more particularly who Humphrey Conyngesby was, and what he did.

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- (2.) HERE CONINGESBIE IN LIVELY SHAPE THOV LIEST
WHO SOMETIMES WERT THE CHAMPION OF CHRIST
DIDST TRAVAILE EVROPE FOR HIS ONLIE SAKE
AND (FOVND THE FOE) HIS QVARELL VNDERTAKE
WHAT GREATER VALOVR PIETIE COVL D BEE
THAN BLEED FOR HIM WHO SHED HIS BLOOD FOR THEE.
- (3.) ALASS! OVR LIFE ALTHOVGH WEE STAIE AT HOME
IS BVT A TOYLESOME PILGRIMADGE ON EARTH
BVT THOV A DOVBLE PILGRIMADGE DIDST ROAME
THOV WAST ALLMOST ABROAD EVEN FROM THY BYRTH
THY JOVRNEYS END WAS HEAVEN OF HOMES THE BEST
WHER TILL THOV CAM'ST THOV NEVER COVL D'ST
TAKE REST.
- (4.) OVR LIFE IS LOST YET LIV'ST THOV EVER
DEATH HATH HIS DVE YET DI'ST THOV
NEVER.

Beneath these verses is the prose inscription given in the text, and under it are the following lines:—

MAN STAY SEE MVSE MOORNE AND MINDE THY END
FLESH POMPE TYME THOUGHTS WORLD WELTH AS WIND
DOETH PASS
LOVE FEARE HATE HOPE FAST PRAY FEED GIVE AMEND
MAN BEAST FISH FOWLE AND ALL ELS IS AS GRASS
SEE HEARE THY SELFE FRALE FLESH AS IN A GLASS
NO ODS BETWEENE VS BVT VNSERTAIN E HOWRES
WHICH ARE PRESCRIBED BY THE HEAVENLY POWERES
FOR DEATH IN FINE ALL KIND OF FLESH DEVOVRES
RESPICE FINEM
FAREWELL THEN SISTER FLESH AND THINKE OF ME
WHAT I AM TOMOROW THOV MAYST BE.

The arms were repeated in the transept window with this legend:—

These arms were set up in the memory of Humphrey Conyngesby, Esq. sometime Lord of Neen Sollers,
by his half-sister and sole executrix, Joice Jeffrys.

Anno Domini 1628.

But these have long since perished.

THIS STATVE AND MONVMENT WAS MADE IN COMEMORATION OF HVMFREY CONYNGESBY ESQ^a: ONLY SONE OF JOHN CONYNGESBY OF NENE SOLERS ESQ^a: AND OF ANNE HIS WIFE DAUGHTER OF THOMAS BARNEBY OF HVLL IN THE PARISH OF BOCKLETON^a AND COVNTY OF WORCESTER ESQ^a: WHICH HVMFREY CONYNGESBY WAS LATE LORDE OF THIS NEEN SOLERS AND PATRON OF THIS CHVRCH AND HEIRE OF THE ELDEST LYNE AND FAMILY OF CONYNGESBYS FROM WHOM THE REST ARE DERIVED WHICH BEFORE KING JHONS TYME WERE BARONS OF ENGLAND AND THEN RESIDED AT CONYNGESBY IN LINCOLNSHIRE HE WAS A PERFECT SCOLLER BY EDVCATION AND A GREATE TRAVAYLER BY HIS OWN AFFECTION HE BEGAN HIS FIRST TRAVAYLE ON APRIL 1594 BEING 27 YEARS OF AGE AND 2 MONETHES AND FOR FOVR YEARS AND VPWARDS REMAYNED IN FRANCE, GERMANIE SICILYE AND ITALY AND THEN RETVRNED HOME FOR A LITTLE WHILE AND TOOKE HIS JORNEY AGAIN INTO BOHEMIA POLONIA AND HVNGARY WHERE FOR DEFENCE OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH HE PVT HIMSELF VNDER THE BANNAR OF RODOLPH^b THE 2^m EMPEROR OF THE ROMANS (AS A VOLVNTARY GENTLEMAN) AT THE SIEGE OF STRIGONIVM^c IN HVNGARY AGAINST THE TVRK AFTERWARDS^d TO SATISFIE HIS DESIRE WHICH WAS TO SEE THE

^a Bockelton is in the upper division of the hundred of Doddintree. Hull, in that parish, so called from its situation on a hill, belonged to the family of Barnaby in the 16th and 17th centuries.—Nash, i. pp. 115, 116.

^b Rodolph II. eldest son of Maximilian II. and Mary of Spain, was born July 28, 1552; crowned King of Hungary, September 25, 1572; King of Bohemia, September 21, 1575; elected King of the Romans, October 27, and crowned November 1 of the same year. In the year following he succeeded his father as Emperor, and died January 10, 1612, aged 39.—Pfeffel, *Nouvel Abregée de l'Histoire d'Allemagne*, tom. ii. pp. 218, 219.

^c Strigonium, now Gran, a town of Lower Hungary, near the confluence of the Gran with the Danube. At the close of the 16th and opening of the 17th centuries it was considered the bulwark of Christendom. It was thrice besieged between the years 1595 and 1605, and at last won by the Turks, from whom it had been taken in the first siege by the Imperialists, after an occupation of fifty-two years. These operations were attended by many fierce and sanguinary struggles, and were very attractive to soldiers of fortune throughout Europe, as partaking of the character of a crusade. To have been present at these feats of arms seems to have been a feather in the cap of the gallants of the age. Ben Jonson introduces it as one of the vaunts of his vain-glorious braggart, Bobadill:—

“ *Wellbred*.—Captain Bobadill, why muse you so?

“ *Bobadill*.—Faith, I was thinking of an honourable piece of service was performed to-morrow, being St. Mark's day, shall be some ten years now.

“ *Elder Knowell*.—In what place, Captain?

“ *Bobadill*.—Why, at the beleaguering of Strigonium, where, in less than two hours, seven hundred resolute gentlemen as any in Europe lost their lives upon the breach. I'll tell you, gentlemen, it was the first, but the best, leaguer that ever I beheld with these eyes, except the taking in of—what do you call it?—last year by the Genoways,” &c.—*Every Man in His Humour*, act iii. sc. 1.

^d The writer of this inscription (it could hardly have been composed by Mrs. Joyce Jefferies, though she might have supplied the materials) has apparently committed an anachronism in placing any siege of

MOST EMINENT PERSONS AND PLACES HE WENT INTO TVRKEY, NATOLIA, TROY IN ASIA BY SESTOS AND ABYDOS THROUGH THE HELLESPONT AND INTO THE ISLES OF ZANT, CHIOS, RHODES, CANDY, CYPRVS, AND DIVERS OTHER PLACES IN THE ARCHIPELAGO. HE VISITED SVNDRY ANTIENT AND FAMOVVS PLACES OF GREECE, AS ARCADIA, CORINTH, THESSALONICA, EPHEBUS AND ATHENS, WENT OVER THE PLAINS OF THERMOPYLÆ BY WHICH XERXES PASSED INTO GREECE AND SO ARRIVED AT CONSTANTINOPLE IN THE REIGNE OF MAHOMET THE 3RD EMPEROR OF THE TVRKS WHO TO DO HIM HONOVVR GAVE HIM A TVRKISH GOWNE OF CLOTH OF GOLD AND HIS MOTHER THE SVLTANA EBRITA GAVE HIM ANOTHER RICH GOWNE OF CLOTH OF SILVER AND 50 CHEQVINS IN GOLD. AFTER 13 MONETHES ABODE THERE HE RETVRNED INTO ENGLAND, TO THE JOY OF HIS FRIENDS WHERE STAYING AWHILE HE WENT INTO SPAIN AND CAME BACK IN SAFETY, AND AGAINE THE FOVRTH TYME HE TOOKE HIS JORNEY FROM LONDON TO VENICE THE TENTH DAY OF OCTOBER 1610, AND FROM THAT DAY WAS NEVER AFTER SEEN BY ANY OF HIS ACQVAINTANCE ON THIS SIDE THE SEA OR BEYOND, NOR ANY CERTAINTY KNOWN OF HIS DEATH, WHERE WHEN OR HOW. FROM HIS FIRST JOVRNEY TO HIS FOVRTH AND LAST WAS SIXTEEN YEARS AND SIX MONETHES. HE LIVED A BATCHELOVR, LEAVING BEHIND HIM ONE SISTER OF THE WHOLE BLOOD NAMED CATHERINE THE WIFE OF EDWARD FREEMAN OF EINLOD^e IN THE COVNTY OF WORCESTER ESQ^{RS}. AND ONE OTHER SISTER BY THE MOTHERS SIDE NAMED JOYCE JEFEREYS WHOM HE MADE EXECVTRIX OF HIS WILL AND TESTAMENT APPOINTING HER THEREBY TO ERECT HIM A TOMB WITH AN INSCRIPTION OF HIS CONDITION, LIFE AND DEATH WHICH SHE HATH HERE PERFORMED THOUGH SHORT OF HIS PERFECTIONS.

TEMPORA MVTANTVR. ANNO DOMINI 1624.

This lady, Mrs. Joyce Jefferies, who has taken such pains to convey the above information to posterity, is the person to whom, in her turn, I wish to invite your attention; and from her autograph account-book, in the possession of Sir Thomas

Strigonium at this period. The first and only siege during the lifetime of Mahomet III. was in 1594. This must have been when Conyngesby was on his first journey in France, Germany, Sicily, and Italy. Having set out in that year, he continued out four years and upwards, returned to England, and set out on his second tour, in which, as is stated, he became a volunteer at the siege. "Afterwards" he travels through Greece, and arrives at Constantinople while Mahomet III. was on the throne. Now, neither of the two other sieges alluded to in the former note occurred till the reign of Achmet, who succeeded Mahomet III. See Knolles, History of the Turks, in Mahomet III. and Achmet.

^e Emlod, Emlade, or Evenload, in the upper division of the hundred of Oswaldeslaw, a manor belonging some time to the priory of Worcester, but given with other lands at the Dissolution to Sir Philip Hoby, Knight, from whom it came to Lord Compton, from him to Mr. Croker, and after this to Mr. Freeman, and his son Mr. Coningsby Freeman, who sold it.—Nash, i. p. 393.

