

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THE LORD
PRESIDENT BRADSHAW ; WITH OTHER
DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING HIS
PERSONAL HISTORY.

(IN THE POSSESSION OF A. ROWSON LINGARD, ESQ.)

By A. Craig Gibson, F.S.A., Hon. Curator.

(READ 14TH NOVEMBER, 1861.)

THE valuable documents that I here offer to the notice of the Society have been, for some years, in the possession of the friend who has entrusted to me an office which he would probably have discharged himself, had not avocations of a different and more personally important character denied the leisure required for the task. They came to their present owner from a near relative, the widow of a gentleman who died at a ripe age in 1815, was guardian of those direct descendants of the Bradshaws of Marple who inherited the family property, and, for some time, resided in their family seat. These circumstances are mentioned as bearing upon the question of the authenticity of the MSS., which, however, will be found to be established beyond dispute by the documents themselves. Amongst them are several papers concerning the private and domestic affairs of the Regicide Lord President ; with others referring to the high offices he held under the Commonwealth. Some relate to events that form portions of the history of the stirring times in which he lived, and respecting which he might have quoted the "*Quorum pars magna fui*" of the Trojan. A few appertain to the management of estates bestowed upon him by parliament in

requit of his services to the state. Many bear his well-known signature, neat, steady and distinct, as it stands foremost of the fifty-nine appended to the death warrant of Charles I.; while most of them are endorsed, and some written throughout, in the same unmistakable hand.

There are several biographies of the remarkable man—the most remarkable, perhaps, that the two counties palatine have produced—to whom these documents carry back our attention; but all are more or less inaccurate and imperfect, and all more or less partial or unjust. Writers on the royalist side near to his own time, and of similar leanings nearer to ours, seem to have been at a loss to find words sufficiently bitter, epithets sufficiently forcible to express their abhorrence of this great man; while those holding opposite principles, and, prominent amongst them, John Milton, have loaded his name and memory with an all but unexampled weight of panegyric. Execrated by the one party as “hypocritical,” “vain,” “insolent,” “vulgar,” “dull,” “ferocious,” “a viper of hell,” “unawed by divine or human justice,” “holding riches and honour, power and consequence, more valuable than all the rewards of righteousness in another world, and dreading mediocrity with a good conscience more than eternal torments;”* as “that monster John Bradshaw, whom we scorn to honour so much as to rail at, as if it were manners to rail at the devil”†—he is extolled by the other, and certainly with greater ability, as wise, charitable, pious, sincere, mild, humane, courteous, “possessing a sound heart in things religious, a rare acute judgment in the state of things civil, a wise conduct in the administration of state affairs, an eloquent tongue to inform a friend or convince an adversary, most equal heart and hand in distributing justice to both, a care of conscience in resolving, and courage to

* The Rev. Mark Noble's *Lives of the Regicides*.

† *Mercurius Publicus*, July 12th to 19th, 1660.

"execute a resolution;"* "always constant to himself, "greater than envy, and well assured of immortality."*

The most recent accounts of this great Parliamentary judge are to be found in Lord Campbell's "Lives of the "Chief Justices," and in a very agreeable little volume of "Cheshire Biographies," by Mr. Worthington Barlow, of Gray's Inn. That contained in the latter is perhaps the fairest, if not the fullest, that has appeared.

The amount of space required for these important papers themselves, were there no other preventing cause, precludes my offering many comments of my own upon the personage with whose affairs they are connected. I shall therefore confine myself to making very briefly such remarks as the several documents, taken in chronological order, may suggest, endeavouring to point out where, how and to what extent they appear to elucidate any remarkable phase in his character, or to illustrate any important incident in his career, and giving in connection with them a summary of the principal events of his life, a task which a careful examination of all procurable authorities, and more especially of these MSS., qualifies me to execute with perhaps more precision and accuracy than have heretofore been attained.

The date and place of his birth, concerning which his biographers have not agreed, are fixed by the registration of his baptism, of which I am enabled to produce a copy.

1602. December, 1602.

Bapt: John the sonne of Henrye Bradshaw of Marple was baptized the: 10th.

The above is a true copy of the Register book of Baptisms of the Parish Church of Stockport, extracted this twenty-seventh day of January, 1858.

(Signed)

RICHARD DAWSON, M.A.,

Curate of Stockport.

* Mercurius Politicus, Oct. 27th to Nov. 3rd, and Publick Intelligencer, from . 31st to Nov. 7th, 1659.

Ormerod says, that "in 1606 Sir Edward Stanley of Thonge, "in consideration of £270, conveyed premises in Marple and "Wybersleigh, consisting of one messuage with its appurtenances and a tenement called the Plase, to Henry Bradshaw, "yeoman, the elder, and his heirs, &c.—the said premises "being partly occupied by the said Henry and partly by Henry "Bradshaw, the younger." This Henry Bradshaw the younger was the Judge's father. Bradshaw, himself, informs us that he received a part of his education at the schools of Bunbury in Cheshire, and Middleton in Lancashire; and from other sources we learn, that after leaving school, he served a clerkship to an attorney in Congleton. On the expiry of this apprenticeship, aiming at the higher walks of his profession, he entered himself at Gray's Inn to qualify for the bar. A part of the Harleian Manuscript, amongst other matters relating to Gray's Inn, contains the lists of admissions, &c., to that Institution, and in these occur the names of several John Bradshaws. But the John Bradshaw elected in 1622, and called to the bar on the 23rd of April, 1627, is no doubt the future Lord President, whose age at those respective periods would be nineteen and twenty-four.

In 1630, at the age of 27, he was made Steward of the Manor of Glossop. The deed giving him this appointment, engrossed in Latin, signed by the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, the lord of the manor, and endorsed in Bradshaw's writing, "Patent for the Stewardship of Glossop," is amongst the parchments comprised in this collection. Its imperfect condition, it being mutilated apparently by vermin, prevents our making a satisfactory copy of this deed.

At that period of his life Bradshaw resided at Congleton, where he maintained an establishment for a considerable time even after he had settled in London. In 1637 he was Mayor of Congleton, and was High Steward and Counsel for the Borough for many years, as is shewn by the following entry

in the corporation records. "January 21, 1655-56, Thomas "Spencer, Mayor, Ordered, that John Bradshaw, Esq., *of this "borough*, be continued High Steward of, and Councillor to "this borough as formerly, and be paid the same salary quarterly as heretofore hath been paid, and that he be acquainted "therewith and his acceptance desired." It would appear that he did not resign his professional connection with Congleton until the date just quoted, that is, within four years of his death; for on the 18th of May following, the same books record a resolution, "that a tender be made to the Lord Savage of the "high stewardship of this borough, by the next post, Mr. "Attorney Bradshaw having given up his interest therein." We may infer that Bradshaw lived in considerable style at Congleton, for in a MS. book of daily expenditure kept by his brother, Col. Bradshaw, also preserved with these documents, we find entered as part of his expenses at Congleton, on January 19, 1640, a gratuity to "my brother John's *five* "servants." His professional earnings must have made him a man of substance at a comparatively early age, and the first in point of date of these papers refers to loans to, and obligations incurred on account of his Cheshire connections. Indeed his wife, as will shortly appear, complains somewhat bitterly of the burthens her husband had to bear through his liberality to his kindred. The first letter I shall adduce is one from Peter Daniel, of Over Tabley, respecting a debt due to Bradshaw by the writer's son-in-law, Mr. Richard Green, of Stapeley, near Nantwich.

Peter Daniel to John Bradshaw.

Worthie Sir

Beinge yeasterday at Stapeley w^h my Daughter Greene she acquainted mee w^h some debts y^t were betwixt my sonne Greene and you and beinge aboute to depart came a l're as it seemed from you to my sonne Greene w^{ch} in his absence she opened & read and acquainted mee wth y^e contents. It seemeth by y^e l're that you have dealt favourable w^h him w^{ch} he either slighteth or fourshoweth, for w^{ch} he is blame worthie.

my intention was to have conferred w^h him and my daughter about y^e debt & other business, but missinge him I pressed my daughter to send him to tabley to resolve of a course of satisfaction)

But seeing it is brought to y^t issue as your l^re expresseth. Let me mediate for a little time longer, for if you have (as I am assured of it) granted y^e time past to Mrs Sneade. Doe me y^e favour as bestow a little time upon mee & it shall not be longe. I crave but until y^e assize weeke, and though he & his waies faile yet I will not.

