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Sources for the Life of Colonel Massey

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By RUSSELL HOWES

Colonel Edward Massey defended Gloucester for parliament when it was besieged by King Charles I in 1643 during the Civil War. In later years he worked, schemed, and prepared to fight for the restoration of King Charles II. Yet he maintained that he never changed his principles. He was a presbyterian in politics, one of the party which opposed the king, but did not intend his deposition or execution. Massey's disagreement with former colleagues in the parliamentary cause was exacerbated by personal differences, which are well illustrated in the documents. He never used the word presbyterian to describe himself, and on the eve of the Restoration wrote disdainfully of 'the Presbiter party'; but he was so described by others. The circuitous course of Massey's career is illustrated by the action of the House of Commons, which in the same session in 1660 granted him long-deferred satisfaction for his service in the army of parliament against King Charles I, and a reward of £3000 for his endeavours in the restoration of King Charles II.

Massey came from Coddington in Cheshire. The many branches of the Massey family in that county, which traced their descent from Hamo de Mascy, who settled there at the Norman Conquest, are distinguished in *The History of Cheshire* by George Ormerod (1882). There is a sketch of Massey's life in *The Dictionary of National Biography*. A more recent survey of his life after the Restoration is in *The House of Commons, 1660–1690*, edited by Basil Duke Henning (1983).

Massey first became famous as defender of Gloucester during the siege. Several pamphlets describe this event. They are among the books and pamphlets collected by C.H. Dancey, and now in the Gloucestershire Collection at Gloucester City Library. These are classified and listed in *The Catalogue of the Gloucestershire Collection*, edited by Roland Austin (1928). The most substantial pamphlet is *An Historical Relation of the Military Government of Gloucester . . .* by John Corbet (1645) (Austin 3333). This author was a native of Gloucester, vicar of St. Mary de Crypt church, Gloucester, and served as Massey's chaplain. In becoming Massey's historian he performed a task frequently undertaken by chaplains in the Civil War. Both he and his subject were in their early twenties. Corbet covered the whole period of Massey's command at Gloucester, writing that Massey 'for a space of two years and six months continued an uninterrupted and happy government'.¹ He noted Massey's zeal for the national covenant, which he published at several rendezvous early in 1644. Describing the battle at Redmarley, Corbet used a distinctive phrase employed by Massey in his official letter – 'many of the country inhabitants armed with muskets and good resolutions'.² This suggests that Corbet had sight of Massey's papers; if so, it increases the credibility of his narrative.

A Briefe and Exact Relation of the . . . Seige laid before the City of Gloucester (1643), giving a day-by-day account, was written by John Dorney, the town clerk (Austin 3327). It was composed in the first person plural, and Massey did not figure prominently in it; though at the end Dorney acknowledged 'the care of the governor'. Events related by Dorney which were noticed in other sources were the desertion of 'the rogue Hatton', a canoneer, and the shooting into the city of an arrow bearing a paper urging surrender. At the end Dorney gave a list of the officers of the

garrison which is difficult to reconcile with the names in an official account book described below. He implied that there were two regiments, one under the command of the Earl of Stamford, with Massey as lieutenant colonel under him, and the other under Colonel Henry Stephens, which included Thomas Pury and other members of the city council as captains.

Other pamphlets described the march of the relieving forces. *A True and Exact Relation of the Marchings . . . of the Trained Bands . . .* (1643) (Austin 230) was written by Sergeant Henry Foster, who participated in the march. *A True Relation of the Severall Passages . . .* (1643) (Austin 3325) was written at the request of Colonel Harvey, who commanded a brigade of the relieving force; it concluded by recalling remarkable passages at Gloucester during the siege. *A True Relation of the Late Expedition . . . for the Relief of Gloucester* (1643) (Austin 3328) continued the story as far as the battle of Newbury, fought by the relieving force as it returned to London. Before the siege Massey co-operated with Sir William Waller in a campaign which culminated in a battle at Highnam; this was described in *The Victorious and Fortunate Proceedings of Sir William Waller . . .* (1643) (Austin 224). Massey's later activities in Gloucestershire were the subject of *A True Relation of a Wicked Plot . . .* (1644) (Austin 3330), and *Ebenezer . . . the Severall Remarkable and Victorious Proceedings of the ever renowned Colonell Massey . . .* (1644) (Austin 234). All seven pamphlets so far mentioned were reprinted in *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis* by John Washbourn (1825) (Austin 237); many more original sources were quoted by Washbourn in his introduction and appendices.

The Gloucestershire Collection contains some issues of contemporary weekly newspapers. The royalist *Mercurius Aulicus* (Austin 220, 223, 231) wrote contemptuously of 'Master Massey'; and gave the interesting detail that his father proved his loyalty to the king in the fight at Middlewich.³ *Mercurius Britannicus* (Austin 229, 3321, 3324, 3326) supported parliament, and answered the sarcasm of 'Aulicus': Gloucester had often been taken by the malignants according to royalist propaganda, but now that Gloucester was relieved 500 lies were taken prisoner.⁴ Two pamphlets illustrated religious debate in war-time Gloucester: *The Spirit of Prelacie . . .* by Robert Bacon (1644) (Austin 3405), which was answered by *A Vindication of the Magistrates and Ministers of Gloucester* by John Corbet (1644) (Austin 3406). Massey was involved, in that his soldiers forcibly escorted Bacon, an unorthodox preacher, out of the city. A few pamphlets relevant to Massey are not in the Gloucestershire Collection, but are among the Thomason Tracts at the British Library. *A Great Victory obtained by Collonell Massey at the Storming of Sir John Winter's House . . .*, reprinted by Washbourn, was according to Austin the first part of Thomason Tract E 271 (1). It told how Massey's men attacked Sir John Wyntour's forces near the River Wye; 70 were killed, 60 drowned, and Wyntour and others got away by swimming; this action occurred in February 1644/45. *Colonel Massey's Letter . . .* (1645) (Thomason Tract E 281 (9)) described how Prince Rupert at Ledbury inflicted a serious defeat on Massey in the last weeks of his governorship. The Gloucestershire Collection has a manuscript copy of an account of the siege of Gloucester (Austin 3318), which was printed in *The Memoirs of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers* by Elliott Warburton (1849), and reprinted in *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries*, volume III, no. 1365, pages 437–39; it said that soldiers at the turnpikes swore that, if they knew that the king was in the field, they would drop their bullets and drink his health on their knees.