Edward Winnington, Bart., of Stanford Court, in the county of Worcester, who has kindly permitted it to be shown to the Society, shall be extracted such passages as will bring her before you. The book is kept in a clear hand, and comprises the receipt and expenditure of nine years, embodying a number of curious particulars bearing upon the events, persons, circumstances, and manners of the age, and setting forth simultaneously, what is hardly less notable, her own very extraordinary self—the general representative of a class that is now exhibited nowhere exteriorly to the eye of an observer, save in the family pictures of the country ladies of the time—individually, a character not unworthy to be drawn from its long obscurity, existing at a period that must ever be interesting to us, and distinguished by peculiarities too remarkable to be forgotten.

An extract from a MS. history of the parish of Clifton upon Teme, in Worcestershire, where she spent her last days, has supplied this notice of her. It was written by her great-nephew, Mr. Henry Jefferies, and is preserved in the library at Stanford Court.

Joyce Jefferies was daughter to Henry Jefferies of Hom-Castle,^a by Anne, widow of Ja^s Conyngsby. She had 200 marks by her father's will given her. She lived with her mother, the lady Kettleby, at Cotheridge,^b and after Sir Francis's death and her mother's, who survived him, with Sir Tho^s Conyngsby of Hampton Court, co. Hereford, a perpetual companion to Philippa his wife. From the gratuities of her friends, not forgetting Mr. Humphrey Conyngsby of Neende Solers, a great traveller, her half-brother, her great benefactor, she soe augmented her effects that by her account book she received at once^c 900*l.* per annum. Being over free to her god-children, whereof Joyce (Elizabeth) Acton was one, who married Mr. Geers of Garnons, and to whom she gave 800*l.* though not so largely to others; by building a house in Wigmarsh Street in the suburbs of Hereford, the expense whereof was 800*l.*, as by her book—which was ordered to be pulled down in the time of the late rebellion under King Charles, and the materials sold for 50*l.*; by other calamities of war, but worse by knavish servants, (she) had so far consumed it, that had she not come to Holme Castle under the guidance and protection of William her nephew, she had come to want in her old age. However, something pretty considerable from this shipwreck was found,

^a "Hame, or Homme," says Nash, "is a manor in the parish of Clifton-upon-Teme. Here was anciently a castle, the seat of the family of the Jefferies of Clifton, who purchased it of Edmund Withypole in 25 Eliz. Henry Jefferies, Esq. resided here in 1569; as did William, his grandson, in 1634; whose son, Henry Jefferies of Hom Castle, Esq. a man of considerable learning, and much respected in this county in his time, was the last male heir of the family. He died July 30, 1709, and left all his estates to his niece, Jane Bloome, on condition she married Edward Winnington, Esq. and assumed the name and arms of Jefferies; since which time it hath passed along with Clifton, and now belongs to Sir Edward Winnington of Stanford Hall, Bart. 1779."—*Hist. and Antiq. of Worcestershire*, i. pp. 239–244.

^b The seat of a branch of the Berkeley family, about four miles west of Worcester.

^c *i. e.* was at one time in the receipt of.

which he very well deserved for himself and his children, those born up to the time of her decease, which must be in the vacancy of the register of Clifton, from ann. 1647 to 1653. She was buried in the chancel of Clifton in her brother's grave, next to the old monument in the north wall. The codicil of her will (is) dated 3d April, 1650. The probate 9th Nov. 1650.

In this ill-expressed, rambling statement there is a little air of pique. I cannot collect that her income amounted on an average to 500*l.* per annum, though, during three or four years, it considerably exceeded that sum. While the war continued, and after it was ended, her receipts decreased; but, on the whole, it may be admitted that she had lived far beyond her means. This was not brought about altogether by over-indulgence in costly luxuries: the luxury to which she was addicted was that of showing kindnesses to all around her. In this, at least, her failing, though it might expose her to imposition, "leaned to virtue's side," and her own record is nothing but a tissue of benevolence from beginning to end. Three-fourths of the entries appear to consist of sums bestowed in presents, excused in loans, or laid out in articles to give away. But the part of this record, perhaps, most attractive to the local antiquary and historian is the minute exhibition of her contemporaries in the county of Hereford, and the multitude of particulars attached to the private life and manners of that class in society to which she belonged, as well as the glimpses that it occasionally affords of her own feelings and sufferings in those days in which England was convulsed by civil agitation.

In the opening of her book she shows herself resident in Hereford. It is entitled, "A New Booke of Receights of Rents, Añuities, and Interest Moneys begininge at St. Mary Day, 1638: written at Heryford at John Fletcher's howse." This house stood in Widemarsh Street, which leads northward to the Leominster Road, and was somewhere in the suburb near the City Gate: the new house mentioned by her relative, as yet uninhabited by her, and other houses, her property, were also in the same suburb, without that gate. She continued in the city till the year 1642, when, driven by stress of war, she abandoned it, and sought refuge in the dwellings of others. Ultimately, in 1644, she gave up housekeeping to the day of her death.

Her income was drawn from a great variety of sources, from the proceeds of certain estates called "Bradward, Warton"^a and "Free Town,"^b the former of which she kept in her own hands under the management of her steward; from two an-

^a Broadward. A farm and township so called about a mile to the south of Leominster, on the Arrow. Mrs. Jefferies held it under Brazenose College, Oxford. Wharton is adjacent to it on the south.

^b An estate in the parish of Tarrington, in the county of Hereford, between Ledbury and Hereford. This estate was, however, sold in 1638.

nuities, the one left to her by Sir Thomas Conyngesby, the founder of that hospital in Hereford that bears his name, the other by her half-brother, Humphrey Conyngesby, secured upon land at Neen Solars;^a and these were paid to her, while he had it in his power, by Fitz-William Conyngesby of Hampton Court, son of Sir Thomas, a noted royalist and sufferer in the cause of Charles I. Besides, she had various sums^b placed out at interest on bond and mortgage, varying from three to three hundred pounds and upwards, one loan to John Hackluit of Warton amounting to eight hundred pounds. These securities were frequently shifting; and the number of persons who paid to her, irregularly enough, in this way, taking the two first years of 1638 and 1639 as an example, was little short of a hundred. The borrowers of these monies were knights, gentry, yeomen, farmers, and tradesmen: among them are, Sir Robert Whitney of Whitney Court, Messrs. Aubrey of Clehonger, Hereford of Sufton, Brabazon of Eaton, Baskerville of Staunton, Barnaby of Brockhampton, Salway of Stanford; all round the country, some in London, some in Worcester; burgesses and aldermen and mayors of Hereford, with many others. The collection of interest upon principal so detached and widely dispersed must have been often attended with difficulty; the principal itself must have incurred risk of diminution: but the convenience of the Three per Cents was then unknown, and eight per cent. was the interest upon these loans.

Her gratitude and veneration towards the Conyngesby family, the chief founders of her fortune, frequently breaks forth and overflows from her pen, when she is stately recording the benefits derived from them, and it is usually dwelt upon in this precise manner:—

Rec^d of worthy [sometimes it is “right worshipful,” sometimes “noble”] Sir Fitz-William Conyngesby [sometimes “Mr. Fitz-William Conyngesby, Esq.”] my $\frac{1}{2}$ y^{rs} ann^y given me by my loving brother Humphrey Conyngesby, Esq. deceased, out of the lordship of Nene Sollers and Cuttston, and my half y^{rs} ann^y given me by worthy S^r Thomas Conyngesby, Knt.

Her thankful cast of mind occasionally appears in an expression of pious acknowledgment to the Giver of all Good, as, for instance, the summing up of a twelve-month is thus recorded:—

Somme totall. Receued the whole yeare, About as well from Bradward as all places ells, for all maner of coñodities what so ever, the yeare Ending on St. Mary Eve, 1642, 529*l.* 17*s.* 3*d.*

^a The annuity left by Sir Thomas Conyngesby amounted to 10*l.* per annum, the other to 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

^b Her nephew William has drawn out at the end of her diary, “A note taken the 27 8ber, 1650, of such debts as were due by bill or bond to my aunt Jefferyes.” These in the first statement amount to 743*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.*, and in a second, dated June 23, 1651, to 664*l.* 16*s.*, making a total of 1408*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.*

At another season, when trials and troubles awaited her, her thoughts assume a tone of resignation, and she marks the opening of the year "at John Fletcher's house, in Widmarsh Streete, in heriford, where I now dwell to God's pleasure."

Permit me to offer a slight sketch of the personal appearance of this lady in a specimen or two of her dress, among many that occur in her book. Her style of apparel will, perhaps, be deemed costly for her rank; at any rate we may be sure it was such as became a gentlewoman of her condition. In 1638, in her palmy days, she wore a tawny camlet coat and kirtle, which, with all the requisite appendages, trimmings, and making, scrupulously set down, cost 10*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.* She had, at the same time, a black silk calimanco loose gown, petticoat, and boddice, and these, with the making, came to 18*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*: this was in July. In the following month, a Polonia coat and kirtle cost in all 5*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* The two former were made by a Mr. Stockwall, a tailor in London; the latter in Hereford. Tailors were the male dress-makers of the time. She employed them in Hereford, Worcester, and London.

Sir Philip Warwick, in a passage of his *Memoirs*^a that has frequently been quoted, describing the appearance of Cromwell in the House of Commons, remarks that his clothes "were made by an ill country tailor." But the country tailor was not the only artist who was unskilful in the trade. His metropolitan brother, as in this case, did not always execute orders so as to satisfy his employer. These tawny coat and silk calimanco dresses were made so badly in London that they must be altered by a country tailor. She had about the same period a head-dress of black tiffany; wore ruff-stocks, and a beaver hat, with a black silk band, and adopted worsted hose of different colours, sometimes blue, sometimes grass-green. Among the articles of her toilet may be observed false curls, and curling-irons: she had Cordovan gloves, sweet gloves, and gold embroidered gloves. She wore diamond and cornelian rings, used spectacles, and carried a whistle for a little dog, suspended at her girdle by a yard of loop black lace. A cipress (Cyprus?) cat, given to her by a Herefordshire friend, the Lady Dansey of Brinsop, was no doubt a favourite; and she kept a throstle in a twiggen cage. These are but slightly sketched outlines of her portrait. Her book is a repertory of the costume then in vogue. Not to dwell on this part of the subject by too detailed an enumeration, but just to carry the point a little further, the young lady above mentioned, who resided with her, was dressed at her expense in a manner more suitable to her earlier time of life: for instance, she had, in August 1638, a green silk gown, with a blue taffeta petticoat. At Easter following she went to a christening

^a *Memoirs of Sir Philip Warwick*, 3d edition, p. 247.

