

# Epidemics, Mortality and the Civil War in Berkshire 1642–6

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The pattern of demographic change in England, including the incidence of abnormally high mortality, is well established, as is the realisation that the national situation might not have been reflected in every local community since it could have been the result of a 'countrywide peppering of local epidemics' or of one which was 'widely present but only within a limited region'.<sup>1</sup> Factors peculiar to a locality would determine whether it experienced a national mortality crisis severely or moderately, escaped it totally but saw neighbouring communities affected, or was almost unaware of its existence.

*Table 1. Comparative Mortality in England and Berks. in Crisis Years 1559–1750<sup>3</sup>*

| <i>Year</i>     | <i>England<br/>Deaths<br/>per cent above<br/>average</i> | <i>Berks.<br/>Burials<br/>per cent above<br/>average</i> | <i>Jan–Dec</i> |
|-----------------|----------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Jan–July</i> |                                                          |                                                          |                |
| 1558/9          | 124.23                                                   | 66                                                       | 1559           |
| 1597/8          | 25.61                                                    | 62                                                       | 1597           |
| 1625/6          | 42.99                                                    | 38                                                       | 1625           |
| 1643/4          | 29.27                                                    | 119                                                      | 1643           |
| 1657/8          | 42.93                                                    | 30                                                       | 1657           |
| 1728/9          | 41.23                                                    | 28                                                       | 1728           |

Between 1642 and 1646 such factors produced the highest death rates recorded in Berkshire in the early modern period whereas other southern counties report nothing out of the ordinary.<sup>2</sup> Along with the rest of the Thames Valley, its strategic importance to both sides in the Civil War made it the scene of extensive military activity and severe depredation, with consequent increases in civilian mortality, the

extent of which is indicated by Table 1. Compared to a national death rate of nearly 30% above the norm, Berkshire's burials were more than doubled.

The survival for the period 1630–50 of 74 registers from the county's 147 parishes has made possible a detailed examination of the effect of hostilities on the civilian population though defective registration becomes a problem after mid-1644, reflecting the troubled times. An east Berkshire register records no entries between 1641 and 1653 'by reason of ye tumults and confutions of this Civil War which then raged in England'.<sup>4</sup> More serious is the absence of some urban registers, Faringdon, Wallingford, Wokingham, and one of the three Reading parishes. Of the extant registers only 55 were used, the rest being from extremely small parishes. Annual and monthly burial totals for the years 1631–50 were recorded from which 20-year mean averages were calculated.<sup>5</sup>

The severity and widespread nature of the crisis is apparent from Table 2. In the worst year, 1643, nearly one parish in five experienced very high burial rates. Two parishes in Reading had a total of 529 deaths compared with an average of 152; the adjacent rural parish of Sonning recorded 88 (average 42) and its neighbour, Hurst, 113 (average 32). The crisis lessened in 1644 but not until the latter part of 1645 did the situation approach normality.