The truth is this, my sonne & I are to sell some Land to Dr. More; all things are agreed upon y^e finishinge by fine & recovery you * * * y^e assize must p^rfect, that beinge donne, I will see you payed w^h y^e Doctor's money.

this I hope will content you y^e rather at my desire and y^t all prosecution may be suspended till y^t time. I shall take it as especiall courtesie, at all times readie to requite, in y^e interim an expression of thankfulness.

Thus desiringe to receave your answer w^h a fiatt ut petitur my respects remembered to your self & my cosen your wife, I remayne

Tabley

Your^s to serve you,

6. 7ber 1639.

PETER DANIEL.

S^r I am to desire your advice in a business of importance at this assizes but your corporation and mine cannot agree yet I will find out a way to meete w^h you & instruct you if you condiscend to pleasure me as to give meeting, at some place neere to you not hinderinge your occasions.

my daughter Greene will this day send unto you to y^e like purpose be pleased to take notice of my request, and satisfie her y^t you have condiscended, y^t her mind be not further troubled.

Indorsed in Bradshaw's hand,

* {a l^re from my cozen Daniel on behalf of Dick Greene wth }
 * {a p^rmyse of paym^t at y^e assyses. }

Addressed,

To his worthie friend John Bradshaw, Esq., at his house in Congleton these present,

Another, respecting the same transaction, is from Mrs. Cecily Greene to John Bradshaw.

S^r

This morning M^r Noden came w^t youg [*sic*] coves heather and sequestred all the ground and the hay and intend to morrow to

take all the hay away for he tell mee that you and Mr Greene are agrede and you have satisfaction from him for your mony and have let Mr Green have 40^l more from you : which I think very strang that Mr Greene would never write to mee so much from him selfe. I have sent this bearer to intrete you to satisfie of the treuth and all so to write to Mr Noden to satisfie him, so not willing to troble you further, w^t my best respects remembered unto your selfe and wife, I rest

from Staplay this
16 of March (year not given)

Your loving fr****
(name torn off.)

Indorsed in the handwriting of John Bradshaw,

"M^r Cicily Greene's l^re intimating Noden's sequestr'n upon p^rtence of my satisfaction."

Addressed,

To the wors^h John Bradshaw
at his house in Congleton
give this Add.

Another paper which, as it arises out of this business, we shall take before its chronological turn, is the rough draft of a claim to the lands of Stapeley, by which we discover that the arrangement proposed by Mr. Daniel in his letter was not carried out, but that one of a different and rather complicated character had been proposed and accepted. The last section of this document is entirely in Bradshaw's writing, and several corrections have been made by him in those which precede it, including interlineations which are distinguished by brackets. It is without date, but gives evidence of having been written in 1649, ten years after the date of Mr. Daniel's letter, and it also leads us to the inference that Mr. Greene's property had become subject to sequestration by the State.

Copy of case laying claim to Sequestrated land.

Richard Green being seiz'd of Lands in Congleton during life, the remainder to his son in Tayle makes a lease to me of those his Lands in Congleton bearing date the 7th day of April 1637 for and during the terme of seaven years to comence imediately after the death of the survivor of his mother & grandmother and under the yearly rent of thirty pounds.

The (survivor of the) mother and grandmother of the said

Richard being dead (in y^e year 1641) the said Richard Green upon valuable consideracon (being an 100l & upw^d old Dett & 40l in hand paid), by his deed bearing date the five and twentieth day of Octob^r 1641 (sold unto me &) makes me a Release of the said seaven years rent of thirty pounds for all the said lands in Congleton. And being (then) also seiz'd of Lands (& hereditam^{ts}) in Stapley in fee doth for counter security (& for my quiet enjoym^t of my bargayne of Conglton Lands) make mee a (bargⁿ and sale of his House & all his inheritance and) Lands in Stapley bearing date the 25 of Octob^r 1641 for the terme of one and twenty years thence next ensuing under the yearly rent of one pepper Corne upon condicon that if I peaceably and wthout interrupcon injoyed my bargayn of y^e s^d Lands in Congleton then from and after the end of the said seaven yeares expired the residue of y^e s^d terme of 21 yeares to bee voyd :

About 6 yeares ago In the yeare 1643 the s^d Richard Green dyes and the said Lands in Congleton fall to y^e son of the said Richard Green whereby I am interrupted from injoying the said 7 years release and the Lands for counter security in Stapley being sequestered I now demand of the Sequestrato^{rs} to injoy the rents and profits of the said Lands in Stapely untill I bee fully satisfied the remainder of the s^d rents in Congleton.

In the hand writing of Bradshaw

{ The Priest (?) ffield p^t of y^e Congleton Lands hath been alwais desyred from me by reason of a form^r bargⁿ made to Tho: Spencer of Congleton and Rich: Greene in y^e beginning of y^e warre by fforce intruded into posseson of y^e House & got p^t of y^e Rents & dyed about six yeares since, so as by reason of y^e former Title of Spencer to part & Mr. Greene's interruption & his son's Title who claymes & hath all the rest of Congleton Lands—I have not injoyed clearely to y^e value of one yeares p^tfit of all my bargⁿ of 7ⁿ yeares of the Congleton lands. Whereby I am intituled to y^e lands in Stapely for my satisfaction, untill I have received recompence for y^e Losse 6 yeares p^tfit w^{ch} I should have rec^d forth of the House & Lands in Congleton valued at ye leaste to 30l p ann (all w^{ch} 7ⁿ yeares rent I p^d before hand) w^{ch} satisfaction once raised I shall give up the remainder of my Term to the State, Bnt in y^e meane tyme I demand posson of y^e sequestred house rents & gifts of y^e lands in Stapely accord^s to my right.

Indorsed,

{ The Copy of my case
touch^s my Clayme to Stapley
Lands (heretofore y^e Inher^{tnce}
of Mr. Rich: Greene sent
to my secr. S^t Roe to be shew^d
to y^e Com^{rs} for Seq^{ns}. }

In 1640, aged then 37, Bradshaw was judge of the sheriff's court in the city of London, retaining, as mentioned, his house at Congleton. At this date he had been married for several years to Mary, daughter of — Marbury, of Marbury, an old Cheshire family. A letter from this lady to Mrs. Newton, her husband's sister, forms part of this collection, and shews that she maintained a watchful supervision over her husband's pecuniary affairs; though it is possible that, in this case, Bradshaw, unwilling himself to press so near a relative respecting a debt, delegated the office to his wife; and her letter affords proof that he could scarcely have found a more competent agent.

From Mrs. Bradshaw to Mrs. Newton.

Sister Newton I received a l're from you about the last day of November last, wherein you saide M^r Bradshaw hath given you longer time for the payment of the 100£ which you owe him, uppon condittion that you should send the interest to mee within A fortnight after your messinger George Newton had bin here, which he promised should bee performed; but some six or seven weekes after in stead of the money George Newton promised should bee sent mee you convayed me A l're without A messinger, not desiring anie Answers to it, but requesting mee to forbear the monie untill Christmas, and then you would send it, but when Christmas came no monie came; tis just like all the rest of your doings, for ever since I came here I have seene nothing but deceit and jugling in you, you are the most lawles woman that ever I knew, for you neither regarde bond, promis, letter, mesage, or anie thing, if you can pay your depts with sleights and tricks tis well for you my husband cannot paye those ingagements he is in for you and other of his kindred after that manner, but payes redy money; if you and some others of you that have land could manage your Affaires no better, how can you expect that hee which hath no land should paye your depts, but indeed there is no shame in some of his kindred expectations from him, except people have A desire to ruine him, I never see the like to some of you. I have sent this bearer for the interest, or to know from you, if you can and will tell truth, when I shall have it you would not vouchsafe my husband an answer to his letter nor bee seene by the messinger; but I bid this messinger staye for an answer, the interest as I take it the 4th of April next comes to sixteen pound; and for 100£ his promis to give you longe

day, being only conditional and broken of your part I conceive he is not bound, therefore if you will not give newe and sufficient securitie for the payment of it uppon those days George Newton mentioned to my husband from you you must expect present suite, but if you will putt in good and sufficient securitie for the payment of it, I will send over to take the securitie, and you shall have in your olde bond when that is done, but you must first give me the names of two at the least sufficient sureties all which beinge done you shall find me your loving sister,

MARY BRADSHAW.

