

Some Notes on Henry Marten, the Regicide, and His Family.

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IN 1662 good-fortune put into the hands of Edmond Gayton, an embittered Royalist pamphleteer, some of the private letters which had passed over a period of years between the discredited regicide, Henry Marten, and his mistress, Mary Ward.¹ These letters Gayton immediately published with an introduction and other additions, but in utter chronological confusion. He called his publication by the pleasant title of "Colonel Henry Marten's Familiar Letters to His Lady of Delight."²

Gayton's volume is interesting both for its occasional historical value and for the light which it throws upon a man who played a considerable part in the Puritan revolution, and who has not yet received the attention he deserves.

Without some knowledge of the persons concerned the letters are obscure, and I have therefore attempted to collect what details I can about the Marten family and their immediate circle. Such details may, I think, be of interest to local historians of Berkshire and I have accordingly ventured to publish them in this Journal.

Apart from Gayton's letters, my chief source of information has been a collection of deeds, letters and other papers calendared in the Thirteenth Annual Report of the Hist. MSS. Com., Part IV.³ This collection is now in the Brotherton Library at Leeds University, where Dr. Offor has most kindly let me examine it. Much of the material relates to the Loder-Symonds family, who

¹ Copies of "The Familiar Letters" are to be found in the British Museum and the Bodleian Library. There is also a copy in the Routh Collection in Bishop Cosin's Library at Durham, etc.

² Aubrey MS. 6, fol. 103 has a note added by Clerk: 'When his study was searched they found the history of his concubine. It was printed.'

³ 13. Annual Rep: Hist. MSS. Com. Part IV, page 378. The papers relating to Henry Marten in this collection are—

1. Letters & Papers relating to or written to H.M. 1617-1657.
2. Letters and Papers and Receipts to H.M. 1626-58.
3. Three vols. miscellaneous letters & accounts relating to H.M. and his friends, Vol. 1: 1619-53; Vol. 2: 1654-72; Vol. 3 undated.
4. Autograph letters, accounts and documents to H.M. from Thomas, Frances and John Tuckwell and William Wardle, 1648-58.
5. Letters & papers, political & miscellaneous relating to H.M., Vol. 1: 1600-50; Vol. 2: 1651-58.
6. Letters from George Marten to Henry Marten, 1652-57.
7. Letters & receipts to H.M., 1650-1655, 1656.
8. Autograph letters to H.M. from his steward Thomas Deane, Vol. 1: 1651-4; Vol. 2: 1655-6; Vol. 3: 1657-8.
9. Manor of Hinton Waldrist. One large vol. containing extracts from the Court Rolls of the Manor and records of the Courts Baron during the reigns of Charles I and II.

bought the manors of Hinton and Longworth from the regicide's children, but a certain number of deeds, letters and papers are concerned with the Martens and their estates in Berkshire. The collection was sold, after the death of Captain Loder-Symonds, by his son, Vice-Admiral F. P. Loder-Symonds, at Sotheby's. Later it came into the possession of the Brotherton Library, but in the meantime it had been impoverished by the loss of nearly all the most interesting political material.¹

The Marten memorials in the family chapel at Longworth and the Longworth and Shrivenham parish registers also give valuable information, and I have appended a list of these at the end of this article.

Colonel Henry Marten, the regicide, was born in 1602,² the eldest son of Sir Henry Marten, the famous lawyer and favourite of King James, who amassed a great fortune during the early years of the seventeenth century, which he invested in extensive estates in Berkshire, his principal seat being at Longworth. Henry was educated at Oxford³ and proceeded from there to Gray's Inn.⁴ He then spent some time in foreign travel and in 1636 married and settled with his wife at Beckett House near Shrivenham,⁵ "where," it is said, "he made the Vale of the White Horse ring with his organs."

But, whatever the excesses of his private life—and his enemies have made the most of them—Henry was developing through these years the sturdy political philosophy from which he never wavered. Clarendon has given us an interesting picture of him at this time. "Mr. Hyde met with Henry Marten in Westminster Church Yard, with whom he lived very familiarly, and . . . pressed him then to say what he desired, to which after a little pause he very readily answered, 'I do not think one man wise enough to govern us all,' which was the first word he had ever heard any man speak to that purpose . . . that gentleman being at that time possessed of a very great fortune and having great credit in his county."⁶ This is not the place in which to discuss Marten's political career, but in the years that followed he held unwaveringly to the thought which he had expressed so strikingly to Mr. Hyde. Kingship, as kingship, was abhorrent to him because it conflicted, as he saw it, with the rights of the common

¹ Search has so far failed to trace the missing letters. At the time of the sale Admiral Loder-Symonds kept back a few relating to his family and of no political interest.

² Wood, *Athenae Oxon.* III, p. 1237.

³ *Ox. Univ. Register*, II, 364.

⁴ *Gray's Inn Reg.*, p. 142.

⁵ *C.S.P. Domestic*, 1636-7, p. 274. Shrivenham registers. I can find no evidence that Henry Marten ever lived at Hinton as has been suggested.

⁶ Clarendon, *Life*, 41.42., fol. ed. 1759. See also *Aubrey MS.*, 6, fol. 103, for Marten's local popularity.

man to freedom and to justice, and for these two rights he fought unceasingly, in season and out of season, during all his Parliamentary life.¹

Marten was a politician and not a soldier, and his part in the fighting during the Civil War was not conspicuous. Early in the war he raised and equipped at his own expense a regiment of horse in Berkshire² and was, at various times, governor of Reading³ (which he surrendered without a fight) and of Aylesbury.⁴ He was also second in command at the siege of Donnington Castle.⁵

In his own neighbourhood his conduct in political affairs had at first won him great popularity. In 1639 he refused with many other local gentlemen to pay the Scottish loan, and he was returned to Parliament on a wave of enthusiasm in the following year.⁶ But in 1647, afraid of Cromwell's weakness with the king, on his own initiative and without the consent of Parliament, he set about raising a second regiment of horse by the most outrageous methods of banditry and excited everywhere bitter local hostility.⁷

Marten was extremely active during the latter part of 1648 in bringing the king to trial and was prominent among those who signed the royal death warrant. All through the spring and early summer of 1649 great efforts were made to propitiate him and divide him from the Levelling party. But, by the late summer, he had fallen out with Cromwell and given offence to the leaders of the army by his outspokenness and immorality. After this time his influence quickly declined and, at the expulsion of the Long Parliament, he dropped out of political life and in 1655-7, having lost the immunity which his membership gave him, he was imprisoned for debt.⁸ In 1659 he resumed his seat in the Long Parliament and at the Restoration was one of those who surrendered to the king. During part of 1660 and 1661 he was a prisoner in the Tower, awaiting his trial and sentence, and it is to this period that most, though not all, of the "Familiar Letters" belong. The

¹ Clement Walker, *History of Independency*, Part II, 150; Clarendon, *History*, V, 280; I, 91; etc.

