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THE LETTER BOOKS  
OF  
SIR WILLIAM BRERETON

VOLUME ONE

January 31st – May 29th 1645

Edited by  
R.N. DORE

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## EDITOR'S ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Editing the Calendar of the Brereton Letter Books has been a lengthy task, complicated by the discovery of a 'lost' Letter Book while the work was in progress & fraught with a great many anxieties concerning publication. I do not think I would have been able to carry on with it without the unvarying support given me by the Council of the Record Society, the work of its Secretary, Mr Brian Redwood, in dealing with administrative problems and the patience, common sense and cheerful encouragement of its General Editor, Mrs J.I. Kermode. I must also thank my wife for putting up with Sir Wm. Brereton, virtually as a member of the family circle, for so long a period with such great good humour and, in addition, for acting as 'general reader' for much of what I have written myself.

As the Introduction on the Subject Matter reveals, the ramifications of the Letter Books spread far beyond Cheshire to touch on the Civil War in almost the whole of Britain. The knowledge required to cover this was far greater than I possessed and I have had to appeal for help to a large number of scholars. All are busy people; yet in no single instance did my appeal go unanswered and many took an enormous amount of time and trouble to answer my detailed questions. In addition I was sent typescripts of unpublished theses and offprints of work yet to be published. I give below the list of my helpers, but there are also specific references in the notes to assistance in particular fields.

I wish to thank: G.C. Baugh (V.C.H. Salop); H. Beaumont; Dr. B.G. Blackwood; Dr. J.T. Brighton; Prof. W.H. Chaloner; Dr. J.T. Cliffe; Marjorie Cox; Elizabeth Danbury; Ian Dunn (Chesh. R.O.); G.C.F. Forster; Dr. Brian Harris (V.C.H. Chesh.); Dr. Anne Hughes; Annette Kennett (Chester R.O.); John Lewis; Albinia de la Mare (Bodleian Lib.); John McGurk; Dr. John Morrill; Dr. Peter Newman; Dr. Colin Phillips; Brian Redwood (Chester R.O.); W.J. Smith; F.B. Stitt (Staffs. R.O.); John Sutton; A.G. Veysey (Clwyd R.O.); Dr. Malcolm Wanklyn; M. Wilcox (Birmingham Ref. Lib.); Brig. Peter Young.

Two books, in particular, have provided the foundation for my work on the Brereton Letter Books and I have been fortunate that friendship with the authors of both has enabled me to discuss with them many of the problems involved. Although some dissimilarities in the originals have brought out variations in the way the Calendars have been arranged, *The Letter Books of Sir Samuel Luke*, edited by the late Mr. H.G. Tibbutt, has been the model for this edition of the Brereton Letter Books. Readers of the notes & the Introduction on Subject Matter will discover that occasionally my conclusions differ from those of Dr. J.S. Morrill; nevertheless, his *Cheshire 1630-60* has provided me with a wealth of information about and elucidation of the complicated background to Brereton's siege of Chester. Without it, my task of editing the Brereton Letter Books would have been infinitely more difficult.



## EDITORIAL METHOD

### *Item Numbering*

This is continuous throughout the two vols. of the Calendar and is irrespective of the MS from which the item comes. This is because the items have been rearranged in the order in which it is thought they were written & there is a considerable overlap in April, 1645, between items in the D & A MSS, together with a lesser one in Dec., 1645, between items in the B & C MSS. Isolated items, written before the main period covered by the MSS (Jan. 1645 to Feb. 1646), are not calendared but are listed and summarised in Appendices to both vols. Where there is serious doubt about the dating of an item, this is discussed in a note on it. Item numbers and not paging will be used for the Indices.

### *MS References*

The folio no. of each item and the particular MS from which it comes are given in round brackets at the end of the item. D stands for the newly discovered Letter Book, CRO/DDX/428 being the catalogue number of the photostat copy in the Cheshire Record Office; A, B & C for the three Brit. Lib. Letter Books, Add. MSS 11331-3. (CRO/DDX/428 has been labelled the D MS, although chronologically it comes before Add. MSS 11331-3, because much work had been done on the Calendar before its discovery and the labels A, B & C had already been allotted to the Add. MSS vols.) For further information see the Introduction on Texts. The folio numbering given throughout is the renumbering, made by the Brit. Mus. authorities for Add. MSS 11331-3 and by the C.R.O. for CRO/DDX/428 because the original contemporary numbering is frequently chaotic. But readers who make use of the articles by R.N. Dore on Brereton and the Civil War in Cheshire published in the *T.L.C.A.S.* (63, 67, 69, 75-6) and the *Montgom. Collections* (57 pt. 2) should be warned that the old contemporary numbering is used there.

### *Item Headings*

Headings ('from whom,' 'to whom' in the case of letters), dates of writing and compiling, places where written or compiled, are given at the beginning of each item in a standard form and not in the rich variety of ways in which they are often expressed in the originals. If there is thought to be any special significance in the headings used (e.g. as helping to throw light on the difficult problem of the overlapping bodies which controlled parl. Chesh. during the war; see Introduction on Subject Matter), the actual words in the MS are given in inverted commas. Dating - day, month and year - is always given in arabic numerals. For the period 1 January to 25 March, 1645 and 1646, the year is given as 1644-5 or 1645-6, although in the MS it is always according to the Old Style, 1644 or 1645. Place names at the beginning of items are given in

their modern form, unless there is some doubt as to identity. Then the name is given as in the MS, with the name of the modern place with which it has been identified in square brackets after it, while a note to the item explains on what grounds the identification has been made (e.g. 26 and n.1).

#### *Text of the Calendar*

The original MS is abbreviated by the omission of repetitions and diplomatic niceties, except where the latter are thought to have significance. Modern spelling and punctuation are used; otherwise the wording is left as near the original as possible. Occasionally alterations have been made to help clarification. Sometimes, if a phrase or passage is considered to be particularly obscure or ambiguous, inverted commas are inserted to show that it is exactly as in the MS and the reader is invited to exercise his own judgement as to its meaning. Usually, in such cases, there is a note also.

#### *Spelling of Personal Names*

This presents a problem. Not only did the 17th century use a variety of forms but sometimes more than one of these has survived into modern times. The case of the Middletons of Chirk is an example. B.L.B. rarely uses any other form than *Middleton* and the Calendar has followed this. So do Young and Holmes. But the present family seems to prefer *Myddelton* (see *Chirk Castle Guide*) and Tucker follows them. Both Morris and Dodd, however, use *Myddleton*. The general practice in this Calendar for names that appear many times has been to use the accepted form if one exists but, if it does not, to choose one form and use it throughout. Other forms that occur in the MSS will be put in the Index after the selected one.

In the case of persons mentioned only occasionally but sufficiently well-known to be identified or of persons too obscure to be identified (both occur most often in prisoners' lists), the name is given as spelt in the MS. But if, in the first instance, a modern form of the name is still in existence or, in the second instance, a common modern form is thought to be the same name as that given in the MS, these are inserted in square brackets afterwards.

#### *Spelling of Place Names*

Place names that are widely known are given throughout the Calendar in their modern form. Variations that occur in the MS will be given after the modern form in the Index. With names that are less widely known or are known only locally, the version used in the MS will be given first with the modern form after it in square brackets but, unless there is doubt as to the identification, the modern form will be given first in the Index. In the small number of cases where no certain identification has been made, the form given in the MS will be used in the Index.

### *Use of Brackets*

Round brackets in the Calendar itself are either brackets which are in the MS or ones that have been supplied for clarification of the text. (Brereton's copyists had a habit of putting in a bracket to commence a parenthesis but omitting to add a second to close it.) Square brackets indicate an Editorial interpolation. Sometimes these are summaries of letters (or parts of them) which are not given in full because they repeat almost exactly information given previously. Sometimes these record important marginal notes (often these are in Brereton's writing). If there is significance in the precise wording and this is given as in the MS, it is indicated by inverted commas.

### *Indices*

Considerations of expense have meant that the Index of Personal Names, the Index of Places and a possible Index of Subjects have had to be postponed until Volume II. As there is bound to be a sizeable gap between publication of the two volumes, I have tried as far as possible to make up in Volume I for its lack of Indices. Readers will find in the Introduction on Subject Matter and Select Bibliography and in the Appendices, particularly Appendices I and IV, not only discussion of the main topics and personalities that appear in the D & A MSS, but also references to the particular items with accompanying notes where these topics and personalities are to be found. In addition there are cross references in the notes to other items which contain further information on the same topics and personalities.

### *Note on Identification of Places*

So many places (many of them obscure) are included in B.L.B., they cover so wide a range and in many areas are so thick on the ground, that it was decided too many maps would have to be provided to cover them all. In the absence of maps notes have been provided giving the position of places that are very obscure or have ceased to exist nowadays. Most of the names do appear, however, on modern maps and, if the reader uses the names of other places that are given and the general context to fix the area, can be found without too much difficulty on O.S. maps. Road map books (such as the A.A. *Complete Atlas of Britain*) are useful for rapid reference. Some local histories of the Civil War provide maps containing large numbers of places mentioned in contemporary documentation: e.g. for Cheshire R.N. Dore, *Civil Wars in Cheshire* (end papers), R.H. Morris, *Siege of Chester* (mainly for places in and around Chester); for Staffordshire D.H. Pennington and I.A. Roots, *The Committee at Stafford*. Rather less adequate but still of use are the maps for Lancashire in E. Broxap, *The Great Civil War in Lancashire*; for Salop in W.J. Farrow, *The Great Civil War in Shropshire*; for N. Wales in N. Tucker, *North Wales in the Civil War*.



## ABBREVIATIONS

### *General*

In the interests of brevity abbreviations have been used for many ordinary words that occur frequently in the text (e.g. col. – colonel; Parl. – Parliament). In addition, certain initials have been used and, as these will not be familiar outside the context of the Civil War and the Brereton Letter Books, a list is appended.

- B.L.B. Brereton Letter Books; i.e. the four here calendared  
B.A.L. Brereton's list of his army (Item 385)  
B.O.R. Brereton's lists of his own regts of horse and foot (Item 703)  
C.B.K. The Committee of Both Kingdoms (see App. I (i))  
S.D.O. Self Denying Ordinance (forbidding M.P.s to hold military commissions; passed by Parl. 3-4-45).  
N.C. National Covenant  
N.O. Negative Oath: undertaking to do nothing against the Parl.

### *BOOKS AND MSS*

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Add. MSS Additional MSS; in the Brit. Lib.  
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Bod. Lib. Bodleian Library, Oxford  
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Brit. Lib. British Library (formerly British Museum)  
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- S.P.28 *Wm. Salt Soc. & (later) the Staffs. Record Soc.*  
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1958



# INTRODUCTION

## I: THE TEXTS OF THE BRERETON LETTER BOOKS

The four Brereton Letter Books that have been calendared are:— Additional MSS 11331–3 in the British Library, designated in the Calendar as the A, B & C MSS; CRO/DDX 428, which is the catalogue number of a photostat copy in the Cheshire Record Office of a recently discovered Letter Book in private hands, designated in the Calendar as the D MS.

The D MS is chronologically the first of the four MSS, its entries coming from February, March and April, 1645. The A MS comes next, its entries for the first three weeks of April intermingling with those from the D MS. They then continue for the rest of April and throughout May. There is also a single entry from January and two entries from March, 1645. A gap of several months before the next Letter Book then follows for, in June, Brereton gave up his command under the provisions of the Self Denying Ordinance and returned to Westminster. The real starting point for the B MS is his setting out from London in mid-October to return to his command. There are several items from earlier in the month, however, because a batch of intercepted royalist letters are included and also the abortive negotiations for the surrender of Chester which took place between the battle of Rowton Moor on 24 September and Brereton's resumption of his command. Entries in the B MS then continue throughout November and on until 8 December. There is not much overlapping with the C MS whose entries begin on 6 December, continue throughout that month and on until 19 January, 1646. There are no entries for the remaining days of January but the terms for the surrender of Chester, which occurred on 1 February, 1646, are inserted after the index.

All the Letter Books contain a few items from earlier in the war and a batch of some 20 letters and other documents dated from March to June, 1642, before war had broken out, have been inserted into the C MS. These earlier items have not been calendared but are listed in appendices with some excerpts and comments.

The focal point of the Letter Books that are here calendared is the siege of Chester which lasted from November 1644 to February 1646. But two other Letter Books have been found which are not concerned with the siege. MS 595611 in the City Reference Library, Birmingham, has most of its entries from April and May, 1646, when Brereton was conducting a campaign in the Midlands. MS CR63/2/702 in the City Archive Office, Chester, has as its somewhat misleading title, 'Miscellaneous Collections made by Sir William Brereton bart. of Handforth Co. Chester c.1636'. One section is concerned entirely with the building in 1631 of Sir Wm's duck decoy on the Saltney

## 2 Introduction

marshes and the disputes over this that followed throughout the 1630s. The rest is a very miscellaneous collection of letters and documents ranging from 1633–59 and concerned with affairs in Staffs. and Surrey as well as those in Cheshire. Only three items are from the Civil War period.

Our knowledge of what happened to these Letter Books between their compilation by Brereton's copyists and their re-appearance as objects of modern research is very scanty. The presumption is that they would have remained with Brereton during the rest of his life which, after the Civil War, was lived mainly at Croydon where he died in 1661. By this time the Restoration had turned him out of the Archbishop's Palace there and it is probable that, after his death, his effects would have been returned to Handforth Hall where his son and heir, Sir Thos. Brereton, lived. In 1674, however, Sir Thos. died without heirs and the dispersal of the Letter Books may well have begun then. For, although Handforth Hall went to his maternal cousins, the Booths of Mottram St. Andrew, there is no evidence that any of them lived there. In 1764 they sold it and, ever since, it has been in the hands of successive purchasers, none of them related to the Breretons.

In the C MS is a note in a later 17th century hand which gives a tantalisingly brief glimpse of the dispersal at work.

'This and the other Mr William Brereton brought to the castle, whether to my Lord to peruse or to give to my Lord I know not.'

There is no means of identifying the writer or the lord and his castle, all of whom may have existed outside Cheshire. There is a distinct possibility that Mr Wm. Brereton could have been one of the family that descended from the second marriage of Sir Urian Brereton, the founder of the Handforth line. These are known to have continued to live at Handforth as late as 1660 and, as their links with Sir Wm. had been close, they might well have been able to get hold of the Letter Books which would have been of considerable interest to them.

When the Letter Books – or some of them – surfaced again, they were far from the home or family of their progenitor and in the hands of antiquarian collectors. In 1771 Dr. Foote Gower of Chelmsford published his *Sketch of the materials for a new History of Cheshire* (Orm.I,xxxiii; *Sheaf*, 1st ser. 1, 1879, 47) in which he announced that he had in his possession five folio volumes of Sir Wm. Brereton's manuscripts. Gower died in 1780 and his MSS were purchased by Dr. Williamson of Woodford, Cheshire. When, however, in 1819 (after Dr. Williamson's death) George Ormerod, then about to publish his famous *History of the County Palatine of Chester*, examined his collection, he found no more than two volumes of Brereton papers in it. These, he said, were dated from October 1645 to January 1646, which identifies them with Add.MSS 11332–3, the B & C MSS of this Calendar. The C MS has 'The Property of Dr. Gower' written on its title page. What was then happening to the volume that became Add.MS 11331 (A MS) is not

known but by February, 1838, it was re-united with its companions, for all three were purchased by the British Museum from Fenns, the Southgate booksellers. That Add.MS 11331 was once in Gower's possession is certain for it, too, has 'The Property of Dr. Gower' written on its title page.

Two of Dr. Gower's five volumes were unaccounted for in 1838, but *three* Brereton Letter Books have now surfaced again. It would seem likely that two of them were once in Gower's possession and that these two were the Letter Book now in Birmingham and the one recently discovered, for Gower said that his volumes were devoted to the Civil War and there are only three Civil War items in the Letter Book in Chester. Yet there can be no certainty of this. Ormerod noted that Gower described his MS collection very inaccurately and what he says of his Brereton volumes leads one to doubt whether he had ever examined them closely. He describes them as journals when the bulk of them are letters. He says that they were written in 'a small but very fair hand', when there are at least nine hands at work in the three volumes known to have been in his possession, some of which could not possibly be described as 'small'. He gives the impression that his five volumes covered the whole war. Yet the four Civil War volumes known to us cover no more than three months each and are all (isolated items apart) concerned with the last two years of the war. It would have taken at least 16 of such volumes to have covered the whole war.

Even less is known about the history of the Letter Books not in the British Museum (now the British Library). The Chester volume was acquired by J.P. Earwaker, the famous Cheshire antiquary, purchased by the Duke of Westminster after Earwaker's death in 1895 and presented to the Chester Archaeological Society. It was housed with the rest of the Society's collection in the Chester City Library before being deposited in the City Record Office in the Town Hall in 1969. The Birmingham volume was purchased by the City Library from Gibbs, the Manchester bookseller, in December 1948. On 9 & 10 October two years previously there had been an auction at Browns of Chester of the furniture and library from Vale Royal, Cheshire. Lot 656 contained a manuscript of 'Letters in the time of Leaguers' (ie. sieges). Embossed on the spine of the 19th-century binding of the Letter Book is a demi-griffin segreant holding a helmet with a baron's coronet above. This fits the crest of the family of the Cholmondeleys of Vale Royal after their head had been given the title of Lord Delamere. So it looks as if this Letter Book had come into the possession of the Cholmondeleys of Vale Royal, although they were a family that had no known links with the Breretons of Handforth in the 17th century and were among their opponents during the war itself. As to the recently discovered Letter Book, its owners do not know how it first came into the possession of their family. Again antiquarian purchase seems the most likely explanation, for they do not appear to have had any connection with the Breretons of Handforth.

What are the possibilities that Brereton compiled yet more Letter Books

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and that some may still re-appear? It should be said right away that, if the first premise is correct, then the second is not unlikely. As we have seen, two Letter Books have surfaced since the Second World War. On the other hand, it is true that it was known all along that the most recently discovered book once existed, for there are several references to entries in it in the A MS (note to 391).

There is no such certainty as to the compilation of any other Letter Book. The D MS has no references in it to entries in a previous book. Furthermore the copying into the A MS of a letter dated 31-1-45 (1), which is in the period that should have been covered by such a book, rather suggests that it had never been compiled. On the other hand there is some evidence which points to the possibility that a Letter Book (or Books) was made up on Brereton's orders much earlier in the war. Stebbing Shaw in his *History and Antiquities of Staffordshire*, published 1798-1801, quotes a letter from Brereton on the battle of Hopton Heath and another on the capture of Stafford and a raid on Wolverhampton (I, 54-5). These actions took place in the spring of 1643. The references that Shaw gives, although confusing, appear to have come from one or more manuscript books then in the possession of two Stafford doctors.

What was the purpose of the Civil War Letter Books? The only obvious explanation is that they were intended to be a selection of the most important of Brereton's documents copied in a form small and compact enough to be carried round with the commander when he was on the move. This, as his correspondence makes plain, was virtually all the time. One presumes that the originals from which the selected copies were made were deposited either at the parliamentary headquarters at Nantwich or at the forward bases established first at Tarvin and then in the eastern suburbs of Chester itself. The hurried nature of much of the copying, the double copying of many items, the frequent errors (many of them gross), all support this explanation. The only parts that are carefully written are the indices to the A, B & C MSS. (None has survived for the D MS.) This would suggest that they were compiled at rather more leisure, although probably while the war was still lingering on or immediately after its conclusion. For the hands of these copyists do not appear in the non-Civil War Chester Letter Book, so presumably they were part of Brereton's military entourage, to be disbanded once the war was over. Brereton's own interpolations, which take the form of corrections, additions and marginal comments, give the same impression of being made under pressure while he was in the field. They are sporadic and by no means systematic. He often ignores obviously incorrect headings and marginal notes, even in items which we know he had looked at because they bear the marks of his corrections. (See in partic. 165 & n.1.)

We can only guess at the kind of person whom he got to do his copying, but the results reveal that the position of scribe for the Letter Books can scarcely have been one of high priority. If the work had been done by minor gentry such as Nicholas Higginbotham of Stockport or John Brereton of Handforth,

who certainly assisted Brereton secretarially and legally before and after the war, or by clergymen such as Nathaniel Lancaster and Adam Martindale, who equally certainly worked as clerks to the military during the war, it could hardly have shown such marks of carelessness and ignorance. Mistakes abound, most of all in the names of persons and places. Some are revealed by their inherent impossibility, some by comparison with outside evidence, but some (the most certain of all) because the item has been copied in twice and the mistake is not repeated. (This double copying is not necessarily a further instance of extreme carelessness by the copyists. Important messages were frequently duplicated and sent by more than one messenger. If both copies got through, there might be several days between the times of their arrival.) Thus Hereford West must be Haverfordwest and Herefordshire Hertfordshire because the items containing them refer to military movements in south Wales and north of London (166; 1003). Wildman must be Mildmay because the entry in the Commons' Journals (180; *C.J.* IV, 104) has Mildmay and there was no M.P. of the name of Wildman in the Long Parliament. But General Poyntz's astonishing statement that he was sending troops with all possible speed from near Newark *via Denbigh* to the assistance of Brereton outside Chester is restored to sanity by the repetition of the item several pages further on with *Derby* substituted for *Denbigh* (812, 817).

These are all instances of single words and their misuse reveals carelessness but not necessarily ignorance. More amazing are the headings and marginal notes so glaringly at variance with the items to which they are attached that the original writers of these could not have been responsible for them. The Macclesfield sequestrators could not conceivably have headed their order for the payment of Mrs Leigh of Adlington's jointure as coming 'from the commanders of the Derbyshire horse'. But, as their signatures contain those of an alderman of Macclesfield, two aldermen of Stockport and the noted Maj. Henry Bradshaw of Marple, it is almost as unbelievable that any servant of Brereton's could have been so ignorant of the personalities involved as to make the mistake (189). There are other similar errors.

The addition of these copyists' errors to those which might normally be made by writers or compilers acting under the stress of action has added to the problems of editing the Calendar. Re-arranging the items in their initial chronological order has been the most difficult task. In the Letter Books themselves they appear to have been arranged in the order in which they were received, but this can only have been approximate because a selection process must have been going on all the time. In fact, many items which presumably had not been thought worthy of selection originally, are inserted well after the date when they must have been received, together with the later items which had made them of importance. (In the case of Item 1, written on 31 January but appearing among documents dated in mid-May, the reason for its appearance then was the publication of two pamphlets at this time. But, as these were not copied into B.L.B., the positioning of the item appears

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inexplicable at first sight. See n.1 to 1.) It was decided, however, that this original arrangement would obscure the progress of those military events with which the Letter Books are mainly concerned. So, despite the disadvantage that clusters of items relevant to each other had to be broken up, a chronological sequence based on the date of the writing of each item was substituted. The difficulties of establishing this were numerous. In the heat of action many writers of letters either did not date them or hurriedly wrote dates that from the matter in the letters themselves or outside evidence could not be correct. Errors made by the copyists added to the confusion. Finally, the first half of the 17th century seems to have been a period of transition in the writing of certain Arabic numerals and it is sometimes difficult to determine which of these the writers or copyists intended. (This matter is explained more fully in the 'Note on Numerals' which follows this Introduction.) Wherever there has been difficulty in determining the date of an item, the reason for adopting the date that is given is explained in a footnote.

One final mystery remains. If the Letter Books were a selection of Brereton's papers copied into books so that they could be carried about with him in the field, then surely the criterion for their selection must have been their importance in his public affairs. Yet it is sometimes difficult to see such a pattern in the selections made. Why are letters to and from the major parliamentarian commanders in the field, from Brereton's contact men in London and from the Committee of Both Kingdoms omitted, although they are relevant to other letters that do appear, while Will. Wenlocke's receipt for 20 oxen sold to Brereton and the slanging match between Capts. Vallett and Gimbart over a house outside Beeston Castle are included? It almost appears as if, in the hurly-burly of perpetual movement, the selection of Brereton's most important papers had sometimes been left to the copyists themselves. Yet surely Brereton must have been aware of their deficiencies and realised that allowing this might well destroy the intention behind the making of the Letter Books. No other plausible explanation for their compilation, however, has ever been put forward.

### A NOTE ON NUMERALS

The unreliability of Brereton's copyists, which may be partly due to the difficulty they had in deciphering the hurriedly written originals, extends to their use of numerals, particularly Arabic ones, and is increased by the changes that were undoubtedly taking place in the 16th and 17th centuries in the way these were being written. The Arabic numeral for *one* presents the greatest problem. L.C. Hector (*The Handwriting of English Documents*, 44,) has laid down that the figure which looks rather like a modern printed italic *i*, with the upper and lower hooks slightly exaggerated and no dot, is *one*, as well as the figure which is identical with the modern 1. He says that only

beginners misread it as *two*, the contemporary *two* being 2, with a bold horizontal base stroke jutting well to the left. Those who try to apply this dictum rigidly to the use of the Arabic numerals for *one* and *two* in B.L.B. will soon find themselves in difficulties. There will appear to have been a vast amount of correspondence dated between the 10th and the 19th of each month and hardly any at all between the 20th and the 29th. The captured royalist diary (142, A 141) which can be shown by other sources to have been written up between 16–29 March, 1645, has the four entries for the 16th–19th which are prefaced by the figure 1, followed by ten prefaced by *i*, which can hardly be other than for the following days from the 20th–29th. There is the same pattern in the original numbering of the folios themselves.

So it must be recognised that the normal usage for B.L.B. is for *one* to be represented by 1 and two by *i*. Yet there are instances where this does not appear to be so, but whether because of copyists' mistakes or uncertainty on their part as to how to form the Arabic numeral one, it is impossible to determine. The dating of Capt. Sandford's parole (504) and of a letter from Brereton to Leven (610) appear to be identical – *ii* followed by *May*. But the contents of Brereton's letter, the place he wrote it from (Knutsford), its sequence with other letters written by him around about the same time and our external knowledge of what was then taking place all show that it must have been written on 22 (or 21) May and could not have been written on 12 May. On the other hand it is extremely unlikely that Sandford's Parole could have been granted on the same date and far more likely that it was given on 12 (or 11) May. The reasons for this are given in the note to 504.

The different ways of writing the first of the month also cause difficulties. Often it is written 1 with a small o above denoting *primo*. But if this o is written lower down and almost parallel with 1 or if the 0 for a genuine tenth of the month is lifted somewhat, it becomes easy to confuse the two. In addition a Roman *one* is sometimes used and the normal practice where the last in a series of ones is given an upwards loop (e.g. *iiij*) employed where there is only a single *one*. If this is carelessly written with the dots omitted and if it is run on into the name of the month behind it, it can come to resemble a badly shaped 17th century *eight*.

In all cases where there is doubt about the dating of an item this is indicated in the text and sometimes, in more complicated cases, a note has been added.

## II: THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THE BRERETON LETTER BOOKS together with SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Considering that their existence was known as early as 1771 and that they were available to researchers in the Brit. Mus. by 1838, surprisingly little use has been made of the Civil War Letter Books of Sir Wm. Brereton. Well-known general accounts of the war, such as those by Gardiner, Firth &

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C.V. Wedgwood, either use them not at all or only for minor points (see 165 n.1). Most of the 19th and early 20th century historians of the war in Cheshire and along the Welsh marches also ignore them. From its inception in 1878 the *Cheshire Sheaf* published isolated items, but only J. & T.W. Webb, *The Civil War as it affected Herefordshire & the Adjacent Counties* (1879) and R.H. Morris, *The Siege of Chester* (1924) used them extensively. Morris's later chapters, concerned with the siege itself, have – besides other documents – plentiful extracts from the Letter Books. Yet, because of lack of sufficient space and because of Morris's death before the work was completed, and the nature of the Letter Books themselves, *The Siege of Chester* is not satisfactory as a source book for Add.MSS. 11331–3. Those items that are included are often presented in a confused and garbled manner and without the necessary explanations for the obscurer ones while, despite the liberal quotations, more items are excluded than included. An author whose space was limited and whose primary object was to narrate the siege of Chester could hardly feel justified in including extracts concerned, not only with high politics in Westminster and London, but with the war in half the counties of England and Wales and even in Ireland and Scotland. Yet, such were the ramifications of the siege of Chester that, although there is little in the Letter Books that is not *indirectly* connected with the siege, it was felt that these extracts would be of interest to scholars researching into the war in these particular regions. The Rec. Soc. of Lancs. & Chesh. decided to publish a Calendar of Add. MSS. 11331–3 but, after work on this had commenced, CRO/DDX428 was discovered and, as it immediately preceded the Brit. Mus. Letter Books, was included in the Calendar. Volume I consists entirely of items from CRO/DDX 428 (D MS) & Add.MS 11331 (A MS) which range from early February to the end of May, 1645. The aim of this introduction is to indicate what topics appear in volume I, what items might be of outstanding interest to those studying them and what other contemporary documents and later works are of relevance.

For the general background of the war at the time of the siege S.R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War* 4 vols. (2nd ed. 1893), C.V. Wedgwood, *The King's War* (1958), A. Woolrych, *Battles of the English Civil War* (1961), P. Young & R. Holmes, *The English Civil War* (1974) are all of value. Printed vols. of contemporary documents which are inter-connected with those in B.L.B. are: *C.S.P.D. 1644–5, The Letter Books of Sir Samuel Luke* (ed. H.G. Tibbutt, 1963); *H.M.C. Portland I*. Other relevant docs. which remain largely unprinted are the Rupert MSS (Add. MSS. 18980–2, Brit. Lib) & the Tanner MSS (Codex 60–2, Bodleian Lib., Oxford).

### *The Siege of Chester*

This, often known in B.L.B. and other contemporary documents as 'the Leaguer' of Chester, is the central theme of all four Letter Books. As the gateway to royalist Wales, the main port for Ireland and an important town on one of

the two main routes from Scotland, royalist H.Q. wished to maintain Chester and parl. H.Q. to capture it. (See 143 for Brereton's assessment of it to the C. of B.K.) With B.L.B. contemporary narratives of the siege should be consulted. For the royalists there are Ld. Byron's Account (Rawlinson MS B210 in Bod. Lib., printed in the *Sheaf*, 4th series, 6, 1971) and that of Randle Holmes (Harl. MS 2155 Brit. Lib., printed in Morris App.I); for the parliamentarians Malbon's *Memorials of the Civil War* (printed in Rec. Soc. of Lancs. & Chesh., 19, 1889) and the official parl. account by Nat. Lancaster 'A More Exact Relation of Chester's Enlargement' (Thomason Pamphlet, Brit. Mus., reprinted in *Sheaf*, 3rd series 38, 1943). There is only one full modern account – R.H. Morris, *Siege of Chester* (1924) whose virtues and weaknesses have been discussed above, but there is a much briefer one in R.N. Dore, *The Civil Wars in Cheshire* (1966), 43–57, while J.S. Morrill, *Cheshire 1630–60*, (1974), although its theme is the administration of Cheshire during this period, contains a great deal of information about the siege. As its title suggests, R.N. Dore – 'Sir Wm. Brereton's Siege of Chester and the Campaign of Naseby' (*T.L.C.A.S.*, 67, 1957) is mainly concerned with the connection between the siege and the strategy of the campaign.

Marston Moor made the siege possible. Once mopping-up operations after the battle had been completed in Lancashire and Cheshire, Liverpool retaken and the Wirral over-run, it was possible for Brereton to undertake it. The C. of B.K. had realised that, whether assault or blockade was employed, Chester was too formidable a task for the parl. forces of Cheshire alone and it had originally been intended that one of the victorious armies of Marston Moor, the Eastern Association or the Scots, should assist (Camden Soc. N.S. 12; *C.S.P.D. 1644–5*, 103). In the event the first never came at all and the second only grudgingly and for a very limited period. So, for the most part, it was with piece-meal assistance from surrounding counties (the 'auxiliaries') that the siege was conducted. Throughout the D & A MSS while Brereton was present it was a blockade with only one assault, made on 26-1-45, a week after a royalist sortie to destroy Brereton's most forward garrison at Christleton had been repulsed (Malbon 155–9). Apart from this attempt to surprise Chester on the rebound, there was only one other action near the city. This, an attack on Handbridge at the further end of the Dee Bridge on 7 April, was probably no more than a diversion to take attention away from Brereton's new move to extend the blockade to the Welsh side of the city (Byron's Account, 4; Randle Holmes, 222–3).

For the rest, it was the slow establishment of a blockade, frustrated by successful royalist attempts at relief. Aid ordered by the C. of B.K. from surrounding counties and the Scots was either too little or too late. From November 1644 to March, 1645 (B.L.B. begins at the end of January 1645) Brereton set up garrisons at Tarvin, Christleton, Hooton and Puddington to blockade Chester on the English side, attempted to establish a firm line of communications across Farndon Bridge as a preliminary to a blockade on the

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Welsh side and tried to eliminate the royalist garrison at Beeston Castle, whose raiding of supply lines was a major hindrance to the besiegers of Chester. He had high hopes of capturing Beeston which he had completely surrounded by fortifications. (Malbon, 152–60; Luke, 862, 980, 1100). The arrival of Maurice at Chester in mid-February and Rupert in mid-March, 1645, frustrated all these operations. Royalist attacks on Farndon Bridge made it quite unsafe as a line of communications into Wales, Christleton had to be abandoned and the defenders of Beeston were re-provisioned. Yet Maurice and Rupert not only withdrew very rapidly but weakened the garrison of Chester by taking with them the experienced troops who had come out of Ireland. This emboldened Brereton to resume the blockade and to extend it to the Welsh side. With the help of the Lancashire regt of Ralph Ashton, he established a line of communication through Eccleston ford, a few miles above Chester, made a forward H.Q. at Dodleston and undertook the siege of Hawarden Castle, the first link in the chain of communications between Chester and N. Wales. Restocked Beeston he now merely contained but, although he did not attempt to re-garrison Christleton, he pushed detachments nearer to Chester, particularly on the north side at Upton and Hoole. By the beginning of May he was very hopeful of success, especially at Hawarden where mining and bombardment had been undertaken. (95, 280, 439, 486, 512; Luke, 1178, 1215, 1257.)

As Brereton had all along predicted, this situation produced a strong royalist reaction. When in May their main army took the field for the campaign of 1645, the only objective on which complete agreement was reached in the royalist councils of war was the relief of Chester. Because this was not known to the C. of B.K., however, because there were a number of alternatives which had to be guarded against and because, in the face of this, the reluctance of the Scots to move south was strengthened, no attempt was made to enable Brereton to maintain his sieges. He was ordered to strengthen his garrisons and pull off the remainder of his troops to help to guard the line of the Mersey. So, when the A MS closes at the end of May, all three had been abandoned and Brereton was about to resign his command because of the S.D.O and ride up to London.

The greater part of the correspondence between Brereton and the C. of B.K. in B.L.B. for the months of April and May, 1645, is concerned with these events, as is also the correspondence between Brereton and the Scots generals and Brereton and his London/Westminster supporters and agents (for their names, see below). They can also be followed in Malbon, Byron's Account, Randle Holmes and Lancaster. There is virtually no contemporary documentation on the siege of Hawarden apart from what is in B.L.B. (236, 417, 458, 527, 533, 546, 552, 555, 557, 565) and there are no modern accounts. The siege of Beeston is, however, covered in R.N. Dore – 'Beeston Castle in the Great Civil War', *T.L.C.A.S.* 75–6, 1965–6.

To prevent the relief of Chester was not the sole purpose of Brereton's

demands and the C. of B.K.'s attempts to comply with them. Certain letters in the D MS reveal that, with the assistance provided for him in March, 1645, Brereton's supporters in the C. of B.K. and inside and outside the Commons hoped that he would be able to inflict a defeat upon the Princes, and that both he and they were correspondingly disappointed when, through the refusal of David Lesley's Scots detachment to co-operate, no engagement took place (24, 33, 34, 113, 125, 128). In May, 1645, Brereton himself envisaged an even more glorious opportunity: that he, by prolonging his sieges, should lure the army under the King and Rupert into Cheshire and that it would be cornered there by the Scots and the whole or part of the New Model (528, 532, 546). It is doubtful whether any of his supporters, knowing the attitude of the Scots and the thinking in the C. of B.K., shared his views and certain from their instructions that the C. of B.K. did not (491, 492, 513). Brereton greatly endangered his troops on the Welsh side by prolonging the siege of Hawarden until the royal army was on the borders of Cheshire and was fortunate that the royalist leaders, either through ignorance of the situation or pre-occupation with other matters, took no advantage. (See Byron's Account, 4-5, for a palpable misrepresentation of this.) The siege of Chester was abandoned until the autumn of 1645, but the way was prepared for its resumption.

#### *Relations With The Scots*

There is a great deal in the D & A MSS about Brereton's relations with the Scots commanders, Leven, Lesley and Montgomery. His own reputation and that of his supporters in Westminster/London necessitated that he revealed that it was David Lesley's refusal to take his Scots force further south which ended all possibility of bringing the Princes to action in March, 1645. Lesley thought that a suggestion of cowardice on his part had been made and an embarrassing situation ensued. Still hoping for Scottish aid against any future royalist relief marches, Brereton made a disavowal of any imputations against Lesley's honour but stopped short of saying that the Scots refusal to pursue had not been the main cause of failure to engage the Princes. The fact that Lesley's complaints and Brereton's explanations were not made until some time after the events occurred and that a royalist diary covering them was captured later meant that items concerning what took place in March appeared in the A MS which does not open until mid-April (141, 142, 156, 157). The D MS, covering March, has now brought a flood of fresh information. Virtually all the items 57-69, 91-106 and 113-119 are concerned with the arrival of David Lesley and his Scots task force in Cheshire, their link with Brereton and the refusal of Lesley to follow the Princes further than the Salop-Cheshire border. The whole affair was yet another instance of the increasing divergence between the English Parl. and its Scots allies. Worse was to follow in May when the royal army advanced northwards. Instead of moving to meet it, Leven took his whole field force back into Westmorland to make sure the King could not slip past him into Scotland. Ironically

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Brereton, in his anxiety to ensure Leven's support, had supplied him with just the excuse he wanted for such an action – a rumour culled from a royalist prisoner that the King intended to form 'a flying army' to go into Scotland, with the implication that it was to link with Montrose (581, 605; Baillie II, 276). There is much contemporary documentation on the military angle of the dispute between the Parl. and the Scots (e.g. H.W. Meikle – *Correspondence of the Scots Commissioners in London*, Roxburghe Club, 1917, and *The Letters and Papers of Robt. Baillie*, ed. D. Laing, 1841–2, II), while C.S. Terry discusses it at length in *The Life and Campaigns of Alexander, First Earl of Leven*, 1899. But there is hardly a mention in any of these of the involvement of Brereton and the siege of Chester.

### *Brereton's Supporters in London/Westminster*

As with other regional war efforts (cf. C Holmes – *The Eastern Association in the Civil War*) support in Westminster and London was vital: for getting the C. of B.K. to order assistance to be sent, Parl. to pass ordinances for supply, the city to advance loans. The activities of Brereton's opponents at the source of power had also to be thwarted. B.L.B. reveals that Ld. Saye and Sele and (probably) Ld. Wharton were among Brereton's backers but that the key figures in Parl. and the C. of B.K. were Sir Hen. Vane jun. and O. St. John, the leaders at this time of the group demanding decisive military action (28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 41, 52, 82, 103, 122, 152, 195, 201, 252, 486). Yet the main burden of acting as Brereton's agent up in Westminster fell on an obscure figure, Wm. Ashurst, M.P. for Newton in Lancashire. The other M.P. for Cheshire and the two M.P.s for Chester were royalists and so, very early in the war, the partnership between Brereton and Ashurst began (17 n.1). The plentiful correspondence between them reveals that Ashurst was very much in Brereton's confidence and employed about every conceivable matter of importance to Brereton in the Commons and the city. He received military reports quite as comprehensive as anything Brereton sent to the C. of B.K., as well as grumbles about the machinations of his opponents and the difficulties of his position which were never sent to them at all (17, 18, 24, 39, 87, 103, 153, 196, 219, 243, 281, 349, 364, 382, 406, 493, 496–8).

Another important contact was Brereton's erstwhile neighbour, John Bradshaw of Marple, Cheshire, by this time permanently in London as Judge of the Sheriff's Court. His correspondence with Brereton was less extensive but he provided him with vital information on things like the formation of the New Model and the pushing through of the S.D.O. He was, much more than Ashurst, a man of the same views as Brereton and took it upon himself to advise Brereton what his conduct should be in the face of the S.D.O. which was essential to their cause although it might terminate his command (34, 87, 159, 256, 351, 528). Almost equally important was John Swinfen, son of a minor gent. from near Tamworth, Staffs. who was in London for most of the period of the D & A MSS. His assiduity (which presaged a long career as an

M.P.) was invaluable in countering the attacks of the pro-Denbigh group from Staffs., then also up in London lobbying Parl., but he offered information and advice on a variety of other matters including military strategy (24, 113, 496, 498, 529).

Hen. Cockson and Rich. Worrall, both from N. Cheshire and both from families on the border line between the yeomanry and the minor gentry, complete the list of Brereton's contact men in London. Cockson was up there as solicitor for the Cheshire Sequestrations Com., Worrall as co-treasurer with Bradshaw for the money for Cheshire coming from parl. loans. Worrall had the final responsibility for seeing to the despatch by land or sea of arms and ammunition bought by this money. Cockson seems to have kept a watch on the London activities of Brereton's opponents from Cheshire and been ready with information against them if it was required. Neither were merely servants; both were prepared to offer advice as well as information (20, 70, 87, 159, 350, 364, 389).

For Saye and Sele and Wharton see *D.N.B.* and App. I i. There are biogs. of Ashurst at 17 n.1, Bradshaw at 34 n.1, Cockson at 350 n.1, St John and Vane at 18 n.1, Swinfen at 24 n.1 and Worrall at 70 n.1. Five of these were members of the Long Parl., a sixth became a Recruiter M.P. Much has been written lately on its members: D. Brunton and D.H. Pennington, *Members of the Long Parl.* (1954); G. Yule, *The Independents in the Civil War* (1958); Blair Worden, *The Rump Parl.* (1974); D. Underdown, *Pride's Purge* (1971). See the last, partic. p 62 and n., for the position of St. John.

#### *Brereton's Position in Cheshire*

Support in Westminster and London, although essential, was not by itself sufficient to mount a successful regional war effort. Brereton must have been well aware of the ways by which orders from the C. of B.K. could be evaded. Support was equally vital in Cheshire itself and in some of the surrounding counties and desirable in as many as possible. Brereton's position in Cheshire was by no means assured. There was nothing unusual about this. Opposition to the accredited war leaders was much more open in some counties; in others it was not even sure which these were. In Cheshire it came from some of the dep. lts. Their position had been established at the outset of hostilities in Cheshire and at first Brereton had only been one among them. Several were of greater wealth and higher pre-war status than he was. The D MS has confirmed the belief that the leaders of this opposition were old Sir Geo. Booth of Dunham Massey and his grandson and heir, Col. Geo. Booth. Brereton's first wife Susanna, was old Sir Geo.'s daughter and the families had been very close in the early 1630s, but her death in 1637 had opened a breach that the calling of the Short and Long Parls. and the run-up to the Civil War widened. Common danger healed it partially in 1643 and early 1644 but it had opened again by the time of the Letter Books. The D MS (19,20) shows that early in 1645 young Col. Geo. was in London with some of his officers

spreading anti-Brereton propaganda. The two Booths were the leaders in promulgating the Knutsford Petition in May, 1645 (408), which, although ostensibly nothing more than suggestions to the C. of B.K. for a re-organisation of the military command when Brereton relinquished it under the S.D.O., was – reading between the lines – strongly anti-Brereton. The pre-war attitudes and actions of old Sir Geo. and the post-war ones of his grandson reveal them to have been more moderate religiously and politically than Brereton and their various actions in 1645 (young Geo.'s resignation of his commission in April, the inclusion in the first Knutsford Petition of a clause asking that the vacant county seat be filled and old Sir Geo.'s canvassing for his grandson in the autumn) all point to an attempt – eventually successful – to get young Geo. up to Westminster as a counterpoise to Brereton (441, 408, 843, 846).

The majority of the other dep. lts. – Thos. Stanley, Edw. Hyde, Ph. Mainwaring, Wm. Marbury, Wm. Spurstowe – seem to have followed the lead given by the Booths, although evidence of their individual feelings is lacking. Those who had military commands tended to be pro-Brereton (Robt. Duckenfield, John Leigh of Booths, Thos. Croxton), while certain evidence – particularly the toned-down second version of the Knutsford Petition – seems to point to the existence of a middle party, perhaps headed by Hen. Brooke of Norton and Rog. Wilbraham. (Biogs. of these dep.lts. are at: 19 n.4; 27 n.1; 91 n.1; 163 n.1; 199 n.1; 202 n.4; 260 n.1 and the evidence for a middle party is contained in them and in 409 n.1 iii.)

The probability of its existence leads to another point that should be made. These opposing groups did not maintain separate forces (as in Salop; see below) and the approach of real danger usually brought a drawing together. The advance of the royal army in May, 1645, caused the dep.lts to effect a reconciliation between Brereton and Col. John Booth, old Sir Geo.'s surviving son and gov. of Warrington, so that a united front would be presented to the enemy. (This dispute over the garrisoning of Warrington has different features from the main Brereton – Booth quarrel in Cheshire and involved Lancashire. It is dealt with fully in 50 n.1 and 148 n.2.) Brereton backed the dep.lts. in their opposition to the sending of Cheshire forces out of the region and old Sir Geo. even went so far as to compliment Brereton on his handling of affairs during the crisis (469, 630, 653, 655, 661).

The Brereton-Booth quarrel and the opposition of the dep. lts. to Brereton's command is gone into in great detail and with a wealth of documentation in J.S. Morrill, *Cheshire 1630–60* (partic. pps. 32–4, 79–94 and 153–73). For information on the early Booth-Brereton accord see R.N. Dore, 'The Early Life of Sir Wm. Brereton' (*T.L.C.A.S.*, 63, 1952–3). For a summary of the rise of the Booth family and their dispute with Brereton see R.N. Dore, 'The Cheshire Rising of 1659 pp.44–9' (*T.L.C.A.S.*, 69, 1959).

*The Problem of the Trained Bands*

The power of the dep. lts. in Cheshire resulted from the survival there of the trained bands and (perhaps) of the whole militia. So, before going on to discuss Brereton's struggle to maintain a presence in other counties, it is appropriate to mention here the problems that this survival poses to researchers into questions of military organisation, finance and administration in the county. Dr. Morrill (*Cheshire 1630-60*, 117-8), noting the survival of the trained bands under the financial control of the dep. lts., says that they were used for garrison work, while the volunteers and the 'listed' (i.e. impressed) men formed Brereton's field force. He admits that this pattern could not be maintained and that militia regts were brought up for the siege of Chester, but the trouble is that the evidence of B.L.B. suggests that the regts given in Brereton's Army List of 30-4-45 were a chaotic mixture of all three kinds of troops and, although still existing on paper and for purposes of pay, had ceased to have any significance as fighting units in the field. The marginal notes to B.A.L. (385) reveal coys from different regts scattered all over Cheshire and Salop with two in Staffordshire; the garrison of Tarvin was made up of foot coys from three regts. We know that one of the Wirral coys in Brereton's foot regt were trained bands (441); it is virtually certain that some of his other coys were volunteers. The marginal note 'country' in B.A.L. refers to coys living at home and therefore almost certain to be trained bands. There are two of these in Col. Geo. Booth's regt; yet this also contained two coys of Nantwich townsmen which we know from Malbon (136) to have been volunteers. A worse complication is that in April, 1645, there is an attempt to call out what appears to be the whole militia, and that it is Brereton who does this and the dep. lts in the persons of Sir Geo. Booth and Wm. Marbury who object to it. If what Marbury alleged was correct, then Brereton's colonels used this opportunity to impress men from what was intended to be a temporary emergency call-up in order to fill up their regts. But these were the hundredal regts originally thought to be trained bands. (162, 163, 182, 183, 194, 202, 232.) Obviously much more research into the question of the survival of the trained bands is needed, as the principal writers on military organisation on the parl. side during the Civil War have assumed that their abandonment in the Civil War was nation-wide (cf. Sir Chas. Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, 1902, 15-8; C. Holmes, *The Eastern Association* 1974, 163-5).

If it is difficult to separate the men, it is even more difficult to separate their pay, coming as it did from a welter of war-time taxation: Fifths and Twentieths, monthly and weekly assessments, sequestration money and loans from Parl. The difficulty is increased by the loose contemporary terminology. When Brereton speaks to the dep.lts. of a sum which was imposed three months before and still has to be collected, he calls it first a 'lay', then a 'lay or assessment' and once simply the 'late taxation', so that it is difficult to ascertain exactly what form it took (183, 193, 194). Money for the trained bands should have come from pre-war taxation and been administered by the

dep.lts., and Dr Morrill thinks that it was kept separate from the war-time taxation used to pay the other troops until the summer of 1645. Certainly Lancaster records at this time a re-organisation confusedly known as the New Model, but what was new about this was that it was intended for those serving at the Leaguer, whether native Cheshire troops or auxiliaries, and that it was supposed to be paid only to those present at a daily muster. All that is said about how it was raised was that the 'gents.' (?) made engagements for monthly pay. It was obviously a device to deal with the problem of paying the increasing number of auxiliaries and references to it in the B & C MSS show that it was still in operation in the later stages of the siege (931, 1023; App. IV i and ii; Lancaster). This is obviously another topic that needs further research, for which the financial sections in Morrill (94–128) and Holmes (127–161) provide an excellent starting point.

#### *The Problem of the County Committee*

Finally there is the question of the survival of the dep. lts. in Cheshire and their relationship to whatever county committee or committees existed there. Again the researcher is confronted by the looseness, in addition to the profuseness, of the terminology used in B.L.B. There are Dep. Lts. and Committees, Dep. Lts. and Gents., 'the' Committee, Commissioners, Gents., 'the' Council of War: all at some time or other 'at' or 'of' Nantwich (in one instance 'at Mr Saringe's' at Nantwich, which was the vicarage). A meeting at which none but dep. lts. was present, held at Sir Geo. Booth's home close to the Mersey when Brereton's toops were retiring behind it in the face of the King's advance, is labelled 'Cheshire gents. at Dunham' (630). When signatures are given, the dep. lts. usually constitute the core of those present but often with an addition of minor gents. Two of these later type of meetings are labelled 'Dep. Lts. and Committees at Nantwich' and 'Dep. Lts. and Gents. of Nantwich' (202; 213: there are biogs. of these minor gents in the notes to these items). Dr. Morrill labels the minor gents. 'supernumerary dep. lts.' rather than com. men because there is no parl. ordinance creating a single overall Com. for Cheshire and he, therefore, does not think it existed. It is doubtful, however, whether too much should be made of this. County committees were *ad hoc* bodies created out of the dep. lts. and the committees set up to organise enlistment and taxation early in the war and the lack of an official ordinance, even if it is not the result of a failure to record, does not mean that Parl. would fail to recognise such a body if it came into existence. In addition, the county coms. of Staffordshire and Warwickshire show that these could exist (although no formal ordinance creating them appears to have been made) and that they fulfilled various functions under various titles. If there was a separate membership for each, it is impossible to discover it. (D.H. Pennington and I.A. Roots, *The Committee at Stafford* (1957) xv–xvii, lv–lvi; Anne Hughes, 'Politics, Society and the Civil War' 291–294, unpublished Liverpool Ph.D. thesis 1980). It is probable, therefore,

that there was a similar body in Cheshire, exercising various functions, civilian and military, and that it met mainly at Nantwich, but occasionally elsewhere (124, 202, 213, 215, 441, 442, 602, 630, 661; Malbon 61; *Portland I*, 96; *C.J.* IV, 80).

### *Brereton and Lancashire*

Outside Cheshire, Lancashire was undoubtedly the county which both Brereton and the C. of B.K. expected to give the largest support to the siege of Chester. This was natural, as there were old ties between the two counties and their geographical positions made co-operation between them a sensible policy. Several of their leaders – Ashton, Moore, Shuttleworth, Rigby – were M.P.s which gave them a wide enough view-point to grasp this. For an account of this co-operation, its successes and failures, see App. IV iv. For it and for the general course of the war in Lancashire, much contemporary documentation has been printed and there are several modern works. In addition to Malbon, there is *A Discourse of the Warr in Lancs.* Chetham Soc. O.S.62, 1864; *Civil War Tracts in Lancs.* O.S.2, 1844; *Civil War Tracts of Chesh.* N.S.65, 1909, the last badly edited but still of use. Of modern authorities, E. Broxap, *The Great Civil War in Lancs.* (1910, 2nd. ed. 1973), although first published over 60 years ago, gives a clear and balanced account. Broxap plays down the Cheshire connection, however, and R.N. Dore has attempted to remedy this in Chs. III and IV of *The Civil Wars in Cheshire* (1966) and sections 4–8 of *The Great Civil War in the Manchester Area* (1971). B.G. Blackwood has much on the background of the Lancashire parl. leaders in *The Lancashire Gentry and the Great Rebellion*, Chetham Soc. 3rd series 25, 1978.

Brereton's influence in Lancashire seems to have been largely personal. His mother had been a Holland of Denton and Rich. Holland, commander of one of the two foot regts of Salford Hundred, was a cousin. The commander of the other regt, Ralph Ashton of Middleton, was also a relative, as well as being a fellow M.P. Although appointed a Lancashire dep. lt. before the outbreak of war, Brereton was never in a position to act as such and there is no evidence pointing to a pro-Brereton party in Lancashire. However, there seems to be a lack of information on the organisation and control of the parl. war effort in Lancashire and Broxap does not deal with the problem. From a handful of Ashton's letters (now lost but printed in T.D. Whitaker, *Hist. of Whalley*, 1872–6, II, 153–4), he seems to have had a bitter dislike of all the other dep. lts. Fairfax noted these divisions, and also the fact that the Lancashire regts. were regional and scattered over a large area (*Fairfax Correspondence* III, 74–5, 1849; *Short Memorials of Sir T. Fairfax*, 50, 1699.). This, indeed, may have been the root cause of disagreement. Commanders like Rigby and Dodding, based on Preston and Lancaster, would be apt to take a different view of their priorities – particularly aid to Cheshire – from those based close to the Cheshire border, such as Ashton, Holland and John

Booth. Nevertheless we cannot entirely rule out the possibility of a pro- and anti-Brereton division in Lancashire, although the dispute between Brereton and Col. John Booth over the allocation to maintain Warrington garrison, mentioned above under Cheshire, does not really bear examination as an example of it (see 148 n.2).

### *Brereton and Staffordshire*

In Staffordshire the pro- and anti-Brereton factions were far more open than in Cheshire. Brereton had a land-owning interest through his marriage in 1641 to Cicely, widow of Edw. Mytton of Weston-under-Lizard on the Salop border (*S.H.C.* N.S.II). More important in January 1643 was the absolute necessity of creating a parl. presence in N. Staffordshire whose border with Cheshire was only a few miles from Nantwich, his recently acquired H.Q., and lay across the vital link through the midlands with London. With the help of Brereton's troops this presence had been created by August 1643, when Stafford and Eccleshall Castles had been seized, most of the N. Staffordshire towns occupied and a county com. set up in Stafford. But between then and the beginning of B.L.B. in January 1645 a deep division had sprung up among the victors. The original Staffordshire commanders, men like Col. Rugely and Col. Lewis Chadwick from well-established county families, claimed that their men had done the bulk of the fighting and resented Brereton's turning Eccleshall Castle into his private stronghold, under a garrison commanded by his appointee, a Walsall merchant named Hen. Stone, and paid for by weekly assessments on one of the Staffordshire hundreds. They turned for help to the Earl of Denbigh, c. in c. of the West Midland Assoc., and in the summer of 1644, (when Rupert was in Lancashire) he came and captured Rushhall Castle. But in December, 1644, with the backing of the C. of B.K., Brereton replied by a *coup d'état* on Stafford, seizing Rugely and Chadwick and replacing Chadwick with Stone as gov. of the town. (*C.S.P.D.* 1644-5, 69, 70, 80, 84, 91, 173.)

Rugely and Chadwick had to be released, however, because no evidence of treachery could be found against them, and the D and A MSS are full of their attempts at a come-back and the resistance of Brereton and his supporters to this. Rugely returned to Stafford and used his position as sheriff and his seat on the county com. to try to regain his old command; proceedings against Stone were started in the House of Lords which meant that, to answer them, he would have to absent himself from Stafford. (24; *L.J.* VII, 280; P. & R., 257.)

The involvement of Denbigh, highly suspect to many parliamentarians because of his royalist connections and lack of motivation for supporting Parl., meant that Brereton and his backers (particularly John Swinfen; see above) were able to accuse their Staffordshire opponents of lukewarmness and even disloyalty to the cause. Yet it seems more likely that Rugely, Chadwick and some of the Staffordshire M.P.s like Mich. Noble invoked the

aid of Denbigh to enable them to fight Brereton's influence in the first place rather than that Denbigh's appearance (which came long after it had been originally called for) split the Staffordshire parliamentarians and caused the more committed of them to seek Brereton's support. Rugely and Chadwick appear to have shown no half-heartedness in 1643 and Brereton could offer no evidence that they had ever contemplated changing sides. On the other hand, it seems likely that Brereton's supporters in the C. of B.K. must have suspected that this would be so and must have had other reasons to convince, not only themselves, but other members of the C. of B.K. that the Stafford *coup* of December 1644 would advantage the cause. The most obvious advantage would be that, with men like Stone and Foxall in control, Staffordshire would be likely to give far stronger support to the siege of Chester. The D & A MSS provide evidence that this is what happened. Stone at Stafford supplied Brereton with excellent intelligence about royalist troop movements in the midlands. His troop of horse and Capt. Monke's foot coy, were included in B.A.L. Col. Bowyer's regt of foot and troop of horse (for some inexplicable reason omitted from B.A.L.) co-operated with the Cheshire forces throughout 1645. (300, 347, 360, 385, 423, 432, 440, 476, 505, 575, 616, 617, 632.)

There are biogs. of Staffordshire personalities, pro- and anti-Brereton, at 11 n.2; 18 n.4 and 5; 24 ns.1, 4, 5, 6 and 7; 423 n.2; 496 n.3. Other source material is in the Denbigh MSS, somewhat inadequately calendared in *H.M.C. 4th Report*, 263-76, but there is now a microfilm in the Warks R.O. of the originals. Other contemporary docs. are given in what is the chief modern authority for the Civil War in Staffordshire, the Introduction to D.H. Pennington and I.A. Roots *The Committee at Stafford* (1957). There is also a short section on the pro- and anti-Brereton struggle in Staffordshire in Morrill (140-3).

### *Brereton and Salop*

Brereton had no family interests in Salop, but the necessity of creating a parl. presence in N. Salop (with Nantwich only a few miles from the county border) was just as great as in N. Staffordshire. Pre-occupied with affairs in Cheshire and N. Staffordshire until the autumn of 1643, he could do nothing but ward off the blows that Ld. Capell, royalist c. in c. of N. Wales and Salop, aimed at Nantwich and make a few counter-raids to Whitchurch and Market Drayton. When, however, in October he moved to establish the Salop Com., hitherto homeless, in Wem, his commitment was impressive. He took almost all his forces, including the Nantwich Hundred Trained Bands, thus exposing Nantwich to another attack from Capell (Malbon, 51-84; *Portland I*, 141-3).

From then until June, 1644, Brereton was pre-occupied, first with the army from Ireland and then with his visit to Westminster. Denbigh's aid was invoked by the Com. at Wem, but he did not come until the summer of 1644 after Rupert had twice swept past the little garrison. Then, he captured

Oswestry and established Col. Mytton as its gov. without consulting the rest of the Salop Com., thus increasing existing tensions between them and Mytton. They suspected his aim was to make himself c. in c. Salop; he resented their attempts to raise regts not under his command. They regarded his recent visit to London as desertion in the face of the enemy and thought he had used it to augment his own power and ingratiate himself with Denbigh, with whom he had campaigned in Staffordshire before they moved on to Oswestry. The division grew more and more bitter and lasted until the end of the war, each party having its own forces and maintaining its own H.Q., one at Wem and one at Oswestry. (*S.A.S.T.* 2nd ser. 6; and nos. 47, 1931-4 and 48, 1935-8.)

When B.L.B. begins early in 1645 Denbigh had vanished from the scene and the Com. at Wem were hand in glove with Brereton. The D MS has made this plain, whereas the A MS only hinted at it. If the following items in B.L.B: 1 and ns.1, 2, 3; 18 and n.6 and 24, are taken together with the four Brit. Lib pamphlets, Thomason E 270, 26; 271, 2; 282, 15; 284, 10, they reveal that the Salop Com. got aid from Brereton to attack Shrewsbury that they might avoid Mytton having any part in the capture. When he learnt of their ruse and arrived in time to take part (but with few troops) they got Brereton to alter his original version to the C. of B.K. and say that Mytton held no command during the operation. They also followed the two first pamphlets on the capture by a third giving all the credit to Lt. Col. Reinking, the foreign professional who commanded their own troops. The main object of this manoeuvre was to prevent Mytton being made gov. of Shrewsbury. With Brereton's aid they achieved this but a further attempt to get one of their own number elected as gov. was prevented by opposition in the Commons and the governorship rested in the whole Com. apart from Mytton, who retired once more to Oswestry. It is true that Wem and Oswestry did combine to create a diversion in Rupert's rear as he moved to relieve Beeston but recriminations soon followed. The Salop Com. told Brereton that Mytton, then in London, was blaming him for the failure to engage the Princes, he responded by writing to Ashurst that Mytton had done nothing to deserve the thanks which he got from Parl. for his part in these operations (198, 243). The appointment of Mytton to replace Middleton as c. in c. in N. Wales after the passing of the S.D.O. did something to improve his relations with Brereton, but not much to reconcile him to the rest of the Salop Com. After the war when he became sheriff, he got his revenge on one of the members, And. Lloyd, by procuring the election of Humphrey Edwards as Recruiter M.P. for the county in opposition to him (*S.A.S.T.* 2nd ser 6, 1894).

What did Brereton get from his support of the Salop Com.? At first not much more than some useful intelligence reports of royalist movements in Worcestershire and Hereford, for they were far too weak to interfere seriously with royalist advances from this direction, even when he bolstered them with five coys. of Cheshire foot. This action, as the Cheshire Com. told

him (213), made it difficult for them to persuade other counties of the necessity of lending their foot to aid the siege of Chester. But later, when the Salop Com. had grown stronger (or the royalists weaker), they were able to return the Cheshire coys and send their own horse and foot to the final stages of the siege. A member of the Com., Col. Thos. Hunt, was one of the Commissioners for the surrender (Morris, 195).

Dr Wanklyn (see below) has emphasised the weakness of the Salop Com., their dependence upon Brereton's help, their lack of pre-war status or landed wealth or of anything that might make them appeal to the common people. Of the broad truth of this there is no doubt: we have seen their dependence on Brereton; they were all, except Mytton, very minor gentry or younger sons; only More and perhaps Owen showed much sign of that puritan zeal which could be a substitute for landed wealth in winning support. Yet this tight little group (very different from the outwardly impressive list drawn up by Parl. in February 1643: *A. & O. I*, 94) showed energy and initiative in working for their own survival and, with it, that of the parl. cause in Salop. They survived in Wem, although left unsupported for long periods. They survived in Shrewsbury, despite enormous difficulties, and ended by supporting Brereton instead of he them. A careful examination of the items given above concerning the manoeuvres before and after the capture of Shrewsbury leads to the conclusion that they were deciding on the course of action and then advising him on what was being done and what attitude he should adopt. In addition, Items 138 and 401 show that they were capable of refusing his requests. (There are biogs of Denbigh, Mytton and the seven regular Com. men at 1, ns.2, 5, 6; 8 n.1; 225 n.1.)

Although there are similarities with the situation in Staffordshire, the differences are greater. The members of the Salop Com. did not owe their positions to Brereton as did Stone and other members of the Staffordshire Com. Brereton was an ally rather than a master. Mytton was careful not to attach himself to Denbigh, with whom, being a vigorous soldier and a political and religious radical himself, he can have had little sympathy. No *coup d'état* was ever launched or, as far as we know, contemplated against Oswestry. It would have been unlikely to have succeeded with the town garrisoned by Mytton's own regts of horse and foot. But politically it would have been unacceptable because Mytton's backers in Westminster were not peers whose influence was waning rapidly, as were Essex and Denbigh to whom the Cheshire and Staffordshire opponents of Brereton looked for support. We are not certain who they were, but obviously they had sufficient power in the Commons to block the move of the Salop Com. to elect the gov. of Shrewsbury from among themselves (24). Among the Salop M.P.s who supported Parl. Wm. Pierrepoint seems a likely man. A younger son of the wealthy Earl of Kingston, he was very active and a member of the C. of B.K. But the influence of Sir Thos. Middleton, Mytton's brother-in-law, and two other M.P.s from N. Wales, John Glynn and Sir John Trevor, cannot be

ruled out. All had power in the city as well as at Westminster and, although only Middleton sat for a Welsh seat, all were interested in when and how N. Wales was to be brought over to the Parl. With his Welsh connections and military ability, Mytton was an asset they could not afford to waste.

In addition to Salop material published in *C.S.P.D. 1644-5* and *Portland I*, there is a good deal of unpublished material in the Rupert MSS (Brit. Lib. Add. MSS. 18980-2) and the Tanner MSS Codex (60-2, Bodleian Lib.) Many documents and articles have been published in the *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Soc.*, in partic. 2nd series 6, 7 and 8; 3rd series 1, 2, 6, 8, 9 and 10; 4th series 2, 11, 12; since 1931 (no series) 47, 48, 50, 51. There are a no. of relevant pamphlets in J.R. Phillips, *Memoirs of the Civil War in Wales and the Marches II* (1874). The only narrative account of the whole war in Salop is W.J. Farrow, *The Great Civil War in Shropshire* (1926). It is interesting but more sketchy than Broxap's work on Lancashire and poorly indexed. Dr M. Wanklyn's 'Landed Society and Allegiance in Cheshire and Shropshire during the First Civil War' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis Manchester, 1976) gives much fascinating detail about the background and Civil War activities of the supporters of both sides.

### *Brereton and North Wales*

North Wales was more solidly royalist than Staffordshire and Salop, but posed no threat to Brereton's position in Cheshire. After the battle of Middlewich in March, 1643, its soldiers never penetrated more than a few miles beyond Farndon Bridge. But it did supply troops to garrison Chester and provide the city with food and fuel and a line of small ports that could be used to maintain the link with Ireland if parl. warships sealed the Dee. Unless some permanent penetration could be made on its Welsh side, blockade was unlikely to bring about the city's surrender. The arrival of Sir Thos. Middleton (biog. 44 n.2) in Nantwich in August 1643 with small forces but considerable stocks of arms and ammunition seemed to offer a solution. Lord of Chirk Castle and M.P. for Denbighshire, Middleton came from a wealthy family of city goldsmiths and had been made c. in c. of the six counties of N. Wales. For the moment he could not set foot in them – even his own castle was in royalist hands – and he had to rely on Brereton for a base and manpower until such time as N. Wales could be invaded. What followed, which by the time of the opening of B.L.B. in January 1645, had produced frustration and an attitude of mutual distrust and recrimination between the two leaders and their supporters, can be followed in detail in R.N. Dore, 'Sir Thos. Myddleton's Attempted Conquest of Powys', *Montgomeryshire Collections* LVII Pt. 2, 1962, which cites a full range of authorities. The invasion of N. Wales across Farndon Bridge in November 1643 was, after a promising beginning, brought to an end by the appearance of the royal army from Ireland. Nothing further could be attempted until after Marston Moor, but the plans of the two leaders for fresh penetration of N. Wales in the wake of

this already revealed their divergence ('Sir T.M's Attempted Conquest of Powys', 97 and 106). This widened with the victory at Montgomery in September 1644, in which both played a part. It gave Middleton a foothold in Wales at last but in an area too remote to be any use to Brereton in his blockade of Chester on the Welsh side. This was done almost entirely by Brereton's own troops with assistance from a Lancashire regt; Middleton had no more than a token force there and for much of the time was absent himself in mid-Wales. He realised that the C. of B.K. was far more interested in the capture of Chester than in his conquest of N. Wales and that this was soaking up all the assistance in auxiliaries, provisions and loans of money that was being provided for the region. This knowledge led him and his supporters to propose impractical schemes for cutting the siege short, the most likely result of which would have been the destruction of Brereton's army (309, 552, 565). Far more dangerous to Brereton, however, was a smear campaign conducted by a Capt. John Jones in a series of letters to London (273). Without ever mentioning Brereton by name, it alleged that the siege of Chester was being badly mismanaged and that the Cheshire troops evaded danger in battle and were virtually out of control. It also said that their widespread plundering of the countryside had been authorised for N. Wales by an order of the Nantwich Council of War. Unfortunately, raids into N. Wales to gain provisions for the soldiers engaged in the siege had been accompanied by considerable excesses and one of these was the plundering of Sir John Trevor's new mansion, Plas Teg (168 and n.2, 169, 170). Mention has already been made in the section on Salop of the strength of this lobby of N. Wales M.P.s and the influence they exerted in the city as well as in the Commons, and Ashurst left Brereton in no doubt that he must take immediate action to counteract the influence of Capt. Jones' letters (318). So Brereton wrote to the C. of B.K., to Glynne and to Sir John Trevor offering a full apology and assuring them that steps would be taken to prevent such conduct by his troops in the future. He also got the Nantwich Council of War to write denying that they had ever authorised punitive action against Welsh civilians and Lt. Col. Mich. Jones to send a letter to his influential countryman, Sir Robt. King, then living near London, countering accusations of incompetent management of the siege (352 and n.1; 353; 375 and n.3; 380 and n.1).

Ashurst, who was in the unfortunate position of being agent for both Brereton and Middleton, assured Brereton that Jones was unknown to him and that none of Middleton's letters that he had seen contained any accusations against him. As Jones was quite a well-known member of Middleton's London entourage and apparently a common councillor of the city (biog. 197 n.1), the first seems unlikely. It is also almost incredible that Capt. Jones could have acted in this manner without knowing that Middleton would approve it even if he had not given actual authorisation. The only possible conclusion that can be drawn from this is that Middleton and his supporters were hoping to have Brereton removed or, at least, brought under

Middleton's overall command. There is some evidence that Middleton had been aiming at something similar to this earlier in the war (Morrill 77 and n.3; 'Sir T.M.'s Attempted Conquest of Powys', 97). When the MSS of Volume I end, both Middleton and Brereton were about to give up their commands under the S.D.O. and the siege of Chester had been abandoned for the time being. When it was resumed in the autumn and Brereton had returned, Middleton had been replaced by Mytton as c. in c. for N. Wales. Although relations between the two leaders were hardly cordial, Mytton had neither the hope nor the desire to supersede Brereton in command of the siege of Chester and was, therefore, not likely to encourage a renewal of the intrigues of Middleton's old supporters.

In addition to 'Sir T.M.'s Attempted Conquest of N. Wales', Morrill has a section (148–151) on Middleton's differences with Brereton, while A.H. Dodd, *Studies in Stuart Wales* (1952) has much on the background and pre- and post-war activities of Middleton, his family, John Jones and other Welsh parliamentarians and royalists. The only full account of the war in N. Wales is Norman Tucker, *North Wales in the Civil War* (1958). A full range of sources other than B.L.B. is cited in these works.

#### *Brereton and Yorkshire and Derbyshire*

Yorkshire and Derbyshire also had borders with Cheshire but circumstances and the nature of the terrain combined to ensure that no serious threat to Brereton's power ever came from either. The problems that arose with these two counties during the period of the D & A MSS were entirely concerned with the sending of auxiliaries to the siege of Chester. The C. of B.K. strongly urged them to do so and, whatever their leaders might say, for most of the time they were in a position to comply. How much aid they sent and for how long depended on how favourably disposed the leaders of these two counties were towards Brereton, how much influence he himself had in the counties and – most vital of all – how efficient were the means of finding pay and provisions for these auxiliaries whilst they were serving under him.

In Yorkshire Brereton was fortunate that Ld. Fairfax, the supreme parl. commander there and, indeed, in the whole of the north of England, was a local leader about as favourably disposed towards sending his troops out of the area of his command as was possible. Fairfax's nature was moderate and reasonable and his horizons wide enough for him to see beyond purely local interests. He was anxious to co-operate with the C. of B.K. and sensible enough to admit that at this period there were times when some of his cavalry could be spared. In addition, of course, if they were out of Yorkshire, he and his Com. might look forward to others perhaps paying and certainly provisioning them. (3, & n.2 for biog.; 56, 90, 242, 253.)

Brereton appears to have had little personal influence in Yorkshire. He had relations there and in the rest of the north-east, but they were royalists (229 n.1). His pre-war experiences as traveller, puritan, member of colonial

enterprises and M.P. do not seem to have resulted in any close connection with any of the leading parl. families in Yorkshire. In his correspondence with the officers of the two Yorkshire regts of horse in his service there is no hint of friendship or even acquaintance.

Yet the deciding factors were undoubtedly the failure to pay the Yorkshire troopers and – largely as a result of this – the hostility shown towards them by the local people on whom they were billeted. The two regts did, after all, spend three months in Brereton's service, and it is clear that, if the problem of pay had been satisfactorily settled, although they might have shown no great enthusiasm for the tasks assigned to them by Brereton, they would have performed them.

For more detail of the actions of the Yorkshire cavalry while serving under Brereton and the problems involved, together with as much information as can be gleaned about the individual officers, see App. IV i. As far as can be ascertained, there appear to be no contemporary sources for the episode of the Yorkshire horse under Brereton other than the D & A MSS and a few letters in *C.S.P.D. 1644–5*. J.T. Cliffe, *The Yorkshire Gentry from the Reformation to the Civil War* (1969) is invaluable for the parl. gentry of Yorkshire prior to the war but says little about their Civil War careers. Not very much has been published on the Civil War in Yorkshire; there is no county history of it.

Brereton's experience with the Derby horse further illustrates the importance of regular pay and satisfactory quartering in the keeping of auxiliaries. He had even less influence in Derbyshire than in Yorkshire, having no relatives there and (apparently) no pre-war contacts. Furthermore, instead of the mild and reasonable Ld. Fairfax, he had Sir John Gell, a man notorious among friend and foe for being contentious and unscrupulous, who was determined to keep up his position in the county and his hold over its troops. Yet Brereton was helped here by a split between Gell and Maj. Saunders, a most active officer for the parl. cause, and by the religious fervour of many of the capts. of the regt of horse that was sent to his aid. They approved him and he them. Nevertheless the Derby horse stayed in his service for a shorter time than the Yorkshire horse and performed even less service. This was entirely because of Brereton's failure to pay them and Gell's willingness to do so, so long as they returned home. (For details and biogs. of officers with Brereton see App. IV ii; for biog. of Gell see 38 n.2.)

Outside B.L.B. contemporary evidence on the Derby horse with Brereton is, as with the Yorkshire horse, confined to a few letters in *C.S.P.D. 1644–5* and, as with Yorkshire, there is no modern account of the county in the Civil War. Dr. Trevor Brighton has, however, published some most useful work on Gell and other Derbyshire gents., royalist and parliamentarian, during the war, accompanied by very full refs. to sources. (*Journal of the Bakewell and District Historical Soc.*, 7, 8, 1980–1; *Royalists and Roundheads in Derbyshire*, pub. B. & D. Hist. Soc. 1981).

*Brereton and Warwickshire*

Although it had no boundary with Cheshire, Brereton did have quite a close connection with Warwickshire and obtained some aid from it. Sir Rich. Skeffington, brother to Brereton's 2nd wife, was an influential member of the county com. which met at Coventry. In addition, even more influential members of the Com., such as John Barker and Wm. Purefoy, were at one with Brereton in their opposition to Denbigh and his supporters. So the Warwickshire Com. looked not unfavourably on sending aid to Brereton when it could. During the period covered by the D & A MSS this did not amount to more than a small body of horse (See App. IV iii) and some foot which were sent as a partial replacement of the Staffordshire foot with the Salop Com. But in the autumn of 1645 a detachment of Warwickshire horse commanded by a religious zealot called Maj. Hawkesworth performed good service in N. Wales. Of more value, probably, during the period from January to May, 1645, was the intelligence sent by the Com. from Coventry of royalist movements in the midlands. (Biogs. of the Warwickshire Com. men and some of their officers are as follows: 222 n.1; 226 n.1; 227 n.1; 465 n.2; 475 n.1; 516 n.1.) For the ramifications of the Denbigh dispute in Warwickshire, of longer standing and more bitter than the one in Staffordshire, and a discussion of how its features fit in with the conflict between national and regional loyalties elsewhere, see Dr. Anne Hughes, 'Militancy and Localism; Warwickshire Politics and Westminster Politics', *T.R.Hist.S.* 5th series 31,1981, and 'Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620-50', unpublished Liverpool Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1980. App. III of the 2nd work deals with Com. men; App. IV with county forces and their officers.

*Brereton and Gloucestershire, Worcestershire and Herefordshire*

The area of Gloucestershire, Worcestershire and Herefordshire also produced problems for Brereton because by the beginning of 1645 it was the region where Rupert and Maurice had established their H.Q.s and set on foot their recruiting drives, and from which they had already launched one relief of Chester and were likely to launch more. No parl. com. existed for Herefordshire and that for Worcestershire could only meet under the protection of John Bridges, gov. of Warwick Castle. The main hope was the Gloucestershire Com. and the able and energetic gov. of Gloucester, Col. Edw. Massey. Fighting continuously for very existence against Rupert, Massey could be relied on to send intelligence and to organise a diversion if royalist forces moved north. It was on these qualities of Massey's as a soldier that Brereton had to rely. Although he was Cheshire born and had a brother serving under Brereton, there is no hint in their correspondence that Massey was known personally to Brereton or had any particular feeling for the county of his birth, which he had left when young. The only personal touch came when the royalist father-in-law and husband of Massey's sister, Anne, were captured at Shrewsbury and Massey requested Brereton to keep an eye on their

welfare (149 n.1). Warfare in this region is dealt with in J.R. Phillips, *Civil War in Wales and the Marches* (see above), J. and T.W. Webb, *Civil War as it affected Herefordshire etc* (see above) and J. Willis Bund, *The Civil War in Worcs.* (1905). All reproduce or cite numerous contemporary documents.

### *Connection with Ireland*

Outside the counties of England and Wales there was also a connection between the siege of Chester and Ireland, and there is quite an amount of Irish material in B.L.B. Brereton expected no troops from Ireland; indeed there was fear that another Irish army (this time a catholic one) might cross the sea and destroy his power, although this never became more than a remote threat (152 and App.II 1). Also there was a suggestion, accepted by the C. of B.K., that troops might be raised in Cheshire to go over and fight the Irish Confederates. Considering Brereton's manpower problem, this seems almost incredible, but apparently the main recruiting ground was to be among prisoners still remaining from those troops out of Ireland captured in 1644, who had refused to fight for the Parl. but might be persuaded to take up arms against the Confederates if they could be got across the Irish Sea (295, 337). (The suggestion of the Salop Com. that three Staffordshire soldiers whom they had condemned to death for 'a desperate mutiny' might be recruited opens up another possibility, although this was hardly likely to be officially recognised; see 440.) But the important link with Ireland was those soldiers of the King's army there who had crossed the sea, been captured by Parl. (mostly at the battle of Nantwich) and subsequently consented to fight for it. We can only guess at their numbers, although they are unlikely to have been more than a few hundred, and we only know the name of one officer. He was Capt. Syon Finch who served his new masters with some distinction (1 n.4 for biog.; 1, 236, 385, 552; Malbon 146, 182). Even more important to Brereton's war effort were the services of Lt. Cols. Mich. Jones and Chidley Coote, sons of protestant landowners there, who had fought against the Confederates, refused to accept the Cessation and, in the summer of 1644, crossed the sea and took service with Brereton. They were the dep. commanders of his regts of horse and foot; Jones commanded the operations on the Welsh side of Chester, undertaken in April, 1645; Coote was gov. of the two important new garrisons, Hooton and Puddington, set up in newly conquered Wirral. Valuable also was Sir Robt. King, driven from his Irish lands and married to a widow with property in Wimbledon, who acted as yet another of Brereton's contact men in the capital. His correspondence with Brereton was concerned mainly, but not entirely, with Irish affairs. (For biogs. of all see 14 ns.1, 2, 4.) Letters of peculiar, if isolated, interest are the one from Robt. Blakeney to Coote on the fortunes of his family in the obscure warfare of raid and counter-raid in western Ireland (286), two from Ld. Inchiquin, the clan chieftain of the O'Briens, who was the latest and oddest recruit to the parl. cause (35, 36) and an uncalendared one from Dan.

O'Neill to Digby in 1644 revealing the intrigues and strained relations between the supporters of Ormonde, Ld. Dep. of Ireland, and the Confederates (App. II 1). There is a glimpse of the uneasy position of some Anglo-Irish families, torn between their loyalty to the King and their fear of the Confederates, in letters between Coote and Brereton (308 and ns. 1. and 2; 310, 311). For further documents and later works on Ireland and the leaders there at this time see the many notes to 286, partic. n.1, and 308 ns. 1 and 2.

### *Maritime Warfare*

There are a small number of intensely interesting letters on the maritime approaches to Chester. Taken together with items in other documents they reveal that an important section of Brereton's supplies came by sea through Liverpool and that these had to be guarded against seizure by parl. colleagues as well as by royalists. Brereton and his subordinates (partic. Coote) were well aware of the use that might be made of the Dee and the north Welsh coast for supplying Chester and concerned to build up a better force of armed merchantmen to prevent this. (139, 147, 159, 289, 308, 418, 523; also Malbon, 61, *Portland I*, 191–2; C.J. III, 484; G. Chandler and E.K. Wilson, *Liverpool under Chas. I*, 34.)

### *General Information; Reports on Royalists; Prisoners of War*

Other topics of interest can be summarised. A number of items contain general information about the war (24, 142, 223, 256, 359, 361). They comprise letters from Brereton's supporters in London, one intercepted letter from the royalist, Sir Rich. Lloyd, and reports from intelligencers (spies) on both sides. They should be treated with caution; information about what was going on among their opponents is sometimes of dubious authenticity. In general, information in B.L.B. about the royalists is unreliable (with the exception of that on their troop movements). It came from intelligencers, anxious to show something for their pay; prisoners, perhaps trying to ingratiate themselves with their captors, perhaps merely ignorant; or from Brereton and other parl. leaders, striving to strengthen the case for some particular line of action (e.g. 581 for the 'flying army to Scotland' report and 125, 127, 140, 177, 195 for Brereton's exaggerated accounts of the low state of morale inside Chester). But the huge disgruntlement of that famous fighting family, the Byrons, with the leadership on their own side is revealed in B.L.B. without design and can, therefore, be accepted as true (166, 167, 241 and n.1, 242, 247).

Communications between the two sides were usually conducted by 'drums' and 'trumpets'. This second duty for the drummers of foot coys. and the trumpeters of troops of horse was often made precarious by the failure of individual soldiers on the other side to recognise their diplomatic immunity. An interesting instance of this is the case of Ld. Byron's 'drum', Wm. Morte (320, 321, 445). A large amount of the communications between the two sides

was over prisoners, partic. the effecting of exchanges between officers. The practice of sending the officers themselves off on parole to search for and propose exchanges for ratification to their superiors led to a lot of confusion. Officially, equality of rank was supposed to be the consideration for a 'fair' exchange, but even this could become complicated if the exchange was not between single officers of equal rank. (Were a capt. and a Lt. the equal of a maj., or two capt. of a col? For a rather ludicrous instance of this kind of thing see 424, 455.) But often individual reputation got in the way, local leaders objecting to exchanges that would lead to the release of famous opponents (522, 585). But, despite accusations of sharp practice, on the whole the system seems to have worked remarkably well. Parole-breaking, which could be effected quite easily, was frowned on by commanders and not very common (161). (For an instance of a very complicated set of exchanges see 134, 160, 238, 239, 240, 246, 335, 405, 411.)

