



## Side Lights on the Civil War in Cheshire 1643-5

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**T**HE ordinary histories of Chester pass over in silence the very important interval of six months or so between the raising of the Siege of Chester by Prince Rupert in March, 1644-5, and the Battle of Rowton Moor in September, 1645. The compilers of these histories have been content to repeat the same account (gathered mainly from Cowper's "Parentalia") almost in the same words, leaving the same gap, as though nothing of importance happened in that interval.

In collecting material for the second Volume of my History of Chester (the Stuart Period) I have come upon a mass of documents which throw considerable light upon those stirring times in which Cheshire and Wales played so noble a part. The difficulty has been about the selection from so large a store of most interesting matter, but I venture to think no apology is needed for printing *in extenso* the documents selected. Amongst the papers to which I refer are copies of Sir W. Brereton's correspondence with his officers and friends, both in Cheshire and London. Sir W. Brereton, fortunately for us, was most careful to preserve exact copies of the letters received as well as of those sent by

him, and they enable us to follow the incidents of the Siege of Chester which he found to his surprise and annoyance so obstinate and tedious, with fuller information than was possessed by the combatants on either side, as we have now the knowledge obtained both inside and outside the walls. It will be remembered that Cowper's "Parentalia" was written from the information of one of the besieged, and is distinctly partial.

It will be useful to recall the position of affairs at this time. Early in November, 1643, the Bridge over the Dee at Farndon had been forced by Sir William Brereton, thus opening a door into Wales. Holt Castle was still held by the Royalists, and special efforts had been made by them to render the bridge impregnable.

Sir William, in his Report to the Speaker of the House of Commons (Portland MSS., Nov. 11th, 1643), states:—

"Wee drewe out upon Tuesday last [Nov. 7] 5 Cheshire foote companies and 3 or 4 troops of horse and 3 or 4 companies of country dragoones, wherewith there joined 5 companies of Lancashire foote and 1 or 2 troopes of horse and one or two companies of dragoones under the command of Colonell John Booth and Leutenaunt-Colonell Peter Egerton and about 200 foote and one troope of horse of Sir Thomas Myddelton's, with which wee advanced that night to Farne over against the Holt in Wales wherein the enemy kept a garrison in the Castle and had contracted all the strengthe and powre of Wales for our resistance for which purpose they runge their bells backward and fired the becons throughout Wales, for which end they had alsoe made a towre and drawbridge and stronge gates upon the bridge soe as both they and wee conceived it verie difficulte if not altogether ympossible to make way for our passage over the bridge, and therefore our design was to face them upon the bridge and in the meanetyme to attempt by boates to lande over some of our foote. To prevent which our enimy was soe

watchful and circumspecte as that they placed their ambuscadoes in the hedges and soe soone as our boates appeared on the water, they gave fire and beate our men from their boates, soe as wee were in much danger to loose them, when there remayned unto us noe other way but to marche downe the riverside with our foote towards some cariages of ours—wherein wee had turnells which wee had purposely provided to amaze the enemy—as though wee had intended to have forced our passage there alsoe. To interrupt and prevent which intended designe of ours they brought their foote all alonge the riverside soe farre remote from the bridge as that they gave us the opportunity to make a desperate assault upon the bridge by placing ladders to the toppe of the draw-bridge and cutting the ropes. Which being done and the bridge falling down wee had accesse to the gates and casting over some hand granadoes amongst the Welshmen—who there remayned—which struck such terror into them as that they all run away and could not be obtained to relieve. Whereby wee had a verie faire opportunity to force open the gates: which being done the enemy was without much difficultie beaten from their double workes within the gates \* \* \* \* \* There was Colonell Ellis' regiment of foote, Major Trevor his regiment of horse and all the forces which could be raised in the adjoineing parts of Wales. Whom wee pursued, and routed both horse and foote, tooke about fouretie comon prisoners—one captaine, foure or five lyfetenantes, one cornet, and some say one of them is a Leutenaunt-Colonell whom wee have not had tyme yet to examine. In this fight and pursuite wee lost few or none."

The loss of Holt Bridge was a serious blow to the Royalists, but a more serious disaster followed close. In the same month, within four days (Saturday, Nov. 11th), Sir William Brereton and Sir Thomas Myddelton, with "9 troops of horse and 2 small foot companies," marched from Wrexham against Hawarden Castle. Brereton describes it, writing from the Castle, November 15th, to Mr. Speaker Lenthall, "as a strong Castle and in very good repair, and commodiously situated for blocking up

Chester." It "was so unprovided<sup>1</sup> as that upon summons it was delivered up unto us, and the gentlemen and others thereabouts did submit themselves."

The loss of Hawarden Castle was "very discommodious to the City of Chester by stopping of corn, coals, lyme, and all sorts of victuals which by y<sup>e</sup> Welsh was brought in while that side was open."<sup>2</sup>

Sir W. Brereton to W<sup>m</sup>. Lenthall.

1643,  
Nov. 15.  
Hawarden  
Castle.

Upon Saturday last Nov. 11, Sir Thos. Middleton and myself with some 9 troops of horse and 2 small foot companies marched from Wrexham towards Chester, leaving the city 2 miles on right hand and advanced to Hawarden Castle, which is a strong castle and in very good repair, and is commodiously situated for blocking up Chester, wh: was so unprovided as that upon summons it was delivered up unto us, and the *gentlemen and others* thereabouts did submit themselves and are admitted into the Parliament's protection.

Sir T. Middleton is returned to Wrexham to a general muster, myself remaining here in the Castle, which is unfurnished and wants a new Draw Bridge, which I desire to secure and victual with all possible speed. The whole country hereabouts tremble and dare not make any opposition, and Col. Davies and Col. Mostyn are fled and their commanders dispersed. The Bp. of York, Bps. of Chester, S. Asaph and Bangor, and the Grandees of the country are at Conway, wh: they have exceedingly fortified, expecting the landing of the Irish army under the command of the Earl of Ormond.

Sir William Brereton, with the promptitude which marked his campaign throughout, at once sent a summons to surrender to Sir Abraham Shipman, who had been appointed Governor of Chester. This was rejected with scorn, but as a precautionary measure the buildings in Handbridge were, by the Governor's orders, pulled and burned ["unknown to the Mayor," *Harl.* 2125] by Colonel

<sup>1</sup> According to other accounts, the surrender was brought about by the treachery of Mr. Thomas Ravenscroft of Bretton, and Mr. John Aldersey.

<sup>2</sup> *Harl.* 2155.



Marrow and his company, "that the rebels might not shelter there from Hawarden Castle."

A welcome diversion was made by the landing a few days afterwards at Mostyn of a force 2500 strong of English soldiers from Leinster, who, with the help of some forces from the City, recovered Hawarden, December 3rd, 1643, almost as easily as the parliamentarians had taken it a month before, and once more left that side open to bring in relief. The same opportune arrival brought about the recovery of Beeston Castle. "The Irish soldiers came on to Chester to refresh themselves, being extremely harrassed and out of cloathes, and were in both wants supplied to the utmost ability of the citizens, and whilst these were refreshing themselves, Colonel Gamull with the assistance of Captain Sandford and his firelocks, in the middle of a dark night surprised the innermost ward of Beeston Castle, and garrisoned it for the King."<sup>1</sup>

Two days after Christmas, Lord Byron, now Governor of Chester, defeated the Parliamentarians between Middlewich and Northwich, but suffered himself a serious repulse in his attempt on Nantwich, "losing many brave soldiers and commanders, besides many cartloads brought to Chester that were wounded and maimed."<sup>1</sup>

After this disaster the King's supporters were for the time very hopeless until the arrival of Prince Rupert, who entered Chester, "Monday, 11 March, 1643 - 4, where he was joyfully received and feasted. The following day with the Lord Byron and others he rode about y<sup>e</sup> Citty viewing the mud-walls, the Castle, and other places, and giving the Governor directions for the further strengthening of the place."<sup>1</sup>

The Mayor (Randle Holme II.) was most assiduous giving personal attention to carrying out the plans

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<sup>1</sup> Harl. 2155.

for strengthening the City. "The ditches of the works were enlarged both in breadth and depth; the mud-walls which were before but breast high were raised to that height as a man might walk within the works and not be seen from without; the Rock without the Northgate beyond Dutton's turnpike cut in a great trench; several new mounts made about Cowlane; part of the old Trenches [made in 1642] cut off, and made new by the advice of the Prince's Engineers, more useful and not so dangerous for the assaulted or defendants."<sup>1</sup>

Whilst the Prince was at Chester he was beset with applications for aid from all quarters. The most pressing appeal came from the Earl of Derby, whose brave Countess was defying the Parliamentarians of Lancashire at Lathom House, and for whom he in person vainly petitioned help. Rupert considered that Lathom could hold out yet awhile, and that other business of the King's was more pressing.

On the 13th of March Prince Rupert left Chester for Newark, which he succeeded in relieving on the 21st. After this brilliant achievement, he went back, in a few days, to Wales, to raise an army. Early in May he is off again, like a meteor, on his way to relieve York, marching from Shrewsbury on May 16th, through Whitchurch, Market Drayton, Sandbach, and Knutsford.

On the 25th of May he seized Stockport; three days after, with Lord Derby at his side, he stormed Bolton, and thence despatched a messenger to the Lady of Lathom House, with 22 standards which had lately waved over the heads of her besiegers. Then through Wigan he advanced upon Liverpool, which he captured

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<sup>1</sup> Harl. 2155.

June 11th, the greater part of the garrison having taken ship and sailed away out of his reach, for he was not in the mood to spare any, and his track is said to have been marked with more than usual blood and desolation. June 30th he had reached Knaresborough, about 12 miles from York, and on July 2nd his victorious progress was checked by the disastrous defeat on Marston Moor.

The citizens busied themselves also in more peaceful occupations. "The body of William, Earl of Derby, that dyed 24 September, 1642, and all that while had stood in his own house at Dee Side where he dyed was translated to S. Werburgh's Church and sett in one of the Confession houses on backside the quire on the south side under the seate where he usually sat to heare divine service at the back of the bishopp seate: his body beinge in a coffer of leade to stand there till more peaceable times to be conveyed to the Church in Lancashire where his ancestors are interred."<sup>1</sup>

The "more peaceable times" adverted to by the Annalist did not come until the surrender of the City, one of the conditions as it was formulated Jan. 30, 1645-6 being "All the dead bodyes uninterred to be delivered if demanded within eight weeks, not any of them to be attended with above twenty horse." In the

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This William was the sixth Earl, brother of Ferdinando, the fifth Earl and grandson of Edward, the third Earl, Chamberlain of Chester in the reign of Elizabeth, so celebrated for his munificence that "with his death it was justly said the glory of hospitality seemed to fall asleep." He was succeeded by James the husband of the brave Countess, Charlotte de la Trémouille, who defended Lathom House so heroically. It was the sad fate of the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Derby to be beheaded in 1651 at Bolton, in the storming of which he had taken part with Prince Rupert in May, 1644.