² Marten was later re-imbursed by Parliament for these and other expenses incurred during the war; Clement Walker, *Hist. of Independency*, Part II, 208; Wood, *Athenae Ox.*, Ed. Bliss, III, 1239.

³ Clarendon, *Hist.*, VI, 125; Coat, *Hist. of Reading*; Wood, *Ath. Ox.* ed. Bliss, III, 1239.

⁴ C.S.P. Dom., 1644-5, 175, 234, 304, etc.

⁵ Walter Money, *1st and 2nd Battles of Newbury*; C.S.P.D., 1645-7, 212.

⁶ In 1641 Marten publicly tore in pieces the king's commission of array at Longworth and 'forbad the people to stand bare at the sessions to do fealty to their lords,' Gayton, *Introduction to Familiar Letters*; Clement Walker, *H. of I.*, II, p. 23; Wood, *Athenae Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, III, 1239.

⁷ Whitelock, J., Aug. 17, 1648; Clement Walker, *Hist. of Independency*, Part II, 34.

⁸ His letters at this time are often addressed to the Thatched House in the Rules of Southwark.

account of his trial has been given by Noble.¹ He conducted his own defence with wit and coolness and, owing to the influence of his friends, who were many,² he escaped the death penalty. At first he was sent to Berwick, then, with some of the other regicides, he was imprisoned at Windsor, but the carelessly kindly Charles could not bear the sight of the glum-faced prisoners taking their exercise, and they were removed.³ Marten was then committed to his final prison in Chepstow Castle, where he died nearly twenty years later.⁴

The origins of the Marten family are obscure. Aubrey⁵ says that Sir Henry Marten was born at Stoke Pogis and was the son of a copyholder there, "of but sixty pounds per annum"; but Fuller in his "Worthies" says he was born in London.⁶ Sir Charles Firth in the Dictionary of National Biography says that he was the son of Anthony Marten and Margaret his wife, daughter of John Yate of Lyford. Whether or no we accept this parentage,⁷

¹ See Noble, *Lives of the English Regicides*, vol. II, under Henry Marten. He gave himself up on June 20th, 1660. His trial took place on 16th October in that year. He was convicted, but execution suspended. In May 1661 a bill to execute the 19 suspended regicides was brought in, but Marten was spared.

² *Aubrey MS.* Fol. 6, 103. *Burnet*, Book II; Anno. 1661. But it was probably his respectable connections like Lovelace who helped him.

³ He was imprisoned in the Tower till 1662. Then at Berwick. In May 1665 he was removed to Windsor; *C.S.P. Dom.* 1661-2, p. 446; 1665, p. 374; 1667, p. 465.

⁴ William Cox, *Hist. Tour of Monmouthshire*. Marten died Sept. 9th, 1680, and was buried at Chepstow.

⁵ *Aubrey MSS.* 6, Fol., 103. There are only 3 contemporary entries in the Stoke Pogis registers in which the name Marten occurs—'2 are Martyn.' They are not obviously helpful in tracing Sir Henry's supposed relations there.

1585. Symond Martyn and Ellen Adams.

1601. Thomas Butterfield and Ellen Martin.

1611. Thomas Chapman and Wynnyfride Martyn.

} married.

⁶ Fuller, *Worthies of England*, 307: "Sir Henry Marten was born in this city [London], where his father left him £40 p.a. and he used merrily to say that if his father had left him fourscore he would never have been bred a scholar but lived on his lands."

⁷ There is difficulty in accepting this parentage, also recorded in the Pedigree of the Martens of Oakingham (Wokingham) and Shinfield in Berks. In Berks. Visitations (*Harleian Soc.* I, 43-44) Ashmole says that Anthony Marten was the son of Margaret Yate by William Marten and that the said Anthony married Ann, daughter of John Jacob of Starford in County Herts, and this is supported by Wood, *Athenae Oxon.* (Ed. Bliss), III, 17, who says Sir Henry was born in London and was the son of Anthony Marten son of William Marten by his second wife Margaret, daughter of John Yate of Lyford. But the arms of the Wokingham Martens are totally different from those of Sir Henry and it seems that in neither case can there be any error in this respect. The Oakingham connection is tempting because it would explain the relationship with the Yates family (see next note) and also supply a link with the Hertfordshire-Essex area with which Henry Marten seems to have many ties (see "Familiar Letters" *passim*), but I cannot see how we can accept it. See *infra* note o page o.

it is certain that the Martens were related to the Yates¹ and possibly to the ancient Berkshire family of the Bessels of Bessels-leigh.² One relation and only one of old Sir Henry's emerges with any clearness from the general obscurity. This is his brother William.

William Marten lived in Oxford and is described as "gentleman" of that city.³ He was a member of the University and an official of the archdeacon of Berkshire.⁴ He is mentioned as renting some property for a garden near New Inn Hall Street⁵ and owned other property at Kennington, and Eaton Hastings.⁶ The Martens were also related to a brewer named Bosworth of St. Giles Parish.⁷ Among the church plate at All Saints is a stand paten of 1632 with an inscription showing it to be the gift of William Marten. It belonged originally to St. Martin's Church at Carfax and was transferred with the other plate to St. Martin's and All Saints. William married Elizabeth, the daughter of William Tatham and granddaughter of Richard Whittington,⁸ and they, together with their infant son, were buried in St. Martin's Church.⁹ A fragment of a schedule of the legacies left by William Marten is among the Loder-Symonds papers. Sir Henry was the executor of his will.