arrayed in a double cobweb lawn, and had a muff. In April, 1639, she was dressed in a woollen gown, "spun by the coock's wife, Whooper," liver-coloured, and made up splendidly with a stomacher laced with twisted silver cord. Another article of this young lady's wardrobe was a gown of musk-coloured cloth; and when she rode out she was decked in a bastard scarlet safeguard coat and hood, laced with red, blue, and yellow lace: but none of her dresses were made by female hands.^a

Returning to her best times, it is observable that the household establishment of this worthy lady is by no means, for a single person, on a contracted scale. Many female servants are mentioned: two in particular, Eliza Hackluit and Ann Davies, at wages from three pounds to three pounds four shillings per annum, with the addition of gowns of dark stuff at Midsummer. As to any others in her service, she seems occasionally to have provided them all with clothes. Thomas Bedford, her coachman, receiving forty shillings per annum, had at Whitsuntide, 1639, a new cloth suit and cloak, and when he was dressed in his best, exhibited fine blue silk ribbon at the knees of his hose. The liveries of this and another man-servant, Thomas Harris, were, in 1641, of fine Spanish cloth, made up in her own house, and cost upwards of nine pounds. Her man of business, or steward, Mr. Matthias Rufford, had a salary of 5*l.* 16*s.* A horse was kept for him, and he rode about to collect her rents and dues, and to overlook her agricultural concerns; he also bought and sold for her. She appeared abroad in a coach drawn by two mares, which on one occasion she lent Mrs. Bodenham to take her to Bristol; and a nag or two were in her stable; one that a widow lady in Hereford purchased of her, she particularly designates as a "rare ambler." I see hints, but no precise designations of her journeys on horseback, though it is probable she was forced upon this mode of travelling in her removals and visits to her friends after the loss of her coach and mares. Her family feelings are strong, and her expressions of natural affection flow warm from the heart. The death of Mrs. Catherine Freeman, widow, of Neen Solars, her half sister, in 1640, is touched upon with much tenderness, and she appends to it the parting expression, "a saint in heaven." She had a host of country cousins; for in those days, family connections were formed in more contracted circles than at present, and the younger people inter-

^a The spelling of this book is one of its curious features: it is a transcript of speech as well as an exposition of thought; for it corresponds closely with the mode of expression and pronunciation prevailing among the common people of Herefordshire, Worcestershire and Salop at the present day. Thus in January, 1642, we have a striking example relative to the dress of Miss Acton. A *yard* an a half of scarlet baize was bought to make her a *wastcoate* to dress her in, and four yards of red galoon to bind *him*, *i.e.* the *wastcoate*. Instances of the dialect of our peasantry occurring in its pages are without number.

married nearer home; and she was evidently a great object of interest and competition among such as sought for sponsors to their children. She seems to have delighted in the office of gossip, and the number of her godchildren became a serious tax upon her purse, for in this way she appears to have noticed them all. A considerable list of her christening gifts might be made out. For instance, in 1638:—

May 1. Tankard at 5s. 6d. an oze. for a sillver tankard to give my goddaughter litle Joyce Walsh, w^t 19 oz. & 4 penny w^{ts} 5l. 5s. 6d.
 July 1. At Heriford faier for blue silk riband & taffetay & sillver lace for skarfs for my godson Harbert Westfaling, & Joyce Gravell my goddaugh^r 8s.
 1642, Nov. 18. Paid Mr. Lide, gouldsmith in Heriford, for a sillver bowle to give Mrs Lawrence daughter, w^{ch} I found too called Joyse Lawrence, at 5s. 8d. an oze. 48s. 10d.

But of all those to whom she was attached by this sacred bond, no one obtained a larger portion of her love and favour than Miss Eliza Acton, whose apparel has been already described. It is not easy to assign to what branch of that family she belonged. An Acton of Ivington, near Leominster, and another of Hereford, appear in her book. But it is a name of frequent occurrence and early date in the genealogies of Worcester, Hereford, and Salop, and as to the latter county, is still held in no ordinary respect and affection in and around Acton Scott, one of the places from which it was doubtless originally derived. This young lady, adopted by her, was, for the most part, with her up to the time of her marriage, as friend and companion; was very useful to her, and certainly partook very largely of her bounty. It was this that excited the displeasure of Mr. Henry Jefferies, already quoted, where he remarks, with a feeling bordering upon jealousy, that she favoured her “more than any others.” I have not detected any relationship between the Actons and Jefferies; and probably there was none: hence he might have looked upon her as an intruder. She had godchildren among her own kindred; and among them a Henry Jefferies,^a the complainant himself. Certainly, to Eliza Acton she was almost more than maternally generous, and was continually giving proofs of her fondness in all sorts of indulgences, supplying her lavishly with costly clothes, and sums of money, more or less, as she had need,—money for gloves, for fairings, for cards against Christmas,—money repeatedly to put in her purse. More than all this, she bestowed upon her a portion of eight hundred pounds; and exulted in having concluded a match for her with a scion

^a Among the proofs of her affection for him are as follow:—
 1640, August 12. Gave my godson and graund Nephew Henry Jeffreyes 5s.
 1644, January 1. Henry Jefferies. Gave my beloved Godson and Nephew, Henry Jeffreyes, 2s. 6d.
 1647. Gave my godsonne, Hary Jeffreyes, at Whitsonside 1s.

of the house of Geers of Garnons,^a one of the most respectable of its class in the county of Hereford.

The limits of this paper do not permit me to enter very largely into her system of housekeeping. In summer she frequently had her own sheep killed; and at autumn a fat heifer, and at Christmas a beef or brawn, were sometimes slaughtered and chiefly spent in her house. She is very observant of the festivals and ordinances of the Church, while they continue unchanged; duly pays her tithes and offerings, and, after the old seignorial and even princely custom, contributes for her dependants as well as for herself in the offertory at the communion at Easter; has her pew in the church of All Saints in Hereford dressed, of course, with flowers at that season by the wife of the clerk; gives to the poor's-box at the minster, and occasionally sends doles to the prisoners in the gaol at Byster's Gate. Attached to ancient rules in town or country, she patronises the fiddlers at sheep-shearing, gives to the wassail and the hinds on Twelfth Eve, when they light their twelve fires, and make the fields resound with toasting their master's health, as is done in many places to this day; and frequently in February is careful to take pecuniary notice of the first of the other sex among those she knew whom she met on Valentine's day, and enters it with all the grave simplicity imaginable:—

Gave Tom Aston for being my Valentine	2s.
Gave Mr. Dick Gravell cam to be my Valentine.	1s.
I gave Timothy Pickering of Clifton that was my Valentine at Homcastle	4d.

Sends Mr. Mayor a present of 10s. on his "law-day;" and on a certain occasion dines with him, when the waits, to whom she gives money, are in attendance at the feast, and contributes to these at New Year's and Christmas tide, and to other musical performers at entertainments or fairs; seems fond of music, and strange sights, and "rarer monsters." "Gave to Sir John Giles, the fiddler, and to 2 others, on 12th day;" and at another time "to Ruell and his fellow-fiddler, and John a Tomas," the degenerate wandering minstrels of former times. "To a boy that did sing like a black bird." To Cherilickcome "and his Jack an apes," some vagrant that gained his living by exhibiting a monkey; and at Hereford Midsummer fair, in 1640, "to a man that had the dawncing horse." To every one who gratified her by a visit, or brought her a present, she was liberal. When she paid her own servants, she would sometimes make them advances; when she was in the houses of her friends, as a boarder, the attendants, often to the lowest in

^a Garnons is situated at about seven miles westward from Hereford, and is the seat of Sir Henry Geers Cotterell.

the list, failed not at certain times to receive some kind remembrance of their attentions towards her. She provided medicine and advice for those who were sick, and could not afford to call in medical aid; and she took compassion upon those who were in the chamber of death and house of mourning.

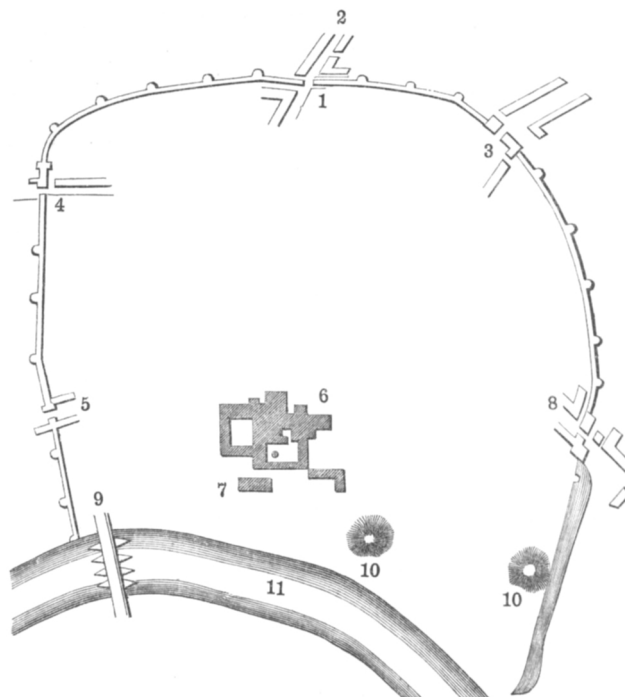
1648, Oct. 29. For a pound of shugger to send Mrs. Eaton when her son Fitz-W^m lay on his death bed 20d.

In many instances the feeling is worth far more than the gift bestowed. She makes a little boy happy by three-pence to put into his purse; and, to a poor fellow that was stationed to keep watch and ward at one of the city gates near her house,

Gave John Pritchett at severall tymes to please him for watching at the gate called Widmarsh gate 9d.

It may be believed, on a review of a multitude of acts of this kind, that hardly any one with whom she was in anywise concerned was overlooked in the distribution of her bounty. We may be sure that it was sometimes misplaced, sometimes abused: indeed, she herself bears testimony to it. But in all her remarks on men and circumstances, though she has frequently complained of the harsh treatment experienced from her enemies, and described the conduct of the "fearful soldiers" and their officers as barbarous and inhuman, and characterises the oppressive acts of the Parliamentary committee-men as wrongful, I detect not a single direct expression of ill-will in any of her comments. Mr. Garnons, an occasional suitor for relief, she styles "an unthrifty gentleman;" amuses herself in setting down a small bad debt; and after recording the name of the borrower, and the trifling sum lent, adds, in a note by way of anticipation, "which he will never pay." In another case, that of a legal transaction, in which a person had agreed to surrender certain premises to her use, and she had herself paid for drawing the instrument upon which he was to have acted, she observes, "but he never did, and I lost my money." In all matters she exhibits a gentle and a generous mind.

