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978-1-107-53644-9 - The Dairy of John Milward, Es2: Member of Parliament for  
Derbyshire: September, 1666 to May, 1668

Edited by Caroline Robbins

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THE *DIARY* OF  
JOHN MILWARD

SEPTEMBER 17<sup>TH</sup>, 1666

TO

MAY 8<sup>TH</sup>, 1668

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The *D I A R Y* of  
JOHN MILWARD, *ESQ*

Member of Parliament for  
*Derbyshire*

SEPTEMBER, 1666  
TO  
MAY, 1668

Edited with some Notes

AND

An Introduction on his *Life*

BY

CAROLINE ROBBINS

CAMBRIDGE  
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
1938

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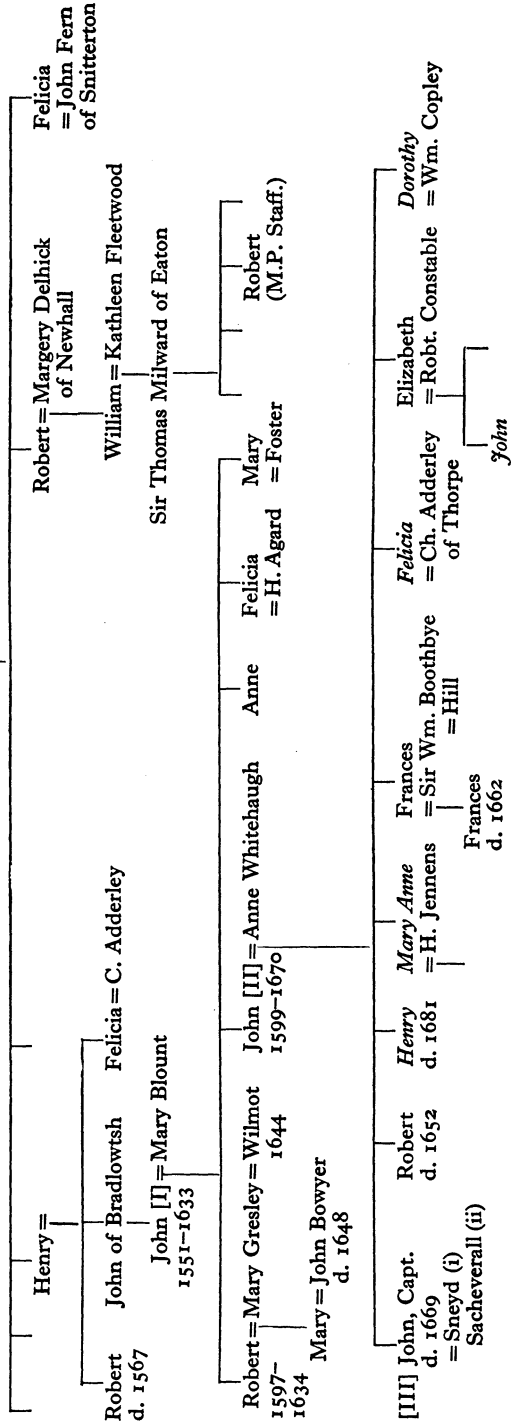
# THE MILWARDS OF DERBYSHIRE

[Add. MSS., 6675 and 397 verso]

P.C.C. 1670, John Milward's Will

William = Alice Kniveton

Robert of Eaton = Anne Palmer of Broughton



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## I N T R O D U C T I O N

I owe my first introduction to the Milward Diary to Mr E. S. de Beer. Had he undertaken the present edition all historians would have been grateful. As it is, however, he has no responsibility in the matter beyond his rather rash suggestion to me many years ago.

Miss Nancy Divine, of Hull, has helped me throughout in the transcription of the manuscript and in many vexatious and tiring tasks connected with the work. I owe her very much more than I can ever properly acknowledge.

My original intention in editing the Diary was to present it as nearly as possible in the form in which it has been preserved till now. The spelling, though full of inconsistencies, contains no difficulties, and the period is not without precedents for printed abbreviated forms. Such a transcript makes available for the reader the exact intentions of the author so far as we know them. On the advice of Mr Notestein, however, I abandoned this plan and myself decided that if I were to alter the manuscript forms at all I might as well attempt translation into modern nomenclature; and indeed, if anything at all is to be altered there seems to me little argument for retaining part of the original spelling. It is by no means easy to decide when Milward is abbreviating and when he is simply spelling eccentrically, and this I imagine to be true throughout the century. Here, then, I have attempted to impose consistency upon him, and have only preserved in the Index and Notes such variations as seem interesting. I thus hope to avoid offending those who are annoyed by any deviation from modern forms, and to placate those who like myself are interested in seventeenth-century pronunciation and spelling.

Post-Restoration English literature is as rich in domestic diaries as any period of our history. In Parliamentary diaries, however, it cannot compete with the years 1621–60. An interesting but at present inaccessible diary exists amongst the

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Salway MSS. and probably covers the Convention Parliament of 1660. This was used by the editors of the *Old Parliamentary History*, and greatly enriches their last volumes. A few pages from the pen of Sir Edward Dering survive, a few scattered speeches by Holland, Temple and others may be discovered to throw light on the early years of the Cavalier Parliament, but until Milward started his account in 1666 there seems to have been a dearth of members willing to take notes. Before Milward's death his friend Anchitel Grey had started his magnificent collection which carries us through 1667 to 1699. It is possible that modern research will in time uncover further material for the neglected 'sixties. I think that Osbourne kept fuller notes of Parliamentary proceedings than any I have yet seen; I am sure that Robert Stockdale, of Knaresborough, took careful notes which were occasionally available for his friends' information. Should these ever be discovered they may prove immensely valuable. It is, however, difficult to believe that the scarcity of diaries now known to us to have survived is due altogether to faulty research or to wholesale destruction. It seems entirely likely that few members were bothering to keep careful records. They hoped the crisis was over and that times would prove more peaceful and less stirring. In addition, the increasingly good news services of journalists like Muddiman made knowledge of Parliamentary events less the exclusive preserve of members of either House.

I have not, then, been able to surround Milward with much complementary material. I have tried to correct his dates and notice his additions to or omissions from the *Journals* of the House. In one or two cases I have noted manuscript fragments which explain or expand the text. I have attempted to identify the people mentioned and to give in the case of members at least an indication of their party and their geographical alignment as an aid to the understanding of their recorded behaviour in debate. Sometimes a knowledge of a man's marriage or friendships will supply a key to the briefest speech, and besides throws a new light on the diarist himself. His selections are significant. Through them may be seen, less darkly than usual, Parliament and its interest to a seventeenth-century country gentleman.