It is perhaps because of his ties with William that we find Sir Henry in 1602 settled in a house at the corner of Merton Street which he had lately bought from Harry Sherbourne, who kept a tavern in the High Street.¹⁰ Sir Henry had married in 1597, but it was not until this year that his eldest son was born.¹¹ He was

¹ Marten speaks of "my cousin J[ames] Y[ate] of Buckland in "The Familiar Letters."

² Is it possible to identify the coat impaled with the Martens' on Lady Marten's tomb as that of the Bessels? a fragment of the impaled shield remains at Longworth, and on one of the roundels traces of a redish colour are visible.

³ *Ox. City Prop.*, 706.

⁴ Wood, *City of Ox.*, III, 168.

⁵ *Ox. City Prop.*, 206.

⁶ Schedule of Will of William Marten.

⁷ Wood's *Life and Times* (ed. Clark), I, 231.

⁸ Fletcher, *History of the Church and Parish of St. Martin, Carfax, Oxford*, 166.

⁹ Wood's *City of Oxford*, III, 168.

¹⁰ Wood, *Athenae Ox.*, IV, 493. He says in 'a house opposite to Merton College Church.'

Harry Sherbourne of All Saints got a licence in 1591 for a sign for the Swann Inn; (*Ox. Cit. Prop.*, 339). He owned a garden next to a stable belonging to Corpus Christi College, and it is perhaps here he built the house (*ibid.*, p. 106).

¹¹ Wood, *Athenae Ox.*, IV, 493.

followed in the next year by a daughter, Elizabeth (the Eliza of the letters), and after that, though I do not know in what order, by another son, George, and two more daughters, Mary and Jane. Jane was living in 1618, when she is referred to on Lady Marten's tomb; but after that I can find no mention of her and she must have died comparatively early.

The young Martens seem to have removed while still children from Oxford to London. "I knew your genius of old," writes Edmond Gayton,¹ ". . . ever since you lived in Aldersgate Street, under the tuition of the then called blue-nosed Romanist, your father"; but, during the early years of the century, Sir Henry busied himself in acquiring a country estate. His first purchase of land in the Vale was in West Challow.² But it was on the little village of Longworth and its ancient manor house that his choice finally rested.³ I do not know when Sir Henry actually came to live at Longworth,⁴ but in 1618 he bought the manor of West Longworth from the Fishers and it was probably in that year that the family settled in their newly enlarged and embellished house there.⁵ In that year also Sir Henry suffered a great loss. Lady

¹ "Familiar Letters."

² *V.C.H. Berks*, IV, 224; in 1600.

³ *V.C.H. Berks*, IV, 467. The whole estate cost £9,000.

⁴ The house in which Sir Henry is traditionally supposed to have lived is Longworth House, called until recently Longworth Lodge or Hyde Place. This is said (*V.C.H. Berks*, 467) to have been in the manor of E. Longworth and to have followed a different descent, not being part of Sir Henry's property. But a deed of 1672 in the Loder-Symonds collection expressly mentions Longworth Lodge in the *Manor of W. Longworth* as part of the Marten property. Lady Marten's death does not occur in the Longworth registers, so it may be that the family were not then actually living at the manor. Sir Henry is spoken of on the monument as *dominus hujus manerii* (singular), which must, I think, refer to the manor of W. Longworth alone. I cannot determine the boundaries between the two manors at that date, but possibly Longworth Lodge was included in W. Longworth after he bought it.

⁵ Mrs. Fitzwilliams Hyde, the present owner, has a picture of the manor very much as it must have been in the time of Sir Henry Marten, who is said to have altered and embellished the original Tudor house; see private papers in Mrs. Hyde's possession. Sir Clarendon Hyde, her father, largely rebuilt the manor in 1909, when he bought it from the Pusey family. The following is a description of the house before alteration, from the Pusey Sale Catalogue of 1908:

"A grand old manor house of brick construction, having rough cast elevation and brick dressings with gabled porch entrance carried up to roof level with sundial and shell shaped top to entrance door. It faces due South with some beautiful views and contains panelled drawing room and dining room, study and eight bed- and dressing-rooms, etc."

Marten died and was buried under a massive memorial in Longworth Parish Church. Her eldest son, Henry, wrote the verses which are engraved upon it.¹

¹ *Ashmole MS.*, 850, fol. 96, has an exact description of this tomb and the one put up to Sir Henry in 1641. Sir Henry's was on the North wall of the North transept, Lady Marten's on the East. Above Sir Henry's were the Marten arms and crest. The inscription was as follows :

Here lyeth the body of
Sir Henry Marten Knight,
Dr. of the Lawes, Judge of
the High Court of Admiralty,
and of the Prerogative Court
of Canterbury, and twice
Deane of the Arches, who
departed this life the XXVIth
of September A.^o Domini,
MDCXLI
in the year of his age 81.

Written at the bottom of this monument :

For whose Memory Mrs. Margaret
Marten hath erected this Monument.

Over her deceased father-in-Law's grave.

Immediately above the inscription is engraved the Marten crest. Ashmole spells Sir Henry's name correctly with an e, Lady Marten's with an i. Henry Marten at his trial protested that his name should rightly be HARRY MARTEN.

Lady Marten's tomb is described by Ashmole thus :—On the East wall of the said chapel is another monument erected, bearing the portraiture of a woman kneeling at a desk and under her the statues of 2 sons and three daughters kneeling also before another desk, and above her head is the following inscription : Dominae Elizabethae Martin, uxori Henrici Martin militis. Patroni hujus ecclesiae et domini hujus manerii. Femina in Deum pietate, in omnes morum favitate, in virum amore singulari quocum conjunctissime vivit viginti annos et decem menses et ex eo peperit duos filios Henricum et Georgium et tres filias, Elizabetham, Janam et Mariam, Henricus Marten N.H.M.L.M.Q.P., and below the figures of the children the following verses cut :—

Obiit anno aetatis suae 44. Decimo nono die mensis Junii M.D.C. XVIII, cujus memoriae hoc sacrum elegium H. filius merito maerens consecravit.