*Table 2. Extent of Mortality Crisis 1642–6.  
Calendar Year Burial Totals*

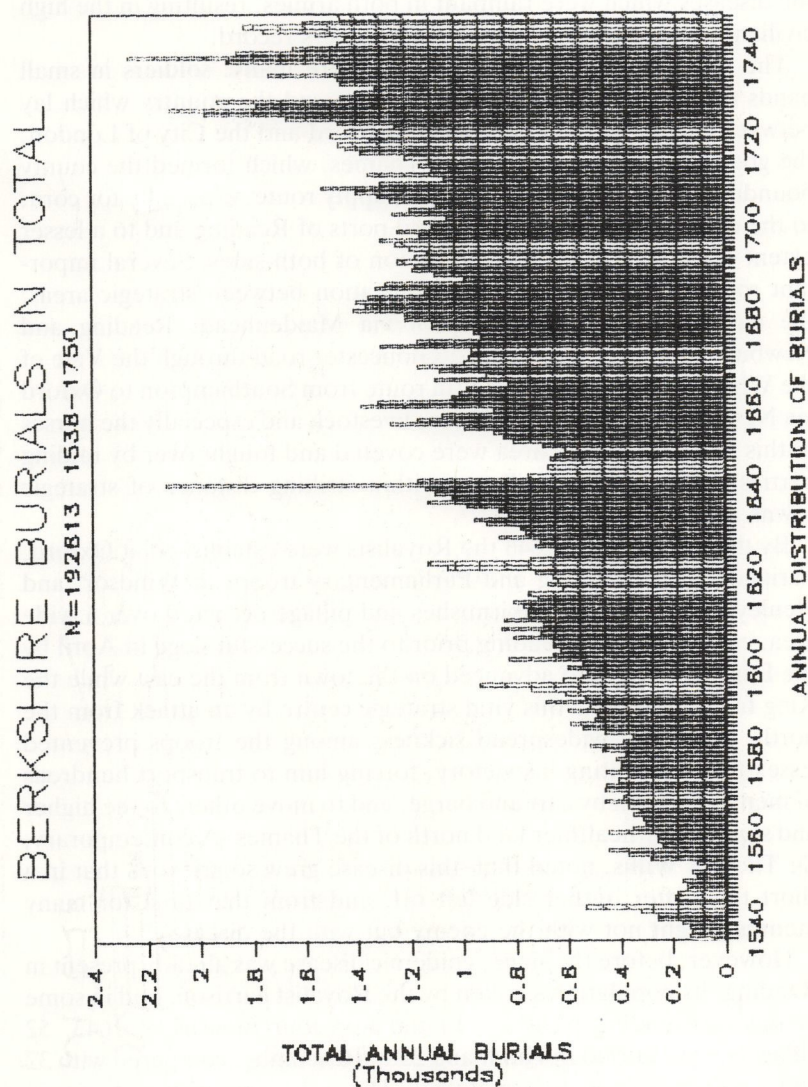
| <i>Date</i> | <i>Total of<br/>parishes</i> | <i>Total with 3<br/>or more x<br/>average<br/>burials</i> | <i>Total with 2<br/>x average<br/>burials</i> | <i>Total with 1½<br/>x average<br/>burials</i> | <i>Total<br/>with<br/>crisis</i> |
|-------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1642        | 55                           | 2                                                         | 5                                             | 4                                              | 11                               |
| 1643        | 55                           | 10                                                        | 9                                             | 12                                             | 31                               |
| 1644        | 53*                          | 1                                                         | 9                                             | 8                                              | 18                               |
| 1645        | 51**                         | 0                                                         | 2                                             | 7                                              | 9                                |
| 1646        | 48***                        | 2                                                         | 1                                             | 1                                              | 4                                |

\* no data for Abingdon St. Helens, Reading St. Giles.

\*\* no data for Abingdon St. Helens, Reading St. Giles and St. Lawrence or Windsor.

\*\*\* no data for Abingdon St. Helens and St. Nicholas, Reading St. Giles and St. Lawrence, and Pangbourne.





The proximity to the scene of military engagements of some of the parishes experiencing the worst mortality figures suggests the possibility of a causal link, the troops spreading to the local communities the diseases which were rampant in both armies, resulting in the high civilian mortality figures which the registers record.

The opportunities for such contact were many: soldiers in small bands or large formations frequently crossed the country which lay between the King's headquarters at Oxford and the City of London, the goal of both contestants; the Thames, which formed the county boundary to the north, was a major supply route, especially for corn, to the capital. As a result the inland ports of Reading and to a lesser extent Henley, attracted the attention of both sides. Several important roads provided direct communication between strategic areas: the east-west road from London via Maidenhead, Reading and Newbury to Bristol; the Oxford-Gloucester road through the Vale of the White Horse; the north-south route from Southampton to Oxford via Newbury. In addition the corn, livestock and especially the horses of this rich agricultural area were coveted and fought over by raiding parties which attacked villages within striking distance of strategic towns and major roads.