Congleton, 29th Januarie
1641.

Endorsed by Bradshaw, January, 1641,

Copy of a l're from my wife
to my syster Newton
about y^e 100£ w^{ch} she owes me
and y^e 16£ then due for Interest.

We then have three letters respecting obligations incurred for James Davenport, a family connection, son of the Lord Chief Baron, Sir Humphrey Davenport, of Bramhall.

James Davenport to John Bradshaw.

Good Cousin,

I received your letter by Mr Watson from whom att severall tymes I have understoode with grieve the contents of this. I acknowledge your over faithfulness to my brother & your love to mee, which aggravates my sorrowe, and my shame, to see soe good a friend, soe great a sufferer; but soe it is with mee att present that I cannot satisfye you in your iust^t & reasonable demande, my owne necessities are soe pressing, which ere long will be soe visible uppon mee, that you will believe this is noe feigned storie & soe far yet credit mee, that it shall be through want of means, not of honesty or affection, if it appeare otherwise unto you, then

Sutton

Your loving Cousin,

September 2
1642.

JAMES DAVENPORT.

Addressed,

Endorsed by Bradshaw,

To my very loving Cousin
John Bradshawe
Esquire att Congleton
these present

James Davenp^t l're
Seal, a chevron 7ber y^e 2^d 1642.
bett^m 3 cross
crosslets.

Lady Davenport to John Bradshaw.

Good Cosen,

I received yo^r l^re of the seaventeenth of this month the last of the same, and give you thanke for yo^r kynde remembrance to M^r Davenport & my selfe he is (God be thanked) in reasonable health, but very weake both in body and mynde. God strengthen him, I am heartily sorry that you should suffer in any proporcon for yo^r good will to my sonne James and I knowe it is his mynde to preserve you indempnified as far as any estate he hath will bear, noe penny proffitt out of any of his lande in Oxfordshire hath come to his hands for these 4 or five yeares last past, and I presume it is his desire that out of the proffitte of those lands the interest of yo^r ingagem^t should be payd, John Wood hath some direcon to receive those rents but I feare he can receive nothing, p^aventure yo^r assistance may further him, I shall wryte to him as speedily as I canne have any knowledge where he is, If you have occasion to wryte to him I thinke there is one M^r Winterburne that liveth in Syon college that may possiblie convey yo^r l^re to him, otherwise I protest unto you I knowe not att present how to direct you to him, and for my sonne James he is some tymes att Paris some tymes at Bloyse, the last l^re sent unto him was directed A monsieur, Monsieur Bradley demeurant au College de Turnay, A Paris. If you please to send to M^r Booth uppon the old Exchange I thinke he canne give you more p^rfect direcon, ffor myne owne p^rticular, I shall be never be wanting to yo^r assistance herein to the uttermost of my ability wth (God knowes) is but weake: and had I power to my will neither you nor any other should suffer for any of my scennes debts, and soe I beseech you conceive of me, and I shall as truly take this businesse into my thought as if it were myne owne and will use the best meanes I canne for yo^r indemnity and soe wth myne & M^r Davenports harty well wishes unto yo^r selfe and my good cosen yo^r wyfe I take leave and shall ever remayne

Yo^r truly lovinge Cosen,30th Sept. 1644

MARY DAVENPORT.

Addressed,

To the right worth my very Worthy
good cosen John Bradshawe Esq^e
att his house in Basinghall
Streete, London these present

Endorsed in the handwriting of John Bradshaw,

A l^re from my Lady Davenport
dated 30 Dec. (qy. Sept.) 1644,
son James & y^e intencion touch^d her
to save me harmless concerning my
Ingagem^{ts} for him.

Octagon seal,
a lion rampant.

James Davenport to John Bradshaw.

Good Cousin,

I thanke you ever for your kindness towards mee & that yet in my lasting miserie you are pleased to give mee your friendly advice & assistance in my endlesse busines wherewith I shall acquaint my friends in the countrey: I am exceeding sorry to heare you are still soe tormented for mee & will forthwith write that those to whom I entrusted the discharge of that debt to Mr Boys w^{ch} was Mr Wade, Mr Coker, & Mr Walthall that they may render theire account why interest is not paid as formerly & that they assist you so farr as they are able; soe desireing my service to bee presented unto my Cousin your good wife & your selfe I remaine

Paris May 25
1645.Your affectionate Kinsman
& Ser^t J. D.

Addressed,

To my very Loving Cousin
John Bradshaw Esquire
these present.

(In another hand writing)

"neewe Blackwell

Hall

C*****."

Endorsed in the handwriting of John Bradshaw,
ffrome James Davenport 25th May,
1645.

Oval seal with impaled arms,
dex. a chevron betw. 3 cross crosslets
with cresent for house
sin. an ass statant?

We have next two letters from Mr. Philip Osborne, craving, at Lady Davenport's instigation, Bradshaw's intercession with his brother, who was a sequestrator for Cheshire, in behalf of a Mrs. Warren, the owner of an annuity, secured upon a sequestrated estate, and alluding also to the subject of the preceding correspondence.

Philip Osborne to John Bradshawe.

Worthy Sr

I presume before theise come to yo^r hands you will have received full satisfaccion touching the books please yo^r selfe and my Lady (for soe much as shee is in her owne p'ticler concerned) is contented and her La^{pp^e} is nowe become a suit^r unnto you in the behalfe of her kinswoman M^{rs} Anne Warren. The businesse is this, M^{rs} Anne Warren about 13 yeares since purchased

an annuity of 20*l* per annm from her nephew M^r Warren of Ybynton that now is shee paid for it: 150*l* w^{ch} was the substance of her porcon left by her father, M^r Warren's estate about twoe yeares since was sequestrated for his delinquency since w^{ch} tyme M^{rs} Anne Warren hath bene a suito^r to the sequestrato^{rs} (whereof wee conceive yo^r brother to be one of the chiefest in authority) for an allowance of her annuity but canne get nothing but fruitlesse promises and noe penny of money, but one 5*l* about halfe a yeare since, (a poore exhibition for a Gentlewomans mayntenance) all the comfort she receiveth is in good words from yo^r brother whoe professed himselfe willinge to help her all he canne, but nothings is done for her, her wants are greate havinge no other mayntenance: and were it not for my Ladyes charity shee would be exposed to extreame misery, my Ladyes request to you is that you would be pleased att her instance to write yo^r l^re in her behalfe to yo^r brother as effectually as you please that by his good meanes shee may bee relieved, there is nothing desired but what is most just. If you please to afford my Lady this favo^r she desireth you to direct yo^r letter to me that I may wayt uppon yo^r brother wth it, and receive his answeare and attend him about the businesse as he shall direct, I beseech you excuse my boldnesse herein being pressed hereunto by the necessities of a distressed gentlewoman. And soe wth the tender of my best service, I humbly take leave, remayninge ever

11^o Sept. 1645.

Yo^{rs} in all service obliged,

PHILIP OSBORNE.

Addressed,

To the right worth and my
ever Honord friend John
Bradshawe Esq^e att his house
in Bassinghall streete London
these present.

Philip Osborne to John Bradshawe.