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The Diary, being a unique survival, illumines parties and politics during the years 1666–8. It records many debates on supply in 1666 which lead to the famous Proviso to the Poll Bill of that year. The Irish controversy and the struggle over the Act to exclude cattle is revealed here in its domestic as well as its imperial or political environment. The Diary adds perhaps little to our knowledge of Clarendon and his sins, but much to that of the personalities of those attacking or excusing him, in the debates of October and November 1667. Many manuscript accounts of the Skinner controversy exist, but even to these the Milward Diary forms a useful supplement, and contains hitherto unrecorded utterances.

Milward cannot be compared in interest, for the general reader at least, with Pepys or Reresby. He mentions few London scandals, and his character sketches consist for the most part of brief comments on speakers who spoke well, “impertinently” or not at all to the point. On the other hand he records, more carefully perhaps than any one else, the minutiae of Parliamentary business. Milward was new to Parliament, though not to public life. He had the habit of careful observation, and his Letter Book, also preserved in the British Museum, shows his interest in the details of administration. He records with a most impartial interest the greater and lesser controversies, debates on the Cattle Act, bills for the sale of land and sermons preached by command. Even at the height of the excitement about Clarendon, when Grey (or his eighteenth-century editors) omits practically all other business, Milward gives almost as much space to daily affairs—the dispute about the Forest of Dean, the woodmongers’ and private bills—as he does to the more spectacular debates. A mass of information about London may be gleaned from his Diary, particularly during the rebuilding in 1666–7, but also during the trouble over coal prices in the following year. This kind of material could be illustrated indefinitely, but is best judged by a careful study of the Diary itself. It is this which reveals its chief charm and its real significance to the historian of the period. There must have been a hundred Milwards in Parliament, gentry trained in country business, but with many connections in London, whose interests

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and whose judgments were formed much as Milward's were. To this reader, at any rate, none could seem more kindly nor more sensible, more upright or more truly representative of those Parliamentary standards we admire. Milward may serve as an admirable reminder of the solidarity of English institutions in a period when their imperfections so often attract attention.

I do not think that Milward kept his Diary, as Marvell quite probably kept notes, for the purposes of party propaganda. He may have kept it for the information of the Cavendish family, whose heir, a young member of the Lower House in Milward's day, was to become the Duke of Devonshire of the post-revolution period. Had he lived, an increasing party bias might have become apparent. This bias is noticeable in nearly all surviving records of the crises of the 'seventies and 'eighties, and it is not without significance that the great debates of the last quarter of the seventeenth century are the work of Anchtel Grey, Milward's friend and fellow countryman. Milward consulted Grey on one occasion, afterwards comparing his information with that of Sir Thomas Osbourne. There is no evidence, however, that they did more than help each other verbally. Grey most certainly did not use Milward's record for 1667–8. Milward took trouble over his information, occasionally noting its source if other than his own hearing. Whilst there is some evidence that he wrote the Diary from day to day, there is also evidence of later revision which suggests the interest he took in it and in its exact information about debates he had heard. Whether he wrote for his family, his constituents or his patron, the Earl of Devonshire, he certainly also wrote for his own satisfaction and pleasure.

The manuscript of the Diary in the British Museum is, so far as I know, unique. It is obviously a copy from notes, made by more than one person, but I suspect all under the supervision of Milward himself. Some of the corrections are almost certainly in his handwriting. On the whole the Diary seems accurate and reliable. Occasionally a marginal date is misplaced or omitted. Names of people strange to Milward have very curious spellings. Much of the matter cannot be checked because no other record of the speeches summarised exists. On those occasions where

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Milward can be checked he seems more trustworthy than Grey. He seldom notices a brilliant phrase in a speech, but often gives valuable insight into the order of a debate or the day's events. He works methodically through the business where the writer in Appendix II, for example, contents himself with a rather more orderly summary. The Diary occupies one hundred and ninety-four manuscript pages in the bound volume in the British Museum. This bears the arms of Sir William Boothbye, whose library is known to have survived until the last century. It was bought by the Museum from Thomas Simmons, of Leamington, and by him, I suspect, from the Boothbye library, but this cannot now be ascertained. But the family of Milward and Boothbye had more than one connection in Warwickshire, and there is no reason why a local antiquary should not have heard of the volume and made it his business to acquire it.

Three John Milwards at least lived in the hundred of Wirksworth in seventeenth-century Derbyshire. The eldest owned land in Thorpe, Bradley Ash, Darley and other villages, amongst them Snitterton, where his son, the second John Milward and author of this Diary, was to live. This land was also connected with the Kniveton, related to the Milwards of Eaton Dovedale, with the Sacheveralls, afterwards related to the youngest John Milward, and with the Cokaynes. Amongst the greater neighbours were the Manners, the Kendalls and the Cavendishes; amongst the lesser but still prosperous gentry were the Fitzherberts and the Boothbys of Ashbourne. No county in England has a more complicated group of relationships within its borders, and nowhere, it seems, could more people claim cousins than in Derbyshire at this time.

The eldest John Milward was Sheriff of the county in 1620, and is commemorated at Thorpe by a monument which says that his wife was Mary Blount, and that he had two sons and two daughters. Mary, who died in 1651, is also commemorated in a monument in the chancel of Coleshill Hall, in Derbyshire, where she had lived during her widowhood with Lady Offaly. This testimony of stone and brass is confirmed by his will, proved on 30 May 1633, in which all his property was left as a trust for the education and upbringing of his children. After

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her death this was to go first to Robert and his heirs, failing which it was then to go to John.

Robert is supposed to have been a brave soldier and to have fought in Spain. He may also have been a member of one of the Inns of Court like his cousin and namesake, member for Stafford in the Cavalier Parliament. He died shortly after his father, and was survived by his widow. John, the author of this Diary, was born on St Simon's and St Jude's Day in 1599, married Anne Whitehaugh, and by her had many children.

John, the eldest child of the diarist, was the third of the Milwards mentioned above. He was educated at Repton and at Cambridge, and was admitted to Gray's Inn on 12 April 1651. He married first Frances Sneyd, of Staffordshire, and then Joyce, daughter of Henry Sacheverall of Morley, who erected a tablet to him at Darley, where he died in October 1669. This memorial still stands.