By the beginning of 1643 the Royalists were established at Oxford, Faringdon and Reading and Parliamentary troops at Windsor, and Henley in Oxfordshire. Skirmishes and pillage occurred over a wide area, especially near Reading prior to the successful siege in April by the Earl of Essex who advanced on the town from the east while the King failed to relieve this vital strategic centre by an attack from the north. However, widespread sickness among the troops prevented Essex from exploiting his victory, forcing him to transport hundreds of men to London by cart and barge, and to move others to the higher and supposedly healthier land north of the Thames. A contemporary, Dr Thomas Willis, noted that 'this disease grew so grievous that in a short time after, either side left off, and from that time for many months fought not with the enemy but with the disease'.<sup>6</sup>

However, before the siege, epidemic disease was already present in Reading, its population swollen by the Royalist garrison, and in some of the surrounding parishes. In the first four months of 1643, 52 villagers were buried in Hurst and 25 in Ruscombe, compared with 32 and 7 respectively in a normal year. There the similarity ends, for in Ruscombe the worst was over by May whereas in Hurst the situation worsened in early summer with 48 deaths between May and July. In the neighbouring parishes of Sonning and Wargrave high death rates also occurred in midsummer, but continued into late autumn. There is no obvious explanation for the apparent random spread of disease

in the early part of the year, since troops from Reading and elsewhere seem to have been operating over the whole area. Yet the worsening crisis following the outbreak of disease in both armies during and after the siege is very apparent. In the countryside around Reading the number of parishes 'in crisis' rose from two in April, to four in May, six in June and seven in July, declining to three between August and September. With 70% of the parishes affected, the situation here was undoubtedly worse than elsewhere in the county. It is hard to resist the conclusion that these villages suffered from their proximity to disease-ridden armies in and around Reading. They were also at risk from the Royalists and Parliamentarians quartered successively in and around Henley. The damage inflicted on people and property here was graphically described by Bulstrode Whitelocke. Henley parish registers recorded 228 burials in 1643, more than three times the average, with exceptionally high figures in April, June and July, there being every likelihood that the disease was transmitted beyond the town on one of the many marauding and skirmishing expeditions.<sup>7</sup>

In June there were reports of 'a contagious disease' among the royalist troops who had recently taken Abingdon and Wallingford;<sup>8</sup> high burial rates were recorded in Abingdon's parish registers as early as January, reaching a peak in July. It is possible that disease was spread from the town by troops travelling to and from Oxford, itself very unhealthy and a possible source of rural infection, or by marauding expeditions stealing horses. In June there was an epidemic in the largely extramural parish of St. Nicholas, Abingdon, and by July it devastated the adjacent village of Radley. To the north, Cumnor had its worst month in August.

The early autumn of 1643 saw the scene of military activity move to the south and west of the county, affecting villages there and over the border in Hampshire near Basing House. Burial rates rose in the parishes along the main road from Reading as early as July, but not until October in Newbury and later still further west. The timing of the outbreak of epidemics in this area may well have been connected with the massing of troops for the First Battle of Newbury in September, and the major exodus by both sides which followed, but nowhere was the disease so lethal or so longlived as in the Reading area.

During the last three months of 1643, among other military operations, the Royalists retook Reading. Further privations were caused to the local populace by the cutting down of Thames bridges, the destruction of mills, and the requisitioning of wood and wheat, especially to the east of the town. On October 20th Sir Samuel Luke

reported 'At Reading there was a house yesterday shut upp in the market place of the sicknes' and on November 18th 'The plague is very much in Oxford, and also in Reading.'<sup>9</sup>

The evidence from the areas around Newbury, Abingdon and Reading, especially where the parish register survival is good, would seem to indicate a close causal connection between the presence of troops and high civilian mortality. A county-wide analysis of all surviving registers month by month illustrates the effects of the 1643 campaigns on Berkshire as a whole. Table 3 shows for each parish the extent to which burials for a given month exceeded the mean average for the period 1631–50.