There is very little in the D & A MSS on the actual treatment of prisoners, except for the uproar over Rupert's execution of 13 soldiers of the Salop Com. in reprisal for the Com.'s execution of 13 Irish soldiers taken in the capture of Shrewsbury (142; *L.J.* VII, 305). Here it was the involvement of Ireland that induced more barbaric practices than were usual in the Civil War. The Salop Com. were carrying out the instructions of Parl. in their Ordinance of 26-10-44 (A. & O.I., 544-5) that no quarter should be granted to native Irishmen taken in arms in this country. The Salop Com.'s enquiry as to the reason for the execution of their men and the reply of Rupert's secretary brought about a protest from Parl. and an answer from royalist Council. Rupert's famous letter to the Earl of Essex (still the official c. in c. of the parl. forces) is given in full in B.L.B. (255). As the area of his command and influence was one where native Irish soldiers were most likely to be found, Brereton had a special interest. Croxton's letter to Brereton of 19-4-45 (212) seems to suggest that Brereton was considering reprisals against English royalist soldiers, but these do not seem to have been carried out. Probably Croxton's powerful arguments about the probable consequences had their effect. Occasional executions of Irish soldiers continued, however, and there do not seem to have been any further reprisals against parl. prisoners (Malbon 174, 176). (For further information about the matter and documents on it see 255 n.1.)

### *Plundering; Clubmen*

There is a good deal in B.L.B. about the depredations of the soldiery on the countryside and its exhaustion as the result of war. In the case of Brereton's soldiery in N. Wales (dealt with above in the section on N. Wales) this was a case of a planned raid in hostile territory, but in other instances in B.L.B. the plunderers are in territory controlled by their own side but they themselves are 'foreigners', i.e. troops from another county. (For Yorkshire horse in Cheshire see App. IV i; in 357 it was the inhabitants of a detached portion of

Flintshire who were complaining of Cheshire troops.) In assessing the truthfulness of these complaints it should be remembered that, although there is no doubt about the harm done by troops quartered on the countryside, the complaints themselves were often exaggerated, their object being to get the troops moved elsewhere. Even Brereton's admissions of the excesses of his own soldiers had a propaganda purpose: to persuade Parl. to advance money quickly for their payment. Conditions in Cheshire never got so bad, despite the county being the scene of hostilities from January 1643 to February 1646, that any movement of clubmen was organised.

Actions of the clubmen (usually known as 'countrymen') are recorded further south in Worcestershire, Hereford and the Welsh Marches at this time, both in B.L.B. and elsewhere (142, 223, 225, 226; Tanner MSS Codex 60 f.41, reprinted in 'Sir T.M.'s Attempted Conquest of Powys', 115-6) and a set of demands made by the Herefordshire clubmen is given in Item 25. The nearest to a clubman incident in Cheshire is the manhandling by the local people of a corporal of Capt. John Brooke sent to collect money at Daresbury. But this was not only an isolated incident but may have had other causes, a family feud between the Brookes of Norton and the Daniels of Daresbury or even the Brereton-John Booth dispute over the allotment to Warrington garrison.

#### *Treatment of Royalist Civilians; Communications*

There are some documents concerning the treatment of royalist civilians by Brereton and his officials and officers. On the whole, they do not seem to support the view that these always behaved harshly. Brereton wrote polite replies to many requests from civilians inside Chester and rarely answered them by an absolute refusal, even if they were from families that were actively royalist, roman catholic or both (210, 211, 264, 265 and n.1; 371 and n.1, 400, 410, 428, 604). Cockson, presumably with the acquiescence of Brereton, allowed some rents of the sequestered estates of the Leighs of Baguley to go to a local lady, wife of one royalist and daughter of another, rather than to her sister-in-law, whose family was parliamentarian but came from Rutland (389 n.1). Even the notorious Macclesfield sequestrators hastened to allow Mrs Anne Leigh of Adlington her jointure, although her husband and her three sons had been the most formidable of their local opponents (189 and n.1).

Finally, if the correspondence between Brereton and London and Brereton and Ld. Fairfax and the Scots generals in the north were to be examined, particularly between 9 and 25 May and taking especial notice of the marginal comments, something might be learnt about the parl. system of communication and it might emerge that a remarkable degree of speed was sometimes achieved. (See 476 n.1)

The Introduction on Subject Matter in Vol. II will discuss developments from October 1645 to February 1646 and any new topics that appear in the B & C MSS. It will also contain an assessment of Brereton as a war-leader.

P.S. About to be published in the Problems in Focus Series, is *Reactions to the English Civil War 1642–9*, ed. J.S. Morrill, which will be a most important addition to those books mentioned at the beginning of this Introd. as providing a background to the siege of Chester. Besides the introduction by Dr. Morrill, there are chapters on the organisation of the rival armies and taxation, towns and religion during the period of the struggle.



# THE LETTER BOOKS OF SIR WILLIAM BRERETON

## 1

*Com. of Salop to Sir Wm. Brereton*

31-1-44/5<sup>1</sup> Wem. Our forces are safely returned and we would have rejoiced greatly if they had been servicable to you. We are in a sad condition here. For eight weeks we have detained 130 foot more than we can pay, in the expectation of carrying out a design that might enable us to enlarge our quarters and so our contribution, and now we will have to part with them. We are sure our horse, lacking necessary accommodation, will leave us and we will be compelled to sleight our two petty garrisons [Stoke-upon-Tern and Moreton Corbet] that we cannot provision for three days ahead. These gone, it will be no easy thing to continue in a defensive posture and, if we fail, this will be very prejudicial to you and the public service. We have a great opportunity to enlarge our quarters, if you could give us assistance, for we can depend on none from Col. Mytton,<sup>2</sup> who carries himself crossly towards us on all matters. If you could for a few days lend us 150 foot (whom we will do our best to satisfy for their pains) and give us hope of further relief should Prince Rupert draw down upon us before we can provision our gain, we will attempt a place [Atcham]<sup>3</sup> which is second only to Shrewsbury and can be taken without the loss of a drop of blood.

We desire Capt. Finch<sup>4</sup> and his company to be in the party you send, for he is well known to us, and we request that it march no further than this town. Prince Maurice is engaged against Sir Wm. Russell's house six miles from Worcester [Strensham] and our men are so well placed that there is little danger of his coming to these parts suddenly.

We are obliged to my Lord [? Earl of Denbigh]<sup>5</sup> who, out of his sense of our condition, we have found more ready to assist us than we have the right to expect.

Rob. Clive; Andrew Lloyd; Thos. Hunt; Rob. Charlton.<sup>6</sup>  
(A 137)

## Notes

- 1 This letter, written a week before the beginning of the D MS, appears well on in the A MS among letters dated 14-20 May. The reason is that, although Shrewsbury was captured on 22 February and official accounts of it were published soon afterwards, it was not until 10 May that the Reinking version, giving himself (or rather the Com. of Salop) all the credit, appeared (Thomason E 282, 15). Mytton's reply came on 15 May (Thomason 284, 10). This letter was obviously relevant to the controversy (See Introd. II, *Brereton and Salop*).
- 2 Thos. Mytton of Halston nr. Oswestry. A substantial landowner descended from

an old burgher family of Shrewsbury which had acquired estates by marriage with county families in Salop and over the border in Wales. His mother's family, the Owens, were strongly puritan and had had legal links with the Council of Wales and the Marches at Ludlow. He himself had been educated at Balliol Col., Oxon. and Lincoln's Inn. His wife, Margaret, was dau. to Sir Thos. Napier of Luton and sister to Mary, Sir Thos. Middleton's second wife.

His quarrel with the rest of the Salop Com. at Wem appears to have been personal rather than ideological. They suspected him of wishing to become c-in-c Salop and blamed him for using the patronage of the Earl of Denbigh, Maj. Gen. of the Association of Salop, Staffs. & Warks. (with whom he had no ideological sympathies), to get himself made gov. of Oswestry after its capture in June, 1644. They did not forgive him for being absent in London when Wem was threatened by Rupert in the spring of 1644. (*S.A.S.T.* 2nd ser. 6 1894; *D.W.B.*; Wanklyn, 263; see also n.1 to this item, 18 n.5 and *Introd. II, Brereton and Salop.*)

- 3 A village 3 miles s.e. Shrewsbury where the royalists had fortified the bridge across the Severn. When the Salop Com. had to reveal to Mytton that they had sent to Brereton for aid, they told him Atcham was their target but they would need Brereton's aid to prevent Maurice recapturing it. Their real object was Shrewsbury, but they wished to take it without any assistance from Mytton. Presumably Brereton knew how to read between the lines. Atcham was abandoned by the royalists when Shrewsbury fell. (Thomason E 284, 10; Farrow, 43, 84, App. 4.)
- 4 Syon Finch. Harl. 2135 f 79 reveals that Finch had been in the royal army that came over from Ireland and, after being captured at the battle of Nantwich, took a commission under Brereton. Harleian 2135 says he was a capt. of horse, B.A.L. says of dragoons, this letter suggests of a coy of foot. Whichever it was, he was a valued officer who distinguished himself in the abortive assault on Chester before Rowton Moor (Morris 113) and in later fighting in Ireland, where he became a colonel (*C.S.P. Ireland*).
- 5 It is difficult to see how this can be anyone other than Basil Fielding, Earl of Denbigh, the official c. in-c of the West Midland Association of Warks., Staffs. Salop and Wores. From Nov. 1643 to March 1644 the Salop Com. (including Mytton) had urged him to come to their assistance, first against the army from Ireland and then against Rupert. He did not arrive in Salop until June 1644, several weeks after Rupert had passed through on his way north, and then further annoyed the Com., after-with their assistance-he had captured Oswestry, by making Mytton its gov., although the Com. considered that Mytton had deserted them in their hour of need by his long absence in London. The phrase 'than we have the right to expect' would refer to the present policy of the Com. (very obvious in the D & C MSS) of accepting Brereton as their protector, although he had long been an opponent of Denbigh's authority in Staffs. Denbigh was a controversial figure in political manoeuvring on the parl. side because of his royalist connections, the lack of any convincing reasons for his support of Parl. and his selection by the growing peace party of 1644 as a possible leader. He was opposed in his command over the West Midland Assoc. by the Warks. Com. at Coventry, by the Salop Com. and by Brereton and his supporters in the Staffs. Com. He has been much written about in recent Civil War studies. (*D.N.B.*; *H.M.C.* IVth Report, 263-76; Morrill, 139-45; P. & R. *Introd.*; *T.R. Hist. Soc.* 5th series 31, 1981, Anne Hughes, 'Militancy & Localism'. This last is particularly illuminating.)

- 6 Clive was of Styche Hall nr. Market Drayton, Lloyd of Ashton Hall nr. Oswestry and Charleton of Apley Castle nr. Wellington. Clive and Lloyd were smallish landowners, Charleton a 5th son with no estate but a pre-war career as a lawyer. Hunt was a lawyer, a member of the Drapers Coy and an alderman of Shrewsbury. Later he acquired Boreatton Hall. Hunt and Lloyd had commissions as cols. and Clive as a capt., but during the period of B.L.B. only Hunt appears to have spent much time in the field, commanding the Salop horse in the final stages of the Leaguer and acting as one of Brereton's commissioners for the surrender of Chester. (*S.A.S.T.* 2nd ser. 6, 1894; 48, 1935-8; Wanklyn 263-6. For more on the Com., further members, its relations with Mytton and Brereton see ns. 1 and 2 to this item, 18 n.6 and *Introd. II, Brereton and Salop.*)

## 2

*R.Ho* [? Richard Holford] to 'Honoured Sir' [? Brereton] [Early Feb. 1644/5 Farndon] This last night I was upon the guard at Farne [Farndon] and was there an eye-witness of the private conference between the enemy and Lt. More. The other Lt. at that time was asleep at the barn but, being made acquainted therewith, hasted down to the bridge and showed his utter dislike of such carriage. I was myself upon the bridge afterwards, when Lt. Houlte [Holt] had relieved the guard, and found the soldiers there much displeased with the business. They should all have their throats cut if such carriage might pass. This I thought fit to acquaint you with, that timely by your wisdom you might prevent that which by such conference might happen. (D12)

## Note

- 1 Farndon/Holt Bridge. Local inhabitants on the Chesh. side still use the first name, those on the Welsh side the second. The old medieval bridge, eight miles from Chester, was the first road crossing into Wales above Chester. The possession by the royalists of the strong castle of Holt, half a mile from the bridge, made the attempts of the parliamentarians to seal off the crossing very difficult. Up to 3-12-44 the only building in Farndon capable of being used as a strong point was the church. Then the parliamentarians built a little fort at their end of the bridge (Malbon, 153). It was immediately attacked and these attacks were renewed when Maurice arrived in Chester on 20-2-45 (290, 291; Malbon, 162-3). The incident here recorded could well have been a prelude to these attacks which, with its position in the DMS, is the reason for dating it early in February. Parl. attempts to seal off the bridge seem to have been abandoned with the raising of the Leaguer in May, 1645, and not resumed until January 1646, a few weeks before the fall of Chester. There is no record of any resistance to Langdale when he crossed it on his way to Rowton Moor in September 1645, and Sir Richard Lloyd, when he prepared for the blockade of Holt Castle in January 1646, seems to have been able to requisition provisions and seize cattle from the Chesh. side (1223, 1224). When finally a parliamentary detachment was sent to take up quarters at Holt on the Welsh side, the correspondence between its commanders and Brereton reveals

how precarious their position was, even at this late stage of the war (1247, 1254). Holt Castle itself did not surrender until 13 January 1647 (Tucker, 126).

## 3

*C. of B. K. to Brereton*

[Summary. Fuller text (but without cypher numbers) in *C.S.P.D. 1644-5* p.205] 8-2-44/5 Derby Ho. Following forces ordered to enable you to resist Maurice's advance upon 120 [Chester]: Com. of Leics. 100 horse; Derbys. 300; Warks. 150. To go to 91 [Stafford] to await your orders. Have written to Com. of Salop for 100 horse and 200 foot, to 91 for ditto, to Lancs. for Col. Ashton's<sup>1</sup> foot regt and two troops of horse, to Ld. Fairfax<sup>2</sup> for 500 horse. These to march into Chesh. to rendezvous fixed by you.

Phil. Wharton; Lauderdale

(D1)

## Notes

- 1 Ralph Ashton of Middleton nr. Manchester. Related to Brereton through the Hollands. M.P. for Lancs. 1640, returned there in Jan. 1643 and played a major part in the campaign that followed which won Lancs. for the Parl. Present at four major battles: Adwalton Moor (1643), Nantwich and Marston Moor (1644), Preston (1648). Resigned his command under the S.D.O. in 1645, but was appointed Maj. Gen. in 1648 of the Lancs. forces which supported the New Model in the Preston campaign in 1648. Despite this was relieved of his command and ejected from Parl. in Pride's Purge (1648). Died in 1651.

In many respects his career resembles Brereton's, but he seems to have made no particular mark as an M.P. and we know little of his personality. His political and religious views would seem to have been more moderate than Brereton's. (*Discourse; C.W.T.L.; C.W.T.C.; Malbon; Broxap; B. & P.; P.P.; Blackwood; D.N.B.; T.D. Whitaker - Hist. of Whalley II, 153-4: I have to thank Mr W.J. Smith of Middleton, who has compiled a dossier of information on Ashton, for calling my attention to these letters of his in Whitaker's work.*)

- 2 Ferdinando, 2nd Baron Fairfax of Cameron, c. in c. of the Assoc. of the Northern Counties based on York (see App. I ii). As his peerage was Scottish he was able to sit in the Commons as an M.P. for Yorks. His extensive lands in the West Riding, his good relations with his neighbours, his family connections, the respect shown to them because of their moderate puritanism and past services to the protestant cause on the continent, the military reputation of his son, Sir Thos, combined to make him a person of influence. Although this was partly negated by his moderate nature and lack of personal drive or military talent, it is probable that his importance to the parl. cause in the north has been underestimated. Although he signed a treaty of neutrality with his royalist opposite number early in 1643, he afterwards carried out his military duties conscientiously and there was never any question of any other leader being selected for the north. The peace party of 1644-5 had no hopes of him. After the passing of the S.D.O. he retained his command under an exemption longer than any other leader except Cromwell and, even after his return to Westminster, some of the Com. men of the Northern

Association obviously continued to regard him as their leader. Sydenham Poyntz, his replacement in the field, had been a professional soldier in the continental wars all his adult life and had no local influence. He was appointed solely because of his military experience. (*D.N.B.*; *C.S.P.D.* 1644-5; *Portland I*, partic. 252-3; *P.P.* partic.48; *B. & P.*; Cliffe.)

4

*Sir Simonds D'Ewes<sup>1</sup> to Brereton*

14-2-44/5<sup>2</sup> Westminster. I know not whether you or myself have most cause of indignation against Sir Thos. Aston, but Christian charity may justly induce both you and I to pity this poor lady, even if I had not that near relationship to her which I have. She is very exemplary for her goodness and piety and deserves as much from Parl. as any distressed lady in the country. My request is that you would recommend her just cause to the Com. of Sequestrations in Chesh. so that, for the maintenance of herself and her children, she may have a fifth part of her husband's estate according to the ordinance of Parl. (D111)

Notes

- 1 D'Ewes' second wife, Elizabeth, and Aston's second wife, Anne, were sisters, the daughters and co-heiresses of Sir Henry Willoughby of Risley, Derbys. (Orm. I, 724, is wrong in saying Anne was Sir Henry's sole heir.) D'Ewes, the writer of important parliamentary journals, was M.P. for Sudbury, Suffolk (*B. & P.*, 96-8; *D.N.B.*; for Aston see Newman; Orm. I, lx-lxi, 724-7.)
- 2 The text has 14 Feb., 1645 and not 1644. This should mean that, according to modern reckoning, the item should be dated 14 Feb. 1646. But, coming so many months after the final entries in the D MS and the granting of Anne Aston's petition (12-5-45; 505), this date is not believable. It is more likely to be a copyist's error, caused by the insertion of the item among those of the month of April which have 1645 on them.

5

*Petition of Anne Aston, wife to Sir Thos. Aston, to the Chesh. Com. for Sequestrations.* [Undated]<sup>1</sup>

Pettitioner has received nothing from her husband's estate for the past three years for the maintenance of herself and children, is in great want and has many debts. Requests allowance of a fifth part of it for the time to come and some reasonable proportion of a fifth part for time past to discharge her debts.<sup>2</sup>

(D111)

Notes

- 1 If Anne waited for D'Ewes' supporting letter before framing her petition, this must have been done many days later than 12 Feb., 1645. Both items are inserted in the

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D MS among letters of the middle of April, 1645. But this seems a longish gap and, as no supporting evidence for such a date or anything enabling a day of the month to be fixed has appeared, it has been thought best to leave the petition next to the dated D'Ewes letter in the Calendar.

- 2 See 505 of 1-5-45 for the granting of the petition.

6

*C. of B.K. to 'forces now in Cheshire'.*

[Summary. Fuller text in *C.S.P.D. 1644-5*, 311]

18-2-44/5 Exhortation to 'Auxiliaries' to hinder and crush recruitment and growth of Maurice's forces and so promote our own recruitment and sieges of Beeston and Chester. Not to return to your homes until work completed. Manchester; Lauderdale  
(D2)

7

*Brereton to C. of B.K.*

22-2-44/5 The Prince [Maurice] is in Chester. His army is said to be 5-6,000, but I do not think them so many. They quarter on the other side of the Dee at Wrexham, Poulfore [Pulford], Travallin [Trevalyn] and those parts. As the forces assigned to us from Lancs. and Yorks. have not arrived, we did not think it safe to engage a part of our army against their whole body, which was within a night's march of Chester and they might, by going about over the mountains (as they have done twice before), have got into Chester, destroyed our forces at Christleton, Beeston and ffarne [Farndon] and possessed themselves of that passage [over the Dee at Farndon] against the return of our party out of Wales. Upon which consideration we have been constrained to return out of Wales until our expected assistance comes. If we had the addition of 2,000 foot and some provision made for the payment of this army, we could give a good account of Chester, Shrewsbury and Wales and not so much fear any forces out of Ireland. In the meantime we have entrenched our force at Christleton, which is little more than a mile from Chester, so that the enemy's horse shall not rush upon them and destroy them.  
(D2)

8

*Com. of Salop to Brereton*

21-2-44/5 Shrewsbury. Thanks be to God for enabling us to gain possession of Shrewsbury. This morning about break of day we entered – horse, foot and all – and are now staying the soldiers from plundering. We have not yet time to give you a list of the prisoners but there are many of quality, including the

governor [Sir Michael Erneley] and Sir John Wylde [Weld] and his son. We doubt not of your assistance as occasion shall present and thank you for the great favour you have afforded us.

[P.S.] The castle holds out yet for ought we hear. Thos. Mytton; Sam. More; Rob. Charlton; And. Lloyd; Rob. Clive; Thos. Hunt; Leigh Owen;<sup>1</sup> ? John [Charles] Langford<sup>2</sup>

(D1)

Notes

- 1 More & Owen, both holding the rank of capt., are two further regular members of the Salop Com. in 1645. Sam. More was the eldest son of Rich. More of Linley nr. Bishop's Castle, who died in 1643 after having represented Bishop's Castle in three Parls. Sam. More had been gov. of Hopton Castle and was almost the only one of the garrison to survive the massacre that followed their unconditional surrender in March, 1644. Owen was a son of Robt. Owen of Woodhouse by his third wife, but his small estate at Braginton s.w. of Shrewsbury came from his mother, Mary Leighton of Wattlesborough. He used her family name (always in B.L.B. in the form of Leigh) as his Christian name.

Although they had been in the county since the 13th century, the Mores adopted a radical puritanism and republicanism in traditional Shropshire. Leigh Owen's later membership of the Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales suggests that he too had puritan leanings. (B. & P., 13; Farrow, 60-1; S.A.S.T. 2nd ser. 6, 1894; Wanklyn, 264-5.)

- 2 The name, although illegibly written, could be Langford, and a Langford (Charles not John) acted as an emissary from the Salop Com. to Mytton during a dispute about the surrender of the castle after the town had fallen. Langford was an obscure lawyer, possibly not a Salop man in origin, who became a sequestrator and was perhaps solicitor to the Salop Com. which may be the reason for his signature appearing here. It does not occur again in B.L.B. (Thomason E 284; Wanklyn, 266.)

*Com. of Salop to Brereton*

22-2-44/5 9 am Shrewsbury. We even now sent you a messenger to tell you of God's great goodness in giving us this town of Shrewsbury without the loss of any man's life of ours and but one hurt. We entreat you to help us to some foot to keep this and our other garrisons. Shrewsbury, being kept, will facilitate the getting of Chester. The town, although strong by nature and art, yet is a great circumference and will require many to keep it. We know your care of us is such that we need do no more than tell you our wants. We have given fair quarter to the prisoners in the castle; such as are not Irish are to leave their arms and march away with their clothes to Ludlow. We are possessed of all the town save part of the suburbs of Frankwell [to the N.W. across the Severn and guarded by a fort] but doubt not that that will be quickly despatched. The considerable prisoners are the governor, Sir Michael

Earneley, Sir Richard Leveson, Sir John Weld and his son, Sir Richard Lea; [Lee] Sir William Owen and his son [or 'sons']. Sir Thos. Eyton and Sir [?] Vincent Corbett' escaped narrowly. As soon as we have time we will send you a particular list.

P.S. If the Prince [Maurice] look this way, we hope you will follow him.  
Thos. Mytton; And. Lloyd; Sam. More; Rob. Clive; Thos. Hunt; Rob. Charlton; Leigh Owen.

(D3)

Note

- 1 Sir Thos. Eyton was of Eyton nr. Bishop's Castle. Although the Christian name scribbled in the MS does not look much like Vinc., there is little doubt that this must be Sir Vincent Corbet of Moreton Corbet, south of Wem. He was one of the most prominent of the Salop royalists throughout the war and occupied a number of military positions (*S.A.S.T.* 4th ser. 2, 1912; Farrow; Wanklyn, 257-9.)

10

*List of prisoners taken at Shrewsbury*<sup>1</sup>  
22-2-44/45

[In the notes following the names, A.I. indicates 'of the army from Ireland'; places are in Salop unless otherwise stated.]

Sir Michael Ernely Govr. [A.I.]  
Sir Nicholas Byron [uncle to Ld. Byron]  
Sir John Peirsall [Pershall, of Horsely, Staffs.] bart.  
Sir Richard Lea [Lee, of Langley & Acton Burnell]  
Sir Richard Leveson [of Trentham, Staffs., and Lilleshall]  
Sir John Wylde [Weld, of Willey]  
Sir John Wylde [Weld] junior  
Sir Tho. Lister [Lyster, of Rowton Castle]  
Sir Henry ffredreck Thin [Thynne, of Caus Castle]  
Sir Wm. Owen [of Condover]  
Harbet [Herbert] Vaughan Esq [of Llywdiarth, Co. Montgomery]  
Kinarson [Kynaston, Edw.] Esq of Oteley  
ffrancis Stanford Esq cap. [Sandford of Sandford]  
ffrancis Thomas Esq [*sic* Thornes of Shevlock]  
Robt. Betton Esq [of Shrewsbury]  
Tho. Morris Esq  
William Penthrum Esq Papist  
John Pay Esq [foedary of Shropshire]  
Mr Ireland [of Albrighton]  
Mr Barker Junior [of Haughmond Castle]  
Mr Ponsbury [Pontesbury] Owen [of Eaton Mascott]

Mr Pelham Corbett [of Albright Hussey]  
Mr Barker [sen. of Haughmond Castle]  
Mr Leighton [Edw., of Wattlesborough]  
Mr Smyth [Francis, of Burton nr. Much Wenlock]  
Mr Trevace [Trevys. Rich., lawyer]  
Mr Rob. Standford [Sandford, brother of Francis]  
Dr Lewin advocate [Rupert's Advocate General]  
Dr ffowler [rector of Whitchurch]  
Dr Stoneley [? Arneway]  
Lt. Col. Edward Owen [of Shrewsbury]  
Major Rich. Oteley [Ottley of Pitchford]  
Major Spursto[w]e [George, of Spurstowe, Chesh.]  
Major Paulden [A.I.]  
Major Rainger [Francis, A.I.]  
Capt Yonge [Young, John, of Pimley]  
Capt Standley [Stanley ? of Knockin]  
Capt Ravenford [Rainsford, Francis, A.I.]  
Capt Talbott [Edward]  
Capt Lucas [Wm., A.I.]  
Capt Collins [A.I.]  
Capt Cressitt [Cressie, John, A.I.]  
Capt Harrison [John, A.I.]  
Capt Lawton  
Capt Belser  
Capt Betts [Thos., A.I.]  
Capt Morris  
Aldermen 4  
Lts. 2  
Ensigns 5  
Simon Robson gent.  
John Walker gent.  
Lewis Empton marshall  
Common Soldiers  
ffr. Backnall  
Thos. Bowyer  
ffran. ffisher  
Robt. Eavons [Evans]  
George Royle  
Tho. ffrancke  
Daniel Kell  
Wm. Taylor clerk  
Rich. Brayne  
Rob. Itchales  
Tho. Comslowe

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John Jacke  
Tho. Berse  
Tho. Deane  
Adam Wood  
Abraham [Robert]  
Edward Corsson  
John Titches  
Henry Higgins  
Edward Hancockes  
Edward Cuffin [Kyffin]  
Robt. Webster  
Edward Prise [Price]  
Geo. Waringe  
Phill. Greene  
Martin Greene  
Richard Lanckford  
Patrick Lowrell  
Rich. Renaldes [Reynolds]  
James Haworth  
Charles Watkins  
Maurice Jalque  
George Grimes  
Rich. Williames  
Will. Pointer  
Samuel Loyde [Lloyd] sergeant  
James Gwoyne [Gwynne]  
Will. Jones  
John Caldwell  
Willm. Well  
David Newton  
Wm. Owen  
John Gibson  
Francis Sanders  
Evan Pugh  
Nathaniell Lea  
Lewis Daves [Davies]  
Tho. Rogton  
Tho. Maddox  
Daniel Bolasse  
Nehemiah Lewis  
Edward Jones sergeant  
Edward Daves [Davies] mercer  
Wm. Allin  
Wm. Parker

John Phillips  
Edw. Wildinge  
Nathaniell Teggin  
John Roe  
Edward Wright  
James Loydon  
Wm. Perrie  
Roger Stontham  
Edw. Cleare  
Geo. Barker  
Lawrence May  
[blank in MS] Buttrell  
Rich. fforde  
Tady Rutmaham  
Rich. Welsh  
James Laine  
Matthew Perrin  
Nich. Dibes  
James Gillam  
Goebin Evan  
Wm. Thomas  
Tho. Meire  
Griffith Phillips  
Robert Parrie  
John Prince  
Walter Wilbin  
Tho. Marren  
John Hayward  
Hugh Murtha  
Robt. Hurrise  
Tho. Gayley  
Tho. Smyth  
Mr Rich. Basvile  
Mr Maxfield  
Taken before<sup>2</sup>  
Sir ffrancis Oteley [Ottley of Pitchford]  
Sir Wm. Whitmore [of Apley Park]  
Sir Tho. Whitmore [his son; M.P. for Bridgnorth]  
Mr Edward Owen [eldest son Sir Wm. of Condoover]  
Mr Fowler [? Rich. of Harnage Grange]  
Mr Edwards [?]  
(D7)

Notes

1 I am greatly indebted to Dr Wanklyn for assistance in identifying the more

important prisoners in this list. There are several other lists and they reveal omissions and mistakes in this one. It is probable that Dr Stoneley is an error for Dr Arneway, for he appears in no other lists, while Arneway, the rector of Hodnet, appears not only in the list in Malbon (164-7) and the one appended to the pamphlet on the taking of Shrewsbury (Thomason 271 and Phillips II, 235), but also later on in B.L.B. among a list of Shrewsbury prisoners left in Nantwich on 17-3-45 (55). Some omitted names are noted in later prisoners' lists. Of the places which have been appended in square brackets to the list, Langley, Acton Burnell, Condoer, Albrighton, Haughmond Cas., Eaton Mascott, Harnage Grange, Albright Hussey, Pitchford and Pimley are all within a few miles of Shrewsbury; Wattlesborough, Rowton and Caus Castles and Knockin are between Shrewsbury and the Welsh border; Willey and Apley Park are nr. Bridgnorth; Lilleshall nr. Newport, Oteley nr. Ellesmere and Sandford nr. Whitchurch. In Staffs. Horsley is nr. Eccleshall and Trentham nr. Newcastle-under-Lyme; in Chesh. Spurstowe is nr. Nantwich.

- 2 On 21 Feb., the day before the taking of Shrewsbury, Sir John Price, then gov. of Montgomery Castle, sent a force which surprised and captured several Salop Com. of Array, meeting at Apley Pk., the home of Sir Wm. Whitmore (Farrow, 76). But Rich. Fowler seems to have been taken before this, at a previous meeting of the Commissioners which took place nr. Pontesbury on 5 Feb. (*S.A.S.T.* 4th ser. 2, 223).

*Brereton to C. of B.K.*

22-2-44/5 Tarvin. These lines may convey unto you the welcome news of the surprising of Shrewsbury this Saturday morning about 5 o'clock, which mercy cannot but be acknowledged to be the return of those many applications put up to that God which heareth prayers and giveth success to those that seek him and make their whole dependence upon him. His humble and unworthy servants have long been plotting and contriving that which the Lord hath now brought to pass, the Com. at Wem being very industrious about the effecting hereof, and it has been several times attempted. But the Lord's time was not yet come and his time is the best time.

I hope it will produce a very good effect upon all these parts of the kingdom, wherein you have not a more faithfull, industrious committee who doth less seek themselves and more the advancement of this cause than the Com. of Wem and Oswestry. But of late they were in so weak a condition that they had not sufficient forces to maintain their garrisons of Wem and Oswestry. So I sent them four coys of my own regt until they were possessed of the garrison of Moreton Corbet, since when Lord Calvin<sup>1</sup> [and his coy] and another Chesh. coy have remained with them. To them last Wednesday I sent about 400 Staffs. and Chesh. horse, 500 Staffs. foot and a company of my own, all under the command of Col. Bowyer.<sup>2</sup> I do not believe that these, together with the forces of Wem and Oswestry under Col. Mytton, exceeded 1,200 men, to whom the Lord hath delivered one of the strongest places in the

kingdom, together with many considerable prisoners, such as Sir Michael Erneley, the governor, and Sir John Wylde [Weld]. I have no list as yet nor any more advertisement than is comprehended in a letter from the Com., a copy of which is enclosed. As they cannot keep Shrewsbury and all their other garrisons, I purpose with all speed to march near them, so that we can give them relief as occasion requires.

(D3)

#### Notes

- 1 Ld. Calvin/Colvin/Colville. This may well be Jas., 2nd Ld. Colville of Culross, the infant of the famous *post nati* case of 1608 which established that Scots born after James became king of England were his natural subjects and could hold land in England. His grandfather, Jas., made the first Ld. Colville for distinguished services abroad as soldier and diplomat, died in 1629 and, his son Robt. having predeceased him, was succeeded by his grandson. By 1640 the 2nd Ld. Jas. seems to have disposed of the family estates in East Wemyss and taken up residence in Ireland. It would seem likely (but there is no evidence) that he took up arms against the Irish Rebellion and then, like Michael Jones and Chidley Coote, refused to accept the Cessation. After the capture of Shrewsbury, he was successively gov. of Stoke-on-Tern, Moreton Corbet and Broncroft. He appears again in Ireland as a soldier after 1646. (Sir Rob. Douglas – *Peerage of Scotland* II, 553–559; *C.S.P. Ireland, 1647*: G. Davies – *Early Stuarts*, 9n. In the last he appears to have been confused with his father, Robert; information from Dr. Wanklyn.)
- 2 John Bowyer of Knypersley, near Leek, in the 'moorlands' district of Staffs. The family was wealthy and influential and John's father, William, had been on the bench and a county M.P. His mother, Hester Skeffington, was sister to Brereton's second wife, Cicely, and to Sir John and Sir Richard Skeffington (*q.v.*). John raised a company early in the war which fought under Brereton's command at Hopton Heath and other Staffs. operations in 1643. He became M.P. for the county ('recruiter' 1646, secluded 1648; restored Rump 1660), and for Newcastle-under-Lyme (2nd Protectorate Parl., 1656; Convention Parl., 1660). After the Restoration he became sheriff, 1662–3, and a bart. (B & P; P & R; *P.P.*)

#### *Com. of Salop to Brereton*

23-2-44/5 Shrewsbury. We have addressed several despatches to you concerning God's wonderful goodness and mercy to us (a handful of poor contemptible instruments) in the rendering of this town into our hands. But without your speedy assistance we are plunged into such a world of business that we know not what way to secure the blessing which God hath bestowed on us. Did you know the condition of this place, the disaffection of most and how poor and faint the spirits and resolution of such are as seem to wish well to the cause, you might well conceive what our just fears and dangers are. We desire you as the first and only instrument of our settlement and subsistence in this county to furnish us with some convenient forces both to secure us against the

power of the Prince [Maurice], whom we presume will speedily look this way, and to strengthen Wem, which we were forced to leave in a very weak condition. Horse is very little advantage to us; it is foot for the present that we want. We would we had no cause to complain of the great disorder and plundering of the whole town but there is no remedy but patience. For the present the honest party stand aghast, not daring resolutely to declare themselves until they see the success of the Prince's preparation which is reported daily to menace this town. We are resolved to sleight our two garrisons of Moreton [Corbet] and Stoke [-upon-Tern] and bring the few that were there into Wem, being all too weak to maintain that place. The works here are very large and, although it seems the enemy has been active to strengthen themselves, yet there are very many places that are but weak still and cannot be maintained but with a very considerable strength. Our best soldiers desire us to press you for at least 2-300 more foot and one good company for Wem.<sup>1</sup>

And. Lloyd; Sam. More; Thos. Hunt; Rob. Clive; Ro. Charlton; Leigh Owen.

(D4)

Note

- 1 The MS has *from*, from which the *m* appears to have been erased. *For* seems more likely in view of the contents of the letter, although it is possible that in 'one good company *from* Wem' the Com. could have been asking for one of the two companies Brereton had already sent there (11) and felt that they ought to obtain his permission before they transferred it to Shrewsbury.

13

*Com. of Salop to Brereton*

24-2-44/5 Shrewsbury. We feel very much the misery of war, which is destruction and dissolution,<sup>1</sup> if not timely prevented. We did partly foresee the likelihood of plundering and to that end acquainted Col. Bowyer that, if the town might be kept from plunder, we would raise £2,000 for those [soldiers] of Chesh. and Staffs. Also we granted Lt. Col. Rinkey [Reinking]<sup>2</sup> an order to signify as much to the heads of each troop and company. But the town has been exceedingly plundered; yet there is demand for us to perform what was conditionally promised. All we can do is to give £500 a month hence, but they will not be satisfied without £1,000 in hand. We replied we would refer ourselves to you, and we know not what shift to make unless your weighty business will permit you to come over and settle this business and prevent the ruin of the town and the country. For we are informed they [the plunderers] go almost as far as Bridgnorth and get what they can. If you cannot come, be pleased to call your horse to serve you in some other place.<sup>3</sup> We hear from Oswaldstree [Oswestry] the Prince [Maurice] has sent some forces as far as Chirk and it is probable he will advance this way. If he does we

shall be little better for many of these men, for they go which way they please. [P.S.] We hear 900 of the Prince's forces have run from him since we got this town. Leigh Hall they have quitted and burnt and Sir Thos. Lister's house [Rowton Castle], and we have good hopes that Arcall [High Ercall] will be deserted and the works sleighted tomorrow.

[P.P.S.] As this letter was ended a gent. of the Com. heard some officers say they would not be commanded by Sir Wm. Brereton; therefore we pray your presence.

Thos. Mytton;<sup>4</sup> And. Lloyd; Sam. More; Clive; Thos. Hunt; Rob. Charlton; Leigh Owen.

(D4)

#### Notes

- 1 In the MS the first word looks more like *destructive* and the second may well have been intended to be *desolation*. The letter is hurried and garbled and the copyist obviously had difficulty in deciphering it, for lower down he left a gap and Brereton supplied the word *demand*.
- 2 *Rinke* must stand for Lt. Col. Reinking, the foreign professional soldier (? Dutch, Swiss or German) whom the Salop Com. employed to command their troops in the field. (18 n.5; Thomason E 270, 271, 282, 284; *S.A.S.T.*, 47, 1933-4 and 48, 1935-6; Farrow.)
- 3 The conclusion must be that it was the Chesh. and Staffs. horse under Bowyer (11) who were causing the trouble.
- 4 As Mytton's name appears again among the signatures of the Salop Com. on the next day (15), it seems probable that, despite its absence on the previous day (11), he really was there and this is not a copyist's error. He may well not have been present when the 2nd P.S. was added, however, for he could hardly have endorsed this additional reason for Brereton's presence.

#### 14

*Sir Rob. King<sup>1</sup> to Brereton*

24-2-44/5 London. My most humble thanks for your many courtesies to Lt. Col. [Michael] Jones,<sup>2</sup> who on all occasions acknowledges himself beholden to you. I hope he retains the same place in your good opinion that he did at the beginning of the winter. I received a letter from you and wrote one to you, but my servant was too scared to go beyond Lichfield and left my letters eight miles this side of it in Warks., so I do not know if you received it. I have with much joy heard of the many and great successes that you have had in those parts. As for our news here, our treaty [the Uxbridge negotiations with the King] is quite broken off. Our commissioners returned from Uxbridge before the Houses rose but, as it was late, no report will be made until tomorrow.

The King did not grant any of the three points treated, so our commissioners had no encouragement to desire a further treaty [i.e. negotiations]. I am informed that the chief reason for his Majesty to stand upon so high terms was

the differences here among ourselves. In this way he may be mightily mistaken, for there was no way under God so likely to make an absolute union here. Many in the Commons that hitherto have been of the moderate party, seeing their expectation of peace by treaty fail them, do profess that none shall be more forward than themselves in a sharp prosecution of the war, acknowledging that now there is no other expedition left. So this breach may beget better effects than anybody looked for.

It is thought Sir Thos. Fairfax will bring the list of the officers for his army to be approved by Parl. tomorrow, and I think his own commission will be from the General [Essex], which will give many some content. Sir Wm. Waller has had ill success in his late expedition, all but a few of the soldiers that we appointed to go with him having left him. Even General Cromwell's men are gone from him. His Excellency's [Essex's] horse that were in Surrey since their mutiny are gone to Col. [Edw.] Massey,<sup>3</sup> whose design they may advance.

The Dutch ambassador had audience of both Houses today and they advised the calling of a General Council of all reformed churches, but I think we have something else to do first. Sir John Meldrum has captured the shipping in Scarborough harbour, and the first provisions are being shipped away daily. So I hope the rebels there will have something to do at home.

Sir Charles Coote has written to his brother [Lt. Col. Chidley Coote]<sup>4</sup> to help him to some men for those parts and, if you could countenance this, it would much conduce to the safety of the kingdom, for he is an active able gentleman and with but a small strength in Connaught could keep that province from sending any of their men abroad.

(D12)

#### Notes

- 1 Of Boyle Castle, Roscommon. From a Yorks. family who settled in western Ireland in Elizabethan times and occupied various government posts. On the seizure of his lands by the Confederates in 1642 came to London, married the widow of Edw. Cecil, Viscount Wimbledon, and lived at Cecil/ Wimbledon House. An important London contact for Brereton in view of his links with Michael Jones and Chidley Coote.
- 2 Descended from a Merioneth family – he was related both to the parliamentarian Capt./Col. John Jones (*q.v.*) and the royalist Col. Mark Trevor (*q.v.*) – he was the son of Lewis Jones, bishop of Killaloe in Ireland. He left Lincoln's Inn to take up arms against the Confederates in 1641 and gained great distinction in the fighting. He refused to serve with the army from Ireland that came over to aid the King in 1643 after the Cessation and in 1644 took a commission under Brereton. His first recorded actions are at Tarvin and Malpas in Aug., 1644. In 1645, as recorded in B.L.B., he was the commander of Brereton's cavalry and in charge of operations on the Welsh side of the Dee, with his h.q. at Dodleston. But he was equally acceptable to Brereton's opponents on the County Committee and, during Brereton's absence in London from June to Oct., 1645, commanded their cavalry in the field.

- Later he became an officer of the New Model and played a major part in the subjugation of Ireland, paving the way for Cromwell's conquest by his victory at Rathmines on 2 August, 1649. He died of a fever later in the year. (*D.N.B.*; Dodd; Malbon; Morris; *C.S.P.D.*; *C.S.P. Ireland*; A.W.M. Kerr, *An Ironside of Ireland*.)
- 3 The famous gov. of Gloucester, 1643-5, and maj. gen. for the south-western counties, 1645-6. His father, Robert Massey of Coddington near Chester, was captured fighting as a royalist at Middlewich in March, 1643, and his brother-in-law, Edward Owen (*q.v.*) was a royalist Lt.col. in the Shrewsbury garrison. Massey himself turned royalist later, fought with Charles II in the Worcester campaign of 1651 and joined the 1659 rising. Although he was Chesh. born and his brother George (*q.v.*) was an officer of Brereton's, the B.L.B. correspondence does not suggest that he and Brereton were personally acquainted. (Orm. II, 732; Malbon; *C.S.P.D. 1643-6*; *P.P.*; *R.C.E.*; *D.N.B.*)
- 4 Third son of Sir Charles Coote (*D.N.B.*) of an old Devon family, who campaigned in Ireland under Mountjoy and established himself in Connaught. In 1620 Sir Charles the Elder became Vice-President of Connaught and in 1642 was killed fighting the Irish Confederates. His son, Sir Charles the Younger, and Chidley, continued the struggle. Chidley refused to accept the Cessation and, with Michael Jones, became an officer of Brereton's in 1644. Sir Charles the Younger became Parl. President of Connaught in 1645 and played a big part in subduing the Confederates from 1647-52. Chidley, having served under Brereton in the Leaguer and later in the midlands, joined him in this. Sir Charles, although a strong supporter of Cromwell, played a major part in paving the way for the Restoration in Ireland and, according to Ludlow (*Memoirs* II, 839), Chidley assisted him in this. (*C.S.P.D. 1644-6*; *C.S.P. Ireland*; J.T. Gilbert-*Hist. of the Irish Confederation*.)

15

*Com. of Salop to Brereton*

25-2-44/5 Shrewsbury. We received your two letters this morning. We have no certain intelligence as to where the Prince's [Maurice's] forces are but hope that your forces will attend his motions. We second our request that you will hasten hither, which would be a special means of settling this place in such a condition that we may not continue in this distraction, for we assure you we are in no good condition to entertain the Prince if he should come against us. Tho. Mitton, Rob. Charlton, And. Lloyd, Leigh Owen  
(D5)

16

*Sir W.B. to C. of B.K.*

26-2-44/5 Shrewsbury. These lines may give you a further account touching this town of Shrewsbury, which is now in a reasonable good condition, the castle, suburbs and all having yielded themselves; although there is no doubt a potent malignant party remains which must be enawed by a strong garrison until further course be taken. To this end I have commanded hither three

companies of Chesh. foot. In response to the repeated desires of the Com. here, who could not govern nor restrain the soldiers, I have come to them and in a few days left them in a good and settled condition, so that they may be able to follow after and pursue the enemy if they advance this way. I hope we shall be able to deal with them now there is come to us a regt of Yorks. horse and some 500 of Col. Assheton's Lancs. foot regt with more of these expected to come up speedily. But the enemy declines fighting, and the prisoners say they will not before the rest of their expected forces are united to them. Our prisoners now taken do affirm that Gerard's<sup>1</sup> forces are expected and also six regs of Irish, for whose transportation I have heard there are several frigates come to Dublin. Themselves [? the prisoners] report these to be landed but I do not believe it. Capt. Stone<sup>2</sup> advertises me that 1,500 horse are come to Lichfield and a post from Coventry that there are 2,000 horse and foot on their way from the King. Sir Richard Lay [Lea], who was knight of the shire for this county and now is a prisoner here, says that he heard the King with his whole force would draw down this way if the treaty did not take effect.

Now that I have given the advertisement I doubt not that considerable forces will be applied to enable us to make good what God hath given us, for it seems that they intend to engage deeply all the force they can spare before they will abandon their whole interest in these parts. Meantime it is endeavoured to make the best opportunity by reducing the enemy's garrisons in these parts. Tonge Castle and Leigh Hall are sleighted and burnt by the enemy. Rowton [Castle] and Madeley are also deserted. We cannot spare foot to garrison any of these, but we have sent some to Atcham which commands the river and may be of great advantage.

[P.S.] If you thought fit to employ some part of the Scottish army, especially the foot, this way, it might greatly advantage your service, for I see no place where the enemy seems to apply so much of his strength.

(D5)

#### Notes

- 1 Charles Gerard of Halsall, Lancs.; col. of a Lancs. foot regt. in the Edgehill campaign and by this time royalist c.-in-c. S. Wales. After the Restoration became E. of Macclesfield and a leading Whig. (*D.N.B.*; *Edgehill*; Newman.)
- 2 Henry, a prosperous Walsall merchant who raised a troop of horse early in the war. Brereton made him gov. of Eccleshall in 1643 and, after the *coup d'etat* of Dec. 1644, gov. of Stafford. Invaluable for the intelligence reports of royalist movements that he sent to Brereton and a key figure in Brereton's control of Staffs., as can be seen by the strenuous attempts of Brereton's opponents at this time to remove him from both governorships. (P. & R.; *L.J.* VII, 280.)

*Brereton to Wm. Ashurst<sup>1</sup>*

26-2-44/5 Shrewsbury. [The first half of this letter contains the same information about enemy troop movements as the previous letter to the C. of B.K.; 16.] Hence I doubt not but you will infer an absolute necessity of applying more forces this way. We should be able to encounter the forces the enemy now has, although we may not be able to make good the Welsh side also. For then we must divide our army, which is already of more than a sufficient number to be managed by myself and some few able soldiers and officers that I have. Therefore if it be thought fit to send the Scottish army or some part thereof and the Parl. pleaseth to appoint ['them to command': word or words missing although no gap in MS], I shall willingly comply with them and serve them in such commands as they shall think fit. For I had much rather be commanded than exercise command which is above and beyond my judgement and experience, as will be the managing of so great an army as must necessarily be applied against those forces which I believe will convene and meet together in these parts. I desire you will make such use [of this] as may be for the advantage of this cause, and that you will believe it will be a real courtesy to me to be in some manner enlarged herein.

I am to return this evening or tomorrow morning to Chesh. and the business here permits me no longer time to enlarge myself.

(D6)

## Note

- 1 Wm. Ashurst of Ashurst Hall near Wigan, 1606–57. M.P. for Newton in Lancs. 1640–8 and Brereton's chief supporter and agent in Westminster at the time of the B.L.B. A letter of 9-2-43 to Brereton under the pseudonym of 'Thos. Care' (App. II, Vol. II) shows this connection to have begun early in the war. Naturally such conduct linked him with the 'win the war' group – Vane, St. John, Bradshaw, Brereton himself – at this period. But his personal religious views were presbyterian. One of his younger brothers, Henry, became a well-known London alderman and friend of Richard Baxter's. Another, John (*q.v.*), who was at this time a parliamentarian major and – for a brief period – governor of Liverpool, supported the Earl of Derby in 1651. William himself had moved to the middle group by 1647-8, when he went for a time as a commissioner to Scotland. He was neither arrested nor secluded at Pride's Purge, but he did not sit in the Rump. In 1654 he became one of the county M.P.s to the First Protectorate Parl. (*V.C.H. Lancs.* IV, 68, 96–101; *Local Gleanings II*, ed. J.P. Earwaker, March. 1877, 250–76; Broxap, 34; *P.P. & R.C.E.*)

*Brereton to Sir Henry Vane [the Younger] and Mr Solicitor [Oliver St. John]*  
26-2-44/5 Shrewsbury. Not knowing any more faithful or more powerful than yourselves to whom I may make my addresses, I wish to acquaint you with the

sad condition of 91 [Stafford]<sup>2</sup>, from whence all the honest gentlemen of the 176 [Committee] and all or most of the commanders in whom there may be any great confidence reposed are by order of 161 [House of Lords] commanded thence. Most of them are now at 112 [London/Westminster] and the garrison left very naked, and 155 [Brereton] so tasked and employed elsewhere that he cannot attend the charge thereof nor knows any man so fit to be placed there and in whom we may repose confidence as

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7:4:xxi:9:4:5:vi:v: 3:9:xvi:vi:v, who was formerly served to appear and against whom they have procured an attachment to be served from 161.<sup>3</sup> 128 [Col. Rugeley]<sup>4</sup> is come down in a very boisterous manner and requires the command of 91 to be delivered up to him, which will of necessity fall into his

C a p t a i n e S t o n e

hands if 7:4:xxi:9:4:5:vi:v: 3:9:xvi:vi:v: be taken away. To the end 128 may be enabled to make a stronger party, he hath sent to desire his T of 20 [? commissions] may be sent to 91, pretending that without these the rents of 162 [Parl.] in that county cannot be collected.<sup>5</sup> But they are not yet sent.

In the next place I beseech you let it be represented to 168 [C. of B.K.] that there is not any committee in these parts of the kingdom more faithful to them and industrious to do them service and less guilty of carrying on designs of their own than this 176 [i.e. of Salop], and under God they have been the instrument of plotting, contriving and bringing about this design [i.e. capture of Shrewsbury]. We made several former attempts but God denied success, the last being upon Christmas Day. Since that time we have been continually waiting for an opportunity which now the Lord hath given. I desire there may be praises and thanks, for I think you have never heard of so strong a town taken by so few men, and with a potent army in the field so near them.

In my last I committed a mistake concerning 132 [Mytton]: that he commanded the horse of 92 [Shropshire]. Lt. Col. Reinking commanded them and 132 came only with a few horse and had no command. The Chesh. and Staffs. horse and foot, which I sent out of Chesh., I put under the command of Col. Bowyer who received orders from the Com. of Salop.<sup>6</sup>

That which remains most conducive to the safety of this place is that it should be put into the hands of such as will be most faithful to this end. The 176 of 92 humbly desire this trust may be left with them who doubtless will employ it to your utmost advantage. Nothing will be more grievous than to have such put upon them as they have formerly disliked and excepted against. You will receive their request from themselves; I beseech you assist to promote it.

Please excuse me that I am constrained to make use of this character [cypher]. Mr Ashurst will interpret it. May I ask on behalf of ourselves and the 172 [army] in these parts that, seeing that I am constrained to withdraw 6-700 foot for the safety of that [i.e. *this*] place, some provision of foot may be assigned to us, and that if great forces meet together against us – as we are

advertised on all sides are preparing from Ireland, South Wales, Oxford and other parts – some considerable strength will be applied to enable us to make good what we have gained. I know not how the Scottish army might be employed with more advantage than to perfect the conquest here, which might through God's mercy be the work of a short time. Then the forces of this county and these parts might be employed for Ireland or elsewhere as you think fit.

There is no fear of that danger arising from Newark as from the landing of foreign troops in Wales, the expectation whereof is their [i.e. Chester's] only support. But here, as in all my other proceedings, I humbly submit myself to your better understanding.

(D6)

#### Notes

- 1 M.P.s for Hull and Totnes respectively and very influential both in the Commons and on the C. of B.K. Although modern writers have pointed out the differences in their religious views and have labelled them respectively as leaders of the 'war' and 'middle' parties in Parl., there is not much doubt that at the moment they were united in pursuance of a vigorous and effective war effort and that that is the reason for the close links between them and Brereton which are revealed in B.L.B. (D.N.B.; *P.P.*; Val. Pearl. 'Royal Independents' in *T.R. Hist.S.* 5th ser. xviii, 1968, 69–96.)
- 2 Although in 3 (C. of B.K. to Brereton, 8-2-45) 91 plainly stands for the town of Stafford, in this item it is possible that it sometimes means the county as well.
- 3 *L.J.* VII, 280, gives a letter of 3-3-45 from Stone to the C. of B.K. saying that the Lords had issued a warrant for his attachment on 14-2-45 for not appearing in response to an order of theirs of 20-1-45. For the background to this dispute and further sources see P. & R. lxxx–lxxxii.
- 4 Simon Rugeley of Hawkesyard, six miles s.e. Stafford, was one of the leading Staffs. parliamentarians in 1643 and joined with Brereton in the capture of Stafford and Eccleshall. He was an important member of the Staffs. Com. and from 1644–5 parliamentary sheriff of Staffs. In the struggle of the Earl of Denbigh to impose his authority as Maj. Gen. of the Staffs., Salop and Warks. Association, he became a leading Denbigh supporter and so, together with Col. Lewis Chadwick (24 n.) and others, was removed from positions of authority and for a time imprisoned in Brereton's coup d'état of 3-12-44. (P & R partic. lxxiv–lxxxiii of Introd.)
- 5 In *L.J.* VII, 280 (see above) Stone stated that Col. Rugeley had come down a few days before saying that he commanded the forces of the county and requiring the command of the town and its forces from Stone by virtue of commissions from the Earl of Denbigh. The Staffs. Order Book (P. & R. 253–7) reveals that Rugeley was present at the Com. from 19/22-2-45 and did succeed in getting hold of Denbigh's own magazine in the town, on the understanding that he handed over to the Com.'s representative such powder in it as belonged to them. Much of the business of the Com. during these days concerned rents from the estates of delinquents. These would be considered to be 'the rents of Parl.', officially the delinquents estates were forfeit to that body, and Item 350 shows clearly that 162 was the cypher no. for Parl.

- 6 This paragraph and the succeeding one reveal beyond all doubt that the squabble as to who had had the lion's share in the capture of Shrewsbury – Mytton or Lt. Col. Reinking – was not primarily a matter of the wounded *amour-propre* of the two military commanders, but a weapon in the struggle between Mytton and the other members of the Salop Com. (backed by Brereton) for control of the Parliamentary war effort in the county. But they also – if taken together with the Com.'s letter to Brereton from Wem of 31-1-45 and the four pamphlet versions of the taking of Shrewsbury – reveal that the Com.'s thinking on ways and means of bye-passing Mytton was sometimes a jump ahead of Brereton's. (B.L.B 1; Thomason E 270(26), 271(2), 282(18), 284(10); *S.A.S.T.* 47, 1931–4 and 48, 1935–8; Farrow, 76–82, 132. Farrow and J.E. Auden, author of the *S.A.S.T.* articles, do not fully grasp Brereton's involvement in the dispute between Mytton and the other members of the Salop Committee.)

## 19

*Mr Goldsmith's' testimony touching Capt. Whitney's liberty of language against Sir W.B.*

26 [blank in MS ? Feb.<sup>2</sup>] 1644/5 London I, seeing Capt. Whitney<sup>3</sup> upon the Change [Exchange], saluting him and asking him of the affairs in Chesh., he answering that it was in a reasonable good condition but that a great want of pay was amongst the soldiers, I asked him where the fault was and what was become of London moneys. He answered the soldiers had but little pay. I made answer I did believe Sir. W.B. was a godly honest gentleman. He made answer 'as any was in hell'. For Col. Geo. Booth,<sup>4</sup> Col. John Booth,<sup>5</sup> Col. Mainwaring<sup>6</sup> and Col. Massey<sup>7</sup> and himself were come to complain of Sir W.B. and had procured a warrant from the Com. of Accounts to examine his accounts and all money received in London, Essex<sup>8</sup> etc. (D61)

## Notes

- 1 Unidentified; presumably a London merchant.
- 2 Although, at D 61, this item is placed among others dated towards the end of March, 1645, it seems more likely that the date here should be 26 February rather than 26 March. For the contents of 19 and 20 strongly suggest that they were written close together and, in 20, Col. John is said to be petitioning for some money to pay his men. The *Commons' Journals* reveal that on 12 March they ordered that his petition should be read and on 15 March they voted £1,000 towards the pay of Warrington garrison (*C.J.* IV, 76).
- 3 An officer of Col. Geo. Booth's regt. See 385 n.5.
- 4 Grandson and heir of old Sir Geo. Booth of Dunham Massey, Chesh. (27 n.1). B.1621; d.1684. Became Recruiter M.P. for Chesh.; ejected at Pride's Purge; strong opponent of military rule under the Protectorate; lead the Chesh. Rising, 1659, for the restoration of the Monarchy; made Lord Delamere on the Restoration; alarmed the gov. in his old age by his Whiggish tendencies and his reception of Monmouth on the latter's visit to Chesh. in 1682. (*D.N.B.*; *Orm.* I, lxx–vi, 526,

- 531; Morrill; *T.L.C.A.S.* 43, 1925, & 69, 1959; *P.P.*; *R.C.E.*; Malbon; *C.W.T.C.*; *C.W.T.L.*)
- 5 The youngest and only surviving son of old Sir Geo. Booth. Born somewhere about 1621, there was only about ten years difference in age between him and Geo. Booth the Younger. An able soldier, he played a notable part in the defence of Manchester, the capture of Preston and Warrington (of which he became gov.), the battles of Nantwich and Rowton Moor and the siege of Chester. Nevertheless he was suspected even during the First Civil War of royalist sympathies and during the Interregnum was deeply involved in royalist conspiracies. He played a major part in his nephew's revolt of 1659. He was knighted on the Restoration, purchased an estate at Woodford nr. Over and died in 1678. (*D.N.B.*; *Orm.* I, 525, II, 182; *C.W.T.L.*; *C.W.T.C.*; *T.L.C.A.S.*, 69, 1959; *R.C.E.*; Morrill.)
- 6 Henry Mainwaring of Kermincham nr. Sandbach, head of a collateral branch of the Mainwarings of Peover. Mystery surrounds the later stages of his Civil War career. He was the military leader of the parl. party in Chesh. in the first months of the war when Brereton was absent in Westminster and, even after Brereton's re-appearance in Jan. 1643, was prominent both as a dep.lt. and as an active colonel. Then on 7 May, 1644, when Brereton was back in Westminster after the battle of Nantwich, a parl. order removed him from his position as dep. lt. and all military commands for 'dis-service to the Parl. in many particulars'. That he commanded his regt after this, at Stockport on 25 May and Oswestry on 2 July may be put down to the chaos that was caused by Rupert's irruption into the north-west. But the few mentions of him in B.L.B. are odd. Although his regt is reduced to 160 men by April 1645, he is given as at the head of it in B.A.L. and Brereton, although complaining to the C. of B.K. that he could not get it to come to the Leaguer, still calls it Col. Mainwaring's regt (385; 527). Yet, although his officers are still mentioned as active in the field, he never is. No charges were ever preferred against him and Henry Newcome's *Autobiography* shows that during the Interregnum he was a respected figure and still known as Col. Mainwaring. (*Orm.* III, 80; Malbon; Morrill; Chetham Soc. O.S.26, *Autobiography of Hen. Newcome.*)
- 7 Wm. Massey of the Moss House, Audlem, lt. col. of Col. Geo. Booth's regt (see 385 n.5). Not to be confused with Col. Edw. Massey, gov. of Gloucs. Despite his connection with Col. Geo. Booth, Wm. Massey did not lose his commission and became col. of the regt. After the capture of Chester he was for a time its governor. (Malbon, Morrill.)
- 8 *C.J.* III for 26 March and 16 May, 1644, gives ordinances enabling Brereton and, in his absence, John Bradshaw and Wm. Steele to raise money for the relief of Chesh. by public subscription and from the estates of papists and delinquents *within 20 miles of the centre of London.*

[? H. Cockson]<sup>1</sup> to *Brereton*

[No date or place in MS;? late February or early March, 1645; London<sup>2</sup>] The young Colonel G[eorge] B[ooth], being at my Lord General's [Essex's] was bragging how he had maintained two regts himself with some tenants and that

Sir Wm. Brereton did not only deny him assistance, but did assess some of his tenants to pay other soldiers. And that Sir Wm. had turned off many brave and able commanders only that he might put in independents; that Sir Wm. himself was grown a strong independent ever since he was at London with his Lady<sup>3</sup>, who was a strong one, and that Sir Wm. had put out a very gallant man from being governor of a castle and put in an independent, who within a few days basely and cowardly delivered it up to the enemy.<sup>4</sup>

Col. Jo[hn] B[ooth] is moving for some money for his men. What effect it will take I know not. What Col. H[enry] M[ainwaring] doth I cannot learn much of his moving, but I am sure he is vexed and knows not what to do.

I will make all possible haste to come down. I stay but to reckon with the militia and to make up my account with them. I desire when you have received this you will burn it. I am confident the House will never call you home, except for a time and to go down again. Col. Holland<sup>5</sup> is here, as it seems sent for to answer some articles against him.

(D28)

#### Notes

- 1 As the letter shows that the writer was (i) well-known to Brereton, (ii) knowledgeable about other Chesh. parliamentarians, (iii) concerned with financial matters, (iv) about to travel from London to Chesh., it seems probable it was from Cockson. (See 350 n.1.)
- 2 See 19 n.2.
- 3 Brereton's 2nd wife Cicely, widow of Edw. Mytton of Weston-under-Lizard, Staffs. and dau. of Wm. Skeffington of Fisherwick, Staffs. The Skeffington family had lands in Warks. and Leics. as well as Staffs. Her elder brother Sir John (*q.v.*; M.P. for Newcastle-under-Lyme, 1626) was a royalist; her younger brother Sir Rich. (*q.v.*; M.P. for Tamworth 1626) a parliamentarian. The latter was on the Warks. Com. at Coventry and Brereton made full use of the relationship. Brereton's marriage to Cicely took place early in 1641 and few months later came the first accusation – from the royalist John Werden (*q.v.*) – that she was more puritanical than her husband. She was accused of causing the painted glass windows in the chapel at Weston to be destroyed. (*S.H.C. N.S. II*, 'Hist. of Weston-under-Lizard'; Add. MS 36914, f. 215. Morrill, 36 and n.4, thinks the church was Neston in the Wirral but, although the handwriting is so illegible that either Neston or Weston is possible, the absence of any known connection between Sir Wm. or his wife and Neston and Cicely's known and close connection with Weston make Weston the more probable.
- 4 The lack of exact dating, the number of garrisons in the area where Brereton operated which changed hands and the absence of knowledge of their commanders' particular brand of Puritanism (even when the identity is known) make it impossible to check this allegation.
- 5 Rich. Holland of Denton and Heaton; a cousin of Brereton's whose mother was a Holland. He had raised a regt from Salford Hundred and was on the Lancs. Com. He was accused of lukewarmness and even cowardice, partic. by Col. Rosworm, the foreign engineer serving with the Lancs. forces. (*C.W.T.L.; Discourse; Broxap; Bern. Holland, The Lancs. Hollands.*)

*Sir Jas. Harrington<sup>1</sup> to Brereton*

1-3-44/5 London. According to your desire I have delivered to the gentleman you employed three movable breastworks, which are all I ever made and but to you would not have parted with them. They cost me about £12, which sum I have received of the gentleman. Should you approve them and desire a greater number, I hope to agree with him that made them for £3 apiece. These three are fitted to storm any place or enter any breach and will shelter from the enemy's shot 18 musketeers who, wheeling off to right or left, can charge and discharge in an orderly manner and, on occasion, six can discharge at once. These also will be of use to barricade suddenly any bridge, lane or narrow pass. But then it will be necessary you add what formerly I had: three palisadoes of an elne [ell = 45"] long with pikes against the mid-rail of each breastwork, the palisadoes to be fixed in a piece of timber equal in bigness and length to the mid-rail by hinges or staples, which can be let down for carriage in wagons or raised breast-high for service against horse. Four-score of these will front the musketeers of a regt of 1,000 foot, the pikes needing none of them before them. If these were used, we would need no pikes at all, which would add a third to the strength of an army.

These are of use for those besieged, for after a breach is made, they can be used to make forward works. They can secure an army in their quarters in the field after the manner of the Roman entrenchments, which is of such safety and advantage to an army that it can fight when it pleases. For these last uses there should be little pikes of four inches long fixed upon the top of the upper rail to prevent the enemy mounting over. Out of service 30 can be carried in one wagon and in service one man can march with one of them before him ascending any mountain or narrow pass where other carriage cannot pass. Carried backward, they will be but half the weight.

(D13)

#### Note

- 1 It seems probable that this was Sir Jas. Harrington of Ridlington, Rutland, cousin of the famous Jas. Harrington, the author of *Oceana*. Sir Jas. commanded the London Brigade in the Newbury campaign of 1644 and gave evidence to the C. of B.K. against Manchester's conduct in it. Later he became Recruiter M.P. for Rutland. His viewpoint and career from 1646-9 closely resembled Brereton's. He was a moderate independent, writing a pamphlet - *Noah's Dove* - which advocated a union between presbyterians and independents. He supported the Army in 1647-8, was nominated for the Commission to try the King, did not sign the death warrant, but accepted a seat on the 1649 Council of State. (389 and notes 1 and 3; *V.C.H. Rutland* II, 91-3; *P.P.*; *C.S.P.D.*; Yule, 62, 101; *D.N.B.* under his cousin James. Yule has Kidlington and Orm. I, 552, has Fidlington instead of Ridlington; Yule partly confuses him with John Harrington, Recruiter M.P. for Somerset.)

*Provision received by John Baylifre*

1-3-44/5

4 flitches and a half of bacon

1 pot of butter

24 cheeses

7 pieces of beef

16 loaves of bread

10 bushells of oats

20 half pikes [i.e. 12 as against 18 ft]

(D1)

*Col. Edw. Massey to Brereton*

3-3-44/5 Gloucester. Some four days past I wrote unto Sir John Price<sup>1</sup> to advertise you of Prince Rupert's march towards you with all the force he could make on the Oxon. side. I drew out upon Wednesday facing that part of nine regts drawn from Cirencester, Ferford [Fairford], Heyworth [Highworth] and Lechlade by and under Lord Ashby [Sir Jacob Astley], kept them upon the downs and retarded their march for two or three days, they being now passed Worcester this morning. [Blank in MS] and [Blank in MS] some horse to relieve my sleade<sup>2</sup> and wearied troops, with which I shall not lie idle or be wanting in that way which may be most likely to cause a diversion [? diversion]. The army parted and marched in two bodies, the one with Prince Rupert – about 2,000 horse and foot – forded the Avon yesterday three or four miles above Evishalon [Evesham]. The other body – about 1,500 – horse and foot marched towards Banbury or rather inclining towards Warwick from Stow-on-the-Wold, where both bodies parted. The last body was commanded by Lord Northampton and Sir Marmaduke Langdale and doubtless are resolved to do what spoil they can. You may please to fit your army for their entertainment and coming<sup>3</sup>.

P.S. I beseech you hasten the bearer and let me know by what way or means I may be of most assistance unto you.

(D28)

#### Notes

- 1 Of Newton, M.P. for Montgomeryshire. Originally a royalist, he sat in the Oxford Parl., but changed sides after the battle of Montgomery in September 1644. During the northward march of the King's armies in May, 1645, he changed back again, but nevertheless succeeded in re-appearing as the county's M.P. in the 1st Protectorate Parl. of 1654. (*D.W.B.*; Dodd; *Montgom. Coll.* LVII, Pt. 2, 1962.)
- 2 The exact meaning of this word has not been discovered, although one obscure use of *sleade*, to *slide* or *carry in a sledge* (a dialect word used in Chesh. from which

Massey came) was to *dislocate*. The general sense of his troops being exhausted and dis-orientated is obvious.

3 For noted royalists see *D.N.B.*; Newman.

## 24

*John Swinfen' to Brereton*

[Marginal note, Brereton's writing: 'Reasons why we should not fight, reasons why we should fight, handsomely discussed'.]

4-3-44/45 London. It was a most remarkable providence that upon the same day the treaty [the Uxbridge negotiations] ended it pleased God to give a testimony to the Parl.'s armies in giving them that strong hold [Shrewsbury] of which G. Gleave<sup>2</sup> brought the first intelligence. That mercy was not more evident in itself than in the time it was vouchsafed, having set the enemy many degrees back in his hopes which were therein of late upon our distractions.

I wish I could tell you that this manifestation of divine providence to carry on the work did make us more unanimous to be subservient thereunto. The Prince draws nigh and our armies lie yet in a chaos, not likely speedily to be formed. The ordinance of Sir Tho. Fairfax's army is almost all that is yet visible of it. It is like to be very long before the colonels be agreed upon and fitted with officers and those officers with companies, arms and money. His Excellency's [Essex's] horse are not yet reduced to order. Lt. Gen. Cromwell and Sir Wm. Waller are both gone westwards but part of their work is done. This day letters to the House certify that our soldiers in Melcombe Regis beat the King's party out of [?] Conough,<sup>3</sup> killed 200 of them and repossessed themselves of the town and works.

The only considerable body of the Parl.'s is now under your command, and expectations here are great what will become of your great adversary, it being a question whether the reasons for fighting or not fighting or your two armies be more equally matched. These seem to fight against fighting except upon extraordinary advantage.

- 1 To fight now is to put all that to hazard which is in a safe condition so long as that army with you is kept in the field.
- 2 The enemy now wanting Salop is likely to be straitened of provision in short time.
- 3 That army under your command is the strength of all those parts and, if you should receive a defeat, it would shake the free hold, not only of our new possession, but of our other garrisons and the enemy would soon swell into a formidable bigness.

On the other hand these reasons seem to enforce a present engagement.

- 1 Your army consists of forces collected from several garrisons and will not long be held together. This party of Langdale's gone into the north will call home the Yorks. horse and you may [MS has 'little'] imagine what

- actions, endeavours and uses there will be to call back Col. Ashton's regiment. All Lancs. will be lost else. And if any one considerable party leave you, the rest will not stay but leave you and that country in a desperate condition to the power of the enemy.
- 2 You have all the strength you can expect, the enemy everyday gaineth strength and reputation.
  - 3 A blow given this [royalist] army would settle the peace of all those parts, their hopes of recruit[ing] being cut off.
  - 4 You, being more in horse and wanting the sea which victuals the enemy, will sooner want provisions and in short time will be forced to quit that ground which present force cannot gain from you.
  - 5 It is conceived here that you have two horses for one of the enemy and may therefore chose advantage and refuse disadvantages for a battle as you please without hazard, this being always the advantage of him that is master of the field in horse. And though it would not be safe to hazard your foot, yet it is expected by all to hear of some action with your horse.

I have forborne of late to give you any account of our proceedings, because little hath been done until this last week when our evidence hath been taken against Col. Ch[adwick]<sup>4</sup> by a sub-committee of the C. of B.K. He hath desired a time for his answer which is not yet fixed. I am confident he will at last be cashiered. The articles against us sleep and I have not heard anything of the examinations taken by Sir [*sic*; Col.] Edward Leigh.<sup>5</sup> We have presented a petition to the Commons complaining of the proceedings against us and desiring to be heard by a committee of the House. This petition was ordered to be debated upon Thursday last but greater business would not admit. Col. Rug[eley] sees he cannot prevail here and therefore is gone to see what disturbances he can make or what parties he can raise in the country. But I hope that as far as your greater engagements permit you will prevent this. Their main design was to get Capt. Stone up and they have frightened as many as they could to appear in their justification. I suppose you have heard what Mr Richards<sup>6</sup> employment and endeavours have been. It was strange to us they should prevail for an order to attach Captain Stone for contempt for not appearing formerly, when those that did had nothing said to them. We are not admitted to any of their proceedings, but we have procured an order from the Lords to respite Captain Stone's coming for 30 days, which expires on March 18. We shall endeavour to provide against that time. Ould Brian came up to have procured a sergeant-at-arms for him. Would you write to the C. of B.K. to move the Lords that Capt. Stone need not come up until some crime be proved against him. Capt. Stone fears that if Col. Rugeley prevails to get his forces returned to him, he will raise mutinies in the town. I hope we shall have an order to send for him back.

Mr Foxall<sup>7</sup> and the rest set forth tomorrow morning. Many objections were raised against giving power to the Com. of Salop to choose their governor: that all committees would expect the like power and that the Com. would

differ about it and it would be the cause of contention amongst them. Mr A[shurst] and others answered these objections and an order passed the House empowering the committee to nominate a governor. Yet so many are displeas'd that nothing will be left undone to trouble this settlement. Therefore it doth much concern the Com., both for the quiet of the county and the justification of their friends here, to place the government so that it may not confirm the objections of those that are displeas'd. If there should be any strong contention amongst them (which I cannot suspect) it would be better for them to keep the government in the whole Com. than nominate anyone. But if they unanimously agree to use the power given them to nominate one, as their joint consent seems to imply they will, then it were better for them to chose one to be governor. For the order is that they shall nominate one and, as long as there is no one nominated, there will be room for their endeavours that will contend for it. But, if one be nominated by them and confirmed by the House, it would put an end to all stirrings. What [ever] they do, it concerns them to send up their votes to the House and the names of those that agree to it. I wish they may agree upon one that the town may most easily like of.

(D13)

#### Notes

- 1 Of Weeford 5 miles w. of Tamworth, Staffs. A very important supporter and contact man for Brereton. Frequently up in London and, although primarily concerned with Staffs. affairs, prepared – as this item shows – to give intelligence and advice on more general matters. (Brereton's marginal entry seems to hint, perhaps, that he had gone too far here, considering his lack of military experience.) With Brereton's backing he became Recruiter M.P. for Stafford and, although secluded at Pride's Purge, from then on until his death in 1694, he was rarely out of Parl. From an obscure beginning he became an invaluable member of the nascent Whig Party and, in Pepys's phrase, 'the great Mr Swinfen, the Parl. man'. (*D.N.B.*; *B. & P.*; *P.P.*; *P.&R.*; *S.H.C.* 1920–2).
- 2 Geo. Gleave. Referred to by C. of B.K. as 'Sir Wm. Brereton's messenger' (*C.S.P.D.* 1644–5, 478), but employed by the C. of B.K. to take their messages into the midlands and N.W. and even to the Scots in Yorks.  
There was a family of minor gentry of the name of Gleave living at High Legh near Knutsford, their names appearing frequently as witnesses to depositions (*Earw.* II).
- 3 Melcombe Regis, the lower part of Weymouth, was held by the parliamentarians when the royalists took the rest on 9-2-45. From it they resisted a further attack on 28-2-45 and then retook the whole town. Conough is perhaps a mis-spelling of the name of one of the forts involved, although in contemporary accounts the 'Church' or 'Chappell' forts are the names actually given for those first re-taken. (*K.W.* 418, 422; *Life & Letters of Sir Lewis Dyve* ed. H.G. Tibbutt, 58–61.)
- 4 Lewis Chadwick of Mavesyn Ridware 10 miles s.e. of Stafford. A friend of Rugeley's and with him played a prominent part in the struggle to win Staffs. for the Parl. in 1643. Became a member of the Staffs. Com. & gov. of Stafford. But

- also became very pro-Denbigh and anti-Brereton and so was removed from his governship and for a time imprisoned in Brereton's *coup d'etat* of Dec. 1644. The charges against him here referred to were eventually dropped. He attended the Uxbridge negotiations early in 1645. (P. & R.; *S.H.C.* V(2), 73.)
- 5 Of Shamwell, Leics. & Rushall Hall 7 miles e. Wolverhampton; Magdalen Hall Oxon. (M.A.) and Middle Temple. A man of some learning, who had lived abroad, and already an author. On Staffs. Com; supported Denbigh in 1644 and attended the Westminster Assembly. Became Recruiter M.P. for Stafford in Oct. 1645, defeating Brereton's candidate, Sir Rich. Skeffington (825, 826). On his ejection at Pride's Purge he abandoned politics for authorship and from then on until his death in 1671 published books on religion, philology and topography. For Brereton's view of him, see n.2 to 423. (*D.N.B.*; P. & R.; *S.H.C.* 1920-2, 78-82; B. & P. App. 3.)
  - 6 Thos. Richards, a lawyer from Walshall. Had been solicitor to Ld. Dudley and Under-sheriff of Staffs. in pre-war days. Provost Marshall for Stafford and Eccleshall 1643-4. Had presumably been removed in Dec. 1644, as anti-Brereton and there are no refs. to him in the Minute Book of the Staffs. Com. after Nov. 1644. For more on his activities as referred to in this item see 151 n.1. He returned to Walsall after the war and became a town councillor in 1647 and mayor in 1649. (P. & R.; information from Mr John Sutton.)
  - 7 Wm., timber merchant and burgess of Stafford. Raised foot coy from Stafford townsmen in 1643. Strong Brereton supporter. His coy. played a somewhat dubious part in the Stafford election of Oct. 1645. Mayor 1646-7. (B. & P. App. 3; P. & R.; information from Mr John Sutton.)

*The Demands of the Countrymen Risen for their own Defence against Hereford 9-3-45*

6-3-44/5 At a meeting of some of the sufficient and best able men in each parish within Thomas Carlis' division it was agreed upon as followeth: We whose names are first underwritten in the Hundred of Broxash who have ventured and do still intend to hazard with you and the next underwritten our lives and estates for the true protestant religion, his Majesty's person, our own estates and privileges, do conceive and think it fit that all you in the parish of Boddingham [Bodenham], whose names are next underwritten should express yourselves by putting and subscribing your hands in the margent just over against every man's name. Whereby we may be assured that you will join with us in defending yourselves and us against all papists and other oppressions by way of excise, fetching in provision into their garrisons, forcibly impressing of us 600 men at a time as often as they shall please, as by the last commission they have obtained power to do, and by keeping yourselves to be [sic] led away by papists and other oppressions [sic] out of our own country, and to defend ourselves from all insolencies and violences whatsoever offered us or our estates at home. And we would desire you that you would from time to time hereafter be contented to be drawn together as

often as needs shall require and be disciplined by such of us as are first under-written as we shall think fittest for our securities. And if any refractory person refuse to be commanded in an orderly way, then that such a person be censured with such a moderate and necessary censure as the major part of us under-written shall inflict. Whereby there may be no confusion amongst us nor disorderly mutinies but a continual union. And herein we have given our assents the day and year above written.

Thomas Carlisse [Webb: Carelesse]<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Turner

William Mooton [Webb: Wooton]

Thomas Mooton [Webb: Wooton]

Renuald Ensall

John Hill

John Spencer

Rich. Lorince

John Marshall

Alex. Laurence

Rich. Wallwen – [Webb: Walwyn]

Thomas Laurence

Edw. Wadkines

John Parsons

Rog. Hill

Rich. Carradine

Tho. Hodgittes

John Ranford

John Edwards

Tho. Baker

John Winton

Wm. Greene

John Shrafe

Henry Haywood

John Mason

Thomas Spencer

(D61)

Note

- 1 The names of Carelesse, Wootton, Walwyn and Laurence all occur in the Declaration of Col. Scudamore, governor of Hereford (Webb, II App. XX), as ringleaders deserving condign punishment.

*Leven to Brereton*

10-3-44/5 'Hauton near Darlington' [Dalton-on-Tees].<sup>1</sup> I have received your

letter showing me the conjunction of Prince Rupert's forces with General Gerard's.<sup>2</sup> I can return no answer but that it is impossible for our Scotch army to move until it be supplied with necessary provision. Yesterday I had a meeting with Lord Fairfax at Northallerton where I remonstrated the necessity and condition of our army and showed that all the assistance we could possibly make was that, if his Lordship would assist you with his foot, we should be ready to supply their duty in Yorks.  
(D17)

## Note

- 1 Dalton seems the most likely place, as near here a great medieval bridge crossed the Tees carrying the main road north from Northallerton, where Leven had met Lord Fairfax the previous day. (*V.C.H. North Riding* I p.163).

## 27

*Sir Geo. Booth's<sup>1</sup> Pass for Mistress Anne Tatton*

'To all Colonels, Captains, Officers and Soldiers for the King and Parliament' 10-3-45 Dunham [Massey] For as much as my cousin, Mistress Anne Tatton, wife of Robert Tatton of Whittingshaw [Wythenshawe]<sup>2</sup> Esq., had occasion and liberty to go to Chester to her husband and is now desirous to return to Withingshaw to her little children with whom she desires to live, they for the present being left destitute of help and comfort from father or mother, and because I understand Sir Wm. Brereton hath promised not to hinder her return, these are to will and require you to permit this bearer, Wm. Tomlinson, and his man with their horses to pass to Chester for the bringing back of Mistress Tatton to Withinshaw and Mistress Mary, the daughter of Mr Dutton. And likewise to permit Mistress Elizabeth Massey, daughter of Sir Wm. Massey<sup>3</sup> with her man and horse, to come in their company to Dunham, if she be in readiness when Mistress Tatton sets forward.  
(D93)

## Notes

- 1 Bt. of Dunham Massey, Chesh. 1566-1652; squire since 1579. Head of the Chesh. bench since the 1650s, much respected in the county and, until 1642, regarded as partic. trustworthy by the govt. He led the movement which brought about the Cheshire Remonstrance in the summer of 1642; did not, like many of his brother J.P.s, submit to the King when he came to Chester in September 1642 and, after the break-down of the Peace of Bunbury in January 1643, joined the Parl. Although there is no definite information as to the nature of his religious beliefs, it seems probable that he was a presbyterian and that this was an additional reason for the division between him and Brereton, whose first wife Susanna, was Sir Geo's daughter. (See 302, 3.) However this may be, B.L.B. provides plentiful evidence that Sir Geo., his son and grandson were the chief promoters of opposition to Brereton among the dep. lts., in the county of Chesh. in general and up in London.

(Orm. I, 525; Morrill; *T.L.C.A.S.* 42, 1925, & 69, 1959; Malbon; *C.W.T.C.*; *C.W.T.L.*)

- 2 Robt. Tatton of Wythenshawe (then and until this century in Chesh.) held his hall for the King until February 1644 and was subsequently one of the defenders of Chester and sheriff of the county, 1644–5. His wife Anne was a dau. of Wm. Brereton of Ashley nr. Dunham Massey. (Orm. III, 608–10; Malbon, 123; *C.W.T.C.*)
- 3 Mary Dutton has not been identified. Sir Wm. Massey was of Puddington, Wirral. His wife was a Herbert of Red (Powys) Castle, Montgom.; Elizabeth later married into the Mortes of Preston. All these families were strongly recusant. (Orm. II, 561.)