On a future occasion we shall endeavour to trace what befel her subsequent to the commencement of her diary; for the public tranquillity that this favoured country had long enjoyed was gradually yielding to discord, and that civil strife was approaching which distracted the homes of our forefathers, and in which our benevolent lady had her share.



THE CITY OF HEREFORD.

1. Widemarsh Gate, by which Sir William Waller entered the City.
2. Widemarsh Street without the Gate, leading towards Leominster. In this street the New house and other houses of Mrs. Jefferies stood.
3. Bye Street and Gate, leading towards Bromyard. At this gate the Earl of Stamford entered with his detachment from Worcester.
4. Eign Street and Gate, the road towards Garnons and Kilkinson, leading to Hay.
5. Friars Gate. 6. The Cathedral. 7. The Bishop's Palace.
8. St. Owen's Street and Gate, leading towards Ledbury.
9. The Bridge, Street, and Gate leading towards Ross; the road that the levies would take to join Lord Herbert's army.
10. Site of the Castle. 11. The river Wye.

Continuation of some passages in the Life and Character of a Lady resident in Herefordshire and Worcestershire during the Civil War of the Seventeenth Century.

Read May 1st, 1856.

IN the former part of this memoir our story was "left half told." In fact, we were chiefly engaged with points of character and domestic matters incidental thereupon. These will now come to be blended with the history of the times; and, as we are entering upon another part of the subject, it may not be unfitting nor unacceptable to take a brief retrospect of the principal personages represented in this curious diary. First and foremost in the group is Mrs. Joyce Jefferies

herself, a maiden lady, related to the Conyngesbys of Herefordshire and Salop, and the Jefferies of Homcastle, in the county of Worcester—a person of unbounded liberality, whose life seems to have been devoted to acts of kindness, and who appears to have considered an ample fortune merely as an instrument to minister to the satisfaction, benefit, or necessities of those around her. Then there are her cousins—Fitz-William Conyngesby and others who bore her name, and a family named Geers of Garnons, near Hereford, relatives and country cousins, in various quarters. Immediately about her person is Miss Elizabeth Acton, a darling god-daughter. There is her steward, Mr. Matthias Rufford, and her menial servants. We have seen that one of the successors to her property, Mr. Henry Jefferies, to whom we owe some account of her, thought her too liberal and partial, and that, if she had lived much longer, and continued in the same course of extravagant beneficence, and been subject to the fraudulent treatment of which he complains, she might have come to want or dependence upon her friends before her decease. Happily such evil was averted. She left, he admits, a considerable property; and, as it fell out, and she became a burden to no one, we may conceive her vindication to have been fairly expressed in that scriptural passage—“Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own?”

But, be this as may; having recapitulated the principal personages, we may now proceed to the scenes and times in which these actors lived. Hereford is the place in which she is first found in 1638. Her hired house, already mentioned, belonging to John Fletcher, was in Widemarsh Street, without the gate of that name. She had houses of her own in the same street without the walls, all let out to tenants, except one, built recently at considerable expense, but as yet unoccupied by her. A reference to the annexed skeleton plan of the city will better explain this, and other situations to be alluded to hereafter. The beginning of the diary coincides very nearly with that of our domestic troubles upwards of two centuries ago.

Of all periods of this nation's history hardly any one is more captivating to Englishmen than that of the dispute between Charles I. and the Parliament. The book passes through nine years to the end of 1647, and these witnessed the greater part of the strife. Without entering into the politics of the age, with reference to the origin of the contest, it may be remarked that no county throughout England was more forward or persevering in the royal cause than that of Hereford. Symptoms of the approaching convulsion soon begin to appear in our account-book.

In 1638 Mrs. Jefferies pays the unpopular impost of ship-money, unsuccessfully

opposed by Hampden at the end of the year 1636, as well as another tax called the King's provision; and she finds a soldier for her farm at Broadward, and for her property in Hereford, when the trained bands are called out and exercised.

May 1. Paid Mr. Mailard, mercer, and John Trahern, shoe-maker, for the shipping money for this
 yeare 3*l*.
 Paid ship-money for 15 acres of grainge land by Leominster 2*s*. 6*d*.
 Nov. 26. Paid towards the king's povysion for the same land 2*d*.
 1639, March 26. Paid John Trahern, my sowl'dier, 3 days' training 5*s*.

In the Midsummer of 1639 a training of three days occurs, and ship-money is collected again. In August the public disquietude in Hereford seems to increase; at least, precautions are taken to prevent mischief.

For watching one night at Widemarsh gate 2*s*.

Soldiers, or loose characters under the guise of soldiers, are wandering about to the annoyance of peaceable people, who suspect them, and give them money through fear.

1639, Sept^r 5. Gave a strainge sowl'dier, wth a blue fether in his hatt, that said he came from
 barrwick 2*s*.
 Oct^r 24. Gave a counterfett sowl'dier or a theef rather 4*d*.

Now, too, old ancestral armour, or trainband equipments that hung rusting in manor-houses, were taken down and repaired.

To Mr. Brian Newton for putting buckles on the tassess of the armor of Bradard ^a—

In 1640 the King raised an army of 20,000 men against the Scots, and some of her friends and relatives take up arms and go to the North.

April 2. Gave Mr. Miles Hackluit when he went to the warres Against Scotland 2*s*. 6*d*.
 Gave my cosin Will^m Coningsby when he went to Scotland to the warres 1*s*.
 July 10. This day the trained sowl'diers went towards Scotland. Gave John Lincoln that went
 wth Captain Button 6*d*.
 Gave 3 sowl'diers of y^e same company to drink 4*d*.

August. Again the ship-money, 3*l*., is paid to James Barrell, the mayor, and her soldier continues to be trained for seven days, and is under the command of Captain Richard Wigmore. This family furnished several officers for the King's service, and suffered severely during the war. A watch continues to be set at Widemarsh Gate.

^a Sum not inserted.

In the spring of 1641 several subsidies were levied, and

Sept. 14. I paid Mr. Philip Simons, Junior, & Mr. Tho^s Church, collectors for the powle-money that was graunted the king's matie in this p^esent Parliament, 1641 5*l*.

The times became still more restless. Prynne, and Burton, and Bastwick, had been agitating; Archbishop Laud had been impeached and imprisoned; and the Earl of Strafford was brought to trial, and on May 12 beheaded. She now took a decided interest in passing events, and sent for some of the pamphlets and news-books that swarmed from the press.

Oct. 28. Paid Mr. Cowp for a new booke of Mr. Prinn: Dr Bastwick, & Mr. Burton's trobles 2*s*. 2*d*.
 29. Paid for a booke of y^e Earle of Straford's arrainment and his pickture, & y^e Arch Bushop laud's and som other picktures of their sect cost 4*s*. 1*d*.
 and for y^e booke cauled Herodatus 3*s*.

It may be suspected that her library contained an odd assortment; but we shall see more of it. The plot thickened in 1642. Soon after the year set in, the quarrel took place between the King and Parliament respecting the militia. Mrs. Jefferies had soldiers discharging their muskets, probably in a disorderly way, at or near her dwelling. As this was on Ascension-day, and it was the day on which Mr. Weaver, one of the members for Hereford, universally regretted, was buried, it is not easy to account for this demonstration. Whether it was any part of the ceremony that took place, or whether she noticed their proceedings by way of encouragement, or through timidity, does not appear.

May 18. Gave the souldiers that shott off at my window, 1*s*., and beer.

In the month of July the militia were embodied in Herefordshire. In August she receives another supply of literature—news-books, pictures, and pamphlets—fresh to the times.

4 books of pictures and pamflets. Bought by Mr. John Edmunds, Scrivener, the booke of the works of Justine, cost 8*s*. 6*d*. for 26 pamflets of parliament nuse, & y^e picktures of the yong prince of orange, William of Nassaw, and his wyfe, the Lady mary daughter to king Charles, at 2*d*. a piece.

This is the Princess Mary, the King's eldest daughter, who had been married to William of Nassau, son of Frederic Henry, Prince of Orange, at Whitehall, May 2, 1641.

To the carier for bringinge down bookes & picktures 6*d*.

Carriers still went from Hereford and Leominster without interruption. By

the latter conveyance Lady Harley, though at some risk, sent up in July the plate from Brampton Brian Castle to her husband Sir Robert Harley, to be his offering in the Parliament's cause.^a

The political horizon grew rapidly very gloomy at the beginning of September, 1642. On the 9th of that month the Earl of Essex, the General for the Parliament, left London for Northampton at the head of about 15,000 men. In Hereford they began to think about putting themselves into a posture of defence.

- Sept. 4. Paid to Mr. Mailard, mercer in heriford, by a lewne^a laid upon y^e Citty of heryford, towards y^e biinge of Armor & weapons & artilyery to streinthen the citty against the parliament 20s.
 20. I paid John Trahern my sowldier for y^e Citty of heriford, 7 daies training wth his captain, M. Rich. Wiggmore 10s.

These preparations were none too soon. The Parliamentarians were making rapid advances. Essex had entered Worcester on Saturday the 25th of September, and the townsmen of Hereford became seriously alarmed for the safety of their own city. Two days before this, evidently amidst great distress and confusion, Mrs. Jefferies packed up beds and furniture and boxes, and took her flight, in her carriage, to Kilkinton, a house inhabited by her cousin Penreece, and not far from Garnons, on the west of Hereford. Here she stayed a few days, when, probably thinking that she should be more secure at Garnons, the house of her friend Mr. Francis Geers, she removed thither on the 27th of that month.

I cam to kilkinton to my cosin penreeses howse from heriford for feare of y^e parliaments army, Septem. 23, 1642. The 27. I came from thence to Mr. Geeres at Garnons.

This is still further exemplified in the following extracts, selected from many confused entries that betray the agitation of the writer.

- Paid Edward Parsons of heryford for helping to carry my goods out of my howse in heriford to the cart that brought hit to Kilkinton, for feare of y^e coming of y^e parliaments army from Worcester to heriford 1s.
 Gave an other man for helping in the same work 3d.
 Paid Edward Stefens, Carier, for cariing a way my trunks & boxes and bedding from heriford to kilkinton 25s.
 Gave a carpinder to pass over my standard powles in y^e cole howse, when the souldiers would had them to barricado Widmarsh gate 4d.

When she reached Garnons she might think herself more secure; but it proved

^a Letters of Lady Brilliana Harley, Camd. Soc. 1854, p. 177.