*Table 3. Monthly Burial Pattern Jan–Dec 1643*

| <i>Extent of burials<br/>above average</i> | <i>Number of parishes 'in crisis' each month</i> |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |
|--------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
|                                            | <i>J</i>                                         | <i>F</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>A</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>J</i> | <i>J</i> | <i>A</i> | <i>S</i> | <i>O</i> | <i>N</i> | <i>D</i> |
| 7 times average                            | –                                                | 1        | –        | 1        | –        | 4        | 7        | 3        | –        | 3        | 3        | 2        |
| 5–6 times average                          | 2                                                | –        | 1        | 1        | 4        | 4        | 4        | 3        | 3        | –        | 2        | 1        |
| 3–4 times average                          | 1                                                | 1        | 6        | 7        | 7        | 10       | 8        | 9        | 8        | 8        | 5        | 5        |
| twice average                              | 4                                                | 2        | 1        | 2        | 1        | 1        | 1        | 2        | 4        | 5        | 4        | 2        |
| Total parishes<br>'in crisis'              | 7                                                | 4        | 8        | 11       | 12       | 19       | 20       | 17       | 15       | 16       | 14       | 10       |

Total parishes analysed: 55.

There was a continuing, severe mortality crisis in the county in 1643, beginning, at the latest, in April, when 20% of the parishes surveyed had very high burial rates. At its height in July it was affecting nearly two-fifths of the parishes, the majority concentrated near the strategic towns. In Reading and the surrounding area only one of the twelve parishes had a normal burial pattern. Within the borough the death rate was at least three times the average between April and July, but nearly six times greater in June and July in the poorer suburban parish of St. Giles where 147 deaths were recorded in just four months, compared with 106 in the larger and more prosperous parish of St. Lawrence. The register in Caversham, the base for the unsuccessful Royalist attempt to raise the siege, and the destination of some of Essex's sick troops, listed as many deaths in June, fifteen, as in a normal year, and another eleven in July.

Elsewhere small parishes near the centre of military operations, on

the main roads, or in areas subject to looting, suffered for long periods, including Stanford in the Vale near the garrison at Faringdon, and Brightwell just outside that of Wallingford. Villages on the roads connecting Wallingford and Newbury with Faringdon form a consolidated area of high mortality. In the east of the county where few registers have survived, Windsor suffered a lengthy and severe mortality crisis between February and July, and the total of 149 burials for the year was nearly three times the average; the only neighbouring parish with a register, Winkfield, experienced only a short-lived epidemic. The whole of this eastern area was less prosperous and fertile and it is possible it was more remote from military operations, holding less attractions for the armies in terms of supplies.

The following year, 1644, was marked by similar military activities. In March, in an attempt to build up his reserves, the Royalist commander of Reading requisitioned all food above seven days' supply, while elsewhere there was pillage, especially near the major garrisons. May saw Reading and Abingdon fall to Parliament whose armies now held most of the county. A royalist counter-attack on Abingdon in August resulted in many casualties, sixteen cart loads of sick men being sent back to Oxford. During the summer and early autumn large numbers of troops crossed the county to the remaining Royalists strongholds, especially Donnington Castle, and Basing House in Hampshire, though the largest contingents were those involved in the second Battle of Newbury in October. After this the Royalist position in Berkshire rapidly worsened as the Parliamentary armies took over one stronghold after another, the last garrison loyal to the King, Wallingford, holding out until July 1646.

Despite the widespread military activities of the spring and summer of 1644, the pattern of epidemics of the previous year was not repeated. A few parishes near Reading and Abingdon recorded short bursts of increased burials, but with a few exceptions, such as Caversham, there was little out of the ordinary. Only on the Downs near Wantage were there many significant rises in the death rate. An epidemic began in the town early in the summer and continued into the following year. It is possible that the disease came into the county from the west: deaths rose in Shrivenham in February, Letcombe Regis in April and reached Wantage in May. From here it may have spread south to Brightwalton where burials rose in June, and to Chaddleworth and Boxford in July. However some caution is necessary in reaching any conclusions since, with the exception of Wantage, these are all small parishes where a few extra deaths could have had an inordinate impact on the overall total.

It was not until the winter of 1644–5 that a situation similar to that of 1643 occurred, though the major crisis lasted only four months, from November to February.