His brother Henry was born on 30 January 1649, and perhaps brightened this saddest of days for his Cavalier father. He went to Trinity College, Oxford, and to Lincoln's Inn in 1670, where he is entered as the son and heir of John Milward of Snitterton. He was his father's chief heir and the executor of his will, proved on 19 December in that same year. He became a magistrate and later Sheriff of his county. He died without issue, and was commemorated in bad verse by Leonard Wheatscroft, landlord of the "Hand and Shears" in Darley, who also lamented the death of his father before him. Wheatscroft apparently admired the family as good hunters and good neighbours. The profession of the elegist does not belie the tradition that Henry's death was the result of a drinking bout with Thomas, son of Nicholas Bowden, a lawyer.

A third brother, Robert, died in 1652 at the age of seventeen.

Of the daughters five may be traced. Mary Anne married Humphrey Jennens, of High Street, Birmingham, on 16 September 1657. Jennens lived in London during the months John Milward attended Parliament, and the Diary refers to him and to the illness in March 1667/8, of a daughter Anne. On the death of her father Anne inherited £2000. Jennens's son Charles

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is said to have helped Handel with the *Messiah*, and was Rector of Darley, where his father was buried.

Felicia married Charles Adderley and brought a moiety of Thorpe and Snitterton to him when the estate was divided.

Frances, born on 9 February 1634, married when she was eighteen Sir William Boothbye, and died leaving one daughter in September 1654. This daughter died in 1662. Sir William was the son and heir of a knight who suffered greatly during the Civil Wars and, perhaps because of this, as well as because of his relationship, seems to have been closely connected with his father-in-law. He was made deputy-lieutenant at Milward's express request in 1661, served as Sheriff of the county in 1662 and sat with Milward and others to hear the examination of Calton in 1664-5. Boothbye married a second wife, Mary Hill, and was buried beside her in the family chapel at Ashbourne. This monument still stands, although Ashbourne Hall where the Boothbys lived so long is now destroyed and the land used as a building estate.

Milward mentions two other daughters in his will, one of whom had left an orphaned son without much provision for his upbringing. To him the diarist left some money, though he makes no mention of his sister. Little else is known about these daughters and their families. Both grandchildren died without issue before the end of the century.

The diarist himself, the second John Milward, had a long and active career. About this, in spite of some confusions arising from the existence not only of his father and his son, but also of a fourth John Milward contemporary with himself, it is possible to disentangle some reliable information. Venn's note in the *Alumnae Cantabrigienses* is almost certainly the result of the confusion between the father, a colonel during the Civil Wars, and the son, a captain of militia in the 'sixties. I do not think the diarist can be identified in the lists of Oxford and Cambridge. He does appear unmistakably as Sheriff of Derbyshire in 1635, and correspondence amongst the State Papers of that year shows him about his duties. In this and in succeeding years payments of fifteen shillings were made to him as Captain of Foot in the muster of the shire. In 1641 his name appears with those of

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many gentry of the county in a petition to the King concerning the dangers of the time. When the war broke out Milward bore arms for the King and was one of the six colonels who defended the losing cause in Derbyshire. Glover names five of them and gives the territory they were expected to defend: Milward at Bakewell, which is just north of Darley and Snitterton; Eyre, afterwards his fellow-deputy, at Chatsworth and the Peak; Fitzherbert at South Wingfield and Tissington; Frechville (Milward's predecessor as member for Derbyshire in the time of Charles II) in his own house and Scarsdale; and Harpur at Burton Bridge. Attempts to hold back Sir John Gell's troops were bravely made, especially during February 1644 by the Bakewell and Ashbourne groups, and were almost uniformly failures. After Tissington was taken the Royalists scattered to Chatsworth, Wingfield Manor and other houses.

In the account of Milward's case dated November 1645 in the records of the Committee for Compounding, he is said to have ceased fighting in July 1644. His fine of one thousand pounds was no greater because of his restraint of the soldiers from plundering the district during the wars. Pardon was granted him in December 1645. His relation, Sir Thomas Milward of Eaton, father of "Cousin Robert", compounded in August 1646 at the age of seventy-four, and was fined three hundred and fifty pounds. Many other friends suffered too. In a manuscript series of brief lives of Derbyshire sheriffs in the British Museum Milward's war record compares very favourably, in the biographer's eyes at least, with that of Gell. Mrs Hutchinson had no worse an opinion of that famous Parliamentary soldier. Milward and he had had dealings before, when Milward, as his successor in the Sheriff's office, had to hand over some moneys to him; they fought against each other during the war, met probably when Milward was fined, as Gell was one of the committee for Derbyshire, had some financial dealings in 1648, which are not clear, and may have been associated in the matter of a lead mine in Wirksworth in 1651.

Milward's son-in-law, Jennens, is said to have bought iron-works from a rival of the Sitwells. The diarist was amongst those petitioning for a "loyal ironmonger" at the Restoration, and

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in his Diary refers to visits to Ironmongers' Hall. His record of the Forest of Dean debates may also indicate a practical knowledge of its iron resources, but his precise interest in mines and minerals is unknown. It is just possible that the fourth John Milward, of London, whose family are buried at St Werburgh's in Derby, was the Milward associated with the diarist's old enemy in the debt of 1648, and the mines three years later, as it is almost certain that it was this other John Milward that acted as assessor for highways in St Werburgh's parish early in the reign of Charles II. On the other hand, Gell's disgrace during the Commonwealth may have brought the former enemies together, and it seems clear from the references to London and Londoners like Sheldon, Glanvill, Meynell and Glyn that Milward had friends if not business in the city, who may well have been connected with Gell and Derbyshire industries.

Milward's name, unlike those of many who fought on the same side, does not appear in the Commonwealth list of Justices. Except for the births, marriages and deaths of his family, his life until the Restoration is unknown. At the Restoration, however, William Cavendish, eighth Earl of Devonshire, was once again appointed Lord-Lieutenant of the County, and Milward's name is among those appointed to help him as deputies. Milward's connection with the family almost certainly went back to the wars. Its precise nature is uncertain, but he seems to have been the earl's intermediary with the other deputy-lieutenants, and, from the careful copies of his correspondence on county business in the Letter Book, perhaps some kind of a secretary. Possibly the Diary was kept for the earl's better information, and in that case the diary kept by Grey, another of the members for Derbyshire, may have had a similar origin. The close connection between the Devonshires and the opposition party of the later years of Charles's reign, and the part they played in the Revolution, may explain as already suggested the zeal of two of their fellow Derbyshire men to keep careful records of debates in the Lower House.