Worthy S^r

I rec^d yo^r last wth one inclosed to yo^r brother w^{ch} I presented unto him at his owne house, he gave me a very faire and respective answeare touching M^{rs} Warrens businesse & promised his furtherance, and hath sithence helped her to five pounds in p^{te} of her arrears w^{ch} was very kyndlie taken by her it comes in a good tyme to supply her want of clothinge against this cold tyme. I doubt not but by yo^r brothers assistance whereof by yo^r happy intercession I am confident, shee may receive some reasonable satisfaccon both for the rest of her arrears and for her annuity for the future; my Lady returnes many thanks,

and takes it as a favo^r done unto herselfe ffor the bookes her La^{pp^e} is much troubled that you should make any scruple about them and assures you, you have them by her free consent, and wthout any p'ticular opposicon to yo^r selfe by the trustees who are nowe verry well satisfied that my La: may dispose of them att her pleasure. If you should nowe refuse them my La: would imagine it were out of some displeasure conceived, whereon her La^{pp^e} is very tender, and soe I beseech you understand her, she is very sorry for yo^r sufferinge for her sonne about the interest to M^r Boys. M^r Ja: did specially appoint that interest to be payd out of his rente att Caresf: but howe he is nowe used by his father in Law Mr. Wood canne satisfye you. My Lady presents her kynde love unto yo^r selfe and yo^r good wyfe, and acknowledges yo^r favo^r for w^{ch} shee will ever rest thankfull, and soe will

Yo^r poore obliged friend & servant,

PHILIP OSBORNE.

Addressed,

To the right worth and my
ever hono^{ble} friend John
Bradshawe Esq^r att his
house in Basinghall streete,
London these present.

Oval seal,
a bugle horn bet^r
3 stars.

Meantime Bradshaw was rising steadily and rapidly to the highest offices and honours parliament had to bestow.

In 1644, aged then 41, he was prosecuting counsel against certain Irish rebels of high station. In 1645, he was appointed junior counsel for the Commonwealth, and conducted John Lilborne's appeal against the severe sentence passed on him by the House of Lords in 1638, obtaining for his client remission of the sentence, and a compensation of £3,000. In 1646, he was elected by the House of Commons a commissioner of the Great Seal, but his appointment was overruled by the House of Lords, of whom he had spoken disrespectfully. This, however, did not prevent his appointment by both houses to the important and dignified office of Chief Justice of Chester; for amongst these papers we have a copy of the Ordinance so appointing him.

Ordinance of Parliament for the Chief Justiceship
of Chester.

12^o Martij 1646.

Die Martis 16^o Martij.

The Lords and Comons in Parl^t assembled takinge notice of the Delinquency of Sir Thomas Milward, Kn^t late Chiefe Justice of Chester flynt Denbigh and Montgomery and of Richard Prythergh Esq^r one other Justice there in their adhering to the late forces raised ag^t the Parl^t Doe hold fit to remove and displace the said S^r Tho Millward and M^r Prythergh of and from their said sev^{al}l offices and doe hereby them amove and to all intents and purposes actually discharge them of and from the same. And for supply of those places and better adm^acon of Justice in the said sev^{al}l Counties Think fit to order and ordeyne and doe hereby ordaine noiate and appoint John Bradshaw Esq^r to be Chiefe Justice of Chester flynt Denbigh and Montgomery aforesaid and Peter Warburton Esq^r to be one other Justice for the said countyes *quam diu se bene gesserint*. And the Clarke of the Crowne in Chancery is hereby required and authorized after the usual forme to prepare L^res patente for the said John Bradshaw and Peter Warburton accordingly. And it is ordered that the Com^{rs} for the Great Seale of England doe passe the same L^res patente under the Great Seale and this shall be their sufficient warrant for the same. And the said S^r Tho Millward is hereby ordered and enjoyned to deliver up the Judicial Seale for the said Counties of flynte Denbigh and Montgomery upon the view of a copie of this ordinance unto the said John Bradshaw or such person as shall be authorized by the said John Bradshaw under his hand and seale to receive the same

Jo: Browne Cler Parl^{mt}

H. ELSINGE Cler

Parl^t D. Com

(vera copia

Ex^t p. me

R Thelwall)

Indorsed,

Copy of y^e ordin^{ce} of both
Houses 1646 160
for supply of y^e Judicial places
of flynt Denbigh & M^rGomerie.

In 1647, æt. 41, Bradshaw was counsel against the intrepid Welsh Judge Jenkins, known by the sobriquet of "Heart of Oak," who so boldly defied the Government and declared his resolution to go to the gallows with the Bible under one arm

and Magna Charta under the other. In 1648, he was made a Sergeant-at-Law. In January, 1648-9, he was appointed Lord President of the High Court of Justice, specially instituted by Parliament for the trial of Charles I. He is said to have coquetted with this onerous appointment, objecting and hesitating as though he did not expect or wish for it; and this has been strongly insisted upon as proof of his hypocrisy; but surely the open and downright nature evinced by Bradshaw in most of the other actions of his public life may be held sufficient to relieve his memory of this imputation, and lead us to suppose rather that even the daring spirit that did not flinch from bearding the unscrupulous despot Cromwell in the zenith of his power was, for the moment, staggered in contemplating the responsibilities and the inevitable odium attaching to an office unread of in history.

He has also been charged, almost universally, with exhibiting insolence and even brutality towards the unfortunate monarch during his trial. After careful study of every report of the King's trial I could obtain, all manifesting a strong royalist bias, or, at least, a strong feeling of sympathy with royalty in misfortune, I must declare my conviction that this odious charge is scarcely warranted by the facts. I find that he was firm to sternness, possibly even to harshness on one or two occasions, in repressing, or rather, perhaps, crushing, the attempts of Charles, renewed persistently throughout the proceedings, to dispute the authority or impugn the jurisdiction of the court. Bradshaw, as president and mouthpiece of the court, was bound, at whatever cost, to maintain its competency, and it is difficult to believe that he could have succeeded so completely in maintaining it had his demeanour been more gentle or more in accordance with what most of us feel was due to a king—even to a king formally on his trial for "tyranny, treason and murder."

For his services on this portentous occasion Bradshaw was

rewarded by parliament with large grants of money, annuities and estates. Of the last, the so called delinquency of so many noblemen and gentlemen of the King's party, and the consequent forfeiture of their properties, placed an abundance in the hands of the parliament wherewith to reward and enrich those who were most ardent and efficient in supporting its cause. Connected with the management of one of the several estates so granted to John Bradshaw, we have in this collection a blank form for the nomination of a bailiff or receiver, written out, signed and endorsed in his hand.

Form for the Appointment of Bailiffe.

Oval Seal of red wax,

Arms 2 bends bet^m 2 martlets crest a Lion?

Know all whom these p'sents may concerne that I John Bradshaw Lord President of the Councell of State doe by these p'sents constitute ordeine & appoint
of _____ in the County of Som'set gentl^l my Bayliff of all the Manors Lands Tenem's and hereditaments late the inheritance of Francis Lord Cottington situate and being in the said County of Somerset (forfeited through his treason and Delinquency to the State) and now settled upon mee by act of this p'sent Parl^t and doe constitute him my Collecto^r and Receiver of all and singular the Rents issues p'fits fines Amerciam^{ts} p'quisites of courts growing arising coming due or payable forth of for or in respect of the p'mises or any p^t thereof And doe make him Surveyor of all and every the p'mises To have execute doe and performe the said offices untill such time as I shall take other and further order therein Given under my hand and seale this 30th day of August, 1649.

Jo: BRADSHAWE.

Indorsed,

"blancke for bayliffe
1649"

This otherwise unimportant paper shews that Bradshaw, in the year 1649, aged then 46, had been elected President of the Council of State. This is of consequence because there has been some discrepancy exhibited by his biographers on that point. The Council, over whose deliberations he was chosen to preside, consisted of thirty-eight members, including

several of the hereditary nobility of the Kingdom, as the Earls of Denbigh, Mulgrave, Pembroke, Salisbury &c., the leading members of the House of Commons and the principal officers of the army.

In 1650, he was made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; and in the same year was elected by the other governors a governor of the Charter House, superseding the Lord Roberts of Truro. The patent for that appointment, elaborately engrossed on parchment, is in this collection and is transcribed here.