*Table 4. Monthly Burial Pattern, Jan 1644–June 1645*

| <i>Extent of burials<br/>above average</i> | <i>Number of parishes 'in crisis' each month</i> |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |
|--------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
|                                            | <i>J</i>                                         | <i>F</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>A</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>J</i> | <i>J</i> | <i>A</i> | <i>S</i> | <i>O</i> | <i>N</i> | <i>D</i> | <i>J</i> | <i>F</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>A</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>J</i> |
| 7 times average                            | –                                                | 1        | –        | –        | 1        | –        | –        | –        | –        | 1        | –        | 4        | –        | 1        | –        | –        | –        | –        |
| 5–6 times average                          | 3                                                | –        | –        | 1        | –        | –        | 1        | 1        | –        | 1        | 5        | 2        | 3        | 1        | –        | 1        | –        | –        |
| 3–4 times average                          | 2                                                | 3        | 2        | –        | 3        | 4        | –        | –        | 4        | 1        | 6        | 9        | 8        | 5        | 2        | 3        | 2        | –        |
| twice average                              | 2                                                | 1        | 3        | 4        | 4        | 3        | 2        | 2        | 2        | 1        | 3        | 2        | 4        | 3        | 3        | 2        | 3        | –        |
| Total parishes 'in<br>crisis'              | 7                                                | 5        | 5        | 5        | 8        | 7        | 3        | 3        | 6        | 4        | 14       | 17       | 15       | 10       | 5        | 6        | 5        | –        |

Total parishes analysed: 51

Some of the parishes near Reading, such as Sonning and Wargrave, affected in the previous year, again appear among the casualties, but others, such as Hurst, do not, and yet others, Binfield and White Waltham, occur instead. In general the high burial rates lasted for short periods under one month, so that many parishes may record an occasional high monthly total yet fail to appear among those with abnormal annual figures. The south west of the county reflected the impact of the military operations of the autumn on its population. Parishes on the east–west routes such as Thatcham, Speen and Newbury had above average figures for two or three months, while those between Newbury and Hungerford to the west, and Wantage to the north, were also badly affected. The intrusiveness of the war in a rural parish is indicated by a note in the parish register of Chaddleworth regarding a burial in November 1644: 'This is that Thomas Nelson that fought two dragoons in Hangman Stone Lane in the time of the Civil War and was never well afterwards.'<sup>10</sup> Occasional burials of soldiers are noted in the register, though without a hint of whether they died of wounds or disease. In one or two instances, as at Lambourne in November, the rise in the civilian death rate follows closely enough on the death of a soldier in the village for there to be a possible connection between them. A further description of the situation in 1644–5 is prevented by defective registration over a wide area, particularly in the boroughs. This

almost certainly reflects the confusion caused by the war, and possibly the difficulties of recording increasing numbers of burials, ending in the failure to record any at all.

After March 1645 the pattern of short crisis periods in scattered parishes, usually lasting less than a month and less severe than before, becomes more general. A new threat appeared in the summer when plague made a short-lived appearance in Wantage, and Reading in July 1646.<sup>11</sup> Apart from this, there is little evidence of widespread high burial rates in Berkshire during the closing months of the war.

The connection between heavy troop concentrations and high civilian mortality is very positive. The one did not always follow the other, but did so often enough for the correlation to be beyond coincidence.

It needs to be stressed that the overwhelming majority of recorded deaths are those of the local population and not of the military. In general, relatively few soldiers' burials are found in the Berkshire registers. Reading St. Lawrence records forty-seven in all, thirty-seven of these in 1643, the year of the siege; Newbury has at least fifty-two for whose burials payment was made to the churchwardens in 1644–5;<sup>12</sup> the rest of the county can muster less than fifty, of whom thirteen died in one village, Ruscombe in 1643 and 1644. With the exception of Reading, there is no indication of whether these men died of wounds or of disease or a combination of these. Those killed on the field of battle appear to have been buried in mass graves. After the Second Battle of Newbury, the greater number of the slain found a grave near where they fell, while many of those who died of their wounds in the town of Newbury were buried in St. Nicholas' churchyard. A letter from Essex to the Rector and Churchwardens of Enborne ordered them to bury all who lay dead in and about Enborne and Newbury West, while the King ordered the Mayor of Newbury to bring in to the town all sick and wounded Parliamentary soldiers from the surrounding villages and 'carefully provide for their recovery'.<sup>13</sup> Doubtless some did not recover and it is these who are found in the registers.