<sup>1</sup> Harl., 2125, fol. 320.

Articles of Surrender finally signed, the ninth article stipulates "That the friends of the Earls of Derby and Lichfield or any of those whose dead bodies are not yet interred in Chester shall have two months time to fetch them thence whither they please, provided that none of them come attended with above twenty horses."

The people in Chester naturally followed the rapid and apparently irresistible march of the fiery Prince with unflagging interest, and, after the example of God's servants of old, brought their trouble and anxiety as well as their thankfulness before the Throne of Grace. "22 May, being Tuesday," writes the Chester Annalist<sup>1</sup> "was a general fast in the great Church kept for the prosperity of Prince Rupert's army being advanced towards Cheshire and thence to Lancaster." "6 June, being Thursday, was a Thanksgiving Sermon made to God in St. Werburgess for this victory of Prince Rupert [the taking of Bolton, May 28]. The bells range and bonfires were made at almost every dore for joy of his highness good successe. The Sermon was preached by one Mr. Raulinson."<sup>1</sup>

The Churchwardens' Accounts of S. Mary's-on-the-Hill for 1643-4 record several instances of this manifestation of public joy.

"Pd. for Ringeinge by comaund of the Maior and of the Governor the 23rd of June . . . . . vs.

Pd. for Ringeinge, for Rejoyceinge for his Maties victories the 8th of July by a warrant from the Maior and Comissioners . . . . . iiiis.

Pd. for Ringeinge the Eveninge after the publique thanks Giveinge the 25th of July after the enemy was gone from before this Citty: by comaund of ye Maior . . . . . iis. vid.

Pd. for Ringeinge for joy of the victory neere Middlewich on St. Steven's Day [Dec. 27] . . . . . iis. vid.

<sup>1</sup>Harl., 2125.

Pd. for Ringeinge at the Comeinge in of Prince Rubertt, March 11, 1643 . . . . . iis. vi<sup>d</sup>.

Pd. for Ringeinge the 25th of March for joy of the victory by Prince Rubertt over the Enemy at the siege of Newarke, by speciall comaund of Maior and Governor . . . . . iiis. iiiid.<sup>7</sup>

The bells of St. John's also rang merry peals for the victories of June 23, July 8, Dec. 27, and that in Lancashire (Bolton), but for the smaller sum of two shillings and half-a-crown a peal.

Sir W. Brereton's letters to the Committee of both Kingdoms, dated Nantwich, August 2 and 3, 1644, give his account of what was being done by this fiery and untamed warrior a few weeks later.<sup>1</sup>

**Aug. 2.** Prince Rupert's residence is at the present in **Nantwich.** Chester where great preparation is made for his housekeeping, intimating therein his intended stay there.

His horse out of Lancashire consisting of about 5000 horse and dragoons are quartered on the other side of Dee in Wales and Col. Marrow with his forces of horse about 800 lies near Tarvin. The Prince's foot are yet but few but he presses new men daily in all parts within the verge of his command for the recruiting of his losses at the late battle near York [Marston Moor, July 2, 1644]. He keeps himself yet quiet in Chester without troubling of us, quartering somewhat remote thence, but the assured loss of all his carriages and especially the want of gunpowder and ammunition we find to be the cause. We hear the enemy expect a supply of these out of the magazine in Dublin. Considerable reinforcements are needed. All the several parts of the Counties of Lancashire, Cheshire, Salop, Staffordshire, and North Wales, now under the power of Parliament, if all conjoined, are not able to raise 1500 horse for present service.

**Aug. 3.** Prince Rupert is fortifying Chester and, as some **Nantwich.** say, is erecting his Court there in the Bishop's palace where provision is making for his entertainment and housekeeping. Great impressing of men and almost as great

<sup>1</sup> Domestic State Papers.

a number running away from them. They are consulting about pulling down East and Northgate streets, the Cowlane and the northern suburbs, wh: are almost half the city. They have likewise attempted to exact and settle an excise which gives mighty offence, being almost double that settled by Parliament. This has naturally caused a reaction amongst those who were most vehement in their cause who now repine and murmur against them, thus supplying a good preparative for the welcoming thither of those who desired rather that they should be reformed and reduced to the obedience of the King and Parliament then ruined and spoiled.

The "reaction" to which Brereton refers is noticed in Harley, 2125, as being so marked that the Mayor, Charles Walley, caused all citizens of every ward with their ward to report themselves on the Roodee with their arms.

About 10 June the King made proclamation for the taking of excise on severall commodities bought or sould. There was much dissatisfaction. \* \* \* So the Mayor caused all citizens of every ward with their ward to bring all citizens inhabitants and others with all their armes to Roodee—the soldiers keeping strict watch in mean season at the outworks. The Royalists came willingly, the suspected malignants came creeping to shew themselves, more for fear than love. The whole citizens set on by the sayd malignants called on the maior much to desist further prosecution of the said proclamation of excise—he promised to represent their desires. At same time came a runner that Sir W. Brereton and his forces were coming again and nigh the town wh: caused each man with all expedition to his ward and gard, but the alarm proved false.

The Committee of both Kingdoms, upon Brereton's report of Prince Rupert's activity, at once directed the Earl of Manchester to march against Prince Rupert with all his available force, and follow him wherever he should go.<sup>1</sup> Manchester replies, August 10th, giving reasons, in which he is supported by his officers, why he should not do as he was ordered. The Committee

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<sup>1</sup> Domestic State Papers.

repeated their orders, August 21st, bidding Manchester send off at least a small party of horse to assist Sir William Brereton.<sup>1</sup> Manchester's reluctance to try conclusions with Prince Rupert was at length overcome, but September 2nd, when arrangements had been made for the dispatch of a body of cavalry, the order was countermanded, as Prince Rupert turned south with the greater part of his army. He did not, however, get off scatheless, for the Committee wrote to Essex, September 5th, with some glee that "Sir William Brereton has lately encountered forces that were with Prince Rupert, and has slain and taken divers of their principal officers, among whom was Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who commanded the party in chief, wounded dangerously, and carried to Chester, without losing a single man of his. This was about Malpas. The rest of Rupert's forces, about 2,000 horse [he left York with 6,000 horse], are marched through Wales towards Bristol."<sup>1</sup>

In October Brereton had his quarters at Stanney, and Great Neston, and was busy in fortifying Hooton House, keeping an eye the meanwhile on what was occurring about Liverpool, which ultimately surrendered to Sir John Meldrum on November 1. As the force under his command was not sufficient for very vigorous measures, he seems to have amused himself by giving the Royalists "strong and frequent alarms, taking away cattle from their very works." Thus October 28, 1644, he reports—

"Upon Thursday last we took above 100 cattle, when their horse and foot issued out to rescue them, but were beaten back with the loss of 2 cornets Hopton and Slegge, and several men slain, besides 7 taken and 12 horses, without any loss on our side. On Saturday a party of our men from Tarvin took away divers cattle belonging to Governor of Beeston Castle, and enticed the enemy into an ambuscade, killing several and

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<sup>1</sup> Dom. State Papers.

taking 17 prisoners, whereof one was an ensign, besides 30 stand of arms, without the loss of one man. On Monday the enemy, whose strength begins to increase, issued out of Chester against our guard at Backford, but were beaten back with one lieutenant of horse taken prisoner. Our garrison at Tarvin is in good forwardness, and we proceed with all expedition in fortifying Hooton in Wirral. The enemy is raising all the forces possible in Wales, with wh: they hope to be able to struggle with us until the arrival of the forces expected to come down with the Prince [Rupert] from the King's Army, which is not to be doubted is a great part of their care."<sup>1</sup>

Early in December, Brereton began the Leaguer of Chester, posting garrisons at Aldford, Tarvin, Hawarden, Trafford, Upton Hall, and other places within three or four miles of the city, to prevent the importation of provisions. In January, 1644-5, they were obliged to draw closer in, Colonel Jones and Lowthian having a strong force at Christleton, "which they secured by mud-walls."<sup>2</sup>

The citizens began, January 18th, 1644-5, to feel the pinch, and determined to beat up the Parliamentary quarters at Christleton, and burn the town. The design was projected by Lord Byron, who went with the horse then in the city, the force employed numbering 1,500 well-appointed troops. The writer of the account in Harl. 2155, declares that "it was ill-managed, the rebels had notified ere the design was effected and were in readiness for encounter. They trifled so long in Chester that ere the body wrought the Barrs their forlorn hope was cut off, about 180 taken prisoners, Col. Wyrden, Lt. Humphrey, Coll. Vayne." "The pace was so slow, a march rather for May showe than warlike expedition. The blew-cotes ran ere they shott, and flunge away their drumes, wheling toward the waterside to save themselves."

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<sup>1</sup> Dom. State Papers.

<sup>2</sup> Harl. 2155.



Brereton was not to be caught napping—in truth, he appears to have been constantly supplied with intelligence, perhaps from his great popularity with the Cheshire folk. His report to the Committee of both Kingdoms is interesting:—

This day 12 months Nantwich assaulted and Byron  
repulsed. These lines may present you with the  
1644=5, success of this day when the Lord did work wonder-  
Jan. 18. fully and fight for us to the amazement and discom-  
Nantwich. fiture of the enemy.

This day, about 2 o'clock, the enemy issued out of Chester intending to fall upon our quarters and so break through in order to relieve Beeston Castle. For which purpose, uniting about 800 foot and 300 horse, they prepared a strong ambuscade through which our horse charging very resolutely fell fiercely upon their horse which were placed in the rear of their ambuscade, routed them, slew many, and performed great execution even until they [the enemy] entered the gates. We have taken more than 200 prisoners, amongst whom are 2 cols, 2 lieut-cols, and 10 other officers, besides good store of horses and arms. The foot led on by Adj<sup>t</sup> [Major] Louthiane performed gallant service, they came on valiantly, beat the enemy from their ambuscade, slew many of them almost within the range of their cannon wh<sup>h</sup> saved them from being so totally taken and slain as otherwise they w<sup>d</sup> have been. Lieut-Col. Jones led on the horse with much judgment, valour, and success. I do not hear of any of our commanding officers being slain, but Capt. [John] Blackwell is missing and Capt. Zanchie who is a very valiant man and commands my own troop being without his arms was wounded but it is hoped not mortally. This may have a good effect on Beeston Castle, and we will endeavour to improve time and advantage by all means in our power.

In another letter to the same Committee, Brereton describes an attempt made to storm the City, on Monday, January 27th, 1644 - 5.