Edward Hyde, later earl of Clarendon, knew Massey well after 1652; but it does not seem that his account of the siege of Gloucester in *The History of the Rebellion . . .* (1702–4, edited by W. Dunn Macray, 1888 and later) was based on any revelations by Massey. Clarendon is the only source for the story that Massey, at the beginning of the Civil War, had been at York with an inclination to serve the king, but finding himself not enough known there, went to London, where there were more money and fewer officers, and took service under parliament. Some of Clarendon's controversial statements can be compared with remarks by other writers, which are

noted in due course. He wrote that Massey sent a secret verbal message to Charles I, declaring that, if the king came in person, he would not fight against him.⁵ In a suppressed passage in *The Life . . . by Himself* Clarendon described a letter to the same effect, which Clarendon dismissed as sent merely to amuse the king.⁶ Clarendon noted that prisoners taken at Gloucester were found to be drunk, because Massey supplied them with wine and strong water; nevertheless he maintained good discipline, since no officer ran away, and not above three common soldiers; in comparison the royal army caused havoc by destroying many thousand sheep.⁷ He concluded that that governor gave a stop to the career of the king's good success.⁸

During the war, and even more after it, Massey was closely associated with Sir William Waller. In 1644 Massey was unable to assist him with soldiers from Gloucester; but that scarcely made him the creature of the Earl of Essex, as Clarendon called him.⁹ Clarendon described how, in the confrontation between the parliament and the army, Waller and Massey were named to list new forces for the parliament.¹⁰ They were together among the eleven presbyterian members of parliament whom the army sought to impeach in 1647;¹¹ and both were members purged by Pride, though Clarendon did not give the long list of these.¹²

Vivid pictures of the siege of Gloucester were given by his agents to Sir Samuel Luke, and recorded in his *Journal* (*Oxfordshire Record Society*, volume 29, 1947). Luke in 1643 was scoutmaster general to the Earl of Essex. The agents reported how the parliamentarians daily came forth; after one such sally they left a drunken man, who when he was sober declared the strength and resolution of the town. On one day, they said, a canoneer and three musketeers came to the king; on another three canoneers. The statement that Massey, in the middle of the siege, sent out of the city old men, women and children, is not confirmed by any other writer.

Documents in the Gloucestershire Record Office most valuable for the life of Massey are the Gloucester Borough Records. The Chamberlains' Accounts (GBR F 4/5) recorded annual presents to Massey: a silver gilt bason and ewer in 1643/44, and two silver flacons in 1644/45.¹³ The chamberlains paid rent of £7 a year to the treasurer of Bartholomew's,¹⁴ which has enabled the governor's house to be identified as the Crown Inn in Westgate Street (see 'Massey's House', lecture-notes by Margaret Richards, 1976, Glos. R.O. GMS 87). In 1645 there were payments for a petition sent to London for the continuance of Massey as governor. After Massey had gone the chamberlains paid £5 as a gift to Captain Seager for the portrait of Massey (Fig. 1) believed to be that still in the city's possession.¹⁵ The city council minute books (GBR B 3/2) support the impression of good relations between Massey and the city authorities; three weeks after the end of the siege the mayor and aldermen invited Massey and the officers to dinner.¹⁶ The council formally approved a petition in 1645 for his continuance as governor.¹⁷

Other papers in the Gloucestershire Record Office illustrate the Civil War in Gloucestershire, but few give direct information about Massey. A collection of documents of uncertain provenance, but clearly from a royalist source (D 115), includes two proclamations by the King during the siege of Gloucester forbidding plundering; presumably they were issued because of the great destruction of sheep observed by Clarendon. Another paper set out the king's directions, after the siege, for garrisons in Cheltenham, Painswick and Newent.

John Smyth of North Nibley, the steward of Lord Berkeley, continued the practice of his more famous father, the antiquary of the same name (who died in 1641), of carefully preserving papers. John Smyth was a royalist. There are collections of his papers in various places. The Gloucestershire Record Office has photocopies of 43 letters and other papers of his (D 2510). They mainly relate to events before Massey came to Gloucester; however, among them is a safe-conduct of 11 March 1644/45, signed by Massey, permitting John Smyth to pass from Bristol to Gloucester. In the Gloucester City Library are two large collections. The Smyth of Nibley

by the account book of Captain Thomas Blayney. This is the most substantial document relating to Gloucestershire among the Commonwealth Exchequer Papers in the Public Record Office (PRO SP 28 129/5). He styled himself treasurer of war, and paid the soldiers, and met expenses for arms and fortifications. Such an official was usually a civilian appointed by the county committee. Blayney was an army officer, and the greater part of his disbursements were made 'by order of the Governor'. Occasionally payments were authorised by 'the grand committee', or by the committee and the governor jointly. Payments were also made on the orders of Captain Thomas Pury and of Sir William Waller. All this was in addition to money raised and expended on the war by the city council of Gloucester. It might seem that the three chief authorities, Massey the governor, the county committee, and the city council, were co-operating harmoniously in the common cause. The reality was a confusion of jurisdictions productive of discord.

Receipts came under various headings. Rates were received five or six times, and the receipts given by parish. These must be the monthly assessment. The parishes from which money was obtained varied each time, but there were never more than a hundred, and no money ever came from Cirencester, Cheltenham, or parishes to their east. There were contributions from individuals, mainly supporters of parliament. Several accounts listed 'malignants' rents', and bishop's, dean and chapter's rents. A little came in from the excise.