However, it is clear that military casualties are not responsible for the large numbers of deaths between 1643 and 1645. A very detailed analysis was made of the registers of eighteen parishes from all areas of the county which were in crisis in either 1643 or 1644 or both. Four registers gave no information other than names, making it impossible to identify children with certainty, though there was usually sufficient information to indicate that all soldiers were identified. Apart from those in St. Lawrence in Reading, only thirteen soldiers were named

in the other seventeen registers. In each year the proportion of burials of men to women was almost identical at about 53:47, although a significantly large number of parishes had more men than women buried in 1643. The proportion of children ranged from 18% to 39% of the totals, the most frequent being about 20%. It is reasonable to conclude, first that the deaths being recorded are predominantly those of the civilian population, and secondly that whatever diseases were responsible for the epidemics, they were not those that attacked children rather than adults.

There is no shortage of diagnoses for the diseases prevalent during this period. Contemporaries made frequent references to sickness both among the troops and the civilian population. Sir Samuel Luke mentions contagious disease and plague in various centres including Oxford and Reading, and in the autumn of 1643, 'the "new disease" as they call it',<sup>14</sup> One major epidemic in Oxford in 1643 was described as 'morbus campestris' – camp fever, which could well have been typhus. Thomas Willis, a doctor serving the Royalists in Oxford, also suggested the disease resembled that which had affected armies in the past, morbus castrensis, 'it being seldom or never known that an Army, where there is so much filth and nastiness of diet, worse lodgings, unshifted apparell etc. should continue long without contagious diseases'. The same disease he found in Reading during the siege of 1643 which 'at length assailed everywhere the weak multitude, to wit the persons of the houses where the soldiers lodged. . . . About the Summer Solstice the Fever began to spread . . . and to sieze a great many husbandmen and others living in the Country.'<sup>15</sup> It is significant that the death rate shown in the parish registers reaches a peak in midsummer 1643, though the gradual spread from town to country is not so evident. With the constant movement of troops, especially to the major centres of Reading and Oxford, it is highly likely that the contagion spread wherever armies were to be found, and that the infection was a form of typhus. In addition modern authorities cite as a characteristic of the disease that it affects adults more than children, a feature of the Berkshire mortality already noted from the registers. In the hot summer of 1643 victims displayed plague-like symptoms of buboes and spots, which it is suggested is also typical of the 'war typhus' which affected Berkshire, Oxfordshire and elsewhere in 1643. Whether or not this was the only infection responsible for the extremely high mortality of these years is questionable since contemporaries also identified 'squintancy, dysentery or deadly sweat' in the area.<sup>16</sup>

Of the cause of the winter epidemic of 1644–5 there is almost nothing written. It too may have been caused by a combination of

diseases, including typhus which frequently occurred during the colder months, and which could be the 'spotted fever' which Creighton suggests was widely prevalent in the autumn of 1644. There is a single reference to a death from smallpox in the Vale of the White Horse, but it may have been more widely active. Any epidemic would have had a serious impact on a population short of food and fuel as a result of constant requisition and pillage, and suffering from the loss of employment consequent on the disruption of trade. Thomas Dulbie of Botley in the parish of Cumnor voiced the concerns of many local people when in his will made on 24th November 1643 he ordered the sale of a house at Abingdon 'being free land which I bought latelie and seeing the pillage of it and fearing more may happen in these tymes.'<sup>17</sup>

These early years of the first Civil War were undoubtedly the worst for Berkshire in terms of the scale of deaths, not only during these hostilities but for the whole of the seventeenth century. The overall effect on the county's death rate can be judged by the total burials recorded in the two years 1643 and 1644 in the parishes so far discussed. Against a twenty-year average of 859 must be set a figure of 1,759 for 1643 and 1,192 for 1644. Just how widespread was the mortality crisis in the adjoining counties can only be gauged by a similar study of the parish register data, but it is likely that the whole region had cause to regret the choice of Oxford as the King's headquarters, and its own proximity to the capital, which for the rest of the century was instrumental in promoting its prosperity.