“The Mayor had caused that day a general fast to be kept in four Churches, St. Werburgh, St. Peter's, St. John's, and St. Marye's.”

“The same morning, about 6 o'clock, an alarm was given at the Northgate Turnpike gate that the rebels were coming with scaling ladders to scale the walls, but they had so hot a breakfast as divers went with bullets for concoction which hindered their drinking ever after. Eight lode of scaling ladders were brought but two served of them, for ere many could be brought, they were forced to leave these behind them with 2 muskets, 3 swords, 1 corslett, given to Sir Francis Gamull the City Coll: and Depy. Governor under Lord Byron, and were set at High Cross to be vewed.”<sup>1</sup>

How pathetic this conjunction of hard fighting with humble devotion in prayer and fasting! Let us turn to the besiegers' account of the same occurrence.

Sir. W. Brereton to the Committee of both Kingdoms.

27 Jan. before day break we prepared and  
 1644=5, attempted to storm the outworks of Chester, but  
 Feb. 3. failed to enter: nevertheless we escaped without  
 Nantwich. damage though our body of horse stood within  
 musket shot and the foot within pistol shot of their works,  
 yet not one man was wounded or taken. On 29<sup>th</sup> ult I sent a  
 strong party of horse and foot under Lt-Col. Coote which  
 marched through the adjoining parts of Wales where they saw  
 no enemy and possessed themselves of Holt bridge which is a  
 passage of much consequence. They brought back good store  
 of cattle out of the enemy's quarters including 60 or 80 fit for  
 slaughter wh: will be very serviceable to our garrisons. Prince  
 Maurice at Worcester and expected to relieve Chester—wh:  
 much encourages the enemy.

Advise effort to prevent Maurice gaining head.

The Committee forthwith acted upon this advice, showing how keenly they realised the peril of the situation. February 7<sup>th</sup> they direct Ferdinando, Lord Fairfax, to send with all expedition into Cheshire 500 horse, or more if he can spare them, to oppose Maurice's

<sup>1</sup> Harl. 2155.

progress; also to the Committee at Leicester to send 100 horse; to the Committee at Warwick 150 horse; Derby 300; Stafford, Lancashire, and Salop each 100 horse and 200 foot.

At the end of February, 1644-5, Prince Maurice was sent to the assistance of the beleaguered Royalists in Cheshire. "He lay for three weeks between Chester and Maylor [in Flintshire], plundering and impoverishing the country extremely."<sup>1</sup>

His brother, Prince Rupert, had reached Ludlow, March 11, hoping to join Maurice, and raise the siege of Beeston Castle.

The rumour of the advance of Prince Maurice was somewhat alarming, and the Committee of both Kingdoms at once, and for ten days (March 11—21) are busy despatching orders hither and thither, to Lord Fairfax, General Leslie, General Crawford, to the Committees at Leicester, Warwick, Stafford, Salop, and Lancashire, to "send with all expedition what forces they can spare to oppose the Prince's progress." Crawford is desired "to march with the horse, not waiting for the two regiments of foot, for whom money is providing." "Persuade the foot if you can," they add, "to march along with you, and money will be sent after them." Brereton receives from the Committee (March 17) the comforting assurance that the reinforcements he had so repeatedly and hitherto vainly begged for were to be granted. "Four regiments of Scottish horse and 2000 foot are upon their march to your assistance under General David Leslie." Brereton, meanwhile, from his quarters at Wrexham, "endeavours to make the best advantage of the time" (as he terms it), "by marching up and down the counties of Flint and Denbigh in order to scatter the forces collected therein,

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<sup>1</sup> Wm. Maurice's MS. in Arch. Cambrensis, 1, 39.

and intended to join with the Prince's army. These are three or four thousand in number, but the greater part being unarmed they fled on our advance first to Ruthin, and then to Denbigh."<sup>1</sup>

Whilst he is engaged in this work, a sad kind of "Puss in the Corner" game, he keeps a party at Farndon to secure the passage over the Dee, and keep in the garrison in Holt Castle, another at Christleton watching Chester, and a third maintaining the siege of Beeston.

The approach of Prince Maurice certainly had the effect of raising the siege in February, 1644-5, and the "citizens in revenge of their treachery burned Great Boughton, and not long after Christleton"—

"And because the mud walls were of too large a circuit for the number of the cittizins and garrison to rell[y] men in any assault then eminently threatened by reason the King's forces daily declined, they resolved to use their utmost endeavours for the King's interest. It was judged whilst Prince Maurice was in these parts that the mud-walls should be brought to a narrower compass from the backside of the Tanners ditches to Cowlane Gate [wh: was sodded on both sides]<sup>2</sup> and so all along to the walls of the citty under the Phoenix tower to the Northgate ditch; and Morgan's mount was made on the other side the Northgate over against Goblin's Tower. And all the buildings [of stone]<sup>2</sup> belonging to the Hospitall of St John's with the Chapell were razed to the ground for feare of sheltering of the enemy."<sup>3</sup>

The Prince, who directed the test (given in Hemingway, Vol. i., 177) to be tendered on 4th March to the citizens, also "caused a solemn fast to be kept February 28th, in the quier [of St. Werburgh] St. Peter's, and St. Maries, and was present at quier both fore and afternoon."<sup>4</sup>

He left Chester on March 13th, 1644-5, and the Parliamentarians at once resumed their siege, taking up

<sup>1</sup> Dom. State Papers.

<sup>2</sup> Harl. 2135, f. 325.

<sup>3</sup> Harl. 2155.

<sup>4</sup> Harley, 2125.

positions at Eccleston, Dodleston, Pulford, and "as near as Netherlegh, from whence, the 7th of April being Monday in Easter Week, 1645, they gave an alarm at the further Bridge House, and pillaged Handbridge."<sup>1</sup>

They were, however, stoutly repulsed without loss to the citizens; but Handbridge was burned by Lord Byron's command "to prevent the enemy nesting there, as were all the Glovers' houses under the Walls, by Dee Side, and the houses without the Watergate."

But closely as Chester had become invested, the siege was once more raised by the frequent rumours of the advance of a strong army under King Charles himself.

The Committee of both Kingdoms write to Sir W. Brereton under date May 9th, "The King is advancing your way with his army. Furnish your garrisons with all necessary provisions, and keep a vigilant eye on the enemy's motions, that you may not be surprised or endangered."

The same warning was sent May 12th to the Earl of Leven and Fairfax; May 15th to the Committees of Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Lincolnshire, and Notts.

The efforts of the Parliamentarians were now directed to prevent any junction with Montrose, and the King succeeded in drawing off the enemy from Cheshire, and so giving the City of Chester a brief respite. This was employed diligently by the citizens and the garrison in providing for a steadfast and vigorous defence.

We may with advantage survey the condition of things outside Chester. The whole neighbourhood for many miles round had been brought to a miserable pass.

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<sup>1</sup> Harl., 2155 and 2135.

Three years before, complaint was made that Cheshire, and the Wirrall especially, was "so eaten up that it is almost impossible for 100 horse to subsist in all Wirrall."<sup>1</sup>

As the war continued, the county became still more impoverished, and the scarcity was felt quite as much among the besieging army as by those beleaguered at Chester.

The want of money also interfered seriously with discipline. The arrears of pay were as great as they could have been under Turkish Pashas, though Sir W. Brereton made continual appeals to the Committee of Parliament for funds. His letters are full of earnest representations of this great hindrance to the cause. The Yorkshire horse refuse to march unless they receive their pay. They will not even return home and at least to that degree relieve the County of Cheshire, which is groaning under the burden of their keep. Lord Fairfax writes from York, 10th April, 1645, that the Yorkshire horse "complain of their great necessity and want of all meanes of accomodation for their subsistence." They are like Falstaff's ragged regiment—for, "they have not had time since their departure from hence to make up their cloath assigned them here into cloathes." Many have "lost their horses by their hard dutie and service."<sup>2</sup>

These ill-paid and ill-fed soldiers conceive that as no one in authority appeared to care for them they must needs care for themselves, and the natural consequence was a series of bitter complaints against the army of plundering and violence.

The Committee at Tarvin complain to the Committee at Stafford that Rigsley's troop "had left without leave from Sir W. Brereton, plundered many houses near to our garrison, from our best friends, and used much violence to them." They ask for restoration.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Portland Papers.

<sup>2</sup> Add. MSS. 11,331.

The London Committee (April 22nd, 1645), complain to Brereton<sup>1</sup> that they had "received information . . . that since your late march into Wales some exorbitancies have been committed by your soldiers towards these poor people without due distinction between those well-affected to Parl<sup>t</sup> and such as are disaffected. Among other spoils—that of Plas Teague [Plas Teg, Sir J. Trevor's house].

We desire there may be especial care had in that case of full restitution and that such as commit these insolencies may be exemplarily punished, otherwise the consequence can be no less than the exasperating of their spirits against you and the loss of their service to the Parliament. In all places there are some disaffected and so it is like there are among them, yet all sh<sup>d</sup> not suffer for the fault of some. Give order to your forces so to carry themselves that the inhabitants be not further alienated, nor have cause to complain while your forces are there."

To these complaints Brereton pleads (26th April, 1645, Dodleston), that he had not the power to hold the reins of discipline. The men are not his own soldiers, and owing to the extreme want of all necessaries, which inflamed the soldiers' discontents to an unmasterable height, it was hard to prevent outrages. "He had remonstrated, even used blows, laid hold of the most incorrigible and tried them by counsels of war. Four malefactors had been judged to die, of whom two were executed forthwith, the other two (Lancashire men) were sent into Lancashire to be executed to prevent mutiny. The property taken had been restored as far as possible."<sup>2</sup>

Writing to Sir J. Trevor (30th April, 1645), he declares that he had not been negligent in repressing disorder. "I had desperate threats to y<sup>e</sup> hazard of my life, which

<sup>1</sup> Dom. State Papers.

<sup>2</sup> Add. MSS. 11,331.

yet have not abated my endeavours to prevent y<sup>e</sup> spoyle of y<sup>e</sup> country, yet all my endeavour did not prevaile."

Brereton's letter of May 6th (Dodleston) to Major Louthiane shows that this plea is no evasive one. "I heare there is such spoyle made by y<sup>e</sup> souldiers amongst cattell and sheepe as that I have no more hart to come amongst them. Care should be taken to reform such destructive courses, which will bring y<sup>e</sup> judgment and curse of God upon the whole army." "Punish any who kill sheepe for their skins." "Any skins found in soldiers' quarters to be seized for the public benefit." "Soldiers are not to be their own carvers."<sup>1</sup>

Strong parties were sent into Wales for provisions. The following report from Colonel Michael Jones (Dodleston, 17th April, 1645), is an indication of the anxiety felt in the matter.