The disbursements show the composition of the garrison of Gloucester. There were indeed two regiments, the Governor's Regiment and Lord Stamford's Regiment. Among the officers of the Governor's Regiment were four or five members of Gloucester City Council, including Captain Thomas Pury. These officers were listed by Dorney as belonging to the City Regiment commanded by Colonel Henry Stephens. There were odd references in the account to Colonel Henry Stephens and Colonel Thomas Stephens, and to the City Regiment as something distinct. The pay of the soldiers was recorded, company by company of each regiment, for certain weeks. The number of soldiers was occasionally stated, making it evident that the soldiers received 3s. a week, and the serjeants 6s., and so an estimate of the numbers of the garrison is possible. Under the date 25 April 1644, £134 13s. 0d. was paid to the Governor's Regiment, and £94 16s. 0d. to Lord Stamford's Regiment; this implies about 915 men in the former and about 565 in the latter, a total of about 1,480.

The account-book illustrates the events of the war and the siege of Gloucester. Blayney made payments to six miners for their service in the siege, for the bolt shot in the siege, for two men sent forth to his excellency, to two women whose husbands were slain in the siege, and for ten barrels of lime for mending the city wall. Nine months later he recorded about £900 paid to the officers and men of the two regiments as gratuities for their service in the siege.¹⁸ The problem of desertion was expressed succinctly in the marginal note on 22 December 1643 against payments to the canoneers: 'here doth begin their weekly pay, without which they would have been gone'.¹⁹ The garrison made arms and ammunition, and even cultivated a hemp garden to provide material for its match.

Another account (in PRO SP 28 154), undated, but evidently belonging to the autumn of 1644, since it mentioned the taking of Beachley and the expedition to Monmouth, showed that the soldiers' rate of pay had gone up to 4s. a week, the total number of the two regiments being about 1,530. More than a thousand papers, pasted into five volumes, supported the accounts (PRO SP 28 228). There was an order, signed by Massey, to pay for the great crossbow and for arrowheads, lending confirmation to the story of messages exchanged by shooting arrows.²⁰ Massey signed an order to Giles Hickes to gather the rents of papists and delinquents, or to seize the goods of, or apprehend, such as refused to pay.²¹ He signed a similar order, instructing officers to bring before him persons who were behind in their rates, or distrain their goods.²²

The truth was that Massey himself had to organise the getting-in of money to pay his soldiers. He cared for their needs as well. John Barrett, corporal, was in a party against Painswick, and left for dead and stripped naked; so much he stated in a petition to Massey, adding that he was now able to rise, but could not for want of clothes; Massey wrote at the bottom that he should be paid £1.²³ An entry in Blayney's account book showed that he was duly paid.²⁴

In the British Library several documents touch on Massey's work in Gloucestershire. A letter from Massey himself of 2 February 1642/43, the earliest to survive from the time of his governorship, is in the Fairfax Correspondence (BL Additional Manuscripts 18979). It was addressed to 'Colonel Fiens' (parliamentary governor of Bristol), to whom Massey said that he had no doubt of holding the city, but his business was to purge the country, or his provision would be shortened.²⁵ In the papers of Sir Edward Walker, Charles I's secretary at war, was a list of 104 inhabitants of Gloucester 'reputed to be loyall & dutifull Subjects unto his Mat^e' (BL Harley Manuscripts 6804).²⁶ This may well have influenced the king's decision to besiege Gloucester. Of the same import were letters received by Prince Rupert (BL Additional Manuscripts 18980–82). William Morton reported all in great fear in Gloucester, and many messages to intercede for mercy; if it were not for Massey, Singleton, Pury and Nelmes the city would be delivered up.²⁷ In this collection is a letter from Sir Edward Nicholas to the king, saying that Captain Prestland Mollineux, an ancient acquaintance of Massey, believed that Massey's affections were to serve his majesty, adding that Massey's father was a prisoner for the king in Cheshire.²⁸ Sir Baynham Throckmorton wrote that the men of Gloucester, both soldiers and townsmen, came away apace.²⁹ Sir William Vavasour, royalist commander in Gloucestershire after the siege, wrote several letters to Prince Rupert describing operations at Painswick and elsewhere. The Tanner Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library are extensively quoted in *Memorials of the English Civil War* by H. Cary (1842). There are some letters from Sir Thomas Fairfax about Massey after he had left Gloucester, and was commander in chief of the Western Association, complaining of the misconduct of his troops.

The State Papers Domestic have virtually nothing on the siege of Gloucester or Massey's first year as governor. They depict, in many documents, what amounted to a second relief of Gloucester in 1644. Gloucester was isolated, and only after several changes of plan were supplies of clothing, arms and money got through. Sir William Waller wrote a letter on 6 June 1644, complaining that he unexpectedly met with opposition in a worthy gentleman he looked on as his friend, Colonel Massey. There are about fifteen official letters from Massey to the Committee of Both Kingdoms. Autographs have not survived, but letters were copied into government letter books. All are printed almost *verbatim* in the *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*. Some letters announced Massey's successes: on 4 August 1644 he reported the victory at Redmarley – where countrymen fought with muskets and a good resolution – and Massey claimed 100 slain for the loss of only three. Many letters complained of his difficulties: that his officers left him, and his men ran away, because he could not pay them. Most of all he deplored the obstruction of the County Committee. He protested on 5 September 1644 at their raising soldiers' pay to 4s. a week, while arrears were due to officers. On 21 January 1644/45 he wrote that the Committee, at Thomas Pury's coming among them, intended to form a party with certain soldiers. The Committee favoured Colonel Thomas Stephens's Regiment; Thomas had succeeded Henry Stephens. Colonel Stephens in a rash enterprise got himself besieged at Rowden House near Chippenham; Massey remarked tartly on 12 February 1644/45 that 'independent officers' promised not assistance but destruction.