The Letter Book kept by Milward does not, however, have any political significance, though it throws much light on county affairs, and most admirably illustrates a deputy-lieutenant's work.

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The letters start with a copy of the deputies' note to Devonshire dated 11 January 1660/61, and continue until November 1666. They are all in Milward's writing, though the last letter bearing his signature is dated 28 July 1665. The remaining letters are copies of letters from various members of the Government to the Earl. Milward's own interest appears to have been chiefly the militia. The Lord-Lieutenant writes to him that the improvement in the county is due to his care, and promises when opportunity offers to speak to Charles about Sir William Boothby's deputyship, and will indeed, he says, be glad to do anything he can for Milward.

One episode, the Calton-Wylde affair, had for a moment a national rather than a local significance, but the zeal of the deputies and the inertia of the county, together with the treachery of one conspirator, soon brought it to a close.

Alarms after the "most happy Restoration" were not uncommon, and the Letter Book reveals such anxiety in Derbyshire. In 1664 the information given by Thomas Calton implicated a good many people of the county and the Midlands generally in a Presbyterian revolt against the King. A Captain Wright and a Thomas Wylde were chiefly talked of, but there were difficulties in discovering precise proofs. Milward wrote fully to Devonshire, and slightly less formally to his old comrade in arms, Frechville, member for the shire in the House of Commons. This letter is now among the State Papers, and as an example of Milward's epistolary style may be given here:

Ld Frechville.

Honoured Sr

I have received both your letters, but I have deferred to give you an account of them untill I could lykwyse give you an account of Caultons examination: who is now brought to Derby, but ye assizes being begunn we could not in so short tyme bring in our proofes & witnesses against him. Thus farre we have proceeded. Mr Vernon ye high sheriff, Mr Gray, Sr Hen: Every, Sr Wm Boothbye & myselfe have had Caulton before us, his examinacon as it was sett downe by Mr Vernon I have transcribed & four you a true copy of it here inclosed: we fynde Caulton very imperfect in his confession, inclyned more to discovere the presbyterians then ye Annabaptists: but yett very sufficiencyntly ye realtye of the plott. We have left him in



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ye Gaolers handes, who I believe will carefully looke to him. We have asked him very fairly & doe percieve yt workes more with then a severer carriage. We have ffetcht in Capt: Wright: he standes altogether upon his mistificacon, & plees his innocence is not in the least to be acquainted with this or any other plotte or to have so much as a thought of beating one souldyer. I am very much persuaded yt unlesse Mr Molinoux doe bringe in his proofes, & that they prove more positive & plaine against him, we shall not be able to prove him guiltye. We have taken too thousand poundes bayle of Wright & his sureties not to depart five miles from his house but without lycense, not to admitt any into his house but those as he shall give a good account off: and to be readye when soever my Lord Lieut: or any of his deput: lieuts or more of them shall send for him: and so we hav lett him goe to his owne house. I have wayted on my Lord of Devon: since his coming to Chattesworth, and acquainted him wth my coming to Darby in order to this business, wch he referred wholly to us. I was very importunate wth his Lsp to procure Mr Molinoux to appeare wth his proofes, as moste materiall. So this is all yt I can acquaint you wth at present: I heartily wish you now in ye county and hope to see you there before we proceede further against Wright Caulton & Wylde or in this business without any new discovery shall be made to be.

Wth my faythfull service I remaine Sr  
Your most affectionate freind & servant

*Jo: Milwarde.*

Darby Aug: 10th 1664.

One of these prisoners was subsequently convicted for high treason.

Milward also acted as commissioner of taxes, as did nearly all the gentry of the county. His discretion was admired by his fellows, and it is not surprising to find a letter from George Sitwell to his son-in-law, Revell, in the March of 1663, which speaks warmly of Colonel Milward, seeks his good offices as arbitrator in a dispute not specified and declares himself and the rest satisfied to leave its settlement in his hands. He is a man who acts "*non nobis nati sed partem Patriae*, etc. . . ."

Beyond this indication of Milward's integrity and the evidence his activities afford of his public spirit, there is little about his character or private affairs in these records. Writing to the earl, he mentions a bad distemper, perhaps similar to

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that which interrupted his Parliamentary duties later; he mentions a cousin Cotton, who apparently had sought his help in obtaining command of a company of foot. Milward also writes with some indignation about his *sub poena* by the earl's steward in the midst of his public duties, though he professes himself as willing as any to fulfil all legal demands. Devonshire, however, at once replies that he knew nothing of the affair, and would certainly never have allowed it to happen if the steward had informed him of his intentions. Exactly what was the quarrel between the official and Milward the letters do not make clear.

In the November of 1665 a writ was issued for a new election in Derbyshire. Frechville had gone to the Lords, and Milward was elected to take his place, though he did not present his own writ of election until 17 September 1666, the day before Parliament was to meet. He doubled the fee of Mr John Agar, the Clerk of the Crown to whom it was given. The oaths were administered to him by Lord Ogle, a connection of the Cavendish family, and Laurence Hyde. From this day until 8 May 1668 Milward's doings are recorded in his Diary. Scattered references to him occur elsewhere. Those in the *Journals* are for the most part difficult to identify, as his cousin Robert Milward, son of Sir Thomas, of Eaton Dovebridge, and Recorder of Stafford, played a more prominent part in the same Parliament. Only when two Milwards are given in lists of committee men, or when one is called colonel, a title to which, I think, the lawyer Milward had no claim, or when the diarist himself mentions his appointment to a committee, is it possible to know which is intended.

Milward's own account of his activities seems to suggest that he was regular in his attendance, conscientious in his voting and careful to attend committees to which he was appointed, especially when they concerned county affairs or people. Such would be Mr Leigh's bill, Mr Kendall's, Lord Clare's and others. He saw Lord Rutland whilst he was in London, and naturally took much interest in Lord Roos's bill to legitimise Lady Anne Roos's children. He performed an errand for a Mr Moore at Lambeth, where he frequently dined with the

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Archbishop. Indeed, the fact that Milward celebrated his birthday at the palace with his son-in-law Jennens and his cousin Milward points to some intimacy with Gilbert Sheldon, his contemporary and neighbour. Milward dined with another cousin, Joseph Glanvill, whose relationship is puzzling; with Joseph Sheldon, nephew of the Archbishop and later Sheriff of the city; with Fulk Lucy, with Seymour Shirley whose widow was later to become Lord Roos's second wife, and all these but Glanvill seem to be Derbyshire friends. Adrian Mays, keeper of deer in St James's Park, may have come from the county also, but this is uncertain, and there is no fuller information about the connection with this official than Milward's laconic entry for 1 November 1666. Milward dined too with Sir George Carteret on 3 April 1668, and from time to time mentions committee dinners.