^b Assessment or contribution.

quite otherwise. From Worcester, where he had taken up his quarters, the Earl of Essex despatched Henry Earl of Stamford, Lord Grey of Groby, to occupy Hereford, that had neither garrison nor governor. The place was in a state of feverish excitement for several days, while the cry was "still, they come." Their forlorn hope entered without resistance on Friday the 30th of September. Stamford followed them on the Sunday, with a regiment of foot and some troops of horse, and established himself at once in the Bishop's palace^a He presently showed what was the chief object of his coming; to confiscate the property of the Royalists. He had under his command several officers, expert pilferers, fresh from the German wars. Captain Kyrle, the son of Kyrle of Walford, Lieutenant-Colonel Massey, afterwards the gallant governor of Gloucester, and Captain Hammond, who signalised himself by his transactions when his Majesty was conveyed a prisoner to the Isle of Wight,—these and others had been guilty of much excess in pillaging the houses of the Royalists in Worcestershire and elsewhere, and they came to do the same execution here. They were experienced in their work, and could carry out their system of wrong and robbery, and murder in case of opposition, unchecked by man's remonstrances and unmoved by woman's tears. "Plunder," it is well known, was a word new to the English language. It is said by honest Fuller to have been a word of foreign importation; but, if the origin of the new expression were obscure, its meaning was plain enough, and all agreed with Taylor, the Water Poet, and Mrs. Jefferies, that plunderer, interpreted in English, meant a thief. The Earl of Stamford, a weak unprincipled character, began by professing that no wrong should be done to any man; but, having himself been proclaimed a traitor, he thought it just that certain parties should be singled out as objects of his displeasure. Mr. Geers, of Garnons, with whom Mrs. Jefferies had sought a refuge, was one of them, and she tells us what befell her in her retreat.

Friday, the 30. The parliaments Army cam to herifford frō Worster, Henry Gray, Earle of Stamford, y^e Generall. On Tewsdays morning, October 4, captain Hamon and his barbarous company plundered Mr. Geereses howse at Garnons, both them and me of much Goods, toke a way my 2 bay coche mares and som money, and much Linen: and Elyza Acton's clothes. I cam frō Garnons y^e same Tewsdays to Mr. John Garpinder's to Hinton, a mile off, and staid there till the 14 of December following.

I lent Mr. Francis Geers y^e younger to goe in to Wales, after his fathers house was plundered and a man kild 40s.

^a Letters of a Subaltern Officer, &c. in Archæologia, XXXV. p. 332. The Bishop was Dr. George Coke, who died in 1646.—Duncumb, Collections towards the Hist. and Antiq. of the County of Hereford, i. 490.

This, however, was not a solitary instance of the excesses then committed. The spoilers issued from Hereford in various directions. They searched the habitations of the suspected for arms, and a warrant to search was a licence to steal. It may be mentioned, incidentally, that at this time Swift, the Vicar of Goodrich, an ancestor of the celebrated Dean Swift, fell beneath their lash. Kyrle, the captain already mentioned, one of that family who claim the Man of Ross, brought his men into Goodrich Castle, then the property of the Earl of Kent, and tormented all the Royalists in that neighbourhood. In five visits to the vicarage his followers carried off everything on which they could lay their hands, left his wife and children and servants hardly a garment to shelter them from the winter's cold, and threatened any one with vengeance who should dare to show them mercy. Ten weeks his myrmidons remained in garrison at the castle, living upon the spoil of the country, and on quitting it paid two parting visits to the vicarage, which they stripped of the last loaf of bread: a wanton soldier, as a final act of inhumanity, seized the infant's porringer from the nurse, threw out its contents, and carried it away.^a

But we are to follow Mrs. Jefferies in her flight, who had been all this while secreting herself, as well as she might, with a trembling heart, at Hinton. Though she had sustained much loss in her clothes, and favourite horses, and money, she had suffered no personal injury: neither was all lost. In this retirement she found security, and the portion of her goods that had escaped was lodged in safe keeping, as it afterwards was, on its being brought back to Garnons, when she returned thither December 14, 1642. They seem to have been dispersed in several hiding-places in the parish of Mansell Gamage,^b where they continued unmolested while she remained in that part of the country.

January 7. feare of ye plunder(er)s. Gave goody Lawrence for keeping clothes of myne and Eliza Actons in ye hill for feare 1s.

Two articles upon which she set some value were recovered by her steward from Captain Hammond's soldiers that had taken them at Garnons.

Paid Mathias Rufford, w^{ch} he laied out to redeeme my 2 black bever Hatts, and 2 Gould bands out of ye theeffes, or plunderers hand, they took at Garnons 21s. 6d.

Soldiers had been in the meanwhile quartered at her house in Hereford, where she had left maid servants, and occasionally placed Eliza Acton in charge.

^a Mercurius Rusticus, p. 71, *et seq.*

^b Mansell Gamage, in the hundred of Grimsworth, about eight miles W.N.W. of Hereford.

November 30. I sent Bes Newton by Tho^s Harris to bye pvision for 4 souldiers that dietted at my howse 10s.

The conduct of Lord Stamford's soldiers at the house of her friend and relative Mr. Geers, as well as at her own in Hereford, where she sustained considerable damage, produced a lasting impression of terror upon her; but she indulges in a little exultation at having in one instance eluded their rapacity.

Mault sould Novem. 18, 1642. Eliza Acton sould it. Sould and receued of Mrs. Jane Higgings of Heriford, widdow and bruer: for 80 boꝝ of barley mault I sould for feare of the earle of Stanford's plundering of my howses in heriford, w^{ch} hee did most in humanely, I had 3s. 8d. a boꝝ, cam to 14l. 3s. 4d.

And she could not but be a little pleased to regain something that had been in his lordship's possession, who seems to have shifted his head-quarters from the Bishop's palace.

Paid y^e man of y^e fethers for 4 cariges of my boords frō the Lord Stanford's lodging at Mrs. Wardins howse in Heriford 2s.

But she would not trust herself to leave her hiding-place till the day (Dec. 14) on which he marched out of Hereford. The Royalists then took possession once more of the city, and her friend and cousin Fitz-William Conyngesby of Hampton Court, sheriff of the county, and one of the commissioners of array, came in and was appointed governor for the King.^a Next follows, what is not at all to be wondered at, after her fright, fatigue, peril, and loss, that she became ill.

Dec. 16. Gave Doctor Harford's ^b man when I was sick at Garnons 2s. 6d.
Paid for a matt to put by my bed-side 20d.

Governor Conyngesby had much difficulty at first in procuring money to pay his garrison. It was raised by regular assessment and contribution, and of course she was called upon for her quota. She did not, however, confine herself to this, but sent him a voluntary offering, which no doubt was highly acceptable.

Dec. 27. I sent my good frend Mr. ffrancis Geeres y^e yonger to Mr. Coningesby to pay souldiers at heriford as a present 50l.
and a fatt bullock worth 6l. also of a present.

At Garnons she spent the remainder of the winter in peace. The country was

^a His commission from the Marquess of Hertford bears date December 20, 1642.—Papers of Sir Edward Walker, Harl. MSS. Brit. Mus. 6851.

^b Bridstock Harford, a physician of great repute in Hereford.

undisturbed. The labourers lit their Twelfth Eve fires as usual, and she helped to promote their mirth.

Twelf eve, Dec. 5. Gave to the wassell for y^e bailiff and y^e hinde . . . 6d.

But trouble was once more at hand. In February, 1642-3, Lord Herbert of Raglan had raised an army of 1,500 men, which he rashly marched towards Gloucester, where the Earl of Stamford had left that active soldier Massey as governor. Part of the Herefordshire levies, with the royal commissioners of the county, appear to have joined them at Ross. She witnessed the departure of the men of her own parish with glee.

1643, March 27. This Monday morning the men of Little Mansell and all this contrey of herefordshire went to Rosse to meete the other army, and I gave them (5s. dashed out) . . . 1s.

They marched full of confidence in expectation of obtaining great advantages against the governor of Gloucester, to block up the place, and compel him to surrender. They little knew the adversary with whom they had to deal. Their first step was to take possession of Highnam, the seat of Colonel Cooke, in the neighbourhood of the city; when Sir William Waller, the Parliamentary general, by one of his celebrated night marches, joining his forces with those of Massey, pounced upon them, and captured all the foot, together with the commissioners of array for Herefordshire, and, among the latter, her dear friend "noble Fitz-William Conyngesby," of whom, till he comes to be sequestered, we find no more. This serious blow to the Royalists of the county could not abate the timid lady's alarm, though she has passed it over, being at a considerable distance from the scene of action. Hereford, where Colonel Herbert Price succeeded Conyngesby in command, was the object of another expedition from Gloucester in the ensuing month; when Waller again made a dash into the county, and appeared before the city walls on the morning of April 24, to the utter dismay of the feeble garrison and townsmen, incapable of effectual resistance. Several feints were made at Saint Owen's and Eign Gates, but the true point of attack was at Widemarsh Gate.^a Her residence being not far from this entrance, was injured a little in the scuffle,—for it can hardly be dignified by the name of a fight, though Mrs. Jefferies has thought proper to set it down as a siege.

April 24, 1643. he cam, and 25 Wensday, &c. he entered y^e citty. Paid John Baddam for mending y^e tile over my new closett, w^{ch} Sr Will^m Wallers sowldiers brake downe to shote at Widmarsh gate when he besieged y^e citty of heriford 4d.

^a See the narrative of Sir Richard Cave in Duncumb, i. 245, *et seq.*

Some of these intruders were probably not over scrupulous as to part of her property.^a

Paid Richard Winnye smith for mending lokes and kayes at heriford w^{ch} the plunderr brooke 16*d*.

Many of them were billeted at her house, as she says, "for nothing."

Cheese. Paid Maud Pritchett for a cheese when Sr Wilm Waller was in Heriford for his souldiers that I kept 18*d*.

By some false confidence she had so far prevailed upon herself as to visit her "new house" about a fortnight before; but the renewed expectation of the enemy drove her once more from the distracted city to her quiet nook at Garnons. In great distress she had migrated, April 20, before their arrival, lodging one night at the dwelling of a peasant on her way.

Goodwife Stefens, alias Cap, for one nights lodging at her howse in hill for feare of y^e souldiers 18*d*.

Paid the man of the fethers in Heriford for bringing trunks and cheste frō Heriford to George Edwards howse in Little Mansell to keepe 6*s*.

I find her moving her goods, trunks, and chest from house to house in May and at other times in 1643, and once more sitting down in the family of her cousin, Mr. Geers, for a whole year. Foot-prints of war are visible in several parts of her account for 1643.