Dodleston 17 Ap. 1645 Col Jones to Sir W. B.

By y<sup>e</sup> blessing of God y<sup>e</sup> army is safely returned with 6000 sheep and 500 coves, but they will soon lessen unless you have an eye to Wyrhall, Ince, and other places. I heare y<sup>t</sup> 200 of y<sup>e</sup> best are now a driveing over y<sup>e</sup> watter to Wyrhall.

A gentleman's house neare Holliwell was fired for that it had souldiers in it that killed a man of your reg<sup>t</sup>. The widdow Hanmer's house neare Hollywell [between Northop and Cayrus] that did soe much prejudice is taken, fired and all that refused quarter viz twelve put to y<sup>e</sup> s[w]ord, nine whereof were rosted.

The report subjoined shows how such spoil was distributed.

"Report by Geo. Parker and John Chadocke to Sir W. B. Dodleston, Ap. 30, 1645 of cows and sheep brought out of enemy's country.

Coves

Mr. Ball and on [one] of L <sup>t</sup> Coll Garrard his sould <sup>rs</sup> three coves	
The poore weomen restored	23 coves
To Mr. Hinde y <sup>e</sup> rest w <sup>h</sup> were	<u>354</u>
The whole number	<u>380</u>

<sup>1</sup> Dom. State Papers.



Sheepe	
Sr. Tho. Middleton's Officers	160
to Mr. Manlies Quarterers	020
Major Croxton's men at Hanbridge	} 002
Mr. Hinde y <sup>e</sup> rest w <sup>h</sup> were	1712
	<hr/>
The whole number	1894

Concerning Captaine Bulkely I dont no but  
Coll. Jones will give y<sup>e</sup> newse."

A letter from Lord Byron to Digby, the King's principal Secretary, written just after the raising of the siege, shows very plainly the brave Governor's attitude of mind at this time. With the gallant resolve to do his duty as a staunch and loyal soldier of King Charles, there runs throughout a tone of despondency and irritation at the manner in which the King's cause is being mismanaged, and the want of proper leadership. He points out how it is that the opportunity was not seized for re-victualling the City sufficiently ere the siege was resumed; how insufficient in number and quality were the troops left behind when Rupert left on account of the rising in Herefordshire. He writes sharply of the conduct of Colonel Mostyn's officers and men—"ignorant Welsh gentlemen, and unwilling to undergo any strict duty"—and he complains, not without reason, of the want of spirit and vigour of the Welsh forces.<sup>1</sup>

John Lord Byron to George Lord Digby Principal Secretary

1645,  
Ep. 26,  
Chester. Complains that the burden has grown too un-  
wiely for his thoughts to bear—urges necessity for  
speedy and powerful relief.

"I know it is usual for men to exaggerate the importance of these places where their commands lie, but this place without any such self partiality I w<sup>d</sup> urge stands unrivalled in relation to his Maj<sup>s</sup> affairs. The 2 princes [Rupert and Maurice] having united their forces and relieved Beeston Castle were earnestly entreated by me to clear this country before they departed of

<sup>1</sup> Dom. State Papers.

those petty garrisons which infested Chester, but other considerations at that time hindered the effecting of it and therefore with a promise that the army should continue within a [moderate] distance, till Chester were furnished both with victuals and ammunition, I was contented to return and undertake the government of that garrison. But the business of Hereford interfering Prince Rupert was suddenly called away before either ammunition or victual c<sup>d</sup> be brought into Chester, and together with his Highness marched away the remainder of the old Irish regiments with some other horse and foot to the number of at least 1,200, so that I was left in the town with only a garrison of citizens and my own and Colonel Mostin's regiments, which both together made not above 600 men, whereof one half being Mostin's men, I was forced soon after to send out of town, finding them by reason of their officers, who were ignorant Welch gentlemen and unwilling to undergo any strict duty far more prejudicial to us than useful. The rebels, finding the Prince retreated with his army and the country emptied of all soldiers but such as were necessary for keeping the garrisons, returned with all their forces to block up Chester on all sides which ever since they have continued, and withal laid siege to Hawarden Castle. The Welch though they have men for number and army sufficient to beat the rebels out of Wales yet either will not or dare not stir, notwithstanding the many orders I have sent them. The truth is that so long as that cursed Commission of Array or at least such Commissioners as are put into it have any power there, the King must expect no good out of North Wales, and I am confident were it not for the castles which are well provided both with men victual and ammunition that country w<sup>d</sup> long since have taken part with Brereton and Middleton. Thus you see I am left in a condition neither to offend others nor defend myself, if pressed by a considerable army by the enemy, which I am advertised now is advancing towards me, the Scots being invited by the Ordinance of Parliament, which gives them Chester if they can win it, to join with the Lancashire and Cheshire forces. Besides this, if speedy relief come not, the want of gunpowder will be sufficient to blow me up there, there not being full 18 barrels in store neither any public magazine of victual nor money for public service. I have the more fully related my condition to your L'ship to the

end that if any misfortune should befall me before relief come, it may appear how little accessory I have been to it; and for these poor means I have left to maintain this place, you may be assured I shall improve them to the utmost, and how unfortunate soever I may be, you shall have an account of my charge befitting an honest man and one whom I hope you shall not blush to own.

Another letter, written from the other camp, is an example of the stern unrelenting spirit with which Sir William Brereton prosecuted the siege of Chester. It is written just at the time when there was every prospect that the City would once more be rescued from his grip. But he will not relax his hold until he is actually forced. An appeal is made on a certificate signed by no less than seven medical men at Chester, that one Mr. Harper may leave the City to undergo an operation of importance. But Brereton refuses, unless the invalid takes the oath of the Covenant. The document is interesting as giving the names of surgeons in Chester and London.

**Certificate by**

<p>May, 2, 1645.</p>	Drs. Hugh Parry M.D.	Chirurgeons
	Roger Pulston	Rob Thornely
	J. Bray M.D.	Rob Morrey
	James Read	Edw Hallis

That Mr Harper is suffering from an Infirmitie in y<sup>e</sup> left eye called Ayglops or fistula lachrimis wh<sup>h</sup> if not tymely prevented may endainger y<sup>e</sup> bone & grissle of the nose & then be irremediabile the cure whereof requires exquisite manuall operation. We advise that he repaire to Mr Watson the Kinge's Chirurgeon or to the Colledge of Physitions or Chirurgeons.

Sir W. Brereton refuses—"Your desire to have my  
 passe both to Oxford & London cannot be granted  
 by me, nor to London onely unlesse you please to  
 take y<sup>e</sup> oath y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Parl<sup>t</sup> hath appointed in such cases wh<sup>h</sup> is  
 all y<sup>e</sup> answer y<sup>t</sup> can be yours at y<sup>e</sup> present by your loving  
 friend

WM. BRERETON.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS. 11,331.

I add a letter from the Speaker of the Roundhead Parliament, which deals not with high matters of State, but is content with such a simple business as asking Sir W. Brereton's kind consideration for two run-away schoolboys from Norfolk, who had joined Prince Rupert's army, and, after two years' absence from home, were found prisoners at Tarvin. The Speaker describes them as "two lost sheepe."

To Sir W. Brereton

Sir

Whereas William Lawrence & John Gandy twoo yonge schoolboyes at Bury in Suffolke ran away from Schoole to Prince Rupert about twoo yeares agoe & to the intollerable grieffe of theyr parents were never heard of since till now very lately that they heare they are prisoners at Tarvin or thereabouts If your pious endeavours will be pleased to second this bearer in findinge out the two lost shepe and helping their sad parents to them againe, you will doe a most charitable deede & thereby engage your very lovinge ffreind

WM LENTHALL

Speaker

London Nov 6,

1645.

The documents at the British Museum and Record Office reveal the existence of a powerful intrigue against Sir W. Brereton. Brereton was not on the best of terms with Leslie or with Sir Thomas Myddleton.

Complaints were made to the Committee of both Kingdoms of Brereton's management of the siege. Sir Thomas Myddleton would appear to have urged storming the City, and to have spoken freely to his friends of what *he* would have done. There was doubtless an abundance of critics in London who had the ear of influential members of the Committee. The upshot of the intrigue was that in a letter to his friend, Mr. Wm. Ashurst, dated Tarvin, May 15th, he speaks of himself as "dismissed

by y<sup>e</sup> late great ordinance [the self-denying ordinance]<sup>1</sup> from my command." While Sir W. Brereton was to continue in command of the troops in Cheshire, he was to act with a Committee consisting of Sir George Booth Kt. and Bart., George Booth, Hen. Brooke, Robert Duckenfield Esquires, the Governor of Nantwich (for the time being), and Sir W. Brereton Bart., who or the major part of them being three or more present are to order and direct all y<sup>e</sup> forces now under Sir W. Brereton's command 40 days after y<sup>e</sup> xiiii<sup>th</sup> day of this instant May.

Below is appended an abstract of a letter from Colonel Jones, which replies to some of the criticisms referred to.<sup>2</sup>

Col. Jones to Sir Robert King

Dodleston 29 April 1645.

Aspersions have been cast upon our proceedings 1. "That our army lie in open quarters without defence or putting spade in ground." True that our remote quarters are not now

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<sup>1</sup> The First Self-Denying Ordinance was moved in Dec. 1644 by Zouch Tate, who was strongly supported by Cromwell. It was to the effect "That during the time of this war no member of either House shall have or execute any office or command, military or civil, granted or conferred by both or either of the Houses of Parliament, or any authority derived from both or either of the Houses."

By the Second Ordinance, passed April 3, 1645, members of either House were no longer to be disqualified from office, but required within 40 days after the passing of the Ordinance to resign any post conferred by the existing Parliament. There was no prohibition against their re-employment, and thus Cromwell was continued in the Lt Generalship for three months longer, Sir Thomas Middleton in his command in North Wales, and Sir W. Brereton's appointment extended as above.

<sup>2</sup> Add. MSS., 11,331.

defensible after the Low Country manner. But noe citty in England has bin closier blocked up than this, considering the weakness of our army: on Cheshire side they are kept in by 3 garrisons or quarters each within half a mile of that citty all fortified. On the Welch side there are 5 quarters, two of them not a mile distant from the city of sufficient strength to oppose ye enemy. But the quarter at Iron Bridge not distant half a mile is sufficiently fortified. Those yt lie at Hawarden have with Trenches almost environed it round and this day begin to mine.