28

*C. of B.K. to Brereton [C.S.P.D. 1644-5, 341]*

11-3-44/5 Derby Ho. On information that Rupert is marching towards you and doubting also that Langdale's forces may also [not] draw towards you, we have ordered forces from 144 [Ld. Essex], 136 [Ld. Manchester] and 146 [Ld. Fairfax] to march to your assistance. The rendezvous for some of them is to be at 118 [Bedford] and we desire you to keep constant intelligence with those that come to 118 and with those of 146 and Col. Rossiter,<sup>2</sup> that they may the better watch the enemy's motions and know the best and safest way to march to you. In case the enemy grow upon you before their coming up, we desire you to put yourself in a posture of safety.

Saye and Sele: Loudoun.

[Footnote] This letter was sent in character.

(D15)

Notes

- 1 Items 40, 83, 95 show that the forces of 144 and 136 were those which had been under the command of Essex and of Manchester, that they were to be joined together under Maj. Gen. Crawford and that the rendezvous was to be at Bedford. It is, of course, not certain which of the two ex-generals is 144 and which 136. That the 146 of this item and 40 is Ld. Fairfax is made certain by his being linked with the other northern forces of Col. Rossiter.
- 2 Edw. of Somerby, Lincs. C.-in-C. Lincs. horse. In May, despite sharp defeat by Langdale at Melton Mowbray in Feb., made c.-in-c. Lincs. foot also. In Sept. 1643 Lincs. had officially been brought into the Eastern Assoc. Yet Rossiter did not join them on their march to York and was not at Marston Moor. When the Eastern Assoc. was disbanded Rossiter's regt of horse was listed among the New Model regts and with 400 of his horse he did fight under Cromwell on the right wing at Naseby. But neither he nor any of his men followed the new Model to the south-west. Indeed for most of 1644–6 they were deployed in the East Midlands watching and trying to contain the strong and active royalist garrison of Newark. There is little doubt that this is the reason for their detachment from the larger organisations to which they were supposed to belong. (*Eastern Assoc.*; Woolrych;

A.C. Wood, *Notts in the Civil War* and 'Col. Edw. Rossiter' in *Lincs. Arch. and Arch. Soc.* 41, 1932.)

29

*O. St. John to Brereton*

11-3-44/5 I think the C. of B.K. will let you know what they have done for the addition of forces to yours. They have ordered about 1,800 horse and dragoons under Maj. Gen. Crawford<sup>1</sup> to march unto you and, if Langdale marches to join Rupert, they have ordered the Yorks. horse, Col. Rossiter and some others to follow him. Today the Commons recommended to this Com. to treat with the Scots Commissioners about the speedy dispatch of the Scots army into the parts about Chester. We shall likewise endeavour the procuring of £3,000 that some more Lancs. foot may be added to your forces. We are now upon the recruiting of our new army under Sir Thos. Fairfax. (D16)

## Note

- 1 Laurence. A Scots professional soldier who had served in the Danish and Swedish armies and in Ireland. Maj. Gen. Eastern Assoc. A strong presbyterian; supported Manchester against Cromwell. After dissolution of the Eastern Assoc. became gov. Aylesbury. Killed in attack on Hereford Aug. 1645. (*D.N.B.*; *Eastern Assoc.*; *Marston Moor*; Woolrych.)

30

*O. St. John to Brereton*

11-3-44/5 Since writing I have spoken with the Lord Chancellor of Scotland [Loudoun] that presently [i.e. immediately] a good party of horse and foot be sent of the Scots forces in regard that the march of the foot may be so long time as that your opportunity may be lost. I have made him sensible of the great consequence thereof and he hath promised me to write away immediately to Lord Leven. (D16)

31

*Ld. Fairfax to Cols. Thornhaugh<sup>1</sup> and Rossiter*

11-3-44/5 York. On Sunday last I met Lord Leven at Northallerton to importune him for the speedy sending of all or part of his army this way, and I am now returned not altogether without hope of their marching. If Langdale be either gone towards Oxford or Chester I shall desire you to send what part of your forces you can possibly spare (joining them with 1,000 of mine own that are now with you) to the assistance of Sir Wm. Brereton whose great necessity you will better understand by the copy of this letter I send enclosed

[not in B.L.B.] I am confident your marching hither will be a great inducement to the Scots to follow. I desire one of you to take charge of the horse I send together with your own or, in case you do not hold this so convenient, to signify to Col. Bethell<sup>2</sup> that it is my pleasure he command that party for the speedy assistance of Sir Wm. Brereton, to whom I have already sent two regts<sup>3</sup> of horse. I have commanded Col. Copley<sup>4</sup> to command the rest of my horse that stay behind, who I hope will be very careful to watch all opportunity for the service of your country.  
(D17)

Notes

- 1 Francis, c.-in-c. Notts. horse. From an influential and strongly puritan family of Fenton nr. East Retford. On Notts. Com, where supported Col. Hutchinson. Co-operated frequently with Col. Rossiter. Recruiter M.P. East Retford. By all accounts (even Lucy Hutchinson's!) a dashing and attractive character. Led cavalry charges at Gainsborough, Newark and Rowton Moor, twice wounded; killed aged 30 at the battle of Preston 1648, pursuing the Scots throughout the night on the road to Warrington. (A.C. Wood, *Notts in the Civil War; Hutchinson; Woolrych.*)
- 2 Hugh of Rise in Holderness, Yorks. (Inf, from Dr Cliffe.)
- 3 The Arabic numeral here is unclear, having been altered, but it appears to have been a 3 and then changed to a 2. The evidence of 56 and the subsequent mentions of only Ld. Fairfax's and Constable's regts. support the belief that, apart from the brief appearance of Copley and his men, there were no more than two Yorks. regts under Brereton's command.
- 4 Christopher of Wadsworth nr. Doncaster (Cliffe).

32

*Ld. Fairfax to Brereton*

11-3-44/5 York. On the receipt of your letter to Lord Leven [not in B.L.B.] I speedily sent to Cols. Thornhaugh and Rossiter to importune their assistance. [copy enclosed 31.] I earnestly desire you will not engage (unless upon great advantage) until some succour comes to you, which I hope will be speedily. My own defects at this time will not permit me to supply your necessity out of my own forces.

I have sent this gentleman – Mr Waterhouse – to let me know from time to time the movements of the enemy's army and whatever else may concern us here in the welfare of your army; to whom I entreat you communicate intelligence from thence or parts near unto you as occasion shall be offered.  
(D17)

33

*Lord Saye and Sele to Brereton*

12-3-44/5 I can but write two words lest the messenger be too late. That caution in the letter written to you [from C. of B.K.; 28] is only in case you

see the enemy too strong for you. Wherein you will use your wisdom [to take] no unnecessary [action] till you be more strengthened. It doth no otherways prohibit you to take any advantage you shall see afforded unto you. I hope that God, in whom you trust and that hath so often shewed himself with you, will now assist you.

(D16)

*John Bradshaw*<sup>1</sup> to Brereton

12-3-44/5 [London] I have been unwilling of late to write, although you have favoured me with your lines. Truth is our business is not so well managed here as we could wish. We hope well of amendment. The Lords have not yet perfected Sir Thos. Fairfax's list. Sir Wm. Waller and Col. Cromwell are abroad towards the west, whence we expect good tidings. The Committee here have concluded upon the way to raise £80,000 speedily for the advance of Sir Thos. Were we true to ourselves all would be well quickly.

Letters from Lincoln yesterday assure us that most of Langdale's forces (if not himself) are in Newark and have had some brush from Rossiter, who is betwixt that and the south with 5-6,000 in a body and will wait his motions so Sir Edw. Ason<sup>2</sup> [Ayscough] writes. So as you will not be troubled with him. I perceive by Lord Wharton yesterday that your actions are looked upon with much contentment and that he and some others are most willing to assist you with men, money or both. They take full notice of your winter war to your high honour and their great satisfaction. You have such here as daily mind your condition whom help may be expected from. I shall not be wanting to put on what I may.

[P.S.] I hope we shall use means to send Major Saunders<sup>3</sup> quickly to you.  
(D16)

#### Notes

- 1 Son to Henry Bradshaw of Marple nr. Stockport, Chesh. and younger brother to Maj. Henry (*q.v.*). A provincial lawyer until the war, then up in London as Judge of the Sheriff's Court, counsel in important state trials and member of the Sequestrations Com. at Goldsmiths' Hall. After the war, as President of the Court which tried and condemned Charles I and Lord President of the Council of State under the Rump, his career became part of national history. What is interesting in B.L.B. is the extent to which he was a Brereton supporter in London. There is little doubt that this was an important factor in his future rise to fame. In 1647 a legal opponent called him, 'creature to Sir Wm. Brereton'. (*D.N.B.*; *T.C.I.*; Morrill; Morrill and Dore 'Allegiance of the Cheshire Gentry', App. III, *T.L.C.A.S.* 77, 1967.)
- 2 As this news came from Lincs. and concerned Lincs. forces, a very probable informant would have been Sir Edw. Ayscough, one of the county's M.P.s. There

were many spellings of his name and these included *Ascu*, which a copyist could easily have mis-read as *Ason*.

- 3 For this officer (also mentioned at 80, 122, 539), an important figure in the relations between Gell and Brereton, see App. IV ii.

*Ld. Inchiquin'* to Brereton

12-3-44/5 Cork. A small barque called the *Patrick*, John Little Master, laden with cheese, was lately taken at sea by Capt. Plunket's ship and brought into Kinsale harbour where, upon examination, it was found that the goods aboard did appertain to yourself and some others in these [? those] parts and at London in the service of King and Parl. Upon which order was given for the discharge of the barque and goods. But the unparalleled and extreme want and necessity wherein the protestant forces in this province do at this present stand and the aptness of that sort of provision for our relief did enforce me to importune the master that he would leave these goods with us upon the public faith. This I found him something inclinable to do rather than to hazard them upon a second adventure to sea, especially upon this part of the coast where are several Irish, Dunkirk and Flemish vessels roving up and down. How [ever] great our wants had been I should have been far from pressing him any further than I found his own propensity lead him. He, therefore, accounting it the safest course to return back in company of a ship of some force which opportunely is going that way, hath landed his cargazone of cheese in the port of Kinsale and hath accepted bills of exchange charged upon the Parl. for the same. But, being unwilling to put any price upon the goods, he hath only received a bill of the contents of what he delivered and hath accepted some wines and other goods in part payment, whereby something may be in *specie* to advance moneys for payment of freight and other necessary charges at his return without putting you or his freights to further expense. This, by a note under his hand, a duplicate whereof is remaining with me, appeareth.

Now that I have set forth unto you the necessity of this act – [argument that it had prevented the Parl. losing Cork] – I shall be confidently hopeful that you, out of tender consideration of our distress, will not take any offence at the delivery of these goods for our so seasonable relief. More especially as I hereby promise, in case your tickets to the Parl. are not paid (which I have no reason to doubt; several Plymouth men and others who trusted us on like terms being already satisfied), that I will out of my own entertainment give contentment for your goods or so much of them as shall not be answered for by the Parl. at the rate of 30s per 100, which is 2s per 100 more than the master and company sold for at Kinsale. I do further engage myself and my honour that in case this or any other vessel or merchant of these [i.e. *your*] parts shall have recourse with provisions or other commodities to trade with

these [parts], I shall not suffer the least pennyworth to be taken up on any pretence whatsoever without ready money or valuable commodity or other real contentment given the proprietor or his agent or factor.

Sir, I have heard so noble a mention of your gallancey and worth . . . etc., etc.

(D40)

Note

- 1 The circumstances which produced Items 35–7 require some explanation. Although an Irish chieftain, Murrough O'Brien, Ld. Inchiquin, had been brought up as a protestant (there had been intermarriage between the O'Briens and the main line of the Breretons). As a result he himself married the daughter of Wm. St. Leger, Lord President of Munster and, not only did not support the Confederate rebellion of 1641, but was actively engaged in suppressing it. By the autumn of 1644 a number of events – The Cessation, the failure to make him President of Munster on his father-in-law's death, Marston Moor, the growing power of the parliamentary navy in the Irish seas – weakened his loyalty to Charles and he went over to the Parl. His reliance on their support and supplies in a country otherwise largely controlled by the Confederates explains his elaborate apologies and protestations over the diversion of a parcel of cheeses from their original destination, conduct that contrasts oddly with his earlier devastations in the surrounding countryside which earned him the name of 'Murrough of the Burnings'. By the time of the Second Civil War he had gone back to the royalist side; later still he returned to the faith of his fathers. Carte, probably echoing Ormonde, says of him: 'No man was more averse to the measures of the Parl. of England . . . but he had an unsettled mind, a vast ambition and . . . the strength of his passions over-ruled his judgement and his principles of acting' (I, 510). (*D.N.B.*; *K.W.*; Carte; Gilbert, *Contemp. Hist.*; *Hist. of Confed.*)

*Inchiquin to the Speaker*

13-3-44/5 Cork. [A briefer account of the taking of the *Patrick* than in 35, omitting:–

apologies and compliments to Brereton and promise to pay him for his cheeses should Parl. fail to do so;

adding:–

(i) that the commandeering of the cheeses was necessary because 'the provisions designed for our relief by the honourable House have not overtaken us; (ii) that the full quantity of 'sound and merchantable cheese' received was 53,207 lbs.; (iii) that 'ten tunne of Bordeaux wine obtained for Capt. Plunket on the public faith' was given the Master in part payment.]

(D39)

*The whole number and weight of Cheese landed at Kinsale March 4th (1644(5))*

## Cheeses

	cwt	qutrs	lbs
T.B. <sup>2</sup> 2334	252	1	8
W.B. 1374	139	3	3
P.B. 0595	069	0	7
W.H. 0200	021	0	7
Without mark 0380	044	0	10
More broken cheese	500	3	0

## A note of Cheese sent by Owner Little to London

Imprimis: bought by Peter Venables		cwts
One parcell of 137 Cheeses weight		13
One parcell of 133 Cheeses weight		14
One parcell of 133 Cheeses weight		10
One parcell of 245 <sup>3</sup> Cheeses weight		28
One parcell of 493 Cheeses weight	44	
The number of 1141 Cheeses weight		109
which makes 5 tons and 9 hundredweight		
All marked W.B.		

Then there is more of mine own Cheese

Received from Mr Brereton<sup>4</sup>

W.B. Old Cheese in number - 201

New Cheese in number - 184

Received of John Bulkely<sup>5</sup> old cheese - 110

495

H.W. More delivered to Owner Little (as he may well remember) at Tranmole [Tranmere] in Wyrehall [Wirral] about beginning of November 1644 which were faire choice cheeses 084.

So that the known weight bought by Mr Venables (for which and for the carriages and charges about the same is to receive the money) the Bill of Exchange is five tons and nine hundred weight; in number \_\_\_\_\_ 1141

And of my own Cheese delivered at Tranmole as aforesaid [interpolated in Brereton's handwriting] which were many of them large ones and choice ones made at Handforth \_\_\_\_\_ 0579

the whole number \_\_\_\_\_ 1720

[in Brereton's writing]

May 1: Mr Martin and John Brereton compared their account about the cheese and did concur.

Bought by Peter Venables<sup>6</sup> five tons and nine hundredweight: From John Brereton Handforth two tons and four hundredweight of choice and rich cheeses intended to give my friends. John Buckley from Eccleshall about 110 cheeses:

choice Cheeses from Handforth

Delivered to Owner Little from Tranmole 84 fair Cheeses

(D41)

Notes

- 1 Dating. Brereton's postscript to this item, which mentions a date of 1 May, must have been entered after the D Letter Book had been closed, for otherwise the last entry in it is of 20-4-45 and this overlaps by over a week with the beginning of regular entries in the A Letter Book. It seems probable that the entry would be compiled as soon as Inchiquin's letter had been received and the people concerned – John Brereton, Venables, Martin – contacted. From the items near it in the text this would seem to be about 25 March. But, because this date is doubtful and there are no other items linked to it, it has been thought most convenient to enter it immediately after the two Inchiquin letters.
- 2 The markings given for the cheese are here printed as separate initials but in the MS they are in monogrammatic form. W.B. is certainly for Brereton, P.V. probably for Peter Venables and T.B. perhaps for Bulkeley or Buckley, although his Christian name appears to have been John. The names represented by W.H. and H.W. remain unidentified.
- 3 The text has 125 but 245 is required to make the total of cheeses 1141.
- 4 This is almost certainly the John Brereton of Handforth gent. who appears in the documents quoted by Earwaker, but whose exact relationship to Sir Wm. Earwaker could not determine. Actually a contemporary, John Werden, makes a reference to him as 'uncle to Sir W.B.' (Add. MS36914, f. 210). But, as Sir William's father had no brothers who survived him, it seems more likely that John Brereton was his cousin once removed i.e. that he was grandson to Sir Urian Brereton, founder of the Handforth line, by his second wife, while Sir William was a great-grandson of his first marriage. John's son, also John, was the Puritan clergyman whom Sir William put into the living of Wilmslow in 1646 in place of a royalist. Morrill (168) confuses the father with the son. (Earw. I, 28, 29, 233, 431, for the father; other refs. are to the son; Morrill; A.G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*.)
- 5 Probably John Buckley of Stanlow, Salop, who appears in P. & R. (135, 151) as High Constable of the Staffs. Hundred of Totmanslow for a brief period in 1644. Stanlow is only just over the border from Staffs. and some eight miles from Brereton's manor of Weston. From this entry it looks as if he was part of Brereton's very personal set-up in the garrison at Eccleshall.
- 6 Probably of Lostock Gralam (C.C.R.O: Arderne MSS DAR I, 56).

[The first half of this letter is missing and only numbers 5–7 of the listed complaints of the officers remain. Their letter now follows immediately after the list of prisoners taken at Shrewsbury (10). Other material as well as the commencement of this letter appears to have been torn from the letter book. According to the numbering of the original some 30 folios are missing, but the numbering (not used in the Calendar) is very unreliable and, from the state of the MS, there do not look to be so many missing.]

[Remainder of item 4] – not a penny to the troops but during the captains' stay in the town. To his own and to Captain Greenwood's<sup>1</sup> troops he paid £240, which would have satisfied these five troops for the present.

5 Many of the soldiers belonging to the said troops, having quit their colours to the great prejudice of the service, are encouraged by Sir John Gell<sup>2</sup> and promised forty shillings a man, and the rest are invited by such encouragement to Derby.

6 We, the commanders, have given the soldiers ten shillings a man out of our own estates to encourage them in the present service, besides lending them good sums of money to supply their wants, the only present means to keep our troops from squandering [i.e. deserting].

7 Notwithstanding the utmost we, the captains, can do, the troops are daily wasting, and if there be not some speedy course for supplying of their great wants, they will be totally lost.

Joseph Swettenham, Daniel Watson, Samuel Sleigh, John Goreinge, Tho. Watson<sup>3</sup>

(D8)

#### Notes

1 See App. IV ii.

2 A wealthy landowner of Hopton, Derbys. Sheriff 1635, bart. 1642. Nevertheless, he raised a foot regt as early as Oct. 1642 and occupied Derby. In 1643 Parl. made him its gov. and after the death of Ld. Brooke, c.-in-c. of the county forces. He co-operated with Brereton during the crisis caused by Brooke's death and together they fought the battle of Hopton Heath in March, 1643. But by 1645 Gell's enthusiasm was waning, perhaps because of royalist sympathies, perhaps because of failure to obtain adequate arrears of pay. As B.L.B. shows, his relations with Brereton and with some of his own officers, headed by Maj. Saunders, were deteriorating. They grew worse as the war continued, with Saunders's supporters gaining influence on the County Committee and supporting Fairfax's strictures on Gell for failing to cut off the royalist retreat after Naseby, with Brereton conducting a campaign in Gell's territory after the fall of Chester in Feb. 1646 and the two squabbling over the terms for the surrender of Tutbury Castle. After the war Gell grew even more disgruntled over what he considered the failure of Parl. to compensate him adequately for his war services, and in 1650 he was implicated in a royalist plot to seize the Isle of Ely. For this he was imprisoned for life and the sequestration of his estate ordered, but two years later he was released and then pardoned. From then on until his death in 1671 he lived quietly in London.

- (D.N.B.; Brighton; see also 'Introd. on Subject Matter' and App. IV ii.)  
 3 For the officers of the Derby Horse, who write further letters to Brereton (79, 220, 234, 248), see App.IV ii.

*Brereton to Ashurst and Mistress Jane Done*<sup>1</sup>

13-3-44/5 I have received your letter [not in B.L.B.] and do assure you we have endeavoured nothing more than to fall into action, either by falling upon the enemy's quarters or by fighting in the field. But it is not possible to fight with those to whom we cannot have access, the River Dee not being passable for an army. For though we have Holt Bridge they have the [Holt] church and have made works against the bridge so as there is no passage. Wales is in so impoverished a condition as that there is no subsistence neither for the enemy nor us. Many of their men are there dead by eating unwholesome food and are in so much want as that they have craved and had supplies from Chester. This may conduce much to the recovery of Chester, which will be in a more distressed condition than ever, in case any assistance come unto us and no more force to them. Upon whom though we could do no great execution, yet the judgement of God hath fallen, for many are dead, others run away and those that remain distressed for want of provision. It might [i.e. must] be acknowledged that, having a body of horse, we might be able to perform some service upon the enemy, were it country where horse might be provided for, were there a set battle or were it such champagne [i.e. open arable] country wherein horse might come to fight. But the enemy being so quartered

w a n t f o o t

that we cannot have access near unto them, it is vii.4. vi.9. of xv.xvi.xvi.9.

which doth most disable us. For in obedience to the command of 168[C.of B.K.] I have sent to 92 [Salop] no less than eighteen 7.xvi.xi.xxi.4.vi.5.v.3. of

c o m p a n i e s

f o o t  
 xv.xvi.xvi.9.. And we have so many frontier garrisons lately erected that must be supplied with foot will  
 xi.xii.3.9. i.v.v. 3.xii.xxi.8.5.v.x. vii.v.9.ii. xv. xxi.xxi.9. that there vii.v.8.8.  
 r e m a i n e a b o v e f i f t e e n e h u n d r e t h  
 not 6.v.xi.4.5.vi.v. 4.i.xvi.xii.v. xv.5.xv.9.v.v.vi.v. ii.xii.vi.x.6.v.9.ii. That

therefore which remains which may much conduce to the safety of these parts  
 S c o t t i s h h a s t e n  
 is to prosecute that the 3.vii.xvi.9.9.5.3.ii. 172 [army] may be ii.4.3.9.v.vi.

ed parts assure you my  
v.x. into these xxi.4.6.9.3. for I can 4.3.3.xii.6.5 xxiv.xvi.xii. all xi.xxiv.  
of ficers conceive wee are so  
xvi.xv.xv.5.vii.v.6.3. 7.xvi.vi.7.v.5.xii.v. vii.v.v. 4.6.5. 3.xvi.  
disproportionable enemy  
x.5.3.xxi.6.xvi.xxi.xvi.6.9.5.xvi.vi. 4.i.8.v. to the v.vi.5.xi.xxiv. in  
footasthatthey apprehend not fit  
xv.xvi.xvi.9. 4.3. 9.ii.4.9. 9.ii.v.xxiv. 4.xxi.xxi.6.v.ii.v.vi.x. it vi.xvi.9. xv.5.9.  
safeto fight unanimously  
or 3.4.xv.v. 9.xvi. xv.v.xx.ii.9. and have so xii.vi.4.vi.5.xi.xvi.xii.3.8.xxiv.  
voted at Councill Warr  
xii.xvi.9.v.x. 4.9 a 7 xvi.xii.vi.7.5.8.8. of vii.4.6.6.. I find such a resolution in  
horse Yorkshire horse  
the ii.xvi.6.3.v. especially in the xxiv.xvi.6.2.3.ii.5.6.v. ii.xvi.6.5.v. as that  
supply  
without some speedy 3.xii.xxi.xxi.8.xxiv. of xix [money] it will be a thing  
keepethem together  
impossible to 2.v.v.xxi.v. 9.ii.v.xi. 9.xvi.xx.v.9.ii.v.6. There is no man serves  
the Parl. who would be more [i.e. less] willing than myself to importune in  
this way, yet such is the importunity of those that expect it [i.e. an  
engagement] that I cannot but address myself to the wisdom of the Parl. and  
there rest.

Touching matters of accounts, those whom I have employed have given their accounts upon oath to the Com. appointed for this county. For my own particulars I shall take my oath that my own estate hath been spent above that I have received.

I shall not enlarge myself, not doubting but your assistance will be afforded in what may be fitting and may tend to the advantage of this cause.

(D8)

Note

- 1 Jane and her younger sister, Mary, were the co-heiresses of the large estate of Dones of Utlinton near Tarporley on the death of their brother, John, in 1630. Mary married John (*q.v.*), younger son of Randle Crewe of Crewe Hall who had

been Lord Chief Justice in the 1620's. Jane did not marry. It seems probable that John and his household removed to London during the war and presumably Jane went with them. But why she was important enough to have her name linked with Ashurst and been with him the recipient of two highly confidential letters from Brereton (see also 885) is not known. There are effigies of both the sisters in Tarporley Church and presumably they were responsible for the appointment there of the strongly puritan rector, Nathaniel Lancaster (*q.v.*), in 1638 (Orm. II, 247-252; III, 314; Raymond Richards, *Cheshire Churches*, 317-21.)

40

*C. of B.K. to Brereton* [C.S.P.D. 1644-5, 344]

13-3-44/5 Derby Ho. [Summary. Having heard that 49 Rupert and Langdale are coming towards you, we are sending you forces from 144 [Ld. Essex] and 136 [Ld. Manchester] under Maj. Gen. Crawford. We have also ordered Col. Rossiter and 146 [Ld. Fairfax] to send you speedily all the forces they can spare. Keep intelligence with these forces and let them have directions for their march to you.]

Saye and Sele; Loudoun  
[Footnote] This was written in character.  
(D18)

41

*St. John to Brereton*

Thursday, 13-3-44/5 Since my last we have heard that Langdale is advanced towards you as far as Wolverhampton; there are some reports that the forces of Yorks. and Col. Rossiter have not advanced so fast after him as we desire. We have written them again today to follow with all speed and to let you hear of their motions. We have likewise written to the party under Maj. Gen. Crawford to make all speed and already sent the money to enable them thereunto. The Lord Chancellor of Scotland [Loudoun] tells me he has written to Leven to hasten a part of his horse and foot to you.

We are very sensible of [the danger to] you and those parts if these forces come not timely before your engagement. Yet we will endeavour their coming so soon as may be so that, in case of any disadvantage you may be put into for the present, we may have such a reserve near as may hinder the enemy from recruiting or destroying those parts.  
(D18)

42

*Lt. Gen Lesley to Brereton*

13-2-44/5 I have received orders from his Excellency [Leven] to march to your

assistance with four regts of horse and 2,000 commanded musketeers. I entreat you to provide us with maintenance.  
(D21)

## 43

*Lt. Gen. Lesley to Mr Darley*<sup>1</sup>

13-3-44/5 I thought to have been at Wellingbee [Wetherby] this night but, fearing the lack of provision, I have quartered here [?]. I have orders from Lord Leven to advance to Sir Wm. Brereton's assistance with four regts. of horse and 2,000 foot, whom I expect tomorrow. His Excellency will be pleased to give help with the whole army to these places if they need it. I have with the foot some small pieces [of artillery], wherefore I entreat carriages for them and other provision, and also oats for our horses. I am to wait on Ld. Fairfax the morrow and receive his commands.  
(D21)

## Note

1 See App. I, ii.

## 44

*Brereton to Ld. Fairfax*

14-3-44/5 By letters from Salop received yesterday we are informed that Rupert has summoned all the carts he can find in the country and is on his march towards Salop. He, Langdale, Hastings<sup>1</sup> and Ashley [Astley] were then all at Ludlow and Maurice was advancing to join them. They are said to be very strong and make great preparations of boats and other things. Letters from Sir Thos. Middleton<sup>2</sup> received this morning [not in B.L.B.] inform us that Maurice was expected at Chirk Castle near Oswestry, and it is given out that they intend to storm that town [Shrewsbury, *not* Oswestry; see 45], a bridge having lately been made up for a passage for them.

We are advertised also from our garrison at Willington that Maurice hath drawn all his forces together and is on his way towards Rupert, marching all along the other side the Dee, which divides England and Wales and hath been such a tenour<sup>3</sup> and fence unto them that we could not (nor can as yet) have access unto them. Nothing is more apparent than that they were resolved not to engage themselves before they were joined. Which being done and our garrisons manned, you will find us so inconsiderable in foot that we shall not be able to make any resistance and the enemy will command a free and un-interrupted<sup>4</sup> passage into Lancs., which you will apprehend as so dangerous a consequence that I am confident you will hasten the Scotch army (especially the foot) as much as can be.

I will not fail to give you further intelligence.  
(D9)

## Notes

- 1 Henry, Ld. Hastings, younger son of the E. of Huntingdon; later in war made Ld. Loughborough. Royalist c.-in-c. Leics. During the Interregnum an active member of the Sealed Knot. (*D.N.B.* but much better account in *R.C.E.*)
- 2 of Chirk Castle, Denbighs., and London; M.P. Denbighs. Family claimed descent from Princes of Powys, but wealth and influence came from establishment as London goldsmiths. Sir Thos. father had been Ld. Mayor; his cousin Sr Wm. (*q.v.*) was an alderman. Sir Thos. was appointed Maj. Gen. for the Assoc. of the six counties of N. Wales, the only one of these original Maj. Gens. for the county assoc. who was not a peer. He appeared in Nantwich in Aug. 1643 with a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition but only a small force. His first attempt to penetrate into N. Wales with Brereton's support in Nov. 1643 was halted by the appearance of royal troops from Ireland. His second, made after parl. victories at Marston Moor, Oswestry and Montgomery, was more permanent, but – as B.L.B. shows – his forces were still minute and his relations with Brereton deteriorating. Those with Mytton, who was his brother-in-law, are obscure. (See Introd. *D.N.B.*; *D.W.B.*; Dodd; Malbon: B. & P.; Morrill; Dore; *Montgom. Coll.* LVII, pt. 2, 1962.)
- 3 In the sense of 'maintaining a hold upon'. From *tenure* (*O.E.D.*).
- 4 This seems to be the sense. The MS has 'a free and [blank] will interrupted passage'.

## 45

*Brereton to Leven*

14-3-44/5 Nantwich. Without timely assistance from your Excellency's army to resist those four armies of Rupert, Maurice, Langdale and Gerard we shall be neither able to interrupt their attempt to march into Lancs. nor give relief unto Shrewsbury, towards which they seem to approach, the suburbs whereof are all open and not much less capacious than the town. If they prevail, they possess themselves of a most gallant town and abundance of ammunition and arms. If they direct their course this way and so into Lancs. they will not only find the Lathomites [strong royalist garrison of Lathom Hall] and a potent party there to join with them, but Liverpool in a very weak and unsettled condition and some other garrisons who, if not too willing to give admittance to them, will be unable to make resistance. In Lancs. they may increase their army to a greater number and strength than the Prince [Rupert] brought last year into Yorks. There are no passes of advantage betwixt us and them where to give them interruption and those late strong garrisons we have made to block up Chester on this side, being better fortified than most in these parts, do require so many of our men if we remove far from them (whereas now they lie betwixt us and Chester), that there will remain to us a very inconsiderable number of foot, not more than to make good our [? other] garrisons. I perceive by Ld. Fairfax's letter that Col. Rossiter's horse and some other are designed for us, but we hear nothing of their approach, neither do we want

horse so much as foot, nor is the country able to make good provision for them.

(D10)

46

*Brereton to [?] St. John*<sup>1</sup>

14-3-44/5 Tarvin. By the enclosed [38] you will perceive the desires and grievances of the Derbys. horse who are very dutiful and observant of command and content with what they find and the country able to afford, which some others are not. Two of their captains, Barton and Swettenham,<sup>2</sup> are very reverend divines and the rest of the commanders godly men. I should be very unwilling to lose such a regt which I had rather have than four times so many mutinous men. But as it is uncomfortable to serve without necessities (especially in a strange country) so it is uncomfortable to command such. I desire you will deal with [? Sir]<sup>3</sup> John Curson that they may have some pay out of Derbys. or, if not there, that some course be taken for their supply from London. Sir John Gell takes it very heinously that I writ freely to him about them.

(D15)

Notes

- 1 The first sentence of 122 makes it most likely that this is St. John. See also 80.
- 2 For these clergymen officers – a type likely to admire Brereton and to be approved by him – see App. IV ii.
- 3 There is a blank in the MS before John and, as Sir John Curzon of Kedleston bt. was one of the M.P.s for the county and on its various committees, it would seem probable that he is the person intended (Brighton).

47

*(H.)<sup>1</sup> Darley to Brereton*

14-3-44/5 York. I formerly writ to you that I had very good hopes of prevailing with the Scots on your behalf, wherein I refer to the enclosed for your better satisfaction [43]. I hope by this accession of strength you will be enabled, not only to be master of the field, but to prevent the enemy raising fresh forces.

(D22)

Note

- 1 See note to 43.

*Rob. Goodwin<sup>1</sup> to Brereton*

14-3-44/5 York. I have received yours [not in B.L.B.] and was not unmindful to do you the utmost service in my power. Within these eight days I have been to Newcastle twice to solicit Lord Leven on your behalf and he, after much labouring, has yielded to send four regts of horse and 2,000 commanded foot. I pressed very earnestly for more foot but it would not be granted. They are already upon their march. I heartily wish that by no means you engage before all your succours come to you. The north doth much depend upon the success of this action of yours. We have here sufficiently suffered for too much hastiness.

(D22)

## Note

1 See App. I ii.

*Ld. Fairfax to Brereton*

14-3-44/5 York. I have been very solicitous for your relief and have sent divers times to Ld. Leven to afford you assistance. 2,000 foot and four regts of horse are come as far as Wetherby, and the bearer can relate that Leven intends to follow with the rest of his army to be employed either with you or near Newark. I received letters yesterday from my commanders about Newark that they pursued Langdale all through Leics. It is conceived that he is gone south. I have given directions that 1,000 of my horse shall draw towards you and have desired that some assistance might be given by Cols. Rossiter and Thornhaugh. I am sorry I am not able to afford you any assistance of foot. I am forced to continue the siege at Scarborough, a place of very great importance. If the forces were raised from thence, the town would be of more annoyance to the country and the whole kingdom than formerly.

(D21)

## Note

1 The date given in the text is clearly 24 March (in Roman numerals). But, by this date, the Scots force referred to, under its commander, David Lesley, was at Sandbach in Chesh. assisting Brereton. Lesley's letter of 13 March to Darley saying that the force was approaching Wetherby and this letter from Ld. Fairfax to Brereton saying that it had arrived there make it certain that 24 is an error for 14.

*John Lawrinson and John Brash<sup>1</sup> to Brereton*

[To the superscription 'Copy of a letter from Warrington' Brereton has added 'of two of the Collectors there imprisoned most heinously'.]

15-3-44/5 Warrington. Please your Honour to have patience with the presentation of our condition. While in pursuance of our employment as Collectors for Sequestrations we were seized and committed to prison in this garrison of Warrington, only – for ought we understand – for obeying the ordinance<sup>2</sup> of the Lords and Commons. We have been detained here this two months, whereby we suffer no small discomfort and prejudice, by reason of the long absence from our families and particular charges, occasions and employment. But that which more troubles us is that the public [service] suffereth in that our necessary attendance upon some sequestrations in the neighbouring parts of Chesh. is denied, and that some corn which we had provided for the Leaguer, not being timely sent away (through the neglect of the constable), has since been seized and 60 sacks at the least threshed and fetched hither. Now we are denied all liberty of visiting our families (which sometimes was granted us), being required not to attempt it, upon penalty of having a guard of soldiers set about us. So we are not able to do anything in that circuit to which we were designed unless the persons with whom we have to do come to us in our prison. Furthermore we are forbidden to direct or dispose of any of the said sequestrations in Chesh. to the use of the County, upon penalty of being plundered of all our estates, notwithstanding the express ordinance to that purpose, which Lt. Col. Carrington<sup>3</sup> says is not a true one but counterfeit.

We humbly request your Honour to take some effectual course, not hindering nor prejudicing your weighty affairs, whereby we poor prisoners may be released, your honour and that of the Parl. vindicated and the obstruction of the service removed.

(D27)

#### Notes

- 1 Lawrenson and Brash (*Bruch* – Morrill, 119 – is an error) appear again in the Proceedings of the Sequs. Com. of Lords and Commons (133) and in the accounts of Thos. Warburton (*q.v.*), one of the Sequestrators for Bucklow Hundred (Harl. 2137, 56, 61, 62). They seem to have come from Thelwall and were put in as collectors for the Thelwall estate of the royalist, Sir Edw. Moore. They remained prisoners for 12 weeks, presumably until round about the middle of May, the time of the patched-up agreement between Brereton and Col. John Booth in the face of the royal advance. (See 148 n.1 for the dispute between Brereton and Col. John over the allotment in Chesh. for the upkeep of the Warrington garrison.)
- 2 *C.J.*, III, 484; 7-5-44.
- 3 Presumably Col. John Booth's 2nd i-c and dep. gov. of Warrington. The name does not appear anywhere among the Lancs. parl. commanders nor does there appear to have been a gentry family of that name in Lancs. at the time. So, as Sir Geo. Booth's first wife, Jane, was a Carrington of Carrington (on the Chesh. side of the Mersey a few miles s.e. of Warrington) and as a John Carrington appears as a steward of the Dunham estates in 1628, it seems probable that Lt. Col. Carrington was a member of the Booth family entourage. The connection is intriguing, however, as the male relatives of Jane were supposed to have been at

odds with the Booths because, although the marriage was childless, Sir Geo. had carried off all her lands in a law suit with them eventually decided by Sir Edmund Anderson, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, whose daughter, Katherine, became Sir George's second wife. Col. John was one of the children of the marriage. (Chetham Soc. O.S. 57, *Miscellanies* III; 'Some Instructions given by Wm. Booth to his stewards, John Carrington and Wm. Rowcrofte upon the purchase of Warrington'; Orm. I, 525; Angus Butterworth, *Old Cheshire Families*, 38.)

## 51

*Brereton to Leven*

15-3-44/5 I have lately received some letters from M.P.s and the Scottish Chancellor [Loudoun] – whence I received hopes of the assistance of your army towards perfecting of the work in these parts. Chester is now in a hopeful condition were the army of the Princes beaten back and scattered. They are like to join, Maurice being about Chirk and Rupert's army about Bishop's Castle, which is no more than a day's march from the other. Letters from the Com. of Salop inform me that Langdale's forces quartered about Bridgnorth and himself at Apley [Park], Sir Wm. Whitmore house, and that it is given out among themselves that their design is to march into Lancs.

Intelligence towards Oxford is that Maurice has already broken into Lancs. and is raising forces, which presumptuous anticipation may (by God's assistance) receive a defeat if your Excellency's forces may be employed this way.

(D11)

## 52

*Brereton to Ld. Fairfax*

15-3-44/5 This day by my own servant I received advertisement from the C. of B.K., Mr Ashurst (a member of the Commons), Mr Solicitor [St. John] and others that they have commanded and expect Col. Rossiter's and some of your forces to follow Langdale who has, as I have heard, long since come into Salop, and, as the Com. of Salop advertised, quarters at Apley [Park], Sir Wm. Whitmore's house. But we hear nothing of Col. Rossiter's or any other forces advancing to our relief and, unless some of your forces or the Scots speed unto us, we may be much disadvantaged and distressed, for the enemy is within less than a day's march of us and, it seems, expecting more forces.

The particulars of the intelligence I have received is enclosed [not in B.L.B.] which I desire may be transcribed for Ld. Leven.

I need not any further invite you to speed your assistance which, if it come not quickly, is more like to come too late.

(D11)

53

*C. of B.K. to 'Gentlemen' [of Chesh.]*

15-3-44/5 Derby Ho. The C. of B.K., to whom the Ordinance of Parl. of 18 Oct. last for the relief of the British armies in Ireland committed the money and provisions arising, understand that by your care and endeavours and the good affections and readiness of the people of that county some quantities of corn, provisions and money may be by this time levied and collected. They take notice of the same as a testimony of how truly sensible you are of the miseries and wants of our protestant brethren yet left alive and of your desire to help them, and desire you to continue your endeavours for the accomplishment of the whole work. Because you are far distant from London, where the treasurers of that Ordinance do reside, so that the corn, provisions and money that are or shall be gathered cannot with convenience be drawn to their hands so immediately as the Ordinance directs, this Com. have authorised the bearer hereof, George Studdart gent., who is employed by those who have contracted for great quantities of provisions, to take from time to time from your collectors or receivers-general such corn, victuals and money as they have collected, acknowledging the receipt thereof in quantity and value under his hand and seal. These notes or the duplicates of them, viewed, allowed and attested by any two of you, being returned to the treasurers of the Ordinance in London, these treasurers are to charge themselves for so much received and give formal and final acquittances for the same.

Saye & Sele; Loudoun  
(D46)

54

*Lt. Gen. Lesley to Brereton*

16-3-44/5 5 pm Leeds. According to your desire I have not only read this letter to his Excellency [Leven] but also your other letters sent with the enclosed intelligence. I have sent both in all haste to him and shall use all possible diligence to come to your assistance. I desire you to draw all the forces you can together, whereby we may be the more considerable, and let me hear every day of the enemy's motion.

(D22)

55

*Prisoners sent from and remaining in Nantwich 15-17-3-44/5*

Sent to Manchester, 15-3-44/5

Majors Littleton, Rainger, Oteley [Ottley];

Cpts. Lucas, Rainsford, Cressie, Harrington, Harrison, Betts, Edw. Leight-

on, Barker, Claveringe, Tuke, Ward, Byron, Price, Talbott; Lt. Rattlife Alderman Gibbons, Mr Turner.

Sent to Eccleshall, 16-3-44/5

Sir Richard Lee, Sir Tho. Whitmore, Sir John Wild [Weld] sen., Sir John Wild [Weld] jun., Lt. Col. Owen, Maj. Gray.

Remaining in Nantwich, 17-3-44/5

Sir Nicho. Byron, Sir Rich. Leveson, Sir John Pearsall, Henry Bunbury Esq., Edward Kinaston Esq., Halbett [Herbert] Vaughan Esq., ffrancis Sandford [Sandford] Esq., ffrancis Thornes Esq., Tho. Jones Esq., Robt. Sanford [Sandford] gent., ffrancis Smyth gent., Richard Trevis gent., Mr Betts, Mr Aldersey; Doctors Lewen, ffouler [Fowler], Arneway; Majors Cromwell, Maxie, Spurstowe; capt. Yonge [Young], Stanley, Owen, Powell, Eaton; Lts. Owen, Brookes, Daves [Davies], Cornet Eaton.<sup>1</sup>

(D23)

#### Note

- 1 Some of the officers named here were taken before the capture of Shrewsbury. Maj. Nat. Grey of Col. Washington's regt of foot was captured at Christleton on 18-1-45 and Maj. Wm. Maxey and Thos. Cromwell at Malpas on 25-8-44. Maxey was of Burgh, Lincs. and had served in Ireland before becoming an officer in Sir Chas. Lucas's regt of horse. Cromwell was of Staunton Magna, Hunts. and was first cousin of Oliver. The 'Golden Knight', Sir Henry Cromwell of Hinchinbrooke, was their common grandfather. Maj. Cromwell was an officer in the D. of York's regt of horse. (Malbon, 144, 156; Newman, 95, 168, 250.)

Also included are the names of Alderman Gibbons and Thos. Jones who were captured at Shrewsbury, although their names do not appear in 10. Rich. Gibbons was from a family that had lived for three generations in the Abbey Foregate. He had been mayor in Sept. 1642 when Charles visited Shrewsbury prior to the royal march on London. Although Farrow is convinced of his whole-hearted royalism, various circumstances (partic. the speech which he composed but never delivered to the King and his supercession as mayor before the end of the royal visit) which Farrow records suggest that Gibbon was somewhat neutralist in his attitude. The same could be said of Thos. Jones, a rising lawyer in the town and also an alderman. On the Restoration he became its Town Clerk and one of its M.P.s, but lost both positions later because of complaints that he had been too friendly with the presbyterians during the Interregnum. Despite this, he rose to be Chief Justice of the Common Pleas at the end of the reign of Chas. II, but here again his middle-of-the-road attitude got him into trouble, first with Jas. II and then with the Revolution Parl. (Farrow; Malbon; Owen and Blakeway; *S.A.S.T.* 4th Ser. 12, 215-7.)

*Ld. Fairfax, J [? Hen/Rich]<sup>1</sup> Darley, Rob. Goodwin to Brereton*  
17-3-45 York. We have received your letter [?52] and that from the officers of

this army with you they being very sensible of their soldiers great necessity and how thereby the army in general is much weakened. We, for the present not having any money here in the treasury to supply their wants or those of the two regts that have long since been with you, do earnestly desire you will furnish them with £300 to make up their cloth and care shall be taken that the same be satisfied from hence as soon as it can be provided.  
(D28)

Note

1 For Hen. and Rich. Darley see 43 n.1.

57

*Ld. Fairfax to Brereton*

17-3-44/5 York. I received yours [? 52] and thereby am in good hopes that 5,000 Scots horse and foot, who were quartered at Leeds last night, and 1,000 of my horse, that I ordered two or three days since to march to your assistance, will be with you in good time. I desire you not to engage your forces till this assistance come to you.  
(D28)

58

*C. of B.K. to Com. of Lancs.*

17-3-44/5 Derby Ho. By letters from Sir Wm. Brereton and the Com. of Chesh. we understand that county to be exhausted of all manner of provisions, which may prove of dangerous consequence if in those parts provision should be wanting when parties from hence and from the Scottish army are marching thither to Sir Wm. Brereton's assistance against the forces of Rupert and Maurice, and it is likely to be the place of the greatest action at this time within the kingdom. We therefore desire you to use all possible care and speed to send such provision both for man and horse into that county as your county doth afford.

W. Saye and Sele; Loudoun

(D29)

59

*C. of B.K. to Com. and Dep. Lts. of Lancs.*

17-3-44/5 Derby Ho. We have formerly written unto you to send some of your forces, both horse and foot, to the assistance of Sir Wm. Brereton. We have ordered divers other forces to march thither, amongst whom four regts of Scots horse and 2,000 foot, under the command of Lt. Gen. Lesley, are already on their march. But receiving notice that the enemy in great numbers

are marching that way, whereby Sir William may be in danger, we desire you with all expedition to send all the forces of foot and dragoons you can possibly spare. If your forces and those other we have appointed shall come thither timely we trust he will be enabled to oppose the Princes' further progress in those parts, but if the forces already with him should receive a blow for the want of supply of strength there is nothing can hinder the Prince [Rupert] again to fall upon the northern parts and destroy those forces severally which united might be sufficient to oppose him. We doubt not but you are still sensible how heavily the storm fell upon you last year and therefore shall not use other arguments.

W. Saye and Sele; Loudoun  
(D29)

60

*Commons' Order* [C.J. IV, 80]

Mon. 17-3-45 Westminster. That it be referred to the C. of B.K. to consider what supply of money is fit to be sent to the Yorks. horse and other forces under Brereton in the parts of Chesh. and thereabouts.

(D30)

61

*Commons' Order* [C.J. IV, 80]

Mon. 17-3-45 Westminster. [A letter of 13-3-45 from the Com. at Nantwich [not in B.L.B.] was read and ordered to be referred to the C. of B.K. with a special recommendation that the Scots commanders give some speedy order that the party of Scots foot and dragoons now in Yorks. be dispatched to the relief of the parts of Chesh. or thereabouts.]

(D30)

62

*C. of B.K. to Leven* [C.S.P.D. 1644-5, 351]

17-3-44/5 Derby Ho. We have certain knowledge that the great part of the King's forces are drawn towards Shrewsbury under Rupert, who draws together also the country and is likely to be too great a force for Sir Wm. Brereton, if he be not speedily supplied. If he should receive any blow it would much endanger all the northern parts and the whole army of the enemy may fall that way. We desire therefore that that party of your horse and foot that was advanced upon the coming of Langdale into those [i.e. north-eastern] parts and any further strength that you may think fit may with all expedition march to the assistance of Brereton and those parts of Chesh. and Salop.

There can be nowhere of equal service either to the public or to the rest of your army.

The Parl. hath given order for the sending of money to your army.

[No sigs]

(D30)

63

*Leven to Brereton*

17-3-44/5 3 pm I received your letter this morning [prob. 45, rather than 51] which increased my desire to keep those apprehending evils off you, and whereof you should have had more real proof before this time if I could possibly have spared greater assistance than that which is sent with Lt. Gen. Lesley viz. four regts of horse and 2,000 commanded men. These I have directed to you with great difficulty because I could hardly make them move for want of money and other necessaries. I conceive that the drawing together of your forces will be a better means of preserving the country than the blocking up of any places. I thank you for your frequent intelligence and desire the continuance thereof.

(D30)

64

*Major Wm. Braine<sup>1</sup> to Brereton*

18-3-44/5 9 pm Wem. Sir Thos. Middleton with his own and our forces to the number of 1,000 is here at Wem expecting your commands. We have intelligence that the enemy is past Whitchurch and we all conceive that Whitchurch would be a good place for these forces in case you intend to engage the enemy before he relieves Beeston.<sup>2</sup> They all expect your directions.

(D25)

Notes

- 1 Son of Thos. Braine, a small freeholder of Whixall, 3 miles n. of Wem, he was servant to the Recorder of Shrewsbury in pre-war days. From gov. of Wem he rose to be lt. col. and col. in the New Model in Scotland and gov. of Jamaica, 1654-7, where he died in office. (*C.A.M.* 1, 732; *SP* 28, 134 unfol.; Owen and Blakeway v.1, 429; Firth and Davies, 491, 704-6.)
- 2 A 13th century castle on a precipitous rock commanding the Tarporley Gap leading from the Chesh. plain to the midlands. Although ruinous, it was fortified and garrisoned by Brereton in Feb. 1643, largely to act as a storehouse for arms, ammunition and the goods of his supporters. During the Nantwich campaign of Dec. 1643 to Jan. 1644 it was surprised by a small task force from the army from Ireland. As the royalists put a strong garrison into it and this lay within raiding distance of several important roads and behind the backs of any force besieging

Chester, Brereton laid siege to it in Nov. 1644 at the same time as he began the 'Leaguer' of Chester. (For account and bibl. see Dore, 'Beeston Castle in the Great Civil War', *T.L. C.A. S.* 75, 1965.)

## 65

*The Com. at Tarvin to Brereton*

18-3-44/5 12 pm Tarvin. The enemy lies in Stapleford, Burton, Warton [Waverton], and Tarporley and almost round about this garrison. We think we shall hardly send any more messengers until you open a passage. We conclude he cannot lie long in these parts but must fall upon some speedy action. We received two letters from you this day and thank you for your good intelligence keeping the pass at Northwich. If you send a good body of horse to the [Delamere] Forest tomorrow it may much amaze the enemy but we are suitors to you not to engage until your auxiliaries come unto you. We stand all upon our guard this night and hope through God's mercy to make them pay dear for any attempt they make upon us.

[P.S.] This is the third letter sent you today.

John Bruen, James Gartside, Willm. Davies'

(D24)

## Note

- 1 John Bruen belonged to a noted family of Chesh. puritans. His father, also John, was the subject of a biography (Wm. Hinde – *The Holy Life and Happy Death of John Bruen*, 1641) which held him up as a pattern of true protestant piety. His brother, Calvin, when one of the sheriffs of Chester, caused uproar by giving a semi-official welcome to William Prynne, passing on his way to imprisonment in Carnarvon Castle. John's son, Jonathan (*q.v.*), continued the tradition and was one of Brereton's Commissioners for the surrender of Chester. Davies, who held the rank of Capt., was of a family that came from Manley s. of Chester but had purchased the manor of Ashton-juxta-Tarvin temp. Jas. I. Gartside was of Tarvin. He and Davies had been indicted by the royalist Grand Jury at Chester. The Bruens were a family of some standing in the county and in Chester itself, but the others were very minor gentry. Nevertheless, as B.L.B. shows, the position of Tarvin as Brereton's forward base for the Leaguer, which lasted until the occupation of the suburbs of Chester in Oct. 1645, made the Tarvin Com. of considerable importance. (Orm. II, 317–23, 334; *C.W.T.C.*, 95, 134, 151, 154; Dore, 9; Morrill.)

## 66

*Brereton to C. of B.K. 'Sent by their own messenger'* [Note in Brereton's writing.]

18-3-44/5 [Middlewich] In obedience to your commands I have removed my forces to places of more safety and advantage, where we may remain until the Scots forces advance near unto us. We hear nothing of 144 [Ld. Gen. Essex]

136 [Ld. Manchester] Rossiter or any more of 146 [Ld. Fairfax] than the two regiments first sent.

The armies of 47 [Maurice] and 49 [Rupert] and all the others formerly mentioned are united. Their number I believe is no more than 7,000, though it is said to be more. If those 2,000 Scotch foot promised come in due time we may be able to prevent their progress into 107 [Lancs.] the same way that 49 [Rupert] marched last year.

I have presented several requests to 170 [Parl.] that considerable sums of money may be sent down; otherwise I fear this army, especially the horse, will disperse. If 1,000 dragoons had been appointed us instead of 2,000 horse, these [enemy] forces would have taken little rest or contentment in their quarters.

I will keep good intelligence with Maj. Gen. Crawford and Rossiter, but do believe the Scots will be much nearer at hand whom, my messenger informs me, are now at Halifax, which is not much more than three days march [from us]. The enemy lies now at Whitchurch which is but seven miles from Nantwich.

P.S. I fear nothing more than want of provision, therefore desire the neighbouring parts of Staffs., Yorks. and Lancs. may be commanded by you to assist with some provision of oatmeal, oats, cheese and bacon.

(D19)

## 67

*Brereton to the Speaker 'Sent by the same messenger who came from the C. of B.K.'* [Note in Brereton's writing.]

18-3-44/5 [Middlewich] humbly desire that some £4-5,000 be sent down for the pay of our soldiers, which demand is not proportionable to what is wanting but suitable to your necessity. I know not other ways faithfully to discharge that duty you have placed with me for I cannot for want of making you acquainted with our condition, suffer this army to break and disperse, which has been as little chargeable as any in the kingdom that has been in such constant employment.

The Derby regt of horse, which is a very serviceable, well-ordered regiment, is ready to dissolve for want of money; some are already gone away. Divers other regts are in great wants, as also powder and match is much wanting. If that ammunition and arms allowed the last year had come safe unto us, which was much diminished by the loss of Liverpool, we should have been better furnished and less chargeable unto you. Whereas I now humbly beseech you to supply us with 60-80 barrels of powder and match proportionable, and if we had 1,000 muskets and 1,000 firelocks, I hope to find good men to employ them.

[P.S.] Some of the Scots forces are advancing towards us and if they join with us I hope we shall be able to give a good account of these forces, which we

have been more cautious to engage than formerly for want of foot and by reason of approaching assistance. All ours are through God's mercy withdrawn without any loss and our garrisons in a good condition, although the enemy came on very furiously and suddenly within a few hours after we removed. It is much feared that his design is for Lancs. and Liverpool. If they march the same way the Prince [Rupert] did last year we will give them as much interruption as possible.  
(D19)

*Brereton to Leven*

18-3-44/5 [Middlewich] According to your advice we have withdrawn from before Chester and Beeston in expectation of the forces whereof I received assurance from Lt. Gen. Lesley, which if they may be speeded unto us may much conduce to the public advantage and prevent the enemy increasing and gathering of strength. They are assured to receive large additions so soon as they come into Lancs., where a potent party expect them and have given them strong invitations and assurances. To prevent which we have placed our forces as advantageously as we can, but they may decline us and pass another way, whom we might encounter but that we want foot. There are lately subtracted 17 or 18 coys into Salop, 5 or 6 into Nantwich and no less into Tarvin, whereby we are the more disabled to encounter the enemy in the field. Therefore I do most earnestly desire the advance of your forces assigned, especially of the foot, for whom, as also for the horse, we will provide the best accommodation that this country can afford.

[P.S.] I fear nothing more than that, now we are at a further distance, they may attempt Shrewsbury. I have enclosed several letters this day received from the Com. at Salop [not in B.L.B.].  
(D20)

*C. of B.K. to Brereton [C.S.P.D. 1644-5, 351]<sup>1</sup>*

18-3-44/5 Derby Ho. We have received your letter [not in B.L.B.] relating your condition. We have given orders for divers forces to march towards you both from those parts<sup>2</sup> and from Yorks. which we hope will in good time come to your assistance. There are four regts of Scotch horse and 2,000 foot already on their march under Lt. Gen. David Lesley who, being a soldier of great experience, will be of the [? utmost]<sup>3</sup> assistance unto you in matters of advice and counsel. We believe you will see reason to make much use of him in that particular. We have also received notice both of Yorks., Lincoln and Notts.<sup>4</sup> of forces that are coming towards you. We have also written to 107 [Lancs.] to send you what further forces they can spare and also the [counties] you write

of<sup>s</sup> to send you a supply of the necessities you write for. We trust these forces will come in good time to your assistance. In the meantime keep yourself in such a posture as that the enemy shall not force you to fight with disadvantage until your supplies come up. We have written to 154 [Sir Geo. Booth] to go to lie at Warrington for the security of that place. Send thither the names of those that intend to join with [Rupert] and by what means you came to the knowledge.<sup>6</sup>

Subscription 'This letter was written in the characters'.

W. Saye and Sele; Loudoun

(D31)

Notes

- 1 The version in *C.S.P.D.* is dated 17-3-45 but it is obviously the same letter. It would be a copy of what was sent out and is in clear. I have therefore used it to supply names after the cypher numbers and sometimes to fill in blanks in the B.L.B. copy. But I have not always followed it where the phrase in B.L.B. seemed more appropriate, for being a calendar of a transcript from a copy, the *C.S.P.D.* version is also liable to error.
- 2 *C.S.P.D.* has 'these', but 'those' is more appropriate for forces from Lincs. and Notts.
- 3 *C.S.P.D.* has 'special assistance', not a phrase much used then, and a word such as 'utmost' seems more appropriate to follow the 'the' of 69.
- 4 Instead of Lincoln and Notts., which is where the troops of Cols. Rossiter and Thornhaugh eventually did come from, 69 has Lancs. and 'Worcestershire', which cannot be right, because Lancs. is mentioned immediately afterwards and Worcs. had no parl. troops to send.
- 5 From 66 we learn that Brereton wanted Staffs., Yorks. and Lancs. to send supplies.
- 6 *C.S.P.D.* has added here: 'committed to Mr Coxon's care'.

70

*Richard Worrall' to Brereton*

18-3-44/5 [? London] I have received your bill of exchange of £200 for Mr Richard Bradshaw,<sup>2</sup> which I have paid according to your appointment. I desire you will charge no more money upon me without there be some new supply for I have no money in my hands. For those things you were pleased to write for I shall do my best to send them with what speed I can.

P.S. I desire you to write to the House to supply you with money for your army. I have sent a new trumpet by John Waterson, according to your appointment.

(D37)

Notes

- 1 In the summer of 1642 Rich. Worrall was Head Constable of Bucklow Hundred and because, at the instigation of Sir Geo. Booth and other J.P.s, he summoned the Hundred to appear armed at Knutsford on 30 June, the Commissioners of

- Array for Chesh. issued an order for his arrest on the previous day (*L.J.*, V, 200, 204). He evaded arrest until mid-August when Brereton, then in the county as a Dep. Lt. recruiting for Parliament, sent him to London with a letter to Ralph Ashton, the Lancs. M.P. (*Portland I*, 52). On 28-3-44 Brereton, who was expecting to return to Chesh. after a prolonged visit to Westminster, authorised him to act as a Treasurer in London for sums collected there in aid of the Chesh. forces (B MS. f. 4, not Calendared; see Vol. II, App.2). He appears several times in B.L.B. performing this function (70, 87, 159, 856), and also as a trusted servant and even confidant of Brereton. Morrill (89) includes him among the Chesh. men of lesser status whom Brereton employed to counter the opposition of the leading parliamentarian gentry in the county. Yet it seems possible that he owed his original position as Head Constable to the influence of Sir Geo. Booth. The name (spelt Worrall, Wirrall, Wyrehall etc.) was quite common in north Chesh. and there were families bearing it in Bowdon, Wilmslow and Saltersford near Macclesfield (*Commonwealth Survey of 1654*, L. & C. Rec. Soc. 1, 1878; Earw. I, *passim*; II, 656). Of these only Bowdon was in Bucklow Hundred and, if he came from there, it was a small township entirely dominated by the Booths. As shown above, the Knutsford meeting which he called was instigated chiefly by Sir Geo. Booth.
- 2 Richard Bradshaw, 1610–1685, of Aspull and Pennington, Lancs. Became Chester merchant. 1637 married Katherine, daughter to former mayor, John Fitton, niece to Sir George Booth and cousin to Brereton's first wife, Susanna. Took parl. side in Civil War, was Brereton's quartermaster-general and one of his commissioners for the surrender of Chester. 1649 mayor of Chester, 1650–60 distinguished diplomatist for Interregnum governments. Resident to the city state of Hamburg, 1650–9; special mission to Copenhagen, 1652, and Moscow, 1657 (although Russian prevarication prevented him ever reaching the latter). After the Restoration lived quietly on estates near the family home and busied himself with charitable works.
- Contemporaries (especially royalists) assumed he was a close relative of John Bradshaw, the regicide judge, and owed his advancement to him. In fact, the kinship appears to have been distant and both probably gained their first promotion from the local to the national scene through Brereton. John's fall from political power in 1653 did not involve Richard. Modern historians have tended to go further and confuse the two men. The most notable instance of this is in H. Trevor-Roper's 'Cromwell and his Parliaments' (*Essays in Honour of Sir Lewis Namier*), where Cromwell's political incapacity is allegedly demonstrated by his sending the very man who had condemned Charles I to death as an envoy to the ruler (Tsar Alexis) who had proclaimed him to be 'a glorious martyr'. (*D.N.B.* – very inadequate, hence this note – *H.M.C.*, VIth Report; *Faringdon Papers* Chetham Soc. O.S., 39; F. Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa; Mercurius Politicus*, 1652–3; *C.S.P.D.* 1650–60; Thurloe, *State Papers*).

*Wm. Davies to Brereton*

18-3-44/5 10 pm Tarvin. These enclosed were found with Mrs Tatton as she would have passed home by Sir George Booth's pass. You may make something of them. We returned her back to Chester. This is the last time we

shall write unto you until you relieve us. You may receive it more fully by the other letter [65].  
(D29)

## 72

*E.L. to Ellen Borrow* ['Honest Nell' and 'my good friend']  
[Early March, 1645] I have received my thing for which I thank you Mistress. Byron would have my sister, Ann Mosley, come be with her whilst she lieth in. I should be very glad to see her but must let you know that Mistress Byron would have her to bring her suits [? sutes] along with her because she thinks Wales is safer than where my sister is. But let me tell you that Mr Byron is likely to have the government of the castle taken from him and how safe it will be elsewhere I cannot judge. I fear my Lady Mosley hath done herself much wrong in staying so long at Chester, besides her greatness with Prince Maurice, for she and my Lady Byron were never without his visits and taking the air with him, though it were but up one street and down another. I think if [? MS has 'is'] the enemy will not let my Lady pass, she will go into Wales till the country be a little clear, which I hope the Princes will do.<sup>1</sup>  
(D29)

## Note

1 The personalities in this letter and 73 and 74 are not easy to identify, but they are undoubtedly members of the Mosley family of Hough End nr. Manchester. Sir Edw. Mosley had been captured at Middlewich in March, 1643 (Malbon, 41). Anne would probably be his unmarried sister, although his widowed mother was also called Anne. Lady Mosley – and presumably the Ma. Mosley who wrote 73 and 74 – would be his wife Mary, dau. of Sir Gervase Cutler of Stainborough, Yorks. E.L. (if these are the correct initials) is a mystery, as Anne Mosley had, not only no sisters, but no sisters-in-law either, except perhaps among the Cutlers of Yorks. who were unlikely to have been residing in Chester.

Mr and Mistress Byron must be Ld. Byron and his recently married wife, dau. of Robt. Needham, Visc. Kilmorrey, and widow, although she was only a girl, of Peter Warburton of Arley. 119 (see n.1) and 141 support the idea that Byron's continued governorship of Chester was uncertain and not confirmed until Pr. Maurice's visit in mid-March. (*D.N.B.*; *Orm.* I, 574; 'Mosley memoranda', Chetham Soc. N.S. 47, 1900-1.)

## 73

*Ma[ry] Mosley to her Mother*

[Ditto] This bearer can relate so much that I shall forbear to trouble you with more than that your friend is well and now lives within a mile of Doll Byron. But how long he will stay there I know not, for they often remove.  
(D29)

*M[ary] M[osley] to her Sister*

[Ditto] I know not what to write because this bearer can give you as right an account as myself. Only this I may tell you: that, if they will not suffer me to pass, I am resolved to go to Doll Byron and stay there till she be brought to bed. In that time I think the Comrade will visit the Nurse, but you will want your dear soul, for they are almost dead of a consumption at Bristol.  
(D29)

*[Col.] Ralph Ashton to Brereton*

19-3-44/5 [Manchester] Lt. Gen. Lesley hath entreated me, whilst he is giving orders to his army, to signify to you that he quarters his foot this night at Stretford and his horse at Urmyston [Urmston], Flixton, Chorlton [cum-Hardy], Howsend [Hough End], Whittington [Withington] and Didsbury and desires to confer with you before the armies join. He will give you a meeting where you please, but I hope you will either come this night to his quarters at Stretford (for he will not lodge from his army), or appoint a meeting in the morning at some place that will not draw him too far away. He desires you to watch carefully the enemy and not to engage before you join, if you can prevent fighting. Now that you know where he is, you may retreat to him if occasion be offered. He desires to rest a day for refreshing his wearied soldiers overlaid by a long march. I hope you will hold it fitter to do so in a more convenient place than Stretford. When you meet you may consider of all things, and I hope you will resolve to fall presently upon the enemy which way soever he go, and both counties and the kingdom will have the benefit of this great army and God the glory and the commanders and soldiers the honour.

your affectionate *kinsman* and servant  
(D37)

*Langdale to Brereton*

19-3-44/5 Bunbury. There is with you as prisoners Maj. Maxey and Capts. Crathorne and Clavering.<sup>1</sup> If you send them to me with your resolutions either as to what money you will take for their release or what prisoners with us you will take in exchange for them I will engage myself to send you that which you require or the prisoners again. I have divers officers of yours prisoners at Pontefract. If you will an equal exchange of some of them I shall willingly do it. But lest the gentlemen should remain any longer in prison, I propound either men in exchange or money for them, and myself engage to perform the like to you whensoever shall lie in my power.

(D25)

Note

- 1 All these officers were captured at Malpas, 25-8-44, during the long retreat southwards of the royalist cavalry after Marston Moor (Malbon, 144). For Maxey see n.to 55, for Crathorne ns. to 121 and 134. Capt. Clavering was probably Thos. of Learchild, Northumberland, younger brother to Col. Robt. Clavering (77 n.1). After the war he went into exile in France where he became a catholic priest. (Inf. from Dr. Newman citing *Hist. of Northumberland* (North. County. Hist. Com.) XIV, 537; G. Anstruther, *Seminary Priests* II, 60; etc.)

77

*Brereton to Langdale*

19-3-44/5 Middlewich. I have received your letter and will be willing to exchange Capt. Clavering for Capt. Blackwell, both capts of horse. Capt. Blackwell is now upon his parole to London for an exchange very unequal that will not be assented unto. If you will undertake for his enlargement I will send you the other. There is no [thing] more requisite thereunto than to procure Ld. Byron's assent. Touching Crathorne he is reported for a major and, if we be not misinformed, he had the command of Col. Clavering's regiment when he was taken prisoner.<sup>1</sup> Until I have further order from the Parl. I cannot take ransom for prisoners, but shall be ready in all fair respects to make suitable returns to you.  
(D25)

Note

- 1 'When he was taken prisoner' refers to Capt. Clavering and his capture at Malpas and not to Col. Robt. Clavering, who was never taken prisoner but died, possibly of camp fever, at Kendal in Aug. 1644. He was of Callaly, Northld., and had been very active in raising troops under Newcastle. He had fought at Adwalton Moor and, arriving with re-inforcements just after Marston Moor had been fought, had covered the retreat of the royalist cavalry into Lancs. (Newman; Woolrych).

78

*Brereton to Maj. Braine*

19-3-44/5 Middlewich. Your letter [64] dated at Wem 9 oclock yesternight came to my hands this day at 12 o'clock. It appears to us by the confession and report of some prisoners this day taken that their army is upon their march towards Chester or towards Northwich betwixt that and Beeston. He [sic] says their number is at least 8-9,000; he thinks more. I therefore apprehend Whitchurch a place of danger where you may be surprised and shall be very unwilling to encourage you thereunto. Some conceive that Draiton [Market Drayton] may be safer, being more remote from the enemy and more ready to join with us. But I desire that Salop [Shrewsbury] may not be anyways weakened or left unprovided. We hope the Scotch forces will be in this county this night or tomorrow, so as we shall be better able to deal with the enemy.

In the interim in obedience to the commands of the C. of B.K. and the advice of Ld. Leven, Ld. Fairfax and the Commission in the North not to engage until our auxiliaries come up, we have withdrawn our forces from Beeston and Christleton to Middlewich and Northwich.  
(D25)

*Comms. of the Derbyshire Horse<sup>1</sup> to Brereton*

19-3-44/5 Brereton [See 234, n.1]. Since the former expressions of our galling grievances we have new occasions administered which compel us to address ourselves to you.

1 Sir John Gell hath given orders to the collectors in Scarsdale (one of our hundreds in Derbys.) to pay to Cpts. Rhodes and Frith £250, since [i.e. although] he promised Capt. Hope we should have the next money that could be collected.

2 Thirty of Capt. Hope's troop endeavoured to quit their colours and ran to Derby, but were prevented by their captain who, pursuing them, speedily brought them back, and upon examination what the reason was of their quitting their colours, they answered that Sir John Gell would entertain 500 [*sic*; ? 50] of them and give them money.

3 Whereas Cpts. Swettenham and Watson with their troops were commanded as well by Sir John Gell as by the C. of B.K. into Chesh. to receive orders from your honour, yet he [Gell] offered our men that have quit their colours all accommodation, and reports to the two captains' soldiers before-mentioned that their captains have quit the county of Derby and that all their men will outrun [i.e. desert] them and that he hath provided a captain to command those runaway soldiers. This is one Beswicke, a man infamous in Chesh. his debauched demeanour is so well known in these parts that we shall but diminish truth in undertaking to blazon him. All this of Sir John's demeanour we will manifest to you, being from a good hand certified to some of us.

4 We desire you will promote our case to the C. of B.K. that we may be speedily supplied with money, some of us having of our own private disbursed to our soldiers since we set foot in Chesh. and have our estates [blank in MS]. We hope that as they have commanded us hither they will speedily take care that we may have the wherewithal to subsist. We hear from good hands Sir John hath answered Mr Speaker's letter that we received all the Treasurer had. But the fallacy is so apparent by our former as this present express that we doubt not but equivocation will be found out and yours and the kingdom's real servants respected.

Joseph Swettenham; Nath. Barton; Daniel Watson; Robt. Hope; Sam Sleight; John Goring; Tho. Watson.  
(D26)

## Note

- 1 For the officers mentioned in this letter see App. IV ii.

## 80

*Brereton to 'Worthy Sir'*

19-3-44/5 Middlewich. Were it not that the wants of the Derbys, horse and some other troops were such as they cannot admit of any delay in their relief I would not be so troublesome, but by the enclosed [79] it will appear how it is with them, concerning whom I may say, without derogation or offence to any, that none deserves better in these parts of the kingdom. If Maj. Saunders were sent down to them with power to command them, I am confident they would do you as good service as any in the kingdom. Some other soldiers there are that I desire may be likewise thought of. It is for the common soldiers principally that I am solicitous. I have and do use all my interest and power in the officers to have patience.

(D26)

## Note

- 1 Most probably St. John. See 46 and n.1 to it and the first sentence of 122.

## 81

*Brereton to Mr Sergeant Wylde'*

19-3-44/5 [Middlewich] Were not the honour and privileges of Parl. much wounded through such dealings as the enclosed [50] will declare, I should not have now troubled you upon this occasion. But such is the suffering of the parties who are not only imprisoned for executing the ordinances of Parl. but in a foreign county. All the pretence for so doing is the allotment of some townships of this county formerly to the maintenance of the garrison [of Warrington] before Lancs. was reduced. This allotment was by order of the Commons 7 May last past resumed and it was ordered that no townships in this county contribute to any foreign garrison, which order was sent to the governor of Warrington and published throughout the allotment. Notwithstanding in opposition thereunto these men are detained and many other violent acts done by the soldiers of that garrison of Warrington (wherein the commanders are not clear) to the hindrance of the sequestrators and those authorised by Parl. and to the great prejudice of the Parl.'s service.

Methinks no less can be done than an order granted to enlarge these men and what further you think fit for the vindication of the honour of Parl. And if the condition of that garrison were looked into and some care taken thereof it might be a piece of good service to the Parl. The well-affected and godly people in this towne are very solicitous of the safety thereof and ready upon any alarm to secure themselves, being much scorned by some there.

(D26)

## Note

- 1 John, M.P. for Worcs. and strong 'war' party man at the time. Later Chief Baron of the Exchequer; refused to sit on Commission to try King but took his seat in the Rump. (B.&P.; *T.C.I.*; *P.P.*)

## 82

*Brereton to St. John*

c.19-3-44/5 Since I concluded my letter to the C. of B.K. herewith sent [66], I have received intelligence that a considerable party of the Scotch army is advancing towards us and will be with us within these few days, for whom I desire to give you thanks, sithence I perceive that by the prevalence of your persuasions they have been obtained. Therefore I have sent to Ld. Fairfax, lest withdrawing any more of his forces might tend to the prejudice of those parts, to respite the sending away of any more of his horse. Also, if Col. Rossiter or Maj. Gen. Crawford advance into these [parts] and I hear of Langdale returning towards Newark or any of the Associated Counties, I will return them back unless I receive a countermand from you.

I command one request unto you which I have formerly presented to the Commons, that there may be some £3-4,000 allowed us, which although it will not extend to pay what is in arrears to the soldiers yet may give some satisfaction for the time. I have not been frequent in motions of this nature and were it [not] so that the army would be kept together, I would not prosecute [this] any further. For what money I myself and those employed by me have received, a great part thereof is accounted for on oath and the accounts ready of the rest, so that we shall not be ashamed to own the publishing thereof to all the world.

About Thursday or Friday I hope the Scots forces will come up to us. In the meantime we will decline fighting and endeavour to protect the country as far as we are able.

(D20)

## 83

*Maj. Gen. Crawford to Brereton*

20-3-44/5 2 pm Bedford. Just now I received your first. I am making what haste I can. I have been about Bedford three days to receive such forces as have been ordered to march under my command, but they are not yet come. This day I received a new order from the C. of B.K. to take along with me two regts of foot, consisting of 1.400 men. So by that reason I shall be sooner upon my march.<sup>1</sup> If you will send me word from time to time to Coventry what I shall do, I will obey. If your necessity be so great, it will be of advantage to bring the foot with me; if not, I will leave them at Coventry, and so hasten my march to you. I know not by your letter where you intend I shall meet you, it

being dated from no place. Let me know by your first [letter] to Coventry. I only wait upon the forces that should join with me; otherways I should have been almost near you, for it is eight days since I received my orders for preparing to march. No man breathing shall be more ready to serve the public and yourself. Let me know the ways you think best for me to come and what news there is in your parts. The forces intended for your relief being once joined will make a brave army.  
(D35)

Note

- 1 This sentence is puzzling, particularly as it is followed by others suggesting that he might leave the foot behind in order to speed his march. Perhaps it means that previously he had no definite orders as to what foot to take; now he has and that brings nearer the time when he can set out.

84

*Ld. Fairfax to Brereton*

20-3-44/5 York. I have been careful to send the horse that could be spared from me with as much speed as might be to your aid and they are now so far advanced that I cannot recall them. You yourself may give them a discharge for their return, if you find the enemy come about our parts and that you be in a good condition to encounter the forces against you. Deliver this order to Col. Bethell and advise for his retreat into these parts as speedily as may be.  
(D43)

85

*Order from Ld. Fairfax to Col. Bethell*

20-3-44/5 York. That Col. Bethell with the forces under his command shall forthwith march into this country (if Sir Wm. Brereton have not special need for their stay in Chesh.) and join with the rest of the horse about Pontefract, where they shall receive further orders from me upon notice of their coming thither.  
(D44)

86

*Rupert to Brereton*

20-3-44/5 Finding you desire to procure the liberty of Col. Fogge, prisoner at Lichfield, I shall be willing to enlarge him if Col. Robert Broughton<sup>1</sup> may be exchanged for him. Upon signification of your acceptance I will give immediate order for his enlargement.  
(D44)

Note

- 1 He landed with his regt. from Ireland at Neston in Feb. 1644 after the battle of Nantwich. Based on Shrewsbury, his regt took part in the battle of Montgomery on 18-9-44 and he was there captured. (Tucker, 49, 52-3; Malbon, 147.)

87

*Rich. Worrall to Brereton*

20-3-44/5 [London] I have according to your directions for ammunition sent by the old carrier 14 barrels of powder and 24 hundredweight of match and the three engines. All being 20 packs at 25s per pack for the carrier. It was Mr Bradshaw's and Mr Ashurst's mind to send it for fear there should be a want. For as yet we cannot get any for you, unless we buy it with your money. Please send to meet it; they go Derby way and set forth from town this day. Please do not charge any more money upon me; I paid according to your order £200 for Mr Richard Bradshaw upon sight. I shall send this week in a ship to Liverpool all the things that are here and some carbines that I bought by your order at my last coming up. But, if it arrive safe at Liverpool, what I send is to stay aboard till you send a boat to fetch it to Runcorn. If we have powder and match granted, I will send as much as I can in her.

[P.S.] I did mistake. There is 16 barrels of powder, 30 hundredweight of match, in all 24 packs at 25s a pack.

(D45)

88

*Rev. Hugh Peter<sup>1</sup> to Brereton*

20-3-44/5 London. Noble Sir, there is no man more heartily congratulates God's great mercy to you than myself and shall never forget privately or publicly to commend you to that blessed hand, of which you have had experience above many. The Lord sanctify all his bounty for good to you and yours for ever. Yea, may your name be dear to after ages as it is to the godly of this. I am also bold to become a suitor unto you in the behalf of Lt. Betts whom I commended unto you and hope he deserves it. Let him be not forgotten for a place amongst those on whom you cast a gracious eye and to whom you intend preferment, though I know I need not add spurs to your readiness to do and deal righteously. Yet I cannot tell whether the modesty of my friend may not be something prejudicious. I hope one word will serve and hereby you will make me more your obliged servant in Christ.

(A79)

Note

- 1 Army chaplain and noted independent preacher. The role he played at the time of the King's trial and death cost him his life at the Restoration. (*D.N.B.*; *K.W.*; *T.C.I.*)

R[ichard] Ll[oyd]' to – 'A Letter Intercepted'.

'Friday morning' [21-3-44/5] Present my service to Colonel Ellis<sup>2</sup> and Mr Goodwyn<sup>3</sup> and tell him [? them] that Brereton had a great rendezvous of all the forces the rebels could make yesterday at Bowdon Downs<sup>4</sup> and they purpose suddenly to fall down to Chester. Desire the Colonel to get my despatches from the Prince and send Meredith with them in all haste and care. If you return let all the rest follow you. If Sir John Owen look not suddenly after the 1,000 men there will nothing come of the levy.<sup>5</sup> If his Highness<sup>6</sup> remove further than Staffs., Chester will suddenly be lost, for it is very mutinous.

(D44)

#### Notes

- 1 119 and 125 confirm that this is Sir Rich. Lloyd of Esclus nr. Wrexham, Attorney General for N. Wales. It is not certain that he was yet gov. of Holt Castle, although by the end of April, 1645, he certainly was (369). Wm. Maurice in his diary says Capt. (John) Robinson was gov. on 12-3-44 and Morris says that Robinson, by this time Lt. Col., still was in late Feb., 1645 (giving no authority, however, for this). I am indebted to Mr John Lewis for pointing out the evidence that Robinson had been gov. of Holt. (Diary of Wm. Maurice of Llansilin, Denbighs., *Arch. Cam.*, 1846, 36; Morris, 74; Dodd; Tucker.)
- 2 Col. Robt. Ellis of Gwasnewydd, Denbigh., had served in the Swedish armies and was largely responsible for designing the war-time fortifications of Chester (Morris, 216–7). He was captured at Middlewich, 13-3-45. Tucker (33) says he was later exchanged but 151 seems to show that he escaped. (Morris, 216–7; Malbon, 41; Tucker, 33 but see 151 and n.)
- 3 Possibly Goodwyn is a copyist's error for Goodman. A Mr Edw. Goodman of Nantglyn, Denbighs. was fined £46 for being a delinquent in arms (Tucker, 169).
- 4 Malbon (168–9) says that on Thursday, 20-3-45, Brereton held a rendezvous of his forces on Knutsford Heath and Bowdon Downs and there the Scots joined them. This entry enables the date of this item to be fixed. Bowdon Downs – since the 19th century swallowed up in a wealthy Manchester dormitory – was in Brereton's time an open expanse of barren, sandy land (*Brereton's Travels*, 36; Chetham Soc. O.S. 1). Two previous armies – Fairfax's on the way to Nantwich and Rupert's on the way to Marston Moor – had bivouacked there.
- 5 Sir John Owen of Clennau, Caerns., a soldier of continental experience, was sheriff of Caerns. and governor of Conway. On 17-2-45 he was appointed Maj. Gen. of a force to be levied from the five counties of North Wales to assist Maurice. Their principal object was to secure Holt Bridge and Sir John arrived at Wrexham and held a rendezvous of his troops in the neighbourhood. By the time this letter was written, however, he appeared to be back in Conway and most of the troops from Anglesey, Merioneth and Caernarvon had also departed. An order to the sheriffs of Denbighs. and Flints. required the houses where they had stayed to be searched, for many of them had left their arms behind them! (*D.N.B.*; *D.W.B.*; *Clennau Letters & Papers*, II; items from 29-1-45 to 20-3-45.)
- 6 Probably this is Rupert, but Maurice is a possibility. He had been in the area for

some weeks, had kept his troops entirely on the Welsh side of the Dee and had had contacts and correspondence with Welsh royalist leaders. (*Clenennau Letters & Papers*, II, ed. T. Pierce Jones.)

*Ld. Fairfax to Brereton*

21-3-44/5 York. I did understand by your letter yesterday that you did not need the horse I ordered to come for your assistance from Nottingham. Because they were advanced so near to you that I could not recall them, I sent an order enclosed in my letter which upon your delivery might cause them to return. I have since more seriously considered of the same and as I have received many letters from the Lords of the Committee [C. of B.K.] for sending such numbers of horse to you, though your necessity be not so great for them for the present, I cannot call them back without disobeying the orders sent me from that board. This gentleman is a minister to the Scottish foot lately sent unto you, who will acquaint you with the state of that army. I have now caused 1,000 foot to march from this town to quarter about Pontefract where I have 15–1600 horse likewise, the better to secure their guards and prevent the enemy from drawing great contributions from the country which hinders the pay of our army.

(D39)

*Order and Resolution of the Council of War at Middlewich which was delivered to the Lt. Gen. [Lesley] to follow and pursue the Enemy* [Marginal note in Brereton's writing]

21-3-44/5 Middlewich. Resolved and is the opinion of all the officers at a Council of War that it is the best and most advantageous course to march towards Draughton [Market Drayton] where the enemy quartered yesterday night to the end the enemy may not at his pleasure waste that part of the country, being yet untouched, and also to attend the enemy's motions that he may be hindered from marching into the Associated Counties or into the North, which he may easily do if these forces do not draw near and attend him. Which, if it be thought fit by the Lt. Gen. of the Scottish army, then we conceive Sanbath [Sandbach] and Beetchson [Betchton] will be the best quarters for their foot or, if they will march four miles further, then to Bettley [Betley] and Wrinehill, seven miles from Drayton.