Stay passenger and if thou art not stone
Weep with Urania whose nymph is gone,
Nymph whom thou would'st swear had been the same
Divine Urania, but for her name.
And yet her name her nature well expressed,
That in Gods temple built her careful nest.
Thither to fly, that she the easier may

Her young ones teach, herself (l'oe) leads the way.

Ashmole adds that at the top of the monument was the Marten coat of arms and crest, at the sides (I) the Marten coat, (II) the Marten coat impaling three roundels gules. At the bottom a lozenge with a fesse indented between three lions' heads and the crest of a griffin out of an eastern crown.

The photostat is of Ashmole's drawings of these coats of arms, MS. 850, fol. 96 (*Plate I.*).

Ashmole has drawn the arms on the lozenge inaccurately, there is a martlet for difference on the fesse.

The *Bucks. Berks. and Oxon. Arch. Journal*, XIII (1907), 68, says that Sir Henry's tomb was destroyed at the Restoration. Presumably this applies

also to Lady Marten's tomb. Only fragments of either survive. Fastened to the wall of the North transept are the lozenge from Lady Marten's tomb, the memorial slab itself of Sir Henry's, with part of the inscription showing it to be erected by Margaret Marten, Henry Marten's verses and one or two fragments of sculpture. The remaining pieces are in a glass case at the West end of the Church. They include parts of the upper coat of arms a complete shield from one side of Lady Marten's memorial and what is probably part of the three roundels on the impaled shield, large portions of Lady Marten's figure and of those of her daughters, but no fragment of any male figure. The inscriptions have been carefully chiselled out in several instances. The coat of arms at the bottom of her tomb is the only guide we have to Lady Marten's identity, beyond the fact that her Christian name was Elizabeth. I have so far failed to identify these arms, but Mr. E. A. Greening Lamborn, has expressed the opinion that they might be for Reynolds: there is, however, no genealogical evidence for this.

After Lady Marten's death, we know little more of the Marten family for some years. Sir Henry was climbing high in fame and favour. He had been concerned in the Lady Elizabeth's marriage settlements and in 1615 had accompanied her on the first stage of her journey to her new home. He was knighted at Hampton Court on January 6th, 1617.¹ Yearly he was presented with a brace of bucks from the royal forest to signify his sovereign's continued friendship and approval. Only once did the annual present fail to appear. While Sir Henry's judgment in the case of Sir John Elliott and Captain Watt remained in doubt no bucks were sent. His verdict pleased the king, and, though late, they arrived as usual.²

His children were now of an age for marriage and we next find the wealthy old lawyer contracting marriages for them. Sir Clement Edmonds was a friend and associate with whom he did much business and no doubt divided rich spoils,³ and to the son of Clement Edmonds he married his eldest daughter Eliza. Eliza bore her husband three children, Henry, Charles and Penelope.⁴ She was left a widow in 1652 and her name occurs frequently both in "The Familiar Letters" and the Loder-Symonds papers. One gathers that Henry rather disliked her. She died in 1694 at the great age of ninety-one.⁵

¹ Metcalf, *Book of Knights*, 69. A proof of the satisfactory state of his finance!

² Dixon, *His Majesties' Tower*, II, 131.

³ William Forster, *Life of Sir John Eliot*. Charles Edmonds lived at Preston Deanery, 3½ miles from Northampton. For Sir Clement Edmonds see *D.N.B.*, Fuller's *Worthies*, etc. He died in 1622. Charles died in 1652. See Bridges' *Hist. of Northants*, I, 383, and Hudson, *Monumental Brasses of Northants*.

⁴ Henry succeeded his father and died 1701; *V.C.H. Northants*, IV, 281. Charles died in 1661; Bridges' *Hist. of Northants*, I, 383. There is a Latin letter (Loder-S. MSS.) from him to Marten, and Marten wrote some verses on his death, which are preserved in the MSS. of Bromley Davenport, Esq., of Capesthorpe in Cheshire (see *Rep. Hist. MSS. Com.*, 81. He seems to refer to these in one of "The Familiar Letters" (Letter 41).

⁵ See Bridges' *Hist. of Northants*.

Mary, Sir Henry's second surviving daughter, was also left early a widow. She married Sir Richard Rogers of Bristol and of Eastwood, County Gloucester, sheriff of County Gloucester in 1623.¹ He died in 1635 leaving her with two daughters, one born posthumously. After her husband's death Mary lived much at the rectorial manor of Canon Hill in the parish of Bray,² where her father died in 1641³ and which he left her in his will.⁴ Here she met a certain John Fenwick, who also owned a house in Bray, and married him in or about 1661.⁵

If his daughters' marriages were satisfactory, Sir Henry made equally suitable alliances for his sons. Henry Marten did not marry till 1636.⁶ In the *Cat. S.P. Dom.* for that year we find the record of his marriage with Margaret, widow of William Staunton.⁷ Before her marriage she was Margaret, one of the daughters of Richard, 1st Lord Lovelace of Ladyplace, Hurley.⁸ Her sister Elizabeth was married to Sir George Stonehouse of Radley,⁹ to whom later Sir John Evelyn went looking for a bride for his son.¹⁰

¹ See Burke, *Landed Gentry*, under Rogers of Yarlington.

² She also had a house in Bristol and it was there that Nathaniel Fiennes had his headquarters during the Siege. *Ibid.*

³ *C.S.P. Dom.*, 1641-3, p. 126.

⁴ Kerry, *Hundred of Bray*, says that Sir Henry left the Rectorial Manor of Cannon Hill to his daughter Lady Rogers, and she certainly seems to have been living at Bray in the letter in the Loder-Symonds collection, p. 398, in 1648, and in a deed of 1652 she is called 'widdow of Bray.' On the other hand the Parsonage at Bray was part of the land given in consideration of a marriage portion of £4,000 to Frances Weld, and George Marten is spoken of as 'of Bray' in 1647. Again in "The Familiar Letters" (No. 54): 'Her Aunt F. is minded to take Jane down to Bray.' A survey of the manor was made in 1650-1 (with the signature of a G. Fenwick attached to it). Kerry, *ibid.*, and after this the *V.C.H.*, does not recognise that the Martens held the manor. If not, they must have moved into other houses there.