It was offered by some that fort sh<sup>d</sup> be made before Hand-bridg to hinder their passage over ye Bridg into Wales. But it was ye major opinion that it was as well blocked up as if ye fort had been made and before ye fort c<sup>d</sup> be made ye place designed for it being within musquet shott of ye walles w<sup>d</sup> have lost us most of our Armeey. It was alsoe ye opinion of most yt if a fort had bin made and ye citty had bin relieved it w<sup>d</sup> be advantageous to them and very prejudiciall to us untill Hawarden be taken where wee have 600 men, wee cannot lye so close to ye citty as wee would.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> informac'on was that our men were backward to doe dutie or to goe to these guards neare Chester where danger was: The losse of our men slaine within pistoll shott of ye bridge and in sundry other places will disprove that. I am confident noe men in England are willinger to doe dutie or to expose themselves to dainger than ye men then before Chester, were it not soe ye officers yt command here would never with the small force have undertaken soe great a worke. Lt Generall Lesley said hee would not undertake it under 10,000 men.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> charge is yt ye souldiers pilladge ye country: 'tis true yt they goeing abroad for provisions doe some tymes pilfer (noe armie is free of it) for wh<sup>h</sup> they passe not unpunished, four already being executed for it.

I dare say ye whole army since their comeinge into Wales have not taken goodes to ye vullue of 10<sup>li</sup> all but blankets and such like being connvayed in to their strongholds except ye goods of Sir John Trever wh: Sr. W. B. had protected and now laboureth with all his power to have restored and some jewelis found in Barron Edwards howse vallued by

ye informer at 700<sup>li</sup> they are not worth 500 but if they be it is ye better for ye publique being in the Treasurers hands. Hee alsoe informeth y<sup>t</sup> cattell valued at 4000<sup>li</sup> hath bin taken. I have inquired after it and doe find y<sup>t</sup> some cattell belonging to ye souldiers that are in Hawarden Castell were taken from under ye command of it not worth above 100<sup>li</sup>. But in regard they were wonne by ye sord, ye souldiers and officers had sent them into Chesshire without ye Privatety of any commanding in Cheefe. The informer further saith y<sup>t</sup> there is a brute of some Irish landed in Wales and now y<sup>t</sup> ye Country is pilliaged our army as formerly will march away. The army marched out of Wales when ye Prince came this way is not I am confident unknowne to you but as yet ye Brute of them hath not removed.

The last inform<sup>a</sup> was y<sup>t</sup> at a Counsell of Warre houlden at Namptwich it was resolved to be lawfull to take all y<sup>t</sup> belonged to ye Welsh. There never was any such resolucon nor speech to y<sup>t</sup> purpose. This informer's letter beareth date ye 14<sup>th</sup> of this month (his name is John Jones one of Sr Thomas Middleton's Captaines) since wh<sup>h</sup> tyme viz. on 23 of the instant a party of 500 horse and 400 foote marched into S. Asaph 20 miles distant from Chester where they heard the enemy was. But finding it impossible by reason of their mountaines and castells to overtake them being fled thence, ye County was driven by ye assent of Sr Tho. Middleton for ye gaineing of provisions for ye Army wh: in a manner until that tyme was provided for by Cheshire, most of wh: cattell, the whole number of good Cowes not amounting to 400 nor ye sheepe to 2000 being not fitt to be slaine (and if endeavoured to be kept untill they had bin meate, most of them w<sup>d</sup> have bin stolen) were by diverse honest men employed for y<sup>t</sup> purpose sould into Chesshire and sheepe and other provisions bought with ye moneyes for ye Army and noe parte converted to private uses. In our returne whence parte of ye Army passing before Hugh Pennant's house divers of them were shott and one killed, a party being on their march towarde it they forsooke it.

To deter others from doing ye like with ye consent of Sr Tho. Middleton ye howse was fired.

Alsoe at ye widdow Hanmer's howse there was a garrison of ye enemyes wh: killed divers of our men and hindred provisions to be brought unto Hawarden. The howse being

summoned and they refusing quarter it was stormed and all but two put to the sword and y<sup>e</sup> howse fired.

I am still of opinion that if North Wales be not annexed unto Cheshire these parts cannot subsist For Wales is able to furnish these with victualls and to maintaine more men than Cheshire now can, it being very much impoverished by y<sup>e</sup> auxilliary forces sent to our assistance. As long as there is any possibility of subsistence and doing of service here I will not leave it but if I be constrained I hope I shall never forsake y<sup>e</sup> service of y<sup>e</sup> Parl<sup>t</sup> as some have done though I serve as a common souldier: if y<sup>e</sup> gentle: proposed for y<sup>e</sup> command of North Wales obtaine it he will doe as little good as Sr Thomas Middleton hath. If forces must now be raised for him, y<sup>e</sup> summer will be spent and y<sup>e</sup> money must be gotten: he hath noe considerable force, although he vaunted of his and Sr Tho: great force in y<sup>e</sup> Parliam<sup>t</sup> howse. There are not left of Sr Tho. Middleton's 160 ffoote and 70 horse. This is y<sup>e</sup> grand Army supposed to be joyned with y<sup>e</sup> Chester force. Chester is in some straights if relief come not. I am confident wee shall carrie it But a small force will refuse it unlesse tymelie supplies of men monies and victuall from y<sup>e</sup> adjacent counties be sent unto us. Noe newse of y<sup>e</sup> Scotch marcheing this way. I am confident if they came hither before y<sup>e</sup> Prince and would joyne with us wee should carrie y<sup>e</sup> Citty by assault. If y<sup>e</sup> Prince come he cannot in a month furnish y<sup>e</sup> Citty with provisions and as soone as he is gone if he be not able to fight with him and wee will soone be before it againe Soe that this petty army will endanger y<sup>e</sup> ruineing of y<sup>e</sup> Kinge's army if it relieve Chester as often as wee distresse it. I am very glad to heare y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> militia is to be guided by souldiers and y<sup>e</sup> civill power by y<sup>e</sup> eminent gentry and if they agree as I hope they will all thinges will prove as well as if there had bin noe change.

Brereton writes much in the same terms to his staunch friend in London—

Notes of a letter of Sir W. Brereton to Mr. Ashurst in answer to complaints against him, 30 April, 1645.

"1. No spade upon ground upon 19th instant."

Besides our elder works at Tarvin, there are our defensive



works at Iron [Heron] bridge and at Hoole, Upton, Huntingon, &c.

“2. Souldiers are backward to do duty and serve upon those guards next Chester.”

The guard nearest Chester is not most dangerous: we are placed between 2 enemies Chester and Wales. The enemy from Ruthin, Hoult and their other castells besides y<sup>e</sup> disaffected countrymen who gather into parties are continually ready to beat upon our quarters and this week have taken twenty of Sir Thomas Middleton's in their quarters in Wales.

“3. Soldiers scatter all over Wales and take all they can carry or drive away—Plate and jewels of value £7000; Beasts of value £4000, &c.”

Herein is something of truth but is represented by an extreme Hyperbole. The Welch refuse to supply provisions; therefore warrants are issued. But as for the plate and jewels, they are safely kept by y<sup>e</sup> Publique Treasurer for y<sup>e</sup> States use.<sup>1</sup>

A letter from the Capt John Jones, referred to by Colonel Jones, is given here as a specimen of the carping criticism to which military commanders were subjected in the seventeenth century.

Mr. John Jones to Col. Barton <sup>1</sup>

We doe still continue our quarters in a loose and  
 April, 1645. unsettled maner before Chester and Hawarden  
 Castell and by improvidence and licentious carriage  
 of the souldiers are in greater want then y<sup>e</sup> besieged. In print  
 wee were informed that Chester was in great want of powder  
 and match and that they had but about 60 Irish in y<sup>e</sup> Towne  
 besides y<sup>e</sup> Townsmen wh: together with our own wantes and  
 discordes made Sir Thomas very earnest to have the Towne  
 stormed and offered that his owne men should leade, but it  
 will not be untill hunger drive us to storne it for their victualls  
 for y<sup>e</sup> Country is scarce able to afford us any. Last night a  
 boat went with y<sup>e</sup> Tide to the Towne and thereby their want  
 of powder and match (I believe) is supplied. It was moved

<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS. 11,331.

tyme enough that y<sup>e</sup> River might be guarded to provide supplies but then it was conceived either not necessary or not desirable.

The siege of Hawarden Castle had meanwhile been closely pressed; a trench had been carried round it, a mine was being driven under the round tower.

Brereton writing to Sir Harry Vane from Dodleston, May 11th, 1645, states—"Upon Friday night we began to batter and with good sucksesse, soe as perhaps we may not stand in need of y<sup>e</sup> helpe of our mynes to gain the place."<sup>1</sup>

A touching letter from Lady Neale to her husband, Sir William Neale,<sup>2</sup> dated "Hawarden, May 9th, 1645," which was intercepted by the Committee of Salop, shows how desperate was the condition of the Royalists.

My Hart, I wonder infinitely that sending for intelligence I could not heare from you. Our condition is at this tyme very desperate for besides the approach of their myne wh<sup>b</sup> is very neare y<sup>e</sup> great Round Tower they have brought over great peeces for 5 carriages we discovered, but whether they be all for Battery wee know not because y<sup>e</sup> worke they are making for one of them is conceived by y<sup>e</sup> Captaine for a mortar peice and that is making in the field above your seate. I am purposed to hould out as longe as there is meate for man for none of these eminent daingers shall ever frighten mee from my loyalty but in life and death I will be y<sup>e</sup> King's faithfull subject and thy constant loveinge wife and humble servant.  
HELEN NEALE.

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<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS., 11,331.

<sup>2</sup> Sir William Neale (belonging to a Northamptonshire family) had been Scout-master General in Prince Rupert's army, and was knighted by the King for bringing in the news of the taking of Cirencester. He had evidently left his charge as Governor of Hawarden Castle to accompany the Prince whom he saved at Newark in March, 1644-5, almost chopping off the hand of the soldier who attempted to seize Prince Rupert. A Baronet's warrant was made out for him 26 February, 1646, but the grant was never completed.

But as Major Louthian's report to Colonel Jones shows, Hawarden Castle was not to be taken by means of mine or battery, and was to prove a most valuable garrison and support to the end of the siege of Chester.

Major James Louthaine to Col. Jones.

Hawarden,  
16 May,  
1645.

Yesternight ye enemy discovered our myne, and pierced ye side of it forth of theirs, whereupon our men for present fled but upon my coming downe I brought them to ye breache againe, and thereupon ye enemy left theirs and have broken down ye mouth of it wh<sup>h</sup> buttes upon ours and stopped up ye breach yet nevertheless our men all are very fearfull to worke. I desire your speedy repaire hither to advise what to be done that wee may resolve of some speedy course, for I apprehend ye enemy to be much daunted.