To all Christian people, to whom this present writing shall come. The Governours of the Lands Possessions Revenewes and goodes of the Hospitall of Kyng James founded in Charterhouse within the County of Middlesex, at the humble peticon and onely costes and charges of Thomas Sutton Esquire send greetinge in our Lord God everlastinge. Whereas the right honorable John Lord Roberts was heretofore chosen to bee one of the Governours of the Landes possessions revenewes and goods of the said Hospitall Now knowe yee That wee the Governours of the Landes Possessions Revenewes and goods of the foresaid Hospitall for certain known causes Do thinke fitt to remove the said John Lord Roberts from his place of a Governour and according to the power and authority to us given by the Letters Patents of our late Sovereigne Lord King James of the ffoundacon of the said Hospitall bearinge date the Twoe and twentieth day of June in the nynth yeare of his Raigne, Doe hereby absolutely remove and discharge the said John Lord Roberts from beinge any longer a Governour of the Landes Possessions Revenewes and goods of the said Hospitall and in the place of the said Lord Roberts Wee doe hereby elect nominate choose and appoint the right honorable John Bradshawe Serjeant at Lawe and Lord President of the Councell of State to bee henceforth one of the Governours of the Landes possessions Revenues and goods of the Hospitall of King James founded in Charterhouse within the county of Middlesex at the humble peticon and onely coste and charges of Thomas Sutton Esquire in the Roome and place of a Governor for being voyde by the removall of the said John Lord Roberts as aforesaid To bee and continue in the said Roome and place; and to have exercise and enjoy the roome and place of one of the Governours of the Landes Possessions Revenues and goods of the Hospitall aforesaid according to the true intent and meaning of the said Letters Pattents In witnes whereof the said Governours have hereunto sett their comon seale and

every one of them his perticular seale the eighteenth day of May in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand sixe hundred and ffifty.

Signed	
Wm Lenthall	Salisbury
P. Lisle	Leffoway
Ol: S ^t John	W. Armyne
J. Selden	S. Garrard

The seals are all destroyed.

Indorsed in the hand writing of Bradshaw,

"Govno'ship of Sutton
Hospitall."

All the names subscribed to this deed are those of distinguished contemporary statesmen, namely, Lenthall, the Speaker of the House of Commons; the Earl of Salisbury; Philip, Lord Lisle, eldest son of the Earl of Leicester, and brother of Algernon Sidney; the Lord Leffoway; the Lord Chief Justice, Oliver St. John; Sir William Armyne; John Selden; and Sir Gilbert Gerrard. Nine short straps are attached to the fold at its foot for the reception of the seals of the several subscribers.

The next document is also a parchment, being the counterpart of a lease of lands in the parishes of Founthill, Gifford, and Tisbury in Wiltshire, granted by the Lord President to "Thomas Shergold," of Hendon in the same county.

Endorsed, Wilts.

A counterpart of a lease to Thomas Shergold for Seaven yeares comencing at Michas 1651 under the rent of 43£ per Ann.

The next paper is one of peculiar interest, being the draft of a letter in Bradshaw's writing to the parishioners of Feltham. It throws considerable light on the character of the most prominent, and probably therefore, the most heavily aspersed of all the members of the regicide court, and as I am impressed, it bears on the face of it satisfactory evidence of the writer's sincerity, and of his readiness to recognize a serious responsibility and to meet its requirements. It is remarkable too for the earnest simplicity and clearness of its

language, the affectionate regard for the highest interests of the people addressed, and for the spirit of manly piety manifested in its general import

The Lord President to the Parishoners of Feltham.

Neighbo^{res} & ffriends :

The p'lyam^t of Engl^d having bene pleased to conferre an Interest upon me amongst other things of y^e Tythes of yo^r parysh & my desyre being that you of that place should ffare y^e better for it in what concerns you touching Spyritualls I have thought fit hereby to sygnyfy unto you my purpose of p'vyding you every Lords day and oth^r ffytting tyme an able & ffaythfull minister to dispense unto you y^e mysteries of y^e Gospell you being as I heare verie much at want of such a p'son. My purpose also is through Gods assystance, to settle a competent maintenance for such a minister for all tyme to come out of what is y^e right of you of y^e parysh to pay without putting you to any oth^r charge. In y^e mean tyme my Request to you is That you would blesse God for theise opportunities & meanes of Grace & make y^e best use of them for Gods glorie & your owne Soules good w^{ch} that you may doe Is my heartie prayer & desyre & so farre as shall lye in my power shalbe my sincere Endevo^r who through Gods p'vydence am related to yo^r neighbo^{hood} & shalbe ready & willing to assyste & further you in any good way.

Whytehall

J. B.

4^o 8^{br} 1651

"For my very loving neighbo^{res}
and ffriends the Parishion^{ers}
of ffeltham."

Indorsed in a different hand,

"4. Octob^r 1651

Draught of my Lords l^{re}
to the Parishion^{ers} of ffeltham
touching a constant Min^{ter}."

In April, 1653, when Cromwell after dispersing the Parliament went, supported by Lambert and Harrison, to inform the Council of State then sitting, that their functions as a council were at an end, Parliament, as they must know, being dissolved; we are told that the Lord President braved him defiantly thus. "Sir, we have heard what you did at the
"House in the morning, and before many hours all England

"shall hear it. But, Sir, you are mistaken to think that the
 "Parliament is dissolved, for no power under heaven can dis-
 "solve them but themselves: therefore take you notice of
 "that."

The only documents in this collection relating to this period are certain leases and bonds for the payment of rents given by tenants on different estates assigned to the Lord President by the Parliament. One of these bonds, which are curious as specimens of the legal phraseology of the time, may serve as an example of the whole, the wording of all being alike.

Know all men by these p'sents that I Oliver Tinker of the p'ish of Tisbury in the county of Wilts yeoman am houlden and firmly bound unto the right Hon^{ble} John Bradshawe, S^rjeant at Lawe, Chancell^r of the Duchy of Lancaster and Chiefe Justice of Chester in one hundred and twenty pounds of good and lawful money of England to be paid to the said John Bradshaw or his certayne Attorney his Executo^r adm^o or assignes to which payment well and truely to be made I binde mee my heires executo^rs and adm^os firmly by theise p'sents, sealed with my seale. Dated the five and twentieth day of May One thousand sixe hundred fifty three:

The condition of this obligation is that if thabove bounden Oliver Tinker his executors adm^os and assignes and every of them doe and shall from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter well and truely pay and satisfy or cause to be paid and satisfyed all such rents and payments which on his and their parts and behalves are and ought to be paid and satisfyed as the same are contayned and reserved in certeyne Indentures bearing date the day of the date of the said obligation and had and made between the said John Bradshaw of the one partje and the said Oliver Tinker of the other partje and all and every matter and thing according to the same intent and meaning of the said Indentures, that then the said obligation to be void or else to be and remayne in its full power strength and virtue

OLIVER O. T. TINKER (seal)
 his M^o

Sealed and delivered in presence of

Robert Hayshaw
 Richard Dolcing
 Peter Newton
 Jo: Watson

Endorsed, 1653 Oliver Tinker his bond for
 paym^t of y^e 60£ per Ann.

ffounthill Wilts.

We have also, of this date, a parchment counterpart of a lease of ten acres of coppice wood, or underwoods and a house in the parish of Tonbridge in Kent, endorsed "Mr. Downes the counterpart of his lease."