⁵ John Fenwick of Braywick and London' he is called in a document in the Loder-Symonds collection, and in one of the letters from Eliza Edmonds there seems to be a reference to the marriage.

⁶ *C.S.P. Dom.*, 1636-7, p. 274. The exact date of the marriage is uncertain, but a William Staunton is spoken of as '*nuper defunctus*' in 1638 in the Shrivenham registers.

⁷ I can discover no more about William Staunton than what the Registers tell us. It seems likely he was the Stanton who had a daughter whose marriage is recorded there, and in "The Familiar Letters" Marten refers to 'my Son S who is sworne a Privy Chamber man extraordinary' (Letter 86), which may point to a stepson of the name of Staunton. There were Stauntons at Harwell (see Berks Wills, *Harl. Mis.*), and it may be he was related to Mr. Loder's cousin Stanton who often visited Henry in prison on Mr. Loder's behalf. The spelling Staunton or Stanton seems interchangeable.

⁸ See Ashmole, *Hist. of Berks*, under Hurley.

⁹ Ashmole and all the Stonehouse pedigrees seem surprisingly to have confused the names of these two sisters. But the evidence that Henry Marten's wife was Margaret is overwhelming and Lord Lovelace in a letter in the Loder-Symonds Collection to neighbour Whitfield speaks of "my brother in-law Marten."

¹⁰ Evelyn, *Diaries*.

The friendship between the Lovelaces and Martens was probably well established and the bride's wealth no doubt excused the fact that she was no longer young in the eyes of her father-in-law.

Margaret Marten never appears in person in any of the letters which have survived, and nearly all the references which we have to her are hostile. It is therefore not easy to gain any picture of her personality. When she married Henry she was already a woman of thirty-two whom her husband, according to Aubrey, had married "something unwillingly,"¹ but for a time at any rate they lived together at Beckett² and there, before 1640, she bore him four children; their last child, a daughter Rebecca, must have been born after this date. Sir Henry died in 1641 and his memorial tablet in Longworth Church is 'erected by his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Margaret Marten' without any reference to Henry; so it seems that by then she was living apart from her husband, in Longworth, at the manor which had been part of her jointure in her marriage settlement.³ Marten refers to her several times in "The Familiar Letters." Once he says that she was "using his daughters but coarsely, but as it is only words they will have to bear it." He calls her generally "the old woman at Longworth" and suspects her of suppressing commodities in the supplies sent to him in prison, which she thinks might be given to Mary Ward. Their aunts seem to have taken a large share in the upbringing of the Marten children, and Ann, the eldest daughter, did the house-keeping for the family, so that one wonders if Margaret was either mentally or physically incapacitated.⁴ Aubrey tells us that she accompanied her husband in his imprisonment and supported him out of her jointure, but Wood assigns this role to a daughter.⁵ Margaret died in 1680 at the age of 76.⁶

Between George Marten, Sir Henry's second son, and his brother Henry a close friendship always existed and it is to be feared that the younger brother was of an almost equally extravagant disposition. He was perhaps set up by his father as a merchant, for in 1630 we find a George Marten, with others, owned a ship of 80 tons.⁷ Soon after this he is mentioned in his uncle William's will, but in 1638, Sir Henry complained that George was costing him £500 p.a.⁸ In this year, two years after Henry's marriage,

¹ Aubrey, *MS.*, 6, fol. 103.

² Shrivenham Registers.

³ Loder-Symonds papers.

⁴ Aubrey confirms this (Aubrey, *MS.*, 6, fol. 103).

⁵ *Ibid.* and Wood, *Athenae Oxon.* (ed. Bliss), III, 1242.

⁶ Longworth grave slab and Registers.

⁷ *C.S.P. Dom.*, 1630, p. 469.

⁸ *C.S.P. Dom.*, 1638-9, p. 590. This letter reports Sir Henry's answer to an appeal for money from Laud through Sir Charles Lamb. It is amusing and I think he makes the picture of his expenses as black as possible. He did a good deal for Shrivenham Church about this time.

Sir Henry obtained a bride for his younger son. She was Frances, daughter of Sir John Weld of Arnold's Court, Middlesex.¹ Her grandfather was Sir Humphrey Weld, sheriff of London in 1599 and Lord Mayor ten years later, and the family from which she came was a very ancient one.³ After their marriage the George Martens settled at Bray,² but George continued to contract heavy debts over which his brother was called to assist him, and by 1647 they had reached the large sum of £7,000.⁴ Probably because of his debts, at some time between 1647 and 1650 George emigrated to Barbadoes.⁵ In that island huge fortunes were made very rapidly, as we learn from Clarendon and elsewhere. At first the Civil War had excited only friendly wrangling among the planters there,⁶ but by 1650 Barbadoes was in revolt against the Council of State, Colonel Drax, afterwards connected by marriage with the Lovelaces,⁷ being the leader of the powerful Parliamentary opposition to the Royalists on the island—"that devout zealot of the deeds of the devil and the cause of the seven-headed dragon of Westminster," they called him. A clash was inevitable, and the Royalists, their ranks strengthened by many refugees from England, under the leadership of Lord Willoughby, whom Charles II sent out to them, fell upon the Parliamentarians and persecuted them bitterly.⁸ The news made a great stir at home, and as a reprisal Parliament cut off trade with the island. In November, some of the merchants and planters came to England to ask for the embargo that was instituted against the Royalists to be lifted. As their spokesman came George, and from the Catalogue of State Papers Colonial and elsewhere we can piece together the fascinating history of his visit. The whole episode explains the rather cryptic letter from Lord Portland to Lord Lovelace in the Loder-Symonds collection.⁹ The mission was successful and in the following summer a small fleet under Sir George Askew sailed for the islands. Askew overcame the Royalist opposition, but made most generous terms and peace was restored.¹⁰ In 1652, however, England

¹ See marriage settlement in Loder-Symonds papers. This marriage explains the difficulty which Sir Charles Firth finds in Le Neve's pedigree. He attributes Frances to Sir Henry Marten as a second wife (see *D.N.B.*). Frances died in 1677 (Le Neve).