July 4. Watching. Paid to a man for watching a night at Widemarsh gate 4*d*.

Oct. Gray nagg sould. Rece. of Leifftenant Rogers (that cam out of Ireland wth a troop of souldiers to Leominster for the king) for my Gray nagge £4. 5*s*.

Novem. 24. gave a poore souldier to help to heale his head 6*d*.

Paid a lewne in Heriford towards the fier at the gates in heriford for y^e souldiers to watch bye, 4*s*.

Still she was at a distance from the scene. About April, 1644, after Prince Rupert had been appointed president of this and many other counties, Herefordshire and Shropshire were seriously disturbed by the activity and excesses of the contending parties. Hopton and Brampton Bryan Castles were taken by Sir Michael Woodhouse, and Massey was conducting a series of operations against the governor and garrison of Hereford. In this month of April, fertile in military occurrences, Mrs. Jefferies suddenly is on the wing again. Apparently for the last

^a Sir William Waller carried off considerable booty of plate and money in this excursion. Mrs. Jefferies was rated among the highest in the contribution extorted from Widemarsh Ward. She paid 40*l*. Only three householders were assessed so high, and no one above it, in the whole city.—MS. Papers of Price, the Mayor, in 1642-43, by favour of the Rev. W. Poole.

time as a housekeeper, she pays a visit to the city, discharging all her debts, and bestowing her favours upon the servants at Garnons before her departure; and these entries show the sort of establishment then existing in that family:—

April 17. This day I cam from Garnons to heriford.

Imp^s. I paid my Cosen ffrancis Geers and his wyfe, som tyme Mrs. Elizabeth Acton, for one monthes diett, for my self, and Joyse Simons my maide, due this Wensday, Aprill 17, 1644 50s.

I gave the servants at Garnons when I cam away frō thence to heriford to my owne howse.

Imp^s. I gave ould Anne Buzby, widdow, my goddaughter Geeres governess of her howse, 18d.
 Gave John buttry her man there 18d.
 Gave Jane the deymaid 1s. and peeke the bailiff 1s. 2s.
 Gave ould Snead a workman 6d.
 Gave ould Mrs. Geerses servants as foloweth:—
 Gave ould Joane Gardiner and Margrett 2s.
 Gave Mrs. Shusan Garnons 1s. to Cooksey 1s. 2s.

A little explanatory addition or memorandum is appended to this, to show why he is included out of place:—

Cooksey ys my cosin Ffrancis Geerses boy, and I gave him 1s.
 Gave Elizabeth Yong, Mr. Thomas Geeres maide and his wyfes, she cam frō London 1s.

Then we have her own journey:—

On Shrove Thursday, at heriford, to John Cappe, alias Stefens, for cariing some clothes of myne from Garnons to Heriford 6d.

I cam frō Garnons on Wensday, 17 Aprill, 1644, to heriford, to my new howse.

Here she stops only two nights and a day; and on the third day, with some of her goods and attendants, takes leave of this edifice, on which she had spent so much money, apparently for ever:—

I cam from Heriford to Homcastle on Good Friday, Aprill 19, 1644.

Her steward had charge of this removal, and it is accounted for in the month ensuing:—

May. Mathias Rufford's Disburz. Paid at the 2 Journeys wth y^e teames frō Garnons to Homcastle to bring over my trunks and chestes, &c. viles for my servants by the way 1s.
 Paid the 2 men, the one for y^e loane of his coult and 2 horses, y^e other for his paines in coming and goinge wth them from to Homcastle 5s.
 wth 3 trunks and 1 greate box from Garnons to Homcastle, gave M^r Childes man, at Wofferlow,^a for one nights resting there with the cariage 6d.

^a Wolverley (?), two miles north-west from Kidderminster, in the county of Worcester.

We are now arrived at Homcastle, so often mentioned, the house of her cousin Jefferies, pleasantly situated on the river Teme, in a most retired and less disturbed part of the country, leaving Hereford and its warlike occupants to their fate. Still, as proprietor, she is exposed to charges there.

Gave an honest carpinder for preserving my tymber frō the Governours knowledge, w^{ch} sought for tymber to make works to defend heriford 1s.
 May, 1644. Paid for work donn in making bullwarks to defend the Citty of heriford frō invasion 20d.

At that time Hereford was placed under strict military control, and the then governor was Colonel Nicholas Mynne, one of those who brought their regiments out of Ireland to aid the King. No braver Cavalier ever drew his sword for Charles I. It was hoped that he would have proved a match for the governor of Gloucester, who had become the terror of the Royalists in those parts. Mynne began well: his operations were conducted with vigour and success, but the fortune of his antagonist, Massey, prevailed, and in a bloody action at Redmarley, in August, 1644, on the border of the county, the Royalist colonel, with the greatest part of his Anglo-Irish regiment, was slain.^a He died lamented by the soldier and the townsman, and his memory is cherished by those who claim to be descendants of that family, and are with us to this day. It is little known, though matter of local history not uninteresting nor unprofitable, how deeply Hereford was implicated in the vicissitudes of that eventful quarrel. Twice entered and occupied, with little or no resistance, in the earlier part of the war, once gallantly and successfully defended, once captured by stratagem against a bold struggle, it changed hands four times in the course of the contest, till at last it was permanently occupied and retained by the Parliamentarians, under Colonels Birch and Morgan.^b Of the five governors^c that held it for the King, two were taken prisoners, two were slain sword in hand, and the last, after opposing with great applause the attempt of the Scots to gain possession of the city by regular siege, was surprised in his bed by the entrance of the enemy on a winter's morning, and escaped with disgrace and difficulty across the moat.

Throughout the period that interviened between the spring of 1644 and the

^a Corbet. Military Government, &c. in Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis, p. 111. Gloucester, 1825. Small 4to.
^b Hereford was surprised December 18, 1645.—A New Tricke to take Townes, &c. London, printed by E. G. 1645, small 4to.
^c One of them, Colonel Barnard, killed afterwards at the storming of Canon-Frome, held it only for a short time in 1644, between the death of Mynne and the appointment of Scudamore.

autumn of 1645, crowded as it was with military occurrences, and trodden down as the country was with roving soldiers, she seems personally to have been undisturbed. Still, though she had her lodge, as it were, in a wilderness, the tumult and withering consequences of these hostilities would sometimes reach her ear and her purse. For awhile she received rents from her property in Hereford. Receipts and disbursements indicate the state of affairs there. At last a removal of furniture takes place, and she gives up her rented house.

Aug. 1644. Paid to workmen for cariinge som houshold frō my lower Howse in Heriford to my upper new howse in y^e same Widmarsh streete 11s.

On this occasion her coach, though the mares had long since ceased to draw it, was brought forth from its place of concealment in the country.

Gave Mr. Dockter Aldern's man for his horses to fetch my coach from Garnons to heriford 1s.

October. Paid Mrs. Fletcher and her mother-in-law one yeares rent for the ould howse I did dwell in Widmarsh streete in heriford, due at Micklmas, 1644; then I left y^e howse, 6*l*.

Paid hayward the tailer, for and towards the fier for the maine guard in heriford . . . 4s.

January, 1644. Rece. of Walter James of Heriford, bruer, for 3 hoggsheads & 2 lesser vessells for the usse of the Salt peeter men there 20s.

March. Given to souldiers that were sent to be quartered in my new howse 3 severall tymes 16*d*.

A party of foragers or plunderers visited one of her estates, and she was terrified at the news.

1645, May. gave Tho. Griffiths my servant that brought me word of the fearefull souldiers that were at bradard 6*d*.

A side-note in July of the same year gives a hint of a visit from one of the military chiefs at the place where she was residing. The name of his companion is concealed by a blank omission.

Saturday, y^e 12 day, generall Garritt cam to Homcastle wth with him and went away on Sunday.

Sir Gilbert Gerrard—a name simple enough, but variously twisted by the writers of the time—was then governor of Worcester. At last, with respect to her possessions in Hereford, came one of those dire necessities of warfare, in which private property must yield to the whirlwind of the hour. The demolition of suburbs is a well-known operation in the expectation of a siege. Massey destroyed them at Gloucester in 1643,^a and Colonel Barnabas Scudamore at Hereford in 1645. Mrs. Jefferies shall tell you how this affected her. The whole of the environs were laid bare up to the walls; and most effectually was the work of

^a Corbet, *ut supra*, p. 45.

destruction accomplished. Sir Henry Slingsby, a noted Royalist officer, who was well acquainted with the place, and admired the beauty of the parts adjacent, mentions the havoc in terms of much regret. The orchards, gardens, trees, and houses, were all destroyed. He looked in vain for the house in which he had been once quartered. It was pulled down; and he affirms that the mistress of it, his landlady, at sight of the ruin, had died of very grief.^a Not so our cheerful and benevolent lady: not a syllable of the hardship of this proceeding escapes her. Finding it inevitable, she notes it as matter of course, and makes the best of it.

1645, May. Rece. of Maud Prichet half a yeeres rent for her howse in Widmarsh streete in Heriford, due at Holirood day, 1645, being the last that ever she paid, for she removed, and my howses were pulled downe 30s.

Before it was put in execution, she sent her steward to save some part of the property, and make presents of the produce of her garden.

July. Paid Mathias Rufford diet and a horse 8 daies in heriford being there to poole downe y^e glasse in y^e windose, and the dores, and in going Abroad: both in y^e Cittye and County upon my busines, at 1s. a day, wth gardin Salitts 8s.
 Paid the glazier for pulling down the glass 18d.
 Paid him for caring hit and putting hit into the two greate chests in y^e gardin 8d.
 beere for the men that cam wth Richard teage to fetch up the stuff that Mrs. Anne Ailway caused to be sent to his howse, where serion hosskins^b did dwell 1s.
 gave John Joiner for helping to cary in the dores, shelfes, and wainscott, out of the saw pitt in my new gardin, into my coache howse 6d.

In the following January the aforesaid trunks re-appear.

17.—Gave David Williams, y^e bailiff at Homcastle, for helping to gett my truncks out of y^e ground 6d.

The razing of her buildings is testified by the sale of the materials: it is total destruction; great, but not entire, loss.

June, 1645. The severall names of those men that bought my 3 houses in Heriford w^{thout} widmarsh gate, when I was constrained to sell them or have them burned against the earle of Leven: general Lessley wth his Scotts (being 2500 men^c) cam to beseege Heriford 5 weecks & went away w^{thout} hit.^d

^a Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby, p. 163. Oxford, 1836. 8vo.

