

ART. XVII.—*Letters written from the Garrison at Carlisle, 1640-1.* By I. G. PHILIP.

THE CARLISLE GARRISON, 1640-1.

IN the second Scottish war, Sir Edward Walker was appointed to serve as paymaster to the forces at Carlisle, and he in turn appointed his brother Thomas to be deputy-paymaster. From October 1640 to September 1641 Thomas Walker wrote regularly to his brother at Arundel House, and occasionally to the Lord Treasurer, giving details of the financial conditions, and particularly of the abuses, which he found at Carlisle, and asking for advice, and above all, for means of obtaining money. Twenty of these letters are now in the Bodleian library,* and provide one more picture of that Caroline army which Edmund Verney described; "All our care is how we shall get next month's pay."

The correspondence opens with a letter from Thomas Walker to the Lord Treasurer (20 October 1640) in which he remarks, "I have lately received new instructions concerning the payment of this garrison and could wish that such officers General as hath bin admitted or are to be, might bee such men as are expert and skilfull in their severall places and employments, soe that his Majesty's money might not be disposed of amongst undeserving men." But in the next letter (14 December) Walker complains to his brother in London that the men were not so much inexpert as nonexistent. He had "drawen interrogatories 13 for the Maior to be examined upon and 12 for the Mustermaster, the Musteroles of the foote Companies and musteroles of the Officers General will

* MS. Eng. letters c. 12. ff. 61-83.

prove many of them that such persons as I have nominated were mustered in 2 places and that the Sergeant Maior received pay for some of them as sergeants and private souldiers, and that hee likewise received pay for same as officers General both at one time." Already there was open strife between several of the officers and the deputy-paymaster, George Aglionby and a certain Dykes or Dikes, being the chief movers of the business against Sir Edward and his brother. "Look to yourself," Thomas writes, "for they declare if they can supplant you they will, you shall heere more of this business by my next, this is the fift weeke the Garrison hath bin without the Kinge's money, the Governer hath borrowed 250*li.* of Sir William Howard which is to be paied to one Bowes a Tailor, you taking his Acquittance that upon the receipt of itt the bond may be Delivered. 250*li.* I borrowed of the Maior of the Towne, 263*li.* I had of the Offreckoning . . . and 200*li.* I borrowed of Sir Frauncis Howard being rent of my Lord Marshalls which hee desires may be paied unto Mr. Marsh for my Lords use." By 28 December money had been received; "I pray write as soone as you can to the Governor and let him and the rest knowe how this 1,000*li.* is to be disposed, 500*li.* to the Mayor and Sir William Howard, 263*li.* to the Maior." Now at the same time the investigation into the muster-rolls was progressing, and Walker asks his brother to question Cholmeley who had left Carlisle for London, "his own hand would prove that hee hath mustered 3 or 4 as Officers Generall and private Souldiers at one time." By 4 January 1641, Walker learnt that his letters were being opened by Sir Nicholas Byron, the Governor, that Dikes had drawn up a petition against him, and that all the officers were just "so many unfriends," fearing investigation into their accounts. These troubles were only an addition to the urgent need for money. "I have spoken with the Mayor and others to knowe whether they had occasion to receive any money at

Yorke or Rippon, but can heare of none. I intend on Thursday next to set forward upon my owne horse because it wilbe lesse charge, and for comming backe with the money if I have it in silver." This journey, to Ripon, produced £500 which Walker brought to Carlisle "without Guard or Convoy, upon my owne horse . . . but was inforced to give Mr. Bradley fifty shillinges to let me have it in Gold, the expence of my Journey besides the 50s. comes to 3*li.* 17. 06. I have since paid the Sergeant Maior and Mayor and have taken up my receipts. The Governor would have had mee to pay him what he had disbursed out of the 250*li.* belonging to the Mayor and that as I Conceive my receipt should have bin still in force Against mee, which, because I refused, hee used mee with most bitter Language, and with many threats said he would be served first." A week later (11 January) Walker heard of more money in York and Ripon and hoped to be recalled there, for the garrison by this time was being paid partly in kind; "The Governor hath specified in a note to Mr. Treasurer that what is over and above the money borrowed hath bin supplied by him which is not soe, for the Companies hath bin paid with beefe and butter and some money for 3 weekes, the rest of the time with 2s. a man. All the Officers Generall are behind according to the note I sent you in my last lettre. As for Aglonbyes bysinis they meane to doe their worst Against me." The £500 Walker brought from Ripon he paid according to his brother's instructions, an action "received with bitter words and many Threats" from the officers whose wishes were disregarded, especially from the Governor who now (4 February 1641) was demanding payment of his services from 1 July, 1640, as also that of the Minister of the garrison, who did not take up his duties until 7 January. The Quartermaster too, was demanding payment from before the time when he arrived in Carlisle, and the surgeon was "mustered yet never appeared." The

particular abuse of falsifying the muster-rolls was a perpetual grievance with the deputy-paymaster, and in another, undated, letter to the Lord Treasurer he explains how "A Taylor being the Governors houseould Servant hath bene Mustred as Provost Marshall since the first of May, and hath from that time received 4s. per diem. A dutch Painter and the Governors houseould servant hath bene mustred as Master Mason from the first of July and hath received 1s. 6d. per diem. A dutch man the Governors Butler hath been mustred as wheelwright from the said first of July and hath received 1s. per diem."