² Burke, *Landed Gentry*. He wrongly makes George "of Bucks."

³ See previous note.

⁴ Loder-Symonds MSS.

⁵ He is spoken of as 'of Bray' in 1647; L.-S. MSS.

⁶ See Davis, *Cavaliers and Roundheads in Barbadoes*, 55. If anyone called another "Cavalier" or "Roundhead," the offender had to give a dinner to all those in whose presence the epithet had been flung.

⁷ Ashmole, *Hist. & Antiquities of Berks*, under Hurley.

⁸ Davis, *Cavaliers and Roundheads in Barbadoes*.

⁹ Lord Portland had been one of the Lord Commissioners for the Plantations appointed in 1634.

¹⁰ Davis, *Cavaliers and Roundheads*, 710; Whitelock, *Journals*, Sept. 25th, Oct. 5th, 1650; Jan. 1652.

declared war on the Dutch, and this in its turn adversely affected the sugar trade and made the merchants and planters very despondent. A series of letters from George in the Loder-Symonds papers reflects these events, but of the rest of his life we know little. He seems to have had a daughter, Frances.¹ It must have been a heavy blow to Henry when George died in 1666. News of his death, we learn in a deed in the Loder-Symonds manuscripts, was not received for several months after it occurred.²

We can now turn to the younger generation of the Martens. Here we are faced with a difficulty. Henry Marten's (legitimate)³ family seems to have consisted of one son and five daughters.⁴ The son Henry and four of the daughters, Ann, Jane, Frances and Rebecca, are clearly the children of Margaret Marten.⁵ but the case of Mary, the eldest daughter, is rather different. She does not appear in the Shrivenham registers; and though the date of Margaret's marriage is uncertain, it was probably in 1636. Mary seems to be distinguished by her father from the other children, and it is tempting to think of her as the child of an earlier and unknown wife or mistress. She married Thomas Parker, second Lord Morley and Mounteagle.⁶ They must have been a pair after Henry's own heart, and his affection for this daughter runs all through "The Familiar Letters." Thomas Parker was a passionate and hot-headed young spendthrift.⁷ His chief claim to fame lies in a very unsavoury affair which occurred after the Restoration in 1665. Thomas killed a certain Henry Hastings in a brawl and was arrested. There followed a prolonged imprisonment and trial. It was not to the king's mind that a peer of the realm should hang like a common felon and Thomas was acquitted after having been confined to the Tower for a year.⁸ During his imprisonment an epidemic of plague broke out among the prisoners and he and his wife in some spirited letters demanded and obtained his temporary release from the much-harassed governor.⁹ Mary visited her father constantly

¹ Fam. Letters, 90.

² Fam. Letters, 90.

³ A pamphleteer of the period said that illegitimate children should now rather be called Marten's than Buckingham Birds.

⁴ In Fam. Letters, 90, Marten expressly says of his wife, 'her five children.' Le Neve gives Mary as Marten's only child.

⁵ All but Rebecca appear in the Shrivenham Registers.

⁶ Loder-Symonds MSS.; *Complete Peerage*, under Lovelace. Here, however, she is said to be the daughter of Sir Henry Marten, which is patently wrong, since Henry calls her 'my daughter Mall' and Parker signs himself 'your faithful & dutiful sunne' in 1654; Loder-Symonds papers. Charles Edmonds paid a large sum to relieve Parker's debts at the time of the marriage, and the Edmonds seem to have been the ones to promote it; *ibid.*

⁷ See letter Loder-Symonds. MSS. and *Complete Peerage*.

⁸ *State Trials*, VI, 769; Dixon, *His Majesties Tower*, II, 241.

⁹ Extracts from Turner Papers owned by Lord Winterton; see *Complete Peerage*, IX (1936), 231.

in prison and her husband sometimes came with her. But his visits were not so successful, and he ate and drank too many of the good things that they brought with them from their home at Hollingsbury.¹ Thomas died in 1697, Mary in 1700. They had no children.²

Of the rest of the Marten's children we know but little. Henry, his son, has left behind him some youthful letters and is mentioned more than once as visiting his father in the Tower. He married a wife called Mary and they had a large family.³ In 1681 he signed the Longworth registers as Churchwarden, and two other signatures of a Henry Marten occur after his death on early eighteenth-century deeds at Longworth;⁴ so it seems that his descendants continue for some time at any rate in the neighbourhood; and since the manor house was by then sold to Mr. Loder, it is perhaps fair to guess that they lived in the house still called Marten Hall Farm.⁵ In a deed of 1672 we find that his mother's relations, the Stonehouses of Radley, were acting as his trustees.⁶ Henry and his wife are both buried in the family chapel.⁷

Anne, Marten's eldest daughter, never married and died at Longworth in 1671.⁸ She seems to have been the housekeeper and was in constant straits. "You will be pleased to consider," she wrote to her father, "that I cannot keep house without money." Ashmole writes of her as 'Ann Marten, wife to Colonel Marten,' and this error seems to show that she was the one to take a prominent part in the household.⁹ Of Jane, the next daughter, we know nothing except what we learn from one or two letters and a few scattered references. She was "spinster of Longworth" in 1672¹⁰ and her death in 1696 is recorded in the registers. Frances, the third daughter, was the only one who married. She became the wife of William Prior, "gentleman" of Longworth.¹¹ Her letters are memorable for one delightful piece of invective. Mr. Loder, the hard-headed yeoman squire from Harwell, who gradually purchased all the Marten's Hinton and Longworth estates and doled out money to them during their father's imprisonment, was popular neither with the tenants nor the family. "Oh, how

¹ *Familiar Letters*, 41 and 55.

² *Complete Peerage*.

³ Longworth Memorial Tablets and Registers.

⁴ Deeds in the possession of Mr. Thomas Dew of Longworth. Henry died 1698.

⁵ One of the fields in the Longworth Tithe Map is also called Marten Lake; it lies some distance South of this farm.

⁶ Deed of 1672 in Loder-Symonds Collection.

⁷ Longworth Memorials and Registers.

⁸ Longworth Registers.

⁹ Berks Visitations, *Harleian Soc.*, II, 21.