His private affairs are barely mentioned. His son-in-law and his cousins and his daughter Anne are referred to. He records that he went home at Christmas in 1666 via Oxford. He records, more frequently in the early months than later, sermons which he heard. He refers late in the Diary to a bond which he took out in the city, but gives no clue to the circumstances which made it necessary. He reflects solemnly when he meets a corpse, and occasionally refers to a visit. Throughout the Diary the bitterest references are reserved for the Presbyterian "gang", and his voting would show him a good churchman, even if his record did not otherwise exist to prove it. He is interested in county law and order, and most legal matters, perhaps because his cousin Robert was so often concerned in these.

The Diary ends in May 1668, and we do not know if the diarist attended the meetings which were only to prolong the adjournment later in the year. His name appears in committee lists for the session of 1669, but no entry in the *Journals* marks his death until the dispute that followed the necessary election had to be settled. He died on 14 September 1670. Like his son Henry, he was commemorated by the landlord of the "Hand and Shears" in an elegy, and also in some stanzas of a more general poem on the gentry of the district. The village poet is inaccurate in his description of Milward as

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a Lord-Lieutenant and in certain minor details, but his devotion to him is obvious in every execrable line:

He was a landlord to his tenants kind,  
But few like him about us now we find.  
He was a neighbour good of sweet behaviour,  
Loving the poor as soon as them that braver.  
He was a father to his children deare  
As by their learning breeding may appear.

I spare the reader more. He was buried in Darley church on 21 September 1670, and shortly afterwards was succeeded in Parliament by William Sacheverell, whose election, which lasted a week, according to Wheatscroft, was unsuccessfully disputed by George Vernon, formerly Sheriff of the county.

Milward's political affiliations cannot be precisely designated. The group to which he belonged were Cavaliers. Traces of his feeling about the late wars are not uncommon, and Milward speaks of the Cavaliers in the House in a proprietary way. On the other hand, his patron's eldest son, William Cavendish, a fellow member as yet, was to be the leader of the Whigs, and the Sacheverells at first and the Sitwells were to be prominent in the same party. Can any signs of the early growth of such a party feeling be found in Milward? I think so. For the real origins of that party must be sought not in the republicans of an earlier period but in that

Gross of *English Gentry*, nobly born,  
Of clear Eastates, & to no faction sworn,

those "honest old cavaliers", who were to find increasing disillusion in the restored monarchy, and to form the backbone of the moderate opposition to its excesses.

These hated the Presbyterians as rebels and the Nonconformists as murderers and fanatics. They could blame on them the land tax, but found the general excise favoured by the court no better. Toleration was anathema to them, and the court worked for it. Thus their fear of Popery was increased, and the French alliance was to confirm it. A real nervousness about the integrity of public officials overcame their dislike of seeming to

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put too much distrust upon the King. Evil counsellors were blamed and some were ousted, but a strange reluctance on the part of Charles to be helped in this way more often did nothing to reassure the member for the loyalest of shires. Eventually common fear drew together very different opposition groups. Shaftesbury's attempted return to the demagogy of another age, and his unscrupulous use of religious fears resulted in his overthrow, and left the Government for the moment more respected than its critics. But the combination of moderate men, whether of Cavalier or of Roundhead origin, was a possibility which was realised in the groups formed at the crisis in 1688, and the strength of the former Cavalier element is shown in the extraordinarily small concessions gained then by the Non-conformist element.

Milward of course is a long way from the Whig alliance with the dissenter. He is a sound churchman of an uncompromising sort. He is nervous, however, about corruption, and thinks accounts should be carefully kept. He records his vote against the court where his cousin votes with them. He votes occasionally against his later judgment and notes it. He once mentions being solicited for votes, but then only on a private bill. He notices the thin attendance of one group or another. He shows a sturdy independence in his judgments, but that independence is always tempered by a profound loyalty to county friends and associates, which perhaps determined as much as anything else the cliques in the House.

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The *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society* is a rich mine of information on many county men and matters. The *Victoria County History* (2 vols. 1907), S. Glover's *History of Derbyshire* (2 vols. 1829 and also 1831–33), Lysons's *Derbyshire* (vol. v, *Magna Britannia*, 1818), the many works of J. C. Cox, *Familiae Minorum Gentium* (Harleian Society, vol. xxxviii, 1894) and the Manuscript Collections in Additional Manuscripts 6670–6686 and Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum and in the Bateman collections at Derby, where the librarians are more than helpful, form a good introduction at least to the bewildering variety of Derbyshire families.

The Milward genealogy is rather difficult to trace. Dugdale (*Visitations*, 1662, printed 1879) is helpful but also confusing. Bassano, the eighteenth-century antiquary whose manuscripts are partly at Derby, is useful, and certain tables in the Add. MSS. (6675, f. 397 and f. d, and 5524, f. 146) show family relationships, but they are confused and inaccurate, and in the following notes I have confined myself to information gained from tombstones, state papers, parish registers, etc., which can reasonably be trusted. I think that the diarist was the nephew of Sir Thomas Milward of Eaton, father of Robert Milward, M.P. Cox's statement (*Churches of Derbyshire*, 1877, III, 124; I, 123) that the Milward family in all branches had died out by the eighteenth century cannot be proved. Distinct traces of Milwards in the county exist later, though I suggest they descend from a collateral branch of the family and are connected with the St Werburgh Milwards, later of London, whose tombstone was copied by Cox (*Churches*, IV, 27, 177), and who must also, I think, be identified with the long list of John Milwards given by Dugdale without other comment.

JOHN MILWARD I (i.e. in the diarist's immediate family), c. 1551–1633, aetat. 82: tombstone, now almost illegible, at Thorpe.

Lysons, p. 275.

Cox, II, 533, 441 and *passim*; *Old Halls of Derbyshire*, 1892, I, 117, etc.