In March, 1641 (N.S.) there arose further disputes between Thomas Walker and the Governor over a new plan for equipping the companies in Carlisle. On 22 March Walker asked his brother if permission could be obtained from the Lord Treasurer or the Lord General for the captains to equip their own companies. Apparently this was granted for on 30 March, Walker writes, "The Governor threatens me for paying each Captain his money because I knew hee had borrowed monies to pay their Companies. To give him satisfaction, the first day of payment I paied all the monies at the Castle soe that hee might stopp what hee pleased, at which the Captains were angry. On Saturday last I paied each Captain at my Chamber and they have discharged all which hee had borrowed for them whatsoever hee may pretend, save only 12*li*. which Capt. Moore is behind, and from henceforth will take course for their Companies." Since he failed in this dispute with Walker, and since the latter still refused to pay the minister, apothecary and others from the date when they were entered on the muster-rolls, the Governor now tried to prevent money from reaching the deputy-paymaster altogether. On April 20th Walker writes, "I Mett by Chaunce at Peiroth Mr. Potter the Lord Northumberland's steward, whoe told me hee would leave with me such monies as hee should receive in these parts, but

comming to Carlisle hee told me the Governor had received directions that it should be paied unto him which this day was done. It may be you shall receive from them a bill of exchange for the payment of it at London, the sum is about 400*li.*, for my part I can not certifye that any of it is for the use of the Garrison, neither had I any hand in the receipt of it." Walker saw nothing of this £400. In May he sent to his brother details of this and other sums which the Governor held and refused to disburse to his captains, including "the Scottish battell money of which hee hath as I hear nere 700*li.* in his hands and about 100*li.* from Steephens Ensigne to the souldiers which should have gone to Dumbarton." The Governor's feud now embraced the captains as well as the deputy-paymaster, and Captain Fortescue for one, endeavoured to get money direct from Sir Edward Walker in London, and desired that when any money was received for the Garrison, there should be paid "unto this bearer Thomas Creister, a Shopkeeper heere 40*li.* which shalbe allowed heere in the Enterteinment for himselfe and Company." This was an understandable precaution, for Thomas Walker writes to his brother, "for the 15*li.* repaid by you for Capt. Lamier I can not get it from the Governor."

Walker was still trying to get money locally, especially since there was now "much robbing in Yorkshire." By May 10th he had "met with Sir. Frauncis Howard whoe could not satisfy mee what the sum would be which hee shall have occasion to retourn, but I believe it wilbe about 2-300*li.* I heare soe much by Mr. Brograve." But most of the deputy-paymaster's time was spent in investigating abuses in past payments, and falsifications of the muster-rolls. On June 28th he writes "I have written into Ireland to gett such of the irish officers hands as received not the 2 Daies pay paied unto the Sergeant Maior for them, besides I find some troopers discharged long since remaining upon the Musteroles." This investigation, and

the furious quarrel with the Governor form the chief substance of these later letters. Early in August Walker went to York and there with great difficulty procured £150, but then in September Parliament voted £9,000 for disbanding the forces in Carlisle, and Walker's work was eased, though he still did not see why money should be squandered on undeserving causes at the Governor's dictation.

That the memory of the Carlisle garrison was less bitter than anyone reading these letters might assume, is shown by the following document in the Rawlinson collection.* Sir Edward Walker apparently did not carry on his brother's feud with Sir Nicholas Byron, and by the time of the Restoration, the abuses of the old army had been forgotten: "I do humbly certifie and declare that when I was Pay-master to the Garrison of Carlile, whereof Sr. Nicholas Byron was then Governor, in the year 1641 and in the sixteenth year of the Raign of his late Majestie of Blessed Memorie; I received in the Moonth of August the summe of nine thousand pounds to disband the said Garrison; which being not sufficient I had directions from Mr. Pym' in the name of the then Grand Committee to use my credit to raise Moneys for the paying of all the Arreirs due to the Soldiers of the said Garrison, with assurance to be repayd upon my return to London: Whereupon Sr. Nicholas Byron aforesaid unfurnished himself to supply me with five hundred pounds; and was (as he told me) forced to borrow Moneys for the removing of himself and Family; rather than the said Soldiers should not lay down and deliver up their Respective Arms, which they in a Mutinous manner refused to doe till all Arreirs were paid, which was done by the assistance of the said Sr. Nicholas Byron. In testimony whereof I have hereunto putt my Hand and Seal this sixth day of October 1663.

Edw. Walker (Copy).

* MS. Rawl. C. 421. f. 130.