¹⁰ Deed of 1672 in L.S. Coll.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

unworthy," writes Frances, "is Mr. Loder. His mouth is an open sepulchre and what he spakith is of noe reputashon!" Rebecca, the youngest daughter, is mentioned only twice, once in the Loder-Symonds letters and once in the deed of 1672, where she is still a spinster. I have found no record either of her birth or death.¹

Mary Ward, as the recipient of "The Familiar Letters," has a prominence out of keeping with her importance. There are, however, some facts of interest connected with her. Marten's niece, Penelope Edmonds, married Philip Ward of Capesthorpe in Cheshire in 1661, and there is a curious letter among "The Familiar Letters" which must belong to approximately that date. In this Henry signs himself "thy old self and new cousin."² This looks as if Mary were of kin to the family of Penelope's husband. Again, Mary had a brother Job and among the letters of the Chambre family is a mention of a 'Rob' Ward whom Marten was helping.³ These letters, alas, are among those in the Loder-Symonds collection now lost, but the misreading of an 'r' for a 'j' is tempting and would make a further link. A Job Ward was commander of the fort at West Tilbury for the Parliament,⁴ and, since Mary's brother seems to have been a fugitive either on account of politics or debts, it is not unlikely that he held this post. When Marten's association with Mary began is uncertain. One early letter⁵ to her occurs in the Loder-Symonds manuscripts and there is a very illuminating passage in a letter calendared in the Fifth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, dated January 15th, 1652.⁶ "Heert, the Spanish Ambassador, is discontented at the carriage of most of the English ladies, who were at his entertainment and they as much at him for giving the chief place and respect to Colonel Henry Marten's mistress. They are so much displeased at her for being finer and more be-jewelled than any. She tarried there all night and to that belongs a tale also, yet it is no small argument of the greatness of the Hogen-Mogen Herren Staten of England that the Ambassador of the great monarch of Spain should make such an entertainment for such a property belonging to one of the Parliament of England." Poor Mary loved finery all too well and there is a very amusing letter in which Marten bids her come to the Tower "habited very plain, as I observe they all do that relate to my fellow prisoners . . . This morning I saw the two daughters of Sir Harry Vane (whom I take to be none of the poorest amongst us) whom I should hardly

¹ I think the Betty referred to in Lady Rogers' letter in the L.-S. MSS., quoted 13th Report of Hist. M.S.S. Com., is a misreading for 'Bekky.'

² Fam. Letters, 59.

³ L.-S. Coll.

⁴ C.S.P. Dom., 1645-7, p. 259.

⁵ 1654.

⁶ 5th Report H. MSS. Com., 192.

have suspected for gentlewomen, and yet I will say they have as much need of being set off by their clothes as some of his neighbours' daughters have."¹

At the end of "The Familiar Letters" Gayton published as an addition a collection of letters supposed to have been written to Mary by Marten's successor in her affections, Dick Pettingale. This Dick is a person fully substantiated in "The Familiar Letters" themselves.² He was one of Marten's stewards, though no correspondence from him survives. There are also many indications in "The Familiar Letters" that such a successor was by no means impossible. But the letters themselves seem to me very unreal and purposely, I think, contained no solid facts by which they can be tested. I suspect that they are forgeries. One wonders what happened to Mary and Dick in the end and whether he was good to the small and pathetic daughters whom Mary had borne during her association with Marten.

Mention should perhaps be made of two other persons who were closely connected with the Marten family and frequently appear in "The Familiar Letters." They are John, second Lord Lovelace, and Major Wildman.

The Lovelace family is too well known to need detailed description. Richard, first Lord Lovelace, the father of Margaret Marten and Elizabeth Stonehouse, died in 1634 and was succeeded by his son John, an upright and respected man and an ardent Royalist, who is very favourably mentioned by Clarendon and died greatly impoverished by the misfortunes of the Civil Wars at Woodstock in 1670.³ His son, also John, was a much less respectable character. His history and complicity in the Rye House Plot are well known. One of his sisters seems to have married Major Wildman; another, Dorothy, married Henry Drax of Barbadoes, a relative of the famous Colonel Drax of almost fabulous wealth in that island.⁴ The Lovelaces lived at Ladyplace, Hurley, close to Sir Henry's estates at Bray. Lord Lovelace was a constant friend to Marten and in spite of the enstrangement between husband and wife, largely had the arrangement of his chaotic financial affairs.

Major Wildman is perhaps the most interesting political figure we meet in the Marten Letters. In 1647 Wildman, who had been a major in a disbanded regiment, had the distinction of being admitted as one of the two civilians in the Army Council, where he argued on behalf of the Levellers against Cromwell. For this he was imprisoned, a fate which overtook him again in 1655-6 for plotting to overthrow the Protector. He spent a further term

¹ Fam. Letter, 84.

² There is a letter in the L.S. Coll. from a Bartholomew Pettingale.

³ *Complete Peerage*.

⁴ Wildman is referred to by Lord Lovelace as my son (in-law) in L.-S. Papers; see also Ashmole, *Hist. and Antiquities of Berks*.

in prison from 1661 to 1667, which helps us to date one of "The Familiar Letters," and he was later associated with Algernon Sidney and others in plots against the Royal House and finally became involved in the Rye House Plot. He was knighted in 1692, and under William became Postmaster General and enjoyed a temporary success. He died in 1693.¹

Mrs. Hutchinson disliked him exceedingly and called him "a cunning man who was a great manager of Papists' interests and speculated heavily in forfeited lands."² Wildman's association with Marten was in origin probably political, but in 1649, no doubt in the course of his speculations, we find him in possession of Beckett House, Shrivenham, which he had bought not directly from the Martens, but at second-hand from Sir William Pratt.³ In the Loder-Symonds manuscripts occur two letters in cipher from him to Henry Marten. These seem to be similar to the "Theatrical Propeties" mentioned by Professor Woodhouse as being used at the time of the seizure of the King's person by Cornet Joyce, though it is perhaps too slender a thread by which to connect these two confederates with that adventure.⁴ Wildman married several times. His second wife, Lucy, lent Marten £4,000 on the security of some land at Longworth. In "The Familiar Letters" Wildman's transactions with Marten are mostly trivial and financial, but it is interesting to remember, as we read, how closely this rather sinister figure is interwoven with the secret history of Berkshire.