I have not checked Cox's statement about the purchase of land by the Milwards, as it did not seem relevant here.

List and Indices, IX, 31, 6 November 1620. This may be another John Milward (see Dugdale, p. 1) but the fact that both the diarist and his son Henry were sheriffs later seems to point to this identification.

Will, P.C.C. 1633. Chancery Inquisitions post mortem (ser. 2), ccccxcvii, 175, Court of Wards 85/179.

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ROBERT MILWARD, son of the above, 1597–1634.

Said by Bateman to have married a daughter of Sir George Gresley (afterwards connected with Sir John Gell in the wars).

Cox quotes Bassano as his authority for the story about the Spaniard (*Churches*, II, 533, where there is a reference to Harl. 5809 which I cannot trace). In Add. MSS. 6675, f. 221, is an epitaph on Robert. Also a Robert, of Bradley Ash, was admitted to the Inner Temple in 1617. This may be Robert, the “cousin” of the Diary, or might be this Robert, brother of the diarist (*Admission*, 1877, p. 218). A Robert Milward was admitted to Queen’s College, Oxford, in January 1612, aged 16.

JOHN MILWARD II, the diarist, 1599–1670, Colonel, Add. MSS. 6675, f. (in red ink) 397 d and Bateman. Diary, 28 October 1666, for birthday.

Death in *Returns of Members of Parliament*, p. 521, by registers of Darley church (copy in Add. MSS. 6687, f. 296) and in *Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Journal* (*D.A.N.H.S.* hereafter), XVIII, 73, poem on J. M., d. 14 September 1670.

Cox (*Churches*, II, 165) gives a copy of the tombstone to Milward’s wife which I have seen at Darley.

*D.A.N.H.S.* XVIII, 58, has a further poem which refers to the Milwards of Snitterton in verses 12 and 19. The editor has dated this 1670, but the reference to “Ould John Manners” (Earl of Rutland) and his recent death, as well as the otherwise puzzling references to the Milward family (p. 60), make it certain this should be some time after 1670, when Manners died, and probably after 1681, when Henry Milward died.

On p. 48 is a poem by the same author on the election following Milward’s death. Add. MSS. 6705, f. 100, gives the number of votes polled in the election, 2875, Sacheverall winning by 643. This note (see f. 74) was written in 1774.

## THE DIARIST’S CHILDREN

JOHN MILWARD III, Captain.

Venn, *Alumni Cant.* (1924, III, 194), confuses this John with his father; authority for attendance at Repton, which I cannot otherwise trace.

Marriage in Add. MSS. 6687, f. 295 d and in *D.A.N.H.S.* VI, 6, etc., and on monument at Darley discovered end of nineteenth century.

Death, *D.A.N.H.S.* VI, 9, 4 October 1669. Add. MSS. 6675, f. 397 d. See also *Register of Admissions to Gray’s Inn*, 1521–1887, p. 256, 12 April 1651: John Milward, son and heir of John Milward of Snitterton.

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Glover, I, 35, copy of an inscription at Ashbourne to Jane, late wife of Henry Sacheverall of Morley, written by her kinsman Thos. Milward; this would be the mother of John Milward III's widow.

HENRY MILWARD.

Add. MSS. 6687 as before.

*D.A.N.H.S.* VI, 4, born 30 January 1649.

*Alumni Oxon.* III, 592, Trinity College, 1667.

Lincoln's Inn Admissions, 1670, where he is described as the heir of John Milward of Snitterton (*Register*, 1420-1893, I, 306, January 1669/70).

Add. MSS. 6670, f. 223, paper dated 20 July 1679, signed by Henry Milward, Anchitel Grey, Every and Robert Coke (M.P. for Derby).

List and Indices, IX, 31, for sheriffs.

*D.A.N.H.S.* XXV, 164, Drinking bout.

*D.A.N.H.S.* XVIII, 74, Elegy upon Captain Henry Milward; p. 67, Upon Captain Milward's march at Chesterfield, which I should suppose to be part of militia drill or a hunting festival of some kind.

ROBERT MILWARD.

Son of John Milward of Snitterton, buried 12 April 1652, aged 17. Add. MSS. 6687, f. 296 d (red ink).

MARY ANNE, "my eldest daughter".

Marriage to Humphrey Jennens, of High Street, Birmingham, *D.A.N.H.S.* VI, 7, 16 September 1654.

On Jennens's purchase of iron works from Mr Clayton, the rival of George Sitwell, see *D.A.N.H.S.* X, 30.

Lysons, pp. ix, cxxxvii, 60-1.

Diary, pp. 33, 37, 211.

Coke Corr. Hist. MSS. Comm. 3rd Report, p. 165, death of Jennens's son, 31 July 1705.

FRANCES.

Born 9 February 1634, *D.A.N.H.S.* VI, 4.

Marriage to Boothbye, Dugdale, p. 21; Glover, I, 35, 44.

Death and burial, Add. MSS. 6687, f. 289, aged 21.

Sir William Boothbye, 2nd Bart. Monument in Ashbourne church says (in spite of Glover, I, 33 ff.) Boothbye was 78 when he died in 1708, four years after his second wife, Mary Hill. The monument also mentions his library at Ashbourne Hall (now a building estate).

Cox, *Churches*, II, 391; *Staffordshire Pedigrees*, p. 28; *Cal. of Com. for Compounding*, p. 1099; Add. MSS. 34306, f. 10 d, letter, 19 February 1660/1, from Milward to Devonshire about Boothbye; S.P.D., 29, CI, p. 34, Milward to Frechville about Calton and Wylde; Lists and Indices as before for shrievalty; Cox, *Three Centuries of Derbyshire History*, I, 37-8; Cowper MSS. (Hist. MSS. Comm.); Coke Papers; Boothbye's letter, 425 and much local gossip throughout.

The Boothbys were associated with Bradley Ash as well as Ashbourne. Lysons, pp. 12-13.



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FELICIA.

Married Charles Adderley of Thrope.

*F.M.G.* p. 577; Cox, *Churches*, II, 534; Lysons, pp. cxxxvii, 99, on Darley landowners.

ELIZABETH.

Married Robert Constable, of N. Cliffe, Yorkshire, and by him had one son John, remembered in his grandfather's will, and one daughter. All this branch of the Constables were dead by the beginning of the eighteenth century. Milward's will, P.C.C. 1670.

DOROTHY.

Married William Copley, of Claines, Worcestershire. Mentioned in her father's will with Anne and Felicia as alive when the will was made.