This Indenture made the first day of October in the year of our Lord One thousand six hundred fiftie three Between the right Hon^{ble} John Bradshawe S^rjeant at Lawe Cheife Justice of the one partie, and Daniel Downes of Bitborough in the County of Kent gentleman of the other partie, witnesseth that the sayd John Bradshawe for & in consideracon of the yearely covenants condicions & agreements herein hereafter menconed Hath demysed graunted & to ffarme letton [letten ?] and by these p'sents doth demyse grant & to ffarme let unto the sayd Daniel Downes All those his Coppicewoods or underwoods now groweing & being or which at any tyme hereafter during the p'sent lease shalbe growing & being upon all those woodlands conteyning by estimacon Ten acres or thereabouts be the same more or lesse usually encopiced & occupied with a certaine messuage or tene-ment situate lying & being within the parish limitte & p'incte of Tonbridge in the said County of Kent & being sometime a parcell of the possessions of the late dissolved Priory of Tonbridge aforesaid and now or late in the tenure or occupacon of Thomas Walker and John Terrey their assignee or assignees and alsoe the lops and shrowds of all trees now groweing & being upon the said woodlands which at anie tyme heretofore have beene lopped or shrowded together with free liberty at all seasonable tymes of the yeare to sell cut coard coale digg & carry away all or anie part of the said underwoods & lopps of trees and to convert the same or anie part thereof into coale and for that purpose to erect colliers lodges & to make hearthes & to take other fitt and necessary provision therefor & towards the making the said coales, and the same coales see made from tyme to tyme to take carry away and dispose of except and forth of this p'sent demyse always reserved to the said John Bradshawe his heires tennts & assignes the herbage & pasture of the said woodlands to be spent & eaten after the end of five yeares next after every selling of the same onely with such Cattell as shalbe meete to put into the young springs therein growing or renewing & will doe least harme to the same and with noe manner of cattell within the sayd five yeares And alsoe except all royalties of hawking hunting fishing & fowleing in & upon the said woodlands To have and to hould the said underwoods or coppicewoods & lopps of trees together with all the Liberties aforesayd (except before excepted) to the said Daniel Downes his executors adm^{rs} & assignes for & durieng

& unto the full end & Terme of One & twenty yeares from henceforth next & immediately ensuing & foure penes of lawfull money of England at or in the now mansion or dwelling house of him the said John Bradshawe situate & being on Somerhill in Southfryth in the parish of Tounbrige aforesaid on the ffive & twentyeth day of March & nine & twentyeth day September by even & equall portions Provided alwayes that if it shall happen that the said yearely rent or anie part thereof shalbe behinde and unpaid at ether of the said dayes of payment & by the space Eight & twenty dayes next ensuing either of the said dayes of payment being demanded (although the said demannnd be not made according to the p'cise forme of lawe) that then & from thenceforth it shall & may be lawful to & for the said John Bradshawe his heires & assignes into & upon the said demysed p'mises & every or anie part thereof to reenter and the damaged land to repossesse & have againe as in his or their first & former estate this Indenture or anie thing therein contayned to the contrary thereof in anie wise notwithstanding And the said Daniel Downes doth for himselfe his executors adm^r & assignes covnnt promise & graunt to & with the said John Bradshawe his heires executors adm^r & assignes by these p'sente that he the said Daniel Downes his executors adm^r & assignes shall & will immediately after everie felling of the said underwoods or coppicewoods or anie part thereof well & sufficiently fence & inclose the said woods or soe much thereof as shalbe soe felled, & the same soe fenced & inclosed shall & will keepe & p'serve from all manner of spoyle or destruccon by cattell or otherwise by the space of ffive yeares next after every selling And whereas the said John Bradshawe his heires & tenannts & assignes is & are to be excluded by the true intent & meaning of the said p'sents from the haveing & takeing the herbage & pasture of the said woodlands by the space of ffive whole yeares next after everie selling thereof during the said Terme It is now covenanted graunted concluded & fully agreed by & between the said parties to these p'sents and the said Daniel Downes doth for himself his executors adm^r & assignes covenant promise & graunt to & with the said John Bradshawe his heires & assignes by p'sents that he the said Daniel Downes his executors adm^r & assignes shall & will yearely & every yeare dureing the first three yeares of the said ffive yeares next after every felling of the said underwoods or coppicewoods yeald & pay or cause to be yealded & paid to the said John Bradshawe his heires & assignes the yearely rent of Twenty shillings and for the two last yeares of the said ffive yeares the yearely rent of Twenty five shillings Eight pence at the daye and place of payment aforesaid by even & equall porcons Nethertheless the said John Bradshawe doth agree that if all the said underwoods shall not be felled in anie one yeare that he the said John Bradshawe his

heires & assignes shall and will allowe and abate to the said Daniel Downes his executors admⁿ & assignes soe much of the last reserved yearly rents as shalbe proporconable to the woods remaineing unfelled & whereof he the said John Bradshawe his heires tenants and assignes shall have the herbage & pasture untill the felling thereof And the said Daniel Downes doth for himselfe his executors admⁿ & assignes further covⁿt promise & graunt to & with the said John Bradshawe his heires & assignes by these p^rsents that he the said Daniel Downes his executors admⁿ & assignes shall & will leave the said woods & underwoods of the full growth of three yeares at the end of the said terme or sooner determinacon of this p^rsent Lease and the said John Bradshaw doth for himself his heires & assigns covenant promise & graunt to & with the said Daniel Downes his executors admⁿ & assignes by these p^rsents that he the said Daniel Downes his executors admⁿ & assignes shall & may under & upon the yearly rents covenants reservatcons & agreements aforesaid on the part & behalfe of the said Daniel Downes his executors admⁿ & assignes to be paid performed & done peaceably & quietly have hould occupy possesse & enjoy the said underwoods or coppicewoods lope of trees & all & singular other the demysed p^rmisses wth their app^rtenances without the lawfull let deniall interrupcon or eviction of the said John Bradshawe his heires or assignes or of anie other person or persons lawfully claymeing anie estate right tittle or interest by from or under him them or anie of them In witness whereof the parties above said have hereunto their hands & Seales interchangeably set & put the day & yeare ffirst above written.

The seals are broken off, but the marks remain in small pieces.

Indorsed at back,

"M^r Downes the counterpart
of his Lease."

After the seizure of supreme authority by Cromwell, Bradshaw, who always denounced that act as a betrayal of the cause of the people, missed no opportunity of opposing him, openly defied his power and joined in most of the conspiracies against it; indeed he shewed that he would gladly have rendered to the Lord Protector the same service which, mainly by Oliver's means, he had some years before rendered to the King. When required by Cromwell to take out from his government a new commission as Chief Justice of Chester, he resolutely refused, on the ground that the com-

mission he held already under the Ordinance of both Houses of Parliament was to continue "*quamdiu se bene gesserit*," and declared that therefore he would retain it unless it could be shewn that it was forfeited by some failure in integrity on his part. If that question were raised he would have it tried by twelve Englishmen. He then set out upon his circuit.

Cromwell was deeply incensed by this contumacy and caused him to be opposed in the next election for Cheshire, but such was Bradshaw's popularity in his own county, that he was returned in the face even of the powerful influence brought to bear against him. He was no match for the Lord Protector, however, whether in power or policy, and another member was declared to be also elected; this double return, as the law stood preventing either from taking the seat. Notwithstanding his unconcealed hostility, Cromwell, knowing his value and influence, tried to conciliate "*honest Bradshaw*," as he styled him, by causing measures to be passed for his advantage, and by shewing him every outward mark of deference and respect. Thus, in September, 1653, he caused the Parliament specially to enact that the continuance of the palatinate power of the Duchy of Lancaster should be vested in the Lord President, certain similarly high offices, held by other less important personages, being abolished. And in April, 1654, at a state banquet given at Whitehall by Cromwell to the Ambassadors of the United Provinces, "*The Lords of the Council with some colonels and other gentlemen dined at two tables in the same room; and the Lords Ambassadors, the Lord President and the Lord Lisle at the same table with his Highness.*"* Bradshaw, however, was not to be thus won over, and each watched the other with the most sedulous attention. Lord Campbell, who, in constructing his account of the Lord President Bradshaw, has drawn his materials obviously from hostile

* *Mercurius Politicus*.

sources, says of this part of his career, that "we must in fairness allow that he now acted his part with consistency and courage." It was probably about this time that he declined the peerage proffered him by the Lord Protector.

In 1656 it would seem that interferences, open and surreptitious, with the discharge of his judicial duties were brought into operation. Amongst the latter was a petition, which he thought treacherous, circulated in his own county. Respecting this we have here a most valuable letter written throughout by Bradshaw, but not signed; the address, too, is torn away, probably by design, as there is no name given in the whole letter, though several persons are indicated by initials or otherwise. The latter division of this production refers chiefly to the private affairs of the individual to whom it has been addressed, and the kindly, almost paternal interest evinced by the writer in those would lead us to infer that it was written to some near relative.