Major Wildman belongs more properly to Henry Marten's political history and about that much remains to be written. But as we read "The Familiar Letters" and occupy ourselves with Marten's private life, we should not forget the true importance of this somewhat sordid little figure. It was Henry Marten's misfortune that he was incapable of sympathising with the deep religious mood of his age. It was his misfortune also that his political thought was so far in advance of his times. But it is his great distinction that never through good fortune nor through bad did he abandon his love for individual liberty. In the words of his own epitaph we can say of him,

"Here was buried a true Englishman,
Who in Berkshire was well known
To love his country's freedom 'bove his own."⁵

¹ There is a ledger to him in Shrivenham Church but the arms thereon for his second wife Lucy are not those of Lovelace; *Berks. Arch. Jnl.*, XXXVII (1933), 54 (*Ed.*).

² *Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson.*

³ L.-S. papers.

⁴ The actual letter seems to refer to a time subsequent to the exploit of Cornet Joyce—the date is September. See Woodhouse, *Puritanism and Liberty*, Introduction, 23.

⁵ Henry Marten's epitaph on his tomb at Chepstow, written by himself; see William Cox, *Historical Tour of Monmouthshire*, for an illustration of it.

APPENDIX I.

MARTEN MEMORIALS IN LONGWORTH CHURCH.

In the N. Transept.

1. On the E. Wall. Monument of Lady Marten, described in Ashmole MS., 850, fol. 96. Fragments now on N. wall.
2. On the N. Wall. Monument of Sir Henry Marten, described in Ashmole MS., 850, fol. 96.
3. On the floor nearest North Wall.
Below the Marten crest and arms the following inscription.
Here lyeth the body of Margaret, the wife of Henry Marten. She departed this life the 3rd day of January 1680 in the 76 year of her age.
Below a skull
Here lyeth the body of Henry Marten, her son who with Mary his daughter were both interred here the ? day of September 1698. in the year of his age 58.
Below two skulls.
4. At the South-West side of the transept, towards the middle.
Here lyeth the body of Elizabeth second daughter of Henry Marten Esq. who departed this life September 4th 1707.
Below
5. Here lyeth the body of Margaret the third daughter who departed this life June 20th 1719.
Below
6. Here lyeth the body of Mary the wife of Henry Marten Esq. who departed this life 16th of February 1720 aged 76 years.
Below
7. Here lyeth the body of George, son of Henry Marten who departed this life Oct. 30 MDCCXXIV. aged LVII years.

LONGWORTH REGISTERS.

1641. The Worshipfull Sir Henry Marten Knight was buried.
 1667. Henry the son of Henry Marten was buried.
 1667. Francis the son of Henry Marten Esq. was buried.
 1671. Henry the son of Henry Marten Esq. was buried.
 1671. Mrs. Anne Marten was buried.
 1680. Mrs. Margaret Marten widdow was buried.
 1681. Henry Marten the younger signed the Registers as churchwarden.
 1681. Elizabeth daughter of Henry Marten and Mary his wife was buried.
 1696. Mrs. Jane Marten was buried.
 1698. Henry Marten Esq. and Mary his daughter were buried—?
 1719. Mrs. Margaret Marten was buried.
 1720. Mrs. Mary Marten was buried.
 1729. George Marten gent was buried.
- There are no entries of Marten marriages or baptisms.

SHRIVENHAM REGISTERS.

1636. Anna Marten filia Henrici Marten armigeri baptisata fuit 5th die mensis Jany. (*sic.*) 1636.
1637. Jane Marten the daughter of Mr Henry Marten of Beccott Esq. was baptised 28th day of Jan.
1638. Edwardus Onely de Catesby in Comitatu Northampton armiger et Margaretta Stanton virgo, filia Gulielmi Stanton Londinius ? nuper defuncti nupti fuerunt et Sacro Matrimonii Statu conjuncti vigin . . . ? die mensis Feb. anno. 1638.
1639. Henricus Marten filius Henrici Marten et Margarettae uxoris ejus de Beccott armigeri baptisatus fuit nono die mensis Jany. anno. 1639.
1640. Mrs Frances Marten, the daughter of Mr Henry and Margaret Marten of Beccott Esq. was baptised 3rd day of July 1640.

APPENDIX III.

Portraits of the Martens.

SIR HENRY MARTEN.

There is an engraved portrait of Sir Henry Marten after a painting in Trinity Hall Lodge, Cambridge, published in "The British Cabinete" by John Adolphus. London 1799.

HENRY MARTEN.

Two portraits attributed to Henry Marten exist.

1. A full-length portrait painted probably about the time of his marriage. The head and shoulders of this picture are reproduced by Archdeacon William Coxe in his 'Historical Tour of Monmouthshire,' where he explains how it came into the possession of the family of Lewis of St. Pierre near Chepstow. Sir Joseph Bradney (*History of Monmouthshire*, Part I of vol. 4, page 81) also refers to it, and says that it is reputed to be the work of Robert Walker, who painted Oliver Cromwell and other parliamentary leaders. I have been shown a letter from the wife of Sir Joseph Bradney saying that her mother, Mrs. Prothero, sold the portrait to some descendants of the Martens who lived at Hinton Court, Hereford. In the full-length picture a small page is depicted tying his master's sash.

2. The second portrait has been identified with various people but it seems possible that it represents Henry Marten. It is reproduced in Samuel Rawson's *Oliver Cromwell* and was then in the possession of Lord Ribblesdale at Gisbourne Hall in Yorkshire. See Whittaker Craven, p. 53, and Fletcher, *Historical Portraits*, p. 157-8. The portrait is of a squalid and repulsive middle-aged man and most cruelly conveys an impression of utter degradation. It has the letters N.O.W. written across the background. This portrait has been ascribed to Sir Peter Lely as has the earlier picture, perhaps through confusion with this one.

Aubrey MS. 6, fol. 103, says of Henry Marten: His stature was but middling. His habit moderate. His face not good Sir Edward Baynton was wont to say his company was incomparable but he was drunk too soon.

APPENDIX II.—MARTEN PEDIGREE.