The Venetian representative's remark in the *State Papers Venetian* probably expressed a common royalist sentiment: the king lost at Gloucester through the obstinacy of the governor and inhabitants a place of no great consequence.³⁰ Several of his letters report how severely

Gloucester was blockaded after the siege was raised: not actually besieged, but cut off, and in dire straits.³¹

The *State Papers Ireland* throw light on the second part of Massey's career as an officer of parliament. He was appointed in 1647 to be lieutenant general of horse for the campaign projected in Ireland. A number of Massey's troopers offered to serve under him, and arrangements were made for transporting them. Engravings of Massey made at the time of his new appointment were published in both *Englands Worthies* by John Vicars (1647) and in *Englands Champions* by Josiah Ricroft (1647) (reprinted on the front cover of these *Transactions*, 1992). However political complications, in which Massey was at the centre, delayed this campaign for two years. The troubles of 1647 were occasioned partly by the demands of officers and soldiers for arrears of pay. A statement of Massey's own claim has been preserved among the Barwick Papers, mentioned below. He asked for pay simultaneously as a colonel and captain of foot and a colonel and captain of horse; he had been paid (in round figures) £7,303, £2,343 had been respited on the public faith, and £5,391 was still due.³²

Further letters of Massey, and letters to him, are preserved in private collections. He exchanged news of the war with Sir Samuel Luke, who in 1644–45 was governor of Newport Pagnell, and whose *Letter Books* have been published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission (1963). Massey wrote about the men who exasperated him. Thomas Pury had gone to London, and parliament might keep him, for Gloucester had little need of him.³³ Colonel Thomas Stephens had been acting as he fancied.³⁴ Massey reported his success on the banks of the Wye, when Sir John Wyntour escaped by swimming.³⁵

A life-long friend with whom Massey corresponded during the war was Edward Harley. Their letters are in the *Historical Manuscripts Commission Fourteenth Report*, Appendix II, Portland III. The same subjects appear. Colonel Stephens, as high sheriff, might do anything. Sir John Wyntour escaped by swimming.³⁶ Thomas Pury and Isaac Bromwich were causing chaos in their particular ways.³⁷ The letters of Lady Brilliana Harley, Edward's mother, were published in the *Camden Series* in 1854. She wrote to Edward on 11 June 1643 that she was exceeding beholden to Colonel Massey, who sent her an able soldier to regulate her men at Brampton Bryan; he was an honest man, who had been in the German wars.

Many other reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission yield information on Massey. The *Manuscripts of the House of Lords* are spread over a number of volumes. In the *Fifth Report*, Appendix, is a description by a soldier who marched to the relief of Gloucester;³⁸ in the *Seventh Report*, Appendix, is a petition by John Giffard who after the war was partner with Massey in the iron mills of Sir John Wyntour.³⁹ A letter among the manuscripts of George Alan Lowndes, noted in the *Seventh Report*, Appendix, shows that originally it was intended that some of Colonel (Oliver) Cromwell's company should march to the relief of Gloucester.⁴⁰ In the *Thirteenth Report*, Appendix I, Portland I, are letters addressed to William Lenthall, speaker of the House of Commons, and some of these were from Massey. Just before he left Gloucester he wrote to Lenthall, saying that he understood that a petition was to be presented against him by the Committee of Gloucester.⁴¹

Like many other officers, Massey was elected to the House of Commons at the end of the war. He was member for Wotton Bassett; when he first attended on 9 July 1646, the House, taking note of his great service, voted him thanks. Entries in the *Journals of the House of Commons* trace Massey's career, both as soldier and politician. In its gratitude for the defence of Gloucester the House resolved that Massey should be paid £1000, and the officers and soldiers receive a month's pay as a reward (15 September 1643). When Massey had been ordered to leave Gloucester, the House of Commons received a petition from the mayor, aldermen and inhabitants of Gloucester that Massey should continue as their governor; it was delivered by

Nathaniel Stephens, member for Gloucestershire. There were also two petitions from the Committee of Gloucester and Hereford against Massey, delivered by Edward Stephens, member for Tewkesbury, and cousin of Nathaniel. The House resolved to read none of them, and the ordinance was passed appointing Massey Commander-in-Chief of the Western Association (16 May 1645). Subsequently Massey's appointment as Lieutenant General of Horse for Ireland was recorded in the *Commons Journal*, although no ordinance was passed (2 April 1647).

In parliament Massey belonged to the presbyterian party. So too did Sir William Waller, and he and Massey were associated as tellers in some votes that showed their presbyterian sympathies. The crisis between presbyterians and independents came in 1647. The army marched on London in support of the independent party. It demanded the impeachment of eleven presbyterian members of parliament, including Massey and Waller. The sequence of events is best followed in the *Commons Journals*; not all of these allusions to Massey in the *Journals* appear under his name in the index. The army demanded the suspension of the eleven members (16 June). The Commons decided that there was nothing for which the House could suspend them (25 June). The eleven were given leave to follow their own occasions, or go abroad (20 July). Massey evidently stayed in London, for the House approved his appointment as Commander-in-Chief of the forces of London and Westminster (31 July). Then the *Journal* recorded ominously that the army was in town for the safe and free sitting of parliament (6 August). Massey must have left London about now, and he was subsequently named in a long list of members who were threatened with a fine for their absence (9 October). During the campaign against the Scots, which culminated in the battle of Preston, presumably because independent members were on active service, the presbyterians returned to the House of Commons. The accusations against the eleven were withdrawn (5 June 1648), and the vote disabling them as members was revoked (8 June). Massey appears to have resumed his seat, for he was twice named as a member of a committee (9 October, 9 November).

The quarrel between presbyterians and independents was accompanied by a war of pamphlets. Eleven are in the Gloucestershire Collection. *A Declaration of the Officers and Armies Illegal Injurious Proceedings and Practises against the XI Impeached Members . . .* (1647) (Austin 13231) presented the case of the eleven members; it contrasted Massey's valorous defence of Gloucester with the cowardly surrender of Bristol by Nathaniel Fiennes, an independent. *A Particular Charge or Impeachment in the Name of His Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax . . .* (1647) (Austin 13232) named Massey as one who had invited the Scots against the English parliament. When the Scots did invade England in 1648, a pamphlet, *A Message sent from the Kingdome of Scotland to Major General Massey now resident in Holland . . .* (1648) (Austin 13241) announced that the queen had invited Massey to serve with the Scots, but his answer was that he would never betray his country to aid a foreign nation against England.