THE DIARIST'S PUBLIC CAREER

Lists and Indices, IX, 31; Harl. MSS. 2043, f. 145 (137). Notes on lives of Derbyshire sheriffs.

S.P.D. CCCIV, 20 December 1635, Council to John Milward.

Add. MSS. 6702, ff. 116-19, on payment as Captain of foot. Cf. Cox, *Annals*, I, 157.

*D.A.N.H.S.* XIX, 20-3, note by Sir George Sitwell on petition from Derbyshire.

*Victoria County History*, II, 126, on Civil War in Derbyshire.

Glover, I, Appendix, pp. 57ff., long contemporary account of war and Milward and Fairfax.

Lysons, p. ix, on Milward and Civil War, from the above; H.M.C. 5th Report, pp. 134-5; *L.J.* VIII, 492; *ibid.* Hastings, II, 120.

*Cal. of Com. for Compounding*, p. 1025, 29 November, 15 December, 1645; Sir Thos., p. 1464; Sir Thos. died 1658 (Cox, *Churches*, III, 224).

Gell one of the commissioners, *D.A.N.H.S.* XIII, 135.

Gell's debt to Milward, *Cal. of Com. for Compounding*, p. 2750, Milward of Snitterton.

Petition about mines in Wirksworth, *ibid.* p. 1874.

Lists of Derbyshire justices in Cox, *Three Centuries*, I, 37ff. Boothbye, who appears to have acted for the county, is not on this list.

Cox, *Three Centuries*, II, 32, Milward and another petition about a loyal ironmonger in 1660.

*Ibid.* I, 172ff., lists of deputies.

*C.S.P.D.* 1660, p. 145, Lord-Lieutenant the Earl of Devonshire.

Cox, I, pp. 24-32.

*Statutes of the Realm*, v, 329 (13 C. II, stat. 2, c. iii), 381, 456, 429, for lists of tax officials.

Letter Book in Milward's handwriting, Add. MSS. 34306; bookplate of Thos. Bateman, Esq., Middleton Hall, Derbyshire; acquired at the Bateman sale by the Museum: the Calton entries begin f. 33. Cf. S.P.D. CI, nos. 28, 33, 34, etc.

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*Letters of the Sitwells and Sacheveralls*, Sir George Sitwell, 1900, I, 46, letter to Revell dated 31 March 1663/4.

*Connections of the Sacheveralls and Milwards and Cottons, Cox, Churches*, II, 390.

*Returns of Members of Parliament*, p. 521.

S.P.D. cxxxiv, no. 58, a new election for Derby, 9 October 1665.

Diary, 17 September 1666.

*C.ŷ. VIII passim*, for committees; IX, 99, 19 October 1669. Colonel Milward given leave to go into the country, probably to attend the funeral of his son John. On 9 December 1669 and 5 April 1670, Colonel Milward is named on committees in the Journals.

MILWARD'S WILL

Milward's will, P.C.C., proved 19 December 1670. Milward left his eldest daughter, Anne, £2000, and to Felicia and Dorothy £1500 apiece. He left money for his grandson, John Constable, until he should be twenty-one years old, because of his late father's debts. The poor of Wensley, Darley, Thorpe and Ashbourne, etc., were remembered. His servant, John Sherwin, was given a life interest in his house at Thorpe, and John Clifton and Henry Else a like interest at Ballidon. His cousin Robert, who with Humphrey Jennens was named overseer to the will, was left a bequest with an affectionate message. Henry Milward, only surviving son, was left the residue and was chief executor of the will. Witnesses were Charles Hinton and Thomas Wardell.

JOHN MILWARD OF ST WERBURGH

Cox (*Churches*, IV, 24, 177); Lysons, p. 128; *D.A.N.H.S.* XL, 225, 228, mentions a John Milward there as assessor of highways, etc.

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## B I B L I O G R A P H Y   A N D A B B R E V I A T I O N S

The abbreviations which will be used hereafter are put first, and then the title.

Add. MSS. 33413.—The Milward Diary printed here.

Tanner 239 (Bodleian).—Appendix I. Speeches of Holland.

Add. MSS. 35865.—The Diary printed in Appendix II.

Add. MSS. 36916.—Ashley Papers. Newsletters from John Starkey, a London publisher. 17 October 1671 to 9 January 1671/2 (Starkey).

*C. J.*—*Journals of the House of Commons*, vols. VIII, IX.

A manuscript copy of this from the library of W. Bromley, of Baginton in Warwickshire, is in the British Museum. Add. MSS. 36837–36840, four volumes of this, cover this period. The last volume contains the erased portions of the *Journal* about the Skinner controversy.

*L. J.*—*Journals of the House of Lords*, vol. XII.

A manuscript copy of the *Journal* is in Rawl. A, 130, 16 March 1664 to 19 December 1667.

Add. MSS. 22263, ff. 10–23, contains a few copied entries from 12 November 1667 to 3 December 1667.

Eg. 2543, ff. 190–203, contains a few entries on the Clarendon impeachment, copies of the reasons why the Lords did not imprison Clarendon, the protest of Buckingham against this decision, etc. For this see Add. MSS. 28009, ff. 128, 159, etc.

H.M.C. 8th Report.—Historical Manuscript Commission, Eighth Report. House of Lords Manuscripts contain much additional matter on the activity of the Lords during the period.

Cobbett.—Cobbett's *Parliamentary History of England*. 12 vols. 1806–12. Vol. IV covers this period.

For Cobbett's material see *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, vol. x, no. 30, February 1933, pp. 171 ff. Very valuable.

Grey.—Anchitel Grey, *Debates of the House of Commons*, from 1667 to 1694. 10 vols. 1763. Reissue, 1769. Vol. I only used here.

*Proceedings*.—*The Proceedings in the House of Commons touching the Impeachment of Edward, late Earl of Clarendon, Lord High-Chancellor of England, Anno 1667. With many debates and speeches in the house.* 1 vol. 1700, two editions.

Davies in his *Bibliography of British History*, Oxford, 1928, no. 413, says this had a wide circulation in manuscript at the time of the trial (see note p. xxix). Its authorship is sometimes attributed to Littleton; my own copy has such an attribution in a contemporary hand written on it.

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Carte.—Carte, Thomas, *The Life of James, Duke of Ormonde*, 2nd ed. 6 vols. Oxford, 1851.