^b Serjeant Hoskyns, an eminent lawyer, member for the city of Hereford in the reigns of James I. and Charles I.

^c Marginal.

^d *i. e.* without taking it. In this expression more is meant than meets the eye. The people of Hereford city and county entertained a contemptuous feeling towards the Scots on account of their failure. The siege was raised September 2, 1645.

Imp ^s . yong Mr holmes the mercer in heriford bought my greate new howse (hit stood me in above 500 <i>l.</i>), w th a greate deale of squared tymber at the saw pitt, w th glasse: and all apurtinances ther too	50 <i>l.</i>
It. Haiward a tailer, and William Price shue maker, Bought my howse over the way called Gowlding Halle for	3 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i>
Phillip Preece Bought Maude Prichet's Halle and the inner Roome	4 <i>l.</i>
Walter Merrick and on Butler bought the greate Hale, and the Roomes over hit	11 <i>l.</i>
Joseph Bowker Bought the Roomes over the Staiers case by the well at	3 <i>l.</i>
	71 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i>

Other effects of the changes produced by the war obtrude themselves on our notice, and she acquiesces in them. Lecturers are introduced into the parish churches more extensively, and the Directory supplants the Common Prayer.

1646, September 24. I begann to pay a weeckely diett for 3 prechers in clifton : from Thursday the second day of July, 1646 : vnto Thursday the first day of October, being 14 weeckes after 3 : s. a weecke for 14 : weeckes. I gave it out of my well meaning to maintaine the weeckly lecturer at Clifton vpon teame 42*s.*

Tuesday, 8: of Desember. About 12: a clocke at noone Samuell Jeffreys, my cosin Willim Jeffreys 8th sonne, was borne, and Baptised after the new derectory : on Saturday, God bless him.

Next we have the Parliamentary committee-men laying their hands upon property in all quarters, and straitening her means. Her friend and kinsman Fitz-William Conyngesby was most heavily mulcted; and through him she suffered. His estates at Hampton Court and elsewhere, already deeply pledged, fell into the hands of strangers. His mansion, in a state of desolation, was all but untenanted; while the owner sought refuge in a foreign country, leaving his wife and family to look for bread where they could find it, or implore a pittance from their rapacious adversaries.^a Her annuity of a hundred marks out of the

^a The representation is not overdrawn. As the eldest daughter of Henry Neville, Lord of Bergavenny, and wife of the owner of Hampton Court, Cecilia Conyngesby must have enjoyed something more than the common advantages of life prior to this reverse. But by the pressure of the time she was reduced almost to the condition of a pauper, and became an earnest suppliant and humble dependant upon the tender mercies of a capricious and not very honest junto. From 1650 to 1652 her applications for relief, still preserved among the Composition Documents in the State-Paper Office, are frequent and most importunate. In her petition to Goldsmiths' Hall, dated September 20, 1650, she begs for a fifth out of her husband's estates in the counties of Hereford, Worcester, Salop, and Leicester, "to maintain her and her great charge of children;" and an order is sent to the commissioners of these counties that they cause the said estates to be sequestered, and make allowance accordingly. On the 16th of August, 1651, nothing having been done, she again addresses the board in London, setting forth that the country commissioners had given no obedience to the first order; and that, though another had been made, and received their signatures, it had been

estate of Neen Solars was for a time cut off, and only in part recovered before her decease. She is herself fined in Herefordshire; but relieved by the kind offices of a friend.

July 2. for y^e parliam^t service. Gave M^r Rich. Nicholetts for his frendship to stop my paiing 100*l.* to heriford comitty 10*s.*

Then come the Shropshire committee upon her.

1647, Aprill 19, Ester Monday. gaue Humfrey Hardman ^a for bringing me 17*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* in part of my St. Mary day anuety, 1647, from nene solers 2*s.* 6*d.*
 21. gave him to beare his charges to wenlock, when he went with my brother H. Coñ will to shew hit to the Jury, to extend M^r Fitzwill^m Coningesbie's Land in Shropshire for his dett to S^r Tho. Allen of London 5*s.*

suppressed. The property was then once more ordered to be sequestered, and an inquiry to be made as to who had received the rents; and "they shall consider of a fifth part." On September 8th, 1652, her application is renewed, with a plea of urgent distress: "Your petitioner's condition is more than ordinary sad, by reason of her children's want of a natural support of food. Your petitioner therefore once more implores your honours' favourable order for a fifth part out of Shropshire lands." An answer, deferred till the 29th, informs her that the estate is under extent to Sir Thomas Allen, and while it is so "we can allow no fifths." In October and November, being only supported, as she avers, by the little credit left her, "she renews her solicitation, and controverts the truth of the plea of "extent;" and, after some apparent shuffling on the part of the clerk of the country committee, an order is obtained from London that an inquiry be made and a certificate drawn up by the Salop commissioners themselves.

The struggle is thus ultimately narrowed to one-fifth of the annual rent of Fitz-William Conyngesby's claims upon the very Neen-Solars estate out of which Mrs. Jefferies's annuity was also paid, the London creditor having, as to all his other property, laid his hands upon the lion's share; and it helps to show that her suspicions as to the fraudulent intentions of the agents in Salop were not altogether groundless.

How much longer Cecilia Conyngesby was teased and kept at bay in this state of indigence has not been discovered. Yet the case, hard as it may appear (and that there was some unusual difficulty in it cannot be denied), is not the worst of the kind that might be selected. Surely the sickness of hope deferred must have been epidemic among the sufferers in the royal cause.

As to her husband, he had all this while, though absent from England, been plying the sequestrators with petitions on behalf of himself and his family. His affairs, however, had fallen into a most complicated condition. Before the war broke out, in 1641, his estates were deeply encumbered with a debt, according to his own representation, of 20,000*l.* In December 1650 he owed Sir Thomas Allen, a money-lender in London, 4,836*l.* 12*s.* He had borrowed at 8 per cent., and every month and six days, by his creditors' showing, his liabilities were increasing 40*l.* In October 1655 his fine, as one who had been a Member of Parliament, was set at 4,243*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.* In the confused and inaccurate "Catalogue of the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen that have compounded for their Estates," printed for Thomas Dring in 1655, his name does not appear.—Composition Documents, State-Paper Office, Series I. vol. i. f. 575, *et seq.*; vol. xvii. f. 101, *et seq.* ff. 110, 113; Series II. vol. xlviii. ff. 311, 320, 321.

^a He was a bailiff at Neen Solars, and seems to have occupied also a portion of the estate; for mention is made of his lease.

Here a little trait of kind consideration peeps out. His journey was a failure for his employer, but he was no loser by it. He got a good wetting by the way; but something to make amends for it.

24. Item, I gave Humfrey Har(d)man when he cam back from Wenlock in most Rainy wether in a great fludd and lost his Jurney 10s.

He is no sooner returned when he is ordered up to Shrewsbury on the same errand, and an official must be feed.

25. delivered Humfrey Hardman at his jorney to Shorsbery to shew the will to y^e Jurye there that I had a right to 100 marks p añ.—to giue the vnder-sheriff of Shropshire frō me 20s.

In the month of June he must appear before them once more.

June 7. Humfrey Hardman. I gave Humfrey Hardman of Nene Sollers for going to Shrewsbery to shew my brother Humfrey Conyngesbyes will to S^r Thō. Allen's Comyssoners, when he would have seasoned vpon the Lordship of Nene for M^r Fitz William's dett upon an extent for And would a had my Anuety frō me also. I say I gave Humfrey Hardman then 10s.

The Hereford committee, by a scrutiny that was ultimately instituted, were found guilty of great iniquity in the management of Royalist sequestrations. Something they allowed her; but, while they abstained from total deprivation, they seem to have tampered with her income, part of which was withheld from her to the last.

November 22. Order. My cosin Jeffreys paid the Clarck for writing an order graunted by y^e coñitties of heriford that at 6 weekes ende I shall have my . . . sent againe w^{ch} they wrongfully toke off me 2s. 6d.

But the menial door-keeper, as well as the clerk, must have his gratuity.^a

Item, my cosin Jeff^s gaue y^e dore keep. of y^e coñitties chambers in y^e pallas of heriford, 1s.

As she herself was thus injuriously treated, so she could extend her compassion to others who were suffering under more direct and open outrage; and this shall be the last incident noticed that bears on the war.

1647, March 24. I gave a poore minester and his wyfe, John Powell, that weare goinge to y^e parliament to London to begge Releefe, being plundered at Ludlow by Sir Michaell Woodhouse and his souldiers of all they had 1s.

^a In act ii. of Sir Robert Howard's satirical drama, "The Committee," two Cavalier colonels, who come to compound for their estates, fee the doorkeeper of the committee-room, both at their entrance and exit.

She seems to have been born, as it were, in some measure, and within her little sphere, to mitigate the asperities of a cruel time, and to set an example of charity and patience “in running the race that was set before her.” Sir Michael Woodhouse, the governor of Ludlow for the King, was one of those officers who had served in Ireland—brave, but of a temper stern and severe. Woe to the Puritan divine or Roundhead soldier who had offended him, and fallen into his hands! He might deem himself fortunate if he escaped with his life. At the siege of Hopton Castle, a fortified mansion on the borders of Salop and Herefordshire, the little garrison, after a gallant resistance, surrendered to him at mercy. Without more ado he drew them up near the castle walls, and put them, in cold blood, every one but More, the governor, to the sword.^a His name was long held in abhorrence in those parts. Antiquaries owe him no respect. He took, sacked, and destroyed by fire, Sir Robert Harley’s residence, the neighbouring castle of Brampton Bryan, and in it a noble and valuable library—a former Harleian collection, containing, it is said, documents inestimable for the history and antiquities of England and Wales.^b

Passing now from public events, our remaining observations shall be chiefly confined to personal character. As years advance a symptom or two of infirmity make their appearance. The spectacles, and the favourite spoon and diamond ring, are missing, and found and brought to her by her attendants, who always have a reward.

1646, July 5.	gave Elinor Hill for finding y ^e silver plate of my specktales at Homcastle .	6d.
30.	gave Bes Jones for finding my diamond ring	6d.
1647, July 20.	gave Joyse Simons for finding my Guilt spoone	6d.
Dec. 16.	gave Vrsula for finding the red cornelian ring that was my cosin Harberd Jeffreyes	6d.