From the Lord President to a Friend in Cheshire.

(Address torn away.)

Yo' le're of y^e 12th instant is rec^d and yo' former narrative touching y^e Chesh^{re} Election came likewise to hand for both w^{ch} & yo' care paines & faithfullⁿ therein expressed & by yo' Actings manifested this returns you thanks & prayes you to tend' y^e same to those honest friends who have showed their good will in y^e late troublesome busyness at Chester.

I am much troubled & startled at y^e Petition yo' last l're speakes of & if anie such thing be looke upon it as a Designe in y^e contryverse of it, yet further to lesson me in yo' parts. I have as good a tittle to my place as p^lment or Patent can make me, not impeached but confirmed rather by y^e Instrum^t of y^e p^{re}s^{ent} govnm^t w^{ch} y^e Pr^e is sworne not to violate but to observe & cause to be observed; If either then y^e old Law or y^e new stands or y^t y^e Pr^e keepe his oath, I am safe enough & none needs to begge favo^r for me; But if fforce be determind & in my particular the law of p^{ro}p^{er}tie trodd und^r foote. y^e case being everie mans in y^e conseq^{ce} of it I shalbe content to suffer & tarry Gods tyme for righting of me. Nor would I have y^t tyme anticipated or my condition bettered by anie unworthie application in my behalf. If y^e hand of violence p^{re}vent me from keeping y^e publ^c sessions

(w^{ch} by this tyme I suppose are warned & published) y^e country who will also therein suffer may then consider what on their part is fit to be done & to whom to complayne (if a p^lam^t be sytting) In y^e Interim such courses as are now in agitation may be better forborne then proceeded in, neither can I look upon y^e Designers of them as wyse or reall friends. Thus much see you impart as my mind & Resolution As you shall see occasion.

Concⁿing yo^r Manch^r m^{ss} my advyce is you be assured in y^e 1st place y^t she be free to place her affection & uningaged to anie other not p^{re}ceding If there be any strong suspicion of such a matter. 2^d if she do not be cleared Then looke well to it, that you can love her & in case you cloze that you can hope to lyve a contented & comfortable lyfe with her in regard of what you can see & hopefully judge of her; Or els in y^e name of God medle not but wthdraw betymes & that in y^e fairest manner you can that no Reflections be either upon her or your self. (wryte what happens hereupon.) I would have you immediately upon receite hereof to repaire to Marp^e shew theise lynes to o^r ffr^d there whose l^{res} I have rec^d & will answ^r y^m (God p^{re}mytt^e) by G. N. of Stockp^t. In y^e meane tyme I acknow^ld^{ge} his very great & affectionate care to me wards & thinke my self much in his Dett for it. Speake wth W. W. also of theise things & with whom els you will that they be not cozened wth y^e Devises & faire Glosses of those who carry on y^e Petition, If there be any furth^r doings in it. If I were stored wth mon^{ie} as at p^{re}s^{en}t I am not I would helpe you acc^d to yo^r Desires: you may try if yo^r broth^r C. will spare you for a tyme y^e 200l w^{ch} he is to have of me & I will endea^v to find out some one to lend you another 100l having an eye upon S. R^w who possiblie may do it. I blame you not for being so wary in yo^r deal^g I may get some 100l next yeare aforehand & then I may offer you a Partn^rsh^p you dreame not on, & try how honest & successfull you may prove. Rememb^r me to yo^r good mother & all ffr^{ds} & be verie carefull how & wth whom you conv^{se} neverforgetting y^e honest heath^{en} advyce honeste vivere nemini nocere, suum cuique tribuere & always having in mind Pauls 3 Adverbs Pie, Juste, Sobrie.

16^o 7^{bre} 1656.

ffarewell

Indorsed.

Likewise connected with these troubles we have the copy of a letter from Bradshaw to Henry Cromwell, the Protector's younger son and Lord Deputy of Ireland, in which the tone of dignified remonstrance and the determination to discharge,

in defiance of all obstructions, the duties of what appears to have been at all times his favourite office, are specially worthy of remark. It is also entirely in the Lord President's writing.

From the Lord President Bradshaw to
Lord Henry Cromwell.

My Lord :

I know It is not out of yo^r Lo^{ps} memory what passed at my last appearance befor His Highnes & y^e Councell at w^{ch} tyme I was occasioned to declare my purpose to procede in y^e Execution of my Judicall office in y^e 4 counties to w^{ch} I relate & y^e obligations upon me w^{ch} necessitated me to such Resolution. In pursuance thereof the Assizes & great sessions are appointed to be held in those places respectivelie & those at Chester are to begin on Munday senight next this Tyme of y^e yeare being y^e usuall season for those occasions w^{ch} in regard to myself & Dutie I could no longer neglect. The conscientious consydera- tion of what herein is incumbent upon me to doe at least to endea^v (wherein y^e discharge of my L^d Protect^{ns} owne oath as to doing Justice in those parts is also clearlie involved) hath bene & is wth me y^e cogent Argum^t to continue in y^e intention by me formerlie Declared, wherein for approbation I dare presume (my case and all circumstances duly weighed) yo^r Lo^{ps} owne Judgm^t will concur, as being satisfied that thereby I neith^r offend old Law nor new but should do both if I did otherwise & indeed besides wronging my conscience wth y^e hazard & Brand of p^rjurie incurre y^e penaltie of forfeiting my office wth such oth^r penall blemishes as any honeste man (in his right wits) would be willing to avoide.

My Lord : I have according to such opportunities as y^e Lord hath bene pleased to vouchsafe unto me & to the best of my abilities endeavo^red in y^e course of y^t part of the magistracie entrusted to my charge to answer y^e ends of Gov^rnm^t in being a terro^r to evil workes & workers & a prayse for them that doe well & I trust through y^e assistance of Dyvine Grace to hold on in so doing & when my call to further actings of this publike nature through whatsoever p^rvidence shall cast & I shall yet have y^e comfort of my Integritie & plaineheartedness in these things.

My Lord

Yo^r Ingenuitie & candor to all & p^rticular Respects often manifested to my self (ever by me to be gratefullie acknowledged & remembered) give me y^e boldnes to transmit & leave these lynes wth you And if thereby & by yo^r good meanes misconstruction may be p^rvented or any evill consequences y^eof (whereof

I am not conscious to my self of giving any reall cause) I shall
happilie attayne my desyres & hopes be ingaged for all yo^r noble
flavo^r to expresse my self At all tymes

(My Lord)

Yo^r Lo^{ps} most faithfullie

to serve you

J. B.

Indorsed,

{ Copy of my let^r to my
L^d Dep. of Ireland sent
by Col. Sankie to him
at my coming away on
Saturda^y 27^o 7^{br} 1656. }

The uncompromising republicanism of Bradshaw rendering all Cromwell's efforts to win him over of no avail, and the respect in which he was held by his party deterring the latter from taking measures for crushing him, of a more open or decided character than those indicated in the letters just given, these two men, the most prominent of their time and country, remained in a position of mutual distrust, and of enmity all the more intense that it had to be partially concealed. Their animosity, however, was sufficiently visible to those about them, and in November, 1657, Whitlock states that "the dislike between them was perceived to increase."

Cromwell's death in 1658 relieved Bradshaw from the danger in which every day of his life, for some years, had been passed. In the following year he was re-elected President of the Council of State and again appointed a joint commissioner of the Great Seal; but his failing health compelled him to ask to be relieved from the duties of the latter office.

Nevertheless, he continued to preside over the Council, and his last act there, which was the last of his public, indeed, almost of his natural life, was characteristic of the man. Lenthall, the Speaker of the Commons was stopped on his way to the House by Colonel Dukinfield, under the direction of General Lambert, and compelled to return home. The

proceedings in Parliament were thus, once more, forcibly suspended; and this violence being spoken of by a military member of the Council, as required by a particular call of Divine Providence, the President stood up, and, interrupting the speaker, "declared his abhorrence of that detestable action; and telling the Council that being now going to his God, he had no patience to sit there and hear his great name so openly blasphemed."* He then abruptly quitted the Council Chamber, and so retired from public affairs.