*State Trials*.—Cobbett's collection (34 vols. London, 1809–28), vol. II. Adds nothing to the above of value.

Marvell, I and II.—Andrew Marvell, *Poems and Satires*, I; *Letters*, II. Edited by H. M. Margoliouth, Oxford, 1927.

The Letters frequently give accounts of Parliamentary affairs, though comment is generally absent. The Satires, however, give much comment, and a good deal of information besides.

Clarendon.—*The Continuation of the Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon*.

I have used the edition published at Oxford, 1843.

Lister.—Lister, T. H., *Life and Administration of Edward, First Earl of Clarendon*. 3 vols. London, 1838.

*D.N.B.*—*Dictionary of National Biography*, with the valuable additions and corrections published occasionally by the Institute of Historical Research. There is no mention of the diarist here.

*C.S.P.D.*—*Calendar of State Papers Domestic*.

*Returns*.—*Returns of the names of every member returned to serve in each parliament*. 2 vols. folio, 1878. Index, 1891.

de Beer.—Members of the Court Party in the House of Commons, 1670–78, E. S. de Beer. In *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, vol. IX, no. 31, June 1933.

Most valuable. I have used it constantly in my notes on the members.

SOME ADDITIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES,  
ARRANGED UNDER SUBJECTS CHRONOLOGICALLY

1666. IRISH CATTLE ACT

Milward's remains the sole account of the debates in the Commons over this Act. His account may be supplemented by:

(1) Three speeches printed in the *Calendar of State Papers*, Ireland, 1667, pp. 533–42. The speaker has not been identified.

(2) Arguments about the Act, Harl. 4706, ff. 39–40.

(3) Letters about Irish affairs in volumes of the Historical Manuscripts Reports: Dartmouth, III; Ormonde, III, n.s.; Finch, I; Hastings.

(4) Carte, Ormonde, *passim*, but particularly vol. IV.

SUPPLY

Holland's three speeches in Appendix I.

Marvell, *Last Instructions*.

LORD MORDAUNT

Stowe, 425. 3, 10, 17, 21, 22 January 1666/7.

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1667.

THE JULY PARLIAMENT

Chiefly remarkable for its brevity, the fact that, contrary to custom at this time, the King's speech was not printed, and for Tomkins's motion about the standing army.

Marvell, as above.

Add. MSS. 28092, f. 68, legal opinion on.

Historical Manuscripts Commission, *7th Report*, p. 486. Hastings MSS. II, 154.

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST CLARENDON

Appendices I and II; Historical Manuscripts Commission, 5th Report, p. 326.

Manuscript versions of the *Proceedings* (Littleton) in Harl. 1218, 881, which includes Clarendon's petition, p. 24; Stowe, 368, 369 (the property of A. Capel, 1701), which includes the Bristol charges at the end; Rawl. A, 131. On the whole these seem more finished than the printed book. Names are in full throughout.

Clarendon's Petition appears in many manuscript copies, e.g. Harl. 1579, f. 128; 4888, no. 32; 7170; Add. MSS. 28009, f. 163.

Precedents for, Stowe, 425, f. 86. Legal opinion on, Add. MSS. 22263, f. 23.

Printed versions of the charges were current, e.g. *Articles of Treason exhibited in Parliament* [1668]; Manuscript in Add. MSS. 38175; Eg. 2543.

Reports which probably contain information about Clarendon are listed but not calendered in H.M.C. Fleming MSS. at weekly intervals throughout the sessions (e.g. 22 October, 5, 26 November, 3, 10, 17 December, 1667; 18, 25 February, 10, 17, 24 March 1667/8; 31 March, 7, 14, 21 April, 5 May, 1668). I suspect these of being copies of Mud-diman news-sheets similar to those found in the *Calendars of State Papers*, etc.

Sir Thomas Osbourne's notes in Add. MSS. 28045, ff. 1-18, throw some interesting light on the methods of Clarendon's attackers.

THE ENQUIRY INTO MISCARRIAGES OF THE WAR

Copies of the Narratives of the War given by Albemarle and Prince Rupert to the House in 1667 are fairly common, and do not differ materially from those printed in the *Journals*, e.g. Harl. 7170, ff. 290ff., and see also ff. 42-72 on enquiries in committee, etc., February to April 1667/8. An excellent account of the War is in D. Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II* (1934).

In Appendix II (Add. MSS. 35865) will be found some reports of the enquiry in the Commons.

Notes by Pepys, Rawl. A, 195a, 22 October 1667, which add little to the *Journals*.

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Rawl. A, 191, 13, 21 February 1667/8. Preparations for defence of the naval authorities, etc. Proceedings against Brouncker (f. 237) and his defence.

S.P.D. 29, CCXXV, no. 42; five pages in Williamson's hand on the evidence in committee against Pett.

#### THE RENEWAL OF THE CONVENTICLE ACT

See Appendix I for a speech (undated) by Sir John Holland.

#### THE CONTROVERSY ABOUT THOMAS SKINNER

Add. MSS. 36840. *Journal of the House of Commons* noted above.

Add. MSS. 25116. October 1667 to December 1669.

Sloane, 3956. Mainly proceedings in the Lords.

Stowe, 303, ff. 1-66, as Sloane, 3956 above, ff. 67-71, House of Commons (belonged to Capel).

Maynard's speech printed in Grey, 1, 445, etc., is reproduced in many manuscript copies. These do not differ materially, except that in one the order of paragraphs is different, as though the scribe had omitted a section and then inserted his omission at the end.

Harl. 1579, f. 173; Add. MSS. 25116, ff. 147-175.

Stowe, 304, f. 89.

Hargrave, 47, f. 188 d.

Rawl. C, 436, f. 1.

Votes in the House of Commons, 7, 9 May.

Eg. 2543, ff. 207-8.

Printed: *The Grand Question concerning the Judicature of the House of Peers stated and argued*. . . 1669 (attributed to D. Holles).

Historical Manuscripts Commission Report on House of Lords Manuscripts.

#### KING'S SPEECHES

These were usually printed soon after being given. Some originals exist in the State Paper Office. The Lords' *Journal* prints them also except in the case of the speech in July 1667, where a summary only is given. That this speech was not printed is commented on by Milward, by Marvell and others.

#### OTHER SPEECHES

Sir Edward Turner, the Speaker of the House of Commons, usually allowed his speeches to be printed at the same time as those of the King. Apart from these and the odd speeches listed above, I know of no separate copies of speeches in this period.