The independents finally discomfited the presbyterians in Pride's purge. The *Commons Journals* recorded the unconstitutional events, but gave no names of members excluded. There is a list, naming Massey, in the *Old Parliamentary History* (second edition, 1763, volume XVIII, pages 467–71). He was one of the members who were not merely secluded, but also imprisoned; their names were given, and their treatment described, in a pamphlet *A Perfect List of forty eight Members of Parliament Seized on by the Army . . .* (1648) (Austin 13242). Most of these were detained no longer than two days; fifteen, among them Waller and Massey, were secured in St. James's Palace. Here Waller produced *A Declaration of the taking away of Sir William Waller . . .* (1648) (Austin 13243), denouncing the army's usurpation of power as greater than any by Charles I or any other king; Massey and the other prisoners signed it. *The Joynt Resolution and Declaration of the Parliament and Counsell of the Army for the taking away of Kings and Lords . . .*

With a further Charge . . . against the maine sticklers amongst the excluded Members (1648/49) (Austin 13244) called Massey and some others the main pillars of the Scottish interest, who endeavoured to bring the king in on his own terms without security to the kingdom. Massey escaped from St. James's Palace, and published *A Short Declaration by Colonel Edward Massie . . .* (1648/9) (Austin 13245), which set out his presbyterian political principles: the army were covenant breakers; the part of the House of Commons now sitting were under the power of the sword; and Massey had never intended evil against his majesty's royal person.

Massey's career during the Interregnum can be followed in the *Clarendon State Papers* (*State Papers collected by Edward, Earl of Clarendon*, 3 volumes, 1767, 1773 and 1786). These are the papers of Sir Edward Hyde, later Earl of Clarendon, the historian. Massey was portrayed in his new role, as a supporter of the King, in a letter which reported how, at a dinner party, he had pretended zeal to the murdered King, and led the drinking of the new King's health (7 September 1649; reprinted in *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis*, Appendix XXII). Hyde, who was in Madrid, wrote 'what honest heart was not scandalised to see Colonel Massie come to court as a convert, and at the same time his declarations published, and by himself presented to many, in justification of all that he had done during the rebellion, and professing that he was of the same opinions and resolutions still' (18 March 1649/50). Massey had no compunction this time about joining Charles II and the Scots in their invasion of England, which ended in defeat at Worcester. In the *Clarendon State Papers* is an account of the engagement at Upton upon Severn, in which Massey was wounded, when royalists in the church fired upon him. Hyde's next reference to Massey was more favourable; he wrote to Sir Edward Nicholas that 'he is a wonderful, vain, weak man, but very busy and undertaking, and really, I think, means well and faithfully to the king, and would serve him without limitations, which few of the rest will do' (20 February 1652/53).

In 1659 Hyde was engaged with royalists in England in intrigues which culminated in Booth's rebellion. Hyde warmly recommended Massey to John Mordaunt, who was co-ordinating the rising: 'I am infinitely glad to hear you are so well pleased with Massie . . .; when the time is ripe for action there be very few things will be more hopeful, and fill the hearts of the people better (considering the superstition our nation is naturally possessed with) than to hear that Gloucester is defended for the king by Massie, which would look like one of those revolutions which providence brings about when it will wonderfully restore a Prince and People to happiness' (9 May; quoted in *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis*, page cxxx). Mordaunt was cool towards Massey, and favoured John Howe as leader in Gloucestershire. However when the rising took place and was a failure, he acknowledged to the king, 'nobody rose according to honour given and taken, but Massie, Charles Littleton and I . . .' (September). Other documents tell the story of Massey's capture and escape on this occasion. He got away to the continent, but soon returned to England, and Charles II wrote to him, 'I am well content that you venture yourself thither once again . . .; proceed for putting that county [Gloucestershire] into a posture, and for seising upon the city of Gloucester, whereof we have made you our governor by our commission; and we doubt not but that the commissioners appointed by us will make choice of you to be commander in chief in that county' (14 January 1659/60; reprinted in *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis*, Appendix XXII). Even at this late stage, shortly before the restoration, Charles II's thoughts were of an armed rising.

The *Calendar of Clarendon State Papers* (5 volumes, 1872-1970) cites documents either not selected by or not available to the eighteenth-century editors. It includes Massey's first letter to Charles, Prince of Wales: he urged him to throw himself wholly on the Scots, and signed himself 'a fellow sufferer for your royal father'. The letter was dated 1 January 1648/49, and implies that Massey had escaped from St. James's Palace. In 1659 Charles II wrote personally to

Massey, and in guarded language said that he was glad that Massey was going to visit our friends in England (21 February/3 March 1658/59). The *Calendar* includes examinations taken after the failure of the rising, which show how Massey intended a meeting at Symond's Hall (near Wotton-under-Edge), and then a rendezvous on Lansdown, e.g. examinations of Edward Cornelius on 3 August, and John Perry on 4 August 1659. A letter to Hyde from a correspondent at Middleburg on 16/26 September gave the news that Massey had arrived with the convoy the previous day, and gone to Rotterdam. Many letters illustrate Massey's return to England in 1660. Even after the secluded members had been restored to parliament, Massey was sceptical about the chance of a peaceful restoration of the King: he wrote to Hyde that gentlemen's hopes prevented them from arming, but those at Westminster would do little good (7 March 1659/60). The election of Massey to the Convention Parliament as member for Gloucester, and the riot in the city which accompanied it, can be followed in other documents. The *Calendar* has letters indicating that, because of the disturbances, Massey was temporarily imprisoned on the orders of General Monck.