Wm. Brereton, Ro. Duckenfield,<sup>1</sup> Ra. Ashton, Mich. Jones, James Lothian.<sup>2</sup>

(D37)

## Notes

- 1 Of Duckenfield Hall nr. Stockport (the town of Dukinfield did not then exist even in village form), 1618–89. He came out early in support of his kinsman and

co-religionist, Brereton, and became a col. by 1643, although he was only 24. He fought at 2nd Middlewich and at Nantwich. Although a consistent Brereton supporter – he refused to sign the Knutsford Petition – he did a great deal of grumbling about the bad conditions and lack of pay for himself and his men and, on one occasion, drew down a rebuke from Brereton on his reluctance to obey orders. (409, 497, 763; *Luke*, 1208.)

During the Third Civil War, 1650–1, he was gov. of Chester, took over the I. of Man and was a member of the court martial that condemned the E. of Derby to death. He was an M.P. in the Nominated Parl. of 1653, but refused to support the Protectorate (making his reasons very clear in a personal letter to Cromwell; see letter of 23-3-54 in *Thurloe*, III). He set up Sam. Eaton, the fiery Independent preacher, in his chapel at Duckenfield Hall, which became a centre from which 'gifted brethren not intending the ministry' went out to preach and pray.

His younger brother, John, became an officer in the New Model and in 1659 played a prominent part in suppressing Booth's Rising and turning out the Rump. Orm. III, 816, and *C.W.T.C.*, 170, 181, confuse the two here. (*D.N.B.*; Orm. III, 815–8; Earw. II, 13–21; *C.W.T.C.*; *C.W.T.L.*; Malbon; Dore; Morrill.)

- 2 A Scots soldier, obviously with considerable professional experience, although nothing has come to light about his life before 1643. He came with Brereton to Chesh. in Jan. 1643, and played a major part in the parl. successes that followed. He was intended to be a major factor in the defence of Nantwich in Dec. 1643, but was captured early in the siege. It was at one time intended that he should be exchanged for Goring (Warburton II, 388) but it seems more probable that the eventual exchange was with Lt. Col. Shakerley (P. & R. 131). He re-appeared in action at the battle of Montgomery, 18 Sept., 1644. In B.L.B. he is Adjutant to the Chesh. forces and during April-May, 1645, was in charge of the siege of Hawarden. While Brereton was absent in London from June to Oct., 1645, he commanded the Chesh. foot under the Com. He played an important part in the victory of Rowton Moor, 24 Sept., 1645, while B.L.B. shows him organising in the autumn of 1645 the expeditions to Denbigh and Whitchurch that were able to go forth and return without the Leaguer itself being seriously weakened. He was one of the Commissioners for the surrender of Chester in Feb. 1646. In 1648 he was still in Chesh. and with the rank of colonel helped Mytton to subdue the rising in North Wales. By the time of the Worcester campaign in 1651, however, his name has vanished from the county and we have no idea what became of him.

There is little doubt that his professional knowledge and considerable ability had a great deal to do with the success of the parliamentary cause in Chesh., particularly in 1643 when few of its leaders had any military experience. Unlike some of the Scots professionals (notably Sir John Seaton in Lancs.; see *C.W.T.L.* 73), he seems to have had the virtue of tact. Testimonies as to his ability come in from all quarters without any note of dissent, a circumstance almost without parallel in Civil War records. (Malbon; *C.W.T.C.*; Morris; Lancaster's *Relation*; Byron's Account.)

*Com. at Manchester to Brereton*

21-3-44/5 Manchester. According to your desire we shall do our utmost to

raise a considerable quantity of oats and meal for the supply of the Scotch army and this Hundred [Salford] shall send its proportion the beginning of next week. We hope the rest of the county will make all possible expedition. We shall send it to Knutsford and we entreat you in the meantime to appoint a house there and a person to whom all shall be delivered. If what horses and sacks brought out of the county may be safely returned, it shall encourage us to yield what further assistance we are able.

Raph Ashton, Tho. Birch,<sup>1</sup> Rich. Haworth<sup>2</sup>  
(D31)

## Notes

- 1 Of Birch Hall nr. Manchester. Capt./Maj. during 1st Civil War; Lancs. Com.; gov. of Liverpool for a time then and again 1650–1; Recruiter M.P. for Liverpool; col. during Interregnum. A strong independent who became v. important in the affairs of the N.W. during the Interregnum. Col. John Birch (*q.v.*), his cousin, was from nearby Ardwick, although his Civil War and Interregnum career was connected with Hereford. Despite a warning not to do so, the note on Thos. Birch in *Discourse* (88–90) confuses the two. (*C.W.T.L.*; *Discourse*; Broxap; Yule; Blackwood.)
- 2 A Manchester lawyer; Lancs. Com. (*C.W.T.L.*, 210; Blackwood.)

## 93

*The County of Lancashire (500 loads of oats and 20,000 lbs weight of oatmeal)*

vizt.

Salford Hundred	70 loads of oats	2800 lbs of oatmeal
[West] Derby Hundred	120 loads of oats	4800 lbs of oatmeal
Leyland Hundred	45 loads of oats	1800 lbs of oatmeal
Amond. [Amunderness]		
Hun.	95 loads of oats	3800 lbs of oatmeal
Blackburn Hundred	90 loads of oats	3600 lbs of oatmeal
Lynsdale [Lonsdale]		
Hundred	80 loads of oats	3200 lbs of oatmeal
Total	500	20000

We have written to Col. Shuttleworth and Mr Starkey to take care in Blackburn and Amondernes [Amunderness] Hundreds, Col. Dodding and Mr Fell for Loynsdale [Lonsdale], Col. Standish for Leyland, Col. Moore, Col. Egerton and Mr Ireland<sup>1</sup> for [West] Derby Hundred for the speedy sending of the above-mentioned provisions and we have signified that it will be expected Tuesday next [25 March].

(D31)

## Note

- 1 These mentioned were all important Lancs. Com. men and dep. lts.; except for Fell, all held military commissions (whether given them in this extract or not). Col. Rich. Shuttleworth, M.P. for Preston, was of Gawthorpe Hall nr. Blackburn. His three sons, Rich., Nich. and Ughtred became either cols. or lt. cols. Col. John Starkie was of Huntroyd nr. Blackburn. His son, Capt. Nicholas, had been killed in an explosion of gunpowder after the taking of Houghton Castle. Col. Geo. Dodding, gov. of Lancaster, was of Conishead Priory, Furness. Despite suspicions of his conduct before Rupert's march into Lancs., he did very well during it, seeing to the defences of Lancaster so well that Rupert did not attempt to take it, yet also contriving to get most of his regt. into Yorks to take part in Marston Moor (*Discourse*, 49-50). Thos. Fell was a lawyer of Swarthmoor Hall, Ulverston, who later became Recruiter M.P. for Lancaster and a Rumper. Col. Thos. Standish, M.P. for Preston, was of Duxbury, a collateral branch of the royalist Standishes of Standish. His own son, Thomas, had been killed fighting for the King at the siege of Manchester. Col. John More was of Bankhall nr. Liverpool, M.P. for Liverpool and gov. prior to Rupert's storming of the town. Later he was a regicide. Col. Peter Egerton was of Shaw, Flixton, an estate he had gained by marriage. He was a son by a second marriage of Ralph Egerton of Ridley, Chesh. (*Orm*. II, 301). Ralph's grandson by his first marriage, Col. Rich. Egerton of Ridley, was one of the royalist defenders of Chester. Capt., later Col. Gilbert Ireland, was of Hutt, Hale, Lancs. and was later gov. of Liverpool and M.P. for the town during the Protectorate. (*C.W.T.L.*; *Discourse*; B. & P.; *P.P.*; Broxap; Blackwood.)

*Com. at Manchester to Brereton*

22-3-44/5 Manchester. [First part of the letter a repetition of [92-3]. Thus far we writ you in a letter yesterday, but doubting whether the messenger would convey it speedily thought fit to certify you again.

As for the forces which are desired out of Lancs. in regard our soldiers which are in common pay are all abroad in public employment – in Chesh. and in blocking up of Lathom and besieging Greenhaugh Castle and guarding the frontiers of the county against Skipton – we know not how to perform what is expected from us. But we are sending to the captains of the new raised companies here about which consist of husbandmen and such like. We have sent likewise to some gentlemen near at hand without whose concurrence and conjunction we can from these parts give no considerable assistance. We desire you will send us an answer that we know where in Knutsford to give directions that the victuals shall be brought.

[P.S.] The prisoners you sent hither are very troublesome to this town and the charge of them – ammunition, ordnance etc. – occasions a stronger guard than otherwise would be needful. We hope if the enemy persists in his retreat you will send for them, and in the meantime send them moneys for their assistance.

Ralphe Ashton,<sup>1</sup> Tho. Birch, Rd. Haworth  
(D35)

## Note

- 1 This second signing as a com. man in Manchester coming after the first one on 21-3-45 (92) makes it unlikely that this could be Col. Ralph Ashton whose regt was at this moment with Brereton in mid-Chesh. Col. Ralph was present at Brereton's Council of War at Middlewich on 21-3-45 (91) and, although it is just possible that he could have ridden there after joining in writing the first letter from Manchester, it is improbable that he would have returned there after the Council of War, while his regt was moving off southwards to join in the pursuit of the Princes. In which case, the signatory must be his son, Ralph, soon to succeed his father in command of the regt (see 627 n.1.).

## 95

*Maj. Gen. Crawford to Brereton*

22-3-44/5 10 am Bedford. This morning I received two letters from you bearing the date March 19, the one very full and the other seconding it [not in B.L.B.]. No man in England shall be more real and cordially willing to express all dutiful obligations to the public and yourself. I have been ready in person lying at Bedford ever since Monday last to receive such troops of horse as were designed for your relief, but as yet there are come no more than eight troops of Ld. Manchester's army. I received the other day an order from the C. of B.K. to take 1,200 foot, which are now ready if my Ld. Gen.'s horse [Essex's] designed for me were but come. No man breathing shall be more willing to serve you than myself but without strength my person will be of no value. I have again sent to the C. of B.K. at London intimating that no horse are yet come (but those eight troops of Lord Manchester's). I hope there will be a speedy course taken in it for [blank in MS]. My strength of both horse and foot will not exceed 2,500, and when I come the length of Stafford or Coventry, if you will have me to advance only with the horse I shall be most ready. That I may be the sooner despatched away I have sent both your letters and the former one to the C. of B.K. [More protestations of his desire to give speedy assistance to Brereton.] If it be possible for you to look upon the enemy with patience till your relief come, it will be of no small consequence to all those parts, for the numbers they have are not to be dealt withall without good strength.

(D42)

## 96

*Brereton to Lesley*

22-3-44/5 Middlewich. By several advertismsents that came to my hands since I left you I am further certified that both the Princes and their forces are marched away, but whither I have not yet very certainly. I have received several importunities of the country to pursue them, whereof I perceive (your forces being so far advanced) there is a great expectation. Whereof (at the

instance of Col. Rossiter and some others) I humbly suggest that the horse under Col. Rossiter (about 1,800) should advance towards Lichfield on the left of Stafford and that your army, or at least your horse, with all mine that can possibly be spared, advance to [Market] Drayton and so forwards to the edge of Staffs. Whereby we are not likely to receive any engagement and yet shall give much satisfaction to the countries, help to quit them of stragglers, understand better the enemy's motions, and the auxiliary force come to us will be nearer the command of the C. of B.K. if ought may come from them. They will be on their way to their own country whither they are expected and desired with all speed to march.

I only propose this for your consideration.

Post. If you approve not to advance either with horse or foot, I desire your advice touching the advance of my own horse and foot to Drayton, where they will expect a rendezvous with your army at such time as we shall agree upon. I shall be wholly guided by your advice.

(D32)

97

*Lesley to Brereton*

22-3-44/5 Sanbige [Sandbach] Yours with the enclosed [96; 91] are come to my hands. If my march had not been so long and the enemy so far gone, I should have been willing to have satisfied the countries' expectations. Concerning Col. Rossiter, if it be his own desire, I should think it fitting he have an eye on the motions [of the enemy], so be it he engage not. What he shall do further after the return of my party, which will be tomorrow between 10 or 12 o'clock, I shall then be most willing to conclude with you.

(D32)

98

*Brereton to C. of B.K.*

[23-3-44/5 Middlewich] The Scottish forces under Lt. Gen. Lesley are come unto us. So also are Cols. Rossiter and Bethell. But upon their approach the enemy, though united, retreated. Their strength is said to be 8-9,000, which I believe to be the most: Rupert and Sir Jacob Ashley Astley about 3,000, whereof 2,000 foot and 1,000 horse; Langdale about 2,000 horse; Maurice's numbers not much less, only some of these new-raised and less serviceable. I am confident they have not added 1,000 to their number. Some doubt whether Maurice's forces be returned any further than into Wales, which as yet remains uncertain. But the enemy's return was very quick and sudden. On Thursday [20 March] night they quartered at Draughton [Market Drayton] and marched next day through Newport without stop towards Bridgnorth. From thence they may direct their course either to Worcester and Oxford, or

to Lichfield and thence towards Newark and so into the North or the Associated Counties. Or they may return to Ludlow whence they came. When I have attained to the certainty hereof you shall receive speedy advertisement. Meantime we are moving towards them and will persist so far as the Scottish commanders concur. These are very gallant and industrious soldiers whose advice and counsel may be as much advantage to us as the addition of double the number to our forces. They are a very considerable

t w o t h o u s a n d m u s q u e t e e r s  
body: no less than 9,vii,xvi, 9,ii,xvi,xii,3,4,vix,x xi,xii,3,iii,xii,v,9,5,v,6,3, and  
f i v e t e e n e h u n d r e t h h o r s e  
xv,5,xii,v,9,v,v,vi,v, ii,xii,vi,x,6,v,9,ii, ii,xvi,6,3,v, well armed and

appointed, indeed as choice men as are to be found in any army. You may be

assured we will be much guided and governed by them. Our greatest

w a n t f o o t  
vii,4,vi,9, still is of xv,xvi,xvi,9, which I could supply in these parts if I was

m u s q u e t s f i r e l o c k e s  
furnished with xi,xii,3,iii,xii,v,9,3 or rather xv,5,6,v,8,xvi,7,2,v,3; one

thousand of either, for which I would have been ashamed to move if many of those sent by sea last summer had not been taken or miscarried by the loss of Liverpool. Before Col. Bethell's coming I sent to Ld. Fairfax that he might not advance so far but be in readiness for the defence of the northern parts in case Langdale or any other enemy wheel about towards Yorks.

I have given Maj. Gen. Crawford notice of the enemy's remove and have presumed so far as to desire him to wait and observe the enemy's motions. (D32)

*Brereton to Crawford*

23-3-44/5 7 am Middlewich. I have received your letter dated 20 March [83] and am much obliged unto you for your willingness to advance to our assistance and give you this account of our condition that you may know better how to order your course.

Upon the rumour of the advance of the Scottish forces, who are now come unto us under the command of Lt. Gen. Lesley, a very gallant able commander, the forces of Rupert, Maurice, Astley and Langdale retreated out of this county to Whitchurch. They had conveyed some relief into

Beeston Castle and some more, which is not very considerable into Chester, from which we removed to join with the Scottish forces and those of Ld. Fairfax's and Col. Rossiter's, which were approaching near unto us. We received advice from them and commands from above not to engage until they came up to us. Whereupon we removed to some places of more advantage and security and are now joined by the Scottish army, consisting of brave and well-disciplined men, well commanded and well armed. The enemy quartered on Wednesday night [19 March] at Whitchurch, on Thursday night at [Market] Drayton, on Friday night at or behind Newport in Salop, which is about 16 or 17 miles from Nantwich. During this time we were in suspense whether he was upon his return or removed only for fresh quarters, from whence he may conveniently march towards Oxford or into the West or towards Lichfield and so break into the Associated Counties. Or he may go to Newark and so for the North. I believe his strength is no less than 3,000 foot and near 4,000 horse, including Langdale's and Vaughan's horse, but without many horse and foot which came with them but may be returned to their garrisons of Ludlow, Lichfield, Hereford, Worcester, Dudley, Bridgnorth etc.) which might make their number about 8-9,000, to whom I cannot believe there is 1,000 men collected and added since the Princes' coming down. They did compose this army of soldiers taken out of the garrisons of Cisister [Cirencester], Evesham, [Chipping] Camden, Langdale's 2,000 horse from Winchester and near 4-5,000 foot taken out of Shrewsbury. Sir William Vaughan's horse, which were 4-500, are gone away with them. Col. Rossiter came to me yesterday and today is returned whence he came. Col. Bethell came also last night with 1,000 Yorks. horse and is returned to join with Cols. Rossiter and Thornhaugh. The rest of the forces of Derbys., Lincs., Notts., Leics., Northants. and Yorks. in all probability will be commanded with all speed to unite.

I cannot advise, but will only desire you to dispose yourself in some convenient place about Leicester or between Leicester and Coventry where your forces may join with such other of the Parl.'s forces for the annoying and interrupting of the enemy. I can assure you I should have accounted it a great happiness to have had the assistance of you and your forces.

(D33)

#### Note

- 1 Four troops of horse were under Sir Wm. Vaughan in the landing of troops from Ireland at Neston on 7-2-44. He fought at Marston Moor; was gov. of Shrawardine, Salop, at this time; fought at Naseby; tried to relieve Chester but was defeated at Denbigh, 1-11-45; returned to Ireland and was killed at Rathmines, Aug. 1649. He was said to come from Herefordshire but to have 'no real estate'. (*D.N.B.*; *C.C.C.*, 2880; Dodd, 98; Tucker; *Marston Moor*; Newman, 1483).

*Lesley to Brereton*

23-3-44/5 Sambatch [Sandbach] I acknowledge your respects and approve the orders you intend to send to Maj. Gen. Crawford. I will wait upon you in your quarters this afternoon.

(D34)

*Brereton to Ld Fairfax*

24-3-44/5 Middlewich. I have stayed your messenger two days that I might be able to give you certain intelligence which way the enemy moves, but as yet I cannot hear that they are returned further back than Newport, some say hereabout to fortify and engarrison themselves. This town is about 16 miles from Lichfield whence they may march towards Worcester, Oxford and the west or, more probably, for Newarke and the North, whitherwards we expected they should have moved before this. We cannot imagine the reason of their stay at Newport, unless for more forces or some ammunition which is much wanting with them. It hath been moved to the Scottish general that we might take this opportunity to fight with them, but he thinks it fit to stay until some other expected forces join with us.

It would be of great security if the remainder of the Scottish army were so advanced that they could aid resistance if the enemy offer to break in by way of Newark which is most expected. They are already within an easy day's march of Lichfield and thence you know it is not very far to Newark. I humbly propound that Col. Thornhaugh with the residue of the Lincs., Leics., Notts., and Northants. forces should be advertised hereof so that they may be united and not scattered and dispersed. Col. Rossiter was returning but, because the Scottish general thought it probable there might be a battle, he was desired to stay in some place where he could either assist us or return back so as he may be before the enemy. I do believe they have 3,000 foot at least and 3-4,000 horse, but no ordnance nor many carriages, to the end that their motions may be more quick and speedy.

Touching the £300 you desire me to provide until it can be supplied out of your Treasury, if by any endeavour it can be procured or if my credit can bring me so much I will not fail. In Herefs. and Worcs. many thousands of countrymen have risen and pursued the enemy from plundering and have surrounded Hereford. Colonel Massey is drawing near to second and encourage them.

(D36)

*Brereton to the C. of B.K.*

24-3-44/5 Middlewich. By a post sent yesterday [98] I gave you advertisement

of the Princes returning back. Since I have received intelligence from several hands that they remain still about Newport, sending out warrants to command the country to bring in provisions and, with shovels and spades, pretending to fortify and engarrison that town, which is something improbable. We suspect their design is speedily for the Associated Counties or for Newark and the north or towards Oxford and the west.

But however uncertain which way they move, it is not to be doubted that those parts wherever they come will be much oppressed and hard tasked, unless some powerful assistance be applied. They have not taken all their forces out of this county, as was first reported, but have left a good party in Wales and in this county between Holt Bridge and Beeston Castle, wherein they do much annoy and infest these parts. It is rumoured they are about to garrison a house or two here, but I cannot easily incline to believe it. It is much desired we should pursue and fight with the enemy, but the Scottish general insists upon the coming of Maj. Gen. Crawford which may prove uncertain and occasion longer delay.

The Lord hath preserved all our garrisons in Chesh., Salop and Wales, and Chester remains reasonably well blocked up on the Chesh. side, so as little supply or relief can come thence unto them. But until this [enemy] army be removed or scattered we cannot think of any other work than to observe them, whose motions shall from time to time be made known unto you, if the messengers be not intercepted

Post. If the Scottish commander had thought fit and concurred in opinion with us, we would not have waited for further commands but would have followed<sup>1</sup> them or removed them.

(D37)

Note

- 1 Originally the MS had 'fallen upon' and this has been altered to 'followed', in what appears to be Brereton's writing. In view of Lesley's allegation as to what was in this letter to the C. of B.K. in his own to Brereton of 1-4-45 [156] and Brereton's evasive and not very truthful reply to him [157], this alteration is significant.

*Brereton to Ashurst*

24-3-44/5 Middlewich. By the C. of B.K. you will perceive where the enemy is and what they are about. We have much pressed the Scottish general to advance nearer, but he seems very unwilling that we should engage until the rest of the forces assigned for our assistance come up, which may be so late and so uncertain that they [the enemy] may be far out of reach. Therefore at present I am in some straits, being unwilling to give the Scots any discontent or engage without them, or to lose this opportunity of falling upon the enemy, who though they may be more in number, yet I hope through God's assistance we may be able to deal with them.

This is a business to be carried with so much tenderness and caution as that I must entreat your best consideration and advisement [consultation] with 73 [?] and 74 [?] and 79 [?].<sup>1</sup>

The Scottish commander says that they must return back the same way they came if this army [the enemy] wheel towards Newark and the north. They say Yorks. will be able to make little opposition, and they judge it not safe to advance far further this way, lest the enemy should come betwixt them and home. Then they say he will find a potent party in 159 [Scotland] which will hazard that kingdom. Therefore I despair of obtaining these forces to advance far in pursuit after the enemy and desire some other forces may be applied to relieve those parts whither this [enemy] army shall fall.

(D38)

#### Note

- 1 As this delicate matter concerned the Scots, it seems likely that the three consultants suggested by Brereton would be members of the C. of B.K., which also included Scots Commissioners. By their influence on the Committee and their prominence in B.L.B. Vane and St. John seem likely choices for two of the three, but there is no third candidate of equal probability and, unfortunately, these numbers never appear again to supply any further clues.

#### 104

##### *Brereton to Stone*

24-3-44/5 Nantwich. The mutinies long since projected are now broke out and the authors thereof and actors therein – divers of Col. Rugeley's and Capt. Jackson's troops – with the greatest part of these troops are gone from us and have seduced others to follow them. Let the gates of Stafford be shut against them and, if either of them or any other troops or companies shall come to Stafford or into that country from this army without license, cause them to be secured and let them know that none of them shall have part of the £1,000 expected from Shrewsbury or of their assignation in Staffs. for the time past. I hold them unworthy of employment for the time to come. But for those that stay you will take care that their assignations may be gathered and speedily sent them and the payment thereof duly made whilst they shall stay in this service. I shall take care that they shall have the £1,000 from Shrewsbury distributed amongst them.<sup>2</sup>

(D38)

#### Notes

- 1 There were three Staffs. Jacksons who at some time or other during the Civil War held the rank of captain in the parliamentary army. It is probable that this was the Capt. Henry Jackson of Wall near Shenstone in S.E. Staffs., who raised a troop of horse early in 1643. The others were the well-known Philip Jackson, the 'Grand Juryman' who led the Morelanders round Leek at the same time and his son,

Henry, from Stanshope on the Derbyshire border in N.E. Staffs. (Information kindly supplied by Mr John Sutton.) P. & R. confuse the two families and make Henry of Stanshope the father instead of the son of Philip Jackson. The latter was an assiduous member of the Staffs. Com. and by this time he and his son had probably reached the rank of col. and lt. col. respectively.

- 2 If Capt. Stone did close the gates of Stafford against the returning troopers, there is no mention of it in the Order Book of the Staffs. Com., which, considering the close connection of the powers of the governor, Com. and mayor (P. & R., 3), would appear surprising. On 25-3-45 the Com. issued an order that the troopers were to return to their command the next day on pain of being proceeded against by martial law (P. & R., 282). As nothing more is heard of the matter, presumably the order was effective. One would have thought the pro-Denbigh party would have seized the opportunity of using so emotive an issue as the sending away of the county's troops to 'foreign' parts against Brereton, but as Rugeley himself signed the order, together with two other pro-Denbigh men and Philip Jackson, as against Stone and two other Brereton supporters, obviously they did not wish too. They may have felt it would have supplied Brereton with too strong an opportunity of complaining to the C. of B.K. that they were obstructing the Leaguer.

105

*Col. Rossiter to Brereton*

24-3-44/5 Cheadle [Staffs.]. I should have been as ready as any man to serve you and therein the state and was ordering my troops to march towards Newcastle [under-Lyme]. But the advice of my officers was for a return to Grantham and a letter from Col. Thornigh [Thornhaugh] intimated that I am expected there according to orders from above which I cannot disobey. Lincs. and the Associated Counties lie open to the enemy's violence. Besides I have heard this morning from Col. Thornigh [Thornhaugh] that the enemy have already made two attempts upon Grantham and killed and taken divers of our men, though hitherto they have been beaten back. But being certainly informed that the enemy in Lincs. is at least 2,000 and we at Grantham but 600, I fear they will be restless in assaying that place. Knowing the consequence it would be to them if obtained, and [that] what prejudice shall arise to the country in my absence may be imputed to me if I retard my march, I must necessarily beg your pardon in this business.

P.S. Since sealing hereof I have received another letter from you, but weighing the same propositions in your first letter I can give you no further answer than what is already signified herein.

(D42)

106

*Brereton to Crawford*

24-3-45 Nantwich. I have received your second letter dated Bedford, 22 March, [95], where by I am confirmed in the belief of your readiness to assist

us. Your horse and foot will be very acceptable if you hasten them this way. It is true that yesterday at 7 am I sent you a letter [99] by one of my own servants advertising that the enemy was retreated out of these parts and thereupon gave my advice how you might dispose your forces for the best advantage, but since that we have received certain intelligence that the enemy is still at Newport and pretends to fortify there. Thereupon Lt. Gen. Lesley and myself sent to you yesterday about 4 pm to advance towards us. I sent you another letter to the same purpose at 6 pm and now, because I fear that before your coming up we may not be so fit [to engage], I have posted this third earnestly desiring you to make all possible speed. I conceive by Tamworth and Stafford and have desired the Com. at Coventry to give you all assistance and appointed Capt. Stone, governor of Stafford, to give you constant intelligence of the enemy's motions. If God give a blessing to the forces Parl. have assigned for these parts it will much conduce to shorten the war; in the meantime the forces already come up are not only unserviceable but burthensome to this poor county.

(D43)

107

*Ld. Fairfax to Brereton*

24-3-44/5 York. I sent Mr Waterhouse to attend you and give me intelligence how affairs stand in your parts and the condition of your army. I have heard nothing as yet which makes me question whether he be come safe to you. I should be glad to hear that the Scottish forces are joined with you and then doubt not that – with God's assistance – you will be able to do service upon the enemy. By holding intelligence on with another we shall know better how to bend our forces for the annoyance of the enemy and advancing of the service.

(D44)

108

*Ld. Fairfax to Brereton & Lesley*

[Names of those to whom letter was sent added in Brereton's writing]  
24-3-44/5 York. I received several letters from the C. of B.K. requiring me to send all the forces I could spare for the assistance of Sir Wm. Brereton and, because I had no other but horse, I gave strict orders they should presently march, since which he [Brereton] hath desired, because the Scottish forces were drawn near him, that I should keep my own horse, intended for him, to guard our own coasts [borders]. If upon joint advice you shall conceive my horse useless for that service I desire you will discharge them of their attendance and order them to march to Pontefract where their service will be very useful for the safety of this county.

(D49)

109

*C. of B.K. to the Dep. Lts & Coms. of Lancs. & Staffs.* [C.S.P.D. 1644-5, 366]

[The phrase 'Dep. Lts. & Coms.' is in an amended version of the superscription in Brereton's writing.]

24-3-44/5 Derby Ho. [Summary. Sent in case their letters of 17 March (58-9) have miscarried. Necessity of sending provisions of horse and man to Brereton, so that his army can keep together, attend the motions of the enemy, resist his proceedings and 'preserve those parts from plunder'.]

Lauderdale: Saye & Sele  
(D51)

110

*Brereton to Rossiter*

25-3-45 Nantwich. Although I would have been happy to have your assistance, I must consent to your return which I apprehend most necessary. The sooner you return the better, because I heard the enemy was upon their remove and I fear towards the Associated Counties [Eastern Association]. I therefore exceedingly desire that yourself and Col. Thornhaugh and the rest of the forces of that Association were united the better to defend yourselves. If you take course that such letters as I send to Derby may be conveyed thence, you may account to hear constantly from me, but beyond Derby I am so much a stranger that I cannot find such speedy conveyance as I desire.  
(D42)

111

*Ld. Byron to Brereton*

25-3-45 Chester. I perceive by some letters sent to Sir Nicholas Byron's<sup>1</sup> lady from Nantwich where he is a prisoner that there is some scruple made to grant her a pass to visit him and return to this place, whose occasions I know to be such that she cannot, according to her intentions, suddenly set forward to Holland. I cannot doubt your civility in granting her a visit and to that purpose desire you to grant Sir Nicholas six days on parole to this or any other place in our power. I engage myself for his return on mine honour and the word of a gentleman and a soldier.  
(D48)

Note

- 1 Uncle to Ld. Byron. He was made gov. of Chester Feb./March, 1643. On 12-1-44 he was captured in Mytton's surprise of a royalist convoy at Ellesmere and, although afterwards exchanged, he did not return to his governorship. Indeed there is some evidence that he had already been superseded before his capture (his own letter to Rupert from Shrewsbury a little over a fortnight before his capture:

Add. MS 18981,2). He was taken a second time when Shrewsbury was captured. (S.A.S.T. 2nd ser. 6 Pt. 1, 72 & 4th ser. 2, Pt. 2, 230-1; Malbon; Morris; Tucker.)

*Brereton to Leven*

25 [? prob. 27]<sup>1</sup>-3-45 Nantwich. I humbly acknowledge your care and respect expressed in your seasonable relief, sent when the enemy was ready to swallow up our forces which were much unsuitable and disproportionable to theirs.

Your army is so well disciplined and ordered as is unparalleled and unexampled and the Lt. Gen. [Lesley] a very gallant, discreet commander, upon whose judgement we will much rely, and account the assistance of his counsel not much less advantageous to us than the forces brought along with him. On the approach of your army the enemy retreated. The Lt. Gen. was very confident they would not have gone away but would have given battle. But when they had drained the country and possessed themselves of as much money and treasure and plundered, wasted and impoverished it as much as they could, they disguised their intentions, pretending they would fortify Newort where they quartered. To this end they sent out their warrants into the country to bring in great quantity of provisions, pickaxes and spades. The men that first came in according to their warrants they pressed and took away with them and stayed not the coming of the rest, but marched swiftly away to Shifnal and so to Kinver, Kittermaster [Kidderminster] and Bewdley, where they quartered on Tuesday night. It was given out amongst them that the King had received some great loss in the west, which hastened their march towards Oxford or the west. When I understand their motions further I will give you an account thereof. [Repetition of previous elaborate thanks and compliments.]

Post. Chester remains still in a very necessitous condition, their wants being little supplied by the Princes' coming and their discontents much increased. They begin to apprehend themselves in a desperate and forlorn condition. If your army could stay with us a fortnight or 20 days, I hope there may be a good account given thereof. If this were done, all this county would be clear and what forces we have should be at your command.

(D49)

## Note

- 1 This letter is unmistakably dated 25-3-45, but internal evidence and that of the captured royalist diary [142] make the date unlikely. This letter says the royalists retreated from Newport, first to Shifnal and then to Kinver, Kidderminster and Bewdley, 'where they quartered on Tuesday night'. But 25 March *was* a Tuesday and on the previous Tuesday, 18 March, the royalists were still in Chesh. The news of them quartering as far away as Worcs. could hardly have reached Brereton at Nantwich on the same night, and if it had, would he not have said 'they quartered

*this night*? That his information was correct is confirmed by the royalist diary which gives Monday, 24 March, for their reaching Shifnal and Tuesday, 25 March, for Bewdley. It seems most likely, therefore, that this letter was written on 27 March. If it had been on 26 March, then the intelligence would still have come in very smartly and Brereton would probably have said 'yesternight' instead of 'on Tuesday night'. By 28 March he was in possession of much more detail about the royalists' movements and had heard a rumour that they were returning. This information he passed on to the C. of B.K. in three letters written to them on that day [127; 130; 131] and would certainly have done the same to Leven if he had written to him then.

## 113

*Swinfen to Brereton*

25-3-45 Tuesday 9 pm This evening I received yours [not in B.L.B.] by your messenger that came to the C. of B.K. by whom I understand that the enemy retreated upon the coming of the Scottish and other forces to you. I cannot perceive by your letters that you are advancing after the Prince but do rather conjecture by your dismissing Cols. Rossiter and Bethell that you intend to stay with the Scottish forces about Chester. I do much wonder since the enemy marcheth entire away without dividing his body that you should divide yours, assigned to you upon your solitictions to attend upon him, and that no part hath orders to follow him. Chester may easily be left in such a posture that nothing can be done in short upon it and [even] if in two months something could be effected, the damage to the whole kingdom may be far greater that can be done by the enemy, now let loose with his whole body, to swell upon the spoils thereof and take advantage upon unreadiness in the south. All the evil that may ensue will be laid at your door, as with that blame that was here charged upon the northern horse that followed not Langdale when he left their coasts [borders]. It is impossible to create new armies upon every change [MS has 'charge'] of the enemy's motions and such a confluence of strength as met with you will not be bodied again in a long time to give this enemy opposition. It had been most suitable to expectations here if you had (having abundance of strength such as is not usually obtained) left so many horse and foot as might have preserved your own county from the excursions of Chester and followed the enemy with your main army. And though you have sent away Cols. Rossiter and Bethell, it will be most honourable to you and advantageous to the public [service] if you follow the Prince with all the forces of your own and the Scots that you can possible raise.

The messenger is in such haste that I have scarce time to write half I would or give you an account of our own business. It is hard to keep order upon a surprise; therefore I crave pardon for any error. With my prayers to God for your direction.

(D51)

*C. of B.K. to Brereton* [*C.S.P.D.* 1644-5, 368 'sent by Mr Hanbury']  
25-3-45 Derby Ho. On the conjunction of the King's forces in those parts we have taken care to strengthen your army with the accession of such forces as we could spare, so that we hope you may be able to deal with the enemy if they resolve to fight. But if they should decline and march from you into Lancs. or Yorks. they should be followed with all the force you can spare and not suffered to spoil the country or increase their numbers. If they should march southwards, we desire you to follow them with all the English forces that can be spared with safety from those parts so that these parts may not be oppressed by them, we having sent to your assistance most of the forces that we had here.<sup>1</sup>

P. Wharton Lauderdale  
(D55)

## Note

- 1 This last sentence, as given in B.L.B., has obviously had part of it mistakenly omitted by Brereton's copyist. The version given here has been constructed after consulting the Calendar version of the copy kept by the C. of B.K. and is in accordance with the expected sense.

*C. of B.K. to Lesley* [*C.S.P.D.* 1644-5, 368]  
[25-3-45 Derby Ho.] We return you thanks for your speedy advance to the assistance of Sir Wm. Brereton and doubt not that having joined your forces his you will use your best endeavours for opposing the enemy if they continue in those parts. If they shall march into Lancs. or Yorks. we desire you to follow them, as we have also written to Sir Wm. Brereton. In case they shall march southwards we have given directions to Sir William to send such forces after them as he can spare from the security of those parts, where he is, and we desire you to give such assistance therein as may stand with the orders you have from the C. of B.K. residing in Newcastle<sup>1</sup> or the Earl of Leven.

P. Wharton Lauderdale  
(D55)

## Note

- 1 The C. of B.K. at Derby House had a counterpart with the Scots army whose h.q., since its capture in Oct. 1644, was at Newcastle. The English members were sometimes known as the Northern Commissioners. See Hen. Darley, Rob. Goodwin and Sir Wm. Armine.

The Calendar version of the C. of B.K.'s copy of this and the following item does not mention Newcastle and simply refers vaguely to 'the Committee'. So, when the Scots army moved south into Yorks. and the Commissioners seem to have taken to meeting in York, it becomes very difficult to distinguish between them and the

Com. for the revived Northern Association (see 537, 563). Some individuals were probably members of both bodies. Unfortunately no studies appear to have been made of either of them. See App. I ii.

116

*C. of B.K. to Lesley* [C.S.P.D. 1644-5, 369]

25-3-45 Derby Ho. By a letter from Sir Wm. Brereton of March 22 [98] we understand your forces have joined with his and the enemy has retreated. Our hearty thanks for your seasonable service and, according to what we wrote to you this morning, we desire you to give your best assistance to Sir Wm. Brereton in pursuit of the enemy in his march southward, so far as may agree with your orders from the C. of B.K. at Newcastle or the Earl of Leven. P. Wharton; Lauderdale  
(D53)

117

*C. of B.K. to Brereton* [C.S.P.D. 369 'sent by Mr Potter at 10 pm and duplicate by John Priestly on 26th at night!]

25-3-45 Derby Ho. We have received your letter of March 22 [98] wherein you signify the retreat of the enemy southward. We had before the receipt thereof written to you to follow him with all the force you can spare, which we again desire you to do, for if they should fall towards the Association these parts may be in danger. We have written to Col. Massey to give him notice hereof and desire you to keep intelligence with him and also with Maj. Gen. Crawford and Rossiter. P. Wharton; Lauderdale  
(D53)

118

*Crawford to Brereton*

26-3-45 Northampton. I am sorry I am still forced at so great a distance to give you no better satisfaction than before; yet you see I am beginning to creep nearer you. This day I did expect all my party to come together at Northampton, but as yet they are not, so I am resolved if they come not tomorrow to set forward with what I can, which will be 1,000 horse and 1,200 foot. My grief in biding at so remote a distance is no less than yours. Let me hear from you every day now, for I shall be on my march to Coventry where I am resolved to be on Saturday next. I shall readily obey your advice as to the best and safest way to you. I am this day certainly informed that Rupert is marching westward. I am extremely glad to hear that Lt. Gen. Lesley is joined with you.

[More protestations of his desire and endeavours to assist Brereton.]  
[P.S.] Remember my most kind respects to Lt. Gen. Lesley.  
(D59)

*Brereton to Crawford*

26-3-45 7 am Nantwich. Desire that our tenderness and careful respect to the Associated Counties may not deprive us of those forces designed to us under your command, without which that work which is the greatest concernment in these parts – the reducing of Chester – is not likely to be effected. Yet I am confident it might be but a short work, for there are strong discontents and mutinies amongst them, who account themselves left in a desperate and forlorn condition, hopeless of relief, being in great wants, having received little supplies by the access of those armies which came lately to their relief and have given them more discouragement by their return than they were rejoiced at their approach. None of our garrisons were taken down by them, whereof they made full account, and these do so straiten and annoy them on the Chesh. side so that want of provision increaseth and they begin to carry away their goods as fast as may be to Conway. That which adds much to their distraction and discontent is the taking away of their governor, who was lately Sir Francis Gamull, citizen and M.P. for the city, and is now removed and Lord Byron or Sir Edmund Harvey [*sic* for Verney]<sup>1</sup> made governor. The report of their mutinous discontents are confirmed by some letters lately intercepted from Sir Richard Lloyd to Colonel Ellis [89] which also reports Chester is lost if the Princes remove further from them than Staffs. beyond which they are already retreated. So I hope now you may come over securely without danger. In the meantime we will be preparing for that work which we intend speedily to fall upon and which might have been effected if the forces with us had continued.

(D48)

Note

- 1 Gamull, a member of a very well established city family, had been mayor 1634–5 and was c-in-c of the city regt (Morris *passim*).

Verney was son to Sir Edm. Verney; the royal standard-bearer killed at Edgehill, and younger brother to Sir Ralph, the diarist and moderate parl. M.P. for Aylesbury. The younger Sir Edm. was killed at Drogheda. (*D.N.B.*)

Brereton's statement that Byron or Verney was made gov. of Chester at this time – repeated in his letter to Ashurst of the next day (125) – gains some confirmation from the royalist diary (142; captured c.20 May) which says that on 19 March Pr. Maurice went to Chester and made Byron gov. and Verney Lt. Gov. The diary does not say, however, that Gamull had been the gov. and had been dismissed, and this seems improbable. There had been a move to make Gamull gov. at the time when the Oxford Parl., of which he was a member as one of the

M.P.s for Chester, was meeting (Add. MS 18981 f.53). But this came to nothing and the gov. from the beginning of the summer of 1644 to the end of the year was undoubtedly Col. Wm. Legge. Byron's Account (p. 4) says he replaced Legge as gov. (Bod. Lib. Rawlinson B 210; Byron's Account, 7-8). The official appointment could have been delayed until 19 March, and it is possible that Gamull could have acted as gov. in the intervening months, but this does not seem likely as Byron was himself present in Chester throughout this period.

Brereton's assumption that Gamull was popular among the citizens does not gain much support from evidence from within the city. Harl. 2125 and the voting lists (C.C.R.O.A.F. 27/2, 3, 4, & 12, 13, 14) reveal that in Oct. 1644 & Oct. 1645 the freemen, in opposition to the aldermen, refused to support Gamull as a mayoral candidate.

Verney's appointment as lt. or dep. gov. is something of a mystery, too. It is not mentioned either by Byron or by Randle Holmes (Harl. 2155) and by Sept. 1645, according to Byron, Verney was away in Merioneth and Gamull was the dep. gov. (Byron's Account 7-8).

120

*John Woldricke<sup>1</sup> to Brereton*

26-3-45 [Eccleshall Castle.<sup>2</sup>] I sent the last intelligence I had to Major Zankey yesternight which I hope he sent to you. It was of the enemy removing to Bromsgrove. I have now received another letter from you and shall perform your commands in sending forth after the enemy. I also send you a list of the prisoners we have at this castle.<sup>3</sup>

Lord Brereton

Sir Tho. Tylesley [Tyldesley]

Lt. Colonel Stamford

Captain Biddulph

Sir Rich. Lee

Sir Tho. Whitmore

Sir John Wylde [Weld]

Sir John Wylde [Weld]

Lt. Colonel Owen

Major Gray

Sir Rich. Fleetwood

Major Fleetwood

Capt. Davenport

John Rubone, corporal

Capt. Morgan[e]<sup>3</sup>

Besides the servants of Ld. Brereton, Sir Tho. Tyldesley, Sir Rich. Lee, Sir Tho. Whitmore, Sir John Wylde.

I would entreat you by your next to send me word whether the servants of Sir Rich. Lee, Sir Tho. Whitmore and Sir John Wylde were sent thither as prisoners or only as their servants and were not taken as prisoners. One of

them hath desired to see his father and I desire to know whether such a thing may be granted.  
(D24)

## Notes

- 1 There was a Wolrych family in Stafford (P. & R.) and also a John Worswicke, who had been town clerk of Stafford since 1637 and who acted as collector for Capt. Stone in his capacity as governor of Eccleshall Castle. (Information from Mr John Sutton.) But whoever wrote this letter was obviously acting in a military capacity – ‘I . . . shall perform your commands in sending forth after the enemy’ – and therefore presumably as deputy-governor in the almost permanent absence of Stone who, after the *coup d’etat* of 3-12-44, was governor of Stafford as well.
- 2 There is no doubt that ‘this castle’ was Eccleshall. Stafford Castle, being outside the town, was demolished by the parliamentarians after they captured it in 1643 (P. & R.). Of the prisoners mentioned here, Lord Brereton, Capt. Biddulph and Lt. Col. Stamford were ordered by the Staffs. Com. to be moved from Stafford to Eccleshall in 1643 (P. & R. 68, 190), while Lee, Whitmore, the two John Welds, Lt. Col. Owen and Maj. Gray were sent from Nantwich to Eccleshall on 16-3-45 (55).
- 3 Lee, Whitmore, the two Welds and Lt. Col. Owen had been captured at Shrewsbury and Maj. Grey at Christleton. They have already appeared in 10 & 55. For Owen see 149 n.3. Sir Thos. Tyldesley of Myerscough, Lancs., the most able and active of the Lancs. royalists, had been captured at Montgomery on 18 Sept. 1644 (522, 585, 615; Malbon, 147; *C.W.T.L.*; *Discourse*; Broxap; Blackwood, *D.N.B.*) Wm. Ld. Brereton of Brereton Hall, head of the main line of the Chesh. Breretons, was captured at the surrender of Biddulph Hall (just over the border in Staffs.) in Feb. 1644. Also captured there was Capt. Francis Biddulph, the owner of the Hall and a recusant. (Orm. III, 85–9; Malbon, 122.) Lt. Col. Stamford or Stamford of Perry Hall, Handsworth, Staffs. was another recusant and had been captured at Kidderminster in June 1644 by Waller. He had had a distinguished career as a royalist officer already and, after he had obtained an exchange in June, 1645, he fought with the royalist armies until the end of the war. Yet another recusant was Sir Rich. Fleetwood of Wootton Lodge, Ellastone, in the Moorlands of Staffs. After being captured in his own house in July, 1643, he obtained his release, served under Ld. Byron and was captured again at the battle of Nantwich in Jan. 1644. Although he had sons serving the King, it seems probable that Maj. Fleetwood was not one of them, but a distant cousin from Penwortham, Lancs. (For information on officers from Staffs. I am indebted to Mr John Sutton.) Capt. Davenport was probably Capt. John Davenport, a younger son of John Davenport of Woodford (between Wilmslow and Stockport), Chesh. He was first captured at Middlewich in March, 1643, broke prison and was then recaptured at Aldford in Oct. 1643. He appears to have been an officer in Col. Leigh of Adlington’s regt. His uncle Wm. was also a royalist officer, but in Col. Edw. Fytton’s regt, which left Chesh. in Oct. 1642 in the royal march on London and did not return. (Malbon, 41, 84; Wanklyn, 228, 231; *Edgehill*, 222; Orm. III, 691; Earw. II, 412.)

There were too many Morgans serving the King to make identification of this Capt. Morgan possible. Nor is anything known about John Rubone to explain why a humble corporal should be included in a list otherwise confined to officers of the rank of captain and above and prominent land-owning gentry.

*A List of Prisoners at the High House<sup>1</sup> at Stafford*

[c. 26-3-45]<sup>2</sup>

Ld. Powis His brother Mr. Herbert Capt. Garbet [Herbert]	}	were taken at Red Castle [Powys Castle, Welshpool; 2-10-44]
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Mr. Newport Capt. Tannat Capt. Robt. Fleetwood Capt. Henry Fleetwood Capt. Madryn	}	were taken at Owestree [Owestry; 2-7-44]
---	---	--

Sir Garrard [Gerrard] Eyton Com. of Array [Denbighs.] taken at his own house [Eyton Isaf nr. Wrexham]

Col. Broughton Capt. Congreve Capt. Bearinge Cornet Stagg	}	were taken at Mo[un]tgomery [18-9-44]
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Lt. Col. Vaine Lt. Col. Goughe [Gough] Col. Wyrden [Werden]	}	were taken near Chester [Christleton; 18-1-45]
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Capt. Horton	taken at Cholmley [Cholmondeley Hall; 7-7-44]
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Capt. Crathorne	taken at Maulpus [Malpas 25-8-44]
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Peter Gifford [Giffard] Esq. Mr. Mosely	}	were taken at Chillington, recusants [10-8-43]
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Mr. Parker suspected to be a priest was brought from Biddle [Biddulph] before the house was taken

Major Booth Ralph Porter	}	were taken in Bidolph [Biddulph] House [21-2-44]
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Mr. Astley Mr. Green Capt. Henry Peshall [?Pershall] Mr. Gilliard suspected to be a priest	}	were taken at Patshill [Patshull Feb. 45]
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Capt. Carelesse	taken at Wolverhampton [Jan. 1645]
Mr. Walter Gifford [Giffard]	were taken near To[u]nge
Mr. Charles Gifford ["]	
Mr. John Gifford ["]	
Capt. Mason	taken near To[u]nge
Mr. Iremonger	taken near Lincell [Lilleshall]
Mr. Vise	taken at his father's house
Mr. Hodgetts	taken near Wolverhampton <sup>3</sup>
(D23)	

## Notes

- 1 An order of the Staffs. Com. of 21-1-44 said that the High House of Mr Rich. Dorrington was to be assigned to Mr Richards, the Provost Marshall, 'for the securing the better sort of his prisoners'. (P. & R., 40; there are several other references to it in the Order Book.)
- 2 This item has no date, but is on the folio preceding 120, which is dated 26-3-45. It cannot be much later and may be a few days earlier than this, for on 24-3-45 the Staffs. Com. ordered that one of the prisoners listed, Mr Hodgetts, was to be released on the payment of £5, 'forasmuch as it appears that he never was in arms'. (P. & R., 280.)
- 3 The following have been identified from this list of prisoners. Sir Wm. Herbert, head of the catholic branch of the Herberts of Montgom. was made Lord Powys in 1629. His medieval fortress (then known as Red Castle), dominating the town of Welshpool, was stormed by Sir Thos. Middleton in Oct. 1644 shortly after the battle of Montgomery. Its defenders were exclusively the Herbert family and their retainers. Later Ld. Powys was allowed on parole to live in his London lodgings in the Strand. Capt. Herbert was probably his son and heir, Percy, who was captured with him. (G.E.C. *Peerage*, 643-5; *Montgom. Coll.* V, 178-9 and VII Pt. 2, 98-101; C.C.C. 2193-4.) Mr Newport was Francis, M.P. for Shrewsbury and son of Ld Newport (*q.v.* 129, Farrow; B. & P.). Capt. Tannatt's Christian name was Thos. & he was probably the brother or son of Rhys Tannatt of Bramgarth, Montgom. and Abertanat, Salop (both close to Llanymynech). Rhys compounded first with a fine of £50 for Bramgarth and later with one of £85 for Abertanat. He had not declared the latter originally because he said it had 'long before' been granted out. (Phillips II, 173; C.C.C. 1861; *S.A.S.T.* 2nd ser. 7, 281-2.) Capt. Madryn's Christian name was John and he was probably one of the Madryn's of Lleyn, Caerns. and younger brother to the notorious turncoat, Col. Thos. (Phillips II, 173; Dodd; *D.W.B.*). Cpts. Robt. & Hen. Fleetwood were younger sons of Sir Rich. Fleetwood of Wootton, Staffs. who appears in 120. Robt. fought at Edgehill and with the Oxford garrison for a time. Hen. helped his father defend Wootton Hall and was then a capt. in Loughborough's cavalry. None of this service should have brought them to Oswestry and they are not among the prisoners given in the parl. pamphlets describing its capture and the defeat of the royalist attempt to recapture it (Phillips II, 173, 177-88). So possibly this is an error, caused in this item by their names having been mis-placed between two officers (Tannatt and

Madryn) who undoubtedly were captured at Oswestry. For Eyton see n. to 9, for Broughton n. to 86. Capt. Congreave was probably John, younger brother of Rich. Congreave of Stretton Hall, Penkridge, Staffs. The mysterious Lt. Col. Vane is dealt with in a note to 420 and Maj. Goughe in one to 320. Col. Robt. Werden was son to John Werden of Chester (*q. v.*; see 169 n.2) and took over command of Col. Marrow's regt on the latter's death in Aug. 1644. Werden was much involved in royalist conspiracy during the Interregnum and played a somewhat equivocal part therein. (Morris; *R.C.E.*; Morrill, who confuses Robt. with John.) Capt. Robt. Horton was the younger brother of Ralph Horton of Coole Pilate, s. of Nantwich. Robt. was an officer early in the war and was first captured at Middlewich in March, 1643. After exchange he became an officer in the Marrow/Werden regt and gov. of Cholmondeley Hall. He was captured a second time when this surrendered in July, 1644 (*C.C.C.* 1183, 2633; Hall, 185; Malbon, 41, 46, 138; *Orm.* I, lxiii). Capt Crathorne was John, member of a recusant family from Crathorne nr. York. But see 134 n.1 for a doubt as to whether he was at Stafford or Nantwich (Cliffe, 369; Malbon, 144). Peter Giffard was the recusant lord of Chillington Hall, n. w. of Wolverhampton; Walter, Charles and John were his sons. There is other evidence, however, that Charles and another son were captured with Peter at Chillington and Walter taken in a raid on Dudley. Charles afterwards fought at Worcester and aided Charles II in his escape. Mr Moseley was Robt., a neighbouring recusant of Moseley Hall in Bushbury parish, Staffs. He helped Giffard to defend Chillington Hall and was among those taken prisoner at its surrender. Maj. Wm. Booth is something of a mystery. It was a common name partic. in the N.W. and there was a Capt. Wm. Booth in Col. Gilbert Gerard's regt of Lancs. foot during the Edgehill campaign (*Edgehill*, 227) who could easily have risen to the rank of maj. by this time. On the other hand there is no evidence that this regt was in the area at the time of the capture of Biddulph Hall in Feb. 1644, and a family of Booths lived at Twemlow Hall only a few miles from Brereton Hall, the home of Ld. Brereton, who was captured with Maj. Booth at Biddulph and to whom Booth wrote a letter in October 1645 (723). There was a Wm. Booth at Twemlow – said to be without estate – brother of Lawrence who was fined for delinquency. If Maj. Booth was local, then there is a further problem of the regt to which he belonged. Possibly Leigh of Adlington's Chesh. regt or Col. Sneyd's Staffs. one. Or perhaps a short-lived one under Ld. Brereton himself. He was said to have been trying to raise one at the time of the battle of Middlewich in March, 1643 (*Harl.* 2135, f.93; *Orm.* I, lxiii; III, 137; Malbon, 122; *C.C.C.* 120.) Mr Porter was Ralph and, despite the title given him here, was apparently a yeoman of Biddulph and a tenant of Francis Biddulph, owner of Biddulph Hall, He aided in the defence of it.

Mr Astley was Walter of Patshull Hall, s.w. Staffs, another recusant. He defended his hall for the King. Gilliard was almost certainly the Astley family priest and Green a neighbour. Walter Green of Walsall was bailiff of Seisdon Hundred (in which Patshull Hall lay) at the outbreak of war. He busied himself with raising men and money for the King. Capt. Hen. Peshall/Pershall is something of a mystery. Although the surviving son and three grandsons of Sir John Pershall(10) of Horsley, Staffs. were all active for the King, none of them had the christian name Henry (*Harl. Soc.* LXIII).

Wm. Carelesse, Careles or Carlos was another catholic, a yeoman of Brewood parish and a tenant of Peter Giffard whom he helped to defend Chillington Ho. He

had been gov. of Lapley Ho. and then of Tonge Castle. He remained in prison until the end of the war when he went into exile. Returning with Charles II, he fought at Worcester and became famous as the man who hid with the King in the Boscobel oak. Mr Hodgetts, another catholic, was of Woodsetton in the parish of Sedgley s.w. Staffs. But the order of 21-1-44 (see n.1) of the Staffs. Com. and the fact that nothing is known of his Civil War career seems to show he was a neutral. Humphrey Ironmonger of Stafford, yet another catholic, served as a lt. of horse before his capture at Lilleshall and, after his exchange, joined the garrison of Lichfield, one of the last in England to surrender. John Vise was a younger son of Humphrey Vise of Standon Hall n.w. Staffs. He was a member of the garrison of Shrewsbury but was seized when paying a visit to his father's house. He refused to take the Covenant and so remained in prison. I have not been able to identify Bearing, Stagg, Parker or Mason.

For identification of these Staffs. prisoners I am much indebted to Mr John Sutton. The no. of roman catholics among them is striking.

122

*Brereton to St. John*

27-3-45 I have formerly importuned you on behalf of the Derby regt of Horse, a most servicable regiment and worthy of encouragement, many of the officers and men being godly men and such as serve out of conscience. If they were restored under the command of Major Saunders, who lately commanded them, and had the necessary pay and accommodation without which it is not possible for men to subsist, there is not any regt that I know in the kingdom which might be more useful and faithful to you. Some course should be taken for their supply; either that what is due to them in their own cōuntry may be paid or some other provision made for them, who are in the meantime in such an uncomfortable condition as is not only grievous to themselves but to all those that command them. Many go away and forsake their colours and employment here, where service is to be done, and are elsewhere entertained and preferred, as by the enclosed complaints will appear [79].

There are several regts and coys in no better condition, for whose accommodation and supply I am a humble suitor to you that you would promote my humble request which I have often presented to the Commons. If speedy consideration thereof be not had, I can assure you (for it is no more than in duty I am bound to advertise) that there are many men as good and faithful to your service as any in this kingdom that will be constrained to desist from this employment or take service elsewhere where they may be paid, which is not to be expected from this poor, wasted and exhausted country which from the beginning hath been the seat of war and several times overrun and plundered by an enraged enemy.

As touching the disbursement of what money hath been received in this county or elsewhere for this service, there is such an account, already given on oath in part and the residue is ready when occasion is offered, to justify to

all the world that the common soldiers have been paid with as much equality, as the commanders have shared in as small a proportion as any almost in the kingdom. Whereby will appear that some of us have not only received very little of that entertainment due but that we have expended and employed the greatest part of that [i.e. our] poor revenue left [MS has 'lest'] unspoiled. This I do for one [hope] to make good, as that you will find there is as little upon the account and scores of the officers and commanders as can be expected. Herein I hope I shall not need to enlarge myself.  
(D45)

123

*Sir Geo. Booth 'to the Council of War at Nantwich'*. [See note to 124] 27-3-45 Dunham Massey. This enclosed letter [53] I received from the gentleman therein named [Geo. Studdart] who is gone with the like letters into Lancs. and will return hither on Tuesday next. He desired me to convey this letter to you and to move you that against that time provision might be made that he might receive such sums of money as the Ordinance of Parl. requires. I am confident of your care herein.  
(D46)

124

*Brereton 'to the Committee at Mr Saring's' at Nantwich'* 27-3-45 I desire you will seriously consider the enclosed [53] and take such course that the C. of B.K. may receive some speedy good account thereof. There was a letter formerly written touching the same business which was communicated to you, whereof an account will be expected. My attendance upon the army will not permit me to attend this business, therefore I shall wholly depend upon you to prepare what is fit to be done and what answer to return, wherein I shall be ready to concur with you.  
(D46)

Note

- 1 John Saring was the town minister [Hall: *Nantwich*] sequestered and imprisoned as a delinquent, and his house – the Vicarage – used as the residence of the clerk to the Council of War [Malbon, 61]. That, according to this item, 'the Committee' met there and that Sir Geo. Booth in 123 and Brereton in this wrote letters on exactly the same subject, the one to 'the Council of War' and the other to 'the Com. at Mr Saring's', would seem to indicate that the distinction between the Council of War and the County Com. was slender and perhaps more official than practical. (See Introd II; Problem of the County Committee).

*Brereton to Ashurst*

27-3-45 Nantwich. As these parts were (not without cause) much rejoiced at the coming of the Scots forces to our assistance, so we should be much discouraged and disabled if they should leave before something be accomplished for the great work that here remaineth to be done, and if Maj. Gen. Crawford should also be commanded back. It is true the Scots came to our relief voluntarily before they received any intimation or command from the Parl., for which we acknowledge ourselves much engaged to them. Their instructions not warranting their advance further than into this county, it is very uncertain how soon they may be called hence by Ld. Leven from whom they expect to hear speedily. That which inclined them to march to our relief and [yet] to an unwillingness to engage but upon necessity and advantages was their respect and care of their own country in case the enemy should fall northward or into the Associated Counties. But for aught I can yet apprehend by their march the enemy is for Oxford and the west.

After the Scottish army came unto us, the expectation of Maj. Gen. Crawford coming up was one cause alleged which retarded their [the Scots'] concurrence in pursuing and falling upon the enemy whilst he was near us, and that is the reason you have heard of no more action betwixt these armies. Nothing hath perplexed and discontented me more than that the enemy is retreated and not fought withall. God is my witness I desired and endeavoured to persuade the Scots but could not prevail. The condition of their own army and kingdom is the occasion of their cautiousness. As we have never had greater hopes of the reducing of Chester, for by letters intercepted and other intelligence it appears they are very discontented and something mutinous, their governor, Sir Francis Gamull, being removed and Lord Byron or Sir Edmund Harvey [*sic* for Verney] put in his place; therefore it would be a great addition of discouragement to us if Maj. Gen. Crawford should not advance towards us but be otherwise disposed off.

Both the Princes were upon Monday night [24 March] at Shifnal and thence marched towards Bridgnorth and so to Worcester. It is given out amongst them they are for the west. Being indeed out of the road to the Associated Counties, I conceive their design is absolutely for the west or for the relief of Worcs. and Herefs., where it is again and again seconded that some thousands of countrymen are risen and have surrounded Hereford. Col. Massey intended to join with them but since I hear they are satisfied and drawn back. By a letter from Sir Rich. Lloyd to Col. Ellis (a copy whereof is here enclosed [89] it will appear to you in what condition Chester is and that they give it up for lost if the Princes remove further from it than Staffs., beyond which they are already retreated. It is much desired therefore that the Scottish forces might remain with us (if it so fall out that no more important service require them) and that Maj. Gen. Crawford be ordered to hold to his march, for otherwise I cannot with confidence give you hopes of the speedy

reducing of Chester. It would be much facilitated by the report of the Scottish army advancing towards them. Though it be that our country hath suffered much by the withdrawing from Beeston and Christleton to put ourselves in a posture of defence as we were commanded to do, yet had we engaged before our auxiliaries had come up and been defeated the kingdom might have been much more disadvantaged.

Colonel Rossiter is already returned to the Associated Counties in pursuance of the command from the C. of B.K. which found him at Congleton. Such are the pressing necessities of the Yorks. and Derby horse formerly with us and the 1,000 Yorks. horse lately come out of Yorks. and now at Newcastle in Staffs. under the command of Colonel Bethell, as if some speedy supply of money be not sent us, this army will not be as serviceable as desired or kept together.

Whithersoever the enemy's army marcheth it cannot be so strong as it was here, for both the horse and foot of Lichfield, Dudley and Ashby [de la Zouch] are returned to their several garrisons. Though Chesh. hath smarted, no enemy hath yet been in Lancs. and that county is clear except for Lathom. It doth much afflict and vex me that these armies are retreated and not encountered; though God hath delivered us from their fury and cruelty, yet I fear they will do mischief elsewhere if God restrain them not. Were I guilty or accessory to any omission my grief would be much increased. But seeing it is God's will and act and that my utmost endeavours and diligence were employed, but the Scots were not come up nor had commission to pursue the enemy and I was commanded not to engage until they were joined, I can the better satisfy and quiet my spirit, though much perplexed that the enemy should range, waste, burn and destroy as they do. I am persuaded a heavy judgement is reserved for them and whoever encounters them shall prevail, their sin being so ripe. But seeing the Lord doth not judge us worthy of the honour to be the instruments of his vengeance, his will be done.  
(D47)

126

*C. of B.K. to Brereton [C.S.P.D. 1644-5, 375]*

27-3-45 Derby Ho. We have received intelligence of the Princes' retreat with their army from your parts and of their drawing this way. We know not yet whether they may intend to march towards the Association, which we conceive may be in danger if Maj. Gen. Crawford march to join you and leave the Princes' forces between him and these parts. We have written to Crawford to keep intelligence with you, observe the motions of the enemy and join with you or otherwise as may most promote the public service.

Wharton; Lauderdale

(D60)

*Brereton to the C. of B.K.*

28-3-45 Nantwich. My humble thanks for the large assistance of the Scottish army which came most seasonably on Sat. 21 March. Cols. Rossiter and Bethell came to us the same day but their horse were a day's march behind. The report of the Scottish army advancing was a great advantage to us, though the enemy came to Beeston and Chester three or four days before the Scots came to this county. Hereof I have formerly sufficiently enlarged myself but lest my former [letter] may have miscarried wish to advertise you that both the Princes are marched towards Worcester, where I believe they were last night, but their strength is much less than that which was employed against us.

We sent a party of 500 horse which followed them some 20 miles, but their march was so speedy that these could not reach their rear. But they brought intelligence that Vaughan's horse are returned to Shraydon [Shrawardine], which we conceive were as good horse as any in their army; also that the forces of Lichfield, Ashby de la Zouch and Dudley are returned to their several garrisons, whence we conclude their design lieth westward and not toward the north and the Associated Counties, as we feared. Col. Rossiter returned to Lincs. the day after he came to us; Col. Bethell, who came with 1,000 horse from Ld. Fairfax is returned to Pontefract, according to Ld. Fairfax's order for the strengthening the siege there. The residue of the auxiliary forces remain with us, though not without much difficulty through want of pay, especially the Derby and Yorks. horse. The Scottish forces also remain with us, although I am very uncertain how long they will stay. But I have received assurance from divers of credit that Chester was never in a more hopeful condition to be reduced. Therefore if these forces might stay with us but one month or Maj. Gen. Crawford be disposed of to our assistance and care be taken that no forces come to disturb us, I shall not doubt to give a good account of Chester and Beeston, notwithstanding the late relief.

The Irish landed, whereof I formerly made mention, were not above 160, which were the same taken at Liverpool and sent out of Lancs. to Ireland and thence returned by the Earl of Ormonde to Chester. Some more are spoken of to be coming, but not yet landed. But if the captains of the ships in Chester and Liverpool water and in the bay of Dublin would be so diligent as they ought to be, there were less danger of the Irish coming over. Or if those forces are continued with us, we will endeavour to possess those parts of Wales whereby prevention may be given to their landing.

[P.S.] The Scottish army is at Whitchurch. Beeston is again blocked up and Chester within one week will be more distressed than formerly, if the Princes' army go clear away and these remain with us undisturbed.

Since I writ the lines above I have received intelligence (but upon no certainty) that the Princes' army is returned and brings along with them some

ordnance, from Dudley, Worcester, Bridgnorth. The certainty I hope to receive by those I have sent out for discovery.  
(D50)

128

*Brereton to Swinfen*

28-3-45 Nantwich. [Summary:— Brereton says that he is answering Swinfen's letter, although he has many dispatches to write and has already given an account 'at large' to the C. of B.K., because Swinfen's solid and weighty arguments have shown him how to answer the objections to his conduct. The letter then repeats the information given in the letters to the Com. and to Ashurst written on the same and the preceding day [127, 125]; the retreat of the enemy, his desire to pursue, Leslie's refusal to join him in this and the reasons for this policy; the recall under orders of Rossiter's and Bethell's horse; his inability to fight the enemy without auxiliaries; his distress at the failure to engage the enemy but clear conscience that he was not responsible for this; the diminution of the Princes' strength through the return of their garrison troops; the renewed blocking up of Beeston and Chester and hopes of reducing Chester, which is very mutinous, if only the Scots (already expecting orders to return from Leven) can be induced to stay a short time longer and/or Crawford's force be brought up; the landing of a small Irish contingent at Chester and the expectation of more coming. The only additional details are that Rossiter's horse numbered 800 and Bethell's quartered at Market Drayton as well as Newcastle-under-Lyme before their recall.

In a lengthy postscript he answers some of Swinfen's points specifically. He did not dismiss any of the forces assigned to his assistance; Rossiter was recalled by the C. of B.K., Bethell by Ld. Fairfax. He does not think the blocking up of Chester more important than the pursuit of the enemy, being well aware that the defeat of the enemy might lead Chester and many other garrisons to surrender, and that the undefeated enemy might have done serious damage in the Associated Counties and the north and could still do it in Herefs. and the west. The Warks. horse has now been ordered away and the Scots force commanded to retreat and lie about the Halifax – Leeds area. Brereton thinks they would have been more effective in Chesh. and hopes they will be sent back. If the Princes threatened the north or the Associated Counties they could link with Leven's main army in the Doncaster region and prevent this.]

(D52)

129

*Lesley to Brereton*

28-3-45 Whitchurch. Ld. Leven has ordered me to return to Yorks. for certain

affairs there. Wherefore I have appointed my rendezvous the morrow at 7 [am] at Woodhouses<sup>1</sup> and intend to lodge our foot at Weston and Haslington and the places adjoining and our horse in Congleton and rest on Sunday. Notwithstanding, if you hear of the enemy as advancing, I shall be at your service. I entreat you to appoint a place by the way where I may wait upon you.

(D54)

Note

1 Three miles e. of Whitchurch on the Nantwich road.

130

*Brereton to the C. of B.K.*

28-3-45 Nantwich. I have detained this messenger one day in the expectation that permission might have been obtained for the Scottish forces to remain and join with us in interrupting the Prince's army should he attempt to force his passage this way as formerly. But unless they receive orders from Ld. Leven or the Parl. there is little hope thereof. I have only prevailed so far that their march (in the way of their return) will be slow, so if any commands come from you or Ld. Leven, to whom I have sent special messengers, these may meet or overtake them in convenient time.

It is generally believed that Chester is in such a weak, discontented condition that if the Scottish army had presented themselves before it or at least lain but a fortnight before it, it might have been reduced.

Our last intelligence (confirmed again and again) is that the Princes have not yet marched far towards the Associated Counties or the west but are in Herefs., exercising much cruelty against those countrymen that withstand and resist the governor of Hereford. They have hanged the bailiff of Bewdley and are very active in forcing the countrymen to take up arms. If they be not disturbed I fear they may increase their army to a great strength. We are not able to give much interruption with our single force, not having above 1,000 foot that can be spared, after securing our garrisons and excepting those 17 coys that are in Salop. Therefore it is humbly desired that the Scottish forces or at least their foot, which we understand from their officers can best be spared and are more useful to us and more inclinable to continue with us, be ordered to remain here and Maj. Gen. Crawford's forces commanded to hasten to join us in attending the enemy's motions. Then you may have cause to be less solicitous which way the Prince inclineth.

P.S. If there were a considerable visible force in the remote parts of Salop, Wors. and Herefs. it is believed a strong party, who are now overawed, would declare themselves to the Parl.

We hear some of Langdale's horse are returning towards Bridgnorth and some of Vaughan's are gathering from their several garrisons. It may be to

interrupt a party of ours sent against High Arcoll [Ercall] (Sir Richard Newport's house)<sup>1</sup>, whither I have sent three regts of horse and the Chesh. and Staffs. foot now in Salop.

(D57)

Note

- 1 The greatest landowner in Salop, he had been created Baron Newport by Charles on his arrival in Shrewsbury just before the royal march on London in Oct. 1642. From June until this time he had played a somewhat neutralist role and, according to his son, Francis (*q.v.*, 121), was hoping for a peerage in return for his support. (Farrow, 38-9; Phillips II, 30; Wanklyn, 247, 250.) High Ercall is 6 miles n.e. Shrewsbury.

131

*Brereton to the C. of B.K.*

28-3-45 Nantwich. I have this evening received a letter of 25 March [117] mentioning a former letter (not received) [114; see 143] commanding that with all our forces we should follow the Princes' army. This was much desired and endeavoured by me; without it we can hope but for little security or peace in these parts, for when our forces, now united, are dispersed and returned the enemy will probably return to prosecute their former design. I used this argument to prevail with the Scottish commander to join with us to pursue the enemy, whose design seems to be not toward the Associated Counties but towards Worcester and Hereford or the west. A few hours after I received your letter I received another from Lt. Gen Lesley intimating that he had received orders from Ld. Leven to return to Yorks., that he would march tomorrow and desired me to meet him in the way of his return. This I intend to do and in the meantime have sent him your letter signifying the tenor of my letters from you and the necessity of their observance. I will further press him to the utmost when we meet tomorrow, but almost despair of prevailing because, in expectation of this order now come, they have been less forward to advance and join with us in pursuing the enemy, though thereunto much solicited. Col. Rossiter, with whom you commanded me to have correspondence, returned 23 March, the day after he came, in obedience to your command expressed in a letter signed by Ld. Say and Sele and Ld. Loudoun. Col. Bethell was sent back by order of Ld. Fairfax with the consent of Lt. Gen. Lesley, who conceived it would be of dangerous consequence to engage and hazard these forces, alleging that no less than the safety of England and Scotland depended on their success, his orders would not warrant him marching out of this county and, if he did do this, the enemy might fall between him and the north. This could not be answered and without the assistance of his forces we were no more able to pursue them than we were

before to engage them, not having above 13–1400 foot, besides those in Salop and our other garrisons.

Although the enemy should not have marched away so uninterrupted, their army is much weakened by dispersing. Vaughan's horse (their best) are returned to Ludlow, Bridgnorth, Cause Castle and Shroiden [Shrawardine]. Three hundred of their horse and foot are in Denbighs. with whom they expect the conjunction of the Irish whom they look for speedily to land. Byron's, Werden's and Trevor's<sup>1</sup> horse are in Flints. and about Chester. The forces of Lichfield, Dudley and Ashby [de la Zouch] are returned to their garrisons, and if the enemy march beyond Worcester and Hereford they must leave the forces which belong to those garrisons. All of these the Princes can recollect speedily and will be much encouraged to return hither when our auxiliaries are dispersed, the Warks. regiment of horse being now commanded away by the Com. of Coventry.

I will employ my utmost endeavour to persuade the Scottish commander to pursue the enemy, especially if they be no further than Worcester or Hereford, so that we may encourage that party [i.e. the 'countrymen'] and come unexpectedly upon them to their greater disadvantage and amazement. But if the Scotch orders be so peremptory that they cannot return, and seeing there appears to be no danger of the enemy falling into the Associated Counties, it is humbly desired that Maj. Gen. Crawford and his forces be speeded to these parts, whereof a good account may be given if no Irish forces nor Princes' army return to disturb us as formerly.

Post. You make mention of a former letter and a messenger which never came to me. I am now going to the Scots' general and shall by my next give a further account.

(D53)

#### Note

- 1 Col. Mark Trevor was the son of Sir Edward Trevor of Brynkynallt, Denbighs. who, for the latter part of his life, lived on his Irish estate of Rostrevor, County Down. Mark's mother was Sir Edward's 2nd wife, Rose, dau. of Abp. Ussher, primate of all Ireland. Arthur Trevor, lawyer and noted royalist man of affairs, was Sir Edward's son by his first and Welsh wife. Mark had been serving in Ireland but came over, although without troops, sometime before the main landing of troops from Ireland in November, 1643. Sometime in 1644 he took over command of the horse raised by Sir Arthur Capel in n.e. Wales. For his relationship to Michael Jones see 297 n.1. (*D.W.B.*; Dodd; Tucker.)

#### *Proceedings of the Com. of Lords and Commons for Sequestration*

28-3-45 [Westminster] In the case of Mr Shallcrosse,<sup>1</sup> whereas by the late order of this Com. it was referred to the Chesh. Com. [for Sequestrations] who took the last examination and, as it was by his own default that his

witnesses were not formerly examined, this Com. think it not fit to make any stay of proceedings upon the sequestration, but refer it to the Chesh. Com. to do therein as they think fit. Upon examination of the witnesses upon both sides not yet examined, they are to certify the proofs to this Com. within one month; whereupon such further order is to be taken as shall be fit.

John Wylde  
(D69)

Note

- 1 Edmund Shallcrosse, rector of Stockport since 1637, was ejected from his living early in the Civil War and had his property sequestered in Aug. 1644. The case concerning this sequestration dragged on until 1646 when Edmund, making a journey to Westminster to appear before the Parl. Com. for Sequestration, was killed by a royalist sally party from Dudley Castle, which attacked his parliamentary escort. Had he been indeed a royalist, this would have been ironic, but it seems more probable that he was caught up in the internal struggle on the parliamentary side in Chesh. between moderates and extremists – on the one hand, Sir Geo. Booth and most of the other dep. lts. and, on the other, Brereton, Duckenfield, the Bradshaws and the Macclesfield Sequestration Com. (which is probably the *Chesh. Com.* referred to in this item). More can be read of this in the note on John Bretland (*q.v.*), the lawyer who defended Shallcrosse, acted as agent for Sir Geo. Booth and was a bitter rival to John Bradshaw. (Earw. I, 386–7; Morrill, 218–9, where Shallcrosse is mistakenly called John; *T.L.C.A.S.* 77, 1967, p.70.)

133

*Proceedings of the Com. of Lords and Commons for Sequestration*

28-3-45 [Westminster] Upon information given to this Com. and certificated that John Lawrenson and John Brash who were persons employed in the business of sequestration in Chesh. were taken and imprisoned in the garrison of Warrington for executing the said service in that part of Chesh. lying near to the said garrison, this Com. doth order that the said persons, if imprisoned for the cause aforesaid, be forthwith set at liberty and, if they be imprisoned for any other cause, then the governor of the said garrison is to certify the same and in the meantime, if they beailable, to take bail of them. The Com. of Chesh. [for Sequestrations], under whom the said John Lawrenson and John Brash were employed, are to examine the matter and to certify to this Com. the whole state thereof with all convenient speed.

John Wylde  
(D70)

134

*Earl of Essex to Brereton*<sup>1</sup>

28-3-45 I understand by your letter that Capt. Crathorne hath the report of a

major and is a gallant man; yet in regard Capt. Jones, who is a gentleman of worth, hath served a long time in my army, done good service and is well esteemed, is come hither on his parole – his health much impaired by his imprisonment – and the King will not release him for any other and his allotted days are almost expired, I desire you will set Crathorne at liberty in exchange for him. Capt. Jones<sup>2</sup> will be as serviceable to the Parl. as the other can be prejudicial by his enlargement.  
(D94)

Note

- 1 The superscription to this item has 'Ld. General's letter for release of Cranthorne, prisoner in Nantwich'. This is probably a copyist's error, for 121 (List of prisoners at the High Ho.) and 240 (Capt. Crathorne's subscription on his release) have him at Stafford. On the other hand, the Staffs. Order Book has no mention of his being there.
- 2 See 335, n.1.

*Lesley to Brereton*

29-3-45 Whitchurch. By reason I am not able to be absent from the army, now being upon their march, I shall be in readiness to attend you at Dorrington [? Doddington]<sup>1</sup> Heath by 11 o'clock am to receive your commands.  
(D54)

Note

- 1 Presumably Dorrington is an error (either by the copyist or a Scot ignorant of the district) for Doddington. The Heath, which lies across the road from Whitchurch via Audlem to Weston and Haslington, the prospective quarters which Lesley mentioned in 128, has been known by the name of Hatherton Heath (Burdett, 1777, and mod. Ord. Survey) since the 18th century.

*Crawford to Brereton*

29-3-45 12 am Kingshouse.<sup>1</sup> I have received several letters from the C. of B.K. and the Com. of Coventry that the enemy has retreated and dispersed their forces to their several garrisons. I am desired by the Com. of Coventry not to advance any further, for it is to no purpose; however in pursuance of my orders from the C. of B.K. and your desires to have me advance to Coventry I shall be at Rugby and [?] Lutterworth<sup>2</sup> or as near Coventry as I can until I have your further orders. I beseech you let me know what is best to be done to advance the public [service].  
[P.S.] I will not insert any reasons of my so slow marching lest my letters be intercepted and be hurtful to the design.  
(D59)

Notes

1. I have not found any Kingshouse, but Kingsthorpe was a village just north of Northampton (it is now a suburb) and Crawford's previous letter of 26 April (118) came from Northampton. There are many other names in the area derived from the medieval royal manor that was there.
2. The MS has *Butterwood*. But I have found no trace even of a hamlet or hall of this name and, in any case, it is unlikely that Crawford in giving his route to Brereton would use a place so obscure that Brereton would not know where it was. Lutterworth is a few miles north of Rugby on the road leading n.w. from Northampton. So I would think a copyist's error, perhaps caused by an illegible original, the most likely explanation.

137

'*Dep. Lts. and Com. of Cheshire*'<sup>1</sup> to Leven

29-3-45 Nantwich. Our acknowledgements for the great favour you have done in sending us success whereby for the present you are freed from the malice and threats of a powerful adversary who, upon the very noise of the approach of your forces, retreated back as far as Hereford where he now rests, expecting (as we have cause to fear) the return of your forces and intending then to fall on us again, which would prove more terrible to our friends and encouragement to our enemies than if he had done it at first.

We will not much trouble you with the concernment of these parts. If once cleared (which we are confident would have been done in a fortnight had not your army been called back), the King's expectations from Ireland this way would have been frustrated, the six counties of North Wales (from which he hath so often been recruited) would have been reduced, one of his passages to youwards [i.e. where you are] would have been stopped, this county and all the neighbour counties settled and we all rendered in such a condition as there would be no encouragement for the enemy to come amongst us, but much unto us to assist others where they [the enemy] are. All these things were fully and satisfactorily demonstrated to your Lt. Gen., who notwithstanding, according to his duty and in obedience to your orders, is now upon his march back. Therefore our most humble request to your Lordship is that, seeing your business is of so great consequence, the time desired of no long continuance and their remove hence not yet far, that you would be pleased to give speedy order for (that they themselves seem to desire) their return. So shall you perfect what you have begun, perform an acceptable and advantageous service to the whole kingdom and further oblige us.

[No sigs.]

(D62)

Note

- 1 The actual phrase of the superscription.

*The Com. of Salop to Brereton*

29-3-45 Shrewsbury. We are very willing to gratify you in all your desires but [see] little reason to gratify Mr Kinaston,<sup>1</sup> who hath been an active enemy against the Parl. and not likely to make any good use of his liberty; neither any reason of moment expressed why it should be granted him. If all the end of his going forth upon parole be to see his wife, she may prevent labour if she please and come to see him, which if desired on her part we doubt not but you will grant and we shall not except against. We have trusted divers upon their paroles who have never returned; therefore are resolved to be more cautious in the future.

P.S. Mr Kinaston is one we lightly esteem and doubt if he get out on his parole he will scarce return.

[No sigs.]

(D63)

## Note

- 1 Edw. Kynaston of Oteley Hall e. of Ellesmere (see 10). Apart from his being a fairly substantial landowner in the Ellesmere area, no reason has emerged for the Salop Com.'s particular dislike of him.

*A Note of the powder and Arms sent in the Sarah Bonaventura of London* [MS has Liverpool] *'She set sail for Liverpool out of the river of Thames the last day of March, 1645.'*

29-3-45 London 8 fatts<sup>1</sup> of drums; 2 drums in every fatt; 16 drums in the whole. 1 fatt had 41 horsemens' headpieces in it. This was one of the pieces which should have been carried by Captain Coachman and [? was] sent back from his ship, which is one of them in difference.

1 fatt had 67 carbines, 20 swords with some belts.

1 great fatt had 49 swords and some belts. The whole number of the belts were 70.

There was in this great fatt with the swords 49 belts, 75 headpieces for footmen.

There was 20 barrels of corn powder.<sup>2</sup>

These are the particulars and all shipped in the Sarah Bonaventura of London.

Shipped by the grace of God in good order and well conditioned by Thomas Brown of London, John Green whereof is master under God for this present voyage, and now riding at anchor in the river of Thames and by God's grace bound for the port of Liverpool: to say 20 barrels of corn powder and 11 fatts, being marked and numbered as in the margin and are to be delivered in the like good order and well conditiond at the aforesaid port of Liverpool – the

danger of the sea excepted – to Sir Wm. Brereton or his assigns, he or they paying freight for the same goods, 44 shillings per tun, being 10 tuns with primage<sup>3</sup> and average<sup>4</sup> accustomed. In witness whereof the master or parser [purser] of the said ship hath affirmed to: three bills of lading of this tenor and date, the one of which three bills being accomplished, the other two to stand void. And so God send the good ship to her desired port in safety, Amen. Dated in London the 29 March 1645. The freight is to be paid to John Sandiford who pays and receives the freight.