Colonel Jones communicated to Brereton his opinion that there was little hope of the mine. A council of war was held May 16th, "at which the majority hold that the mine could not be ready for eight days, and that they should fight." The next day a second council of war was held at Dodleston "to determine whether as things now stand it be better to continue ye siege before Chester and Hawarden, or to withdraw." The votes were as follows:—

To withdraw	To joyne or withdraw
Jer. Zanchy	Thos. Ravenscroft
Mich. Jones	
James Louthaine	
John Leigh	
Jo. Bowyer	
Ralph Asheton	
Hen. Brook	

I conceived not to withdraw except an enemy appeare  
W. Myddleton

To withdraw into a body W. Brereton

According to ye judgment of ye counsell of warre held at Dodleston May 17 1645

It is ordered that all ye forces now on ye Welch side the river doe draw together into a body tomorrow at such tyme

as Lt Coll Jones and Major Louthaine shall thinke most convenient and shall march into Cheshire as they shall thinke fittest. Provided and it is left to ye discretion of Lt Coll Jones and Major Louthaine whether Coll Ashton's regiment march to ye body or march over ye boate at Eccleston and soe to Huntington or shall march to Dodleston and Hawarden and soe with ye rest of ye army.

Dated May 17, 1645.

W<sup>m</sup> Brereton.

Before carrying out this resolution several matters of importance had to be decided. Colonel Jones writes to Brereton to ask "what should be done with the boates" which bridged over the Dee.

"The best course," he suggests, "were to sink them all. When it is a-doing, noe countrymen must be by, because ye march will be too tedious for ye Lancashire foote. I thinke it the best course for them to march to Huntington Hall, thence to Tarvin; but all the rest march over ye fords to-morrow by six in the morning. The tyde will serve."<sup>1</sup>

This plan was carried out. It must have gladdened the hearts of the besieged, who doubtless crowded along the walls watching the enemy which had so fiercely and persistently hemmed them in and reduced them to such painful distress, as they made their careful way over the Dee, up to their middle in the water. The siege had been more than once raised. Was this to be the final withdrawal of the besieging force, and could they once more move safely about the city and suburbs, and enjoy their meals in peace and plenty? I can find no record that the Royalists attempted any pursuit, though Sir W. Brereton writes of having made good their retreat without loss. What hearty congratulations there must have been exchanged within those much-battered walls!

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<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS., 11,331.

What good news to hear that some at least of the enemy had been taken in their bath at Pulford ; (Pulford brook must have been deeper and wider than it is at present) and that these Roundheads should have been obliged to take refuge, and naked find their sanctuary in the Parish Church, which no doubt they had often desecrated in their fanatical spleen.

Nantwich,  
May 19. Sir W. Brereton reports to the Committee of both Kingdoms that forces have made good their retreat to y<sup>e</sup> severall garrisons without any losse, tho the enemy were nearer to Nantwich than we were.

On the same day Sir W. Brereton writes to the Earl of Leven "On Saturday night soe soon as I received intelligence of their [the enemy's] cominge to Newport I commanded y<sup>e</sup> forces in y<sup>e</sup> Leaguer to be drawne together and those w<sup>h</sup> were on the Welch side part of them came over a boate at Eccleston a mile from Chester, y<sup>e</sup> rest marched over y<sup>e</sup> ffoards 3 miles above Chester through w<sup>h</sup> our ffoote marched to y<sup>e</sup> middle in water and marched afterwards y<sup>e</sup> same day 20 miles to this garrison for preservation thereof the losse whereof would have bin the losse of the whole country."

To Lord Byron from Coll. Trevor.

My Lord,

I came this morneing to Holt where I mett with y<sup>r</sup> L<sup>pps</sup> orders about y<sup>e</sup> Cheshire quarters w<sup>h</sup> as y<sup>e</sup> business now is I doe not hould it to be soe good, as to take advantage of these Rebbls that are now on retreat. As I came hither this morning there was a party of them on Cheshire side towards Alford, of w<sup>h</sup> wee tooke 12 prisoners and killed three, about 12 of y<sup>e</sup> clocke that day wee fell up to Pulford where wee found them grasseing, their horses and y<sup>e</sup> officers and troopers swimming in y<sup>e</sup> River. Wee took 40 of their horses and armes and 8 prisoners and y<sup>e</sup> rest fell naked into y<sup>e</sup> Church to their shelter of foote. If I can possible learne as soon as they begin to move I will be in y<sup>e</sup> reare of him. This night about 7 of y<sup>e</sup> clocke Capt. Carter came with his troope to Farne whence a party of ours tooke 7 of his men and had taken himselfe and

all ye rest but for the goodness of their horses. As soon as  
ye way is cleare I will waite on your Lordship who am

Your Lordshpp humble serv<sup>t</sup>

M. TREVER.

Holt, 15 May,  
9 at night.

The details of the movements of the besieging force given above (and for the first time I believe in any History of Chester) will help to remove a difficulty which presented itself to Rev. Canon Cooper Scott in his admirable and interesting "Lectures on the History of S. John Baptist Church and Parish." Quoting from the Churchwardens' Accounts—

"1645 Paid for the Minister's dinner and our own when we went the perambulations, 00 04 00."

"How (he adds) the Churchwardens and their friends continued to mark the bounds of the Parish, which extended far into Hoole and Boughton, when the City was surrounded by hostile soldiers, who could have but little sympathy with their business, it is hard to say. Perhaps they took the walk round the bounds of the Parish for granted, and contented themselves with eating the dinner."<sup>1</sup>

I am inclined to think that they did actually "walk the bounds" and "eat the dinner" afterwards with hearts filled perhaps with deeper joy and gladness than they had experienced for many years. The City was just then no longer "surrounded by hostile soldiers."

Ascension Day which was one of the usual days for the Perambulation of the Bounds was, in 1645, May 15. The Council of War held on May 17, 1645, had decided that the whole of the Parliamentarian forces should march away on May 18, and Brereton reports on May 19

<sup>1</sup>p. 77 (and Chester Arch. Journal, N. S. III., 52.)

that they had all made their retreat good to Nantwich. A large proportion of the enemy had been quietly moving away before the formal decision ; Colonel Trever in his letter from Holt of May 15, speaks of the rebels now on retreat. The parishioners of St. John's then might safely walk round about the bounds of their parish, if not on May 15, at least within the Rogation week, and we can imagine how they would enjoy the unwonted freedom, though their joy would be chastened with regret to see so much ruin and desolation wrought in the course of this Civil War.

### Beeston Castle

It has been supposed that the honourable conditions under which the Royalist Garrison of Beeston Castle were allowed to march out were in generous recognition of the valiant and stubborn defence which they had made for over twelve months. But a careful study of the documents relating to the siege, which are preserved in the British Museum, warrants a different conclusion.

The Articles of Surrender, as given in Sir William Brereton's papers<sup>1</sup> are as follows :—

Articles of Agreement 15 Nov. 1645 between Col. Thos Croxton and Lt-Col. Chidley Coote for Sir Wm. Brereton and Capt. Rob. Barrowe and Mr. Wm. Smith for Capt. Wm. Vallett, Governor of Beeston Castle.

1. Tomorrow before 10 o'clock 16 November, to deliver Castle up with all the armes, ammuni<sup>n</sup> and goods except such as shall be excepted and whether they march out or no shall suffer a guard of 200 musqueters (as appointed by Sir W. Brereton) at that hower to take possession of Castle, both upper and lower wards.
2. No arms wh<sup>h</sup> are agreed to be left behind to be made away or impaired and no ammunition spoiled or mis-spent :—

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<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS., 11,332.

none of the goods imbisilled; rooms or any part of Castle defaced, nor either of ye wells poisoned or obstructed according to the utmost of their endeavour.

3. The convoy sent with them for their safety shall safely return.
4. Capt. Vallett and Capt. Rob. Barrowe with all their officers and soldiers shall march away from Beeston Castle with complete arms, drums beating and colours flying into Flint Castle and thence to Conway or Bewmorris as shall seem best unto them, each soldier with 3 shot of powder and lighted matches and bullett answerable.
5. That Capt. Vallet and Capt. Barrowe with all the rest of the gents and officers shall carry away their trunks their wearing clothes and proper goods leaving behind them all such goods as truly belong to the garrison and country, and that the soldiers shall march away with their wearing apparel, whatever the apparel be and all their own proper moneyes.
6. All such gents officers and soldiers and others as have a desire to submit themselves to King and Parl<sup>t</sup> and to live at whome peaceably and quietly in their owne houses shall have free liberty and shall have passes for their safe passage to such places as they desire to repaire unto.
7. All shall have a safe convoy 2 miles beyond Flint and afterwards a trumpet if he be required to Denbigh or Rythland and two carriages ready by the forementioned tyme to carry their afforementioned goods.

It will be noticed that Captain Barrow is mentioned as one of the two Commissioners acting for the Governor, Captain Vallett. This will, perhaps, explain the error which has crept into Rushworth's account, in which he gives the name of the Governor as *Ballard*.

There is no doubt that Captain Vallett was a man of extraordinary spirit and firmness of character, with a brave man's consideration for the poor and helpless.



Sir William Brereton has preserved a letter of his<sup>1</sup> which illustrates both these characteristics.

“Captaine Guibart,

I understand by the bearer y<sup>t</sup> you intende to burne the Howse. Indeed it should not have beene left for you to have done it but y<sup>t</sup> I did comisserate a poore widdowe and two poore orphanes in soe much y<sup>t</sup> I was content rather to shew y<sup>t</sup> extreamity to suffer it to be a Den of Theves and Traitors. But if you take this course you prevent that w<sup>h</sup> I might upon good reasons doe myselfe and I shall make it such a pressident as y<sup>e</sup> surveyours of your workes Aldersey Spurstow Metcalfe *cum multis aliis* of your Traitorous facton shall repent and whereas you flatter yourselfe with hopes of takeinge this place I scorn your threats and attempts and y<sup>e</sup> forces of your best Generall for all his great Rams Heades and soe I rest.

WM. VALLETT.

Beeston Castell

9 May 1645.”

Sir Wm. Brereton was apparently blamed by some critics in London for his generous treatment of the enemy, and in his defence to his friend, Mr. Wm. Ashurst, M.P. for Newton Makerfield, he gives two reasons for his action.

His first reason is a politic one, that such leniency might have a good effect in hastening the surrender of Chester. To this he adds the more cogent plea that he had received certain intelligence of the advance of a relieving force.

The articles of agreement were drawn up on November 15th, but the negotiations had commenced on the 13th. Warnings had been received from more than one

<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS., 11,331, f. 154.

quarter that a considerable body of troops was coming from Chirk Castle and other places to a rendezvous at Holt with a supply of provisions for the besieged, and with the intention of surprising the besiegers.

Sir W. Brereton to Mr. Ashurst.<sup>1</sup>

“Beeston. To answer those who look with supercilious and ominous aspect.