Some letters which passed between Sir Edward Hyde and John Mordaunt are neither reproduced in the *Clarendon State Papers*, nor fully described in the *Calendar of Clarendon State Papers*. They have been calendared in the *Letter Book of John Mordaunt* (Camden Series, 1945), and some of them were printed in full in the *Tenth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, Appendix VI, Manuscripts of Lord Braye. Hyde recommended Massey to Mordaunt as a 'briske man in any attempt'; and wrote, 'wee know he is not without infirmities and weakness, but his courage and integrity is unquestionable and his reputation great'.⁴²

When he wrote *The History of the Rebellion . . .*, Clarendon did not disguise the distaste he felt at the time when Massey first joined the king's party: 'according to the natural modesty of that sect [the presbyterians] [he] presented himself to the Prince with as much confidence, and as a sufferer for the King his father, as if he had defended Colchester'.⁴³ His account of Massey's action at Upton upon Severn differs from the narrative among his papers: he wrote that Massey sought to make an inroad into the country and possess a house of small importance.⁴⁴ He was wounded, and took refuge with the countess of Stamford, the wife of his former commander; she had charity to cure his wounds but not courage to secure his person. She handed him over to parliament, which put him in the Tower. After a year he escaped, and Clarendon attributed his success to the help of the presbyterian interest.⁴⁵ Clarendon gave only three sentences to Massey's part in the rising of 1659. Clarendon's own papers show how important was Massey's role. He implied that the betrayal of the plot by Sir Richard Willis (who was not named) was the cause of Massey's arrest.⁴⁶ That seems not so: the *State Papers Domestic*, as mentioned below, show that the government had intelligence of what was afoot well before the date of the rising.

The *Thurloe State Papers* (7 volumes, 1742) were those of John Thurloe, who was secretary of the Council of State during the Interregnum. They include a letter of 21 February 1654/55, alleging that Massey had been secretly in England, with his beard shaved, but was recognised by a barber who had once served under him as a trooper. This seems to be the only evidence that Massey may have been implicated in the conspiracy leading to Penruddock's rising. (This letter is printed in *Bibliotheca Gloucestersis*, appendix XXII.) Two letters from Massey to Hyde found their way into this collection. On 16 March 1659/60 he wrote of reports that rumpers were bidding great sums of money in borough towns to be elected into the next parliament; and on the 23rd that he resolved to go to Gloucester to get himself, if possible, into parliament. A letter from Thurloe on 6 April 1660 described how the soldiers in Gloucester demonstrated against Massey, and said that it was on the orders of the general (Monck) that they seized him.

Letters from Massey to Sir Edward Nicholas, the long serving secretary of state to Charles I and Charles II, and printed in the *Nicholas Papers* (Camden Series, 4 volumes, 1886, 1891, 1897

and 1920), reveal Massey's enduring presbyterian principles. At first Nicholas doubted the sincerity of Massey's attachment to the king's cause: he wrote to Hyde on 20/30 January 1652/53 that Massey was absolutely a creature of the rebels, and suffered by them to escape that he might have better credit to do them service in foreign parts: 'but you will never give over confiding in presbyterians'. Massey's letters to Nicholas in 1659 expressed his disgust with the caution of the Sealed Knot: if the great men of the Sealed Knot had the resolution to act, he was ready (22 April); he wished the councillors of the Sealed Knot had never been heard of (23 June). Although Massey wrote to Nicholas that 'the presbiter party' were naught (4 April), he welcomed the recall of what he called 'the Good Long Parliament' (3/13 May). In the same letter he made the remarkable suggestion that the exiled Charles II should call a general fast and prayer by the whole court. Even more remarkable is Nicholas's reply, indicating that there was a fast at court, though discreetly and in private (3/13 June).

Massey's activities as a conspirator for Charles II were halted by his capture. A letter to Nicholas described how he was by treachery surprised with his periwig and his paint (8/18 August 1659). The most circumstantial narrative of Massey's capture and subsequent escape was in a newsletter reprinted among the *Clarke Papers* (Camden Series, volume IV, 1901). Massey and his man, with his fireworks and engines of war and their warhorses, were taken; but there fell a great storm of rain with gross thick darkness, and Massey escaped.⁴⁷

The government revived the Committee for Compounding, and its county committees, to track down those implicated in the rebellion of 1659. The committee's findings are in the Public Record Office, SP 23, and summarised in the *Calendar of the Committee for Compounding*. Information given to the Committee of Gloucestershire told of preparations at Stroud and places near by. Testimony was given, based on hearsay, that Massey was hiding in Mr. Warner's house at Pakenell (now Farmhill House, Paganhill, Stroud), where he wrote a letter in onion juice, and sent it hidden in a tobacco pipe to the keeper of Gloucester Castle.⁴⁸ This story does not seem likely: the statement was made on 22 September; a report was sent to Hyde on 26 September that Massey had arrived in Holland.

Several pamphlets give information of Massey during the Interregnum and at the Restoration. Most are in the Gloucestershire Collection. In *The Declaration and Speech of Colonel Massey concerning the Inthroning of the King of Scots . . .* (1650) (Austin 13247) Massey declared that he would prosecute those that had a hand or vote in the late King's death, would never desert the young King, and would spend his blood for the restoration of his majesty and religion according to the covenant. *A New Hue and Cry after Major General Massey* (1652) (Thomason Tracts E 674 (26)) claimed to know how Massey escaped from the Tower by a chimney. In 1659 *A Letter from Major General Massey . . .* (Austin 13248) complained that one oppression ushered in another, although it was signed by William, not Edward Massey; this might be a printer's mistake, but Austin thought that the tract could be a forgery. *A Letter from an eminent Person in Gloucester . . .* in 1660 (Austin 13249) described the tumult preceding Massey's election as member of parliament for Gloucester; it suggested that the soldiers' opposition to Massey was spontaneous, springing from their feeling that he had betrayed their cause; nevertheless the citizens rose willingly in his support.