Thomas Brown; James Wainwright<sup>5</sup>  
(D80)

Notes

- 1 a cask, barrel or chest for dry goods.
- 2 fine gunpowder for small ordnance.
- 3 a customary allowance made by the shipper to the master and crew for loading and looking after the cargo.
- 4 charge for carrying service (Med. Lat. *averagium*). In maritime phraseology usually used with primage.
- 5 This merchant acted as a London agent for Rich. Bradshaw when the latter was the Resident at Hamburg first for the Rump and then Cromwell (*Hist. Man. Com. VIth Report*, MSS of Miss Farington of Worden Hall, Lancs.)

140

*Dep. Lts. and Com. of Cheshire' to C. of B.K.*

c. 29-3-45 Nantwich. Sir Wm. Brereton has acquainted us with your letters, who readily join with him to observe your commands. But we humbly entreat you to take the condition and concernment of our country into your consideration. Through your care of us and by the access of the Scots forces we are for the present freed from the fear of a powerful enemy. But the Scots, being now upon their march [from us], unless you give order to the contrary we shall be subject to the enemy's return, who lie within three days march of us, waiting all advantages and plundering the country where he lieth and growing strong in numbers, persuading some and enforcing others to join with him. So we are not able to deal with him ourselves, neither can we safely follow him without exposing our garrisons and country to eminent danger, if not to absolute ruin. We have groaned so long under so many forces, so that our country is exhausted and not able much longer to subsist, unless it would please God to deliver Chester into our hands, which is the occasion of miseries not only to our but to all the northern parts. We are credibly informed that the enemy [in Chester] is put in such a strait as had the Scottish army but appeared with us before it neither would nor could have long held out, whereby those countries would have been freed from the former pressures, all North Wales reduced, the passage this way into the northern

parts stopped, the landing of any Irish hindered and we conduced into such a condition that we would be not burdensome but helpful to other parts of the kingdom. These premises considered we make bold to second our former request that you would not only not command your own forces away but order the Scots, leastwise the foot who themselves say they may be best spared, to stay with us until this work be perfected.

[P.S.] If the Scottish and the rest of the forces assigned by you to our relief will but face Chester and then march after the Princes, the forces of this county being by that means secured from the enemy will alone be able to reduce Chester and North Wales. And if you would order some shipping under the command of careful men to guard the coasts of Ireland there would be no fear of the Irish who now are preparing to come into England.

[No sigs.]

(D62)

Note

1 Actual phrase of the superscription.

141

*Brereton's Account of the Cheshire forces' remove from Christleton, 16 March, 1645, the Princes' advance to raise the sieges from Chester and Beeston and the advance of the Scottish forces.*

[post 29-3-45]<sup>1</sup> 16 March, upon the approach of the Princes' armies the Chesh. forces removed from Christleton to Tarporley near Beeston where they quartered that night. We removed Monday, 17 March, to Middlewich, seven miles thence, where the Chesh. foot – except those that returned to garrisons for the defence thereof – quartered until the Scotch army returned [i.e. retreated]. Only some of them on the return [i.e. retreat] of the enemy out of Chesh. were sent to Tarporley to block up Beeston castle again. The enemy came to Whitchurch on Monday night and the next day – 18 March – to Tarporley, seven miles from Middlewich, which night – 18 March – the Scotch forces quartered at Stretford upon the borders of Chesh. and there rested all the next day – 19 March – and came to Knutsford 20 March and thence – 21 March – advanced to Sandbach, three miles from Middlewich. This day – 21 March – at a council of war held at Middlewich the enclosed order was made [91] and sent to Sandbach with a letter to Lt. Gen. Lesley, who returned this answer here enclosed [97] 22 March [Text has *May*]. The enemy retreated from Tarporley – 19 March – to Whitchurch and from Whitchurch to [Market] Drayton and Newport – 20 March – and from thence to Newport – 21 March – and there remained three days.

The Scotch forces came to Sandbach Friday [Text has *Monday*] 21 [March] and stayed there until 26 March which day they marched to Whitchurch and returned back that [?] day [29 March]<sup>2</sup> by order of Ld. Leven. Col. Rossiter

came to us to Middlewich 21 March and Col. Bethell 22 March but their horse were then at Congleton. Likewise the enemy left Newport on Monday, 24 March, three days after the Scotch army came to Sandbach.  
(A47)

Notes

- 1 The last date mentioned in this item is 29 March and the first 16 March and so it has been placed alongside 142, the captured royalist diary, which covers the same troop movements inside the same dates. But it is unlikely that Brereton would have compiled it until he received Lesley's letter of 1 April [156], which complained of Brereton's report to the C. of B.K. about their combined manoeuvres. It is even possible that it was not compiled until 1 May, when Brereton, prompted by Ashurst [349], wrote yet a further explanation of what had happened to the C. of B.K. [391].
- 2 What was in front of 'day' has been erased, but it cannot have been intended to read 'which day they [the Scots] marched to Whitchurch and returned back that [same] day', for the Scots did not withdraw from Whitchurch until 29 March [Lesley's letters 129 and 135]

142

*A Royalist Diary*<sup>1</sup>

[16 to 29-3-45]

Sunday, March 16. The rebels quitted Holt Bridge and ffarne [Farndon], Lea, Wharton [Waverton], Saughton and Christleton.

Monday, 17. The two Princes met at Phens Heath [Fenns Moss]<sup>2</sup> and that night quartered at Whitchurch. Mytton came in our rear. We took 12 prisoners.

Tuesday, 18. The enemy, having intelligence of our intention to relieve Beeston, quitted the siege; left their works undemolished and a sow<sup>3</sup> behind them. No distress; 8000 weight of biscuit; plenty of beef, only some want of fire and beer. Headquarters at Bunbury. This day P[rince] M[aurice] went to Chester and gave command to Lord B[yron] to be governor and Sir E.V.[erney] Lt. gov.<sup>4</sup>

Wednesday, 19. The rendezvous at B[unbury] Heath where the Prince [Rupert] having intelligence of 1500 of the rebels to be near Whitch [urch] drew a large party thither but the enemy, having notice of his advance, hastened to Shrewsbury. Our men followed in the rear, killed one and took some few prisoners. This day at the rendezvous we hanged the 12 prisoners taken on Monday all on one crabtree, they having formerly served his Majesty and we being invited thereunto by their examples at Shrewsbury.<sup>5</sup>

Thursday, 20. We marched from Whitchurch to [Market] Draughton

Friday, 21. From [Market] Draughton to Newport that night. Colonel Carral's major<sup>6</sup> was killed going to his quarters.

Saturday, 22. We rested. This day came intelligence to the Prince by Walter

Pie [Pye]<sup>7</sup> that 4000 men were up in arms in Hereford on some discontent or injury received from the garrison. The governor<sup>8</sup> sent forth a party to suppress them, of which they killed and took many, and afterwards laid siege to the city. But that difference being reconciled, they have since declared four reasons for the deposition of his Majesty.<sup>9</sup>

- 1 That he came armed in a warlike manner to the House.
- 2 That he married his daughter without his [their] advice or consent.
- 3 That he hath convened an assembly at Oxford without their approbation.
- 4 That he hath concluded a peace with the Irish against their council or consent.

Sunday, 23. We rested.

Monday, 24. From thence to Shiftnall [Shifnal]. Intelligence that 6,000 Scots were come to aid Brereton and that part of his forces were quartered at Newcastle-under-Lyme.

Tuesday, 25. To Bewdley where we rested.

Wednesday, 26. Intelligence came that Waller, having shipped his army for the west, 3,00 were drowned in their passage to Lyme.<sup>10</sup> This day 36 barrels of powder with match arrived with a convoy from Bristol at Worcester and ten more sent thence to Ludlow. Colonel Lisle<sup>11</sup> on his march from Oxford with 2,000 men and 12 cannon. P[rince] Charles already raised 5,000. Waymouth [Weymouth] betrayed to the shipping:<sup>12</sup> Bristol fleet set forth to sea.

Thursday, 27. From Bewdley to Tenbury. This day order was given by the Prince at the rendezvous that no man – but only wives – should pass over a bridge near.

Friday, 28. from Tenbury to Bromyate [Bromyard].

Saturday, 29. To Hereford. The Prince in his march had intelligence that 2,000 of the country was risen about Leadbury [Ledbury], whereof he drew out the horse and about 1,000 foot. The people, having notice of his approach, the greatest part of them run away. About 200 drew into a body. A party of the Prince's troop sent to them. 15 gave fire. The party fell upon them, disarmed them, took the chiefest prisoners, dismissed the rest.

(A141)

#### Notes

- 1 For the probable identity of the author of this diary see 569 n.2. It is valuable because the writer of Prince Rupert's Journal (*E.H.R.*, 13, 738) lost his notes for this particular march and made it up by referring to 'Mercury' (presumably *Mercurius Aulicus*). The result is hopelessly inaccurate, even the date of the month when the march took place being wrong. This account of the royalist movements fits in well with the evidence from the parliamentary side given in other items from B.L.B.
- 2 Four miles south of Whitchurch in the direction of Ellesmere. Abp. Williams writing to Ormonde from Conway on 25-3-45 (Carte – *Life of Ormonde*, III) said that the Princes met on 'Prest' Heath i.e. Prees Heath four miles due south of Whitchurch, and several later writers have accepted this. But the diarist, having

- been present, is more likely to have been correct.
- 3 To examine how this 'sow' became transformed by 19th century writers into a siege tower (a fantastic proposition on the steep slopes of Beeston Castle) see Webb II, 240 n.; Malbon, 168, Hall's note; Beeston Castle App. III (*T.L.C.A.S.*, 65, 1975). But this last account fails to notice that the authority on which Webb based his assertion about the sow (or siege tower) is, in fact, this diary.
  - 4 For the conflicting evidence concerning these appointments see 119 n.1.
  - 5 Despite the earlier entry in the Diary under 17 March – 'Mytton came in our rear; we took 12 prisoners' – the executed soldiers seem to have belonged to the Salop Com. at Shrewsbury. It is they who reported the executions to Parl. and to them that Rupert's sec., Ralph Goodwin, addressed an explanation. Mytton's name does not appear in either letter (*L.J.* VII, 305). See 255 and n. for further discussion of this incident.
  - 6 Neither officer has been identified but Dr. Newman suggests that Col. Carral may be an error for Lt. Col. Caryl Molyneux, younger brother of Ld. Molyneux (*q.v.* 314 n.) and 2nd i-c of his regt of horse.
  - 7 Of Mynde Park nr. Kilpeck, Herefordshire. Pre-war M.P. and col. of horse in royal army at Oxford. Sir Robt. Pye, the parliamentarian, was a first cousin. (643, n.3; Webb *passim*; *D.N.B.* under Robt.; Newman.)
  - 8 Barnabas Scudamore, younger brother of John, Visc. Scudamore of Holme Lacy. Herefordshire, who was a distinguished diplomat and patron of letters in pre-Civil War days. Barnabas was knighted by Charles in Sept. 1645 for successfully resisting the attempt by Leven's Scots to capture Hereford in Aug. 1645. (*D.N.B.* under John Scudamore; Newman.)
  - 9 The text actually says, 'But since that difference with the gov. being reconciled, the people in arms have declared themselves for his Majesty the King deposed 4 reasons'. So it seems difficult to give any other rendering than the one in the Calendar, although the putting forward of four such reasons (two of them belonging to the pre-war period) and the consideration at this juncture of the King's deposition seem quite out of keeping with the feelings and aims of the Herefs. 'clubmen', as given in 25, and with the movement in general as described by Gardiner II, 185; Webb II, 150–8 and Morrill, *Revolt of the Provinces*, 98–114, 196–200.
  - 10 This appears to have been rumour only.
  - 11 Sir Geo. Lisle, col. of foot in the army at Oxford; a very experienced officer who had fought on the continent, at Edgehill, both battles of Newbury, Cheriton and Cropredy Bridge. Late he fought at Naseby and, in the Second Civil War of 1648, in the defence of Colchester. He was shot after its surrender. (*D.N.B.*; Newman.)
  - 12 Sailors from two of Vice-Admiral Batten's men-of-war helped Col. Sydenham to resist the royalist attack on Melcombe Regis and then regain the rest of Weymouth on 28-2-45. (24; A.R. Bayley-*Great Civil War in Dorset*, 238–43.)

*Brereton to C. of B.K.*

28-3-45 [P.S. is 30-3-45] Nantwich. This day upon the rendezvous with the Scottish forces I received your former letter of 25 March [114] (mentioned in

that I received yesternight) [117; see 131], commanding that if the enemy should decline to fight and march into Lancs. and Yorks. we should pursue them or, if they marched southwards, then what English forces could be spared should follow them which way soever they moved. With Scottish assistance we would have been able to encounter them had they made their way into Lancs., but touching pursuing them marching southwards with those English forces alone that could be spared from our garrisons, the number of foot are very disproportionable, there being 17 companies of Chesh. and Staffs. foot in Salop. And to engage horse against foot, especially in enemy country, whither they are now retreated, might be of very dangerous consequence. But, however, before the intimation of your commands came to me, the Princes' army was in or about Worcs. and Hereford and they have dispersed part of their body, and restored the forces of the garrisons of Litchfield, Dudley and Ashby [de la Zouch]. But, if the intelligence we received from some prisoners is to be credited, the Princes have engaged their honour to recall them speedily and return to the relief of Chester and to prosecute their most hopeful designs upon Lancs. And so for the north and Carlisle and into Scotland. This I did urge effectually to induce the Lt. Gen. of the Scotch forces [Lesley] to advance further towards the enemy, but it seems he hath received order from Lord Leven to march towards Yorks. and he was very cautious lest the enemy should strike in betwixt him and the north. In prosecution thereof they are this day marching backwards. We did much importune them to stay one week, in which time we purposed to make a resolute attempt against Chester, but their commands were absolute. Seeing there is now no sudden design apparent against the Associated Counties and Col. Rossiter is returned to the frontiers of the Associated Counties and Col. Bethell to the frontiers of Yorks., it is earnestly desired that Maj. Gen. Crawford's forces or the Scots, now returning into Yorks., may be continued unto us for a short time. So prevention may be given to all expected supplies out of Ireland, no hope left of recruiting in Wales as formerly, all passage through the north-west towards Lancs., Carlisle and Scotland stopped and no encouragement remaining to the enemy to come this way. So this country would be enabled not only to defend itself but to give assistance to neighbour parts of England or to the kingdom of Ireland.

Post. 30-3-45 Since I writ the lines above, I received your letter of 23 March which came about 2 o'clock this morning, wherein I perceive your greatest care is lest the enemy fall into the Associated Counties, whereof I was also solicitous. But if my intelligence fail not, they are now in the remote parts towards Hereford and by their dispersing these forces to their several garrisons it is more probable that their designs lie westward, although I cannot hear they are gone past Worcester or Hereford. I know not how to gain reliable intelligence out of these parts. But if Maj. Gen. Crawford join with us we shall be near 3,000 foot, more able to deal with the enemy and ready to observe your orders.

[P.P.S.] I conceive there may be as great danger of the enemy falling into Lancs. if we move towards the Associated Counties as there is now of his moving towards the Association, but whatsoever is your order herein shall be obeyed.

(D56)

Note

- 1 This letter is not in B.L.B. or *C.S.P.D.* 117 does contain the warning that the enemy must not be allowed to fall into the Assoc. Counties, but this had already been received (see 131 and 143) and is dated 25-3-45 whereas the date given in this P.S. is plainly 23 March.

144

*Lt. Col. Chidley Coote to Lt. Col. Venables<sup>1</sup> and the Com. of Tarvin*  
 30-3-45 9 pm Sunday Hooton. Upon the intelligence sent to you last night I made the Wyrehall [Wirral] horse keep the field all night within two miles of Chester. But the enemy, having notice it seems we were in readiness, came not out. In the morning, the tide serving, our horse broke over into Wales and in the town of Northope [Northop] fell upon the quarters of Ld. Byron's regiment, killed six of his men, took some 30 horse, many swords and such arms as they had and the eight prisoners listed in the enclosed note. Had it not been for one of the enemy's scouts they had taken all Ld. Byron's troop and Capt. Friar's. The horse brought over six score head of cattle, by way of retaliation and recompence for their plundering in Wyrehall [Wirral]. We have intelligence come even now to us, that all the enemy's horse are come out of Wales into the city and intend a revenge. I entreat be in readiness with as many horse and foot as you can and send out scouts as near to Chester as you can with safety. That way you may give your men intelligence of the enemy's issuing out and, when you hear them and us at it in these parts, fall upon their rear between them and home. I pray, gentlemen, fail not.  
 (D60)

Note

- 1 He was Robt., son of Robt. of Antrobus nr. Northwich, a minor squire distantly related to the Venables of Kinderton. He was early involved in the war fighting first as capt. of a coy in Lancs. He distinguished himself in the war in Chesh., partic. in the defence of Nantwich and the attacks on Chester. For his position at this time in Brereton's forces see 385 n.3. In 1649 he became Col. of a newly raised regt of the New Model intended for Ireland and from then until 1651 he played a prominent part in operations there. In 1655 he was appointed Maj. Gen. of the land forces in Cromwell's expedition to the Caribbean which failed disastrously in the attack on Hispaniola but succeeded in conquering Jamaica. After this he retired from public life and lived at his newly acquired estate in Wincham nr. Northwich, surviving almost until the 1688 Revolution. (*C.W.T.C.*, 154; *C.W.T.L.*, 63; Malbon; Dore; Firth and Davies, *Regt. Hist. of Cromwell's Army*; *D.N.B.*)

145

*A List of Prisoners taken in Wyrehall* [Wirral]  
[30-3-45, Hooton. Prefaced by a repetition given in 144, of the raid on Northop.]

Rich. Clayton, lt. of horse in Ld. Byron's regt

Mr Thomas Lusen [? Leveson] gent. in Ld. Byron's troop

Nicholas Webb troopers in Ld. Byron's troop

Rich. Whitby

Thomas Sale trooper under Capt. ffryer [Friar]

Mr John Powell<sup>1</sup> Deputy vice-Admiral [? of N. Wales]

James Hutchison preacher

Thomas Kerriston of Dodliston [Dodleston]

(D62)

Note

- 1 Probably John, son and heir of Sir Thos. Powell of Horsley nr. Wrexham and Birkenhead Priory. But, if this is so, then Ormerod must be wrong in stating that John, who predeceased his father, died as early as 1642. (Orm. II, 461; R. Stewart Brown, *Birkenhead Priory*, 160-2.)

146

*Brereton to Lesley*

30-3-45 Nantwich. I herein enclose two letters received by a third post. If your orders warrant it, I would be pleased with the forces under my command to wait upon you and draw nearer Prince Rupert, so that we could attend him which way soever he moves. Maj. Gen. Crawford might join with us, whereby we might very well be able to deal with the enemy wherever we find them. To this end we have sent to Lord Leven for your stay with us, and await the return of that messenger whom we hope will make all haste. In the meantime we have so good experience of your forwardness that we shall not need to importune herein.

(D55)

147

*Brereton to Capts. Tatam* [Tatum] *and Clarke*<sup>1</sup>

31-3-45 Nantwich. I have intelligence that the Earl of Ormonde hath made peace with the Irish and hath stayed and pressed divers barques, which now ride at anchor in and about the bar at Dublin, in which he intends to waft into England an army of Irish. Therefore I desire you speedily to launch forth with your ships into the most convenient places you think meet in the road betwixt Dublin and Chester, there to lie to prevent the transportation and arrival of those rebels intended for these parts. Whereby you will do the state most

grateful service, of which I shall render an account as you deserve commendation for the same.

(D58)

Note

- 1 Robt. Clarke was the capt. of an armed merchantman, the *Jocelin*, of 196 tons operating in the Irish sea in 1645. He appears in the list of 32 royal ships and 19 armed merchantmen so employed which is given in Granville Penn's *Life of Sir Wm. Penn* (I,111). So also does Capt. Stephen Rich of the *Rebecca*, who appears later in *B.L.B.* Clarke had been in the north-west for some time. On 7-6-43 Liverpool, recently taken over by the parliamentarians, made him a Burgess and on 14-7-44 he sent an account from Lancaster to the royalist Capt. Bartlett (*q.v.*) of the defeat of his side at Marston Moor. They were obviously old acquaintances and Clarke was using the news of Marston Moor to try to persuade Bartlett to change sides. Capt. Tatum does not appear in the above mentioned list, but it is obvious that he was in the same position as Clarke and had also been doing similar work for some time. Clarke mentions him twice in his letter, and an angry letter of 30-10-44 from Sir Thos. Middleton at Red Castle to the Speaker accuses Tatum of taking arms intended for him from two ships. Middleton makes it quite plain that Brereton and the Cheshire Com. were behind Tatum's action. (Granville Penn, *Life of Sir Wm. Penn* I, 111; *Portland* I, 191-2; *Marston Moor*, 250-2, Chandler and Wilson, *Liverpool under Charles I*, 314.)

148

*Col. John Booth to Mr Warburton*<sup>1</sup> 'near Hillcliffe'.

31-3-45 Warrington. I had hoped that at the last I might have found the common respect of a gentleman from you, considering the order I have from the Commons, of which I doubt but that you will have received notice, touching the sequestered estates and other things by me claimed from certain towns in Chesh. But I find your proceedings offer violence to mine and your neighbours whom hitherto I have preserved and doubt not (by the power given me from above) to maintain. Therefore I wish you to take notice that I am a dep. lt. of your county and that the former order granted for the maintenance of this garrison is still on foot, and that I will not loose the sequestrations and other things due unto this garrison until the business be settled by the dep. lts. of both counties according to the order of Parl. If this may give you satisfaction I shall be glad of it. Else you may know me for your neighbour and expect I will not lose the right due unto this garrison for your greatness' sake or other sinister end whatsoever, but hope in all things to approve myself a gentleman desirous to continue the love of my neighbours and countrymen.<sup>2</sup>

(D72)

Notes

- 1 He was on the sequestration committees of Bucklow, Eddisbury and Northwich

Hundreds and was the treasurer for Bucklow Hundred. His accounts are in S.P. 28/208 and Harl. 2137. (Morrill, 87, 105, 118–9). He may have been of Hillcliff (between Wilderspool and Stretton Chesh., where a baptist community later established itself), but he was an obscure person and ‘his greatness’, as Col. John contemptuously called it, was undoubtedly due to useful service in support of Brereton’s war effort.

- 2 Behind this letter lies the dispute over Warrington garrison. When Warrington was captured in May, 1643, after a combined attack by forces from Lancs. and Chesh., it was considered of such importance to the Chesh. war effort that, although a Lancs. town, 29 townships of Bucklow Hundred were allotted to assist in the maintenance of its garrison. But at this time, with royalist forces still in the field in Lancs. and the Marquis of Newcastle dominant in Northern England, danger to Chesh. was more likely to come from north of the Mersey than elsewhere. By the time of the Nantwich campaign (Jan. 1644), with the crossing of the border by the Scots Covenanters and the landing in N. Wales and the Wirral of royalist troops from Ireland, the situation had altered and it was Sir T. Fairfax, c.-in-c. Lancs. and Chesh. in Feb. and March, 1644, who first suggested that Lancs. alone should maintain the Warrington garrison. Brereton, then in London, got this backed up by an ordinance of Parl. to this effect on 7-5-44. But what was decreed in London and what could be carried out in a distant province were by no means one and the same thing, and Col. John continued to defy the new ordinance up to the opening of B.L.B. The imprisoning of Lawrenson and Brash, the sequestration collectors sent in by Warburton to the estate of Sir Edw. Moore at Thelwall, is an example (see 50 and n.1) of this. At the time of the writing of the above item, Col. John had just returned from London, his position greatly strengthened by a further ordinance of Parl. on 15-3-45 referring the dispute for settlement to the dep. lts. of both Lancs. and Chesh. This is the order of Parl. to which he refers. Armed with this he continued to break up and disperse musters raised by the Chesh. Com. from the 29 townships, using the Warrington garrison to carry out his orders. Finally the approach of the King’s army imposed a compromise, Col. John preferring and the Chesh. Com. reluctantly accepting the assistance of some of Col. John’s troops under his personal command in lieu of the projected levies, on the understanding that this was not to prejudice the position of either side in the dispute (*Fairfax Correspondence* III, 74–6; *C.J.* III, 484 and IV, 79.; B.L.B. 50, 132, 148, 155, 245, 267, 304, 329, 330, 437, 469.)

It is very doubtful whether this should be regarded as an extension of the dispute between Brereton and the party among the Chesh. dep. lts. headed by the Booths, although the clash between such strong personalities as Brereton and Col. John undoubtedly exacerbated it. Sir Geo. Booth was said to be exceedingly displeased at his son’s action in dispersing the new levies from the 29 townships and, even after Brereton had resigned his command and was back in London, the Chesh. Com. (with Sir Geo. Booth among its leaders) continued to press Parl. for an annulment of the Chesh. allocation to the Warrington garrison (330; *Portland* I, 239–40). It was undoubtedly a military problem brought about because the changing course of the war meant that maintaining a strong garrison at Warrington was no longer so obvious and consistent a necessity as it had once been. But because we do not have any statements on the question by other Lancs. leaders, we cannot tell how far the Lancs. Com. was behind Col. John on this matter, and

therefore whether it was a genuine inter-county dispute or one that could easily have been resolved if Col. John had not been determined to accept no diminution of his military power and prestige. It is obvious that if the Warrington garrison was to be maintained at its previous strength, Lancs. must supply what Chesh. had previously done, but the Lancs. leaders could have argued that this was no longer necessary. Morrill (118–20), although not arguing that the dispute was another instance of Brereton-Booth rivalry and admitting that it was a genuine military problem, seems to think that it was largely caused by Booth being a Chesh. gentlemen in command of Chesh. troops in charge of a town on the Lancs. side of the Mersey, with his Chesh. allotment the only source of his supply, since the Lancs. Com. would disclaim responsibility for him. But several objections can be raised to this argument. We do not know any details of the raising of Col. John's regt, but the Booth family had two manors in Lancs. and Col. John could have raised all his original coy and a good part of his regt from among his father's Lancs. tenants alone. His military operations from Sept. 1642 to Oct. 1643 were entirely within Lancs. and he played no part in the war in Chesh. at all. Afterwards he made expeditions into Chesh. and even into N. Wales but always from Lancs. and in charge of Lancs. troops. (Brereton himself reporting the 1643 attack on N. Wales and Malbon giving the troops that rescued Nantwich are quite specific that they were Lancs. troops.) Finally the Parl. ordinance of 7-5-44 makes it plain that the allotment of Chesh. townships was 'towards' the maintenance of Warrington garrison and not its sole support. (*C.W.T.L.*; *I.P.M. Chesh.* I, Rec. Soc. of L. & C. 84, 42, 64, 69; *Portland I*, 151; *Malbon* 117; *C.J.* III, 484)

*Col. Massey to Brereton*

31-3-45 Gloucester. I have on behalf of this bearer, Mrs Owen my sister, written to the Com. of Shrewsbury that such lawful favour as they shall find meet may be showed to her and her family. Your former favours give me assurance of their continuance in this request, as also that you will take into consideration the provision of some reasonable and suitable accomodation for your prisoner, her father-in-law Mr Owen, he being an old weak man. Yet I beg not where it may be of either disadvantage or loss to your design or the Parl.'s proceedings. For my brother [in-law] Owen, your prisoner, I cannot respect him otherwise than as the husband of my beloved sister, yet with an eye of hope of reclaiming rather than continuing him in his former way. Therefore, if exchanges be not already offered and accepted, I request that you would grant Lt. Col. Owen some weeks liberty to seek them, but I desire rather, if he will take the Protestation never to act or do anything hereafter against or to the prejudice of Parl., that he may enjoy his freedom to live quietly with his wife, hoping by such your favour that he may be so reclaimed that he may be of service to the Parl.<sup>1</sup>

(D113)

Note

- 1 See 10, 55, 120, 272, 276 and 504 for other mentions of Col. Massey's royalist in-laws. His wife, Anne, was the daughter of Thos. Owen, Town Clerk of Shrewsbury (Orm. II, 732; *S.A.S.T.* 2nd ser. 1, 51).

150

*Brereton to Maj. Gen. Crawford*

31-3-45 Nantwich. Today I received a letter from the C. of B.K. (copy enclosed) [126] and, although I would have much joyed in your assistance in these parts, yet if the Princes should incline their course towards the Associated Counties I would rather contribute to your assistance to fall on them than draw you this way. But I suppose these counties are in no danger, for I hear the Princes are advanced towards Oxford which, if it be so, you cannot better dispose of your forces than by advancing hither and assisting us to reduce Chester. Which done – and by your good help the work would be feasible – I shall gladly join my forces to yours and go upon any service commanded. If you have no command from the Com. to the contrary and conceive the Associated Counties in no danger I should much rejoice in your assistance in these parts.

I do not conceive by the letters from the said Com. that they are so solicitous for the west and I have information from divers that the enemy's garrisons there are replenished by the Princes' forces.

[P.S.] I desire speedily to hear from you. Tomorrow we shall draw towards Chester.

[P.P.S.] I believe if you stay at Coventry you will receive peremptory orders from the Com. warranting your march unto us. If you are doubtful and suspicious how to dispose yourself for the most advantage, remain two or three days about Coventry and I doubt not but in the meantime you shall receive orders from them.

(D59)

151

*Brereton to the C. of B.K.*

31-3-45 Nantwich. You were pleased to command me to take care of Stafford, a place of great strength and concernment, and to confirm Capt. Stone in the charge and due government thereof. You commanded him to remain there until further order, where he hath, in obedience to your commands, performed very good service and reduced the garrison to as good order and government as any in the kingdom. The well-affected inhabitants are so well satisfied that they apprehend themselves in a more secure condition, although they want five or six coys, now with me, that were in the town when he took the command. And I dare affirm that his single troop of horse, belonging

to Eccleshall Castle, hath done as much service as any in England. Yet there hath been much disturbance there of late, made by one Richards,<sup>1</sup> lately marshall there, who hath been so much tainted with unfaithfulness or corruption that I cannot (as bound in duty) but give information thereof, that so no dishonour may be reflected upon any for employing or entrusting those that are so much blemished. The man was marshall of Stafford when Col. Ellis<sup>1</sup> was a prisoner there and made his escape. I myself admonished that he would do so because he had formerly attempted to bribe and purchase liberty to escape from three or four officers of mine, to whom he was entrusted, by offering each of them one hundred pounds and preferment. I sent to the Com. of Stafford also to desire their care, which was not wanting. I seldom sent to Stafford without letting the marshall know that I was confident that Col. Ellis would at some time make an escape, which, if it came to pass, would be laid to his charge. Notwithstanding Col. Ellis did make an escape. No notice was taken of it until three or four o'clock in the afternoon and the marshall, being questioned, could give no manner of account but said he had not seen him since 8 o'clock the night before. Yet so much credit is given to this man's testimony as hath occasioned much disturbance.

Capt. Stone is commanded to London. The town of Stafford is much troubled with the news of his remove, and truly I cannot propose any man so fit for that command and believe that his remove hence, though but for a short time, may be of dangerous consequence. I desire you may take it into your consideration that he be not commanded away until the enemy (still hovering in these parts) be dispersed and removed. And until some better course be taken for securing that garrison.

(D56)

#### Note

- 1 This letter should be taken together with 18 and 24 and their notes. I have come across no confirmatory evidence of the *escape* of Col. Robt. Ellis, admittedly a valuable prisoner because of his continental experience. Tucker (33) says he was exchanged in Sept. 1643, but gives no sources in support of this. It is obvious, however, that Richards' real crime in Brereton's eyes was his opposition to Capt. Stone and his support of the pro-Denbigh group in Staffs., headed by Col. Rugeley. Stone's letter in *L.J.* VII, 280, and two letters from Richards to Denbigh of 21-2-45 and 23-3-45 in the Denbigh MSS in the Warks. County Record Office (C.10, vol.2, ff. 81-2) reveal that Richards was the main agent in trying to get Stone to relinquish his governorship of Stafford and go up to the Lords. Richards urges Denbigh to put pressure on the C. of B.K. to force Stone to do this. Brereton's contacts with Vane and St. John, as revealed by 18, would have been sufficient to prevent this. (I am indebted to Mr John Sutton for calling my attention to the above letters in the Denbigh MSS. For more inf. on Richards see 24 n.6.)

*Brereton to St. John and Vane*

31-3-45 [Nantwich]. As you were special instruments to obtain us the assistance of the Scottish forces now in these parts, to whom we are much obliged for their seasonable coming and upon the noise of whose approach, the enemy retreated, so I wish to inform you that the Scottish forces are returning back and have orders to remain about Halifax and Leeds, so they may be ready if the enemy moves northwards either by Lancs. or Newark.

They might with more convenience and advantage have advanced into Salop to encourage the well-affected newly risen there and in Herefordshire. So they might have enabled us to do you better service who are now as much disabled to pursue the enemy as we were to encounter them before the Scots joined us, although we are very sensible of the necessity of encountering them. If this be not done, they are expected to return to the relief of these parts for the performance of which they have deeply engaged their honour. So we must hope for no better than a succession of dangers and disturbances if we attempt anything against Chester. If not, they will most probably return to prosecute their hopeful design in Lancs. where they have assurance of a potent party to join with them, whereof I have formerly given information to the C. of B.K. and to whom I desire you will give this further account. I have received this note to which I cannot add anything but that this parchment roll sealed (wherein it was conceived were the names of those that invited the Prince) was sent to Almsechurch [Ormskirk] to the [blank in MS] there. I could not discover any of those to whom this parchment roll was sent, only I hear 140 [Col. John Booth] named and it is certain there are many distracted in 107 [Lancs.].<sup>1</sup>

May I remind you of my former suit that some supply of money be sent down, otherwise there can be little service expected of this army. For want thereof some of the horse are become so outrageous and mutinous that they have offered violence to some of their commanders. Their wants are indeed insufferable, not only clothes but money to shoe their horses, fix their arms and mend their saddles. One regt of foot is wholly disbanded for want of money. Less than £5,000 will do us little good, for this county is so disabled that the inhabitants are not able to subsist. That part which hath not been quite overrun by the enemy is so weakened and wasted by these great armies that lie upon us that they are grown to a very necessitous condition. Seeing that this county is a bulwark to all these parts of the kingdom and that it is not possible for an army that is in such want to do much service, I humbly beseech that some supply may be sent.

Post. There is come into my hands a letter intercepted from Daniel O'Neile [O'Neill] to Lord Digby.<sup>2</sup> It is so large as I cannot now transcribe it but hereafter you shall receive a copy. It is true it is supposed it was writ last year, but the enemy prosecutes the same design.

(D64)

## Note

- 1 Ormskirk was at this time the operational H.Q. for the siege of Lathom, in which the largest section of the parl. forces of Lancs. were engaged. There would be a constant coming and going of senior commanders, dep. lts. and com. men. There were accusations before and after this of traitors in the camp. See 69 and 313, as well *C.W.T.L.* 230–4, the ‘Good Service’ of Lt. Col. Rosworm, the foreign engineer who assisted the Manchester forces. It seems likely that 140 is Col. John Booth; 69 undoubtedly reveals that Brereton had already suggested to the C. of B.K. that he was untrustworthy. Brereton was apt to treat awkward opponents in this way (i.e. Chadwick and Rugely in Stafford) and he had obvious reasons for wanting Col. John out of the way, but the latter’s conduct in 1648 and 1651 make it possible that his suspicions were not without foundation.
- 2 See App. II.

## 153

*Brereton to Ashurst*

[c.31-3-45] Such are the discontents, mutinies and outrages of some of our horse proceeding from extreme wants of necessaries, without which it is not to be expected nor indeed possible that they should subsist, that if some speedy supply of money be not sent sad effects may ensue. Many of their horses are unshod and unservicable. Divers of our volunteer foot cannot be prevented from disbanding. Our country is exhausted. Part, since our withdrawal from Christleton, Beeston and farne [Farndon], much impoverished by the enemy; the rest heavily charged with our own army and by supplying of victuals and accommodation for the armies. Our sequestrators can raise no money. Malignants rents are payable at only two days – midsummer and Michaelmas. Sir, no man is more unwilling to be importunate, but as I am entrusted by the state and as the service there cannot but be much disadvantaged, I cannot justify myself if I should omit to make this known. Divers troops of the Yorks. horse offered to march away with their colours, offered violence to their chief commanders and have killed one of our countrymen and wounded divers more who laboured to regulate them. Now they are appeased only in expectation of some present supply. But it is not within my power to make them obey my order or march should there be occasion which, if they should not, it will be a great disadvantage to your affairs and encouragement to the enemy. Their arms are unfixed, their horses unshod, their saddles out of repair, and they want money for washing their linen and repairing their clothes and boots. Many of the foot are in the same [plight] whereof there are whole regts disbanded. The Derbys. regt of horse, which is a most serviceable regt, are in extreme want, and I cannot hope that any less sum than £5,000 will give them enough satisfaction to make this army serviceable. For what hath been already received, there hath been account rendered upon oath for the greatest part of that which came to this county; the rest is in readiness, when occasion is offered, upon oath.

Excuse, I beseech you, my importunity and plain dealing. It is not to be hoped that this army, which consists of so many several parties, should be anything serviceable or commanded when they are in such height of wants and discontents.

(D64)

154

*Brereton and H. Brooke<sup>1</sup> to Leven*

[Early April, 1645] Since our last to your lordship [137] in which we desired the continuance of your horse and foot amongst us, both to surprise the enemy and reduce Chester – a business that would much conduce to the good of the whole kingdom but especially the northern parts – we hear that the Prince lingers by the way and gathers strength and moneys with the intention to return as soon as he shall hear your forces are removing. This occasions us to second our former request that you would be pleased to continue your forces with us or, at least, your foot which we hear may be best spared.

(D63)

Note

- 1 Brooke's name has been added to Brereton's as signatories, in Brereton's writing. As 'our last to your lordship' purported to come from the dep. lts. and Com. of Chesh. (although no signatures are given), this would be necessary to give the same impression. See 260 for note on Brooke.

155

*William Touchett, Thomas Warburton, Thomas Pownall and John Leigh to Brereton*

1-4-45 Daresbury. We send you here enclosed the copy of a letter from Col. John Booth [148], occasioned as we conceive, by the signing by some of us of an order for levying £50 out of delinquents estates within the townships formerly assigned for the maintenance of the garrison at Warrington. This order was given to Richard Starkey, clerk to Lt. Col. Gerard, and certain of his soldiers for the payment of the £50 ordered by you to his officers. But on the execution of the said order by the said Starkey, notice being given thereof to Col. John Booth, a number of soldiers were sent out of Warrington, the cattle rescued from them [Starkey's men] and they carried prisoners to Warrington and our order taken from them by the said Colonel. Sir, if our collectors shall suffer so long imprisonment as they have done in another county, for yielding obedience to the orders of Parl., and our agents shall be resisted with violence and we so much vilified and so often threatened to be imprisoned and plundered for our endeavours to perform the best service to the Commonwealth and yet there be no vindication of justice, we may judge ourselves in as evil a case as Israel was under the taskmasters of Pharoah. We

are sensible of your great affairs and yet humbly entreat you to take some speedy course for the removing of these distractions and the taking away of these continual obstructions, that we may either orderly proceed according to our oaths and the trust reposed in us or that you will be favourably pleased to free us from the service and employ fitter agents.

(D72)

Note

- 1 Of these sequestrators for Bucklow Hundred, it seems probable that Pownall came from Barnton and Touchet from Nether Whitley, (both n. of Northwich), while Leigh came from Oughtrington nr. Lymm. Touchet was probably the father of Lt./Capt. Touchet (245 & 385). For Warburton see 148 n.1. (Orm. I, 588, 639, 659; B.L.B. Birm. 595611, ff. 121–31, augmented 'treason' list of royalist Grand Assize.)

156

*Lesley to Brereton*

1-4-45<sup>1</sup> Knutsford. Notwithstanding your letter of 22 March to our Com. [98] that the enemy was retreated and your testimony of me and those under my command, it has come to my ears that you wrote 24 March [102] that the enemy was still about Newport and that it was uncertain which way they intended and, with it, that you would fall in upon them but that I refused to concur with you, which I conceive to be prejudicial to my honour, being no ways guilty thereof. I cannot give credit that a man of your worth would be so uncharitable as to rob one of his honour who esteems nothing equal to it in this world. I have therefore sent this express to know the certainty of what you have written.

(A46)

Note

- 1 The dating on the letter could be 9 April. But it seems more likely to be 1 April, because we know Lesley began his return from Whitchurch on 29 March and reached Sandbach that night [134; Tanner MSS, codex 60, f. 38, Lesley to Scots Commissioners]. To take three days to cover the 12 miles to Knutsford would certainly have fulfilled the agreement Lesley made with Brereton to march slowly (so that he would not have gone too far if he were to be recalled to Cheshire). To have taken an additional eight days would surely have brought forth some comment either in B.L.B. or Malbon. (What about the provisions for horse and man that the local constables would have to have collected?) There is none.

157

*Brereton to Lesley*

[post 1-4-45]<sup>1</sup> I have received your letter of 1 April wherein you are pleased to take notice of the honourable mention which I made [letter of 22 March, 98]

of yourself, your officers and soldiers; also your desire to be satisfied whether I did not in my letter of 24 March [102] use some expressions that the enemy was still about Newport, it was uncertain which way they intended and I would have fallen upon them but you refused to concur. In answer where unto it is impossible for me to remember *verbatim* what was then written unless I had copies of all my letters<sup>2</sup>, but I am most certain that it was my constant care to let no expression fall from me but that which might consist with your honour which I did always value according to your worth. It is true the enemy was then about Newport and it was given out intended to fortify it, and it was uncertain which way they would move. It is true also that I did much desire that our forces might have advanced towards [Market] Draughton [Drayton] after them if you had thought fit, but you yourself desired that Lt. Gen. [*sic* for Maj. Gen.] Crawford might come up unto us before we did engage. And whereas you desire to know whether I used the expression that I would have fallen upon the enemy but you refused to concur, I must needs acknowledge that your forces and mine were never so united as to be in a fit posture to fall upon the enemy. The country was not able to maintain our forces so near together and therefore, the enemy retreating, mine were the more remote and dispersed so that yours might have liberty and accommodation. But if I had not discerned your care and respect for the condition of your own army about Newcastle [on-Tyne] and your own kingdom and if I had not thought more fit to be governed by your advice, I should have pressed more to have followed the enemy and to have fallen upon them. But I conceive that your orders did not warrant your march farther than this county out of which the enemy was retreated before you came near unto them. Sir, my love for you, the noble gentlemen with you and your whole nation makes me regard anything that reflects on your honour as if it reflected on my own. My sense of obligation for the assistance you have given me and my duty to the cause wherein we are both engaged make me most willing to give satisfaction for any error on my part.  
(A47)

## Notes

- 1 Brereton's further letter to the C. of B.K. of 1 May (391) explaining yet again his relations with Lesley from 18–29 March (written at the instigation of Ashurst), Lesley's letter of 1 April complaining of his allegations (156) and this letter in reply are all together in the MS. Yet it would seem likely that this would be written early in April rather than just before the letter of 1 May to the C. of B.K. As Brereton was trying so hard to retain Lesley's services in Chesh., it would have been most unwise not to reply quickly to his allegations. As the letters immediately before and after ff. 45–7 are dated at the end of April and the beginning of May, the conclusion would seem to be that Brereton had not originally considered it necessary to have Lesley's letter of complaint and his reply copied into the Letter Book.
- 2 The discovery of the D Letter Book has revealed that Brereton did have a copy of

the letter in question and that it did contain the expression 'fallen upon' the enemy, which he himself altered to 'followed' (102, n.1). To pretend ignorance of the exact wording was, of course, a convenient fiction which enabled him to placate Lesley while assuring his backers in the C. of B.K. and the Commons of his willingness to follow an offensive strategy.

## 158

*Lt. Col. Chidley Coote to Lt. Col. Venables and the Com. of Tarvin*

2-4-45 Hooton. Three hours before day this morning the enemy came out of Chester towards Upton House, and thought to have surprised the garrison and cut our men in pieces. They came, every man with his match in his hat and a white cloth of distinction about his right arm to know themselves from our men. When they were about their intended butchery, our horse scouts descried them. After which they marched openly and demanded of our men to deliver up the house upon fair quarter. Our men answered they would have no quarter at their hands; so they fell upon and shot. Many of them were wounded; two of their men lay dead close by the door and 16 more slain and taken off.

[P.S.] Upton garrison is within a mile of Chester, newly garrisoned and maintained by Capt. Rathbone, a Wirral man.'

(D60)

## Note

- 1 Prob. John of Irby, Wirral, an officer in Brereton's foot regt (C.W.T.C., 153; B.A.L.; B.O.R.)

## 159

*Rich. Worrall to Brereton*

3-4-45 London. I have sent in a ship called the *Sarah Boneventer* [Bonaventura] of London three fatts of arms and 8 fatts of drums and 20 barrels of powder. I had sent more powder but the ship was full freight before an order for powder was granted from Parl. Mr Green, the master, did remove a great part of the goods in the ship to make room for the 20 barrels, for he was desirous to carry them for you. The bill of lading I have sent herewith [139]. Mr Thomas Brown of Cheapside, grocer, and Mr Wainwright have hired the vessel to go to Liverpool and return to London. They are the merchants for this voyage and let me put the goods aboard. They request you to let them buy 30 tons of cheese in the country to bring to London, for they intend to freight their vessel back with cheese and salt out of Chesh. And if you have any occasion to send any commodities by sea to London you may put 20 tons aboard. The rate is 30s a ton back, they desired me to certify you. The freight for the powder and the fatts is to be paid to John Sandiford, who

goeth about with the vessel, by their order. Our goods are ten tons in bulk but not so much in weight, and there is to be paid 44s a ton for carriage when the goods are received, for I have given order they shall not be landed but kept aboard until you send for them. Therefore I desire you to lay wait for the ship against her arrival at Liverpool. John Sandiford promised me that as soon as they arrived he would send Capt. Rathbone word.<sup>1</sup>

Mr Brown desired me to inform you there was taken in a castle in Wales one Doctor Taylor, a great Arminian and one of the greatest adorers of images in this kingdom who now at this time prayeth in our own armies and, if he be not well looked unto, he may do a great deal of harm, if not betray some place or the army. There are great store of college rents which are in arrears in Chesh. If a certificate may be drawn from the sequestrators there to certify what is due and in arrears, we are in a way to get an order that you may have them to pay your army. If he may have the certainty and whether it may be worth the following, Mr [John] Bradshaw will put it upon [i.e. on foot]. To that purpose I have written to the sequestrators of Bulkeley [Bucklow] Hundred that through their fellow sequestrators it may speedily be done through all Chesh. and that the sequestrators will demand the rents that are in arrears and make stay of them for the state. I have enclosed sent a bill of exchange for £23 charged upon Mr Thomas Wright<sup>2</sup> of Nantwich and another for £10 charged upon Mr Hyde of Norbury,<sup>3</sup> both at the order of Mr Rich. Bradshaw.

Yesterday the Earls of Essex, Manchester and Denbigh laid down their commissions. Yet it is the sense of the House that all commissions that they have granted shall stand and remain in full force and power until the commanders and officers receive further order. This day the vote passed the Lords for calling in of members of both Houses that were upon service. Sir Thos. Fairfax and Maj. Gen. Skippon went to Windsor to muster and keep their rendezvous.

There was an order granted that you should receive £2125 out of the King's revenue to buy arms and saddles. For saddles you [have] bought all with your own money and great store of arms. The gunsmiths are to receive out of this £2125 for pistols £900, the armourer for arms £390: the whole sum for both is £1290. There remains £835. So much of your money hath been laid out for saddles and arms, that I have spoken to Mr Ashurst that this remainder may be paid in for you. For the money that you have written for, Mr Ashurst gives little hope but says absolutely there is none to be had. I desire to hear from you what your order is about this £835 and, if I must go on, I desire your certificate for the receipt of it.

(D79)

#### Notes

- 1 The importance of the sea route to Liverpool for Breton's supplies was apparent as early as June, 1643, but there was always the danger that another commander

would commandeer them. Hence these precautions. (Malbon, 61; *C.J.* III, 484; *Portland I*, 191.)

- 2 He does not appear in the pedigree of the Wright family of Nantwich in Hall (492-4). Nevertheless it seems likely that he would be a member. They were merchants and had produced a Ld. Mayor of London as recently as 1641.
- 3 Perhaps Edw. Hyde of Norbury and Hyde (N.E. Chesh.), the dep. lt. (*q.v.*), but perhaps one of his numerous brothers and half-brothers (*Orm.* III, 811).

## 160

*Ld. Fairfax to Brereton*

3-4-45 York. Having authorised Cols. Bright<sup>1</sup> and Overton<sup>2</sup> as my commissioners for the exchange of prisoners, which exchange has been performed by the adverse party and no less endeavoured on ours according to the articles agreed upon for the equal balancing of the exchange, I understand that your Marshal-General refused to set at liberty Capt. Maughton, who was exchanged for Capt. Watson, unless he paid £8: £5 whereof he was enforced to pay or remain prisoner. This being an absolute breach of the articles, no fees being due to any marshal upon a general exchange, I desire you to see it rectified, the money restored and the exchange made good, man for man, according to the Agreement. Also that Capt. Crathorne, exchanged for Captain Blith who is already released, may be set at liberty and a pass given him to go to what garrison he pleaseth.

[Note added but not in Sir W.B.s writing:] This letter was received April before which there were two several letters from Ld. Gen. Essex [only 134 in B.L.B.] for the release of Capt. Crathorne for Capt. Jones. Whereupon Capt. Crathorne was released for Capt. Jones and answer returned to Lord Fairfax. (D94)

## Notes

- 1 John of Carbrook, S. Yorks., gov. of Sheffield Castle. See 588 for Brereton's letter to him.
- 2 Robt. of Easington nr. York. Became a Maj. Gen. in Scotland during the Interregnum but was cashiered and imprisoned for joining the abortive revolt of the army officers against the Protector in 1655. (M. Ashley, *Cromwell's Generals* ch. viii.)

## 161

*Ld. Byron to Brereton*

4-4-45 Chester. I acknowledge your favour in granting ten days parole to Sir Nich. Byron (though I wonder how [why] he should be capable of [liable to] imprisonment) and shall not be wanting to afford any your prisoners the same respect. For Capt. Dobbin [? Dolben]<sup>1</sup> he was long since with me to solicit his exchange for one Matthews but, in regard for a privy [en]gagement for

Matthews, it could not proceed, and I know nothing but that he was returned. I assure you I shall not fail to send him so soon as I shall meet with him, as holding it a most unworthy and unsoldierly act to fail in the due performance of a parole, notwithstanding he was never an officer in any immediate relation to my command. I have written formerly to you touching the release of Capt. Price, prisoner at Warrington, and rely on your promised endeavours, being assured you may prevail therein if you intimate your desires to the governor of Warrington. I wish it were by consent held a rule for chirurgeons, drums, trumpets and chaplains to be discharged without exchange or ransom on both sides, whereto I shall be ready to consent.

(D66)

Note

- 1 Although Brereton's copyists consistently have *Dobbin(e)* it seems likely that this officer was John Dolben of Segrwyd nr. Denbigh, a captain in Col. Mark Trevor's Denbighs. horse. Byron says here that 'he was never an officer in any immediate relation to my command' and in 297 it is Trevor that asks Michael Jones for his release. He had been captured at the battle of Montgomery in Sept. 1644. (Tucker 53, 160, 169.)

162

*Com. at Tarvin to Sir Geo. Booth*

4-4-45 Tarvin. We are commanded by Sir Wm. Brereton to let you know that the army is marched into Wales and intends to block up that side of Chester and expects you should summon in the country, especially all that are enlisted or well-armed, to be at Crabtree Green<sup>1</sup> on Thursday next, there to receive orders the better to keep them in on this side. Every man is to bring in provision with him, which we hope will cheerfully be done, for that it is the most likely way to put a speedy end to the distractions of this county. If you please to write to the captains that are absent from the army to do their duty herein, and to the constables to apprehend all soldiers that absent themselves from their colours and bring them to Nantwich to be tried by a council of war, it might much advance the work.

John Bruen, Rob. Gregg, Wm. Davies,<sup>2</sup> Henry [blank in MS].  
(D87)

Notes

- 1 See Note to 232.
- 2 Robt. Gregg was of Hapsford nr. Helsby, Chesh., son of Edw. (still living) who was Examiner to the Exchequer at Chester (Orm. II, 34; *C.W.T.C.*, 153). For Bruen see 65 n.1 and for Davies 65 n.1 & 385 n.1.

*Sir Geo. Booth to Col. John Leigh*<sup>1</sup>

5-4-45 Dunham [Massey]. This letter [162] I received this night and accordingly have written to Cpts. Alcocke and Grasham [Grantham]<sup>2</sup> to call their companies together and make their appearance. But for raising the country people I forbear, in regard they are making their seednes [seedings], as also they have been so often called together and to so little purpose that they grow sensible that the country is burthened and opportunities offered neglected and no return made of them. I send the letter to you that, if your captains are not on service, you will send them in.

Post. I leave it to you to communicate this to the constables if you think meet. (D87)

#### Notes

1 Of Norbury Booths nr. Knutsford, a dep. lt. and head of an ancient and well-established Chesh. family. Considering the prestige this should have brought, he seems to have been unusually self-effacing and his war-time career is obscure. He was a capt. by 1643 and probably, for a time, gov. of Northwich, but neither Malbon nor any other source for this period mentions any of his military activities. Brereton proposed him as a Commissioner to appoint Assessors in Feb. 1643, but he was not named as a member of the County Coms. for Assessments or Sequestrations set up soon afterwards and does not appear to have been added to them until the Parl. Ordinance of 7-5-44. He appears quite often in B.L.B. but never on his own. There is no individual letter from him and no one says anything about him, favourable or unfavourable. That he was a firm Brereton supporter has to be deduced entirely from negative and impersonal evidence. He joined his signature to several of Brereton's letters and never as dep. lt., com. man, officer or Chesh. gent. signed anything that could be construed as anti-Brereton.

At the end of the Interregnum he was made sheriff and, while in office, made strenuous and successful attempts to get John Bradshaw returned to Rich. Cromwell's Parl. and went into hiding during Booth's revolt. These actions, together with his previous support of Brereton and his marriage to the daughter of Thos. Stanley of Alderley, would seem to show that he was strongly puritan and possibly republican in outlook. Yet, again, the many journal and letter writers of the period say nothing of him. (Orm. I, 499-500; C.W.T.C., 150; S.P.28/152 unfol.; *Portland* I, 96; C.J. III, 484; *Life of Adam Martindale*, Chetham Soc. O.S.4, 1845, 139; Morrill.)

2 Various scraps of information make possible the identification of these two officers.

Earw. (I, 111, 154 n.) quoting Wilmslow Parish Registers and Churchwardens' Accounts shows that Capt. Alcocke belonged to a family from Ashton-on-Mersey which had bought property in Fulshaw early in the 17th century and come to reside there.

Chesh. Quarter Sessions have several mentions of Richard Grantham of Hale as a Grand Juryman and as Head Constable of Bucklow Hundred in the years immediately following the Civil War. (Information supplied by Dr John Morrill). In some of these he is referred as Captain. In 1651 he appears as such in the Chesh.

militia regiment that served in Worcester campaign (Earw., II,64). There is definite evidence that the Grantham family were at Davenport Green later in the century (*Chester Wills*, Rec. Soc of L. & C. 18).

Another Richard Grantham of Hale appears in Civil War records (Earw. I, 315; Harl. 2174 f. 75). But he was a royalist and a tenant farmer.

*John Bythell, capt. of the Peter, to his father, Rich. Bythell, and his mother in Wirral*

[This letter is so long it is only summarised here. The full text is given in Henry Dircks, *The Life, Times and Scientific Labours of the Second Marquis of Worcester*, 1866, pp. 88–91. Brereton was so impressed by the description of the shipwreck that he prefaced the letter with the words, 'Wherein the much admired Providence of God is observed in commanding the seas etc.'].  
6-4-45 Lancaster. Duty and love to you and my brother Peter and my sisters. I went to Carnarvon with a small barque laden with corn. While waiting for a wind, some great men from Oxford, using threats to throw my corn overboard, pressed my ship for the King's service to take them to Dublin. They were the Lord Herbert,<sup>1</sup> his brother, Lord John Somerset, and many other knights, colonels and captains, all strangers to me. We left Carnarvon on 25 March, a fair day with a fair N.E. wind. When over Carnarvon bar the wind veered to the south and then the S.W., and about 2 or 3 o'clock next morning blew so hard we could not make Holyhead. When we rounded the Skerries the ship was in great danger of being swallowed up in the waves and, as we could not make any harbour, we were driven to the open sea. The passengers threw some of the corn and cheese overboard; on Tuesday and Wednesday we 'lay on the sea' and on Thursday afternoon came to anchor at Pilben [Pilling]. Lord Herbert would not go ashore nor suffer anyone else to do so. On Friday the storm increased again so much that all prepared for death. The ship being unable to ride it out, we cut the mainmast overboard and both cables, and through God's mercy ran on Cockram [Cockerham] sands. When at the ebb she was left dry, the great men that were Papists fled away to some royalist garrison. I, Mr Nutterfield [Neterfield], Mr Argent and Mr Collham, with their families, went to Pilling to dry and refresh ourselves. Next day (Saturday) I, Mr. Collham and Mr Hambleton hired horses to go to Lancaster to see Col. Geo. Dodding, the parliamentary commander. He committed us to Lancaster castle, while he sent our names to Parl. and requested instructions. He took the rest of my corn but allowed me to remove to the house of Capt. Rippon,<sup>2</sup> where I am well used. I desire you to get Sir Wm. Brereton and Col. Moore to write to Col. Dodding and explain that I have lived in Ireland these ten years and not taken up arms on either side. A copy of my letter to you was enclosed with letters that Col. Dodding allowed Mr Collham to send to friends in Nantwich with instructions to Lt. Col. Jones,

who is Mr Collham's father-in-law,<sup>3</sup> to forward them. But, in case these miscarry, I have also sent this letter by this bearer. All my money has been taken, so I want £4–5, a shirt and 2 or 3 bands, which I hope brother Peter will bring speedily. Love to all my friends, especially Mr and Mrs Glegg, Capts Edward, John and Robert, Mr William, Mrs Elizabeth, Mrs Joan and all the rest.<sup>4</sup>

[Post] "I pray you give the bearer, Mary Goadfine, 2s. 6d., and make much of her, but let her make what haste she can back to me."

(A15)

#### Notes

- 1 Edward Somerset, Lord Herbert of Raglan and Earl of Glamorgan. Son and heir of the catholic Marquis of Worcester and the King's special envoy to the Irish Confederates. He made a second and successful attempt to cross to Dublin in July, 1645. His mission, the nature of which was hidden from Ormonde, is fully described in Gardiner, II, ch. 27; III, Ch. 39; and *K.W.*, 472, 534–6, 593.
- 2 The MS has *Rippend*. But this is obviously Capt. Thos. Rippon of the puritan family of Quernmore, 3 miles S.E. Lancaster. (*Blackwood*, 89, 96, 98.)
- 3 Lt. Col. Michael Jones had no children and could not therefore be Collham's father-in-law in the modern sense. But, after Jones's death in 1649, his widow called herself Lady Mary Culme, although she did not remarry. Culme is the same name as Culham or Collham. (See the Capt. of this name serving under Brereton in B.L.B. 'Collone', which is used throughout in this item, is probably a copyists' error. The name is given as 'Collham' in 165, the list of people shipwrecked in the 'Peter'.) It would seem probable, therefore, that Jones's wife reverted to the name of her first husband, and that Mr Collham was her son by this marriage and Jones his step-father. (168 n.1; *C.J.* VI, 278, 505; *D.N.B.*)
- 4 The Gleggs were of Gayton, Wirral, and the Bythells appear to have been their neighbours. A will of John Glegg, who died Jan. 1620, gives 'Edward Bythall of Gaton', as one the makers of the inventory of his goods (*Sheaf* 3rd ser. 53, 1958, 29). Two of Wm. Glegg senior's soldier sons appear in B.A.L. and in B.O.R. John is given as a capt. of a troop of horse in Brereton's regt. As Wm. Glegg himself mentions his son Edward as serving in Hooton garrison, it is probable that he is the Capt. Glegg of Brereton's foot regt who is given in B.A.L. as 'Wirhall', 'now disposed of'. As Glegg also mentions service by his sons in Ireland, Ormerod gives both John and Robt. as dying there and no third Capt. Glegg is given in B.A.L. or B.O.R., it is possible that this was where Capt. Robt. was serving. Wm. junior, according to his father, was an M.A. and a minister. (*Sheaf* 3rd ser. 1, 1896, 14. This gives Glegg's answer to attempts after the war to prove that, while the royalists were in control in Wirral, he had acted as a Commissioner of Array.)

There is no Joan in Ormerod's pedigree of the Gleggs (II, 519). But this could be a copyists' error for Anne or a mistake of Ormerod's. The *Sheaf* says that it is one of his less satisfactory pedigrees. He certainly gives Wm. junior a date of birth which would have made him 12 at the time that his father said he was an M.A. and a minister, and makes Robt. his junior.

*A List of their names that were aboard the Peter, bound for Dublin and distressed by storms and cast upon the coast of Lancashire, after made escape to Skipton Castle.*<sup>1</sup>

April, 1645<sup>2</sup>

The Earl of Glamorgan, the Lord Herbert; Lord John [Somerset] his brother. Sir Brian O'Nele [O'Neill]; Sir Francis Edmonds; Sir Charles Hayward, the Duke of Norfolk's grandchild; Sir Vivian Monelex, a man who was very decrepit; Col. Cane, Col. Mitchell, Irish; Mr Ffleminn [Fleming], a Lancs. man; Capt. Mulbrian; Capt. Bacon; Mr Peters, the Lord Peters' brother; Mr Poynes, Mr Hutton, both priests; Capt. Butler. Some two or three more whose names are not known to any passenger but men of ordinary quality.

The protestants, now prisoners at Lancaster and went of their own voluntary will and not taken by force and hired horses: Mr Collham; Mr Jones, Mr James Hambleton; Jo. Bythell; Mr Rob Neterfield, his wife, children and three servants, not siding with the papists; Mr Argent, his daughter, two boys and his maid; Mr Barker; Mr Ffloyde [Floyd], a minister. Two of the Lord Herbert's men who were taken in their escape after their lord. Two poor sailors.

(A59)

#### Notes

- 1 The list of those on board the *Peter* is in two parts: i, the papists who escaped to Skipton Castle; ii, the protestants who went to Lancaster and surrendered themselves voluntarily. The copyist caused confusion by adding to the heading, 'A list of their names that were aboard the *Peter* bound for Dublin', the words 'and made escape', although this was only true for the first half of the list. He then added to the confusion by inserting a marginal note, 'The names of the prisoners taken at Lancaster, April, 1645', but putting it opposite, not the protestants in the second half of the list, but the catholics in the first part. Brereton expanded the heading by mentioning the storm and the shipwreck and adding 'to Skipton castle' after 'made escape'. But he did not alter the incorrectly placed marginal note nor in any way call attention to the second and protestant part of the list.

Gardiner (II, 176) pointed out that Henry Dircke in his *Life, Times and Scientific Labours of the Second Marquis of Worcester*, 88–91, had been misled by the mistake of an 'ignorant scribe' into thinking that all those aboard the *Peter* were imprisoned in Lancaster, but did not add that Brereton's own emendations had done nothing to make the error plain.

- 2 The marginal note (see above) supplies this vague dating. The list appears 40ff. after Bythell's letter among correspondence dated early in May. This can be explained either by Brereton having received it much later or it being mislaid. It bears such obvious marks of compilation by Bythell and his protestant co-prisoners, however, that it may well have been put together soon after the letter was written.

166

*Ld. Byron to Brereton*

7-4-45 Chester. My brother Sir Rich. Byron's wife<sup>1</sup> is very desirous to wait on you in confidence she shall be able to give you such satisfaction touching her husband's intentions and the reasons of Ld. Fairfax granting his pass as may clear the scruples which occasion his present constraint.<sup>2</sup> For which purpose I have sent this trumpeter to desire your pass for her and two servants to wait on you. I cannot believe you will return a denial yet entreat, if it shall be refused, you will order my brother to be sent unto you and grant her a pass with three servants, their horses and necessaries to visit him at Tarvin. (D66)

## Notes

- 1 Eliz., dau. of Gervase Rossell of Ratcliffe-on-Trent and widow of Gervase Strelley (G.E.C. *Peerage*).
- 2 The position of Sir Rich. and of the Byron family in general among the royalists at this moment is discussed in 241 n.1.

167

*Brereton to Ld. Byron*

7-4-45 Dodleston. I have this day received your letter by your trumpet and will endeavour to afford you satisfaction touching Sir Rich. Byron. If I be not with him at Tarvin within a few days, I will send for him to come to me when I am certain where with most conveniency I can meet with him. I have enlarged Sir Nich. Byron's parole for so many days longer. (D67)

168

*Brereton and Middleton to Capts. Cullham<sup>1</sup> and Vivers*

7-4-45 Dodleston. Sir John Trevor, owner of Plas Tege [Teg]<sup>2</sup> in Flintshire, where you did lately quarter, is a member of the House of Commons and had protection from plundering of the said house by name from Parl. and of his goods and personal estate in and about it. We, when we were last at Wrexham, did likewise grant protection from plundering of the said house and goods in and about the same, the which (as we are credibly informed) was shown to you and others under your command. Notwithstanding, in contempt of the said protections you have since plundered the said house and violently – without any warrant or authority – carried away several of the said goods out of and from the said house. These are therefore to require and charge you to restore or cause to be forthwith restored the said goods taken away by you or any of your troops to Samuel Wood, Sir John Trevor's servant, or to his deputy, and likewise to bring before us all such persons under your command

as did plunder or take away any of the goods, to the end they may be proceeded against. If you neglect these our commands we must and will certify your doings to the Parl. and you and the persons so offending shall be proceeded against and punished. Whereof you may take notice of from us who (as you may perceive) are desirous (if it be not your fault) to continue your loving friends, Wm. Brereton, Thos. Middleton.

Post. Capt. Vivers, if restitution be not made of these goods your brother, Col. Vivers, will be much dishonoured and questioned. As I shall be much troubled for him, consider therefore and vindicate him and yourself and your loving friend Wm. Brereton.

(D70)

#### Notes

- 1 Capt. Cullham (this item), Collham (B.A.L.), Culme (B.O.R.), being all in Brereton's regt of horse, are one and the same officer. His Christian name appears to have been Hugh and he was killed at Rowton Moor in Sept. 1645 (Harl. 2128, 73). Therefore some of the references to officers called Culme in the fighting in Ireland cannot be to him; in one case the Christian name is Arthur and in another the reference is to 1647. (*Carte-Ormonde* III, 349; *C.S.P. Ireland 1633-47*, 791; *Addenda, 1625-60*, 32.) But as Mr Collham, a Protestant aboard the *Peter*, claimed Michael Jones as his father-in-law (i.e. step-father; see 164 note 2), it seems likely that the Culmes were an English protestant family linked with the Jones and living in Ireland.
- 2 Plas Teg ('the beautiful hall') still stands near Caergwrle alongside the Wrexham-Mold road. Rebuilt lavishly by Sir John Trevor's father, also Sir John, it reflected the growing prosperity of the junior branch of the Trevors who came from Trevalun, Denbighs. (The elder came from Brynkynallt.) Sir John Trevor sen., his elder brother, Sir Richard, who lived at Trevalun, and a younger brother, Sir Sackville, were all connected with naval affairs. Sir John was secretary to Ld. Howard of Effingham, Sir Richard was vice-admiral of North Wales, Sir Sackville went on naval expeditions to Spain and La Rochelle. As Sir Richard, once the leading opponent of Brereton's duck decoy, died childless, the younger Sir John inherited both Trevalun and Plas Teg. (*D.W.B.*; Dodd.)

*The particular of the goods taken forth of Place Tege 7th Aprilis and that night after*

[N.B. This and the following item have been transcribed as written with the original spelling; some punctuation has been added.]

[? Date]

Out of the Dining Roome there.

22 stooles and chaires, 6 whereof were covered with velvet, one broadred and the rest of silke and all fringed; 2 other chaires and 3 couches, 3 velvet cussions belonging to the couches and one chaire of tussue [tussore]. All these were stripped of their covers and freinge. One faire cabbinet of

Spannish worke and great vullue, but what jewells might be in it we cannot tell, and one Turkey carpet.

Out of the Greene Chamber.

One featherbed and boulstertickes, two blankets, one rugg, 2 pillowes, one leather couch stript and two pillowes bellongeing to it taken away.

Out of the Inner Roome to it.

A testerne [framework for supporting canopy] and valliance of blue and white silke, one featherbed ticke and two blankets, one boulster ticke and one rugg.

Out of Mr Werden's<sup>2</sup> Chamber.

One bed ticke, one boulster ticke, 2 blankets, a testerne courtaine and vallence with lace and fringe, one velver chaire stript of the velvet.

Out of the Inner Chamber to it one rugg and 3 blankets.

Out of Sir Edw. ffytton's<sup>3</sup> Chamber.

Two featherbed tickes, 2 boulster tickes, 2 pillowes, a testerne and head courtaine of crimson silke, one white rugg, one blanket, one chaire quite stript and two stooles and one chaire taken away.

Out of the Inner Chamber belonging to it.

One bed ticke, one boulster ticke, one paire of blue cloth curtaines, one rugge black and white.

Out of the Wardrobe.

4 fetherbed tickes, 4 bulsters, 6 blankets, one greene and yeallow rugge, 8 pairs of fine flaxen sheetes, 10 paire of course flaxen pillow beares of holland.

Out of a little Roome by the Galliary.

One bed tick, one boulster ticke, one blanket.

Out of the Inner Chamber by the Gallery.

One bed ticke, one boulster ticke, two pillowes, two blankets, a testerne and curtaines of yeallow cloth.

Out of Sir Edward Trevor's<sup>4</sup> Chamber.

2 bed tickes, 2 boulster tickes, 2 pillowes, 2 blankets, the cover and freinge of one chaire of Irish stick.

Out of Mr Parrie's Chamber.

One bed ticke, one boulster, 2 pillowes, two blankets.

Out of Sir Rich. Trevor's Chamber.

2 bed tickes, two boulster tickes, 2 pillowes, two blankets, one paire of cloth curtaines, the satten cover and fringe of 4 sheetes and one chaire.

Out of my Ladie's Chamber.

One paire of greene testerne and [*sic*] curtaines and the velver cover of chaire and the freinge.

Out of the Inner chamber to it.

One yeallow cloth cannopie with silke fringe and lace.

Out of the Parlour one Turkey carpet.

Out of the Sellour under the Parlour one crosse bow, one fowling gun, pikes and the brasses of many andirons and some brazen candlesticks.

Out of the Gallery three pound in money.

Out of the Kitchen one very great Racke of Iron of [blank in MS] pound waight at least.

Out of Sir John's closset (whereof there was noe key in the house) we know not what is taken. Both many bookes and evidences and writings wee thinke were there.

All the cloth of the seats in the couch and all the freing [fringe], besides many other things which wee cannot yet find out nor thinke of, and all the bed cord almost and many dores broaken and the wainscot allsoe.

(D71)

#### Notes

- 1 Because they are lists of goods plundered at Plas Teg, 169 and 170 are placed immediately after 168, in which Brereton and Middleton threaten Capts. Vivers and Cullham and their men with punishment for plundering the house. 168 is dated 7 April; they are undated. But 169 must be at least a day or so later, for it would have taken this time to find out and list the missing items. 170 is obviously a good deal later. It is a summary of the losses, with some restorations recorded, and is copied into the A Letter Book on f.28 among material dated late in April. It is obviously connected with 317, the letter from the C. of B.K. of 22 April complaining of the plundering and with 353, Brereton's reply of 26 April.
 

The whole dating of the plundering of Plas Têg is mysterious to the point of rousing suspicion. 168 is dated 7 April, but Brereton and Middleton write as if they were denouncing something that had already occurred, not something that was still continuing. But the superscription to 169 says that the goods were taken on 7 April and *that night after*. 176, written by Brereton to John Bradshaw on 8 April, says the plundering had taken place on *that* day. Both 169 and 176, therefore, state that the plundering was going on long after 168, the admonitory letter, was supposed to have been written, and Dodleston, where it was written, is barely five miles from Plas Teg. If the dating of Brereton's copyists is to be trusted (frequently it is not, but all the above dates are very clearly written), it would look very much as if Brereton was keener to get the news of the plundering to Westminster, so that the reaction might produce more pay for his men, than he was to stop it.
- 2 John Werden came from a family of Chester merchants who had become small squires at Burton near Tarporley. He was a lawyer and seems to have served a number of families in the surrounding area as an agent in pre-war days. P. Revill, 'The last Sir Edw. Fytton of Gawsworth', (*T.L.C.A.S.*, 77, 1967), shows him acting for Sir John Trevor in his difficulties with his Fytton brother-in-law and so earning his right to a 'chamber' in Plas Teg. Morrill, 32-4, 49-9, shows him heavily involved as a servant of Sir Thos. Smith, one of the M.P.s for Chester, in the electioneering and petitioning and counter-petitioning of the years 1640-1. From his letters (669; 690) to the Salusburys of Llewenny he had obviously been in their employ also. Perhaps the fact that his patrons were now on different sides helped to deepen the despondency shown in these letters.
- 3 Sir Edward Fytton's first wife, Joan, was Sir John Trevor's sister. The Trevor correspondence from the time of the marriage (1622) to Joan's death in 1638 has much about the troubles that resulted, for Sir Edward was both dissolute and destitute. After Joan's death and his remarriage all references to him vanish. In

view of this and the fact that he was by this time dead (in 1643, after a distinguished war-time career leading a loyal regt which he had raised in Chesh., in the campaign of Edgehill and the siege of Bristol), it is perhaps surprising that the chamber in Plas Teg continued to bear his name. (P. Revill, 'The last Sir Edward Fytton of Gawsworth', *T.L.C.A.S.*, 77, 1967.)

4 See 131 n.1.

170

*The number of Particular Goods that were plundred from Place Teage*

[? Date; see note to 169]

20 bed tickes, whereof received back - 7.

19 boulsters, whereof received back - 3.

1 couch bed ticke which is restored - 1.

14 pillowes.

28 blankets.

6 rugges.

6 testernes, except a little peece of one, and one cannopie.

3 vallence and the silke fringe of the cannopie.

7 bed curtaines and two window curtaines.

1 single yeallow cloth curtaine is restored.

14 bed pillowes.

5 couch pillowes.

28 bed blankets.

6 rugges for beds.

9 covers of chaires.

28 covers of stooles.

4 covers of couches.

18 paire of flaxen sheetes.

6 holland pillow beares.

2 turkey carpetts.

1 faire Bible, and what besides out of the Closette is not knowne.

1 crosse bow.

1 ffowling gunne.

1 great iron racke.

Brasse of divers andirons.

Brasse candlestickes.

Three pounds in money.

The Cabbinet.

Since then the foote [Cullham and Viver's men were horse] tooke 3 sheets and one old horse besides such provisions as they found in the house.

(A28)

171

*Ld. Fairfax to Brereton*

7-4-45 York. Upon intelligence from London and Col. Thornegoh [Thornhaugh] that the enemy's design was for these parts, I acquainted Ld. Leven who sent the answer enclosed and the letter directed to you. I doubt not but that you will give intelligence unto us either of the enemy's approach towards you or into these parts, so that we help each other for the public safety, and as I shall receive information of the Scotch motions or any other business which may concern the public, you shall constantly hear from me.

(D84)

172

*Leven to Ld. Fairfax*

7-4-45 Newcastle. Thanks for your letter and intelligence. Continue to give me timely advertisement and I shall not be wanting to join with you and others to stop the enemy's intentions. Let me know your strength and what addition we may expect from Sir Wm. Brereton.

[Post] Please dispatch the enclosed to Sir Wm. Brereton. I have desired him to give me frequent intelligence and assured him of all the assistance I can.

(D84)

173

*Leven to Brereton*

7-4-45 Newcastle. This day I received intelligence from London, confirmed by Ld. Fairfax, of the enemy's designs for Newark. I desire you to prepare yourself to give such a stop to their intentions that the public may receive good thereby and yourself honour. I desire to know the best strength you can bring into the field.

(D85)

174

*Col. Duckenfield to Brereton*

8-4-45 [Duckenfield Hall] I received notice from the Com. at Tarvin that my regt is expected to march again towards the army speedily. As yet I cannot prevail to get them in readiness to advance this way, the soldiers being underhand countenanced by some officers to mutiny and neglect orders, being partly forced thereunto for want of pay. Many of our officers, who have no means but what pay they get, are now sensible of the want thereof. The £100 you ordered for my regt is yet undisposed of because the officers expect to have it all. If you please to give order it may be divided amongst them, it will do them some pleasure. Otherwise, if the soldiers must have a

share, it will do more hurt than good because it is so small a sum, unless you please to add a considerable sum thereunto. Besides the quarters are so hard in the further part of this country, as until good store of provisions be ready to supply this defect, the soldiers will be impatient of stay thereabouts. I should be glad to help to further your designs in hand and so I rest your kinsman to serve you<sup>2</sup>  
(D88)

Notes

- 1 Variations of the spelling of Duckenfield are numerous and the present industrial town has adopted that of Dukinfield. It did not exist, even in village form, in the 17th century, however, and I have used, both for the Colonel and his Hall, the form most frequent in B.L.B. and at the time of the Civil War. (Earw. I, 260; II, 20.)
- 2 Jane, paternal grandmother of Duckenfield, and Margaret, Brereton's mother, were the daughters of Richard Holland of Denton. Duckenfield was only 25 at this time, Brereton 40. See 20 n.5 and 91 n.1.

175

*Col. Duckenfield to Sir Geo. Booth*

8-4-45 Duckenfield [Hall]. I received your letter and shall be very forward to further the design upon Chester, it concerning so much the good of this county. But my regt hath lain so long at the siege of Beeston without pay that many of them are grown sick and dis-[blank in MS; 'abled' or 'contented'], so that I cannot persuade them to march presently, unless your gentlemen of the county would be pleased to take order for some pay for them. And that they may find good quarters or good store of provision where they march, the store whereof of the country is much exhausted, otherwise extreme impoverished. 'your kinsman to command'<sup>1</sup>  
(D88)

Note

- 1 I have been unable to discover any kinship between Duckenfield and the Booths, except through Brereton.

176

*Brereton to John Bradshaw*

8-4-45 Dodleston. If you were but an eye-witness of the outrageous plundering and spoils committed by the soldiers for want of pay and necessaries, it would much afflict and grieve your spirit. This day some of them went to Place Tege [Plas Teg], Sir John Trevor's house, whereof I have had as much care as if it had been mine own, and there have committed great spoil. They do in a disorderly way impoverish the country four times more than the value

of their pay amounts to. If some provision could be made for their pay and necessary subsistence, for which I cannot think less than £6,000 will satisfy, and 1,000 foot added to us and the Princes forces closely attended, I hope there might be such service achieved in these parts as might shorten, if not end, the war. But unless some present supply of money be granted to the soldiers (without which it will be very uncomfortable employment to command them), and, if the Princes draw this way, considerable and suitable strength be applied to attend them, we must desist from prosecuting the hopefull[est] design on foot in the kingdom. [I hope] I may be admitted to serve in Parl. rather than continue here, where I can do no service, but lose every day more and more the affections of the soldiers, which I prefer than to be accessory to such exorbitances as are committed for want of speedy provision. Herein I have formerly and at present sufficiently enlarged myself. (D73)

*Brereton to Ashurst*<sup>1</sup>

8-4-45 Dodleston. Since the Princes retreated out of the county I have drawn out our forces from our garrisons and entered Wales this third time, blocking up Chester, so that no relief of provisions can come thereunto. Our forces now lie as near round about Chester as there are quarters for the soldiers. But to maintain the siege with the small forces we have out of this county and only one regt of Lancs. foot, having no provisions in the country, will be beyond our strength. Much less shall we be able to continue here and oppose the Princes if their army draw this way again, of which there is a strong probability in regard of our weakness and their esteem of these parts, which they prize as much or more than any in the kingdom. I am informed by many of my intelligencers, who are returned thence this day, that they are still about Hereford which is not above three or four days march from Chester. Also I have had conference with some knowing and ingenious prisoners (to whom I have therefore shown more than ordinary favours) who engage themselves deeply that the Princes are intended this way, and that nothing is more certain than that these parts of the kingdom are designed to be the seat of this summer's war. Therefore, unless special care be taken that the Scotch, now at Halifax, Maj. Gen. Crawford and such other forces as lie scattered in other counties out of action, may be strictly ordered to draw to our assistance on the Prince's first motions, we must raise our siege and betake ourselves to our garrisons. These lying betwixt us and the Princes' army, how dishonourable and prejudicial this would be I leave you to judge.

We are in great want of money to supply the pressing necessity of the soldiers. A great part both of our horse and foot are already disbanded and others much discontented for want thereof, which doth occasion such outrageous plundering as doth wound my soul, of which I have made several

complaints to the Commons and the C. of B.K. But I have not yet received any assurance of timely supply.

Our hopes were never greater of reducing Chester and Wales than now, if care be taken to prevent the Princes return, some supply of money be sent in due time that our men desert not the service and orders be given to the Lancs. men to assist with some more foot.

If we be not relieved with provisions from Lancs., Salop, Staffs. and Derbys., we shall shortly have to disband, Chesh. being wholly exhausted by the Princes' army and our own forces, having lain so long upon it.

As I have always found your care in soliciting for needful supplies for our forces, so now let me entreat your double diligence in the premised [i.e. above-mentioned] particulars. Consider, I beseech you, how sad a business it would be apprehended to be if so many forces in the Parl. service should lie within convenient distance and not be employed seasonably to our relief and to enable us to go through with our undertakings.

Therefore it is earnestly desired that Maj. Gen. Crawford be ordered to lie near Coventry, or rather Leicester, and that his forces and those under the command of Lt. Gen. Lesley at Halifax may be appointed to meet about [Market] Drayton or Whitchurch upon the first notice of the Princes' motions this way. Otherwise if the Princes be suffered to come into our county, leaving our garrisons behind them, our forces must be disposed of to the garrisons and cannot be serviceable to join with other armies. If we be again disturbed and raised and if our forces cannot be supplied, it will be fitter for me to come in person to Parl. to solicit them than to remain here until the greatest part of the army be disbanded.

By warrants sent out from the Princes in Worcestershire commanding great quantities of wheat to be brought into Worcester on 9 April it seems there is great expectation of and provision made for the King's entertainment. He is much irritated and incensed at the loss of Salop [Shrewsbury] and will deeply engage all the strength that can be raised for the recovery thereof. This is confirmed by the report of our ingenious prisoners. Our intelligencer also informs that Lord Herbert, son to the Earl of Worcester, is gone over into Ireland to bring over an Irish army [see 164; 165], and that nothing is more certain than that the King's and Princes' forces are designed this way, whereof, seeing such timely notice is given hereby, I cannot doubt but there will be such course taken as in your wisdoms shall be thought fit.

(D67)

#### Note

- 1 The reference in the last sentence of this letter to *your wisdoms* and the semi-official tone of parts of it would suggest that it was intended that Ashurst should pass it on to the C. of B.K. This would also explain why in letters written that evening to the C. of B.K. and to Mr Frost, its secretary, to pass on fresh news from Shrewsbury about Maurice's movements, previous information on the strategic position is only given in a much more summarised form [178, 179].