I had intimation on 13th Nov. that the Committee in Castle wd deliver it up if they obtained good conditions.

Went next day in afternoon. Could not then dispatch but promised next day (15th) but kept for meeting at Nantwich. Therefore Major Croxton and Coote undertook it.

There came news from Major Elliot, Governor of Wellington Garrison that a party of horse and foot marched that day past from Chirk Castle to Houlth, who purposed with certain other forces there collected to relieve Beeston Castle, for wh<sup>h</sup> they had prepared many loads of meat and cheese ready to be conveyed to Beeston.

This was confirmed by other letters and by a woman from Farndon that they were come over the water and were on their march toward Beeston with many horses laden with provision and ammunitiōn.

At that time our guards were not in so good condition as were to be desired. Some straggled abroad, secure upon the confidence of the Castle to be delivered up the next day.

Upon which grounds the Gents. that there treated were induced to consent to better conditions than otherwise, tho the army wh<sup>h</sup> they had liberty to carry away were not many above 40, &c. . . . .

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<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS. 11,332, fol. 101.

The Castell was delivered up on Saboth day about 12 o'clocke in the night before when the enemy sh<sup>d</sup> have relieved it and were upon their march when they fell to discord and variance amongst themselves. The Chirke horse demanded the money promised w<sup>h</sup> not being performed by S<sup>r</sup> Richard Lloyd [the Royalist Governor of Holt Castle] they mutinied and faced about and marched whomewards and a greater parte of the horse belonging to y<sup>e</sup> Hoult went along with them, whereby their designe was wholly frustrated."

Notes of Letter from Major Elliot to Commanders at Beeston and Cholmley.

15 Nov., 1645, 3 p.m.  
Wellington Garrison.  
Passed 100 horse from Chirk Castle to Holt—  
thought they can make 250 horse at least.

The reports given below show how well the Intelligence Department of the Parliamentary Forces was served; indeed much better, in Cheshire at least, than the Royalists. Sir Wm. Brereton appears to have been very popular with the lower orders, and his letter book shows that most commonly the news-bearers were women.

Col. John Carter to Sir W. Brereton.

Eccleston,  
15th Nov., 1645,  
5 at night.  
Have received intelligence from Aulfore [Alford] by some that have intercourse at Holt that this day there came thither 80 horse and 40 foote with store of provision and are resolved this night to relieve Beeston.

Major Eliot to Commanders at Chester, Beeston, and Cholmely.

Wellington,  
15 Nov., 1645,  
8 at night.  
There came very now from Holt intelligence that this night they intend to relieve Beeston. They have provided all things for that purpose, as corne, salt, powder, and all other necessaries.

Col. Rob. Duckenfield and Louthian to Capt. Walley and rest of Commanders at Beeston.

Chester Suburbs,  
15 Nov., 1645,  
9 at night.  
Intelligence of intention to relieve Beeston this night or very suddenly. Sent to Col. Greaves and also to Major Hawkesworth to get both their Reg<sup>ts</sup>. to lye in these partes and that you will

draw forth all your foote and horse to draw in a body this night—speed a messenger also to Sir W. Brereton.

Postscript :

The enemy will make a desperate sally out upon you. I pray you engage not your horse without your foote nor pursue too hastily. I hope the enemy are more desperate than strong. You may easily deal with them if you be careful.

Brereton's report to the Committee of both Kingdoms makes no reference to the alarm of relief, but points out the effect of the surrender on the besieged at Chester, and it will be noticed that one of the results of the siege was that he commenced forthwith a series (November 18th, 19th, 20th) of most peremptory summons to the citizens of Chester.

To the R<sup>t</sup>. Hon. the Lords and others of the Committee of both Kingdoms These

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Lord hath been pleased this day [16 Nov.]  
**Beeston.** to restore unto us the strong castle of Beeston, which was lost about this time two years and besieged by us about this day 12 months, since which time they have had no more liberty but what was obtained 1<sup>st</sup> by Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice their army in March last which raised us from that siege: which being after their return made good we were again disturbed the second time by the King's army who came within 10 miles of Namptwich as he marched towards Leicester. We found in the Castle about 80 armes, some little ammunitiion, but less provision. The Governor Captain Valett with about 50 of the soldiers was permitted to march away on Foot with their arms to Flynt and so to Denbigh or Bewmorris there remaining about 40, who laid down their arms and submitted themselves desiring liberty to live at Home: the Prize therein found being of small value but so much it was, it is with equality to be distributed amongst the soldiers who have performed a very tedious siege. A great part of that which they had exacted from the Country was bestowed upon the reparation and furnishing of the Castle. It is reputed to be one of the strongest places in these parts of

the Kingdom. We found their horses in a weak and languishing condition (the Governor's own Horse being scarce able to go out of the Castle). We were very exact in performing and making good the conditions agreed upon, which we hope may produce a good effect upon Chester, which is now so straitened on the Welch side, as no manner of provision can be brought unto them."

Parliament marked their sense of the importance of this surrender by voting a reward of "£10 to the messenger who brought the letters and the good news of the taking of Beeston Castle."

The last original documents<sup>1</sup> which I shall quote in connection with this Castle are—1. The order for the inventory and valuation of the property left there with the view of apportioning the amount as prize money among the soldiers who had taken part in the siege. 2. The order for demolishing the siege works around the Castle, on the chance of the enemy taking possession of them.

Ordered by Sir W. Brereton :

Upon the entering of Beeston Castle all the goods, bedding, tables, cubbards, and other furniture there found being of convenient and necessary use shall remaine in their places where they are till further order.

That Mr Thos. Aldersey and Capt. Tho. Halse shall stay in the offices and take an inventory, and set a true value upon the particulars, and deliver y<sup>e</sup> same to the Committee of the County. The price shall be paid out of the public treasury to the soldiers who have been employed at y<sup>e</sup> Leaguer against the Castle.

All the Magazine and all the provision in Cholmondely Garrison and the fort at Beeston shall be speedily removed in the Castle for a present supply.

The Captains in Beeston Castle shall speedily  
**W**antwich, send out warrants to cause the County to pull  
 16 Nov, down and demolish the fort and works made against  
 1645. the Castle.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS. 11,333.

### Search for Provision amongst the Besieged

Among the documents preserved by Randle Holme II.<sup>1</sup> is a WARRANT of Lord Byron, the Governor of Chester, to Colonel Henry Leigh, Lt.-Col. John Robinson, Lt.-Col. Peter Griffith, Sergeant-Major Thomas Thropp, Hugh Wilbraham and Peter Leicester, Esquires, Captain Edward Pearsall, Captain Edward Alcock, Captain Ric<sup>d</sup>. Mallory, Mr. Alderman Holmes, sen., Mr. Alderman Cowper, Mr. Alderman Harvie, Mr. Humphrie Philipps, Mr. Alderman Holme, jun., Mr. Richard Bird, Mr. Edward Hulton, to oblige the Inhabitants to give in an exact account of the quantities of corne and meal remaining by them.—4th Jan., 1645.

The City was surrendered on February 2nd, 1645.

The questions put were :—

- “ 1. What corne have you in your own house, barn or stable, or in any other house, &c., or in any other place whatsoever? Declare the truth.
2. What in meale, or bread, pease, beanes, bran or fitches?
3. How many have you in family, and what soldiers do you keepe?
4. Do you know of any one within this garrison that hath any store of corn threshed or unthreshed?”

Fairly full returns were made to this warrant, and the lists preserved are deeply interesting as giving the names of the heads of families who shared in that heroic siege, the successful conclusion of which exercised such an important influence upon the fortunes of the Parliamentarians.

<sup>1</sup> Harl. 2135, fol. 98.

The lists of names for two of the wards (Northgate and Trinity) are given in full as specimens. For three other wards only a summary is given, with a few selected names as specimens. In the Northgate Ward there occur a number of "subberds"—*i.e.*, persons taken in from the suburbs, when that part of the City was taken by the Parliamentarians.

Trinity Warde January 5, 1645.

Mr. Thomas Aldersey, just. pac. Alderman to Warde.

	In Family.	Soldiers.	Measures of				
			Corn.	Meal.	Rye.	Wheat.	Beans.
Milles Bennitt .....	18	..	4	2	..	..	..
Baron of Kinderton ....	32	..	4	..	..	..	..
Widdowe Sayer .....	15	..	5	5	..	..	..
Thomas Tincker .....	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
Widdowe Welche.....	12	..	..	..	..	..	..
Thomas Hutchens.....	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
Danyell Woodes .....	8	a souldier	..	2	..	..	..
Danyell Boore .....	3	..	..	1 peck	..	..	..
Edward Fisher .....	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Widdow Hatton .....	3	and a souldier	..	..	..	..	..
John Lunte .....	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ensigne Wm. Johnson..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
Widdowe Robertes ....	9	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mrs. Morrayne .....	2	..	..	$\frac{1}{2}$	..	..	..
Wm. Greene .....	5	..	..	1 peck	..	..	..
Thomas Reeise [Rees]..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mr. Worberton .....	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
David Rogers .....	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Paul Sownes .....	7	..	..	$\frac{1}{2}$	..	..	..
John Wakefeilde .....	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Francis Wade .....	2	1	..	$\frac{1}{2}$	..	..	..
Owen Morrice .....	8	2	..	1	3	..	..
Widdowe Hughes.....	3	..	..	$\frac{1}{2}$	..	..	..
Hannett Bennitt .....	4	..	1 peck	..	..	..	..
Reice Samson .....	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
George Caldewell .....	2	..	..	$\frac{1}{2}$	..	..	..
Widdowe Stones .....	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rondall Asbroocke ....	8	..	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	..	..	..	..
Roger Jones .....	2	..	..	$\frac{1}{2}$	..	..	..