The only relic of this, the last year of his life that we have amongst these documents, is a parchment deed of sale, of date July 14th, 1659, by Edward Manning of ffauabston or ffaberston, in the County of Wilts, Esq., to John Bradshaw, Sergeant at law, one of the Lords Commissioners for the custody of the Great Seale of England and Chief Justice of Chester, of certain meadow lands adjoining the Manor of Founthill. Some of his biographers say that Bradshaw was deprived of the Chief Justiceship of Chester by Cromwell. This document proves that either he never ceased to hold that office, or had been reinstated in it, for it describes him *inter alia* as Chief Justice of Chester *then*.

His biographers are also in error as to the date of his death which, they say, occurred on the 22nd of November. There are many evidences of the incorrectness of this date; amongst them the public prints of the day, from one of which, "The Mercurius Politicus," I abstract an obituary notice.

"Whitehall, Oct. 31. This day it pleased God to put a period to the life of Lord Bradshaw, after a yeare's lingering under a fierce and most tedious quartan ague, which, in all probability, could not have taken him away yet awhile had he not by his indefatigable affection toward the public affairs and safety, in a time of danger, wasted himself with extraordinary labours from day to day. For the Commonwealth

* Ludlow.

"he always lived, and for the sake of the Commonwealth he died so soon."

It is well known that the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton and Bradshaw were exhumed and subjected to indignities, a thousand times more disgraceful to the contemptible government that ordered them than to the unconscious objects of its futile and dastardly vengeance. As in the case of Cromwell's remains an apocryphal statement has been made with regard to the ultimate fate of those of his great associate and opponent. In the life of Thomas Hollis it is asserted that Bradshaw, foreseeing the restoration, escaped to the West Indies and died there peacefully many years afterwards; a cannon having been exhibited, and I believe preserved, inscribed with an ably written and strongly eulogistic epitaph, intimating that John Bradshaw's dust lay there, and winding up with the axiom which the subject of the epitaph might have adopted for his motto, that "opposition to tyrants is obedience to God." Were any serious refutation of this story called for, we may find it, oddly enough, in the notes to some editions of *Hudibras* where a quotation is given from "the M.S. diary of Mr. Edward Sainthill, a Spanish merchant of those times, preserved by his descendants." This extract, though somewhat ghastly in its details, is so illustrative of the character and feelings of the times, especially of the indifference or rather levity with which these and similarly revolting exhibitions were regarded by the citizens, who enjoyed such frequent opportunities of witnessing them, that I reproduce it here.

"The 30th Jan. being that day 12 years from the death of the King, the odious carcasses of Oliver Cromwell, Major General Ireton and Bradshaw were drawn on sledges to Tyburn, where they were hanged by the neck from morning until four in the afternoon, Cromwell in a green cere cloth very fresh, enbalm'd; Ireton having been buried long hung like a dried rat, yet corrupted * * * * ; Brad-

"shaw in his winding sheet, the fingers of his right hand and
 "his nose perished, having wet the sheet through; the rest
 "very perfect insomuch that *I knew his face* when the hangman
 "after cutting his head off, held it up. Of his toes I had five
 "or six in my hand, which the 'prentices had cut off. Their
 "bodies were thrown into a hole under the gallows in their
 "cere cloths and sheet. Cromwell had eight cuts, Ireton four
 "being (in) cere cloths and their heads were set up on the
 "south end of Westminster Hall.

"Ireton died the 26th November, 1651.

"Cromwell „ 3rd September, 1658.

"Bradshaw „ 31st October, 1659."

John Bradshaw died without issue. By his will, after providing for his widow and other relatives, he bequeathed £700 for the purpose of maintaining a free school in Marple, and £500 each for increasing the salaries of the masters and ushers of the schools of Bunbury and Middleton, where he says he received part of his "educ" and returne this as part "of my thankfull acknowl^{mt} for the same." He also left an annuity of £40 for seven years to Saml. Roe his secy. for maintaining him at Grays Inn; £250 to the poor on his various estates; £10 "to my kinsman John Milton," and £5 each to all his servants.

Though the will was proved on the 16th of December, six weeks after the testator's death, it is probable that most of these interesting bequests were rendered nugatory by the restoration, and the resumption of the estates by their former owners.

There are few names in history that have been so generally blackened by those who profess to write it, and there are few that have been more brightened by casual or incidental comment than that of the Lord President Bradshaw. He is depicted even by comparatively favourable writers as stern and intolerant in asserting the principles he professed to be guided

by in religion and in politics, as tenacious to fierceness of the dignity attaching to any of the high offices he administered, and as somewhat overbearing in asserting that dignity. The facts that have come down to us, separated from the obloquy heaped upon his memory, call for no more severe judgment than this; and we may gather from this correspondence that in his personal attributes he was unpretending, single-minded and consistent, equally indifferent to aspersion and eulogium, so long as he felt assured of the approval of his own conscience; that in all his transactions he never lost sight of his duty to his country, or of his responsibilities as a servant to whom many talents were entrusted by his master; and we can believe that had it been possible for him to choose his own epitaph, from all that has been written respecting him, he would have selected the brief and significant commentary of his contemporary, Whitlock, who summed up his character thus—"A stout man, and learned in his profession: no friend to Monarchy."

I shall take another opportunity of noticing the family from which this extraordinary man derived his descent—the Bradshaws of Marple and Wybersley. More especially of another prominent member of that family, Colonel Henry Bradshaw, the Lord President's eldest brother, whose diary of personal disbursements, extending over several years, affords an interesting view of the ways of life followed by a Cheshire squire two hundred years ago, who took a leading part, in his own county, in the agitated public affairs of his era.

The following is a list of the original documents relating to the Lord President Bradshaw in the possession of A. R. Lingard, Esq., and referred to, or embodied, in the foregoing paper:—

	DATE.
1. Copy of Register of Baptism	1602
2. Patent for the Stewardship of the Manor of Glossop	1630
3. A Bond to pay Philip Antrobus £93.....	1634
4. A letter to Bradshaw from Peter Daniel, Esq.....	1639

5. A letter to Bradshaw from Mrs. Green, of Stapely	1639
6. Do. from Mrs. Bradshaw to Mrs. Newton	1641
7. Do. to Bradshaw from James Davenport, Esq., of Sutton, son of Sir Humphrey Davenport, of Bramhall....	1642
8. A letter to Bradshaw from Lady Davenport.....	1644
9. Do. do. from James Davenport	1645
10. Do. do. from Philip Osborn.....	1645
11. Do. do. do.	1645
12. Do. do. from James Davenport	1645
13. Copy of Ordinance of both Houses of Parliament, appoint- ing Bradshaw to the Chief Justiceship of Chester	1646
14. Blank form for appointment of Bailiff, in Bradshaw's writing	1649
15. Copy of Case, and Claim to the lands of Stapely, laid before the Court of Sequestration.....	1649
16. Patent of Bradshaw's election to the Governorship of the Charter House, or Sutton's Hospital	1650
17. Counterpart of a Lease, granted by Bradshaw to Thomas Chergold, of lands in Wiltshire	1651
18. Draught of a letter, in Bradshaw's writing, to the Parishioners of Feltham, respecting the appointment of a regular minister	1651
19, 20, 21. Bonds for the Payment of Rents by tenants on Bradshaw's Estate at Tunbridge	1652
22. Do. do. at Tisbury in Wiltshire	1653
23. Counterpart of a Lease granted by Bradshaw to Daniel Downes of part of the priory lands of Tunbridge in Kent	1653
24. Letter from Bradshaw to a friend in Cheshire respecting the government interference with his election, &c.....	
25. Do. do. to Henry Cromwell, Lord Deputy of Ireland, respecting obstructions to the discharge of judicial duties in Cheshire, Flint, Denbigh and Mont- gomery	
26. Deed of Sale by Edward Manning of lands adjoining Bradshaw's mansion of Fonthill, Wilts	1659
27. Address, in Latin, of certain exiles from Bohemia to Bradshaw	