*Brereton to Mr Frost, Sec. to the C. of B.K.*

8-4-45 [Evening]<sup>1</sup> Dodleston. [A repetition of the information and the arguments concerning the strategic position given in the previous item. It is restated that 'these parts' are intended by the enemy to be 'the seat of this summer's war'. It is emphasised that the forces intended for their assistance (Crawford's and Lesley's are specifically mentioned) should 'come timely and not two or three days too late. To this end if the Scotch army and Col. Rossiter had come to us one week sooner, we might have fought with the Prince upon good ground and in all probability Chester and Beeston might before this have been in our possession.' There is no mention of lack of money or provisions for the army.]

Post. Since I writ the above I have received a letter from the Com. at Salop [not given in B.L.B.] that they have intelligence several ways that the forces of Lichfield and Dudley were to march out yesterday and that Prince Maurice was coming at Bewdley and so against them, who are engaged against High Arcolde [Ercall]. Therefore it is not to be doubted but that army will incline this way. Let no time be lost ordering those intended to follow to do so. If Maj. Gen. Crawford be at Banbury or Tossater [Towcester], it is at further distance than were to be desired.

(D69)

Note

- 1 178 and 179 have been put in this order despite the fact that 178 is dated '9 at night' and 179 '6 at night', both on 8 April. In addition to the fact that 179 is entered into B.L.B. 6 folios further on than 178, the contents of the two letters make this timing incomprehensible. 178 gives the news from Shrewsbury in a postscript as just received 'since I writ the letter above' with its 9 pm. dating; 179 gives the same news in the body of the letter before its 6 pm dating.

*Brereton to C. of B.K.*

8-4-45 [Evening-see note to 178] Dodleston.

[Summary. Repetition of certain information given in previous two items. Impressments of men and money timed to come in on 9 April in Worcs. and Herefordshire confirm that King is expected there. 'Ingenious' prisoner says nothing is more certain than that the Princes will return to 'these parts, which are designed to be the seat of this summer's war'. News from Shrewsbury that Maurice and forces of Lichfield and Dudley are coming to Bewdley and are intended against them. Crawford's forces must be moved nearer to ensure their assistance is effective.]

(D75)

*Commons' Order* [C.J. IV, 104]

Tuesday, 8-4-45 Westminster.

Mr Prideaux, Sir John Dryden, Sir Peter Wentworth, Mr Purefoy, Sir Henry Mildmay<sup>1</sup> Sir John Evelyn, jun., Mr Holles, Sir Philip Stapleton, Lord Lisle,<sup>2</sup> Mr Pierrepoint;<sup>3</sup> this Com. or any six of them appointed to meet with any proportionable number of the Lords in the Prince's lodgings this afternoon touching the supply of the demands of M.P.s now in the army or in garrisons. (B55)

#### Notes

- 1 This is the name given in C.J. IV, 104. The MS has Wyldeman, but there was no M.P. of this name in the Long Parl.
- 2 Not John Lisle, M.P. for Winchester, but Philip Sidney, eldest son of the Earl of Leicester, M.P. for Yarmouth, I.o.W.
- 3 Wm. Pierrepoint, M.P. for Much Wenlock. His Salop interest came from his wife's inheritance, he himself being one of the younger sons of a wealthy Notts magnate, the Earl of Kingston. (B & R; P.P.; Yule.) One of his brothers, Francis, appears later in B.L.B. (? 241, 537, 563).

*Maj. Jas. Lothian to Brereton*

8-4-45 Hawarden.<sup>1</sup> I wonder that you pass orders to so many captains to lie in Broxton Hundred to the undoing of it and consequently spoil my company by disabling the towns [i.e. townships]. Please you to withdraw your orders from Carter and Brereton, stop the current Ridley warrant, let my company keep both Cholmondeley and Lea Halls and so preserve the country for the conservation of those soldiers I have and the sooner completing of my company. Whereas, on the country being abused, I shall both lose my soldiers and also the Hundred, which will be undone (if you take not this course) by those that are neither willing nor can do service.<sup>2</sup> (D79)

#### Notes

- 1 This is the first definite evidence in B.L.B. that the parl. siege of Hawarden Castle had begun. The letter from Thos. Whitley, the acting gov., to Lothian of 14-4-45 confirms that the blockade was complete by then (236). A letter of 4-4-45 from Brereton to the C. of B.K. (Tanner MSS, codex 60 f. 56), although – presumably for security reasons – it does not mention Hawarden Castle by name, announces that he was marching with the greatest part of his horse and foot over into Wales 'to block her up and restrain them from all supplies of provisions'. The medieval castle of Hawarden, only 5 miles west of Chester, was the first of a line of such castles, all in royalist hands, stretching deep into N. Wales, and to break the link would be a great step forward in the reduction of Chester. An additional

inducement was that mining, out of the question at Chester and Beeston, was possible at Hawarden. (Tucker; Morris; Dore, 'Sir Wm. Brereton's Siege of Chester', *T.L.C.A.S.*, 67, 1957.)

- 2 B.A.L. (385) shows that Lothian's foot coy was drawn from Broxton Hundred. As he was now engaged at the siege of Hawarden, he presumably felt less able to control what was happening in Broxton. Whether the captains were actually impressing men, as well as eating up supplies of food and money that should have gone to Lothian's coy, is not clear. At Ridley there was a detachment of horse under Capt. Walker who was Brereton's scoutmaster (357, 515, 385 n.2). For Capt. Carter see 385 n.2; for Capt. Brereton 385 n.1, 703 n.8, 759 n.6.

182

*Sir Geo. Booth to Brereton*

[c.9-4-45] I sent forth the letters I received from you as by this letter from Mr Duckenfield [175] it may appear. By which you may perceive that the country is very backward to be gotten on service. The like is here with Capt. Grantham's soldiers, whom I have sent for to be here this morning that I may mediate with them to go forth. I pray you take some orders to give the soldiers content, for there is a general murmur in the country. (D88)

183

*Brereton 'to the Dep. Lts. of Chesh.'*

9-4-45 Dodleston. You will remember how much we stand engaged under our hands for the repairing of several sums of money borrowed about Christmas last past. Such also are the necessities of many of the common soldiers, both horse and foot, that they commit such spoil and outrages as are very grievous and unsufferable. If present supply and provision be not made for them, they will disband; they cannot be kept together.

The Yorks. horse that have lain so long upon the country might be serviceable to us, but for want of pay they will not stay nor do any duty. We are now placed on both sides Chester, within less than a mile on the Chesh. side and not much more on the Welsh side, at Eccleston, Latch [Lache] and Dodleston. So they are sufficiently straitened and blocked up, and not able to subsist longer than their store extends without relief. We have great hopes that there may be a speedy end to the calamities and sufferings of this poor gasping country, if provision be made to pay our soldiers and the Princes' army come not down. If the Princes' army comes, it will be of sad consequence to have the Yorks. horse leave us when we have most need of their assistance. It may be objected that the country is poor and much exhausted and exceedingly impoverished both by former and late plunderings and by chargeable quarterings and great taxations and levies, of which no man is more sensible than myself nor more desirous to give all ease to them.

But when I consider that this army, if kept together, can oppose and withstand the enemy from coming into that part of the country which is fresh and not yet so much wasted and plundered as the rest, then I conceive it may be more advantageous to the country to strain themselves (beyond what they are well able) to pay their own soldiers than that the enemy should break in amongst them, who will traverse<sup>1</sup> without compassion, sweeping away all and leaving nothing.

From which consideration we are induced to press more importunately for the removing of that lay which was granted about January or February last, whereby we may repay what we are in honour engaged to to those from whom it was borrowed. Thereby we may be better able, if no enemy come against us, to prosecute the siege of Chester, which must be taken before this country can be settled in peace. Without some considerable force it is not to be expected from us to give a stop and a check to the Princes' army, which we are informed by some ingenious prisoners is designed to fall into these parts which they intend to make the seat of this summer's war. But hereof I have advertised Parl.

I have desired the Com. at Nantwich, because they are nearer London and the enemy, to speed away a messenger to give timely intelligence to the C. of B.K. as soon as they hear of the enemy's advance this way. So the enemy may not come upon us before we are in some measure provided to entertain them. I desire you will not expect intelligence from me because it is uncertain where I may be, but that as soon as you hear of the Princes' army coming this way you will send dispatches to Ld. Leven and Lt. Gen. Lesley, who is at Halifax. Post. Hasten up all the country that have arms with 6 or 8 days provision a piece that so we may make a short piece of work of what we are about. (D78)

Note

1 'to pass through a region from side to side or end to end'. (O.E.D.)

*Officers of Yorks. Horse to Brereton 'when they were commanded to come to me into Wales'.*

9-4-45 Whitchurch. We are very sorry that upon this exigency of service we should meet with occasion of delay. But, as we are constrained by necessity, we hope you will be indulgent towards us who are willing to sacrifice our best endeavours to do the state and you service in this business. Such is the incessant importunity of our soldiers that, without assistance of some pay present, they remain obstinate in their former resolutions. Wherefore we propound unto you these final demands that you and all the world may know that they are willing to serve, not only upon equal, but upon necessitous terms. They desire first that, in reference to my Lord General's [Ld. Fairfax's]

encouragement from you at their first march, they may have 5s a man per week and proportionately to the officers from their first entering into Chesh.; to be paid them in such convenient time as it may be raised. And for this present expedition into Wales they require the same allowance to be paid weekly from the time of their first march before [High] Arcolde [Ercall] by your order, the first payment to be assured under your hand to be paid within one week after we enter into Wales and so to continue during our abode under your command. We hope you will condescend to these demands, the rather because the Com. of Salop have offered the other regt weekly within a 1s as much. We humbly entreat you to give us your final answer by this bearer.

Wm. Goodricke, M. Deanesley, Matthew Pearson, Edw. Place, Simon Askwith, Rob. Sharpe, Hen. Swaine<sup>1</sup>  
(D77)

Note

- 1 These were officers of Sir Wm. Constable's regt of Yorks. horse. For the actions of these and the other regt of Yorks. horse (Ld. Fairfax's) on loan to Brereton from Feb. to May, 1645, together with lists of the officers and such information as can be found about them, see App. IV i.

185

*Brereton to the Officers of the Yorks. Horse. 'Ways and Means propounded for the supply of the Yorks. troops if they come unto the Army into Wales'*  
9-4-45 Dodleston.

- 1 That if any money come from the Parl., whereof I have great hopes, they shall have part.
- 2 If any money can be raised in this country of Wales, which shall be endeavoured and is confidently believed may be effected now that the country by the assistance of horse may be wholly subjected, they shall have part.
- 3 If it please God to deliver Chester, wherein they begin to be straightened to one meal a day, every soldier and officer shall be rewarded as well as those were at Shrewsbury: that is 20s for every trooper at least and proportionable to the officers. Present moneys cannot be had until it is provided as aforesaid; otherwise no man living should be more willing to give all right and satisfaction to them.

(D77)

186

*Resolution of a Council of War in the case of the taking of jewels etc. by Capt. Vivers' and Capt Cullham's Troopers*  
9-4-45 Dodleston.

The said troopers going out of their quarters and seizing the said jewels without order.

Question: whether the prize be due to them or to be taken to the public service

Resolved: that this prize belongs to the public if it be the goods of malignants. Maj. Elliot, Zanke, Lt. Cols. Twistleton, Massey; Maj. Lothian; Lt. Cols. Coote, Jones; Col. Ravenscroft; Capt. Bulkeley; Sir Thos. Middleton; Sir Wm. Brereton.<sup>1</sup>

Resolved nemine contradicente that this be published in the Head [quarters] of the Army that the same may be taken notice of to be a precedent and the offenders punished in the severest manner according to the orders of War.

Wm. Brereton.

(D81)

#### Note

- 1 It seems probable that if the number of troops commanded by these officers could be estimated, the list would look less impressive. Twistleton and Elliot were officers of Middleton's, whose troops never amounted to more than a few hundred, many of whom were now at Red Castle or Montgomery. Thos. Ravenscroft of Bretton near Hawarden (just over the Chesh. border) had been a royalist colonel, but on the first invasion of North Wales by Brereton and Middleton in November of 1643 had handed Hawarden Castle over to them (*D. W. B.*; Morris, 47, 204, 218). Presumably he was left his rank as a reward for his treachery, an encouragement to others to do the same thing and as the visible sign that a cadre for a Flints. regt on the parliamentary side existed. But, if at this time he had any sizable number of men under his command, their exploits are unrecorded. Of Brereton's officers, Jones, Coote, Zanke and Bulkeley commanded troops of horse amounting in all to about 300 men, Lothian and Massey foot companies of 80 and 160 men respectively.

Of those not mentioned previously Humphrey Bulkeley of Cheadle was the head of the senior branch of the Chesh. Bulkeleys, by this time far outshone in wealth and reputation by the junior branch established at Baron Hill, Beaumaris. They were royalists; that Humphrey's account of horses lost is now in Bangor University College (Baron Hill MS 328) is accounted for by the take-over of the remains of the Chesh. estates by the Baron Hill branch when the elder line died out (Earw. I, 177-82). Maj. Jerome Zanke was a colourful and energetic man who had a remarkable career. When the royalist pamphleteers jibed at Brereton, they instanced Zanke who was 'both chaplain and Lt. to Sir Wm. Brereton, - a little Pope'. Later Anthony a Wood spoke of him as 'a boisterous fellow at cudgelling, football playing etc. - and had been a captain, a presbyterian, an independent, a preacher and I know not what'. Whether he was ever ordained is uncertain but he was certainly not an illiterate visionary. Younger son to a rector of Hodnet who had purchased Balderton Hall near Myddle, Salop, he went to Cambridge and graduated as B.A. shortly before the outbreak of war. Early in the war he became capt. of Brereton's own troop of horse, his elder brother, Robert, being maj. of the regt. The disaster of Hanmer brought a period of captivity but, on his exchange, he not only resumed his position as commander of Brereton's troop but became maj.

of the regt as well, his brother, Robert, having died or left the service. He remained in Brereton's service until the fall of Chester, then helped Mytton to subdue North Wales and (in the Second Civil War) Fairfax to capture Colchester. Then, after a spell at Oxford when he became a Fellow of All Souls and a Proctor and was awarded a Doctorate of Civil Law, he became col. of a New Model regt in the conquest of Ireland. This brought him an estate at Coolmore, Co. Tipperary, a knighthood from Cromwell and an important position in the Protectorate government of Ireland. His support of Monk in 1659 saved him his Irish lands at the Restoration and there he retired until his death in 1686. (*S.A.S.T.* 50-1, 1939-43; Gough, 220; information from Dr. Wanklyn.)

## 187

*Baron Evan Edwards' to Mistress Elizabeth Hope*

[c. 9-4-45] I presume you have heard how my house has been plundered by Capt. Collham and Capt. Vivers' men, my wife stripped out of her clothes by the Yorkshiremen. Amongst my losses there was a box of jewels which I hear is come to Sir Wm. Brereton's hands. I hope he will commiserate my case (having lost all) and make restitution of that. Upon that confidence I have sent a particular which I pray you present unto him, and God's will be done. I have lately heard from your children and my grandchildren who are well but want their grandfather.

(A116)

## Note

- 1 Evan Edwards of Rhual, Flints., Baron (i.e. clerk) of the Court of the Exchequer of the Palatinate of Chester (he is given this title in the marginal note), was at this time a royalist. Hence the resolution at the parl. council of war at Dodleston (186) that the jewels belonged to the 'public' if they were the goods of 'malignants'. But Evan's brother William (*q.v.*), an alderman and ex-mayor of Chester, was the leader of the small group of Chester dignitaries who supported the Parl. and a captain in Brereton's forces. Hence the hope that, if the jewels had fallen into Brereton's hands, they might be restored. (Morris; Tucker.)

## 188

*A Note of the Jewels* [This item is transcribed with the original spelling.]  
[c. 9-4-45]

1 Border with diamonds, rubies and pearle.

2 or 3 severall parcells of wyreworke borders, some with pearle and some only inamiled.

1 aggat chaine thred with pearle.

Divers buttons, some inamiled with pearle and some without.

Divers buttons with pearle and rubies.

24 Gould buttons with every one a diamond.

21 great wyreworke gold buttons with pearle, 10 of them have dismonds, 11 rubies.

1 chaine of wyreworke with pearle, one peece of the worke like ss.

1 gold braslett which goeth 6 or 7 tymes about one arme.

1 great chaine of massey gold with 4 rubies.

Inamiled 22 diamonds.

1 great gold necklace with pearle.

Divers others little jewles, some sett with stones, some with aggatt.

1 chaine with two or 3 threads of pearle and a cornelian betwixt.

1 great aggett chaine thread with pearle.

Some wyreworke buttons with one rubie a peece in it.

28 powmander buttons covered with gold inamiled open worke; in every one of the buttons in the middle a diamond.

1 gold chaine of open worke filled with [?] pomanders with 16 diamonds.

Divers rubies and pearles; great company of broad flatt buttons of gold, inamiled with greene, whit and read, with rubies.

These were the persells [parcels] taken from mee. For readdy quoyne and other goods I know it is vaine to seeke restitution, but of this I hope there may.

(A116)

189

*Sequestrators of Macclesfield Hundred to Brereton*

[Wrongly headed 'From the Commanders of the Derbyshire Regt.']

9-4-45 We have seen your letter to Mrs Leigh, the relict of Thomas Leigh of Adlington, esquire, upon whose entreaty and the better to enable us to give you what account we can concerning her jointure, we have perused several conveyances made by Sir Urian Leigh, knight, and the said Thomas Leigh (inter alia) for the jointure of the said Mrs Leigh. We do find upon a perusal of the particulars (whereof the enclosed is a true copy) it to be in several conveyances by good assurance (as we conceive) passed to friends in the trust of the said Mrs Leigh and to commence on the death of the said Mr Leigh. We are of opinion that nothing remains for the peaceable settling of her jointure but your approbation which, in respect of the justice and equity of her cause, besides her own worth and integrity, we doubt not but you will afford unto her.

Hen. Bradshaw, Michell Parker, Wm. Watson, ffrances Newton, Wm. Barrett.<sup>2</sup>

(D95)

Notes

- 1 This generous recommendation from the Macclesfield sequestrators (usually regarded as the severest in Chesh.) is all the more surprising as the Leighs of

Adlington were and continued to be very active royalists. Mrs Leigh's late husband, his brother and three of her sons held commissions from the King. Although in an area dominated by the Parl. early in the war, Adlington Hall had been held for the King until February 1644. But Mrs Leigh is said to have petitioned Goldsmith's Hall that, even before her husband's death, she had come to dislike the conduct of the royalists in the parts where she resided and had taken herself to the Parliament's quarters. The influence of the Lancs. parliamentarian, Col. Alexander Rigby (*q.v.*) may also be suspected. His first wife was Mrs Leigh's sister, Lucy. She had died in 1644 and subsequently Mrs Leigh became his second wife (Earw. II, 242-4 and 252).

- 2 Of these Macclesfield sequestrators, Henry Bradshaw of Marple was the elder brother of John, the regicide judge. At the time of B.L.B. he was a maj. in Duckenfield's regt. Subsequently he became its col. and led it at the battle of Worcester, where it gained distinction.

Wm. Barrett was probably the person of that name who had been one of the head constables of Macclesfield from 1634-9. He may have come from either Wilmslow, Northenden or Cheadle parish; branches of the Barret family were prominent in all three. If of the latter (which was Brereton's parish), he may have been the Wm. Barrett who was mayor of Stockport in 1634. He was the most assiduous of the Macclesfield sequestrators and Earwaker quotes copiously from his accounts which are in Harleian 2130. After the war he gained some fame (or notoriety) as an independent lay preacher, causing as much disgust to presbyterian ministers like Henry Newcome as to royalists. He became associated with Ringway Chapel in Bowdon parish and may have lived nearby.

Wm. Watson was almost certainly the Capt. Wm. Watson who served under Duckenfield during the Civil War and under Bradshaw at Worcester. As he was a Macclesfield man, it is probable that he was also the person who was mayor of Macclesfield from 1643-4.

Michael Parker and Francis Newton were Stockport aldermen; although the MS has *Bewton*, the 'sufferings' of Wm. Davenport (Earw. I, 432) and various other references in Earwaker confirm that Alderman Newton was a sequestrator. He had been mayor in 1638. (B.A.L.; Earw., I & II, *passim*; Morrill, 11, 207. For Barrett's preaching activities Dore, *Hist. of Hale*, 1972, chs. 5 & 6; W. Urwick, *Nonconformity in Cheshire*, 1864, 209, 289; *Autobiography of Henry Newcome*, 35-6, Chetham Soc. O.S.26.)

*The Particulars of Mrs Leigh's Joynture* [This item is transcribed in full with the original spelling.]

[c. 9-4-45] Sir Urian Leigh, kt., tripartite [indenture], dated ye 20 daye of July, 8 Jacobi [1610], covenanteth with Mr Gobert that he and ye Ladie Marget his wife should, within a certaine tyme in the indenture limmited by ffeofment, recovery or otherwayes, conway and assure unto Sir Edmund Trafford and Sir Henry Legh, kts., Calcot Chambre and Rich. Estwick Esqs.<sup>1</sup> all his mannors and lordships of Adlington, Butley Prestbury etc. for severall uses in the indenture declared and amongst other things assigned in joynture

for Mrs Legh, relict of Thomas Legh, late of Adlington deceased.

These particulars following, that is to say: the cappittall messuage called the Milne House with thappertinances and the grounds therewith usually occupied vid.

The two usshers	The great colter's eie	with tythes of all
the two little meddowes	the little colter's eie	sorts belonging to
the two long croftes	the kilne crofte	the Rectory [i.e.
the milne feild	the medow greene	of Prestbury]
the barne croft	croft	
the sheepe croft	the two greene crofte	
the aakers	the mare hey and the	
	calfe crofte	

Certain grounds, parcells of Adlington demesne viz.:

The waters feild	and their tythes
the whytelehy and the whitelehey	
wood and the barne there	

The tythes of the corne and hay in the severall townships following:

Bodlington [Bollington]	Hurdefeld [Hurdsfield]	Worth
Rranowe [Rainow]	Swanscoe Parke	Woodford
Zalterford [Saltersford]	Lyme Handley	Henbury
Pot[t] Shrigley	Ketleshulme	Pexall
Marton	Pointon [Poynton]	Birtles and
		Mottream Andrew
		[Mottram St.
		Andrew]

One water corne milne formerly called Adlington Milne, now Milne House Milne. A further use declared in the said indenture and liberty left to the said Thomas Legh, after the death of Sir Urian Legh and his Ladie, to augment the joynture of the said relict not exceeding the some of £100 per annum.

In accordance with the covenants expressed in the said indenture a fine was levied at Chester at Michaelmas Assizes, 9 Jacobi – [1611]. Mr Leigh, according to the power to him reserved for the augmentation of his wife's joynture, the 18th of Aprill, 15 Caroli [1639], infeoffed Peter Vennables and John Shallcross Esqs. for an addition to her joyntures these particulars following viz.:

In Butley and Foxwist (except soe much of the demesne lands of ffoxwist demesne lands as is impaled within the Old Parke); as alsoe the tythes of corne, graine and hay of Butley and Newton.

[N.B. The places named in this indenture have not been indexed. All are in the vicinity of Adlington or Macclesfield.]  
(D96)

Notes

- 1 The names in this indenture reveal a whole network of local and family relationships of the Leighs of Adlington at the time of the marriage of young Thomas Leigh in 1610. Henry Gobert (later Sir John) was the father of Anne, whom Thomas was soon to marry. Sir Edmund Trafford of Trafford, Lancs., lord of the half-manor of Le Bolyn (Wilmslow), was the father of Lady Margaret Leigh, Sir Urian's wife and Thomas's mother. Sir Henry Leigh of Isall, Cumberland, descendant of a junior branch of the Leighs of Adlington, which had hived off in the 14th century, was the father of Henry, who was a little later to marry Thomas's sister, Mary. Members of the Chamber family occur in the Prestbury parish registers. Only of the Estwicks is nothing known. (Earw. II, 212, 213, 251-2).

191

*Sir Rich. Byron to Brereton*

9-4-45 Tarvin. I received yours of 6 April [not in B.L.B.] this day wherein you tell me that the cause of my detainer here is a report from Dublin that my design for Ireland is to bring over an army of Irish into these parts. Let me assure you on the faith of a Christian the report is altogether false and groundless and, if I can but wait on you, I can make it appear so. If not, I shall with more patience submit to your censure and acknowledge your justice. Post. Understanding by your letter that you have not seen Lord Fairfax's pass, a copy whereof I sent you last Friday night, I have therefore enclosed another copy [not in B.L.B.].  
(D81)

192

*Brereton to Sir Rich. Byron*

10-4-45 If I had not sent up to the Parliament and to Lord Fairfax I should give you a more satisfactory answer, whereas now until I receive order from them, which I hope will be before long, I cannot give any further answer.  
(D81)

193

*Brereton to Sir Geo. Booth and the Rest of the Dep. Lts.*

10-4-45 Dodleston. If I did not conceive it the only means to rescue the country from greater taxation by requiring from them what absolute necessity enforceth for the keeping of the soldiers upon the service in hand, I would readily assent to forbear the levying of the late taxation. But when I consider the fair way we are in to reduce Chester and the absolute necessity of some

money to supply the soldiers wants and so to keep them to duty, I cannot but make it my suit to you to go on with the speedy raising of the late sums imposed, as the only way of effecting our hopes and preventing greater prejudice to the country, which must inevitably befall if our forces disband from the present service from want of a little money to supply their necessities. For should the enemy prevail again the whole county must needs repent too late the sparing of a little to save the whole. We hear they have already put them to a meal a day in Chester. If we can but continue to coop them up for some few months, there is great probability we shall reduce the city and so put an end to the trouble and expense of these parts.

(D76)

194

Brereton 'to the Deputy Lieutenants, Committees and Sequestrators' [of Cheshire]

10-4-45 Dodleston. I need not present the advantages God hath given us against Chester. Were I not certain that the design cannot be carried on by these now with us without an addition to their number and the provision of money and the collection of that lay and assessment imposed about January or February last past, I would not so often have visited you with the necessity of procuring 2-3,000 more foot and the speedy levying of the money assessed. Both of these I believe may well be done and deserve the utmost endeavour of every well-affected Chesh. man. To this end I desire the head constables and petty constables of every hundred may be speedily called to a strict account of what moneys they have received and that the same may be paid to Treasurer James Croxton,<sup>1</sup> and that they may be hastened to the levying of what remains. In the next place I desire all the firemen [i.e. musketeers] and all the horsemen in the country to be sent unto us, whom we shall endeavour to marshall so as they may be most useful and serviceable. If this be not done and we be constrained to rise from this most hopeful design, I cannot but suspect much misery and calamity is destined to the country who may now (through God's mercy) in a short time rescue themselves, if they will but rise as one man and bring their provisions along with them. It is hoped this may not be any long work, for I am informed that they in Chester have put themselves upon a strict diet of one meal a day, and hereof I can assure you that they have reason to be very provident in the distribution of what they have, because they have little or nothing brought in unto them, our men being quartered at Dodleston, Eccleston, Pulford, Hawarden, Betton [Bretton], Broughton and Lach. So it will appear to all the world there is as much done on our parts as can be expected, if not much more, seeing that Chester requires not many fewer to beleaguer it than Newcastle or York, and I believe there are not so many hundreds to be found here as there were thousands there. I shall not need to say any more but *Liberavi animam meam; fiet ergo*

*voluntas Dei* [I have set free my soul; God's will therefore be done].

[P.S.] *Quod facis fac cito*. [What you do, do quickly]. Me thinks every man (but those necessarily detained) that hath the spirit of a true Englishman should now rise and put his helping hand to promote this work. (D76)

## Note

- 1 Of Croxton Green nr. Cholmondeley and Gonsley nr. Wybunbury; of a family that was probably a younger branch of the Croxtons of Ravenscroft, County Treasurer 1644–5 (Orm. II, 144; Morrill).

*Brereton to Vane*

10-4-45 Dodleston. Were I not bound in conscience I would not so often repeat one and the same request: for a speedy supply of money for our soldiers. This I do not so much in respect of the soldiers (although they well deserve this right) as for the advancement of this cause and the shortening of this war. One of the hopefulest designs in it is against the city of Chester, which is so blocked up and straitened that no manner of provision can be conveyed unto them on either side [of the Dee]. They are so sensible of this that they begin to stint the inhabitants to one meal a day, although they have only been debarred from two markets on this side the river. It is said fire, salt and hay are much wanting, and I am confident that, if our wants be supplied and we are not interrupted, before many weeks their wants will bring them to a better understanding of themselves. The purchase of York and Newcastle was of a great prize [*sic*] and yet a good bargain. Truly this work is not much less or of less concernment, seeing the reducing of Chester will have a powerful influence upon the north-west of England and upon part of the kingdom of Ireland. If it is not now effected and our soldiers should despoil and disband for want of pay, which is inevitable if there is no supply, it will occasion the Parliament the expense of ten times as much money and more blood, besides the hazards and uncertain success of war and the burning and wasting of the country which deserves our utmost care and protection, the spoil whereof will greatly strengthen the enemy. This might be prevented and this rebellious city reduced if £5–6,000 could be speedily supplied. If this be not intended or cannot be obtained, you would do the cause and us more right to let us know so much. Then you would do the cause and us more right to let us know so much. Then you would be no further disturbed by solicitations of this nature from him who with much content takes notice of your late ordinance recalling your members, to which none will more cheerfully submit. Only it is my care and endeavour to leave this country in a good condition and not to leave the soldiers unsatisfied and discontented, who have served very faithfully and successfully and with as much respect and affection to myself as could be

desired. But if this cannot be granted, the Lord's will be done; I must submit. And though I cannot serve you here comfortably, it shall be my endeavour to serve you faithfully elsewhere.

Post. There are about 80–100 Irish landed Saturday last at Conway, where they are now, and they expect more speedily. They are for Chester and are raised by Col. Napper [? Napier]<sup>1</sup> who is still in Ireland completing his regt.

(D82)

Note

- 1 The text has Napper, but it seems more than likely that this officer was Col. Robt. Napier, c.-in-c. of Ld. Byron's regt of foot. If this identification is correct, then the suspicions that Brereton and the Tarvin Com. entertained of Sir Rich. Byron's motives in wishing to be allowed to 'retire' to Ireland are more than ever understandable. (166; 167; 241; 242; 247)

196

*Brereton to Ashurst*

10-4-45 Dodleston. Before the late ordinance passed I hoped you would believe me to be serious in my desire to have the chief command (too heavy for me) disposed to some man more able to execute and manage the same, so that before this time I would have been eased and exempted. But seeing the wise disposing providence of the Almighty hath so ordered it, no man shall more cheerfully obey. Only it is my care (if possible) that the country be left in a good condition and that I might retain the affection of the soldiers, whom I cannot (without much grief) leave in a necessitous, indigent condition.

As touching our county, I know not what more to desire than formerly, so need not repeat the same.

Touching Stafford, if you keep out 128 [Rugeley] from being continued in or invested into any command there and settle Capt. Stone in the government of the town, I hope it may be secure and flourish.

Touching Eccleshall Castle, this is the only receptacle and refuge which I have in that county to secure the remainder of my goods and my children and servants, if the enemy break into the country. If the Ordinance do not sufficiently establish those that are next in command in all castles and forts, it is my earnest desire that the same [i.e. Eccleshall Castle] may not be so disposed of nor the Parl. so engaged that hereafter (if it please God I live to come up) I may be altogether excluded.

Post. [The same as Post to 195]

(D82)

197

*The Decision of a Council of War*

10-4-45 Dodleston.

John Bakely

John Whitehead

Being examined confess the mutiny

They are foot soldiers in Col. Ashton's regiment under Capt. Taylor.

The offence was mutinying against his [sic] officers for [sic] committing plunders.

Capt. Taylor	Death	
Capt. Newton	Death	
Capt. Hilton	Death	According to Articles 6 & 8
Lt. Col. Bradshaw	Death	in the Lord General's Laws
Lt. Col. Jones	Death	and Orders of War.
Col. Ashton	Death	
Sir Wm. Brereton	Death	

Sentence of death pronounced April 10, 1645 Wm. Brereton.

The 10th of April, 1645

Richard Jones, examined, confesseth he went about a mile out of the camp and took two sheets from a poor woman, whom he wounded in rescuing of them.

Edward Sawyer, William Joanes, Matthew Cloughes testified that when they came last out of Wales they overtook him laden with plunder etc.

Capt. Newton	- Death	
Capt. Hilton	- Death	
Capt. Sconfeild [Schofield]	- Death	
Capt. Jones	- Death	Resolved that, according to the
Maj. Zankey	- Death	Laws and Orders of War, for the
Lt. Col. Jones	- Death	officers above written, the said
Col. Ashton	- Death	Richard Jones shall die.
Sir Wm. Middleton	- Death	
Sir Tho. Middleton	- Death	
Sir Wm. Brereton <sup>1</sup>	- Death	

Who was accordingly executed at Dodleston April 12 in the Head [? quarters] of the Army then present, but died obstinately and impenitently, having made a practice of stealing these many years. His heart was hardened in a course of sin.

(D83)

Notes

1 Of the officers not previously mentioned, Lt. Col. Bradshaw, and Capts. Taylor and Schofield are certainly and Capts. Newton and Hilton possibly of Col. Ralph

Ashton's regt of Lancs. foot. John Bradshaw of Bradshaw Hall nr. Bolton was 2nd i-c of the regt. It seems possible that it was he who led 150 of the Ashton tenants to aid in the defence of Manchester in Sept. 1643 and distinguished himself in the siege. (This is usually attributed to his younger brother Robt., but on the strength of a Christian name used in one pamphlet only. Furthermore, the editors of *C.W.T.L. & Discourse* did not know B.L.B. and from it that John was a soldier and later 2nd i-c to Ashton's regt.) Schofield was James of Schofield in Salford Hundred. The item itself reveals Taylor was an officer of Ashton's; he may have been Ralph Taylor of Sankey nr. Warrington. If Hilton is a mis-copying of Hulton, an Edward Hulton of Hulton, Salford Hundred, was a parl. capt., although apparently in Col. Rigby's regt.

Sir Wm. Middleton was a London alderman, son to that Sir Hugh who won fame by improving London's water supply and a cousin of Sir Thos. Middleton's. Capt. John Jones was another officer of Middleton's, subsequently to become much more noticeable in B.L.B. (see 273 and n.) and later still a famous regicide. (*C.W.T.L.; Discourse*; Blackwood; information from Dr. Blackwood; *D.W.B.*; Dodd.)

If Capt. Newton was an officer of Ashton's, he might have been Thos. Newton of Ashton-under-Lyne or Rich. Newton of Urmston, but there is no other evidence that either of these ever took up arms. More probably he was Alex. Newton of Newton-in-Longendale, an officer of Col. Duckenfield's regt, for there is evidence that a detachment from it took part in the Dodleston-Hawarden operations (385 n.1; 552).

*Com. of Salop to Brereton*

10-4-45 By letters received yesterday from London we understand that Col. Mytton, being by a device of his own called to the House, did there publicly cast some aspersions upon you to this effect. Sir Thos. Middleton and himself drew 1000 horse and foot to Wem to fall on the Prince's army upon promise that you would fall on after. Instead you sent them word you had orders from the C. of B.K. not to fight until your auxiliaries came up. So nothing was done and the Prince retreated and none pursued him except some 500 of the Scotch, Staffs. and Warks. horse which he [Mytton] overtook. He did declare your strength to be so great that it was wondered by many why you did not pursue. This out of our respect for you we could not omit to signify in the same expressions as we received it, and to let you know that Col. Mytton misinformed in two particulars within your knowledge.

1 We having sent out our force and put it under Sir Thos. Middleton, Col. Mytton, being then at Oswestry, was invited to come to them at Wem if he pleased and brought his horse, having not 100 at his command.

2 We declared ourselves at the conference that out of your letter we believed you would not fight and we had had no further promise [from you]. But it is no new thing for Col. Mytton to overshoot the truth.

We hear of no enemy moves this way. Upon Tuesday Vaughan with his horse came near Shrewsbury to plunder. The country rose, forced restitution

and made him retreat. This night we hope to be ready to make some attempt upon High Arcold [Ercall]. Samuell More, Tho. Hunt, Rob. Charlton, Leigh Owen.

(D84)

199

*Wm. Marbury<sup>1</sup> to Brereton*

10-4-45 Marbury. This day the inhabitants of Great Budworth made stay of a young man, servant to Capt. Millington<sup>2</sup> as he saith, and brought him before me, whose examination, here enclosed, I have returned you. In regard he hath no pass I have caused the goods and cattle to be secured until further order from you.

(D85)

Notes

- 1 Of Marbury nr. Northwich, a squire of competent fortune and ancient descent. A dep. lt. and member of the Coms. for Sequestration and Assessment since their inception. His sister Mary was married to John Bradshaw of Marple (*q.v.*). He was not one of the originators of the Knutsford Petition, although he signed its revised form; therefore, he may be one of the moderates who forced its revision (408, 409 and notes; 422). From his letter to Brereton of 13-4-45 (232) he was not enamoured of the conduct of Brereton's colonels. He died in Nov. 1645 and was succeeded by his half-brother, Thos. (*q.v.*). (Orm. I, 637; Morrill.)
- 2 Wm., a younger brother of John of Millington nr. Altrincham. (409; Orm. I, 448.)

200

*The Examination of Roger Downes, servant to Capt. Millington*

10-4-45 [Marbury]. He saith that his master, the said Capt. Millington, delivered to him a black nag and a bay mare with a saddle, bridle and cloakbag wherein were twelve yards of gladen<sup>1</sup> and four yards of coarse gladen, four yards and a quarter of red cloth, four yards of green cloth and a yard and a quarter of green cloth. Besides he sent with him to drive to Millington three yoke of oxen, six kine and one bull and three yards more of white gladen in two pieces. Roger Downes. his marke. Wm. Marbury.

(D85)

Note

- 1 Welsh flannel. A Chesh. dialect word derived from the Welsh word for flannel, *gwlanen*. (Jos. Wright, *Dialect Dictionary*.)

201

*St. John to Brereton*

10-4-45 This morning I received your letter directed to Sir Henry Vane and

myself [152] and did acquaint the C. of B.K. with the contents thereof. I moved that they would report your wants to the House that £5,000 might be sent. They have accordingly ordered it to be reported on. I am very desirous to serve you in anything but I am of the opinion that it would be more to your satisfaction to address your letters immediately to the House or the Com. rather than to private hands, for they are more subject to censure when so directed. I write not out of any desire to be discharged out of your service but as conducing more to effect what you write for. Your other propositions concerning the Derbys. horse [122] I likewise presented to the Com. who referred it to a sub-committee for Derbys.<sup>1</sup>

Post. I beseech you not to misunderstand my meaning which is only of supplies it not my private power but take it as a favour to myself but not to the effecting of your design.<sup>2</sup> [*sic*].<sup>2</sup>  
(D101)

## Notes

- 1 The letters St. John refers to were written on 31 and 27 March respectively and so took an unusually long time to arrive. One wonders whether, in fact, they had arrived earlier, and the protests against the personal channel Brereton had used for his requests had forced St. John to write this obviously reluctant letter which had taken some days to compose and send off.
- 2 The whole letter is garbled, Brereton's copyists having made heavy weather of St. John's desire to be tactful. But the postscript reaches such depths of obscurity that it has been thought best to give it as written and leave the reader to work out what phrasing he thinks might have been intended and its probable meaning. Perhaps St. John was trying to say that he looked upon Brereton's confidence in him as a personal compliment, but that Brereton should understand he had no power over supplies.

## 202

*'From the Deputie Lieutenants and the Committees of Nantwich' to Brereton*  
10-4-45 Nantwich. We have received divers letters of yours these last two days, all tending to the same end and have made our dispatches to several persons and places. We find the country slow to come in according to our last warrants, and the money, according to our first warrants, slower. Most of the men are already listed under particular captains or not come back since their apprisance for the design that was then in hand. And for money they are so far exhausted betwixt free quartering of our own [men] and plundering by the enemy, their daily taxations and their weekly mises for these garrisons that they are subject to, that they profess that, being restrained from selling that little cheese which is most of their sustenance, they are not able to contribute any more unless they should sell the very clothes off their backs and their wive's and children's. The condition of these poor people is hard and the country harder, which is exposed to ruin, not only by the disability of these

people, but by a company of wandering discontented soldiers, both of our own country and foreigners. These, under pretext of want of pay, wander up and down the country, rob and spoil it and will obey no orders of yours nor command of any officer, quarter where they will and remove when they will. The Yorkshire horse about Whitchurch slight your command and, for our own countrymen, although we have sent out warrants to the constables to command them to their colours or to bring them before us, they contemn the one and disobey the other, pretending they will never serve but where they receive pay at least equal with the others.

We wrote to you yesterday about the garrison at Tilston, since when most of Capt. Glegg's<sup>1</sup> company have deserted and the rest are ready to do so, notwithstanding our express order to the contrary. They likewise pretend their harsh usage: removal from their own country (being trained bands) which is committed to the hands of strangers who look more after themselves than it: that, going out of their own estates, pay is denied them and paid to others who less deserve it. These are the reasons which, with the laying down of their captain's commission, make them resolute to be gone. If not prevented nor supplied by others, that part of the country which lieth within the power of Beeston Castle will be absolutely ruined and those few left at Tilston subjected to being lost. For the present we wish therefore that Capt. Holford<sup>2</sup> be ordered to join with Capt. Gimbert<sup>3</sup> in serving the country thereabouts. Col. Duckenfield's regt coming back on Friday last to Knutsford hindered the service of those who would otherwise have been ready to march forward according to their appointment, and discourageth the country from bringing in their moneys which we will again quicken according to your directions. We have not written to the C. of B.K. for supplies in regard we hear not of the Prince's approach hitherward (more than from yourself) but rather the contrary. If so, we hope that God hath set you before Chester to finish the great work that lies so fair and feasible before you. Post. Notwithstanding these discouragements we will not fail in our prayers, or our endeavours to further your design by stirring up the country for supplies both of men and money. Some of the countrymen which are raised in this hundred we will send this day towards Tarvin.

Thos. Stanley, Ph. Mainwaring, Rog. Wilbraham, Thos. Croxton, Geo. Spurstow, Thos. Aldersley<sup>4</sup> [Aldersey], John Whittinghall [Wettenhall], Rich. Leicester, Wm. Raven<sup>4</sup>  
(D88)

## Notes

- 1 For Glegg and his coy see 385 n.3, for his family 164 n.4.
- 2 See 385 n.1.
- 3 See 385 n.3 and 459 n.1.
- 4 It should be noted that these signatories are described in the heading given to the item as 'the Deputy Lieutenants and the Committees of Nantwich'. Mainwaring

was of Over Peover and Baddiley and his family claimed – with some justification – to go back to Domesday Book. Stanley was of Over Alderley and the family, like that of the Earls of Derby, was a younger branch of the Stanleys of Hooton in Wirral. Before the Civil War Thos. Stanley, although a J.P., had been a vociferous opponent of Ship Money and, right up to the autumn of 1644, he had maintained a vigorous troop of horse under his son, Peter. Wilbraham was of Dorfold nr. Nantwich, his family an off-shoot of the Wilbrahams of Townsend, Nantwich, who were themselves a younger branch of the Wilbrahams of Woodhey. It had only quite recently purchased the Dorfold estate and built the hall there. (Orm. I, 483; III, 346, 577; Earw. I, 430–2; II, 599, 604; C.S.P.D. 3-7-1640).

With the possible exception of Spurstowe, the other signatories were much more minor gentry. Raven was of Elworth nr Sandbach, Wettenhall of Hankelow and Nantwich, Aldersey of Aldersey between Malpas and Chester and Leicester of Worleston and Poole nr. Nantwich. But Aldersey and Leicester came from families that had prospered as merchants in Chester and Leicester was himself a Chester alderman. Croxton of Ravenscroft nr. Northwich was of no higher pre-war status than these others but his experience as a trained band capt. had led to his becoming a major and gov. of Nantwich, headquarters of the parl. war effort in Chesh. So he had been made a dep. lt. in 7-5-44 and ranked together with Mainwaring, Stanley and Wilbraham (Orm. II, 740; III, 103, 206–8, 357, 480). The remainder, Morrill, who does not believe there ever was a specific county committee for Chesh., has called ‘supernumeraries’, ‘helping the dep. lts. to get through their work but unable to take any initiative themselves’ (83–4). However this may be, it is clear they were inferior in war-time importance as well as peace-time wealth and status.

Geo. Spurstowe of Spurstowe nr Bunbury is something of a puzzle. His family was of ancient descent and had produced a medieval sheriff. He was however, not as wealthy a landowner as the dep. lts given here (with the exception of Croxton) and others, such as Booth and Hyde, who appear elsewhere, and Morrill has placed him among the ‘supernumeraries’. But his signature always appears with the first group and he is with them in initiating the Knutsford Petition (408; 422). He is supposed later to have had his estates sequestered for delinquency (Morrill, 215) but there is no hint of such proceedings in B.L.B. and from what appears in C.C.C. 1728 and Harl. 2175 f.19 it seems quite probable that they refer to Maj. Geo. Spurstowe, his royalist son and heir. The sequestered property was not the main Spurstowe manor but minor holdings known as *the Withins* and *the Moscroft*. (Unfortunately confusion is made more confounded by the wild differences between the C.C.C. entry and the Spurstowe pedigree given in Orm. II, 295. The first gives a picture of an ‘infant’, i.e. one under legal age, whose father and grandfather were dead by 1655, the second one of three generations of Geo. Spurstowes, aged respectively 70, 50 and 22, all still alive at this time.)

Major. Geo. Spurstowe, an officer in Ld. Cholmondeley’s regt., had been captured at Shrewsbury and was at this moment a prisoner in Nantwich. As there seems little doubt that he was the son of Geo. the parl. dep. lt., this must have been a considerable embarrassment to the latter and somewhat weakened his standing among the parl. leaders of the county. (10, 55; Wanklyn 232).

*Ld. Fairfax to Brereton*

10-4-45 York. Having several times received many complaints from the officers of my own and Sir Wm. Constable's regts (which I so long since sent to your assistance) of their great necessity and want of all manner of accommodation for their subsistence (by reason whereof those regts are very much weakened, not having so much since their departure from hence as to make up the cloth assigned them into clothes), I am constrained to desire you that they may be speedily sent hither (where I hope they may be better provided for) lest their too long stay in your parts occasion a total breach in them that they will be disabled from doing service there or elsewhere. I desire also that some care be taken that these soldiers that have lost their horses by their hard duty may be furnished with others for them to march hither.

(A6)

*Resolution of Council of War*

11-4-45 [Dodleston] Richard Boddy, being convented at a Council of War for burning a house, confessed the fact, whereupon it was adjudged by the undernamed officers that he should suffer death. He said he was drunk and did it because she refused to give him money.

Capt. Jones	Death	
Maj. Elliot	Death	
Lt. Col. Twistleton	Death	Hereupon sentence of Death
Lt. Col. Mason <sup>1</sup>	Death	
Lt. Col. Jones	Death	was pronounced against him
Col. Ashton	Death	
Sir. Thos. Middleton	Death	
Sir Wm. Brereton	Death	

(D85)

## Note

- 1 Alex. Elliot, Geo. Twistleton and Thos. Mason were English officers of Sir Thos. Middleton's. Nothing is known of their previous lives, but presumably they came with Middleton's original small force from the London area. They continued to serve under Mytton when he replaced Middleton as Maj. Gen. for N. Wales. Twistleton and Mason, together with Col. Carter (*q.v.*), became govs. of captured Welsh castles, served on Interregnum committees and, in the case of Carter and Twistleton, acquired Welsh wives and estates (Dodd).

*Brereton to Wm. Marbury*

11-4-45 Dodleston. I have received your letter [199] and thank you for your

care in staying the cattle which were passing by you. I assure you they had not any warrant from me nor do I know anything of them. I was so sensible and so much troubled at the liberty many soldiers had taken to carry away cattle out of Wales that I appointed a guard at Puddington to seize and stay all cattle which should be attempted to be carried over the ford, and gave order the same should be taken into safe custody by the Com. of Hooton<sup>1</sup> to the end that those that appeared to belong to our friends might be restored and the rest disposed of for the public service amongst the soldiers. So those that attended to their duty as honest men (who better deserve than those that give themselves to plundering) might have a share.

I have written also to the Com. of Northwich<sup>2</sup> and to Col. Brooke to suffer none to pass without my order at Northwich, Frodsham or elsewhere over the river [Weaver] and to make stay of the same as aforesaid. I desire you to give order for the like course if any more come. We have this morning hanged one man and sentenced two more to death for plundering, and shall spare none who after so much warning as I have given them remain so incorrigible as to be found guilty of plundering. I desire the men who drive away cattle may likewise be stayed that condign exemplary punishment may be inflicted upon them. My respects to yourself and my cousin your wife.<sup>3</sup>

(D86)

#### Notes

- 1 The Com. of Hooton also acted for Puddington, the two garrisons being only five miles apart and having the same gov., Lt. Col. Coote. But, whereas Hooton was close to Merseyside, Puddington was one of the landing places for those crossing the fords over the Dee from North Wales. Others were at Burton and Shotwick. Although constantly shifting and therefore dangerous (for a graphic description of them in 1698 see *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, ed. C. Morris, 182–3), they were still, because of the marshes that lay west of Chester, the most normal way of crossing from Cheshire into North Wales. A month after this Lothian chose them for his withdrawal from the siege of Hawarden (560).
- 2 This is the only evidence in B.L.B. of a Com. at Northwich.
- 3 According to Sir Peter Leicester (Orm. I, 464) Marbury's wife, who survived him, was Frances, daughter of Sir Nicholas Trot of Quickshot, Herts. I have been unable to discover her relationship to Brereton. Possibly it was through his wife, Cicely, and therefore with the Skeffingtons rather than the Breretons.

#### *Duckenfield to the Com. at Tarvin*

11-4-45 Duckenfield [Hall] I received your letter by Capt. Partington<sup>1</sup> [cf. 162] and am sorry I cannot return you a better answer by him. This is the way to lose our authority amongst our soldiers: to have them reduced to such extremities for want of means and by their former hard duty that they are forced almost to neglect the service both of the county and those who are

their officers. Some of my coys have been called together already to observe your directions but they refuse to march. Upon Monday others are appointed to meet to march towards Tarvin, if I can prevail with them so far, wherein I endeavour. But want of money will make them march slowly if at all. My men are worse used than any regt in this county; yea, almost than any regt in England. I have no allotment for their maintenance, nor any pay either for my officers or soldiers allowed them of late, excepting 11 shillings which was lately ordered for them, but as yet they refuse to accept. If my men refuse still to attend you and you expect my company alone, I will wait upon you myself when you please.

(D111)

Note

- 1 Of Cotton Abbots nr. Tarvin. But his identity is not quite certain. There was a Thos. sen. and a Thos. jun., father and son. No Partington appears in B.A.L., drawn up only three weeks after this letter, but a Lt. Thos. Partington does appear earlier in the year (Harl. 2136 f.9). Later, in the B & C MSS a Thos. Partington signs with the Tarvin Com. Probably this was Thos. sen. & the Lt. or Capt. Thos. jun. Col. Duckenfield may not have been too careful about ascertaining his rank.

*Brereton to Leven*

11-4-45 'Leaguer near Chester' [? Dodleston; ? Tarvin]

Your letter [173] saying you had received intelligence of the Princes being designed for Newark arrived today. All the intelligence I have received suggests rather that they will steer their course this way for the relief of Chester which (as I have formerly given you an account) is environed on both the Chesh. and Welsh sides by my own and some 100 of Sir Thos. Middleton's forces. As yet I cannot discern any move of the enemy's from about Worcester and Herefs. where he is impressing men and raising money; Colonel Massey is in a reasonable good condition at Gloucester and the country thereabout is very active which, I believe, will something contribute to the enemy's distractions. Their motion is much more likely to be towards these parts for the relief of Chester, which they prize at so high a value that were it reduced it might tend much to the shortening, if not the ending, of this war, in which apprehension I am encouraged by the ingenious relation of some prisoners of reputation. We have debarred the city from all manner of supplies, whereof they begin to be so sensible that they have reduced the inhabitants to one meal a day. So I doubt not in a very short time to give a good account thereof, if we be not prevented (as formerly we have been) by the return of the enemy. If their forces be again applied again to these parts, our design, the most considerable now on foot in England, would be prevented, and the enemy prevail in this county, whereby dangers would

approach the north, as I have formerly given you an account at large. For prevention whereof I know of nothing more advantageous than that those forces intended for our relief might have timely order to advance so that we might meet the enemy about [Market] Drayton or Newport. Then our garrisons would be left secure in our rear and we would be able to draw into the field more than 2,000 serviceable foot. But if (as the last time the Princes were here) we suffer the enemy to come betwixt us and our garrisons, we shall then be constrained to dispose the greatest part of our foot to safeguard our garrisons. When your forces were with us and lay at Sandbach, we could not draw our forces to any rendezvous with yours because a good part of them were in the garrison of Nantwich which is betwixt Sandbach and [Market] Drayton where the enemy then quartered, and the rest were disposed to secure and preserve the remote parts of the country from Chester and Beeston forces.

I shall be diligent to advertise you of any further intelligence of the Princes motions.

Post. Yesterday I received a letter from Gloucester, today from Coventry, as also from Stafford, Salop and other parts [not in B.L.B.], all concurring that the greatest part of the Prince's foot were still either in Worcs., Herefs. or Gloucs. or moving towards the west and south, and no part towards Newark, except for Langdale's horse whereof I have no certainty. If your army move towards Newark and the Associate Counties, as is reported and much desired, there is no doubt the enemy will incline that way. I have several spies and intelligencers in those parts, from whom I expect such accounts as I hope to be able to give you timely advertisement if the enemy move toward the Associate Counties.<sup>1</sup>

(D86)

#### Note

- 1 The last two sentences of the postscript are given as in the text. To modern readers the grammar suggests that Brereton is convinced that, if Leven's army moves towards Newark and the Eastern Association, the enemy will go there too, and that it is in these regions that Brereton maintains spies who will tell him when the enemy approaches. This interpretation, however, would make nonsense of all Brereton's pleadings in the letter itself (and a good many other letters, too), and give him an intelligence network east of the Pennines, of which there is no evidence in the rest of B.L.B. It seems likely, therefore, that 'those parts' means Worcs., Gloucs. and Herefs., where the Princes were at the time, and 'that way' what we should have called '*this way*' i.e., towards Chester.

The Associate or Associated Counties was the name still used to denote the counties that had formed the Eastern Association: Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambs., Hunts. & Herts.

*Sir Rich. Byron to Brereton*

11-4-45 Tarvin. I understand by your letter that you have sent up to the Parliament concerning my stay here. Had I been able to wait upon you on my first being stayed here, as I desired in my letters, I could have given you such satisfaction of the integrity and innocence of my intentions that you would on your own judgement have cleared me of any such designs as some malicious men have invented and laid to my charge; from which I now suffer. You were pleased to grant your pass for my wife coming hither. I desire it may be likewise be so for her return to Chester, for in regard her children are there, I do not desire her long stay here. If you please to give order to the Gov. here to grant his pass, it will be sufficient.  
(D89)

*The Yorks. Quartermasters' Warrant to the Constables of Shenlay* [? Stapeley]<sup>1</sup>  
11-4-45 [Wybunbury] These are to will and command you to bring this day, 11 April, to our quarters at Widdingbury [Wybunbury] 24 measures of oats and peas, one veal, one mutton and four hens, for the maintenance of Capts. Caunaday and Sharpe. Hereof you are not to fail as you will answer the contrary at your peril. Tho. Rawlinge, John Glendinge.  
[Postscript]<sup>2</sup>  
(D90)

## Notes

- 1 There was no hamlet or township of Shenlay (or Shenley) in Wybunbury parish or elsewhere in Chesh. There were Stapeley and Checkley in Wybunbury parish and, outside Wybunbury parish and in Staffs. but still close by, Betley. Stapeley has been chosen simply because it is the only one of the three nearer to Nantwich than Wybunbury, where the Yorks. horse were quartered, and therefore more likely to get its protest through.
- 2 There is what appears to be a postscript to the warrant, saying 'Widbenbury [Wybunbury] is the next town to our garrison and most unfit to quarter in'. But, undoubtedly, this is really a comment by the dep. lts. and gents. of Nantwich, who wrote a letter of complaint to Brereton about this quartering the next day (213), on one of the pieces of evidence they were providing.

*Tho. Savage to Brereton*

[For an account of the Savage family and their relationships and the fate of Beeston Hall, see 265 and note.]  
12-4-45 Chester. My grandmother Rivers in her life time conveyed to me a lordship in the west country<sup>1</sup> on condition that I should pay several sums of

money (the first payment being at Beeston Hall in June next) to my cousin Anne Gage who lives in or near London. As it is impossible for me to observe the strict place of payment in these distracted times and having a real purpose to perform the payment according to my grandmother's true intentions, I desire you to grant your pass for man and horse to travel to London or elsewhere to Mrs Anne Gage and back to Chester, so that she and I may agree upon a safe place where I may pay and she receive the sum due unto her and so preserve my land which otherwise I expose to extremity at law.  
[Post] My man's name is Michell [Michael] Gittins  
(D89)

Note

1 This was at Torbryan near Totnes, Devon (C.C.C. 474, 1651).

211

*Brereton to Tho. Savage*

12-4-45 Tarvin. I have received your letter and should be sorry that you should incur any prejudice by not punctually performing the condition mentioned in your letter, but I cannot believe any advantage can be taken for non-performance of that which is not possible to be done. But your letter shall remain with me in evidence to justify your intentions, and though I cannot grant a pass to any man to go to London, except he will take the National Covenant, yet I will cause safely to be sent and delivered any letter or propositions that you think fit to be sent to this gentlewoman or any other that is under the command of King and Parl.  
(D90)

212

*Maj. Thos. Croxton to Brereton*

12-4-45 [Nantwich] I received a command from you for the executing of some of Beeston's soldiers. I could have wished that no quarter had been given to them that were first taken, but having quarter given them I know of no order or ordinance that authoriseth the taking away of their lives. But if you please to send a warrant to the marshall I shall see it put into execution. They that were taken last were pressed for pioneers and had overrun [i.e. deserted] the castle since the raising of the siege. Therefore I conceive the giving of quarter to them was fit. The castle soldiers have taken divers of our men prisoners since theirs were taken, who must expect no more mercy than we intend to them. I refer this to your further order.<sup>1</sup>  
[Post] Mr Barret is about to leave us and hath given us warning thereof. I desire to know your pleasure concerning him.  
(D90)

## Note

- 1 As it is not mentioned that those to be executed were native Irish, presumably this exceptionally harsh instruction from Brereton was in reply to Rupert's hanging of some parliamentarian prisoners on 19 March after his relief of Beeston (Malbon, 168; 142 & n.5).

This was in turn a reprisal for the carrying out of the Parl.'s Ordinance (that native Irish soldiers captured in this country were to be executed) by the Salop Com. after the capture of Shrewsbury. (For further repercussions of this incident see Rupert's letter to Essex, 255 and n.1.)

As there is no later mention in B.L.B. nor anything in Malbon of the execution of prisoners from Beeston, presumably Croxton's weighty arguments against it prevailed. But sporadic executions of prisoners, who were – or were thought to be – native Irish, did continue (Malbon, 174).

## 213

*'Dep. Lts. and Gentlemen of Nantwich' to Brereton*

12-4-45 [Nantwich] We have received yours of 11 April [prob. 194, although this is dated 10 April] and are glad to hear of your hopes of the design and have used our utmost endeavours to send in men and money. But they meet with major discouragement from the Yorks. horse quartered in Wibbenbury [Wybunbury] and those parts, hindering not only that part of the county but others. Having sent you a copy of some information this day taken of their insolencies, we will trouble you no further with them, desiring your speedy resolution in it.

For the Manchester business we considered it fruitless to go thither because most of the dep. lts. and com. are gone to London, but we have sent to those that are left to meet some of us at Dunham [Massey] on Monday next. Then with the help of Sir Geo. Booth it shall be put to the utmost. We hear there is no present fear of the Princes, and therefore hope that bugbear will be no impediment to your proceeding in the work that lies so fair before you. There shall be nothing wanting in us that may promote this great design, either intelligence or looking to the back door or sending all requisites to the army, desiring you to give us timely advertisement that you may not think us slow in our despatches. We hear the C. of B.K. have lately sent into Lancs. for 1,000 foot to be sent to our assistance which, if true, will facilitate our desires. When we send to beg help from other parts for men, they wonder at it, in regard we are lenders of so many hundreds to Salop. Since our necessities are so great (and they have no enemies but what are cooped up in a few garrisons) [we desire] that you would be pleased to let charity begin at home. Advertise us what Irish are landed and where.

Since the above was writ the whole town is filled with complaints of the Yorks. horse and the dangerous speeches they have given out. The whole townsmen of Wibbenbury [Wybunbury] are fled from their houses. So that you must expect no money nor provision from this part of the county while

these robbers are suffered to infest them. We beseech you give such full directions that we shall not need to repair to you again for this occasion which admits of no delay without present ruin to the county, which we are informed they have vowed to do.

[Post] Captain Culham hath been spoke with concerning the jewels which cost him, as he says, £67. He will not dispose of them until further course.

Thos, Stanley, Phil. Mainwaring, Roger Wilbraham, Geo. Spurstow, Thos. Croxton, Wm. Edwards,<sup>1</sup> John Wettinhall [Wettenhall], Wm. Raven, Rich. Egerton,<sup>2</sup> Rich. Leicester [Leicester].

(D90)

Notes

- 1 Wm. Edwards was the younger brother of 'Baron' Evan Edwards of Rhualt, Flints. (*q.v.*). He became a Chester merchant and, in the 1630s, headed a radical group which opposed the inner ring of city aldermen headed by the Gamull family. He became mayor in 1636 and, as such, vigorously prosecuted the legal disputes which the city had with Brereton. Despite this, he was Brereton's main supporter when he came to 'beat a drum' for the Parl. (i.e. recruit) in Aug. 1642. Subsequently he left the city and, in Jan. 1643, joined Brereton's little army with a troop of horse when it entered Chesh. after marching up from London. Despite these services, he does not appear to have occupied as important a position in Brereton's war effort as might have been expected. He rose no higher than capt. in military rank and, although he was, as this item shows, a member of the Com., he does not appear to have attended very often. Nevertheless, after the surrender of Chester, he became its mayor again and one of its two M.P.s (Morris; Tucker; Dore).
- 2 Rich. Egerton was a minor squire of Christleton nr. Chester, although his family was related to the more prestigious Egertons of Egerton and Ridley (Orm. II, 780).

*Complaints against the Yorks. Horse*

12-4-45. Thomas Green of Wybunbury informeth that one Jonathan Fox, a corporal in one of the Yorks. companies in Wybunbury yesternight uttered these or the like speeches: that there was a mutiny agreed upon among them and the word given (which was 'Fall on brave lads' or 'Fall on brave blades') and shortly we should know it. If they could see Sir Wm. Brereton they would make him do what they would have him. And they said Fox drew a tuck<sup>1</sup> upon his [*sic*; ? this] informer and wounded one man and had slain his [*sic*; ? this] informer if it had not been for a man that pulled him in at a door.<sup>2</sup>

The mark of T. Green.

Wm. Mills of Nantwich informeth that he heard the said corporal Fox say there was mutiny agreed upon and appointed when to be and the word given. For they came for means and means they would have, or else, if they had Sir Wm. Brereton amongst them, they would cut him small and fresh to the pot. The mark of Mr [*sic*] Mills.

Wm. Radmore of Wybunbury informeth that in Wybunbury yesterday he

heard one of the Yorks. soldiers say that he was a cavalier and a papist and that if any man said a word against the papists he would run him through; that some of those soldiers broke open a chest in the church at Wybunbury and took and cut in pieces divers writings and books and amongst the rest an Easter Roll; they say they intend to stay there eight days.

Wm. Radmore.

(D91)

Notes

- 1 A straight thrusting sword. (*O.E.D.*)
- 2 This first deposition seems remarkably garbled, possibly by Brereton's copyists. Taken as they stand, 'they said' and 'his informer' (repeated) should mean that Green was not an eye witness of Corporal Fox's misdemeanours, but was repeating what others had told him. It seems more likely, however, that 'they' refers to Green and the next witness, Mills, and that 'his' should be 'this'.

215

*H.[?] Vernon<sup>1</sup> to Brereton*

12-4-45. You have made so large expressions of your good opinion, well wishes and affection to me and have not given any information nor would write under-hand against me, so that I must needs believe you to be my real friend and that this long attendance of mine hath proceeded out of casualty. But my other occasions now are so pressing for my speedy attendance on them that yesterday I was enforced to address myself to the Council of War to desire that I might attend to cross those orders which my antagonists had not many days before served me with, which I did likewise show unto them. I hope in this necessity of mine I shall tacitly enjoy your concurrence and that, having not time sufficient to wait on you, you will accept these lines in excuse.

(D91)

Note

- 1 The text has *J. Vernon* unmistakably but, as the contents of the letter make it plain that he was someone well known to Brereton and threatened with charges against his conduct, this points to Henry Vernon. He was of Sudbury, Derbys., but had come into his mother's inheritance at Hilton nr. Wolverhampton and his wife's at Haslington nr. Nantwich. Both mother and wife were also Vernons, the latter being the daughter of Sir Geo. Vernon, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. Henry Vernon's Civil War career was a matter of doubt and controversy in his own time and remains so today. The undoubted facts are as follows. He was a prominent parl. supporter up to the beginning of 1644, being a dep. lt. in Chesh. and a member of the Coms. for Assessment and Sequestration there and of the Com. at Stafford. His house at Haslington was subject to royalist raids on several occasions between Sept. 1642 and Jan. 1644 and he was indicted by the royalist Grand Jury at Chester in Feb. 1644. Nevertheless, the parl. Ordinance of 7-5-44, which bears clear marks of having been produced at the wishes of Brereton and his supporters in the House, dismissed him from all his offices for 'dis-service to the Parl.'.

Towards the end of 1645 proceedings were taken against him for delinquency and he compounded for £500. In April, 1646, he was back in the service of Parl., acting as a commissioner for the surrender of Tutbury Castle (just across the R. Dove from his patrimony of Sudbury) and playing an important part in bringing this about. Yet in 1648 proceedings were started up against him again, apparently because of failure to maintain his payments and a dispute over the tithes of Haslington, and these did not end until 1651. Finally all the old scores were revived in 1655, when he had to appear before Maj. Gen. Worsley's commissioners and was threatened with the decimation tax.

What is far more obscure, however, is a period during the war when he was in royalist hands, for a time, apparently, at Oxford. (From knowledge from parl. sources of his whereabouts this can only have been during 1644 and the early part of 1645.) He contended he was an unwilling prisoner; his accusers, who must – because of the Ordinance of May, 1644, and despite this letter – have included Brereton, obviously thought that he had collaborated. In view of the divisions between Brereton and many of the Chesh. dep. lts., it is not surprising that some of them, headed by Sir Geo. Booth, were prepared to accept Vernon's version. It certainly seems odd, if he was a collaborator, that he desired and was able to obtain from the royalists permission to return to parliamentary territory before the war was over. No explanation of this appears in the proceedings at the Com. for Compounding or before Worsley's commissioners. On the other hand, it can have been no help to Vernon in his struggle to prove his devotion to Parl. that his younger brother, Edward, was a royalist col. of horse during the war itself and was active for the cause again in 1650–1 and 1654–5.

No place is given for the writing of this letter, which may have come from Hilton in Staffs. which is where Vernon is said to have retired after the royalists released him. If this is so, then the Council of War referred to could have been the one at Stafford and not the one at Nantwich.

(*Harl. Soc.* lxiii, 228; *Orm.* III, 317–8; *A & O*, I, 85, 106; *C.J.*, III, 484; *Hall*, 184; *C.C.C.*, 112, 992; *C.W.T.C.*, 152, 161; *R.C.E.*, 46, 242; *Stowe MS* 151, ff.72 and 88–91; *Newman*; information from Mr John Sutton.)

216

*A Protection for Mostyn House, Flints*

[224 reveals why protection was to be given to the home of a prominent royalist.]

12-4-45 [Summary:– To all officers and soldiers of 'King and Parl.', forbidding them to seize, plunder or carry away horses, cattle or household goods from Mr Mostyn's house without order from Brereton himself or Commissioners appointed by Parl.]

(D92)

217

*C. of B.K. to Brereton*

12-4-45 Derby Ho. We have received your several letters relating to the state

of your affairs and the employment of your forces. We understand you have sent some forces to the assistance of Salop, which we think good for the public service, and desire you to continue them there or not, as their exigencies shall require. We conceive that in the absence of the enemy your forces cannot be more profitably employed than in the reduction of that county. For the want your forces are in, we have taken care to have it reported to the House that there may be £5,000 provided to be sent for your supply. We have today received information from Sir Wm. Waller that the Princes are marched westward. If they should return towards your parts, we shall give you the most timely advertisement we can and order supplies for you. We have at the request of Sir Thos. Middleton written to Sir John Gell for the continuance of the Derbys. horse in those parts.

Post. Since writing this, we have received your letter of April 8 [179] and have written to Gen. Lesley [Leven] and to Lt. Gen. Lesley to afford you what assistance they can with their forces about Halifax in case the enemy forces return to your quarters; whereof we desire you to give notice from time to time to Lt. Gen. Lesley.

Manchester, Loudoun  
(D100)

218

*C. of B.K. to Com. of Lancs.* [C.S.P.D. 403]

12-4-45 Derby Ho. [Summary:— As provisions are very scarce in Chesh. because of great forces, the enemy's and our own, lately there, and this may prejudice the opportunity that the enemy's absence gives to Brereton against Chester and other garrisons thereabouts, you are to provide him with what provisions you can, as he shall signify his wants.]

Manchester: Loudoun  
(D98)

219

*Commons' Order* [C.J. IV, 109]<sup>1</sup>

Sat. 12-4-45 [Summary:— Appointment of a committee, consisting of Mr Recorder (Glynne), Mr Vassall, Sir Thos. Soame, the Lt. of the Tower (Isaac Pennington), and Sir Ralph Ashton (of Whalley), to treat with the City for the loan of £5,000, this sum having just been allocated by the Commons out of the receipts of the Excise for the use of Brereton's forces.]

(D101)

Note

- 1 *C.J.* adds Wm. Ashurst (17) and John Venn (359 n.6). Thus the north-west was represented by Ashurst and Ashton, respectively M.P.s for Newton and Clitheroe. They were the only active Lancs. M.P.s at Westminster and, while Brereton was in

the field, there were none for Cheshire. London was represented by the four sitting M.P.s for the City, Soame, Vassall, Pennington and Venn, all substantial merchants with strong interests in overseas trading coys. Glynn (281 n.1) had a foot in both camps. A leading London lawyer, he was one of the M.P.s for Westminster, while – coming from North Wales – he had a particular interest in the course of events in the north-west and around Chester. (*D.N.B.*; Keeler; *P.P.*; B. & P. partic. p. 58)

## 220

Commanders of the Derbys. Horse<sup>1</sup> to Brereton

12-4-45 Darliston [see 234, note]. Our intentions and desires are absolute for you, but such is the indisposition of our men to march anyway but towards Derbys. that we despair of accomplishing your desires and our intentions.

Cap. Villiers [Villiers] is marched to Derby and that hath no little disquieted our men. Two more of our troops have quitted us wholly and those few that are left are so thin that we blush to own them. But that which is worst of all is that almost to a man they resolve for Derby. It is no small vexation to us that we cannot wait upon you according to order, especially having received so many favours from you. We must pray that our words may be accepted for expression of thanks, but we are utterly enfeebled to prove it by the works which we resolved upon. We desire that you would send us a discharge in writing that with the small remnant left we may march homewards and not be forced with our colours in our pockets disgracefully to follow our men. Assure yourself we are really yours, but such is our present misery that our men are not ours, each one by nature of our distractions rather assuming command over us than observing [command] as before.

John ? [Jos.] Swettenham,<sup>2</sup> Daniel Watson, Rob. Hope, Thos. Watson.  
(D95)

## Notes

- 1 For Derby officers mentioned here see App. IV, ii.
- 2 For the probable explanation of John/Jos. Swettenham see n. to 646.

## 221

*Wm. Glegg<sup>1</sup> to Brereton*

12-4-45 Chester Marshalsea. I am at present Lt. Byron's prisoner and have no cause of complaint for my usage as yet. But my Lord has sent me word that I and the rest of his prisoners must be straitened unless Col. Werden is better used. Therefore my humble suit is that you will give Col. Werden such usage and liberty as befits him as a gentleman and a colonel. And by reason of my age I shall better be able to bear durance, if it please not God otherways to dispose of me.

(A41)

## Note

- 1 Sen. of Gayton, Wirral. See 164 n. 4 and *Sheaf* 3rd ser. 1, 1896, 14–6. In the latter (Glegg's answer to charges that he had been a Com. of Array) he says that this was the second time he had been seized by forces out of Chester, that he and his son, Wm. jun., a clergyman, were taken to Chester and kept there 7 weeks, that he was told 'I should never come out; I should rot there' and that 'Sir Wm's favour was much therein or else I was quite out of hope.'

## 222

*Sir Rich. Skeffington<sup>1</sup> to Brereton*

[c.14-4-45] You formerly did my brother [Sir John] Skeffington<sup>1</sup> a service with Sir John Gell, whereby he spared plundering, for which many thanks. He is now questioned by the Com. of Leicester for the sequestration of his estate in Leics. because of some things done in the minority and infancy of these troubles, notwithstanding he has done all those things according to the direction of Parl. possible for one who lies under the power of the enemy, and continues to pay £8-3-4 a month to Tamworth garrison. Do me the favour to write an earnest letter to the Com. of Leicester on his behalf and especially to one Mr Hafilrige [Haselrig]<sup>2</sup> there that although my brother had many obligations and engagements on him to have acted for the King's muster, yet having doen nothing since the beginning of these troubles, he should not be more strictly dealt with than many others that I know. I beseech you be speedy and earnest ain this business and desire their answer.

Post. We hear that Gen. Crawford is in Banbury and the Princes in the Forest of Dean, presenting [*sic* ? prosecuting, ? persecuting, ? pressing] the rising countrymen very much.

(D92)

## Notes

- 1 Sir John and Sir Rich. Skeffington were brothers to Cicely, Brereton's second wife. The family had lands in Staffs., Warks. and Leics. Sir John, the elder, inherited the main family estates in Fisherwick, Staffs. Sir Rich. had an estate in Hawkesyard, Staffs., another at Arley near Coventry and a town house in Coventry. Both had been borough M.P.s for a single parliament as far back as the early years of Charles I and Sir John had been sheriff of Staffs. 1637–8. Their mother was a Dering and her nephew, Edward, was the waveringly royalist M.P. for Kent. The parliamentary link was firmer; Richard's wife, Anne, was from the Newdigate family of Arbury, Warks. and Sir Richard's pre-war letters to his brother-in-law, the London lawyer, Richard Newdigate, reveal that they shared an inclination to puritanism. There is also evidence of a link with Lord Brooke who did so much to forge the original parliamentary party in Warks. before his death at the siege of Lichfield in March, 1643. (*S.H.C. N.S. II*; Stowe 184, ff.19, 51 and 744, f.1; Dr. Anne Hughes, 'Politics, Society and the Civil War in Warks. 1620–50' App. III Liverpool Univ. Ph. D. thesis, 1980.)

- 2 Arthur Haselrig, M.P. for Leics.; a very prominent member of the Rump, although not a regicide (*D.N.B.*; B & P; *P.P.*).

223

[Royalist] *Intelligence*<sup>1</sup>

[c. 12-20-4-45 Worcester]. Having so fit an opportunity (and the messenger not returning) I commend these to your perusal. Yesterday we received news from Oxford. Gen. Goring's brother came to Oxford at 2 o'clock on Friday with an express that Goring and other forces had killed and taken 1,500 horse of Waller's and Cromwell's whereof 300 of Cromwell's 'lobsters' were taken in their headquarters at Chard<sup>2</sup> with all their ammunition and provisions. Goring lieth on the coast and Sir Rich. Grenvile before Taunton with 4,500 horse and foot. He has summoned the castle that, if they do not render it up, the town shall burn. Goring hath about 7,000 horse and foot, which joined with Prince Charles and the rest, will make a formidable army of at least 17,000 men. There is come to Dartmouth 200 barrels of powder and other ammunition for the King. The carriages of ordinance and other provisions to Prince Charles went away from Oxford on Friday, and from hence went 27 to supply Oxford yesterday. There is 600 horse to attend the same to Oxford. Our country is very quiet from any tumults and we hope they will not have any odd whimsies [i.e. whims] as others have.<sup>3</sup> Prince Rupert is expected back to Hereford. The army lies in Hereford. They have relieved Sir John Winter<sup>4</sup> and slighted or burnt three garrison houses in the Forest of Dean. It is said that Sir Rich. Grenvile by a Council of War did cause to be hanged a gent of great worth in Devon (£2,000 per annum) whose name was Saporye of Savorye [*sic*, but perhaps 'Saporye or Savorye' is intended], because he refused an oath and because of some other speeches and actions. Grenvile keeps his soldiers in that discipline they dare not plunder nor wrong any person.<sup>5</sup> Would ours were so. I cannot send you any books worth reading until the great declaration. If the whole passage of the Treaty come for the containing twenty sheets of paper, it will be ready next week.<sup>6</sup>

We are not certain when the King comes hither or [whether] our army [may not] advance cross the country and he meet them.

There came a messenger last night from Scotland who assured us Montrose had 10,000 foot and the command of all the northern parts from Glasgow to the sea on either side, which is two parts of the kingdom. His want is of ammunition, which is expected from beyond sea.

The young Ld. Herbert and many gents taking ship at Carnarvon to Ireland and so to France were shipwrecked, the ship and all in it lost. Only themselves escaped and, landing privately in Lancs., marched 'poorly' 400 [*sic*] miles on foot, some without shoes, to Skipton Castle<sup>7</sup>.

The Earl of Essex and the rest have laid down their commissions for a time, but I cannot hear that which I writ before confirmed. The independents grow

too strong for the presbyterians, so that the new Directory and discipline will cost some bloody noses in the admittance.<sup>8</sup>

Carlisle is besieged still and Scarborough and now Pontefract Castle, but they are able to hold out long. Ld. Fairfax has taken most of his ordinance from York and left some few scattered regts there. The Newark men are 1,500 horse and 200 foot and walk abroad for booty. They have gotten enough fat cattle out of Lincolnshire to keep their garrisons a year.  
(A41)

## Notes

- 1 Although headed 'Intelligence' and given no signature, this is not an informer's report but a letter. The style and subscription, 'God bless you and yours in health', suggest this and Brereton's letter of 21-4-45 to the C. of B.K. (313) confirms it. He quotes the sentence, 'We are not certain when the King comes hither', and says it comes from a letter dated from Worcester.
- 2 Clarendon (IV, 14), says this occurred near Dorchester and Macray's note (quoting *Merc. Aul.*, 1526) that it was on 27 March.
- 3 Presumably a reference to the risings of the countrymen (clubmen) in Herefordshire and elsewhere.
- 4 Winter (or Wintour), a catholic, was one of the most active royalists in western Gloucs. (Webb I, 227-8).
- 5 Clarendon (IV, 60) says that the person whom Grenville hanged was a lawyer called Brabant. Having taken part in a Star Chamber case against Grenville in pre-war days, when the latter approached, Brabant tried to slip away in disguise. When he was captured, this gave Grenville the excuse to accuse him of being a spy and hang him forthwith without even consulting a council of war.  
Although he has much on Grenville's misdeeds, Clarendon (IV, 59) does admit that Grenville kept the troops that were besieging Plymouth under strict discipline and so won favour with the countryfolk, used to the previous depredations of Prince Maurice's men. (See 337 n.3 for Grenville.)
- 6 This seems unlikely to be the Treaty (i.e. negotiations) of Uxbridge which had broken down at the end of Feb., and is more likely to be the negotiations between Ormonde and the Irish Confederates to gain their military assistance. These were reported in London about this time as nearing success (*K. W.*, 438) and are referred to in Blakeney's letter of 18-4-45 from Ireland (286).
- 7 As shown in B.L.B. (164, 165), no one was lost in the shipwreck of Ld. Herbert and his retinue. The protestants involved made their way to Lancaster. Nor did the papists have to march 400 miles to Skipton. Even allowing for the necessity of using by-ways, the distance from Cockerham could not have been much more than 50 miles. Perhaps 400 is a copyist's error for 40.
- 8 A reference to the debates in the Westminster Assembly (see note 4 to 359).

*Brereton to Lt. Col. Jones*

13-4-45 pm Tarvin. The Derby regt and Col. Duckenfield's regt are coming up and I hope will be with us in three or four days. I have heard that

some letters from London were last night at Nantwich but have not yet received them. If you go on with your design, I desire you will take great care of Moston [Mostyn] House and of Mrs Moston [Mostyn], a gentlewoman whose father is Sir Martin Lumley, a member of the Commons and knight of the shire for Essex, and one to whom I am very much obliged. I desire you will deliver the enclosed protection from me [216]. Though the Yorks. horse have been very unruly, I doubt not that after a day or two they may be obtained to come over to you. So soon as I receive messengers and orders from London and elsewhere, you shall partake.  
(D92)

225

*Com. of Salop to Brereton*

13-4-45 Shrewsbury. We have received yours of April 11 [not in B.L.B.] in which you write earnestly for £100. God knows we be necessitated to make hard shifts and have not so much, yet we have sent to our friends and have their faithful promise to send us £100 in this exigency. We must acknowledge our condition to be such that we have to borrow it from three men. But you are one we will do as much for as for ourselves, so when you send for it on Tuesday you shall have it. We hear from Herefs. that Prince Rupert was beaten from the Forest of Dean, 300 taken and very many killed and wounded. Col. Massey hath taken Sir John Winter's house;<sup>1</sup> Prince Rupert has gone with a few to Bristol, his forces have returned to Herefs. The same report tells us the Prince is come to Worcester, was pursued thither and narrowly escaped on Wednesday last. We are still at Arcold [High Ercall] and ready to make our batteries, the approaches being near finished. We hope in one day to get away their water. In Worcs. they [the Clubmen] kept two rendezvous last week and continue resolute to oppose the King's party. Herefs. would be forward had they horse but they are awed by the Prince's forces. Prince Maurice is at Worcester sick and the forces raised in Worcs. are sent towards Bristol. Reports from several places say there are preparations for a party to raise our siege at Arcould; the market people report 2,000 horse and foot about Wolverhampton, but there is no certainty that this is true. We shall be sorry the Yorks. and Derbys. horse are gone, but will observe your commands.

H. Mackworth,<sup>2</sup> Sam. More, Tho. Hunt, And. Lloyd, Leigh Owen.  
(D102)

Notes

- 1 Lydney Ho. which Winter had fortified (Webb I, 227-8).
- 2 Humphrey Mackworth of Betton Strange nr. Shrewsbury. A landowner of 'competent fortune' and a pre-war alderman of Shrewsbury. A capt. in the defence of Wem by Nov. 1643 and a col. by the end of 1644. This explains why, although he

had taken no part in the capture of Shrewsbury, he usually appears at the head of the list of the Com. members and later (1646, when Mytton was out of the way as Maj. Gen. of N. Wales) was made gov. of Shrewsbury. He remained this until his death in 1654 and showed strong anti-royalist sentiments, he and his garrison petitioning Fairfax against making an agreement with Charles I in 1648 and refusing to surrender Shrewsbury to Charles II during the Worcester campaign of 1651. (*S.A.S.T.* 2nd ser. 6, 1894; *Portland* I, 158; information from Dr. Wanklyn.)