Suspicion is always disagreeable, often unjust; but there are times and circumstances under which it forces its way in spite of ourselves. After what Mr. Henry Jefferies has told us of the knavery of her servants towards her, it is perhaps not

^a Blakeway, *Sheriffs of Shropshire*, p. 216, *et seq.*; *The True Informer*, March 16 to 23, 1643–4; *King’s Pamphlets*, small 4to. British Museum.

^b Dr. Bentley has an allusion to this library in the Dedication of his *Horace* to the Earl of Oxford, where, after mentioning the Harleian Manuscripts then existing, and increasing in number, he adds: “*Hic tibi instrumentorum veterum, partim in Urbe, partim rure in avitis ædibus, Bramtoniæ castello (quod ab Edwardi usque I. ætate per Bryanum Harleium, equitem, ad seros adhuc nepotes demissum est) thesaurus adservatur; quotidiano quidem is auctu crescens, et jam nunc multo ditior futurus, nisi ad alia damna per Civiles superiore sæculo tumultus, castellis, templis, villis, nemoribusque vestris illata Bibliothecæ quoque locupletissimæ direptio accessisset.*”—*Hor. Bentl. Dedicatio*. Edit. alt. Amst. 1713. 4to.

unfair to suggest that these instances may, some of them, be symptomatic of the manner in which she was, now and then, treated by those who had daily access to her. It has been related of Prince Eugene of Savoy, that his servants took dexterous advantage of his foible of immoderate anger, and threw themselves in the way of his fits of passion, that they might get a sound beating from him and its never-failing accompaniment, a reward to make it up. Thus, probably, the attendants of Mrs. Jefferies, though in a different method, might make a profit of her failing memory by hiding and reproducing these valuables in order to a remuneration. Here is another minute fact that savours as much of simplicity in the one party as chicanery in the other, if our hypothesis be not unjust. A fair is held at Worcester, and the maids from Homcastle of course attend it. What does she do in this case ?

1644. gave the 4 maids at Homcastle at Worcester faire on our Lady day: videl: Hester Packer y^e butler, Elinor burraston y^e coock, Barbara y^e day maide, and Elysabeth Joanes y^e baker, to eche 1s.

What ensues ?

Gave barbara y^e day mayd y^t lost y^e former 1s. I gave her 1s.

Whence the not unnatural suggestion ariseth, that the ingenious Barbara had discovered a method of overcoming the generally received impossibility of "eating the cake and having it." But the maids were always in her favour, and, if she could find no readier excuse for showing it than by making them presents at stated times, she invented vicarious means of slipping vails into their hands.

1647, Sept. 10. Friday my cosin katherin Homes went to Worcester, and went toward London on Monday folowing in parshore Waggon 40s.
I gave her more; I gave her to give the maids at Homcastle, and y^e man cook and housekeep, and so she went towards London 2s. 6d.

The gentle current of her declining days was towards the close disturbed by a sad event, which she describes with melancholy exactness.

1647. At hom castle, November 1. legge cutt off. My cosin Harberd Jeffreys died about 12: a clock at noone when his left legge was cutt off close vnder the knee: on Monday, Alholand day, he broke his legge at Clifton: 22 day in the hole of a yeat post, anent Anthony borastons howse, and was caried in to that howse Saturday: and was caried home to Homcastle on the morow: and as soone as his legg (was) cut off (by 2: surjons of Worcester, Mr. Marshall and Mr. Addis) he died, and was bur. on Wensday y^e 3th day in Cliftons chancell.
Tuesday, 29 Oct. gave my cosin Harberd Jeffreys to pay Mr. Adiss, his surion, for setting his broken ligge 20s.

Age seems to have abated nothing of her generous feeling, or of the ardour of her domestic affections. In all those events which usually bring joy to families, and occasion entries in our parish registers, she heartily sympathised. A marriage, even of a servant, was an occurrence that always appeared highly to interest her. In the year before she transplanted herself into Worcestershire she derived the highest gratification from that union of Miss Acton with one of the sons of Mr. Geers to which frequent allusion has been already made. Besides giving her, for those days, a handsome portion, she took upon herself the arrangement of the settlement, defrayed incidental expenses, and makes the following memoranda descriptive of her satisfaction.

1643, August 15. 300*l.* paid. I paid ould Mr. Francis Geeres of Garnons in part of 800*l.* porsion that I gave Elizabeth Acton to her mariage wth his second sonn, Mr. Francis Geers. God bless them both 300*l.*
 Eliza Acton's Jointer. To Mr. Thomas Edmunds of Heryford, atorney, for drawing and ingrossing y^e Conveyance of y^e land and Joynture for Elizabeth Acton 50*s.*
 Paid Mr. Willm Bruges of Temple Court, in Bosbery's parish: that he laied out to M^r Streete, a cownceler in Worcester, for p^ysing y^e draught 10*s.*

The clerks in these solicitors' offices are not forgotten.

18. Gave Mr. Bridges clarck, and Mr. Tho^s Edmunds clark, 10*s.*; 3*l.* 10*s.* in feese.
 September 5. Paid the butcher for a fatt weather to present this bride woeman at her wedding day 6*s.* 6*d.*

She was manifestly very proud of her. The portion was made up by instalments, and on the last payment she has this note:—

1647, Munday, November 15. 150*l.* paid in full of 800*l.* porson and made even. I delivered my cosin Jeffreys to goe to pay Mr. francis Geers of Garnons : the ellder : in full for his daughter in Laws porsion : 100*l.* and 50*l.* more he received of mr. Tho. Veinoll in full : both was 150*l.* So I praise God all the 800*l.* is paid, and we are even.

But, it may be repeated, her greatest triumph, and one that her relations and acquaintance took care she should frequently enjoy, was at a christening. Here she was perfectly "happy and glorious," if we may judge from what she herself tells us.

Childe borne called Joyce.—Memorand. that my cosin Mrs. Jane Jeffreys of homcastle was delivered of a daughter about a q^rter of an howre before 9 a clock at night on thirsday night, being christmas eves eve; and the 23: day of Desember, 1647—and hit was baptised on y^e monday following, being St. John's day 27: day, 1647: and named Joyce::: ould Mrs. Barckley: and my

self Joyse Jeffreyes weare Gossips. God blesse hitt: Amen. hit went home wth nurce nott to the smeeths in greate Shelsleys parish,^a y^e same munday after diner to nurce.

December 27. Gave the midwyfe, Good wyfe hewes of vpper tedston,^b the christening day 10s.
Munday. Gave nurce Nott y^e same day 10s.

This was only about a quarter of a year before she ceased to keep her diary;^c and, if the expressions should be thought to savour somewhat of anility, it can hardly be denied that they are the offspring of warm and benevolent feelings, still in their freshness, vigorous, and impenetrable to the chill of age. But what at this season gave the strong spur to her emotion, was the circumstance of the infant having been called by her own Christian name.

Into whatever part of this document we examine, as it draws towards the end, it abates nothing of its proofs of her generosity. In the disbursement account a great, it may be said the greater, number of the items begin with the word "Gave." In the receipts it is again and again "I forgave." The payments of rent, and interest, and arrears were cramped by the pressure of public and private difficulties; and this good lady apparently scorned to add to them in others, though she must herself have felt them heavily, recording them with the same artless mode of expression that prevails throughout the book.

Rece. at heriford assises in August 1647 by my cosin Jeffreyes of Mr. David bowin of heriford, Alderman, in full payment of 4*li.* 16*s.* tolerasion for 20*li.*
w^{ch} Mr. Phillip Trahern owed me in his life tyme 2*li.* 16*s.*
I forgave Mr. bowin & rece. 40*s.*
Rece. of Mrs. Francis Heriford of Sufton^d in part 8*li.*
Of 15*li.* tolerasion, for 100*li.* due August 19, 1647, the other 7*li.* I forgave her 8*li.*
August. rece. no usse money.

Oct^r 22. I rece. at Homcastle of Mr. Tho. Veinall, of Heriford, for 2 yeares demy use for 50*li.* due June 29, 1647, 10*li.* of which I forgave him 40*s.* and had 8*li.* clear to my purse.

Thus did she continue to go on, with blessings upon her lips and her right hand full of gifts, without intermission, till the grave closed over all that was mortal, and amiable, and singular in the character and conduct of one whose parallel is

^a Shelsley Beauchamp, a parish in the hundred of Doddingtree, and county of Worcester, 8½ miles south-west from Stourport.

^b Tedstone Delamere and Tedston Wafer are parishes in the hundred of Broxash, and county of Hereford, within 5 miles towards the north-east of Bromyard.

^c The latter part of it betrays some failure and irregularity in the handwriting. Her last entry of receipts bears date April 1, 1648; of disbursements, March 27, 1648.

^d Sufton Court, the seat of Richard Hereford, Esq. near Hereford.

not easy to be found. It has frequently occurred to me, in looking through the pages of this diary, that the independent and bountiful disposition of the writer may not inappropriately in part be compared with that delineated in a well-known epitaph :

What I gave, I have.

What I spent, I had.

What I left, I lost.

But the comparison holds good only in part. The closing passage of the triad, though not intended as an expression of selfish regret, may perhaps convey the notion of it too nearly to suit the disposition of Mrs. Joyce Jefferies, since it was hardly possible that she who was so openhearted to others could have envied her successors what she left behind her.

The outline that has been here attempted is, I am aware, very imperfect; indeed, the selections made from this book form but a small portion of its riches. The copiousness of the subject is its embarrassment, and the original can alone set her forth in her true proportions. The portrait of herself, sketched unwittingly by her own hand, rude and artless though it be, is highly attractive. In its exhibition of times, and circumstances, and manners, and touches of vernacular dialect and orthography, in accord with modern provincial pronunciation, lies its value to the philologist, historian, and antiquary; but in its simplicity is its charm. As respects herself, little did she think that, in compiling these accounts, she was about to present, after a lapse of upwards of two centuries, a more expressive memorial of her virtues than any that her surviving relatives could have placed on her tomb.

And so it has fallen out, that nothing appears to have been hitherto done to mark the spot where she lies; neither has the exact period of her decease been ascertained, though the codicil of her will (see ante, p. 193) carries her forward to 1650, and it has been shown that she was buried in the chancel of the parish church of Clifton-upon-Teme, in the border of Worcestershire. But her memory is still revered by those to whom her existence and character are known; and it will probably be received, as it is announced, with pleasure, that the gentleman from whose kindness permission was obtained to examine and describe this curious diary, is about to place a brass tablet near the spot where she is believed to have been interred, with an inscription transmitting the name and virtues of Mrs. Joyce Jefferies to future times.