### **Addendum**

Since this paper was written, a cemetery dating from the Civil War period has been discovered in Abingdon. Of the 200 skeletons so far recovered, some at least were those of military casualties.<sup>18</sup> The churchwardens of Abingdon St. Helen's were paid for the burial of sixty-nine soldiers between 1644-5.<sup>19</sup> These figures do not affect the calculations in this paper since the registers of St. Helen's are defective and were not used after 1643.

### **Acknowledgements**

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Several students contributed to the work, but the major portion has been undertaken by Anne Crabbe, Gillian Clark and Deirdre Schwarz.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541–1871* (1981) p. 645.

<sup>2</sup> M.J. Dobson, *A Chronology of Epidemic Disease and Mortality in South-East England 1601–1800* (1987). For a county similarly affected see D. Palliser 'Dearth and Disease in Staffordshire 1540–1670' in M. Havinden and C. Chalklin eds., *Rural Change and Urban Growth* (1974) p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> Figures for England taken from Wrigley and Schofield, op. cit. p. 333, and for Berks from a sample of parish registers. 'Average' here means 25-year moving average.

<sup>4</sup> Sunninghill parish register (Berks. Rec. Off. D/P126/1). The map indicates which registers were used for this study.

<sup>5</sup> The parish registers of Berkshire are mainly deposited in the Berks. Record Office, Shire Hall, Shinfield, under the general reference D/P. Caversham, once in Oxfordshire but now mostly part of Reading Borough, has been included in the data base. The statistical methods used by Wrigley and Schofield seemed inappropriate to this study. In particular the 20-year mean average has been chosen in preference to a 25-year moving average which would have restricted the number of registers used by demanding good registration for a much longer period. Whenever the term 'average' is used hereafter in this paper it refers to the mean unless otherwise states.

<sup>6</sup> D.S. Disbury, *The Civil War in Berkshire* (1978) Chap. 3; quoted in C. Creighton *A History of Epidemics in Britain* (1891), Vol. I, p. 549.

<sup>7</sup> Quoted in E.J. Climençon, *A Guide to Henley on Thames* (1896), pp. 18–19; Henley Parish register (Oxon. Rec. Off. transcript). Details of many raids are given in civil war tracts e.g. *The Late Famous Victory obtained by Captain Lamley, Sunday, Jan. 29th 1643* (1643).

<sup>8</sup> I.G. Philip ed., *The Journals of Sir Samuel Luke* 3 vols (O.R.S. 1947–1953). Vol. II, p. 102.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. p. 172.

<sup>10</sup> Chaddleworth parish register (Berks. Rec. Off. D/P32/1).

<sup>11</sup> J.M. Guilding ed., *Reading Records. Diary of the Corporation*, Vol. IV (1892), p. 201.

<sup>12</sup> H. Money, *A History of Newbury* (1887), p. 533–4. The burial of a soldier wounded in the battle is recorded in the parish register of All Hallows the Less, London: September 28th 1643, Maddocks, Robert, clothworker, one of whose legs was shot off at the Battaile of Newbury (transcript at Society of Genealogists' Library).

<sup>13</sup> E.W. Gray, *History and Antiquities of Newbury and its Environs* (1839), p. 14.

<sup>14</sup> *Journals of Sir Samuel Luke* Vol. III, p. 217.

<sup>15</sup> Quoted in F.J. Varley, op. cit., p. 97–8.

<sup>16</sup> Creighton, op. cit., p. 5.

<sup>17</sup> E. Lockinge parish register (Berks. Rec. Off. D/P82/1); Will of Thomas Dulbie (Berks. Rec. Off. D/A1/M16).

<sup>18</sup> *Archaeological News*, Vol. xvii No. 1, April 1989.

<sup>19</sup> H. Tomkins, *Abingdon in 1644* (1845).