226

*Com. at Coventry to the C. of B.K.*

13-4-45 Coventry. We have had intelligence from 'Hmox-law' [Hawkesley House], a garrison for the Parl. within three miles of Bromsgrove, that Maurice is upon his march thither with horse and foot. Before their letter was finished they had intelligence he was come into Bromsgrove and his foot and carriages were at hand. Col. [sic Maj.] Bridges' writes from Warwick that he is ascertained from Tewkesbury that Rupert is on his march towards Bridgnorth. That regt of Maurice's which lay at 'Bedford' [Bidford-on-Avon] and was accidentally stumbled upon by a troop of Warwick horse came out of the west and are now gone to Worcester. We have received your commands touching the 200 horse of ours to be in readiness for orders from Col. Massey. We have given order for this, although they be but newly returned from Sir Wm. Brereton and the 'bruit of the country's rising' is still whispered and by report drawing towards an issue'. Your commands shall be obeyed, although the absence of our horse may be prejudicial.

[Post] We fear the long and lingering stay the Princes have made in Worcs. and Gloucs. hath been to wait for the dispersing of Sir Wm. Brereton's auxiliaries and now, hearing the Scots are returned from him, they are again on their march for the relief of the places beleaguered by him.

John Hales etc. [no further signatures given]

(A84)

#### Note

- 1 John Bridges of a family from Alcester, Warks. that just attained minor gentry status prior to the Civil War through service with Ld. Brooke's household. John himself had been Brooke's 'solicitor'. As might be expected, he was not a Denbigh supporter, although he seems to have stood aloof from the political struggle between Denbigh and the Warks. Com.. He, like Col. Fox (*q.v.*), seems to have been involved in the attempt to form a Com. for Worcs., providing them with a meeting place in Warwick Castle before they were able to transfer to Evesham after its capture by Massey in May, 1645. (Willis Bund; *Luke*, which contains many mentions and letters to and from him; Hughes, Thesis.)

*Com. at Coventry to Brereton*<sup>1</sup>

13-4-45 10 am. We have just heard how that Maurice is come to Bromsgrove, with his horse and foot near the town, and understand Rupert is marching towards Bridgnorth. We have with all speed sent up to the C. of B.K., our horse lying under a command to join with Col. Massey. Rupert hath left a sad country in Herefs., having dealt very severely with the risers there. Rich. Skeffington, John Hales, Godf. Boscrite [Bosvile], Wm. Colmore, Geo. Abbott, Peter Burgoyne, Tho. Willoughby.<sup>2</sup>  
(D97)

## Notes

- 1 This letter is repeated on D 104 with minor variations of phrasing and the omission of all reference to Rupert's suppression of the Herefs. clubmen. As this is also dated 10 am on 13 April, it was probably sent by a second messenger (to ensure that one got through) and reached Brereton somewhat later.
- 2 For Sir Rich. Skeffington see 222 n.1. John Hales Esq. was of White Friars, Coventry.

Godfrey Bosvile, M.P. for Warwick and col. of the Warks. foot regt until the S.D.O. in May, 1645, was of Gunthwaite, Yorks. His connection with Warks. arose through his being Ld. Brooke's step-brother. In Oct. 1645, when Brereton wanted assurances that any attempt of Denbigh's supporters to raise questions in the Commons about the state of affairs in Staffs. would be opposed, he asked that certain M.P.s should be forewarned. Among them was Bosvile (721). (N.B. That *Boscrite* in this item is a copyist's error is shown by the repetition at D104 which has *Bossevile*. Also by 721, which has *Boswell*, incorrectly transcribed as *Bagwell* in P & R, 347.)

Wm. Colmore, a minor gent. from Birmingham, was a pre-war capt. of Trained Bands and capt. of the Coventry foot regt. Not a particularly forceful character, it seems, and there was trouble when he was promoted to be col. of the Warks. horse regt in place of Col. Purefoy, who resigned in May, 1645, because of the S.D.O., and over the head of the regt's zealous and efficient major, John Hawkesworth.

Geo. Abbott was in origin a Yorkshireman but was brought into Warks. politics and war effort because he was step-brother to the formidable Col. Wm. Purefoy of Caldecote and lived with him there.

Peter Burgoyne, maj. of the Coventry foot regt and gov. of Kenilworth Castle, July, 1645 – Aug. 1646, was a gent. of Coventry and a younger son of the important Burgoyne family of Sutton, Beds. and Wroxall, Warks.

Thos. Willoughby, gent. of Sutton Coldfield, was capt. of the Coventry foot regt from Aug. 1642 until May, 1645, when he succeeded Barker as its col. and also as gov. of Coventry, Barker having laid down his commands because of the S.D.O.

The two most important members of the Warks. Com., Cols. Barker and Purefoy, do not appear in this item. In fact, Purefoy only appears in the D & A MSS as a member of a Commons' Committee (180). Wm. Purefoy Esq. of Caldecote, was M.P. for Warwick and col. of the Warks. foot regt until the S.D.O. He had been the dominant figure on the parl. side in Warks. since the death of Ld. Brooke in March, 1643, and continued to be so until just before the Restoration.

He was a regicide. John Barker was a draper and alderman of Coventry, M.P. for the city and, until the S.D.O., its gov. and col. of its foot regt.

Quite apart from the useful link through Sir Rich. Skeffington, Brereton and the Warks. Com. were allies, chiefly through their opposition to the E. of Denbigh and his supporters. This had not always been so. Back in the winter of 1642-3, the opposition of the Com., led by Purefoy and Barker, to Denbigh's control of the Warks. forces, had sabotaged Denbigh's effort to organise and lead the West Midlands Association's forces to Brereton's aid, and might have resulted in the fall of Nantwich and the collapse of the parl. cause in the north-west. This was now either forgotten, however, or over-ridden by the desire of Brereton in Staffs. and the Com. in Warks. to keep control of the war machines they had built up in these areas against the supporters of a leader whose loyalty to the Parl. was in doubt. The Warks. Com. was composed of minor county gentry, city gents. and merchants from Coventry and strangers (two Yorkshiresmen). They were political and religious radicals (although Purefoy was a presbyterian) and were opposed by the more substantial gentry, many of whom were in favour of a moderate settlement. Brereton had similar views and similar opponents in Chesh. and Staffs.

(For members of the Warks. Com. see B & P; *P.P.*; Hughes, Thesis, App. III. For the Com.'s actions, view point and relations with Denbigh, Brereton and other parl. leaders see Hughes. 'Militancy and Localism', *T.R. Hist. Soc.* 5th series, 31, 1981.)

228

*Massey to Brereton*

13-4-45 Gloucester. The C. of B.K. has ordered a party of horse to relieve the necessities which the greatest part of the King's army hath brought us into. If you can spare some of your strength to draw towards the enemy's quarters in the further part of Herefs. and so divert the enemy that way, we shall be enabled to hinder their recruiting and keep them from fortifying these passes which they now possess and which will be prejudicial to us if their designs are not speedily prevented.

[P.S.] The speedier your forces can advance, the more use it will be to us and the more likelihood shall I have to enforce the enemy to fight. Prince Charles and Rupert are now both at Hereford.

(D109)

229

*Sir Wm. Blaxton [Blakiston]' to Brereton*

13-4-45 Chester. Having received a hurt in Wales by your party about Michaelmas last, I brought with me out of these parts into Chester for the finishing of my cure a physician, Mr Thomas Brag, an inhabitant of the county of Monmouth, no way depending upon [i.e. connected with] any of his Majesty's armies. I desire you to grant your pass for himself, his man, his horse, with whatever is theirs, to return home securely. I have formerly

returned all chirurgions and servants of yours that I have taken, which were divers and at several times, without any exchange. The better to satisfy you I have enclosed a letter from Col. Massey, gov. of Gloucester, which did not have the effect that was intended because my man had been released for money before it came.

(D93)

Note

1 Sir Wm. Blakiston of Archdeacon Newton nr. Bishop Auckland, Co. Durham, was a very distinguished royalist officer. Commissioned by Newcastle in 1642, he was knighted by Charles in April, 1643, for bringing letters to him from the Queen, who had recently landed in the north of England. At Marston Moor he commanded a brigade of horse which supported the royalist foot in the centre and made a charge which threw the much more numerous opposing infantry into confusion. Retreating south with the rest of the northern horse after the battle, he played an important part in the war in Monmouthshire in 1644. When the town and castle of Monmouth was captured by Massey late in September, he led an attempt to recover it a few days later and was seriously wounded in the fight that followed. (This must be 'the hurt in Wales by your party about Michaelmas' which he speaks of in this item.) He cannot have left immediately for his 'cure' in Chester, however, for according to the next item (230), he became gov. of Monmouth 'since our unfortunate loss of that place' and remained in that position at least until Massey wrote this letter on 12 Dec. Monmouth was surprised and recovered by the royalists at the end of Oct., while Massey was elsewhere and the parl. gov. had been lured into sending part of his garrison off to attack Chepstow.

Blakiston was, in fact, related to Brereton. His wife, Mary, was sister to Rich. Egerton of Ridley, Chesh., who married Margaret, Brereton's only sister. On his way to Scotland in 1635, Brereton stayed with Henry Blakiston, Sir Wm.'s father, at Archdeacon Newton and he mentions the relationship in his travel journal. It is interesting that, although the relationship was close by 17th century standards, no acknowledgement of it is made either by Blakiston in this letter or by Brereton in his reply (231). (Newman; *Marston Moor*; Webb II, 100-1, 113; *Brereton's Travels*, Chetham Soc. O.S.I, 78; Earw. I, 260.)

230

*Massey to Gov. of Manchester* [See n. to 229]

14-12-44 Gloucester. [Summary: Requesting release of Thos. Lightborne, servant to Sir Wm. Blaxton, 'now gov. of Monmouth, from whom since our unfortunate loss of that place, I have had all fair, soldier-like dealing and correspondence'.]

(D93)

231

*Brereton to Blaxton*

13-4-45 Tarvin. I should willingly have assented to the passing of Mr Brag if

the present condition of our affairs had permitted it. If we had taken him prisoner I would have enlarged him to return to you. But as the condition of Chester now is I cannot conceive it fit to be granted, notwithstanding hereafter it may be more seasonable. In the meantime I desire to be excused seeing it may be of public prejudice to give liberty to any that may convey intelligence.

(D93)

*Wm. Marbury to Brereton*

13-4-45 Marbury. I had the fortune to see a letter from you to the Sequestrators of Bucklow Hundred concerning the gathering and paying of the great pay of the eleven mises. For my part I shall forward it by my own example, though many of my own quality will pay nothing. I perceive likewise by your letter that you expect 2-3,000 men to be raised speedily and sent to you. I am writing now to let you know what I conceive to be the greatest rub in that business.

If all the Colonels' coys are not called up, no countryman will appear, because of the evil examples of Col. Duckenfield's men, who returned with their colours, and Col. Leigh's, who lie still and will not stir, to the great retarding of our design. The day after they [Duckenfield's men] marched through Northwich I received a letter from the Com. at Tarvin by your direction to summon in all the enlisted soldiers and well-armed men to be at the rendezvous at Crabtree Green<sup>1</sup> in the forest [of Delamere] upon Tuesday last. This summons I caused to be given in every congregation within this hundred the Sabath day before. On Tuesday<sup>2</sup>, the day of the rendezvous, I went to Crabtree Green and stayed there until three in the afternoon. I saw not above four men that came in nor one man with orders or to take charge of those who in all probability might have come in.

That which is the greatest grievance is the usage of those that were last raised by me and the sequestrators (wherein no town was spared) [and we were] allowed to have them enlisted except [only] under such as we set over them and you approved of. Yet some colonels claimed them because they said they were raised in their divisions, which hath much troubled the country in regard of our promises that they should return home free men when the design was over. Methinks they [the Colonels] are very slack in raising their regts that have such number they know not of. They may think that, as I am a servant of the state, I will forbear to trouble myself as to how they complete their regts.<sup>3</sup> If you please to have any men raised in this hundred, you may do well to write to Sir Geo. Booth, my cousin Mainwaring and me what number in this hundred you desire, and request the sequestrators to be with us to take notice who shall offend in slackness and proceed against them as enemies to the state. This we much desire, and that all towns [i.e. townships] be proportion-

ably charged and that no colonels make any claim to the men. But that they may be put under such captains as we shall think fit and return when the design is ended. Otherways I believe we shall raise none. This much I thought good to acquaint you with, not being able to advise you but only to tell you what I conceive of the business. So, craving pardon for my boldness, 'your affectionate kinsman and servant'  
(D95)

## Notes

- 1 Crabtree Green is shown on Ormerod's map of Delamere Forest as it was in 1813. It lay just about where the present A 556 from Chester to Manchester is crossed by a minor road from Norley which leads to Oakmere. A Crabtree Green Farm is close by. (Orm. II, 107; *E.P.N.S. Cheshire*, III, 217; S.J.581701.)
- 2 If Tuesday was the correct day for the rendezvous, as stated in this letter twice, then it would have been on 8 April. But 162, the Tarvin Com's letter to Sir Geo. Booth of 4 April, said it was to be 'on Thursday next' i.e. 10 April.
- 3 The actual phrasing in the text is very obscure: 'They may very well think though I be the servant to the state, which I am and will be, yet I shall forbear so far to trouble myself for the completing of their regts.' The general argument of the letter is the justification for the alterations made in the Calendar.

## 233

*Sir Rich. Byron to Brereton*

13-?4-45<sup>1</sup> Tarvin. I have been stayed in my journey to Chester and so to Ireland (granted according to Lord Fairfax's pass to me) by your officers at Tarvin. I understand from you that the cause is a report that the occasion of my going into Ireland is to raise and bring from thence forces into these parts. I am most confident that it cannot be made to appear that there is any truth in the report. That I may give you better satisfaction therein, I do protest that as I am a gentleman and do hope for salvation, I have not nor never had any commission, command or direction from the King or any in authority under him to raise or bring over any forces out of Ireland, nor do I think his Majesty knows of my going thither. Nor have I nor ever had any intention or thought to raise or levy any forces in Ireland or engage myself in arms there on any side. I hope this is sufficient to satisfy you that there is no just cause for the report or information you have received concerning my going into Ireland. If anything contrary to what I have written can be proved I shall willingly submit to your censure.  
(D99)

## Note

- 1 No month is given in the letter, but it is enclosed in another letter written by Brereton about the matter to the C. of B.K., and this is dated 14 April. Therefore, although the omission of any reference to correspondence earlier in the month and

to Lady Byron's visit to Tarvin (166, 191, 192, 208) is curious, it seems reasonably certain that the date should be 13 April.

## 234

*Commanders of the Derbys. Horse to Brereton*

14-4-45 Winnington.<sup>1</sup> We have received a letter from you though in no way an answer to our expectations. Our men are wholly resolved for Derby and without them we know not how to serve the public. If we march not back to Derby with that inconsiderable party now left us, our regt is wholly destroyed and we shall, after much cost and hard service, become a ridicule to our foes. So now we are necessitated humbly to desire you to grant us your discharge in writing by this bearer:

Post. The reason of this sad distraction is our not receiving money from Sir John Gell according to letters sent him from above for that purpose. Likewise Capt. Villiers marching off the field (by Sir John's order) with his troop, whose soldiers as they marched uttered these expressions to soldiers of other troops, "Horse and away to Derby: all will go to Derby but two or three captains which dare not come there".

Dan. Watson, Jos. Swettenham, Rob. Hope, Tho. Watson.

(D100)

## Note

- 1 The identity of the places from which the officers of the Derby horse wrote to Brereton presents considerable problems. Their first letter of 13 March (38) gives no place. Their second of 19 March (79) is from *Brereton*; their third of 12 April (220) from *Darliston*; their fourth of 14 April (this item) from *Winnington*. There is a Brereton in central Chesh, and another near Rugeley in Staffs; a Darliston in Salop near Market Drayton, a Darlaston near Stone in Staffs. and another between Wolverhampton and Birmingham; a Winnington in central Chesh. and another in Staffs. but near Market Drayton and the Salop border. The Darlaston near Wolverhampton can be ruled out as too far south for troops coming to assist the siege of Chester from Derbys. or returning hence. The others are all within the likely range of such operations.

I have finally decided on Brereton in Chesh., and Darliston and Winnington just west and north-east of Market Drayton as the most probable places. The second letter – from Brereton – is the most likely to have come from inside Chesh. itself as, at this stage, the Derby officers were still hopeful of co-operating fully in the Leaguer. But the fourth letter can hardly have been from Winnington in Chesh. because this would have meant that, since the third letter of only two days before complaining that their deserting troops were forcing them to return to Derbys., they had moved well back into Chesh. I have decided in favour of Darliston near Market Drayton for the third letter because, not only is it near to the Staffs. Winnington from whence the fourth letter was written two days later but, if it had been written from Darlaston near Stone, the move to Winnington would again have been in the wrong direction.

*Com. of Salop to Brereton*

14-4-45 [Shrewsbury] We received your letter this morning [not in B.L.B.] wherein you desired Maj. Daniel's company to come to you. At this very instance we had notice of a conjunction of some forces approaching towards us. They consist of 100 horse and 50 foot from Ludlow and they came yesternight to Aston Botterell, six miles from Bridgnorth. This morning with 200 horse they marched within five miles of this town [i.e. Shrewsbury]. Besides it is reported some forces are expected from Worcester. When we are freed of these within two or three days, which will bring the business of Arcold [High Ercall] to a period, we shall despatch Maj. Daniel and his coy to you we have made shift to answer your expectations for which you sent your servant to us [see 225].

Post. We have intimation by a letter that came from Bridgnorth to us that Prince Maurice engaged himself to be this way within six days. If this prove true, we conceive that if all our forces were drawn off from sieges into the field it might be most advantageous to the general good.

Sam. More, And. Lloyd, The, Hunt, Rob. Charleton, H. Mackworth.  
(D103)

*Tho. Whitley<sup>1</sup> to Adjutant-General [Maj.] Lothian*

14-4-45 Hawarden Castle. I have received such directions from Ld. Byron that, as yet, I cannot exchange any of your men now in my custody. Their accommodation is by yourselves debarred, it being sufficiently known that our usage of prisoners hath not hitherto been paralleled by any. Therefore I know you cannot impute their want of our usual entertainment to any desire of ours for their misery, but to our want of power.

## Prisoners in Hawarden Castle

Geo. Hilton	under Col. Coote
John Cornwall	" " "
Wm. Dines [? Dennis]	" " "
Wm. Savadge [Savage]	under Adj. Louthane [Lothian]
Wm. Cooper	under Maj. Croxton
Dennis Cansild	under Capt. ffinch [Finch]
Christo. Thomas	" " "
Tho. Millington	under Capt. Winn [Wynn]
Edm. Overs	under Maj. Zanke <sup>2</sup>

(A9)

## Notes

- 1 From Aston Hall near Hawarden. The family were committed royalists. Thomas's father, also Thomas, was fined £125 for deserting his habitation and going into a royalist garrison; one of his brothers, Col. John, was killed defending Conway Castle and another, Col. Roger, was governor of Aberystwyth. Roger later made a name for himself as one of the most assiduous and elusive agents of the exiled Charles II and then as a supporter of the Whig cause in the north-west. He became a considerable Chesh. landowner. Capt. Thos. is alleged to have been killed in the defence of Hawarden Castle. (Tucker; *R.C.E.*; *Sheaf* 3rd ser. 25, 1928.)
- 2 All these officers are Brereton's. There are notes on them as follows: Coote, 14; Lothian, 91, Croxton, 202; Finch, 1; Zankey, 186, and further comments in the notes to B.A.L. (385). Capt. Robt. Wynn does not appear in either B.A.L. or B.O.R. (703), but this is because he was the capt. lt. of Brooke's troop of horse (Harl. 2128, 92) which appears in both lists under the Col.'s name. His name is not local and he may have been a professional soldier.

## 237

*Brereton to the 'Gentlemen at' [Com. of] Leicester*

14-4-45 'From my quarters in the Leaguer near Chester'. Although I am altogether unknown to you, I am directing these lines unto you in the behalf of my brother-in-law, Sir John Skeffington, whose estate in your country I have heard is in danger to be sequestered. I am informed that, although he lives under the power of the enemy, he pays £8-3-4 a month to Tamworth garrison and has done all things according to the Parl.'s direction which might be possible for one who lives under their [the royalist's] protection. Though he had many engagements to have acted for the King, yet – as I am informed – he has acted nothing since the beginning of these wars but what was done in the minority and infancy of these troubles. If this should be, if you would proceed with more tenderness and respect unto him, the rather because many of those who stand in nearest relationship unto him have engaged themselves to the utmost for the advantage of this cause, no man should be more sensible of your favour than myself.

(D94)

## 238

*Brereton to Essex*

14-4-45 'from my quarters near Chester'. This evening I received your letter of 28 March [134] commanding that Capt. Crathorne should be set at liberty in exchange for Capt. Jones. I have given order for the performance of this, although but for the duty I owe your lordship, I would not easily have given it, Crawthorne being a man of such large parts and resolution against us. But, as you say, the other may be as serviceable to us. Therefore I have sent the enclosed so that Capt. Jones may be entitled to the continuance of his parole,

if he be upon it, or, if he be remanded to prison, that he may be released accordingly.

We have again straitly blocked up Chester and Beeston, who are so little advantaged by the late small relief conveyed to them by the Princes, that I am hopeful one or both may be reduced before midsummer day. We have placed some of our forces within a half to threequarters of a mile of their outworks on the Chesh. side and little more than half a mile from the city walls on the [*Welsh*; blank in MS] side. We have disposed of the rest of our forces so that they in the city are restrained and debarred from all manner of provisions. Wherefore it is thought that within a month the poorer sort will be so much scanted that they will become very unruly and mutinous. All that remains to be done is the preventing of any forces coming down to annoy and disturb us and the supplying of necessities to our own soldiers. If this is done I doubt not but that a good account may be given of Chester, whose reduction will tend much to the settling of these parts and of Wales and may have great influence also upon Ireland.

(D97)

239

*Brereton to Capt. Crathorne*

14-4-45. Having received two letters from Ld. Essex for your enlargement in exchange for Capt. Jones, I enclose the order [made out for 15 April; see 246] on condition you subscribe the second enclosure.

(D98)

240

*Capt. Crathorne's Subscription on his release*

14-4-45 [Stafford] For as much as Capt. Jones was given parole to London to procure my enlargement in exchange for him, I do hereby declare and certify to all whom it may concern that I was this day enlarged by Sir Wm. Brereton in exchange for Capt. Jones and do undertake and promise that if Capt. Jones be remanded to prison I will procure his speedy enlargement or myself return and render myself prisoner at Stafford on or before 26 May.

(D98)

241

*Ld. Fairfax to Brereton*

14-4-45 York. Sir Rob. Byron, being a prisoner here, was released upon a considerable exchange, and his brother Sir Rich.,<sup>1</sup> being (as I was informed) in Newark upon no employment, both asked my pass, desiring to live in Ireland, not in a military way but with their families where their estates lie. Mr

Pierrepoint,<sup>2</sup> one of the Commissioners, who knew them well, agreed with me that their removal into Ireland would not be prejudicial to the public [service]. Nor can I yet be informed of any intention either of them had to do injury to the state by a remove to a private condition. I understand you have restrained the person of Sir Rich., but hope you will not injure me so much as to continue him prisoner, unless some new business has arisen to merit the same, or you have ascertained that he intends to bring over some Irish forces, to which I have great cause to believe the contrary.

Post. I desire you will accommodate the horse all alike so near as you can, to whom I have written with special order to stay with you until you dismiss them.

(D110)

#### Notes

- 1 Behind this item, the subsequent one and all the other items referring to the younger Byron brothers, their imprisonment and their wishes lies a very complicated story of divisions within the royalist higher command. Sir Robt. Byron had played a distinguished part in the Nantwich campaign of the winter of 1643-4 and then become gov. of Liverpool after its capture by Rupert in June, 1644. When Meldum recovered it for the Parl. in Nov. 1644, he was imprisoned, first at Manchester and then at York. Sir Rich. Byron was gov. of the major royalist garrison of Newark in 1643 and 1644, but was superseded early in 1645 by Sir Rich. Willis. There had been complaints about his leadership and in Oct. 1644 a party from Newark under his leadership had been surprised and routed in the Vale of Belvoir, Byron himself fleeing on foot to the shelter of Belvoir Castle. In addition, their elder brother, Ld Byron, was much disgruntled at the weakening of his power in Chesh. and N. Wales by the appointment of Rupert's favourite, Col. Legge, to the governorship of Chester. Abp. Williams, writing from Conway to Ormonde on 25-3-45, said that the royalist cause in Chester and N. Wales 'lay neglected and in confusion' because of the differences between Legge and Ld. Byron and his brothers. Legge was 'much interested in Prince Rupert' and Ld. Byron 'Much Ormonde's servant'. This division between the supporters of Rupert and those of Ormonde had surfaced before at the time of the coming over of the army from Ireland in squabbling as to who was to have overall command in N. Wales and Chesh. Williams added in his letter that Ld. Byron had gone to Oxford to complain of the affronts to his own person and to his brothers, those at Newark and 'Rutland' thrown out of their governorships and the one at Liverpool left to die in prison. (The gov. at Rhuddlan was another brother, Sir Gilbert, but either Abp. Williams was mistaken about his dismissal or he was later restored.) From Fairfax's opening remark in this item something had been done by this time to end Sir Robt's languishing in prison, but Sir Rich.'s grievances were obviously still unremedied. Hence the brothers' decision to opt out of the conflict and settle in Ireland. (*Ormonde Letters*, I, 34, 36, 67; Carte III, 349 and letters from Digby and G. Radcliffe to Ormonde Nov.-Dec. 1643; *K.W.*, 406, 426; *Newark*, 21, 58-9; Glover I App. 14, 68; Tucker, 128.)

As the Byrons' patron, Ormonde, was the King's commander in Ireland and it seems very likely that the Col. 'Napper' said by parl. reports to be raising troops in

Ireland at the moment was really Col. Robt. Napier, the commander of Ld. Byron's foot regt (195 n.1), the suspicions that Brereton and the Tarvin Com. entertained of the brothers' intentions seem justified. Yet, while it might be possible to believe that Ld. Fairfax could be ingenuous enough to be taken in by their protestations, the fact that one of the Northern Commissioners supported him in the matter suggests that the parliamentarians saw such advantages in getting the Byron brothers out of England and promoting royalist quarrels that they were prepared to take the risk of being deceived.

What happened to the brothers subsequently remains obscure. Morris and Tucker say they were taken prisoner on 15-4-45, but they give no definite authority for this statement and, in the case of Sir Rich., it is plainly impossible as B.L.B. shows that he was already a prisoner. What does seem clear is that he neither went to Ireland nor opted out of the war completely. Ld. Byron in his '*Account*' says that he sent him to the King, then at Denbigh after the defeat at Rowton Moor on 24 Sept. 1645, in order to warn Charles that Poyntz was sending a body of horse into N. Wales. Sir Rich. then remained at Denbigh until Sir Wm. Vaughan's defeat there on 1 Nov., when – according to the '*Account*' – he tried hard to dissuade Vaughan from quitting Wales. So, although he had no military command, Sir Rich. could hardly be said to be acting like a neutral. Perhaps failure to find shipping to transport him to Ireland had brought about a change of heart. (Morris, 81; Tucker, 65; Byron's '*Account*', 12, 17.)

2 See App. I ii.

## 242

*Rich. Hatter<sup>1</sup> to Mr Waterhouse*

14-4-45 York. Ld. Fairfax had very good attestation given him concerning Sir Rob. and Sir Rich. Byron to grant his pass for their going into Ireland and there not to trouble themselves in the differences of this and that kingdom. He was encouraged to do this by the testimony of some gentlemen of very good repute. He wondered that Sir Wm. Brereton should violate his pass so much as to restrain Sir Rich. Byron, a thing he would not have done without very good assurance of apparent injury intended to the state by the party protected. I desire you to move Sir Wm. to observe my Lord's pass, in which his honour is much concerned and which will be no otherwise construed by the enemy than as a net to catch him [Sir Rich. Byron]. He hears divers complaints that his soldiers can get nothing in those parts for their accommodation and they importune him for their return, which he is unwilling to grant if they can be serviceable and he has told his commanders to obey Sir Wm's commands. I desire you to speak to them that, if they remain content to do service in those parts and have such accommodation as can be provided and prevent all mutinies and discords, my Lord will take special note of it. Captain Hoyle and all the rest of your friends remember themselves very kindly unto you.

(D109)

## Note

1 See App. I ii.

*Brereton to Ashurst*

14-4-45. By the enclosed which is a copy of a letter I received from the Com. of Salop [198, dated 10-4-45] you will discern how untrue and undeserved an imputation was laid upon me in the presence of the whole House, whereof I should be very sensible but that I am unwilling to prosecute my vindication if it interrupt or prejudice the present service. But I must needs affirm that if all be true that I have heard the House never gave any man thanks for service performed more undeserved than at that time unto 132 [Mytton], who himself was no less mistaken in the strength of the armies of 47 and 49 [Maurice and Rupert]. So was he also in the party sent out on that design upon my motion and by my direction. Those horse that were sent out were Chesh., Yorks. and Derbys. in one party, and Scottish in another, whereunto it is true that the Lt. Gen. [Lesley] was very forward. He [Mytton] was also mistaken in other circumstances wherein you shall receive more ample information at more leisure. In the meantime do me the right to vindicate truth herein and be assured I have so many letters to produce from Ld. Leven and Lt. Gen. Lesley as will make it clearly appear unto you that the orders to the Scots commanders were not to advance so far from the body of their army as to follow and engage the Princes' forces, who were removed out of this county two or three days before the Scots joined with us. Herein, if any doubt remain, I can appeal to Col. Rossiter and Maj. Harrison<sup>1</sup> who joined with me in subscribing a letter, the copy whereof [96; see also 422,] and assurance unto are still extant, which I reserve to produce if (please God) I live to see you, whereof I am now in more hope than formerly.  
(D113)

## Note

- 1 It is not certain that this is Thomas, the future regicide, Fifth Monarchy man and Cromwellian Major-General. In the Eastern Association, Thomas had been major to Col. Charles Fleetwood and not to Rossiter and his Lincs. regt, whose link with the Eastern Association had always been controversial and tenuous. Harrison and Fleetwood had been together at the Inns of Court and in Essex's original Life Guard. But it is not impossible that, in the fluid period between the break-up of the Eastern Association army and the formation of the New Model, Harrison should have been detached from the main force operating under Cromwell and sent to strengthen Rossiter. (*D.N.B.*; Ashley ch. v; *Eastern Assoc* 171, 172, 201).

*Rich. Smith, minister, to 'Noble Major [Thos. Croxton, gov. of Nantwich] and the rest of the honourable gents with you'.*

14-4-45 [Wybunbury] This is to ascertain you of some things concerning which I was with you yesternight. It is true it is the horse soldiers that are quartered amongst us. Some, such as those that are quartered at my house, carry

themselves well, but others are ruder as information will be given. This day my wife and servant boy coming to the market with corn to sell, met two soldiers who have robbed her, forced money from her, would have taken a colt unshod that had some corn upon him and spanned their pistols, threatening to shoot her, the boy and the horses. They said they cared not for Brereton and, if they killed my wife or others, the worst was hanging. I entreat you will be pleased to look upon these things or else it were better for us to overrun [desert] our houses than lie in them, for we would and could provide against the invasion of professed cavaliers.

#### Complaints

The people of Wybenbary [Wybunbury] tell me there is companies of horse soldiers come into the town [ship] who cast forth very fearful speeches: that they would cut Sir Wm. Brereton in pieces if they had him there, that they will by [word lost in MS] night warn the town [ship]. Mr Jackson told me they said that if they could get into the Wich [Nantwich] they would keep it against you all, with curses and threats against you and the country. What their names are I know not but being told of these things and hearing of outrages committed by robbing and beating in other places, I thought good to acquaint you that some course (if thought fit) be taken with them.

Rob. Smith

Margaret Beecher said that the Yorks. commanders did upon Saturday last send their warrants to the township of Blackney [? Blakenhall] to bring in [?] 14 measures of oats and barley. And that the town sent them in 14 measures; notwithstanding the day following they sent for 30s, otherwise this day they do threaten to plunder the same town [ship] of all their cattle; that [they] quartered 150 Yorks. soldiers and one of their captains' names was Capt [sic. Maj.] Goodricke.

[Per me ffran: Asshed [Ashead or Asthead] constable  
(D102)

#### 245

*Col. John Booth to Thos. Marbury*

[c.14-4-45] It is a thing so new to me that either Capt. Tutchet [Touchet]<sup>1</sup> or any other should enlist soldiers or charge moneys upon any of the townships in the division allotted to me that I cannot give way to either. If any go about by force to compel either I shall use my utmost endeavour to make it appear to them that they are in a wrong way, if I be able to resist their power. In the meantime I hope your town [ship] is both willing and able to defend itself, which I desire.

The horse in the Chesh. townships must of necessity show themselves when they are called upon, or I shall be constrained to convert them into footsoldiers and force them upon constant duty, in regard it hath already been

informed [i.e. commanded] from above that these townships under my protection are exempted from all manner of service.  
(A14)

Note

- 1 Despite the Lt. in B.A.L. he was Capt. Thos. (several refs. in Harl. 2128, f.38 and Harl. 2137, f.49) and probably the 2nd son of Wm. Tutchet who joined in writing 155 about Col. John Booth's misdeeds (Orm. I, 662).

246

*Brereton to the Provost Marshal at Stafford or his Deputy*

15-4-45 [Summary. Order to release Capt. Crathorne on his signature of the enclosed engagement (240); the original of this to be returned speedily to Brereton and a signed copy kept by the P.M.]  
(D98)

247

*Brereton to the C. of B.K.*

15-4-45. I have formerly acquainted you with Sir Rich. Byron's stay at Tarvin, whence I was unwilling to give way for his remove until your further pleasure was known. Since this time I have received this enclosed [233] letter and cannot but believe Sir Rich. Byron is very real [i.e. sincere] in his expressions and engagements, whereunto I am the rather induced because I find him very willing to retire to any place in this country where he may have the Parl's protection. Whereof I thought good to acquaint you and to desire your speedy answer that he may languish here no longer than of necessity until your further order, whose dismissal I cannot apprehend of so dangerous consequence as at first it seemed.  
(D99)

248

*Brereton to Capt. Barton and the rest of the Commanders of the Derbyshire Horse*

15-4-45. Whereas it appears that your regt for want of the necessary pay for subsistence is in great danger to be dispersed, these are to order and licence you with your troops to march back for the present into Derbys., where you are to recruit and refresh your troops until you shall receive further order from those whom it concerns.  
(D100)

249

*Com. of Salop to Brereton*

Tuesday 15-4-45 Shrewsbury. We suppose that Capt. Stone hath given the same intelligence to you as he hath done to us, which is [blank in MS] and his body is moving this way, which we find to fall out accordingly, for this morning a great body of horse and foot are before Benthall,<sup>1</sup> our new garrison. Gerrard with all his forces are upon their motion this way and they endeavour to raise all this country. We believe they will have as great a body as they had before. We leave it to your consideration whether it be not best to draw all your forces into a body and be ready either to preserve your own country or assist us.

[P.S.] Since this we hear they are drawn off from Benthall.

H. Mackworth, And. Lloyd, Tho. Hunt, Rob. Charleton.

(D103)

Note

1 5 miles n.w. Bridgnorth.

250

*Com. of Salop to Brereton*

15-4-45 11 am [Shrewsbury] Since writing the enclosed [249] we received the open letter of intelligence [not in B.L.B.] which we are not able to descant upon but leave the judgement of the truth of the business there alleged to yourself. Only we hear the sender lives in those parts and is accustomed to give us true and constant intelligence. We conceive it fit the Scots be desired to march speedily to you and all other forces that can be got, and, in respect your county is concerned, you may, if you please, advance into these parts, or those adjacent where they may have fresh quarters, and so be ready to protect both the counties. We will despatch letters tomorrow towards London, but our messenger will be slow and we entreat you to write, that these parts may be thought on in time before the enemy prevail too much.

H. Mackworth, Rob. Charleton, Tho. Hunt, And. Lloyd, Leigh Owen.

(D103)

251

*Brereton to Ld. Montgomery at Halifax*

15-4-45 Noon. I conceive it part of my care to communicate the enclosed intelligence [referred to in 250] to you so soon as I received it, having also received intelligence from Shrewsbury and Stafford concurring that some forces are preparing to come this way. The Com. of Salop conceive they are intended to raise their siege of High Arcold [Ercall]. The governor of Stafford hath intimated to me that the forces of Lichfield and Dudley

are united and are to join with those of Worcester and all are designed to come this way. Without doubt both these and the other armies are upon their march some way and it is most probable this way to relieve Chester, which will otherwise be in great distress, and so to force their passage into Lancs. and so towards Carlisle, which will be no difficult work as our forces are disposed on the Welsh and Chesh. sides of the city, and cannot be suddenly re-collected.

Bromsgrove, where Prince Maurice and his army were, is in the way towards Newark as well as these parts. So soon as I know the certainty of which way he inclines, you shall hear. In the meantime I advise that your forces be put in a posture ready to march.

[The following is headed as 'post' to the letter to Montgomery, but reads more like a memo intended only for Brereton himself or his scribes]. "The like letter was written Ld. Fairfax and Ld. Leven that the forces about Halifax might timely advance to our assistance so that the enemy could be encountered about [Market] Drayton or Newport and we be able to draw a greater strength into the field, leaving our garrisons secure in the rear."

(D98)

## 252

*St. John to Brereton*

15-4-45. I have often moved the C. of B.K. and the House for your supply. What those motions have produced you will know by the letters from the C. of B.K. to yourself. I think it would promote your designs to address your letters to the C. of B.K. and the House in money matters and let them know from time to time in what posture your affairs stand. Yet if you are pleased by letter to communicate to me, I shall and do account it a special favour. We have ordered a good party to Massey.

(D112)

## 253

*Ld. Fairfax to the Officers of his Horse in Chesh.*

[Sent to Maj. Goodricke and forwarded by him to Brereton]

15-4-45 York. I was ordered by the C. of B.K. to send the horse which are towards Westchester<sup>1</sup> [Chester] for the assistance of Sir Wm. Brereton. I have since received another letter to continue them there. Therefore I cannot well recall them without further order from the Committee. I have written to Sir William to give them all supplies which are convenient and necessary, which I assure myself he will. I desire the soldiers to continue and carry themselves as maybe for their honour and profit, and to be careful not to spoil or plunder the country which they are much condemned for. I desire you and the rest of the commanders to call all offenders to a Council of War, that by punishing

them you may show your dislike of such wicked courses. I give you and them order not to return until you have a dismissal from Sir Wm. Brereton or hear further from me.

(A6)

Note

- 1 A name sometimes used in the 17th century to distinguish Chester from Chester-le-Street nr Durham, which was often simply called Chester.

\*254

*C. of B.K. to Brereton*

15-4-45 Derby Ho. We received today a letter from Coventry (copy enclosed) [226] signifying the return of Rupert and Maurice towards your quarters. Therefore we have seconded our former orders to Gen. Lesley [Leven] and Lt. Gen. Lesley for the return of that party lately with you. We have also written to Ld. Fairfax and the Lancs. Com. to send what forces they can spare. The House hath appointed £5,000 to be provided out of the Excise for the encouragement of your forces, which shall be sent you with all the speed that may. Care hath also been taken by the House and this Com. to write to all adjacent counties to send you provisions. We are also sending a considerable strength to Col. Massey for the diversion of the enemy.

Manchester; Loudoun  
(A84)

255

*Rupert to the Earl of Essex*<sup>1</sup>

15-4-45 [Summary:—

I cannot see why the Houses should think it strange that I have used some prisoners that I have taken in the same way that some of my soldiers have been used. Those executed, after having been granted quarter at Shrewsbury, had served the King well against the Irish rebels and, after the Cessation, were by his command brought over here, where they again performed their duty. I would not be doing my duty if I had not let those that massacred them know that their own men must pay the price for their inhumanity.

That all good men must abhor the circumstances of blood and cruelty caused by the rebellion in Ireland (and all other rebellions) is not applicable to this argument. Many of your soldiers served the King in Ireland; yet when they are taken, they are given quarter by this side and it is observed. If you do not do the like, and quarter is denied to all who are proclaimed traitors and rebels by act of Parl., the war will become more merciless and bloody than it hath been or any good man or true Englishman could desire it to be. Nor can the threat in your letter to use all prisoners taken from the King's army in this

manner make any impression on me other than that of grief at such inhumanity, contrary to the laws of nature and nations and the rules and customs of war in the Christian world. If such an ordinance should be made, would you expect I should submit to it and continue to allow quarter to your men. I have taken prisoners, among those that have taken up arms against the King, men of all nations – English, Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch, Walloons – and of all religions and opinions averred by Christians, and have always allowed them quarter and free exchange. I will continue to do so, hoping that God will open the eyes of those who have been strangely deceived into arms against the King to the scandal and destruction of the protestant religion (in which I was born and in which I will die) and of the Parl., of which the King is head, and that they will subdue those who out of ambition and malice have made the paths in which they all tread. But, if the contrary course shall be held and those under my command are murdered in cold blood when taken prisoner, under what senseless and unjust pretensions whatsoever, I will cause for every officer and soldier of mine so treated, the same number of yours that are taken prisoner to be put to death in the same manner. Their blood, together with that of those murdered under your ordinance, will be required at the hands of those who by their actions force others to observe the rules they lay down. And since they have not listened to the King's gracious offer of peace, the English nation seems like to be in danger of destroying itself.] (A75)

Note

- 1 This famous letter of Rupert's is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MS Add. D 114, ff. 154-5). It is very lengthy and those who desire a full transcription will find it in Webb (II, 146). There are minor variations between Webb's transcript and the B.L.B. copy – the latter omits a few phrases and occasionally has different single words – but these are no more than could be accounted for by the mistakes that might well result from a double copying, first by a correspondent of Brereton's from the original and then by Brereton's clerk from this copy.

The acrimonious dispute which arose from the carrying out by commanders in the field of Parl's Ordinance of 26-10-44 that native Irish captured in arms in England should be executed (*A. & O.I.*, 544-5; *K.W.* 423-4) involved Brereton closely because units of the royal army from Ireland were still operating up and down the Welsh border. The executions which led to Rupert's reprisals were committed by Brereton's dependants, the Salop Com., and it was on their captured soldiers that the reprisals fell. (Gough's account – *Myddle*, 74-5 and the captured Royalist Diary – B.L.B. 142 –, both stating that Mytton commanded the raid on the rear of Rupert's forces while they were relieving Beeston, have led to the belief that the captured and executed soldiers were his, but the letter from the Salop Com. in *L.J.* VII, 305 shows plainly that they were theirs. The entry in *Mercurius Aulicus* for 22-3-45 saying that they were Brereton's was even wider from the mark.) Actually both Brereton and the Nantwich Council of War had executed captured Irish soldiers some weeks before the taking of Shrewsbury. The Council did so again at least twice after Rupert's reprisal, although by this time Brereton had

left for London. If Malbon is to be believed, he (and, therefore, presumably others) mis-understood the reason for Rupert's action. According to him, those executed were 'countrymen, some of them constables and other poor simple men', who were punished because they did not obey the Prince's commands with sufficient alacrity. (Malbon, 155, 158, 168, 174, 176.)

256

*John Bradshaw to Brereton*

[c.15] 4-45. Rich. W[orrall] will inform you of your own business which with good effect we prosecuted yesterday. We shall tomorrow go on with the work and use what friends we have or can make to hasten the moneys into our hands. My opinion is that you stir not from your design until you receive special order, which you shall be informed of and have notice of what to trust to within these few days, for your friends here will know the utmost herein very shortly. You will consider of the government fit to be proposed in case you remain. What if it were settled in the Com. of Nantwich and if Jones commanded the horse and Lothian the foot? I cannot tell what other way to proceed.

Col. Barkely [Barclay] hath given up his commission, saying the kingdom of Scotland hath sent for him. Maj. Gen. Crawford hath given up his and is in town. We hear of the like intentions in Halborne [Holborn] and Middleton.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Thos. Fairfax's new army goeth on well. The Earl of Warwick hath freely and fairly given up his Admiralty, which place, as also the revenue, will be gained by commissioners. Admiral Batten is yet in town and I take it will have the chief command and managing of marine affairs.<sup>2</sup> If the King or his forces bend in good earnest your way, doubt not but that considerable assistance will be sent on your behalf. What is wanting in present payment must be supplied in good words and promises. More you cannot for the present do. You encounter great difficulties as you have long done. Look above and do your endeavour and that will be for the deeds you imagine. ['You imagine' is added after a colon. It could be the preface to the next sentence.] The new Ordinance for recalling members [Self Denying Ordinance] and the New Model reducing three armies to one [New Model Army] doth and will occasion discontents, yet wise men here would not have the work to do again and hope well of this new way we are in, notwithstanding all the muttering and murmuring against it and throwing up of commissions. There was a move to declare such incapable of further employment on our part who refuse service intended them and cast up their commissions, but other business intervned. Yet it is thought it will be won again. Waller and Cromwell are at Salisbury, Col. Edw. Popham<sup>3</sup> hath lost his regt of horse, for foot are wanting in the [?] north.<sup>4</sup> Good hopes yet, for all this.  
(D101)

## Notes

- 1 These were all Scots officers who had been serving with armies of the Parl. which were now in the process of disbandment; Col. Harry Barclay with Essex, Lt. Gen. John Middleton and Maj. Gen. Jas. Holborn with Waller and Maj. Gen. Laurence Crawford (*q.v.*; see 29 n.) with the Eastern Association (*C.S.P.D.*; *D.N.B.*).
- 2 See *K.W.* and *D.N.B.* for Warwick and Batten.
- 3 Col. Edw. Popham was of Littlecote, Somerset. Subsequently he became recruiter M.P. for Minehead and a 'general-at-sea' under the Commonwealth (B. & P.; Ashley, *Cromwell's Generals*, 117, 122; Underdown, *Somerset in the Civil War and Interegnum*; *D.N.B.*)
- 4 The word, although illegibly written, appears to be this. The meaning is that Popham's troopers were going to be converted into foot, but, as it is difficult to determine exactly where 'the north' would be in relation to a war being waged in Hants, Wilts., Dorset and Somerset, so it is difficult to discover where the foot were 'wanting'.

## 257

*Dep. Lts. and Com. of 'Knutsford' [sic] to Lt. Gen. Lesley*

16-4-45 Knutsford. Since Capt. Edwards was despatched to your army yesterday with intelligence of the enemy's conjunctions, preparations and approaches towards these parts, these enclosed [235, 249, 250] came to us which confirms us in our beliefs. We conceive the enemy's designs are first to raise the siege at High Arcold [Ercall], then to attempt the like at Chester; which being done they will not be long out of Lancs., where their designs will be more easily effected because the greater part of the dep. Lts., committees and commanders of that county are now attending the Parl. at London. The enemy knows the distraction of that county and that a great party there will certainly join with them to strengthen their army. For prevention of the danger that will then ensue to the whole kingdom, we thought good to send you these letters that you would see we add nothing of our own but leave it to your better judgement. Only we desire you would draw this way with your forces, whose appearance would not only make the enemy demur to advance (the body of the Princes' army being, we believe, not this way designed), but have a good effect upon Chester which might, it is believed by some come lately thence, be delivered up. If your forces might then timely advance so that we could meet the enemy beyond our garrisons, we should then be able to draw out a far greater strength to join with you. Whereas, if the enemy come betwixt us and our garrisons, we should be constrained to place a greater part of our strength in them.

'Signed by all the dep. Lts. at their meeting at Knutsford.'

(D103)

258

*Com. of Salop to Brereton*

16-4-45 [Shrewsbury] The enemy being numerous and near us forced us to draw off from the siege of High Arcold [Ercall] last night, our men not removing until the enemy's van was within five miles of the leaguer and making an orderly retreat with all their carriages. We see how dangerous it is to leave the field when the enemy eyes it and would wish that, the body with you once together, you would use means to get such forces into these parts as may check the enemy's proceedings and at least hinder their recruiting. If some such speedy course be not taken, these parts will be reduced to great straits suddenly. It concerns you in your particular that these forces draw down this way, for we do not believe the relief of Arcold is their main design, but rather that of Chester or the surprise of this town.

[Post] We cannot learn certainly what the enemy's number is but believe all they can raise in these parts are together.

H. Mackworth, And. ffloyde [Lloyd], Tho. Hunt, Sam. More, Rob. Charleton

(D105)

259

*Maj. Croxton to Brereton*

16-4-45 Nantwich. I received the enclosed [258] from Salop at 10 o'clock this night and have despatched it to you with all speed. I have acquainted Adj. Lothian with the contents and fear we shall be enforced to leave Wales speedily unless you send some more assistance towards Chester. I have heard nothing out of Wales this day. The messenger who brought this letter reports that the enemy's scouts were about Lee Bridge<sup>1</sup> and have taken two of Wem's scouts, but I do not believe it. I have sent to Wem and to Oswestry according to your appointment, but the messenger is not returned.

(D104)

Note

1 Lee Bridge (or Bridges), Salop.; half-way between Wem and Oswestry.

260

*Brereton Hen. Brooke<sup>1</sup> Rog. Wilbraham and Thos. Stanley to Gell*

16-4-45. We have seen letters from the C. of B.K. intimating that your horse were to continue with us in these parts until further orders, which letters have been communicated to them. Notwithstanding this, not by reason of your commanding away Capt. Villiers, but because of the giving out that the time of their stay here was 'determined' [i.e. ended] most of the regt here left their colours in a disorderly manner, although money was preparing and ready to

have been paid them the next morning. So, out of tender care not to break or disperse your regt, it was thought fit to return home the rest, so that they might be re-collected and refreshed.

We have great want of horse in Wales, for without them we shall not be able to fetch in provisions for the sustenance of our army. Besides we have intelligence of forces approaching these parts to raise the siege of High Arcould [Ercall]. Although we believe they are not the body of the Princes' army, yet they are such a conjunction of the forces of Dudley, Lichfield, Worcester, Gerard and Vaughan as may put us to too hard a task to encounter them and maintain our siege of Chester. If we should raise it, it would be very disadvantageous to the kingdom, and the C. of B.K. (who make account that your forces remain with us) would be very sensible thereof.

Therefore we desire you that your regt of horse, with what other forces you can spare, be forthwith speeded unto us.

We also make it our request that, according to our former letters from the C. of B.K., you give order that some competent provision of victuals – oats, oatmeal, bacon and the like – may be levied in your county and speeded to us, whose necessities require it. Chester is in a fair way of being taken and it would much disadvantage us to raise the siege, being one of the most considerable designs on foot in the kingdom. We hope to maintain it, if our neighbour counties, who would partake of the benefit [of its surrender], freely and timely apply their assistance. What is done must be speedily. Post. Since we writ this letter we received intelligence that the siege of Arcold is raised. There is a body of the enemy but we believe the Princes are not there. There is no danger of their coming towards you, therefore hasten your horse towards us.

(D105)

#### Note

- 1 Col. Henry Brooke of Norton Priory nr. Runcorn, Chesh., an important figure in the parl. war effort in Chesh. and the power struggle within it. He was descended from a younger branch of the minor county family of the Brookes of Leighton in Nantwich hundred, who prospered in Henry VIII's day and acquired Norton Priory at the Dissolution. Henry was among the dep. lts. who were promoting the parl. war effort in Chesh. in the winter of 1642–3 even before Brereton's arrival from London. After this arrival at the end of Jan. 1643, with Brereton's support, he was placed on the original county Coms. for Assessment and Sequestration. The Brooke family was the only important one supporting the parl. cause in the north-west of Bucklow Hundred, strategically important because of the crossing of the Mersey at Runcorn, and so Henry and his brothers were fully occupied in 1643 in defending Norton Priory and limiting the activities of the royalist garrison at Halton Castle. As a result they played no part in Brereton's victorious campaign on the southern borders of Chesh. or in the defence of Nantwich against the army from Ireland and the subsequent victory outside the town. Yet it would seem that

Brooke accompanied Brereton to London after the battle; there he was made sheriff of Chesh., with powers to hold his monthly court at Nantwich instead of Chester, and given a grant of £1,000 towards the completion of his regt of foot and troop of horse. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Brereton aided this build-up of the influence of the Brooke family to act as a counter-weight to the Booths. Brooke's regt, partially a family affair with one brother, Richard, as his lt. col. and another, John, as one of his capts., was able to police north-western Bucklow – no longer under threat from the royalists – and spare men for the Leaguer. Brooke himself was constantly with Brereton, adding his signature to Brereton's letters and instructions and giving them a wider sanction. (See n.1 to 409 for the suggestion that Brooke led a middle party in May, 1645, which toned down the anti-Brereton Knutsford Petition.) So if promotion of the Brooke family was a deliberate policy of Brereton's, the evidence of B.L.B. would seem to show that it was productive. (Orm. I, 600–2; *Portland* I, 96; *A. & O.* I, 90, 106, 503; *C.W.T.C.*, 24–5; *C.J.* III, 484; Malbon, 38–9, 134, 154–5; Wanklyn, 239 and n.; Morrill.)

## 261

*Commanders of the Derbys. Horse to Brereton*

16-4-45 Whitmore [Whitmore, Staffs.] How observant Sir John Gell is of the commands of the C. of B.K. we have by sad experience too often found. He desires neither our subsistence in these parts abroad nor at home. Assure yourself that we and the soldiers are so extremely engaged to you that were it not an impossibility we should gladly return to wait upon you. Doubt not that, as soon as we are recruited, our troops refreshed and their necessities in some measure satisfied, your order for our return shall be as welcome as your discharge is now.

Jos. Swettenham, Nath. Barton, Dan. Watson, Rob. Hope.  
(D106)

## 262

*Ld. Montgomery<sup>1</sup> to Brereton*

16-4-45 Halifax. I thank you for your intelligence and entreat its continuance. I am glad to know you have so great hopes to reduce Chester. At Ld. Fairfax's desire we have sent 1,000 foot to assist those few that he hath before Pontefract. Ld. Leven intends to march with his whole army at the beginning of next week for-praised be God – Montrose has been put to the worse in Scotland, lost 700 of his best men and is pursued by two well-commanded armies, one before and the other on his rear.<sup>2</sup> So we trust in God we shall shortly have an account of him for his inhumanity. The Parl. of this kingdom [i.e. Scotland] hath ordered 10,000 to be in readiness to march into England, if need be.

[Post] Whereas you mention one letter to Ld. Leven I have received none, but only one to Lt. Gen. Lesley from the C. of B.K.  
(D107)

## Notes

- 1 Hugh (1613–69), eldest son of Alex. Montgomery, 6th Earl of Eglinton; became 7th Earl on his father's death, but known in his lifetime as Ld. Montgomery. Studied at Glasgow Univ. and Paris; with his father prominent in opposition to Chas. I's ecclesiastical policy and in the Bishops' Wars. Opposed Montrose in the border country in summer and autumn of 1644 (although suspected of sympathy with him); not present at Marston Moor, although his father and younger brother, Robt., were. After Naseby, in common with other generals of Leven's army, wanted negotiations with King. In 1648 was granted a commission by Hamilton, who was his brother-in-law, but does not appear to have taken it up. In 1651 defended his house at Cumbrae against Cromwell, but he and Robt. Baillie, his old tutor, were captured there. Although subsequently released, he was not included in Cromwell's Act of Grace and was heavily fined. (*D.N.B.*; *G.E.C. Peerage*; Baillie I, 125, 137, 147, 201; II, 11, 35-7, 234; III, 119, 446.)
- 2 See also another letter of Montgomery to Brereton of 24 April (342). This hasty retreat of Montrose's army after a raid on Dundee on 4 April was not the prelude to his defeat, as Montgomery and other Covenanting leaders hoped. He soon evaded his pursuers (*K.W.*, 438–40).

## 263

*Maj. Wm. Brayne [Braine] to Brereton*

16-4-45 Wem. Yesternight our men drew off from Arcold [High Ercall], 2,000 of the enemy's horse and foot being come to Wellington, with orders to stay there until the rest of the body come up. I shall be diligent to know the Princes' motions and acquaint you with them speedily.  
(D107)

## 264

*Thos. Savage to Brereton*

16-4-45 Chester. I have received yours [211] and, according to your promise, enclose a letter for my cousin, Anne Gage [MS has Savage, but see 210 and 265] which I desire you to send away with all possible speed.  
(A16)

## 265

*Thos. Savage to Anne Gage<sup>1</sup>*

16-4-45 Chester. These miserable distracted times put so great a difficulty upon me that I am troubled how I may punctually observe the payment of those monies which my grandmother hath reserved for you, both because of the distance and the damage to the ways and passages. The precise place committed for payment, being Beeston Hall in this county, is (to my extreme loss and damage) burnt down for the better preservation of the garrison kept

at Beeston Castle for the King, which is now besieged by the Parl. forces. So that forces on both sides lie there. Besides which there are many other doubts and perplexities which I fear may cast some prejudice as well upon you as upon me, if we do not manage this business warily, which I desire you and my good aunt your mother to consider well. Let us join our serious advice and considerations to resolve such a course that I may be kept in safety by the payment and you by the receipt of your money, which I am most really minded to pay as you and my aunt shall appoint. To manifest to you and the world my desire not to fail in payment I have procured a drum from this city to wait upon Sir Wm. Brereton, the parliamentary general for these parts, to desire his pass for my servant to wait on you to know your and my aunt's pleasure and directions. He would not grant the pass unless the messenger took the National Covenant, yet promised to convey my letter unto you, which I do now make use of, having no other means left. Therefore I pray you that I may receive speedy advertisement from my aunt and you of the time and place where you expect payment, or whether you will have it deferred for the present because these parts are full of perils.

[P.S.] Though I am not known to my uncle Harvey I pray you present my service unto him.

(A17)

#### Note

- 1 The ramifications of the family of the Savages of Clifton and Rock-savage, Cheshire, as touched on in this item and 210, are considerable.

Thomas's elder brother John, whose title of Earl Rivers came from their maternal grandfather, Thos. Lord D'Arcy, was a royalist colonel. His regt, raised mostly in Chesh., had fought in the Edgehill campaign and subsequent operations from Oxford. Thomas, who was an alderman of Chester like many of his family before him, seems to have spent most of the war there. 'Grandmother' Rivers was Mary, wife to Thos., Lord D'Arcy. Anne Gage was the daughter of Thomas's aunt, Penelope Savage, and her second husband, Sir John Gage. Her third husband was Sir Wm. Harvey. (*G.E.C.* under D'Arcy and Rivers; *C.C.C.* under Savage and Gage.)

Beeston Hall had come to Thomas through his wife, Bridget Whitmore, whose mother, Margaret, had been the heiress of the Beeston family. Malbon (168) records the burning of the Hall on 19 March, during Rupert's relief of Beeston Castle, presumably in order to deny cover and lodging to the besiegers when they should return. (*Orm.* I, 716-7; II, 272; Malbon, 168.)

In view of Earl Rivers' strongly royalist activities during the Civil War and the fact that he, Thomas himself and their father had all married into notable recusant families, Brereton's handling of Thomas's request does not appear unduly harsh.

*Ld. Byron to Brereton*

16-4-45 Chester. I have often written to you, in pursuance of your promise,

upon the release of your chirurgeon [surgeon], Dunlop, to endeavour the liberty of Mr Price, a chaplain [the MS has 'Captain'] and prisoner at Warrington, but have not hitherto received any answer. I have since sent to the governor of Warrington touching his discharge and have an assurance that if you signify your desires thereof he will afford a cheerful compliance. This I desire to receive by this bearer, and also the settlement of the course used between garrisons in other places of the kingdom: that chaplains, surgeons, trumpets and drums should be discharged without exchange fees or ransom. If I may receive this under your hand consented unto, I shall not fail to observe the proceeding and expect the like from yourself.

(A9)

267

*Thos. Marbury to Brereton*

c.15/20-4-45. I desire you to take this letter [245] into consideration, for we are under the command of the governor of Warrington who, as this letter shows, is raising some companies out of his allotment. To send out our men without his consent will be ill-taken. I request you to write to him, who I know will give you better satisfaction.

Otherwise we should be ready to satisfy your demand. We have sent one of the constables according to your directions given to the soldiers. But I have such confidence in you in respect of kindred that you will not stay the constable, but take my word for the sending in of [MS has 'a soldier'] within two days if the governor give consent.

'your assured kinsman to command'.

(A15)

Note

- 1 Half-brother and heir to Wm. (*q.v.*). He succeeded to the Marbury estates on Wm.'s death in Nov. 1645. Apparently he had been maj. to Col. Brooke's foot regt. and had only recently resigned his commission. He may also have been in command of a troop of horse. Marbury's troop is mentioned in a letter of Mich. Jones to Brereton written on 13 May (509), a fortnight *after* the compilation of B.A.L. which does not give it. Possibly it may by this time have been transferred to another officer, but Jones reverted to the name of its old commander. (Orm. I, 636-7; Wanklyn 239 n.3.)

268

*Brereton, Hen. Brooke, Rog. Wilbraham, Tho. Stanley to Lesley*

17-4-45 Aerley [Arley Hall] This enclosed [258] came to Nantwich about 10 o'clock on Wednesday night, and as soon as it came to us we despatched this messenger (by whom we have sent the original letter itself) to you to the end you may be able to make better judgement thereof and see the necessity of

performing speedily that which you think fit to be done. We have formerly sent you [257] the letters themselves from the Com. of Warwick who gave us the first intelligence and copies of several letters from the Com. of Salop and the gov. of Stafford. All and the enclosed concur with one and the same relation. There is no question but their design lieth as strongly to break into Lancs. as to relieve Chester, on account of the absence of the commanders, dep. lts. and gentlemen and because they will find a very potent party there almost able to make good their ground against all the forces now in that county. I cannot doubt you will be sufficiently sensible of the dangerous consequences.

[P.S.] We doubt not but you are sensible of the weak condition Manchester is left in.

(D104)

#### Note

- 1 I can think of no other location for this name, which is given again at 270, this time as *Arley*. The hall is five miles west of Knutsford where Brooke, Wilbraham and Stanley had presumably been the day before at a meeting of the dep. lts. (257: no signatures are given but a footnote says 'all the dep. lts. were there'). No reason can be deduced for Brereton and the other three dep. lts. meeting there, except that none of them had homes or quarters within easy riding distance of Knutsford. The owner, Geo. Warburton, kept a remarkably low profile during the war, but his connections were royalist. His elder brother's widow, Eleanor, was a dau. of Ld. Kilmorey and had recently married Ld. Byron. (Orm. I, 574.)

#### 269

*Leven to the C. of B.K.*

17-4-45 Newcastle. I have received your letter, in obedience whereof I have yesterday ordered Lt. Gen. Lesley (as he came from Carlisle) to repair to the party under his command and be ready on all occasions to apply timely assistance to Sir Wm. Brereton, and to do everything which shall be conceived either by you or himself upon the place to conduce most to the public safety. I am likewise preparing this army to march with all diligence southwards, the better to advance the Parl's desires.

(A24)

#### 270

*Brereton and Hen. Brooke to Duckenfield*

17-4-45 Arley [Hall] The gentlemen who bear this will acquaint you of the necessity of my return though I was purposed to have been with you this day. The siege of Arcold [High Ercall] is raised and I fear lest they should attempt the like against our men before Chester. Nothing can be more conducive to preventing the same than the speeding up of your regt and the country forces

to join with them. If those had been soon with us it might have been much more to our advantage, for the enemy in Wales might have been more scattered and weakened. Now it is much desired these forces come in good time to prevent the raising of the siege.

[P.S.] If you make not haste it will be a sad business.

(D106)

## 271

*Montgomery to Brereton*

17-4-45 Halifax. I have received from Capt. Wm. Edwards two of your letters with a letter to His Excellency [Leven] and one to Ld. Fairfax [only 251 appears to be in B.L.B.] and copies of divers other letters to yourself. I will forward His Excellency's letters quickly. Upon your advertisement if you have certain intelligence, we shall be ready to break up from here for your assistance. But we have intelligence this morning that the Princes intend their march straight for Newark. Also His Excellency has caused us to send a great part of our party to Pontefract to prevent Ld. Fairfax's forces being beaten from it.

(D115)

## 272

*Com. of Salop to Brereton*

17-4-45<sup>1</sup> Shrewsbury. We made bold to open the enclosed [228]<sup>2</sup> that we may understand the condition of these parts. It appears we have been extremely abused in our intelligence, which is a great trouble of mind to us as it occasioned us to raise our siege [of High Ercall] which in all probability would have been effectual had it continued two or three days longer. It is probable the Prince intends the relief of Chester for it is known to be in great straits. Mrs Owen of the house wherein we are wrote from Chester to a friend of the great wants they were in and desired to procure liberty to live in any of her tenants' houses.<sup>3</sup> We hope you will get the Scots to advance in time, so that your business may not be again disturbed.

H. Mackworth, And. Lloyd, Sam. More, Tho. Hunt, Leigh Owen

(D108)

## Notes

- 1 The relationship between this letter and the other two written to Brereton by the Com. of Salop on the same day (274 and 275; all entered on D 108) is mystifying. It is concerned with the raising of the siege of High Ercall, they with the threat to Benthall; it does not refer to them nor they to it. None have the time of day on them but 275 does say that 274 had been despatched in the morning. Nevertheless, although 272 is copied last into the MS, we have put it earlier than 274. Whereas it

may seem peculiar that the letters about Benthall do not refer to what had previously been said about High Ercall, at least it can be argued that the Salop Com. would have no desire to raise the topic of the unnecessary abandonment of the siege again. But it is incredible that they should be concerning themselves about Benthall and asking Brereton send troops to aid it, without even mentioning the considerable enemy force which – if they had not yet received the information which caused them to write 272 – they must have thought still threatened them from High Ercall and blocked the way to Benthall.

- 2 This letter of Massey's to Brereton, dated 13-4-45, follows this item in the MS and this fits with the Com.'s apology for opening their enclosure. The letter does not seem to contain any very startling news, but presumably the postscript stating that Prince Charles and Rupert were then at Hereford was sufficient to nullify whatever was in 'the open letter of intelligence' which had caused them to write in such alarm to Brereton on 15 April (250).
- 3 If, as is quite possible, the Com. of Salop met in the Town Clerk's house, then Mrs Owen would be the wife of Thos. Owen, the mother of Lt. Col. Owen and the mother-in-law of Col. Massey (149). Ld. Byron's Warrant (Morris, 241) has a Mrs Owens living in the Eastgate Ward in Jan. 1646 with no more than two in her family.

273

*Capt. John Jones to Col. Barton*<sup>1</sup>

Thursday 17-4-45 Nantwich. Since you parted I have omitted no opportunity of writing to you but have received but one letter from you. Sir Thomas has received a letter from Mr Ashurst wherein he desires to know whether it will be more advantageous to the service to continue him [Middleton] in his employment than to appoint another. If it be, he [Ashurst] will procure an ordinance for that purpose. Sir Thomas, in his letter to him, refers the relation of the conditions of service to you, as by the enclosed letter will appear, which you are desired with all speed to deliver. Your own knowledge and my former letters will sufficiently inform you of the state of these parts. We still continue in our quarters in a loose and unsettled manner before Chester and Hawarden Castle, and by the improvidence and licentious carriage of the soldiers are in greater want than the besieged. This in a short time will enforce us with shame and dishonour to ourselves and prejudice to the country to desert the siege, without such a chance as the taking of Shrewsbury or such an excuse as to have the two Princes come against us to uphold our credit in print. We were informed that Chester was in great want of powder and match and that they had but about 60 Irish in the town besides the townsmen, which together with our own wants and discords made Sir Thomas very earnest to have the town stormed. He offered that his own men should lead, but it will not be until hunger drive us to storm it for their victuals, for the country is scarce able to afford us any. Last night a boat went with the tide to the town and thereby their want of powder and match (I believe) is supplied. It was moved time enough that the river might be guarded to prevent supplies, but then it was conceived to be either not

necessary or not feasible [MS has 'seizable']. God send us a better account of the armies in other parts or else Britannicus<sup>2</sup> will want material to adorn his sheets.

The honourable Com. [of Salop] upon a hot alarm that the Princes were come from the west and the King from Oxford to try their valour made an honourable retreat from Arcold [High Ercall] to his Majesty's good town [Shrewsbury] and faced about to receive the charge and curb the fury of the numerous enemy. After two days – after solemn expectation with them with sharp stomachs – they were this morning ready to eat their fingers (alas, poor soldiers, hunger will break through a stone wall, an engine by which we may hope to take Chester!), because neither the Princes nor his Majesty ever came near them since their return from Chesh. The spreaders of this false news are like to be punished according to the statute, the Carman<sup>3</sup> being a famous lawyer. Let us hear from you and Capt. Wm. Jones with as much speed as you can and let us know what hopes there are of prevailing for our countrymen to come and see us. Present my service to your bedfellow, Sir [? Sgt.] John Maynard<sup>4</sup> and his honourable lady, and be not unmindful of your Welsh friends amongst whom I am the most obliged to serve you.

Post. Captain Price<sup>5</sup> desires to be remembered to you and Mr Jones. All at Red Castle [Powys Castle near Welspool] are in health. The Com. [of Montgom.] at Red Castle informs Sir Thomas that Patridg[e], being employed to bring in money, received about £1,200 and has ever since absented himself – they say to run away with the money – Cornet Coe is gone to the enemy and Captain Hanna, having received £5, is taken prisoner, some say willingly.

(A48)

#### Notes

- 1 This letter, apparently one of several which caused much trouble to Brereton and his supporters, was written by someone who, although he later became well known, was still comparatively obscure at this time. Capt. Jones must have been known to Brereton, because he wrote this letter from his H.Q. and attended two of his Councils of War (197; 204), but he was apparently unknown to Ashurst (318: but see n.4). He came from remote Ardudwy in Merioneth, but had spent some time with the Middleton entourage in London which had given him some knowledge of law and commerce and made him, as this letter shows, a strong Middleton partisan. (Otherwise his fervent Puritanism might have been expected to result in sympathy for Brereton.) Later he became a colonel, a regicide, a Commonwealth commissioner in Ireland, brother-in-law to Cromwell and a member of his Council and his House of Lords. His fortitude, when brought to trial and execution after the Restoration, aroused grudging admiration.

About Col. Barton, to whom the letter is addressed, nothing has been discovered. He was presumably another of Middleton's English officers and the opening of the letter and its postscript would seem to show that, until recently, he had been on active service in Wales and the Marches. Probably Capt. Wm. Jones

- had also but we know nothing else about him. He does not seem to have been a relative of Capt. John Jones. (Dodd; *D.N.B.*; *D.W.B.*)
- 2 *Mercurius Britannicus* was a parliamentary news-sheet, edited by Marchamont Nedham, which ran from Aug., 1643 to May, 1646.
  - 3 As this whole letter is an anti-Brereton tract, it seems most probable that the phrase, 'the Carman being a famous lawyer', refers to Brereton himself although, as the abandoning of the siege of High Ercall is the last incident mentioned, a member of the Salop Com. is another possibility. *Carman*, then often used to denote a carter or carrier, might have been a private code-name for Brereton among the Middleton entourage or a nick-name for him with a wider usage in the northern Welsh marches. The latter is a possibility because, prior to 1640, Brereton was chiefly notable in the area as the builder of a Dutch-type duck decoy on Saltney marshes outside Chester. This caught wild duck, which were then slaughtered and distributed on a considerable scale to surrounding markets and even sent in regular loads to the Council for the Welsh Marches, then resident at Ludlow. The distribution would have been by carts and 'carmen'. The enterprise was violently opposed by the Flints. and Denbighs. squires, as ruining their sport and establishing a monopoly. Lengthy litigation, involving appeals to Star Chamber and the Privy Council, followed and this, with Brereton being an Inns of Court man and having had, in addition, a whole series of law suits with the city of Chester over the exemptions claimed for his town house, the Nuns, would justify the second epithet, 'a famous lawyer'. (*T.L.C.A.S.*, 63, 1952-3.)
  - 4 Sir John Maynard later became the Recruiter M.P. for Lostwithiel in Cornwall. But it is at least likely that *Sir* is a copyists's error for *Sgt.*, for the lawyer John Maynard was M.P. for Totnes and an active member of the middle group; the sort of person the Middleton interest might well have wished to maintain contacts with. (*B. & P.*; *P.P.*)
  - 5 As a *Hugh Price* signs a letter from Red Castle to Brereton on 15 May (540) it is probable that he and Capt. Price are one and the same person and the squire of Gwern-y-Go. But there was another Montgomeryshire squire of the name of Price serving the Parliament, Richard Price of Gunley. (Dodd; *Montgom. Coll.* 57, Pt. 2, 101.)

*Com. of Salop to Brereton*

17-4-45 Shrewsbury. We lately erected a small garrison at Benthall near those places whence we have all our coal and lime for this garrison, the same, being within a mile from the river [Severn], is of much concernment to us because of the convenience of carriage by water. The enemy (we hear this morning) from Lichfield, Dudley, Ludlow and other country garrisons (we hear not of any other forces near) are drawn into a body of 2,000 horse and foot by Gerard and Vaughan and are preparing their ordnance to fall on speedily. As the loss of it will deprive us utterly of our fuel, besides the loss of men and arms, and you have no enemy in the field against you, we desire you will furnish us with 500 horse and 500 foot with all speed, so that we can give the enemy battle, prevent the loss of that place and prevent their march any further to annoy

these or your parts. We conceive it to be more convenient for you to give them battle here than suffer them to march any further to the prejudice of our country or the distraction of your own designs at home.

H. Mackworth, And. Lloyd, Sam. More, Rob. Charleton, Tho. Hunt, Leigh Owen.

(D108)

*Com. of Salop to Brereton*

17-4-45 Shrewsbury. Since our letter by our own messenger this morning desiring your assistance for the relief of our garrison at Benthall, we are ascertained that the enemy has not yet set down before it but are upon their advance. We desire you therefore to furnish us according as we shall by our next inform you, but in the meantime not to prejudice your own design.

H. Mackworth, And. Lloyd, Samuel More, Tho. Hunt,

(D108)

*The Engagement of the Prisoners of Nantwich for Sir Rich. Lee<sup>1</sup>*

18-4-45 Nantwich. We whose names are subscribed do jointly and severally engage ourselves that Sir Rich. Lee, now prisoner at Eccleshall Castle, shall forthwith repair unto this garrison and render himself prisoner to the Marshall General there.

R. Leveson, Herbart Braughtan [Vaughan], Tho. ffowler, Ed. Kinaston, ffrances Sandford, Wm. Lewin, Tho. Owen, Pons[bury i.e. Pontesbury] Owen, Rich. Trevers [Trevis], Tho. Jones, Fran. Smith, Jo. Young, Rob. Sandford, Jo. Pershall [Pearshall], Tho. Betts.

(D106)

Note

- 1 All these signatories and Lee himself were captured at Shrewsbury and all but two of them appear in the prisoners' list at 10 with internal notes saying where they came from. For the two exceptions see 55 n.1 for Thos. Jones and 149 n.1 for Thos. Owen. Lee, a prominent Salop landowner of Langley and Acton Burnell, was one of the county M.P.s in the Long Parl. and showed his pro-royalist feelings well before war broke out by voting against the Attainder of Strafford in 1641. He became a Commissioner of Array. Possibly this move to Nantwich was a prelude to his being allowed to return to his estates on the grounds of ill-health, after giving his parole to the Salop Com. who became responsible for his conduct and safe keeping. (B. & P., 12; Farrow, 16, 119, 121; Wanklyn, 252 n.4.)

*Massey to Brereton*

18-4-45 12 pm Gloucester. I have received your letters of 7 and 11 April [not in B.L.B.] and understand by both your engagement at Chester. I have had much ado to preserve these parts, although much remote from me, they being fired and plundered and a new protestation put upon the poor people of Hereford. As yet I have received no assistance from any part. But now that the Princes have done their work, I have been sent 340 horse to join with some 240 of my own, but they are not yet come to me. Had it pleased God to give me any timely relief, I would given Parl. such an account as might have given you time to effect your business at Chester in all security. But now the enemy hath recruited and I plainly perceive are intended again for your parts. Therefore it will be needful for you timely to prepare for them and call the Scotch army back to your assistance. I shall at this hour write to the Parl. and to Sir Thos. Fairfax to provide for your assistance and, if I may have any reasonable strength, I shall not be slack to interrupt their march. They march with great artillery and very strong. I wish that Shrewsbury may be provided and victualled before they come and the whole country be commanded to bring provisions into their garrisons. I conceive Maurice will march towards you and Rupert will manage and recruit the other army now commanded by Colonel Goring. He is at Bath and Sir Wm. Waller in Salisbury. I see Somerset is the place of that army's recruiting as Monmouth and Herefs. have been for this. If I had that strength meet for a march, none should be more ready to serve you than I.

(A13)

*Com. of Salop to Brereton*

18-4-45 Shrewsbury. The posture the enemy is in at the present is: such forces as came from Lichfield, Dudley and Leveson are beyond Bridgnorth; Vaughan with the Ludlow foot is at Morveyld [Morville] two miles on this side Bridgnorth, between it and Benthall. In all we conceive they are not more than 1,000 horse and foot. We hear Gerard is not nearer than Radnor. Our drawing off from High Ercall was too sudden and occasioned by false intelligence. Therefore we desire you will hold close to yours and what we can hear you shall have constant intelligence of. The last we heard of Maurice was that he was gone to Oxford and not returned. Rupert's foot are between Hereford and Leominster, his horse beyond Hereford. It is given out that the forces about Bridgnorth expect Maurice but as yet we hear not of his motion this way. We have given orders to our horse and foot which will be near 1,000 to march towards the enemy to hinder them settling their garrison at Morveyld and to help to victuall and furnish our garrison of Benthall which is of great concernment to us. It is the general opinion the King's forces will

draw this way. Therefore we humbly suggest you write to the C. of B.K. to send some strength to furnish these parts and draw the Scots again this way. We have been bold to write to that purpose ourselves already.

H. Mackworth, And. ffloyde [Lloyd], Sam. More, Tho. Hunt, Rob. Charleton, Leigh Owen  
(D116)

*Brereton to the C. of B.K.*

18-4-45. These lines may give you an account of our proceedings against Chester and Hawarden, of which we have great hopes if the relief can be prevented which is without all doubt intended and expected if my intelligence this day received from Col. Massey from Gloucester and the Com. of Salop be true. Prince Charles and Prince Rupert are at Hereford and their whole army, or a great part of it, remains still in those parts. Hereford is not above 35-6 miles from Shrewsbury and that whole country is under their command. The messengers who brought me letters and this intelligence came through their quarters, which are betwixt Hereford and Shrewsbury, and they have given orders for the bridges towards Worcester to be made passable, which argues that their design lies this way of Monmouth and so to Bristol, which is not much more than 40 miles from Hereford. Worcester is about 20 miles from Hereford and full 50 from Bristol. Most of the forces that were with us are returned, the Scots to Halifax and those parts of Yorks., Col. Rosater [Rossiter] to Lincoln, Col. Bethell with his Yorks. horse to Pontefract, the Warks. horse to Coventry, the Derby regt. to Derby and most of the Staffs horse to Staffs. So if those forces, being now ready to march, fall down upon us in a very short time, we shall neither be able to maintain our siege nor prevent them from breaking into Lancs. That this still remains in their thoughts and purposes is manifest by some letters intercepted at Hale Ford upon Monday or Tuesday last and brought to Capt. Ireland, who sent them to the Lancs. dep. lts. at Armeschurch [Ormskirk], as his mother and sister informed me [305]. These letters were directed to Lathom and thereabouts, encouraging them to hold out and assuring them of speedy relief. That this was expected has been confirmed by some of good credit who have come out of the more remote northern counties. [They say] that when Rupert came into these parts Sir J. Lowther<sup>1</sup> and many more gents of quality and a great party in Westmorland assembled together to join with the Prince's forces, who upon the news of his retreat scattered and dispersed. The messenger who came through the Prince's army informs that they will be speedily upon their march and I fear the forces which you may think fit for our relief may come too late unless your speedy command be dispatched away.

I have sent to the commanders of the Scots forces about Halifax to advertise that enemy forces are drawing towards Shrewsbury, whereupon

they [Salop Com.] have raised the siege at High Arcold [Ercall]. But in so much as some of the Scots foot are disposed to Skipton and others to Pontefract, unless speedy orders come to them and the other forces you intend for our relief, I fear they may come too late. Whereby not only shall we be defeated in our hopes of Chester (which cannot hold out many months) but Lancs. and all the northern parts may be hazarded and Shrewsbury in a condition of some danger if they attempt it.

Post. If those forces which you assign to our assistance be not inclined by your orders to pursue the Prince's forces, as occasion shall require, we may be straitened and restrained as formerly from such prosecution as may be expected of us and we desire and intend.

Our quarters are so near Chester that no supply of victuals can come to them and we have a very convenient passage by great boats over the Dee about a mile from the city.

(D114)

Note

- 1 Sir John Lowther of Lowther Castle, nr. Penrith surrendered to the Parl. after Marston Moor. He had always been more of a neutralist than a royalist and his opposition to the active royalist, Sir Philip Musgrave, had been one of the reasons why the forces raised by the Commissioners of Array in Cumberland and Westmorland were never used outside the two counties. Although they fined him as a delinquent, Parl. recognised this by appointing him as a J.P. in Westmorland. (C.B. Phillips – 'The Royalist North: the Cumberland and Westmorland Gentry', *Northern History* XIV, 1978, 172–3; *Portland* I, 185–6.)

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[Com. or Dep. Lts.] at Nantwich to the C. of B.K.

18-4-45 Nantwich. We feel we must acquaint you with the state of this country now in a fair way to be reduced to a better condition than hitherto, if not prevented by the approach of an enemy. The forces of this county are now placed with much advantage before Chester which is already brought to distress. If the siege can be maintained for six weeks, the city will be reduced to obedience to King and Parl. But we pray for some increase of forces without which those that we have will be hazarded, if not the whole country ruined and Lancashire endangered. We have intelligence this day that the enemy is grown into a great body in Salop and has already raised the siege of High Arcold [Ercall]. They only wait for the access of more forces which they daily expect from Prince Charles and Prince Rupert who (according to Col. Massey's letter received today [228]) are said to be both in Herefs. and busy preparing to come into these parts. Those who were formerly assigned to assist in these countries are gone from us, the Scots to Halifax, Col. Rossiter to Lincoln or Grantham, Warks. horse to Coventry, some of the Yorks. horse and those of Derby to their own homes. So we are left alone except for Col.

Ashton's regt of Lancs. foot and two regts of Yorks. horse and, although able to maintain ourselves, yet neither able to perfect the work in hand nor resist so great an adversary if he should (as seems very probable both from the intelligence of our friends and the enemy's insults) come again.

Post. There were several letters directed from Rupert to Lathom encouraging them by [hopes of] his present coming to their relief.

He. Brooke, Geo. Spurstow, Ro. Wilbraham. Tho. Croxton  
(D112)

*Brereton to Ashurst*

18-4-45. This money which is intended will come seasonably if it come speedily, for thereby I hope we shall be enabled to give a good account of Chester and Hawarden Castle, if we be not interrupted by the accession of forces and thereby constrained to raise our sieges. Our hopes are much increased of reducing these places by the increase of their wants which I hope within a few days may swell to that height as that those enclosed in them may be made sensible and better inclined to understand themselves.

You will have heard of the raising of the siege at High Arcold [Ercall] and of the enemy's preparations and motions, whereof we are something uncertain, as also of their numbers. We are doubtful whether the Princes be there in person, but rather conceive those forces are that body collected out of their several garrisons, to which their new-raised men may be added. When we understand more certainly we shall communicate the same unto you. In the meantime we shall continue the siege against Chester, which will be sufficiently blocked up if we can obtain any increase of foot from Lancs. and the intended supplies of victuals be brought to us. What concerns the settling of the militia in these parts, my apprehension and humble advice therein, you shall receive in the enclosed [not in B.L.B.].

Post. The Derby horse are gone from us. I desire order may be given for their speedy return. We are at great want of them in Wales. I have sent this, being a duplicate, lest any former should miscarry.