Some letters in collections published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission are important for understanding Massey's political position. In the *Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Bath II*, Harley Papers, is a letter from the Marquess of Ormonde to Massey in 1653, in which he wrote, 'you cannot bee more confident in the justice of your first engagement than I am in mine'.⁴⁹ There are some letters from Massey to Ormonde in the *Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde*, New Series, volume I. In the *Fourteenth Report*, Appendix VII, Ormonde I, Captain Sir Edward Massie was listed among Ormonde's officers in 1662. A

letter of 29 May 1660 in the *Fifth Report*, Appendix, Manuscripts of the Duke of Sutherland, gave the news that Charles II had landed at Dover; he went that night to Canterbury, where knights were made, one of them being Massey.⁵⁰ In the *Report on Various Collections I, County of Wiltshire*, is a petition in 1662 from Captain Joseph Smyth, who had been imprisoned by Cromwell, being accused of conveying Massey out of St. James's.⁵¹

The clergyman John Barwick was a royalist conspirator during the Interregnum, and was rewarded at the Restoration with the deanery of St. Paul's. His niece and heiress married Sir Ralph Dutton of Sherborne, and copies of his papers are among the Sherborne Muniments in the care of the Gloucestershire Record Office (D 678), of which there is a published *Calendar*. Several papers relate to Massey, including the claim for arrears already mentioned. There are some letters written to Massey when he was an exile on the continent. A long letter from Sir Jerome Alexander, a member of the committee for compounding, described how in 1647, on the night the army entered London, Alexander got shipping for Dunkirk, and Massey was not long after. Most interesting is *Major General Massey his Case in Brief*, apparently written in 1660: it related how in 1644 he and all his officers and soldiers took the solemn league and covenant, and ended with a declaration that he had always endeavoured the ends of the covenant in the restoration of the King and parliament, which God had raised up General Monck to do.

References to Massey in the *State Papers Domestic* during the Interregnum relate mainly to his capture and escape after the battle of Worcester, and to his activities in 1659; the Council of State ordered his seizure on 23 May, well before the rising of 1 August. After the Restoration the *State Papers Domestic* show Massey continuing his military career: in 1666 during the Dutch war he was commissioner for prizes at Dover, where an inhabitant called him 'an honest, active soldier, and much loved by the people'.⁵²

Contemporary authors who mentioned Massey included his friend Sir William Waller, who during a long imprisonment had leisure to write his *Vindication*; in it he related how he and Massey were sent by parliament to the army at Saffron Walden in 1647. He was told that some officers looked upon Massey as a profane man, unfit to command where all the congregation was holy; in fact, wrote Waller, he was a gentleman of fair and unblameable conversation; his fault was that he was not of their faction.⁵³ The quarrel between presbyterians and independents was beginning. John Aubrey in *Brief Lives*, besides some casual references to Massey, has a story in his Life of General Monck. Just before the Restoration Aubrey shared a bed in London with Thomas Mariett of Warwickshire, who every night told him how Massey and he were tampering with Monck, but could not find in him any inclination to their purpose, which was to bring in the King; Monck no more intended the Restoration than his horse did. Anthony à Wood in *Athenae Oxonienses*, volume III, wrote scornfully of John Corbet as 'the dinner chaplain' of Massey, who preached seditiously and vilified the king.⁵⁴ John Rushworth's *Historical Collections* were published at intervals between 1659 and 1701; he served as secretary to the Council of the new model army; his account of Massey's exploits came not from first-hand knowledge, but was a précis of the narrative of John Corbet.⁵⁵ Bulstrode Whitelocke's *Memorials of the English Affairs* was published in 1682. His information on Massey was derived from newsletters and pamphlets. Describing events in Scotland in 1651, he noted letters announcing that Massey had found out new inventions of fireworks and engines of war.⁵⁶ It is interesting that Massey was reported to have had with him fireworks and engines of war, when he was captured in 1659.

Eight portraits of Massey, five oil-paintings and three prints, are discussed by Sir Francis Hyett in these *Transactions*, volume xliii (1921).

The reversal of fortune which the Restoration brought to Massey is clear from the *Journals of the House of Commons*. On 16 May 1660 he was ordered to be paid £944 6s. 2d., and on 4 June a

further £1,000; the first sum had been voted to him in 1646, the second in 1647, and both were for his services as Commander-in-Chief of the army of the Western Association of parliament against Charles I. On 19 December he was awarded a further £3,000 'in consideration of his services', presumably in assisting the Restoration. The *Journals* noted Massey's share in debates from time to time. With his presbyterian past it is not surprising that he was teller for the no vote against the Corporation Act in 1661. Perhaps this was the reason why Clarendon, the Lord Chancellor, found him employment in Ireland. In a debate of 1673 Massey complained that, as a result of the previous year's Declaration of Indulgence, papists had gained positions of trust in Ireland, and people were surprised if the mass was interrupted.

The *State Papers Ireland* illustrate the final scene of Massey's life and work. In a list of 1660 Sir Edward Massey was named as commanding a foot company in the army of Ireland; but Charles II promised that, if any colonel refused to sign a loyal address to the King, that colonel's regiment should be conferred upon Massey. In 1662 Massey was appointed by the King a member of the Privy Council of Ireland.⁵⁷ As such, he was one of those who welcomed Lord Berkeley, the incoming Lord Lieutenant, at Ringsend in 1670. The new Lord Lieutenant set up a Council of Trade for Ireland, on which Massey served alongside the celebrated political economist Sir William Petty. In 1660 Charles II granted Massey the manor of Leix (Abbeyleix, in what was then Queen's County).⁵⁸ At first Massey received a lease for 51 years at a rent of £50 a year; following his petition to the king that Captain Penyfether 'a notorious sectary', had stripped the land of its timber, the lease was lengthened to 99 years and the rent lowered to £12 a year.⁵⁹ The *Domestic and Irish State Papers* show that Massey regularly travelled between England and Ireland, evidently dividing his time between parliament at Westminster and his duties in Ireland.

The 'Records of the Patent Rolls of Ireland' is a manuscript calendar in the National Archives of Ireland at Dublin; it was compiled by John Lodge, best known as author of *The Peerage of Ireland*, who died in 1774. It preserves information about Massey's dealings in Irish land. In 1663 he leased the manor of Leix for 41 years to Nathaniel Markes of Queen's County for £500 in the first year, and £600 a year in subsequent years, stipulating that the rent should be paid at the Middle Temple in London.⁶⁰ Massey, enjoying the gratitude of the king, appears to have received the manor at a favourable rent; the vastly greater rent which was paid to him perhaps indicates the competing demands for Irish land by courtiers, catholics innocent of rebellion, and Cromwellian settlers. In 1670 Massey purchased land in Upper Ossory from Sir John Temple, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, and immediately sold it to Thomas Starkey of Abbeyleix. In a statement of the settlement in 1686 of Massey's affairs, Starkey was described as his surviving executor. Among his duties were the payment of a legacy of £100 a year to Massey's nephew, Sir Edward Massey of Twickenham, and the payment of £10 a year to the recently founded Blue Coat Hospital in Dublin.⁶¹

Massey's will was destroyed when the Public Record Office of Ireland was burned down in 1922. A collection in the National Archives at Dublin of abstracts of wills proved in the prerogative court of Armagh records that Massey's will was proved on 30 May 1674, and that he left a brother Bernard and this nephew Edward.