	In Family.	Soldiers.	Corn.	Measures of			
				Meal.	Rye.	Wheat.	Beans.
Thomas Ince .....	7	2	..	..	..	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
Mr. Richard Birde ....	14	with soldiers	6	2	..	..	..
Mr. Richard Sproson ..	2	..	2	..	..	..	..
Henry Powell .....	5	a Captain & Ensign	$\frac{1}{2}$	..	..	..	..
Mr. Robt. Sproson ....	4	4	..	4	..	..	..
Mr John Wrighte ....	9	..	2	..	..	..	..
Mr. Eddars .....	10	..	..	..	..	..	..
George Watter .....	3	..	$\frac{1}{2}$	..	..	..	..
Mr. Edward Hulton....	9	a Captain a lieut.	2	2	4	4	..
Rauffe Fletcher.....	3	1	..	..	..	..	..
Richard Mitchell.....	7	..	1	..	..	..	..
Widow Suthworth ....	4	..	..	..	..	1	..
Richard Walton .....	4	1	..	..	..	2	..
Robert Proffell .....	7	..	$\frac{1}{2}$	..	..	..	..
James Smithe .....	6	..	1	..	..	..	..
William Paires .....	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
James Anderton .....	5	..	3 pecks	..	..	..	..
Thomas Tinsley.....	4	5 in all	3 pecks	..	..	..	..
Mr. Thomas Mottershed	10	..	2	..	..	..	..
Captaine Egles .....	9	..	..	..	..	..	..
Robert Payne .....	4	..	$\frac{1}{2}$	..	..	..	..
Thomas Warmisham ..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Henry Richardson ....	8	..	1	..	..	..	..
Rauffe Moore .....	10	..	1	..	..	..	..
Widow Plinston .....	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Widow Ashton.....	4	..	$\frac{1}{2}$	..	..	..	..
Widow Jones.....	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rondle Bradley.....	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
Thomas Jackson .....	7	..	..	..	..	..	..
Richard East .....	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
Henry Alison.....	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
Gilliver Smith .....	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
John Carran .....	7	..	..	..	..	..	..
Widow Harper .....	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
John Padderoughe ....	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
William Smithe .....	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
William Robertes.....	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
John Miller .....	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Thomas Beckett .....	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
Widow Beddowe .....	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
Widdowe Watte .....	3	..	..	..	..	..	..



	In Family.	Soldiers.	Measures of				
			Corn.	Meal.	Rye.	Wheat.	Beans.
Peter Rowe .....	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Thomas Thomason ....	7	..	..	$\frac{1}{2}$	..	..	..
John Fletcher .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ric. Litherland.....	4	..	..	1	..	..	..
Thomas Foxe.....	7	..	..	..	..	..	..
Widow Smith .....	7	..	3	..	..	..	..
Thomas Payne .....	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rondoll Hatton .....	3	..	1 peck	..	..	..	..
William Yeates .....	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
John Harison .....	4	..	1	..	..	..	..
Henry Litherland .....	3	..	..	1 peck	..	..	..
Widow Moseley .....	3	..	3 pecks	..	..	..	..
Christopher Tilston ....	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
Thomas Whitletche ....	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
Samuell Edwardes ....	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rich. Jones .....	2	..	$\frac{1}{2}$	..	..	..	..
Eauan Jones .....	3	..	..	..	..	..	1 peck
Rob. Rollinson.....	6	..	..	..	..	..	1
Peares Gregory .....	2	..	$\frac{1}{2}$	..	..	..	1
Roger Woodcocke ....	2	..	2	..	..	..	..
Sheathe Houghton ....	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
Katharine Copline ....	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
Eliz. Woodwarde.....	6	..	3 pecks	..	..	..	..
Isacke Hughes .....	7	..	..	..	..	..	..
Widow Kinge .....	3	..	..	1 peck	..	..	..
Thomas Madder .....	4	..	..	..	..	1 peck fitches	..
Widow Bell .....	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
William Scale .....	6	..	1	..	..	..	1 peck
Widow Baggott .....	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
Thos. Johnes.....	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wm. Costons .....	5	..	3 pecks	..	..	..	..
Henry Janyon .....	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
Patrike Cowley.....	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Robert Briscoe .....	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mode Hande .....	5	..	..	1	..	..	..
Gilbert Quele.....	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
John Griffith .....	5	..	1	..	..	..	..
Richard Davies.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Elizabeth Boulde .....	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mr. Mounford .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Widowe Broster .....	3	..	..	1 peck	..	..	..

	In		Measures of				
	Family.	Soldiers.	Corn.	Meal.	Rye.	Wheat.	Beans.
Richard Dolbye .....	7	..	..	1	3	..	..
Mr. Gallowey .....	1	..	..	..	..	1	..
Elline Steene .....	3	..	..	1	..	..	..
Widow Orage .....	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Eliz. Robison .....	2	..	..	..	..	..	$\frac{1}{2}$ peck
Ed. Cranage .....	3	..	..	$\frac{1}{2}$	..	..	1
Thomas Lacker .....	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Anne Scott .....	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wm. Balmer .....	4	..	8 measures Rye wheat beans & barley				
Wm. Hand .....	4	..	..	1 peck	..	..	..
Wm. Meare .....	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Gerrard Tryer .....	3	2	6 maute	1	..	4	..
Parson Wilson .....	4	..	..	..	..	2 wheat & beans	..
George Hulton .....	5	2	..	..	6 wheat & Rye	2 of meal	..
Ed. Griffith .....	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Widow Burton .....							
Widow Clougas .....							
Parson Smith .....	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
William Trousse .....	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wm. Midleton .....	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
James Robison and others that came out of the Norgate Streete 9 in fam. ..							
Richard Coddinton ....	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Joseph Tye .....	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Widow Buxsie .....	5	..	$\frac{1}{2}$	..	..	..	..
George Starkey .....	10	3	..	4	..	..	..
Edward Eaton .....	4	..	..	$\frac{1}{2}$	..	..	..
Thos. Williams .....	5	2	1	1	..	..	..

Names of the Inhabitants in the Northgate Ward

Lord Cholmondely ....	22	..	25 oats	..	7 bushells barlie	2 <sup>b</sup> beans
Nicholas Ince Ald. ....	7	Capt. Chambers & Mr. Currin & there men		..	6 <sup>b</sup> rie & wheat	..
In the next house to his	19 subberds <sup>1</sup> people 3 soldiers			..	..	..
Widow Bickerton .....	15	..	..	..	6 <sup>b</sup> wheat	3 <sup>b</sup> beans
Sr William Massie ....	10	..	..	..	..	..
Mr. Henrie Bridgman ..	4	..	..	..	1	..
Mr. Thos. Humphrey ..	15	..	..	..	10 <sup>b</sup>	..

<sup>1</sup> Suburbs.

	In Family.	Measures of				
		Soldiers.	Corn.	Meal.	Rye.	Wheat. Beans.
Mr. Stanley Burrowes ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mrs. Richerson.....	6	Capt. Austen an	Ancient & 2 men	2 corn	..	..
Rd. Cooke.....	5	I	I	..	..	..
Thos. Williams.....	4	..	..	..	..	..
Randle Turner .....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Widow Ince .....	3	a quarter master	an ancient	..	..	..
Wm. Street .....	5	Capt. Whitmore	4 <sup>b</sup> corn	..	..	..
Richd. Rathburne ....	3	..	..	..	..	..
Widow Johnes .....	6	..	..	..	..	..
Wm. Downes .....	2	..	..	..	..	..
John Pick .....	5	3 subberd <sup>1</sup> people	..	..	..	..
Grace Richerson .....	3	10 subberd <sup>1</sup> 1 souldier	..	..	..	..
Wm. Catterall .....	2	4 subberd <sup>1</sup>	..	..	..	..
Thomas Bennet.....	3	14 subberd <sup>1</sup> men & women	..	..	..	..
Francis Holland .....	7	..	..	..	..	..
Richard Deane .....	4	I	..	..	20 <sup>b</sup> wheat	..
Peeter Welchman.....	6	5 sub. people	..	..	..	..
Wm. Catterall .....	3	3 sub. men & women	..	..	..	..
Thomas Right .....	6	..	..	..	3 of wheat & rie	..
Thomas Ben .....	6	..	..	..	..	..
Widow Crichley .....	8	Major lord	..	..	2 <sup>b</sup> wheat	..
Mrs. Gibson .....	4	..	..	..	..	..
Thomas Lealand .....	7	..	..	..	..	..
Mrs. Mallorie.....	8	19 subberd people	..	..	..	..
Mr. Clarke.....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mr. Beedle .....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mr. Charles Johnes ....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Christopher Pie.....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Widow Hughes.....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mr. Bartley's house ....	..	14 subberd people	..	..	..	..

## Eastgate Ward.

	Corn Measures.	Family.	Soldiers.
Mr. Blease.....	8	6	5
Mr. Wm. Bennet.....	4	11	4
Sir Tho. Dellves .....	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	3
Mr. Joseph Bruen .....	2	6	2
Mr. Poole .....	$\frac{1}{2}$	6	..

<sup>1</sup> Suburbs.

	Corn		
	Measures.	Family.	Soldiers.
Mr. Ed. Aldersey .....	2	6	1
Mr. Thos. Aldersey .....	2	3	1
Alderman Aldersey .....	6	10	4
Mr. Rich. Littler .....	0	15	..

“In the Eastgate Ward there is about 160 other families in wh there is about 900 persons or thereabouts beside 150 souldiers or thereabouts of wh: families there is about 100 families that have noe corne & the corne that is is about 112 measures.”

	meas.	in fam.	soldiers.
N.B.—80 families given in list .....	67 10	.. 501	.. 91

St. Oswell's Ward.

- 86 names of heads with 538 in family and 74 soldiers billeted on them  
15 widows
- Mr. Thos. Watt ..6 measures meal wheat & rye; 1 wheat 3 barley and beans  
8 in family & 1 trooper
- Mich. Tarleton ... 4 rye, 1 wheat, 1½ meale 1 peck beans 3 in family &  
1 soldier
- Thos. Hickes ..... 2 wheat 2 rye, 2 barley 4 meal 12 in family & 4 soldiers
- Mr. Phillips ..... 16 rye, 1 wheat ½ meal 22 in family & 3 soldiers

S. Bridget's Ward 5 Jan., 1645.

	Corn.		
	Meas.	Fam.	Soldiers.
Mr. Cowper .....	5 1 peck	9	2 L <sup>ts</sup>
Mr. Tho. Savage .....	0	18	..
6 families in the alms houses wh: have no provision			
Mr. Chas. Jones.....	0	2	..
Capt. Haves .....	0	5	..
Mr. William Jones.....	2 & 40 measures coarse beans,	6	5
scarce fit to be used.			
Mr. Wm. Drinkwater ....	4	14	6
Mr. Ed. Williams .....	2	8 besides soldiers	
Mr. Buckely .....	½	4	..
Widdow Bolland .....	0	29	..

N.B.—63 families mentioned—497 persons at least.

“In the Bishop’s Kitchen, no corn & 24 in family.

119 measures of corne in ye whole wards, whereof 20 measures already given to Rd Deane Baker so rests 99 meas: to be distributed as infra :

Hugh Crumpe .....	}	for 21 measures	}	Col. Wynne.		
Randal Dod .....						
Richard Deane .....						
Thomas Thropp.....		for 27 ,,				
Rd, Hickoke .....		for 5 ,,				
Widdow King .....		for 26 ,,				
William King .....						
Raphe Lee.....	}	for 25 ,,			}	Col. Mostin.”
Thomas Lee .....						
Richd. Walton .....		for 15 ,,				
Raph Mosly .....						

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