The Public Record Office of Northern Ireland has an exemplification, dated December 1674, of the grant of the manor of Abbeyleix to Sir E. Massey.

It is pleasant to observe that Massey's friendship with Edward Harley endured. It is Edward Harley who gives us a final glimpse of Massey. In the *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fourteenth Report*, Appendix II, Portland III, a letter of 1673 related how Harley found good company in the house of Mrs. Bolton in King Street (Westminster), which included Sir Edward Massey. Memoranda of Sir Edward Harley, printed as an appendix to *The Letters of Lady Brilliana Harley*, noted for 1674 'many dear friends taken away'. One of them was Sir Edward Massey.

Notes & References

1. J. Corbet, 'Military Government', in *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis* (1825), 15.
2. *Ibid.*, 110.
3. *Mercurius Aulicus*, 30 August 1644.
4. *Mercurius Britannicus* 12–19 September 1643.
5. Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion* (edited by W. Dunn Macray 1888, reprinted 1958, 1969), 7, 158.
6. *Ibid.*, 176, footnote.
7. *Ibid.*, 201.
8. *Ibid.*, 205.
9. *Ibid.*, 8, 63.
10. *Ibid.*, 10, 94.
11. *Ibid.*, 105.
12. *Ibid.*, 11, 208.
13. *Glos. R.O. GBR F 4/5*, ff. 240v, 271.
14. *Glos. R.O. GBR F 4/5*, ff. 240v, 271, 309.
15. *Glos. R.O. GBR F 4/5*, f. 309. Mr. J.F. Rhodes, Director of Gloucester City Museum & Art Gallery, kindly contributes the following note on the painting (above, Fig. 1).
 The portrait of Sir Edward now at the City Museum & Art Gallery measures 360 × 250 mm and is executed in oils on canvas mounted on a wood panel. It was given to the City Council by W.P. Price of Tibberton Court between 1852 and 1873 and, being in 17th-century style, may possibly be the portrait of Sir Edward which was originally given to the City by a Captain Seager in 1645. One hypothesis is that Thomas Pury Junior, son of the Mayor of Gloucester for 1650, removed it to Tibberton when living there (Sir Francis Hyett, 'Notes on portraits of Sir Edward Massey', *TBGAS* **xliii** (1921), 242–6, where it is described incorrectly on p. 242 and correctly on p. 245; Malcolm J. Watkins, *Gloucester: the City saved by God* (Gloucester Exhibition Cat., 1993), 27).
16. *Glos. R.O. GBR B 3/2*, p. 279.
17. *Glos. R.O. GBR B 3/2*, p. 327.
18. PRO SP 28 129/5, 78–79, 14 May 1644.
19. PRO SP 28 129/5, 29, 22 November 1643.
20. PRO SP 28 228, no. 325.
21. PRO SP 28 228, no. 547.
22. PRO SP 28 228, no. 703.
23. PRO SP 28 228, no. 361.
24. PRO SP 28 129/5, 59, 22 February 1644/45.
25. BL Add. MS 18979, f. 133.
26. BL Harl. MS 6804, no. 69.
27. BL Add. MS 18980, f. 100.
28. BL Add. MS 18980, f. 104.
29. BL Add. MS 18980, f. 106.
30. *Cal. SP Venetian*, 27, no. 16, 11 September 1643.
31. *Ibid.*, no. 68, 5 February 1643/44.
32. *Glos. R.O. D 678; Calendar of the Muniments at Sherborne House* (1900), 124.
33. H.G. Tibbutt (ed.), *The Letter Books of Sir Samuel Luke* (1963), no. 917.
34. *Ibid.*, no. 1081.
35. *Ibid.*, no. 1106.
36. *Hist. Mss. Comm. Fourteenth Report*, Appendix II, Portland II, 136.
37. *Ibid.*, 137.
38. *Hist. Mss. Comm. Fifth Report*, Appendix, 104.
39. *Hist. Mss. Comm. Seventh Report*, Appendix, 14.
40. *Ibid.*, 560.
41. *Hist. Mss. Comm. Thirteenth Report*, Appendix I, 223.

42. *Hist. Mss. Comm. Tenth Report*, Appendix VI, 196, 199.
43. Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, 11, 208.
44. *Ibid.*, 13, 73.
45. *Ibid.*, 13, 136, 137.
46. *Ibid.*, 16, 31, 37.
47. *Clarke Papers* (Camden Series, 1901), 4, 34–37.
48. *Cal. Committee for Compounding*, 748–49.
49. *Hist. Mss. Comm., Marquess of Bath* 2, 108–9.
50. *Hist. Mss. Comm., Fifth Report*, Appendix, 199.
51. *Hist. Mss. Comm., Various Collections* 1, 143.
52. *Cal. SP Domestic*, Charles II, 5, 225.
53. *The Vindication of Sir William Waller, written by himself* (1793), 84.
54. John Rushworth, *Historical Collections* (1721 ed.), esp. 2, 1, 286–95, 737–44.
55. Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (1817 ed.), 3, 1264.
56. Bulstrode Whitelocke, *Memorials of the English Affairs* (1732 ed.), 494.
57. *Cal. SP Ireland*, Charles II, 1, 392.
58. *Ibid.*, 1, 72.
59. *Ibid.*, 2, 32.
60. 'Records of the Patent Rolls of Ireland', 7, 114–15.
61. *Ibid.*, 8, 209–10.

Farmhill, Stroud
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