(A4)

*Brereton to Lancs. Capts.*<sup>1</sup>

18-4-45. The interest I have in your county as a dep. It., in your affections as a friend and in that cause wherein we are mutually concerned, assures me, in the absence of your colonel (who before he went had given sufficient testimony of his forwardness herein) that you with those foot that you have raised will be ready to assist us in taking in Chester which we have now blocked up on all sides. By reason of want of strength, our numbers being not sufficient to perform duty and other requisites necessary for the maintenance of so great

an army (which must be provided for) more than by lying there, I am enforced to desire the assistance of our neighbours [MS has *your*] who are all concerned in the business, none more than the county of which you are a member, which can never be in safety so long as Chester remains as it now is. I have done the like to other capts. in your neighbourhood who, I doubt not, will be encouraged by your example.

Post. I understand some of your dep. lts. [MS has *our*] meet in Manchester upon Monday next, where some of the gents. of this county will be ready to attend them both to know their pleasure in this and other things.

(D111)

Note

- 1 The reference to 'your colonel', who cannot be other than Ralph Ashton of Middleton, the only one of the Lancs. colonels who was assisting Brereton at the moment, means that this particular letter was addressed, not to all the Lancs. officers, but to those under Ashton's command who were serving at Eccleston. 'I have done the like to other capts. in your neighbourhood', probably means that he had circularised those under the commands of Cols. Rich. Holland of Denton and Peter Egerton of Shaw in Flixton as well.

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*Brereton to the C. of B.K.*<sup>1</sup>

18-4-45. In the beginnings of these sad distractions it was thought necessary that every particular county should be put in a posture of defence so that the whole kingdom might not be ruined. You<sup>2</sup> were then pleased to command my service in this county, at which time I looked on this charge as a very weighty burden and could have wished it had been committed to some other better qualified and enabled for such an undertaking. In the absence whereof I durst not dispute my own unfitness but did prefer to undertake what was commanded as a matter of duty rather than desire and delight. To this time I have continued to do you service here and, although with much weakness, yet I dare affirm with much faithfulness and (by the blessing of God whose power is much manifested in our weakness) not without some success. Concerning the inhabitants of this county I can do them no less right than give this testimony (which their actions abundantly confirm): that they have been generally willing to expend their estates and engage their persons to support the advance of this cause. Which consideration, as it may challenge my utmost endeavours with them and for them, I offer as a strong motive that special care may be taken for their future preservation by settling the militia under such commanders and in such order that the deserving soldier may be encouraged, the well-affected inhabitants cherished and the service carried on until that part of the work which remains in this county and in the whole kingdom may be happily concluded. To this end I present you with my

apprehensions (herein enclosed) [not in B.L.B., but see 383 and n.], concerning the condition of the country and soldiers, and my thoughts of such a way for the ordering and commanding of the militia that distraction may be prevented and little or no obstruction remain at this time when occasion is requisite.

I could give reasons for this way of settling the forces but shall not be further troublesome, but only desire that, if objection be made or scruple remain, I may be admitted to present my further reasons at coming up.  
(A4)

## Notes

- 1 An almost identical version of this letter, but dated 30 April, appears in 383. See the note to this item for the possible reasons.
- 2 The C. of B.K., of course, did not exist 'in the beginning of these sad distractions'. It is probable that from the outset Brereton intended this letter to be heard in Parl.; hence the mistake. In the 383 version, which is addressed to the Speaker as well as to the C. of B.K., *you* has been altered to *Parliament*.

*John Glynne<sup>1</sup> to Brereton*

18-4-45 Westminster. The duty I owe to the public [service] and the natural affection I bear to my own country enforces me to present unto your consideration many grievous complaints that come from those parts of Wales that border on your counties of Salop and Chester. These are that the soldiers that come hither to assist the parl. party rob and spoil these countries without mercy or distinction, declaring that all Wales are against the Parl. and consequently are to be used as enemies and deprived of all that they are owners of, and that no rule of war or ordinance of Parl. doth contradict this. This position is made good by the woeful experience of many an innocent and seduced fool, whose eyes might by good use be easily opened, but by such inhuman dealing are hardened in their error, when they see they are prosecuted as enemies only and not sought after as persons we desire to reform. I am sufficiently confident of your nobleness and disapprobation of such courses (and those that bring up these reports do affirm they are contrary to your commands and intention) and of your readiness to inform; for which be pleased to accept my thanks and give me leave to implore your earnest care to prevent such enormities which will make us odious to all men, will much de-serve [i.e. do dis-service to] the Parl. and lose the hearts and affections of those people that are in a good way to be gained unto us. I am very ready to afford the best of my assistance to contribute anything for the good of your forces 'and have not been backward of late to show my forwardness therein.' But should my country be used as is reported I should have little encouragement to proceed. I believe you will receive some

intimations to this effect either from the Commons or the C. of B.K. which I am sure will receive a cheerful acceptance from you.

I beseech you pardon this boldness which proceeds from zeal to the Commonwealth and my confidence of your goodness to entertain it from your most humble and faithful servant.

(A19)

Notes

- 1 Of Glynllifon, Caerns.; Recorder of London and M.P. for Westminster. A most influential lawyer and prominent member of the middle group in Parl., who supported effective military action but wanted a moderate settlement. Later this led to his being one of the Eleven Members impeached by the Army (in view of this letter, one of the charges – sinister favouritism for Welsh royalists – is interesting) and going into hiding at the time of Pride’s Purge. Nevertheless, he was offered and accepted the post of Chief Justice under the Protectorate and acquired property in and around Hawarden that had belonged to the Earls of Derby. (B. & P.; *P.P.*; Dodd; *D.W.B.*)

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*Maj. [?] Hans<sup>1</sup> George to Brereton*

18-4-45 Little Betton near Salop.<sup>2</sup> I have received the enclosed letter to you from Ld. Fairfax [203]. By this he appears very sensible of our straits upon the relation, by some of our and some of Sir Wm. Constable’s officers that are returned thither, of their extreme necessities in your country, the failing there both of your promised and our expected pay and of his hopes of provision of supply. Therefore he desires his regts may be speedily sent to him which, as I perceive it must proceed by your direction which I shall observe in reference to this and his former order, I beseech you to let me receive your order herein. And also, as in the other part of Ld. Fairfax’s letter, for furnishing of those soldiers that have lost their horses in your service that they may be fitted for so long a march.

(A6)

Notes

- 1 Here the signature appears to be *Hanns*, in 531, it is *Hance*. Probably a German professional soldier.
- 2 Little Betton is the same as Betton Strange, two miles s.e. Shrewsbury and less than eight miles s.w. High Ercall. The siege of this, in which Ld. Fairfax’s Yorks. regt had supported the forces of the Salop Com., had ended a few days before. But Betton Strange was also the home of Humph. Mackworth, probably the most influential member of the Salop Com. So George, who was probably in charge of the regt while Lt. Col. Spencer was reporting to Fairfax in York, could either have been in the quarters he was occupying during the siege or conferring with Mackworth upon the next steps to be taken. (Inf. from Mr Baugh; 258; 346.)

*Rob. Blakeney to [Lt. Col. Chidley Coote]*<sup>1</sup>  
18-4-45 Belfast. Having the conveniency of so trusty a messenger, I will inform you of some part of the passages in Ireland.

In the first place the prisoners are yet in restraint in Dublin Castle, the treaty for peace is afoot at Sigginston<sup>2</sup> and like to be effectual for the wicked Irish. Duncannon<sup>3</sup> is taken and the Lord of Osmond [Esmond]<sup>4</sup> is dead – they say for grief – and his men come to Dublin. Castlehaven<sup>5</sup> and all his forces are gone to besiege Inchiquin<sup>6</sup> and Preston<sup>7</sup> is making ready for Connaught. All this while Leinster forces and Dublin lie still,<sup>8</sup> taking no notice of the danger of their poor brethren in Munster or Connaught.

Touching Connaught affairs, which I know is the chiefest part you look after, about 13 November last, when I came to conduct the ladies hither from thence, both the brothers [Rich. & Thos. Coote]<sup>9</sup>, Capt. Ormsby<sup>10</sup> and some others gathered to a head and fell upon 300 foot and two troops of horse, which lay in the town of Athleague,<sup>11</sup> and cut off about 60 of them besides what was hurt and taken, together with 30 horse and their arms and saddles, two barrels of powder, £200 in money, 60 arms and a great deal of cloth and pillage. And afterwards they burnt the town.

The next design of theirs was upon Twohaulye [Ballymacurly] [for] ‘prey’<sup>12</sup> where they took above 600 cows and horses, besides sheep, goats and much pillage, and at their return met with the enemy and killed and drowned 100 odd of them, besides what prisoners they took. And the same day took the castle of Balnemully [Strokestown]<sup>13</sup> within three miles of Elphin, where they found £300 worth of corn and meal besides arms and many other things. Their next design was upon the county of Galway where they took above 1,000 cows, killed many of the Irish and lost about five horsemen who stayed a-pillaging, whereof John Groome was one. The next design was into the county of Sligo where they took the castle of Balnefaddye [? Ballynafad]<sup>14</sup> together with much pillage besides their ‘prey’ and arms. This last I am not very certain of. However they have been always victorious, as well before my coming as since, although they be not above 1,200 foot and horse against thousands. They are now brought something low for want of powder, in so much that they are forced to send to Major [-Gen.] Monro,<sup>15</sup> who by Lady Coote’s<sup>16</sup> means sent them six barrels and 300 weight of match, which I hope by this time they have received. This summer if they have not relief I doubt it will be their bane. Therefore I pray you hasten two lines to Sir Charles Coote<sup>17</sup> to take some course for their relief. Otherwise some of their holds will be seized, except the Scotch army (who have done little yet) do relieve them. If he [? Sir Charles] come in time, as I doubt not but he will endeavour, he will find them in a very good condition, for they can make about 400 of as good horse as Ireland can afford and as gallant men, besides foot who never failed yet to stand for the cause in hand, their own safety and his honour. God of his infinite mercy grant them a happy meeting. The last news had from

hence is about a month hence, at which time they were all very well. The ladies and Mistress Coote are in good health. By the next conveyance (God willing) you shall hear from me. In the meantime I shall not cease to pray for you and their happy success in all their designs. I hope you will let me receive some lines of the coming of Sir Charles and of the news of the times that I may impart the same to your brother[s] and the rest of the friends in Connaught. [P.S.] Capt. Phillips is very well. Lt. Hugh Kelly is gone to the Irish, but Laughin Kelly, his brother,<sup>18</sup> is double-bolted in Castle Coote.<sup>19</sup> Sergeant Oliver is prisoner in Donomane [? Dunamon]<sup>20</sup>, but Castle Coote hath a dozen for him. Roscommon<sup>21</sup> stands neuter, the Lord President<sup>22</sup> worse.

Lord Mayo<sup>23</sup> hath made an escape from Kilkenny<sup>24</sup> and raised 2,000 men at his heels, killing and 'preying' the Irish in all parts, especially those that belong to Lord Taafe<sup>25</sup> and others that were his accusers. In so much that Lady Taafe<sup>26</sup> was forced to forfeit Ballymote<sup>27</sup> with all her cattle and goods and come to Killiaure [? Killare]<sup>28</sup> for safety, but could not pass without your brother and Capt. Ormsby's protection, which they cunningly granted and performed, though undeserved by her Ladyship. In Connaught they have good store of corn if need be, so that, Sir Charles [Coote] need not be fearful of their loss if he make reasonable expedition. Lady Coote is sorry she could not receive a line or two under your hand.

(A103)

#### Notes

This letter reveals vividly enough the state of Ireland in 1645. The Cessation between Ormonde, the King's Deputy, and the Irish Confederates was not observed in a number of places by local commanders who made suppression of the rebels their priority and so transferred their allegiance to the Parl. as a power on whom they could depend to make no compromise. These included Monro in Ulster, the Cootes in east Connaught, Inchiquin in Munster and Esmond nr. Waterford, an extraordinary combination in which New English planters were joined by an Irish clan chieftain and a Scots Covenanting general. The confusion was increased by the tension between the supporters of the King under Ormonde and the Confederates, who were themselves divided and full of suspicion of each other. Many of the Old English landlords (i.e. descendants of the Anglo-Norman conquerors), who still owned large areas of the far-west, tried to face both ways in an effort to keep their influence with and their positions under the royal government. Some, like Dillon of Roscommon and Dillon of Costello-Gallen, dabbled with protestantism and followed Ormonde. Others, like Taafe, remained catholic and joined the Confederation, but maintained that this was not incompatible with loyalty to the King of England. All clutched at the uneasy Cessation like drowning men. C.V. Wedgwood's *Thomas Wentworth, a Revaluation*, 1961, gives (pp. 127-30) an explanation of the position of the main groups in Ireland prior to the outbreak of the Rebellion in Ireland and the Civil War in England. Accounts of what followed in Ireland are given in Thos. Carte's *Life of Ormonde* and Rich. Cox's *Hibernia Anglicana* from the point of view of the Protestant ascendancy, and in J.T. Gilbert's *Hist. of the Confederation* and *A Contemporary Hist. of Affairs in Ireland, 1641-52* from the point of view of the catholic Irish. The latter, based on

accounts (supported by documents) from Rich. Bellings, sec. to the Supreme Council of the Confederacy, and from an anonymous follower of Owen Roe O'Neill, give the more vivid picture of the hopes, agonies and uncertainties of the times.

- 1 There is a Castle Blakeney in Co. Galway 20 miles w. of Athlone. The Blakeney's were an English protestant family who had settled there in Elizabethan times. They would have been neighbours of the Cootes who were settled in Co. Roscommon. (C. Hogan, *Description of Ireland in 1598*, 274). There is little doubt that this letter must have been addressed to Lt. Col. Chidley Coote (see 14 n.4). It is virtually a catalogue of the doings of the Coote family in Ireland. In the last line Lady Coote (Chidley's mother) is said to be distressed because she has not heard from the recipient. The presence of Chidley among Brereton's officers is the obvious reason for a letter so apparently unconnected with Brereton's affairs appearing in B.L.B.
- 2 Sigginston in Co. Meath was where the original Cessation was signed in Sept. 1643. What is mentioned here was a renewal. (J.C. Beckett, *Making of Modern Ireland*, 93.)
- 3 A fort guarding the entrance to Waterford Harbour.
- 4 Lawrence Esmond, an English settler of Johnston, Co. Wexford, was made gov. of Duncannon in 1594 and Ld. Esmond in 1622. Late in 1644, urged on by Inchiquin, he went over to the Parl. who renewed his governorship in Feb. 1645 but failed to send him adequate assistance when the fort was attacked by Preston in March. Accounts vary as to how soon after the surrender Esmond died (from one week to five or six) and whether in Limerick or Dublin. But, as Carte says (I, 528), 'he was worn out with age and grief for the loss of his government and not without some uneasy reflections on his breach of trust and disloyalty to his Prince'. It is, therefore, unlikely that he would have wished the Confederates to convey him to Dublin. (G.E.C. *Peerage*; *C.S.P.D. 1644-5*; *Ormonde Letters I.*)
- 5 Jas. Touchet, E. of Castlehaven. Of English descent but a convert to catholicism and a leading Confederate (G.E.C. *Peerage*; *K.W.*).
- 6 See 35 n.1.
- 7 Thos.; of Anglo-Norman descent, he had been a general for Spain in the Netherlands but, like Owen Roe O'Neill, he had given up his command and returned to Ireland to lead the Confederate forces (*D.N.B.*).
- 8 i.e. the royalist troops under Ormonde who were observing the Cessation.
- 9 Sir Chas. Coote the Elder (14 n.4) had four sons: Sir Chas. the Younger, Rich., Chidley and Thos. (*D.N.B.*; *C.S.P. Ireland, 1647-60*; *Addenda, 1625-60*; Gilbert, *Contemp. Hist.*).
- 10 Capt. Robt. Ormsby appears in the lists of the army in Ireland in 1641-2 as commanding 100 foot raised in Connaught. Later the anonymous author of the *Contemp. Hist.* says that he was a Connaught man in Sir Chas. Coote's army, 'an Englishman by descent but an Irishman born'. In 1652, as Maj. Ormsby, he received on behalf of Sir Chas. Coote the surrender of a great many Irish in Connaught. (*Ormonde O.S.I.*, 125; Gilbert, *Contemp. Hist* II, 39; III, 320-2, 337, 354-5.)
- 11 Co. Roscommon.
- 12 'Twohaulye Preye' is given in the text as if both words were the name of a single place, but what follows and the use of the word 'preye' or 'praye' twice more in the letter suggests that really it should read 'upon Two Haulye [for] preye'.

- 'Preye' or 'Praye' was the word normally used then for a raid upon life stock, particularly cattle, which was a constant feature of contemporary warfare in Ireland. It is used in such a sense on all three occasions here. This leaves Two Haulye for the name of the place attacked and this could be a shortened anglicisation of the Gaelic form of Ballymacurly which is Baile Mhic Thoirhealaigh. That Ballymacurly is only just off the direct route from Athleague, which the raiding party had just attacked, to Strokestown, which they were to attack next, increases the probability of this solution being correct.
- 13 Both Strokestown and Elphin are in Co. Roscommon. The Gaelic name for Strokestown is Beal na mBuilli.
  - 14 15 miles n.w. of Elphin but in Co. Sligo.
  - 15 Robt. Monro, a Scots professional soldier of considerable continental experience, whom Argyll sent with 2-3,000 men to help suppress the rebels in n.e. Ireland (*D.N.B.*).
  - 16 Probably the widow of Sir Chas. Coote the Elder who, before marriage, was Dorothea Cuffe of Cuffe, Co. Cork. (*G.E.C. Peerage* under Mountrath.)
  - 17 The Younger, Chidley's elder brother, who appears to have been visiting England at this time and who was made Ld. President of Connaught by Parl. in the next month (*D.N.B.*).
  - 18 The anonymous author of the *Contemp. Hist.* says that Col. Hugh O'Kelly had taken 'a patent of Gen. Neyll (O'Neill) to serve him' and, in the surrenders in Connaught in July, 1652, when many Irish laid down their arms and went abroad, are the names of Col. Hugh, Capt. Laughlin and a great many other O'Kellys (Gilbert, *Contemp. Hist.* I, 761; III, 335-9).
  - 19 According to Sam. Lewis - *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* (II, 525, 660) this was in Tumna parish a mile or so west of Carrick-on-Shannon, Co. Roscommon. At the time that Lewis wrote (mid-19th century) ruined walls and a tower remained, but these have now disappeared.
  - 20 Possibly Dunamon, Co. Galway, which would have been nr. the scene of these operations.
  - 21 James Dillon, 3rd Earl of Roscommon, a member of an Old English family almost equal in wealth and prestige to the Butlers. But, although most of the family were catholics, Roscommon had been converted to protestantism (it is said by Abp. Ussher himself) and had gone to Oxford. He was a supporter of Ormonde. (*G.E.C. Peerage*; Gilbert, *Contemp. Hist.*; *Hist. of the Confed.*)
  - 22 Presumably of Connaught and, therefore, another member of the Dillon family, Thos. 4th Visc. Dillon of Costello-Gallen. He became Ld. President in 1644 on the death of Ld. Ranelagh. He had declared himself a Protestant in 1640 and was a supporter of Ormonde, becoming a lt. gen in his army. But in 1646 he was reconciled to Rome and he held out against the parl. forces until 1651. (*G.E.C. Peerage*; Gilbert, *Contempt. Hist.*; *Hist. of the Confed.*).
  - 23 Miles Bourke, 2nd Visc. Mayo., another Old English lord. *G.E.C.* says he was a protestant, but Cox (p. 87) that he was one of the leading catholics of Connaught whom the government tried unavailingly to prevent from joining the rebellion by offering them offices in the province at the last moment. His second wife was an Englishwoman which may have aroused suspicions of his conduct among the Confederates. But I have failed to find any corroboration of his imprisonment and escape from Kilkenny and, therefore, do not know of what he might have been

accused. Too much partiality towards the English should not have caused enmity between him and Taafe (see below). (G.E.C. *Peerage*; Cox II; Gilbert, *Contemp. Hist.*; *Hist. of (Confed.)*).

- 24 In Leinster, H.Q. of the Confederacy.
- 25 Theobald, 2nd Visc. Taafe, a wealthy lord of Old English descent, whose family had held lands in the Pale but then acquired more in Co. Sligo, Taafe's grandather assisting in the suppression of Tyrone's rebellion in 1598. Taafe was a catholic and joined the Confederation, but was frequently absent on missions to Ormonde and the King in England, even doing some fighting for him there. He was a strong supporter of the Cessation, and brought equivocal messages of the concessions Charles would make to the catholic Irish to convince those among the Confederates who were opposed to it. He later advocated the sending of Confederate troops to England to assist Charles. His property was confiscated in 1653, but he did not leave the country and it was restored at the Restoration when he was made Ld. Carlingford. (*D.N.B.*; Gilbert, *Hist. of the Confed.*; *Contemp. Hist.*)
- 26 Mary, dau. of Sir Nich. White of Leixlip, Co. Kildare (G.E.C. *Peerage*).
- 27 Co. Sligo where Taafe had estates.
- 28 Perhaps Killare in West Meath, 15 miles e. of Athlone. The area in which, according to this item, the Cootes had some military control would just about suffice for them to convoy Lady Taafe from Ballymote to Killare.

N.B. I am greatly indebted to Mr. John McGurk for assistance in compiling the notes for this item, particularly those relating to places in Ireland.

## 287

*An Account of what Cattle are marked out for Sir Wm. Brereton his use and what rates*

	£	s	d
4 kine with calf from Cholmely [Cholmondeley] valued at 50s a cow	10	0	0
6 more valued at 33s 4d a cow	10	0	0
	<hr/>		
	20	0	0

Wm. Lin[?]ette is paid for these kine April 18 1645 By us Tho. Houlse [Hulse]  
Wm. Brereton<sup>2</sup> Arthur Edgley<sup>1</sup> Collectors

## Notes

- 1 The Hulses and the Edgleys were Nantwich families and the Edgleys are known to have a record of previous office holding. One was clerk to the Coroner in 1572 and another Chief Constable of Nantwich Hundred in 1639 (Hall).
- 2 A note added by Brereton but not in his writing.

## 288

*Montgomery to Brereton*

18-4-45 Halifax. I have received your letter of 17 April [none of 17, but one of

15 April, 251]. If the enclosed [? 269]or yourself had given me assurance of the strength of the enemy and you had certain knowledge that the Princes and Sir Marmadale [Langdale] were joined and had their course towards you, then I would have broken up and marched for your assistance. But, as we have intelligence that this body intends towards Newark, until I have assured knowledge from you of their strength I cannot move because of the fears we have for this country. However, if we get no more intelligence from Newark we shall be in Lancs. tomorrow night with the most of one party. I expect Lt. Gen. Lesley every hour from Ld. Leven with a full[y] ordained power. [Post] I have retained the two gentlemen you sent, Henry Berchenhead [Birkenhead]<sup>1</sup> and James Gustside [Gartside], until I can give them our resolution.  
(D115)

## Note

- 1 Henry Birkenhead the Younger of Backford, Wirral. The family were legal luminaries in Cheshire and Henry's father was the Prothonotary of the County Palatine of Chester, an office which his father and grandfather had held before him. Henry senior was still alive at this time but, as he was in his late fifties and died early the next year, it is unlikely that he would have been the messenger to Halifax. Henry the Younger is almost certainly the Capt. Birkenhead who appears in B.A.L. and signs 1241, as Capt. *Henry*, although Montgomery gives him no military title here. Both father and son had promoted the Cheshire Remonstrance at the beginning of the war and so were among those apprehended, when Charles visited Chester, and removed to Shrewsbury virtually as prisoners. Morrill treats the two as one person. (Orm. I, LXIV, 82-3; II, 368-9; C.W.T.C., 66, 74; Morrill.)

## 289

*Brereton to Capts. Tatam [Tatum], Clarke and the Rest:*

18-4-45 Nantwich. It was the Parliament's intention when they commanded your stay in these parts where you lie that you should constantly be in readiness to prevent the supply of Chester by water. I conceive this was no hard task for you when for so long the enemy hath had no force by sea that could annoy you, and that therefore if any supply be brought to Chester by sea it's by your neglect. I sent to you about a fortnight since to draw up your ships as far as you could into Chester water and to lie in the channel thereof to prevent any small barques passing you with provisions to Chester, for without that course taken it would be a vain thing for us to block up the passages by land, as we have carefully done for a fortnight. It seems about Wednesday last a barque of about 12 tons arrived at Chester with powder and such other provisions as they there stood in most need of. This vessel could not have possibly passed had you observed my directions and therefore I can do no less than charge it upon your neglect and as a great prejudice to us in our design. If for the future I find you not more careful and if you suffer such ships by

you, you'll constrain me for my own vindication to complain of your neglect to them in whose service you, as well as myself, are entrusted. But I hope your future diligence will therein prevent and continue me your very loving friend Wm. Brereton.

(D110)

## 290

*Order for Capt. Stockport's Account of Cattle at Holt Bridge*

18-4-45 Nantwich. It is this day ordered that Capt. Stopford [Stockport] shall give to the capts hereafter named a particular account of the cattle mentioned in the note hereunto annexed and the valuation thereof, and of the disbursements for Major Jackson's funeral, and shall pay forth [*sic*; ? a fourth] of the price of the cattle to Capt. Leadbeter [Leadbeater] and his sergeant and men for their service and care of the magazine at Houlth [Holt] Bridge, five pounds more when they did so bravely maintain the bridge, and for the seven men that adventured their lives for the taking of a parcell of the cattle near Holt Castle five marks, and the remainder of the price of the cattle to be equally divided to Capts. Baskerville [Baskerville], Cotton, Stopford [Stockport], Sadler, Leadbeater and Hancocke. Given under my hand at Nantwich the day aforesaid.

[Tho. Croxton.]<sup>2</sup>

(D107)

## Notes

- 1 See 2 and note for a curious incident at Holt Bridge, probably shortly before the events recorded here, and a discussion of its importance at this time. Malbon (162-3) mentions the attacks on the bridge by Maurice's men on 21 Feb. and for some time afterwards and the death of Maj. Jackson. For the officers mentioned see notes to 385; Capt. Stockport n.1; Capt. Sadler n.3; Maj. Jackson and the other capt. n.9.
- 2 This item is not signed, but it is dated from Nantwich and as 291, which is a note for the carrying out of the order given here, specifically mentions 'the Council and Maj. Croxton', there is little doubt that the signature should be his.

## 291

*A note of what money is disbursed out of the cattle bought at ffarnedon [Farndon] and what the cattle did cost.*

	£	s	d
Imprimis the cattle cost	61	06	08
Delivered by order from the Council and Maj. Croxton 8 beasts valued at	10	13	04
Imp. for Maj. Jackson's burial	11	03	02
	<hr/>		
	83	03	02
	<hr/>		
Remaining in my hands	39	10	01
[Marginal note] Capt. Stockport's account of cattle taken at Hoult [Holt] and sold.			
[Note appended] Mr Judson <sup>1</sup> paid 18 April to Jas. Croxton, being money received for cattle taken in Wales	50	00	00
[Both notes in Brereton's writing.] (D107)			

Note

- 1 Ralph Judson, a Collector for the Nantwich-Broxton area and one of those responsible for forwarding the Indictment of Cheshire parliamentarians to the Committee for Compounding in London. This had been drawn up by a royalist Grand Assize in Chester in Feb. 1644 and discovered after the surrender of the city in Feb. 1646. (Morrill, 102; *C.W.T.C.*, 148.)

292

*Brereton to Massey*

19-4-45. I have received your letters [228; but 277 unlikely] and would be glad to be engaged in any employment with you. But for the present those forces that were with me are dispersed and I cannot perform the service I desire until their return, which I hope will be speedy if they observe the orders of the C. of B.K. Whereby also I perceive that some of those assigned to yourself were formerly with me, whereof I doubt not but you will make the best use for the diversion of the enemy or [blank in MS] if he fall this way. He must be speedy, otherwise Chester will be much endangered.  
(D109)

293

*Brereton to Montgomery*

19-4-45. I received your letter of 18 April [288] from Halifax this morning, whereby I perceive you have received intelligence that the body of the Princes' army intend their course towards Newark and so for Yorks. and the Associated Counties, which I confess seems to me improbable. Therefore I have [been] and shall be very cautious what I shall advertise to you that may

incline the motion of your army this way. To that end I sent you divers original letters from Coms. and persons of worth that you might make your own judgement of them. My own persuasion is that, as Chester will be so much distressed and endangered if not relieved speedily, I cannot believe that the enemy will deliver it up and forfeit their interest therein, whereas they know that if they draw down towards us we must raise the siege. Which being done, they may incline towards Lancs. or towards Newark and the Associated Counties. But I am confident that if your army lay in Lancs. about Manchester two days march nearer to us, they would not only be more ready to relieve us and enable us to make good our siege if the enemy should advance upon us, but in sufficient forwardness to return back and prevent the enemy from coming near York. I doubt not to have very timely advertisement of the enemy's motions which I shall with all speed communicate to you. Post. Some of our friends who came out of Chester on Thursday saw a post who came from the Prince and assured them [the defenders] he would come speedily to their relief.

(D115)

294

*Leven to Brereton*

19-4-45 Newcastle [on Tyne] Your letters with several papers of intelligence arrived at my hands now presently. I shall lose no time to hasten my march and apply timely assistance to whatsoever place it shall be found most necessary. To this purpose I have returned Lt. Gen. Lesley to the commanded party and given orders to those at Pontefract and Scarborough Castles forthwith to march to him. There they shall have such further orders as the condition of the enemy's motions and your own affairs shall require, with ample directions to Lt. Gen. Lesley to do anything for the weal of that service which is consistent with his own preservation. The rest of this army will take the field within a few days. You will do well to continue your intelligence and observe the enemy's designs and movements.

(A10)

295

*C. of B.K. to Brereton [C.S.P.D. 1644-5, 417]*

19-4-45 Derby Ho.

[Summary. As it is important to keep the Irish rebels occupied at home, we desire you to assist Sir Fran. Hamilton<sup>1</sup> to procure volunteers for the regt he is going to complete in Ireland. Also let him take such prisoners as will be willing to take the Covenant and serve under him and whom you think can be trusted. Also permit him to take so many horses for his own use and that of

his regt as will not prejudice your own parts.]  
 Manchester; Loudoun.  
 (A55)

## Note

- 1 Of a branch of the Hamiltons of Enderwick, Scotland, who had settled in Co. Cavan, then part of Connaught. According to Sir Robt. King (337), he had 'always been bred up among the English', and he married Laetitia, dau. of Sir Chas. Coote the Elder. Baronet 1628. In 1641 he fiercely resisted the Irish rebels, burning Killeshandra 'by himself built and planted that it might not stand the enemy in stead', and conducting a long defence of his castle of *Keilagh* (Killaghar). After its surrender he was for a time an officer under Ormonde in Dublin, but he refused to accept the Cessation. In 1647 he was back in Cavan, campaigning for the recovery of his property. He died in 1671. (G.E.C. *Baronetage* II, 361; Gilbert, *Contemp. Hist.* Introd. xvii; I, 378, 480, 485, 487, 618, 718; H.M.C. *14th Report App. VII*, 142, 158.)

## 296

*Sir John Trevor to Brereton*

19-4-45. Give me leave still to importune you to press your capts for restitution of those goods lately taken, which I am willing to seek from them in a fair way. The goods being all (as I am informed) conveyed into Chesh. lie principally in your power to get restored. Mr Wood will impart to you what reason I had to seek your preservation of them. There is good reason the capts should reflect on what they have done, contrary to your protection and the privilege of Parl. If they will not deal fairly with me, you must give me leave to press against them, which divers of my friends that are of the best judgement and in trust in the House advise me to. But I hope by your favour and power that that will be prevented, and small matters I shall not press. Give Mr Wood your help, furtherance and advice to put what remains in safety, and give me leave as a friend, that truly honours you, to put you in mind that it will be exceedingly much to your honour and to the advantage of the State in reducing and retaining the country to restrain all plunder and raise means for your army in an orderly way by putting your ordinance into execution. Pardon this freedom and receive it as it is meant.  
 (A40)

## 297

*Col. Marcus Trevor to Lt. Col. Jones*

19-4-45. Denbigh. I did by a trumpet of Capt. Bulkeley's that was lately with me release upon parole three troopers of his of which I hear not of any return, although they had their capt.'s letters for their exchanges to be perfected or else they were to return.

I have seven troopers of yours, two more of Capt. Bulkeley's and four foot

soldiers of Sir Wm. Brereton's, besides your quartermaster and trumpet, which together with the three now on parole make 16, most of them troopers. You may well know there is a difference of exchange as between foot soldiers and horsemen. So if you please to release 16 of the foot soldiers taken at Gwysaney and send Capt. Dobbin's [Dolben] freedom, I will release all those I have writ to you of. Lt. Col. Coote writes of some soldiers of his which he desires out of Hawarden Castle. Being now blocked up by your party, we cannot let them out unless you send a pass for a messenger to go safely thither about it.

Your trumpet I have sent upon his parole to you that he may return with your answer. As for the custom of war in not taking trumpets prisoner, I am sure this war has not yet used it on either side, nor shall I be ambitious to begin the custom, having had my own trumpet taken and forced to take on with Capt. Bulkeley until he made his escape. But I send him to you, expecting these changes to be speedily effected as very full of equality and reason, or else his return to me with your answer.

'your kinsman' and servant'

(A5)

Note

- 1 The Trevor and Jones families had recently become linked through intermarriage after their migration to Ireland. Jones's mother was the sister, Trevor's mother the daughter of James Ussher, famous scholar and primate of all Ireland (*D.W.B.*; Dodd, 84).

298

*Lady Kath. Bedford<sup>1</sup> to Sir Sam. Luke<sup>2</sup>* [Luke 1241]

19-4-45 Woburn Abbey. [Abridged version.] Your former favours make me hope you will help me in the matter of my daughter Newport who is besieged [in High Ercall]. I wonder at her lingering there so long; she has been much misled, as I know her heart was ever inclined to the Parl. I believe she did it to keep her poor house. If you hear any news, let me have it by the bearer: whether the siege still holds, whether she be got out, whether you send that way. If you do, send her this unsealed note from me and write to Brereton to ask whether he will let her out. If she be wilful and will not remove, I have discharged a mother's part. It adds to my afflictions that I am going to lose you from Newport [Pagnell], and I believe it will be a general loss to the country.

(A31)

Note

- 1 Lady Kath. Bedford was the widow of Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford, the moderate puritan leader, whose death in 1641 while he was trying to mediate between the King and the parl. opposition under Pym helped to make more

inevitable the onset of war. Their son Wm., Earl of Bedford, after fighting vigorously in the Edgehill campaign, had resigned his commission and was, by this time, a peace party man. Their dau., Lady Diana, was married to Lord Newport (*q.v.*)(*K.P.*; *K.W.*; *Edgehill.*)

- 2 Luke was Essex's Scoutmaster and gov. of Newport Pagnell. But he was also M.P. for Bedford and so about to give up his commission under the S.D.O. (*D.N.B.*).

299

*Lady Bedford to Lady Diana Newport* [Luke 1241a]

19-4-45 Woburn Abbey. [Abridged version.] I know not how to give you comfort. All I can do is to beg Luke to ask Brereton to let you out. They did not give you good advice who told you to stay. Have a care of your little boy and come away.

[P.S.] Kate Tubby<sup>1</sup> and Mary Whiting have seen your little girl and say she is well, wondrous pretty and wants nothing.

(A32)

Note

- 1 Although Brereton's copyist has what looks more like *Tatty* (or perhaps *Tutty*), Luke's copyist (Brit. Lib. Egerton 787, f.45) definitely has *Tubby*.

300

*Stone to Brereton*

20-4-45. I have received intelligence that Maurice is still at Worcester and Rupert at Hereford and about 300 of Lichfield and Dudley forces are left with Rupert; the rest are returned. Which way they intend is uncertain. Some say they are to raise the country and meet the King for the north, others say for these parts and Chesh., which I think most probable. If they intend for these parts we should want some foot, so if you please to send to Shrewsbury for Captain Monke's and Captain Mason's coy<sup>1</sup> to march hither it would very much strengthen us.

(D116)

Note

- 1 A Staffs. coy which for some unexplained reason is included in B.A.L. (385 and n.1; P. & R.).

301

*Middleton to Brereton*

20-4-45 Dodleston. We are in action hourly at Hawarden and proceed with our works in such sort and so near the Castle that we are in good hopes in a short time to be masters of it. Now the Yorks. horse are come and quarter

about the Moald [Mold]. We have consulted together and determine to do something speedily and to that end have resolved tomorrow with all the firelocks and the Yorks. and some of your horse to advance in the discovery and pursuit of the enemy up towards Carus [Caerwys]<sup>1</sup> and the higher parts of the counties of Flint and Denbigh. From whence we shall endeavour to send what provisions we can to our army here, which is but in bad condition for want of provision of victuals and all other necessities for horse.

Therefore we desire you to hasten hither with the foot you have raised and take special order that there may be at least a fortnight's provision of all sorts of victuals and other accommodation for horse and foot, to the end we may proceed with effect upon the great work of Chester. This is now very feasible for many reasons which I shall acquaint you with at your coming [here], we being in all probability never likely to obtain the like opportunity if we omit this. I refer the premise to your serious consideration and in hope of your speedy return to us with your new raised forces and those of Col. Duckenfield.

(A7)

Note

- 1 Despite the varied spellings in B.L.B. (*Carus*, 301; *Cairus*, 343; *Cayrus*, 379; *Chairus*, 498), there is little doubt that this is Caerwys, Flints. It was of more importance then, being a borough and an assize town. (Sam. Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Wales* I, 146-8.)

302

*Sir Geo. Booth to Brereton, Brooke, Stanley and Roger Wilbraham*<sup>1</sup>  
20-4-45 Dunham [Massey] I have received your letter on behalf of Mr Bate, minister at the parish of Mauberly [Mobberley], and in satisfaction to your desire am content to name what is said against him at this time and refer him to your pleasure. I only desire you to advise him that, when he is in the pulpit preaching the word of God, he would have regard thereunto, and not clamour and envy so publicly against particular men that neither wish nor do him harm. Touching Thomas Partington<sup>2</sup> you must excuse me if I proceed with him according to his de-merit in that it appears by information upon oath that he said my son, Col. John Booth, could only staunch his drunken throat with plundering and stealing, whom I never knew subject to drinking or to deserve such report from any. To deal with the said Partington touching the raising of money formerly in Moberly [Mobberley] towards the garrison of Warrington and converting corn and other things to his own use, I shall acquaint my cousin Stanley therewith or some other of my fellow dep. Lts. and so proceed against him as appertains to justice.

'your very loving father-in-law'

(A10)

Notes

- 1 The letter was originally headed as from *Coll.* George Booth. The alteration to *Sir* adds to doubts as to whether the rest of the address is not wrong also and the letter intended for Brereton alone. For he was the only one of the dep. lts. given likely to be anxious to defend a minister of the type of Mr Bate, and in the last sentence 'cousin Stanley' and 'some other of my fellow dep. lts.' are mentioned as if they were quite separate from the people to whom the letter was addressed. Finally the subscription, 'your very loving father-in-law' (the last word was originally 'faithful'), would only apply to Brereton.
- 2 This could well be the Thos. Partington who in the days of the Interregnum was an elder, along with Wm. Barrett (*q.v.* see 189 n.2), of the Independent chapel at Duckenfield. If so, his religious standpoint would have been similar to Mr Bate's. If in addition, as is also possible, he came from the hamlet of Partington on the Booth estates a few miles north of Dunham Massey, this would have been a further cause for Sir Geo.'s annoyance at his conduct. (Earw. II, 33.)

303

*Testimony against Mr Bate, minister at Mobberley*

14-4-45. Humphrey Newton of Mobberley, gent., examined, saith that, being entrusted by Sir Geo. Booth to see an order executed that any money collected on the fast days or at other times should be disposed of to the poor of the said parish, he came the last fast day to see the same order performed by the churchwardens and overseers of the poor, but found it had not been done accordingly. The money was disposed of otherwise by Mr Bate, the minister, who took it from them (as they informed the witness) and said he would answer Sir Geo. Booth.

Robert Moss, one of the churchwardens of Mobberley, examined, said that Mr Bate took the money, as aforesaid by Mr Newton, and said that he would have it and answer to what should be objected against him.

John Ridgway of Mobberley saith that Mr Bate said that he thought the poor of Mobberley parish were not fit to receive the money collected upon fast days and others because they were not of the household of faith.

Goodman Fox of the same parish confesseth and saith that Mr Bate did say words to this effect (to his best remembrance): that whosoever they were that did procure such a warrant from a justice of peace to dispose of money collected in the same parish for the poor of that parish only, they were base fellows and drunkards and whoremasters.

[Note from Sir Geo. Booth] Sir, you may see what things I would have Mr Bate charged withall, which I could wish you to do. I may do good that he may not use the pulpit to rail and scandalise.

(A11)

304

*Col. John Booth to the Com. at Nantwich*

20-4-45 Warrington. Perhaps the staying of proceedings by some employed in

these parts for the raising of men for the present service may at first have an ill assentment [i.e. acceptance] with you, but that I may be rightly understood and that there may be no difference amongst us, I desire to satisfy you that within six days my resolution is to advance myself with 3–400 foot to such quarters as shall by you be thought most expedient. Therein I desire your directions. In case I find the country backward in affording their assistance or refractory in yielding obedience to such commands as may tend to the advantage of the country, I shall not only be very strict in bringing them to condign punishment, but shall crave your aid and best assistance. I likewise desire that the great tax for Ireland may be assessed according to the Ordinance of Parl. and that, under cover of that Ordinance, the charge be not made greater than of right it ought. I desire that you will communicate to us here what you hear concerning the enemy and wherein we may be any ways serviceable.

(A42)

## 305

*Eliz. Hunt' to Brereton 'My ever honoured cozen'*

21-4-45 Hutt. According to your desire at our last parting I here in brief relate to you the business concerning Lynichar who was taken last week in Hale. My brother, Adam Ireland, examined him but could find nothing from him and so sent him to Liverpool. Yet my son, hearing of it, had him brought back to Hale, where he was examined but would confess nothing, neither any letters nor where he had been the night before. Whereupon search was made in the field where he was first apprehended and many letters were found. Yet they expressed no matter of consequence, only that some of them came from Sir Wm. Gerard<sup>2</sup> in Chester unto some at Lathom, asking for moneys to be forwarded to them at Chester and withal commending their valour in holding out so long, with encouragement that within a month they should be relieved by the Prince [Rupert]. Yet they said they durst write no news but referred all to the bearer. These letters being discovered put the prisoner in desperate case, in so much that having but two men to guard him, he escaped from them by the way and since no news can be heard of him. He hath been a constant intelligencer and done a great deal of hurt to the country. He hath spoken many suspicious words: that the Day was ours now but within this month it would be theirs. He is a slender black-haired man in a greyish suit with a little hair on the upper lip. He has one club foot, being born so, and wears boots fast buckled with leather about his heels instead of spurs.

My son remembers his respects and will see you in Chesh. and relate the whole unto you.

'your loving cousin and servant'

(A43)

## Notes

- 1 She writes from Hutt in Hale, Lancs. (nr. the modern town of Widnes), has a brother [-in-law], Adam Ireland, and a son who has contacts with Brereton: these facts reveal that this must be Elizabeth, the widow of John Ireland of Hale who died in 1633. He had a younger brother, Adam, and a son Gilbert (*q.v.*; see 98 n.1), by this time an active parl. officer and a Lancs. Com. man. Eliz. was the dau. of Thos. Hays, a former Ld. Mayor of London, and she must by this time have married again. It seems quite possible that this would be into the Hunt family of Manchester and even that her husband might be Rowland Hunt, another Lancs. Com. man. But there is no proof of this, for although B.L.B. and other contemporary docs. show that Rowland was a person of some importance in the Lancs. war effort virtually nothing is known about the family. As to Elizabeth's kinship to Brereton it seems probable that this was not personal but through one of her marriages. (*Dugdale's Visitation of Lancs.* Chetham Soc. O.S. 85, 1872, 165; *V.C.H. Lancs.* III, 146.)
- 2 Of Bryn (between Wigan and Warrington), Lancs. Head of a very wealthy recusant family (*C.W.T.L.*; Blackwood).

## 306

*Sir Sam. Luke to Brereton*

21-4-45 [Newport Pagnell] The original of the enclosed from Lady Bedford [298] coming to my hands with the [? letter to] Lady Diana Newport [299] I could but tender it to you and as a kinsman entreat you to afford her [Lady Diana] what favour you can without prejudicing the cause. Whereby you may perhaps gain her to you, but shall be sure to lay an obligation upon the family in being ready upon all occasions to serve you and more particular obligation upon me of being yours in all serviceable respects commandable.

[P.S.] When any news is known to me you shall not fail to have it.  
(A31)

## 307

*Com. of Salop to Brereton*

21-4-45. We received a letter from you today [not in B.L.B.] touching the advance of the Scots towards D[rayton], if they be prevailed to come to your relief. In answer whereof we are bold to open our minds plainly to you. The country is so impoverished that the garrisons are ready to quit for want of pay, and there is no course for pay but out of the country, which being exhausted by quartering of all those strange forces upon us (especially the Yorks. horse) is not able to pay any contribution. So, unless the Scots forces will be engaged to clear our country, our desire is they come not near us. We will trust God to help us in this place until with our own strength we may march forth into the county. Only our earnest desire is that, if the Yorks. horse march from us (as we suppose they will, they being drawn off), you will

lend us 2–300 well-governed horse for 3–4 days to settle our garrison at Benthall that it may subsist of itself. But let them be such as will not plunder, otherwise the country will rise against them and we shall lose their affections and assistance, which is greatly hazarded by the carriage of the Yorks. horse, who have slain men, plundered houses and used all the violence that may be. Hen. Mackworth, And. ffloyde [Lloyd], Rob. Charleton  
(A12)

308

*Lt. Col. Coote to Brereton*

21-4-45 Hooton. There was of late procured from you a pass for Lady Blundell and Mr Maule<sup>1</sup> to bring their goods forth of Chester, under the cloak of which pass they have not only brought out their own goods but those of Sir Thos. Dixson [Dickson], whose daughter Sir Maurice Eustace<sup>2</sup> has married, which Dickson is a great malignant. They have also (as I am informed) brought divers other malignants' goods, for which I have made essay of them, offering them what belongs to themselves, but staying the others until I have further order from you. I know Mr Maule will be quickly with you with solicitation enough to let all these goods pass, there being at least six trunks besides other goods. I desire you to send word what course shall be taken, but in my opinion the best way is to write word that what my Lady and Mr Maule will swear is their own they may have liberty to carry away, and what they refuse to swear their own may be stopped until it be known unto whom it belongs.

I have received one or two letters from you [not in B.L.B.] but have been so sick and full of pain I have not been able to answer them.

Post. I desire that my letter may not any way be shown unto them, for as they have been old friends of my father's they will rail extremely against me when they come into Ireland.

If there be not some speedy course taken Chester will be relieved from Flint. Every day boats lie there, and one vessel, able to carry eight pieces of ordnance, had her sails hoisted yesterday and would have attempted to come out of the harbour if the wind had served. As for provisions sent unto Chester there is not any such thing. If there were Wirral could not take it nor are men nor boats to hinder it. Therefore you must take some better course to besiege Chester by sea than by a stinking boat or two that are not able to do any good.  
(A7)

## Notes

- 1 Lady Blundell was probably the wife of Sir Arthur Blundell of Co. Cavan, although there was also at this time a Sir Geo. Blundell of King's Coy & Dublin, son of a previous Sec. of State for Ireland. Both were Ormonde supporters, but kept quiet during the Civil War and made their peace with Parl. from 1646 on. Sir

Arthur is the more likely, as Co. Cavan (then in Connaught) was sufficiently close to Roscommon, where the Coote lands lay, to make probable Chidley's statement that Lady Blundell and Maule were old friends of his father's.

Sir Arthur had been M.P. for Beturbet, Co. Cavan, in the 1634 Irish Parl. and maintained a coy of foot in the royal army in Ireland. Although in 1641 he was allowed, on the grounds that he was 'a very old man and needed rest', to hand over the command of his coy to his son-in-law, Ld. Castlestuart, in August, 1646, he got permission from Parl. for both himself and Castlestuart to raise fresh coys of foot. Two months later his foot coy was listed in the army in Ireland. So, if Sir Arthur was acceptable to Parl. in 1646, it goes some way to explaining why Brereton did not want to offend Lady Blundell in 1645 (311). Maule was obviously her general factotum and the only reference outside B.L.B. that I have been able to find is dated 31-7-41, when the Master of the Wards in Ireland was ordered to grant a wardship to Thos. Maule in return for his services. (G.E.C. *Baronetage*; *C.S.P. Ireland, 1633-47, 1647-60; Addenda, 1625-60.*)

- 2 Although I have been unable to find a record of Sir Maurice Eustace's marriage or any mention of a Sir Thos. Dickson at the time, the links between Eustace and the Dickson family are so considerable that I think it most probable that Thos. is a copyist's error for Robt. Both families came from Co. Kildare. Both were linked with Thos. Wentworth's 1634 Irish Parl. Robt. was Ld. Mayor of Dublin and was knighted by the Ld. Deputy. Both were again linked with Wentworth's 1639 Parl. when Dickson's son and heir Wm. was an M.P. and Eustace was knighted and made Speaker. (The office was virtually in the gift of the Ld. Deputy and Eustace opened the Parl. with a fulsome speech in praise of Wentworth: Wedgwood, *Wentworth*, 276.) Both families lay low during the Interregnum. On the Restoration Wm. Dickson was knighted (his father had died in 1654) and Eustace became Chanc. of Ireland. A marriage between the families in the next generation is recorded: Maurice's niece to Sir Wm. Dickson's son and heir, Richard. There is quite enough in this record for Chidley Coote to regard Dickson as a 'malignant'; in addition, during the Civil War, Eustace had been a member of Ormonde's Commission for talks with the leaders of the Confederates and had signed the Cessation of 1643. (Shaw, *Knights*, II, 202, 206; G.E.C., *Baronetage* IV, 198, 222; Cox II, 133; Gilbert, *Irish Confed.* II; *C.S.P. Ireland 1633-47, 1647-60; Addenda, 1625-60.*)

*Lt. Col. Jones to Brereton*

21-4-45 Dodleston. The Yorks. horse are quartered about Mold. Capt. Brooke is not yet come up. Hasten Duckenfield. I had marched this day, if the firelocks' arms had been fixed. Smiths are in hand with them. The work goes on well at Hawarden. Sir Thomas [Middleton] would fain have Chester stormed.

Post. Col. Duckenfield's troop that went hence without order is not yet returned. Capt. Hawkbridge<sup>1</sup> desires that if Mr Maule, recommended unto you by Sir Robt. King, do repair unto you about my business, that you would delay him, for Coote is upon a great discovery, as he saith. Col. Ashton is

gone this morning into Lancs.

I desire you to write to Coote for the release of 16 of the men taken at Guisanne [Gwysaney]<sup>2</sup> House and also that you sign a discharge for Capt Dobbin [Dolben]. I desire that Trevor's letters [297] be sent unto Coote. (A7)

## Notes

- 1 Hawkbridge's involvement in this Anglo-Irish fracas over Lady Blundell's goods and the conduct of Mr Maule suggests that he, too, may be an officer from Ireland. His name is not local and he did not raise his troop of horse until the summer of 1644 when Jones and Coote began their service under Brereton (S.P. 28/152 unfol.). On the other hand his name does not appear in the lists of the regts. and officers serving in Ireland from 1641-3 which appear in Ormonde O.S. I.
- 2 Nr. Mold. The home of the royalist Col. Thos. Davies who had seen service in the continental wars. It is evident that he was not in the house when it was taken. (Tucker; Dodd.)

## 310

*Brereton to Lt. Col. Coote*

21-4-45 Tarvin. I desire 16 of those men that were taken at Gwysaney to be speedily sent to Hawarden to exchange for some of our men taken prisoner in Wales. I have received a letter from Col. Trevor to this purpose. I hear all the Wirral horse and foot are run home. I desire you to send them with all possible speed to Hoole, for I am enforced to draw some from thence to be employed in Wales. Else we shall not be able to lie where we do for want of provision, which must be supplied by sending a considerable party far into Wales to fetch in provision for us and scatter the enemy who lie at the back of us to keep provision from us.

I have sent an order for the staying of the goods [of Lady Blundell and Maule] according to your advice, which you may show for your warrant for the proceedings. I hear there are some seamen on the further side of Wirral that want [i.e. lack] and desire employment, and that one Fox, a gunner of yours, would undertake with them to board the barque you write of. If you think this work feasible, I desire they may have an order for it and all possible encouragement for so advantageous a work. If you think not, I propound to your consideration whether to lie with the best vessels that can be got at Blacon Head<sup>1</sup> where the river is narrowest might not stop all supplies to Chester. The soldiers that lie at Puddington may be assistant hereto and, if you intend to attempt the barque, you may do well to let them know of it at Hawarden that they may aid you.

(A8)

## Note

- 1 Then two miles down river; now high and dry.

311

*Order from Brereton to Coote for staying of goods*

21-4-45 Tarvin. You are hereby required to make stay of all goods whatsoever that were passing the river under pretence of being Lady Blundell's, such goods only excepted as she shall make appear by good proof upon oath to be hers. Hers you are to let pass according to my former warrant, the rest you are to take into safe custody until further order.

[P.S.] You are to take great care that none be employed in this but very honest men that will not abuse the trust which is placed with them.

Great care must be taken that no injury be afforded to Lady Blundell's goods to the violation of that paper that I granted her.

(A8)

312

*Brereton to Maj. George*

21-4-45 Tarvin. I have received a letter from Ld. Fairfax [mentioned in 253], a copy whereof I have here enclosed. I shall need to add no more but to assure you that there shall be no endeavour wanting on my part to supply you, not doubting but that the gentlemen with whom you are will contribute to accommodate you with what the country will afford for the present. I hope I shall also receive some moneys ere long from the Parl. which I am promised, but of which you shall partake of what is now wanting.

[P.S.] I have considered and thought fit to send you the original copy here enclosed.

(A7)

313

*Brereton to the C. of B.K.*

21-4-45. I apprehend it to be part of my duty to communicate what comes to my knowledge touching the enemy's motions. Prince Maurice is or was at Worcester a few days ago; Prince Rupert's forces are about Hereford and Leominster, his horse beyond Hereford. I cannot hear that Gerard's forces are any nearer than Radnor. Some of those that have come to me from Gloucester passed through the Prince's quarters and tell me that they quartered very close together and have almost devoured that plentiful country.

The forces that occasioned the raising of the siege of High Arcold [Ercall] were no more than Sir Wm. Vaughan's horse, the forces of Lichfield, Dudley, Bridgnorth, Ludlow and the petty garrisons thereabouts. One who came from Bristol upon Thursday reported that Prince Charles and Rupert were then at Bristol and that Rupert had sent 3,000 musketeers and a mortar piece to Chepstow [blank in MS but see 314] and that they were to march this way. I

cannot certainly inform myself which way the Prince's forces in Herefs. incline. I have seen some letters which came from some of them [223] of late dated from Worcester, wherein are so many untruths that I know not what credit to give to any part. But it is certain that there is an expression to this effect: 'We are not certain when the King comes now hither or [whether] our army advance across country and he meet them'. They have seized most of the horses in those counties and fitted themselves for a swift march. Most of those that come from their quarters report that their first work is to relieve Chester, clear Wales and to fall into Lancs. where they are sure to find a potent party to join with them. Whereof I confirmed by letters this week intercepted about Hale Ford [305], which were brought to Capt. Ireland and by him sent to the dep. lts. at Armeschurch [Ormskirk].

The wants of the inhabitants of Chester increase every day; we are proceeding with all possible speed in the undermining of Hawarden and have hopes thereof. But we all in these parts do confidently believe that they will never lose their whole interest at once in these north-west parts of the kingdom. These depend upon Chester which may be as easily relieved as attempted, if these armies fall down upon us and the Scottish forces come not up in time to our assistance. We are so near Chester upon all sides that the inhabitants therein are much pinched, yet they are so confident of relief from the Prince's army, that, if at this time they be disappointed in their expectations, there is not much doubt that the city will surrender before long. (A5)

314

*Brereton to Lt. Gen. Lesley*

21-4-45. Though our intelligence varies I cannot but import to you from time to time what we hear. Our latest is from Salop which informs us that Prince Charles and Rupert are at Bristol but have sent 3,000 musketeers and a mortar piece to Chepstow. This so much looks this way that it appears their design is neither for the Associated Counties nor Newark, but most likely for these parts. This opinion is strengthened by Lord Molyneux<sup>1</sup> and his horse coming as far as Bewdley. In these parts the enemy is fast gathering together and will presently be a body of 8,000 which will be too strong for us to deal with and maintain our siege of Chester without your assistance, which in all probability would prevent the one and perfect the work of the other, a concernment of such advantage to all the northern parts of the kingdom that we need say no more. (A5)

## Note

- 1 This wealthy Lancs. peer had a very distinguished career as a royalist commander but did comparatively little of his fighting in his own county. After taking part in

the siege of Manchester in Sept. 1642, he took his regt of foot south to fight at Edgehill. He reappeared in Lancs. in the spring of 1643, but left after Derby's defeat at Whalley and subsequent withdrawal to the Isle of Man. Molyneux was by that time col. of horse as well as of foot, and he later took part in the Nantwich campaign and fought at Marston Moor and Naseby. (*D.N.B.*; *C.W.T.L.*; *Dis-course*; Newman.)

315

*Brereton to Lt. Gen. Lesley*

21-4-45 [Tarvin] Although I cannot add much to letters sent away yesterday and today, yet being now at Tarvin, not far from Chester, I thought good to give you this further account. The Princes and their forces remain in the same quarters where they were, or if they do move it is westwards towards Bristol or those parts.

The condition of Chester becomes everyday more necessitous, fresh provisions being much wanting and very dear. The poorer sort are already much distressed, their provisions being spent, so that the rich must either supply them out of their store or turn them out of town, which we will not suffer. It is most probable that they will be in a mutiny and high discontent. So if your army were in these parts, their distractions and apprehensions of dangers would not only be much increased, but they would thereby be much inclined to accept conditions. So might you not only partake in the honour of doing that great work, but in as large a proportion in a suitable share of the composition made by them as any of our own officers and soldiers, who, if the city were surrendered, do expect a good composition and reward. It is confidently believed that after your appearance before them or your quartering between them and their expected relief, the city would not hold out six days. Whereunto we are induced to believe because divers well-affected to us therein give us great hopes thereof. Also, if we be not interrupted, there is great hopes of Hawarden Castle, which we are undermining, as may appear unto you by Sir Thos. Middleton's letter; a copy is enclosed [301].  
(A9)

316

*C. of B.K. to Brereton [C.S.P.D. 1644-5, 425]*

22-4-45 Derby Ho. By the enclosed [269] you will see the assistance that is coming to you, whereby you will be able to carry on your design without interruption. As there is a willingness to come into your parts and, being there, we doubt not but that they will be a very effectual help in council and in action, we desire there may be a good compliance and understanding between you and their commanders.  
Northumberland; Lauderdale  
(A24)

*C. of B.K. to Brereton* [C.S.P.D. 1644-5, 425]

22-4-45 Derby Ho. We have received information that since your late march into Wales there have been some exorbitances in the carriage of your soldiers towards these poor people, without due distinction or difference between those who have manifested their affection for the Parl. and such as are disaffected. Among other things there has been some spoil and plunder made at the house and goods of Plas Teg, to which you had formerly given protection and in which place and goods Sir John Trevor may be concerned. Therefore we desire there may be special care had in that case of full restitution and exemplary punishment of such that commit these insolencies. Otherwise the consequence can be no less than the exasperating of their spirits against you and the losing of them to the service of Parl. In all places there are some disaffected, and so it is like there are amongst them; yet all should not suffer for the fault of some. We therefore desire you to order your forces to carry themselves towards them with such moderation that they may not be further alienated nor have cause further to complain whilst your forces are there.

Northumberland; Lauderdale  
(A25)

*Ashurst to Brereton*

22-4-45. We have not heard from you since 8 April [177]<sup>1</sup>. In the meantime you have suffered much in the reports that have been scattered here. I saw a letter from one Mr John [Jones] of 14 April<sup>2</sup> which informed that you had not put spade in ground nor made any defence for yourselves or other work about Chester, but that they [your forces] did still lie in loose and open quarters. And (which was much worse) that your soldiers were backward in duty to come upon those guards that were nigh to Chester where danger was, and (which was worst of all) that they were scattered all over the country and did take away all the goods they could either carry or drive away. They had already taken above £4,000 worth of cattle and £7,000 of plate and jewels, besides other goods. He did believe that, as some Irish were landed in Wales, that might be an excuse for your troops to leave the country, as formerly they did,<sup>3</sup> now that they had robbed and spoilt it. To make up all, it was further represented that it was debated and agreed at a Council of War at Nantwich that they might take all the goods in Wales because it was enemy's country, the very divulging whereof might stir up all countries in the enemy's present possession to adventure all rather than submit to our power.

This being a principle so destructive and the former proceedings so dishonourable that, coming to my ears, I could not perform a friend's duty unless by timely notice I should give you an opportunity to vindicate myself

by being well assured that, if it was in your power, you would prevent any of these things. You know I have seldom been an informer (nor have I had cause), my poor endeavour having been to quench but by no means to kindle such effect, nor would I have troubled you at this time with it, but that I perceive it doth stick very much with some that otherwise wish you well. I am forced to name the author, fearing lest coming from Wales you might apprehend it to come from Sir Thomas Middleton, to whom I am bound to do this right to him that I have seen several letters from him that mention no such things. Therefore if Mr Jones (whom I know not) should prove to have any relation to him, I believe it to be without his privity. I desire to hear a good answer from you to this, with what speed you may, and that it may be carried with all the fairness and sweetness that is possible.<sup>4</sup>

(A43)

#### Notes

- 1 B.L.B. shows that Brereton had, in fact, written twice to Ashurst after 8 April; on 10 April (196) and on 18 April (281).
- 2 The date of the copy of the Jones' letter which Brereton eventually procured (273) is 17 April, but this is not another instance of an error by Brereton's copyists. An examination of 273 and the report which Ashurst makes in this item of what was in the Jones' letter which he had seen reveals that they are not one and the same. There is nothing in 273 of the Irish landing in Wales nor of the decision of the Nantwich Council of War. Nor is there any specific mention of the seizure of cattle, plate and jewels by Brereton's men and their value. In addition 273 makes much of the abandonment of the siege of High Ercall which Ashurst never mentions. Finally 273 makes it clear that there had been previous letters from Jones to Barton with more detailed information on the same topic: 'my former letters will sufficiently inform you of the state of these parts'.
- 3 At the end of Nov. 1643. Middleton went too, but he had such tiny forces that he could not have done otherwise once Brereton and his Lancs. allies had withdrawn. Malbon says that the Lancs. men caused the withdrawal by their insistence on returning home. But it is noteworthy that the Chesh. schoolmaster, Edward Burghall, who normally simply plagiarises Malbon's account, here differs from him, omits the mention of the Lancs. men and emphasises how completely that part of Wales which had been invaded had been subdued and how many friends to the Parl. had appeared in it (Malbon, 89).
- 4 This item and the beginning of 273 make it plain that, in the absence of any sitting M.P. for North Wales, Ashurst was promoting Middleton's interests in Westminster as well as Brereton's, and that the squabbling between the two camps was a great embarrassment to him. This and the probability that the Capt. John Jones who was a Common Councillor of the City of London and this Capt. John Jones were one and the same person make very improbable Ashurst's assertion that he did not know Jones nor whether he had any relation to Middleton. The statement was probably a polite fiction to enable Ashurst not to make any overt criticisms of Middleton to Brereton. (Val. Pearl, 'London Puritans and Scotch Fifth Columnists' 284-5, W. Kellaway and A. Hollaender eds. *London Studies presented to P.E. Jones*, 284-5.)

*Ashurst to Brereton*

22-4-45. It has pleased God to take away my father, which hath been a sad affliction unto me and an undoing to some of his younger children, he having been deprived of his real estate for near three years and his personal estate wholly plundered and taken away by the enemy. There is one of my brothers left almost wholly unprovided for, which makes me desirous by any fair way to get him some constant employment. Now I do remember that about six or seven months since you sent to me to put a stop into a place which one Mr Mainwaring had, that is dead. I take it he was customer or searcher of Chester, Liverpool and their members. These places both the Committee of the Navy and of the Revenues do bestow; therefore I did according to your desire and put a bar in both of them. But one of the Committees said that Chester and Liverpool should hereafter be granted to one person. Now, if you have not already promised to seek for it for some person, I should be glad if I might have your consent to see whether I can procure it for my brother. But if they will not grant them both to one person, then I will try whether I can get the favour of the Lancs. gents. to join with me to procure him Liverpool. For of late a course is taken in the Committee of the Navy that no one is admitted to any place but such as have a certificate from all the gentlemen that serve in Parl. for the county where the place is. If you be already engaged for it, I shall not press you. However, I pray you to return an answer by this bearer.

Post. I do the rather stir in this because I hear that some have lately been about Liverpool and I fear that one or both may be snatched away, although while Ireland is in the posture it now stands they are not much considerable.

[Brereton's note] This is answered and assented unto.

(A19)

*Byron to Brereton*

22-4-45 Chester. There was a long time since an overture made touching the release of chaplains, chirurgeons, drums and trumpets without exchange or ransom, answerable to the proceedings in other places. In pursuance thereof a surgeon of yours was discharged without fees, exchange or ransom. I have by often [i.e. frequent] addresses desired a confirmation thereof and your like compliance in discharging two chaplains prisoners at Warrington, wherein I received a promise of your endeavour and am confident you would have therein prevailed had you intimated your desires. If notwithstanding all this you resolve to decline that proposition and promise, I desire to have some prisoners of equal value released in exchange for Dunlop, your chirurgeon, discharged on account of that overture, or him returned to prison. To this delay of civil performance I must add the unwarrantable usage of the soldiers under your command to a drum of ours sent upon a parley with a pass to

Tarvin, a copy of whose examination I have herewith sent. I desire reparation and restitution of the things taken from him or an intimation that you do not longer intend civil and military quarter and proceeding. This I am the rather inclined to believe in respect of that unparalleled restraint of my brother, Sir Richard Byron, notwithstanding his pass from your general [Ld. Fairfax] and contrary to the law of arms. Therein I hoped I need not further have troubled myself after your conference with him, who I know is able to give you ample satisfaction.

There hath formerly been an exchange proposed by Prince Maurice between Maj. Fox and Maj. Goff [Gough]<sup>1</sup>, prisoner at Stafford, and some return made by you that Goff should be a Lt. Col., a fancy so far from truth that I assure you on the word of a gentleman and soldier he never had any such commission nor duty. Fox is to be kept for him, so that your acceptance of the proposal will beget his discharge, and without that his liberty will not be had, his Highness requiring that when exchanges are offered for officers of equal rank or employment no ungrounded suggestions should cause a receding therefrom.

[Post] Since the violence offered to this drum, I have endeavoured to send two other drums to Dodleston to Sir Thos. Middleton touching exchange of prisoners, and both of them met uncivil usage and were returned without being admitted or their letters delivered, actions seconding my opinion that you resolve to determine [i.e. terminate] any manner of quarter. I desire to know your determination therein.

(A22)

#### Note

- 1 Gough is given among the prisoners at the High Ho., Stafford as a Lt. Col. captured at Chester (121). Perhaps of Sir Wm. Russell's regt but he is as yet unidentified.

#### 321

##### *Information of Wm. Morte, Drummer of Capt. Morgan's<sup>1</sup>*

22-4-45 Chester. The said examinant deposeth that: upon Friday last he was by the pass or ticket of Ld. Byron sent with a letter to Sir Wm. Brereton and, as he went on the way to Tarvin, near unto Holmestreet<sup>2</sup> he met with two parliamentary troopers who asked him from whence he came. He told them he came from Chester and was going to Tarvin to Sir Wm. Brereton if he were there; if not, he must find him out if he were either in Chesh. or in Wales. Whereupon one of them asked him who he was for, to which he answered he was for God and the King. Upon which answer one of them, who did ride upon a grey nag, asked him if he would have his brains knocked out and demanded to see what letters he carried, which he refused to show unto him, but showed him his pass. He, having read it, said the examinant deserved to be hanged for his pass bore the date of the day before. Thereupon he commanded the other trooper, who did ride upon a black bay [*sic*] nag, to

take the examinant's cloak bag from him which he carried behind him, wherein were some clothes of one Mistress Littler,<sup>3</sup> who went the same day by the Lord Byron's pass towards London and did entreat the examinant to carry them to Tarvin. Thereupon they did cut the strings of the said cloak bag and took the same away, and did with all violence endeavour to have taken the examinant's horse from him, and would have done so, had the examinant not drawn his knife and with the same rescued himself and his horse from them. This was notwithstanding that he told them he was a Drum and had his drum on his back and showed them his pass as aforesaid.

(A22)

#### Notes

- 1 Probably Edward Morgan of Golden Grove, Flints. who was a capt. in Gamull's Town Guard (Morris, 14; Tucker, 94, 161).
- 2 Holmestreet is a straight mile of the Chester road that runs from the crossing of the Gowy at Stamford Bridge towards Tarvin.
- 3 Probably the wife of Rich. Littler of Mouldsworth, who paid a composition fine of £53 (Orm. I, lxiii) and was certainly in Chester with his family in Jan. 1646 (Morris, 241). There was an Ensign Littler – perhaps one of his sons – in Gamull's Town Guard. (Information from Mr John Lewis.)

#### 322

##### *Com. of Salop to Brereton*

22-4-45 Shrewsbury. The malignants of the town have more boldly expressed themselves than formerly and of late several alarms have been given us, not without some good reason to suspect a party is prepared in this town to join with the enemy if opportunity serve. Many informations have been given us of late touching the inhabitants, that hath put us upon examinations and the false intentions of some are discovered. We are but in the entrance of that business and therefore can give you no certain or true account of things. The enclosed [323] we received this day and have sent it you to prepare against what is intended, if you think there is any truth in it. It is very needful that a powerful force come speedily into these parts.

Hen. Mackworth, And. Lloyd, Sam. More, Rob. Charleton, Leigh Owen.  
(A12)

#### 323

##### *Intelligence from Ludlow*

[c. 21-4-45] I was yesterday at Ludlow and the news is for certain that the Prince [Rupert] is drawing towards this country to recruit the rendezvous men. Parson Aunsham<sup>1</sup> hath a commission to list all the men within his division and make capt's under him. There is little hopes of him and I fear as little of Mr Mauncell [Mansel]<sup>2</sup> unless you should take away Parson Oakely

[Oakley],<sup>3</sup> for he turns him and will prevail with him I fear rather to do us harm than any good. I confess he is too inconstant and will be drawn upon several persuasions. Mr Herbert<sup>4</sup> told me that all the forces that could be raised would speedily be drawn towards Chester and then they would set hard to Shrewsbury. They are pulling down the gates in Ludlow and making works on the north side of the castle. They sent warrants to the constables to bring ten pioneers out of our allotment, but we have sent but two in. How we shall speed the Lord knows.  
(A14)

Notes

- 1 Rich. Aunsham, rector of Hopesay (10 miles n.w. Ludlow) and chaplain to Sir Robt. Howard's regt of dragoons. Later in the year he was imprisoned in Shrewsbury and his living was sequestered. It was restored to him on the Restoration. (*S.A.S.T.* 4th ser. 2, 249.)
- 2 Three experts on Salop history have said that they know of no family of the name of Mansell in or about Ludlow at this time. But one of them (Mr H. Beaumont) has come up with the interesting suggestion that this might be Dr. Francis Mansell, Principal of Jesus Coll., Oxon. He left Oxford for S. Wales in 1643 in order to look after the family lands there, his eldest brother having died. He remained there for the rest of the war and is said 'to have rendered efficient help to the royalist party in Wales'. Ludlow is only ten miles from the border. (*D.N.B.*; *V.C.H. Oxon* III.)
- 3 Probably Jeremiah, a younger brother of Richard Oakeley of Oakeley nr. Bishop's Castle. Jeremiah was an Oxford M.A., rector of Myndtown and vicar of Cardington, both in the Bishop's Castle area. Unlike Parson Aunsham, he does not seem to have had his livings sequestered by the Parl., possibly because his brother Rich., after declaring for the King and assisting in raising money and arms at the beginning of the war, later took the N.O. and the N.C. and compounded for his delinquency. According to Richard's statement, he never took up arms against the Parl. and the King's party plundered his estates and carried him off prisoner to Ludlow. (*S.A.S.T.* 4th ser. 2, 193-208.)
- 4 Probably Matthew Herbert of Bromfield nr. Ludlow, a considerable landowner who sat on the fence during the war, but acted as J.P. and sheriff during the Interregnum (inf. from Dr. Wanklyn).

*Com. of Salop to Brereton.*

22-4-45 [Shrewsbury] The enclosed from Colonel Massey [277]<sup>1</sup> came to us since the writing of ours [322]. The messenger tells us that certainly the Prince [Rupert] intends for this town and Col. Massey hath it from your intelligence. Wherefore we can mind nothing but the settling of this town in a good posture, which we fear we can hardly do, the provision of this county being so exhausted that the victualling of this town will fall short. We desire you, if 200 honest, faithful foot are more to be had, to spare them for the defence of the castle here. Be pleased to procure the Scots advance and all such other forces

as can be got, and bethink of such timely relief as may preserve this town, which is in a bad condition both for provisions and fortifications. But we shall improve what little time is left us, and do rely on you as our chief friend to help us.

Hen. Mackworth, And. Lloyd, Sam. More, Rob. Charleton.

(A12)

Note

- 1 Despite the fact that the contents as well as the heading reveal this letter of Massey's to have been to Brereton and not the Salop, Com. and that it appears to have taken over three days to get from Gloucester to Shrewsbury, it is probable that 277, which is written on the next folio to this item, is the enclosed mentioned. Their knowledge of its contents, however, does not prove that the Salop Com. had opened Massey's letter. They say themselves that his messenger had told them of Rupert's intentions.

325

*Com. of Salop to Brereton*

22-4-45 3pm [Shrewsbury] Since the writing of our other letters [322, 324] we have received intelligence by an understanding friend of quality that came from Herefs. that the Princes are upon their march this way and for Chester. Their forces were advancing upon this side Lemster [Leominster] upon Wednesday and his [? Rupert's] horse came into these parts upon Saturday. He [Rupert] hath brought 16-8 pieces of ordinance from Bristol. Our humble desire is that you will consider our condition upon all occasions and send us 20-30 barrels of powder, which shall be speedily repaid you from Manchester, where we have contracted to be furnished with a greater quantity. Likewise would you order us some good quantity of salt to be sent speedily, whereof we stand in great need.

Hen. Mackworth, And. Lloyd, Rob. Charleton, Sam. More, Leigh Owen

[Note appended] This is a true copy of a letter from Shrewsbury. Thos. Croxton, Wm. Edwards. Mr [Rog.] Wilbraham and myself [Wm. Edwards] are coming to you.

(A13)

326

*Com. of Salop to Brereton*

22-4-45 [Shrewsbury] Our intelligence of the Princes' motions against this town with 12,000 horse and foot and great artillery, with more at large which we have expressed in our own letters and by Colonel Massey's letter formerly sent you this day [277; 322; 324; 325], enforceth us to repeat our desires to you to send us 40-50 horse loads of salt and 20 barrels of powder, which we desire

you to pay yourself out of the 50 barrels we have contracted to be sent by Sunderland from Manchester. Lest our former miscarry we have sent you this and desire you speedily to get what forces together you can.  
Hen. Mackworth, And. Lloyd, Rob. Charleton  
(A21)

327

*Brereton to Leven*

22-4-45 Dodleston. I have received your letter dated 19 April from Newcastle [294]. I will not fail to communicate to you and Lt. Gen. Lesley such intelligence as comes to my knowledge. I have not heard anything this day of the Princes' forces moving, but from several persons of great credit I am informed that Ld. Byron received certain intelligence last Thursday by one of his servants who came from the King and the Princes in person and their armies will march this way into Lancs. and so for Yorks., which is the most hopeful and probable design they can prosecute. I received a letter this day dated in Lancs. 21 April [305], that one Lynichar, who it seems hath been a frequent messenger employed by the enemy to convey intelligence between Chester and Lathom, was taken last week at Hale Ford. About the time he was apprehended he conveyed his letters into a ditch, wherein they were found. Some from Sir Wm. Gerard intimated that within one month Rupert would come to their relief [i.e. of Lathom], wherein he will be the rather induced by the assurance he hath to find a potent party to join with him in Lancs. Your Excellency well knows how great encouragement they will then have to advance further into Yorks. and the more northern parts.

Therefore I humbly present to your consideration whether it may not be most advantageous for the main body of your army to advance.  
[Marginal note: letter to same effect sent to Lesley.]  
(A10)

328

*Capt. Stone to Brereton*

22-4-45 10 am. I have now received the enclosed intelligence<sup>1</sup> which I submit for the truth thereof to be compared with your own, for the enemy's movements are so various – merely to delude – that we cannot certainly determine when or which way they intend to march. Some part of Dudley and Lichfield forces are returned but the greatest part of them lie still about Bridgnorth. A part of the Prince's [Maurice's] forces from Worcester marched towards Warwick on Thursday last. Warwick and Northampton horse heard of it, fell upon them, killed about 30, took 40 and 100 horse, some say more. There was slain a col., a maj. and some other considerable men.<sup>2</sup> I am to return £200 to London. If you please to write to your collector

there to pay so much to Mr Mich. Herring, merchant of Walbrook, I shall on sight of his receipt send so much to you. I have some more intelligencers abroad; when I receive any information from them it shall suddenly be despatched to you.

(A14)

Notes

- 1 It seems most probable that this enclosed intelligence has not been copied into B.L.B., although various intelligence reports of about this date have been. 323, A 14, lies immediately before this item in the MS, but it is unlikely that a report from Ludlow would have been sent to Stafford and 322 makes it much more probable that it was sent to Shrewsbury.
- 2 See *Luke*, 1244; Bridges to Luke, 21-4-45. The skirmish was at Sherbourne, two miles s.w. of Warwick. The raiders from Worcester were taking advantage of the departure of most of the Warks. horse to help Massey. But some of Luke's horse from Northants supplied their place and Maj. John Bridges, gov. of Warwick Castle, was also supported by 300 foot out of the castle.

329

*Com. at Nantwich<sup>1</sup> to Col. John Booth*

*c* 22-4-45 [Nantwich] We thank you for your respects and shall be ready on all occasions to make you suitable return. But we are sorry you should give the least impediment to either of the warrants we lately sent out, the one for raising men, the other for moneys. Without the first our design for Chester, which is of such great concernment to the whole kingdom, must needs fall to the ground. The other is so requisite that should it receive an unavoidable rub, the forces we have already must needs disband. Both of these were warranted by several Ordinances of Parl. and needed not the cover of that for Ireland, which was included more for the ease of the assessors than for the justifying of any act, however unwarrantable soever you think it.

What was done was by a full Council of War and not without mature consideration. For you to cross it, which would be a cross to the design which both the Parl. and the C. of B.K. have so much taken into their thoughts, would be to cross yourself, whose estimation we have most valued and shall ever be tender to preserve. We write thus as friends and not as from a Council of War, whose absence doth for the present disable us from giving you a further answer to this or your other propositions for raising of some more forces than hath been formerly been written for from the board [Com. of Chesh.] to the whole County of Lancs. Therein, if your forwardness doth appear beyond others, so will your merit to that county.

The chief news we have is from Gloucester and Salop, which tells us the Princes intend for Chester.

(A42)

Note

- 1 This item is without heading or signatures. But it follows immediately after 304 in the MS and is an answer to it. This is headed 'From Col. John Booth to the Com. at Nantwich'.

330

*Wm. Marbury and Thos. Pownall to Brereton*

23-4-45. Upon Sat. last the soldiers raised within this Hundred of Bucklow to go under the command of Capt. French<sup>1</sup> appearing to be in numbers far short of what they should have been and many townships in the Hundred having sent in none, there was a warrant signed by Sir Geo. Booth and Mr Marbury and delivered unto French to authorise him, with those soldiers he then had, to repair unto the several townships that had neglected to send their soldiers with their complete arms that they were charged with for the design in hand. Accordingly having gathered them together and being upon his march towards Tarvin with them yesterday, Lt. Alcocke of Warrington garrison came with a party of horse and foot from thence, took them from him and discharged them to their several homes.

[Post] We hear that Sir Geo. Booth was exceedingly displeased with Alcocke and hath written to Col. John Booth. What the issue will be we shall hear tomorrow. Some good news from you will raise our drooping spirits.

(A43)

Note

- 1 This officer does not appear in B.A.L. and (according to Harl. 2128, ff.47-50, 52) he had once been in the Warrington garrison under Col. John Booth. (See 385 n.1.)

331

*Brereton to Com. of Salop*

23-4-45 Dodleston. I have received divers letters and intimations from several of the commanders of the Staffs. forces with you complaining much of want of convenient pay and fitting accommodation and of that little encouragement and respect which is shown them, and earnestly desiring that they may have liberty to go into Staffs. or come to the army [i.e. Brereton's main force]. I have been very unwilling to give any manner of encouragement that way and have endeavoured by all possible means to suppress and reform therein.

One great grievance is that they have but 20d a week, yet their quarters are not discharged, and that is less pay than they had at home in their own country. In Chesh. we never allowed less than seven groats a week and accounted ourselves well satisfied if the soldiers were therewith contented. It is true that it would be a bad example to raise your ordinary pay because you allow not more to your own [men] who may also expect it. Therefore the

advice I shall give you (and would pursue myself) is that I would not increase the weekly pay but give something by way of gratis to those auxiliary forces with you, both officers and soldiers. Thereby you may keep an interest in their affection and service so long as you have occasion to use them, until you raise a sufficient number of men of your own. For I can assure you these men have been accustomed to better pay and will not without difficulty be satisfied with this, and I should be very unwilling to go to London and leave them unsatisfied and unsettled. Therefore, if it be possible, I will endeavour to spare a day or two to come wait on you. In the mean time I desire you to give such content to the soldiers that they depart not which, although it would be very unwarrantable and inexcusable on their parts, might produce such sad effects as it were much more wise to prevent it. Whereof I doubt not but that you are sufficiently sensible and therefore will add no more, but desire to be excused for this freedom which proceeds only from my well wishes to your prosperity and welfare and the flourishing condition of that town and Committee.

(A11)

332

*Com. of Salop to Brereton*

23-4-45 [Shrewsbury] The intelligence of so puissant an army marching this way, as we gave you notice of yesterday, caused us in our letters to desire some more foot from you. Since then there are 100 foot raised for this garrison in Warks. come to us, so that in part that want is supplied, and we shall only desire some 100 civil orderly men instead of the Staffs. foot, who are very mutinous and full of reviling language and bitter expressions against us, and their carriage such as we dare not rely on them if danger come. Therefore we are resolved to part with some of them, though we have no supply in their stead. To that end we entreat you to send an order (with a blank for the captains' names) for some of the Staffs. companies to march away, who though they be very [?] unlaly' in the garrison, may be useful in the field. We desire the order with all speed that they may part fairly from us, the rather that we want room to quarter some of our men within the town and the charge of their pay is such that we cannot undergo it.

This morning we had speech with an understanding friend who privately came out of the enemy's quarters to us and agrees with the former intelligence we sent you of the Prince's preparation for a march this way. He [Rupert] was not himself come to Hereford last Sabbath but some of his forces were removed nearer this way. This gentleman, upon observations of their proceedings and speech with some in places of eminence amongst them, concluded the Prince's design is principally for the north and, in his way, to raise the siege of Chester. He conceives the Prince will not stay before any place whatsoever, but we shall not trust to that but make what preparations to

entertain them the time will allow. We doubt not but you will give advertisement to Ld. Fairfax and the Scotch army of this much. We are exceedingly sorry that this county will give no contribution of victuals for your army. It is so drained of money and provisions that Wem hath no maintenance at all, and the horse belonging to this town, sent to be quartered in towns [i.e. townships] five miles off Shipton towards Ludlow, have with a strong hand been kept out.

Hen. Mackworth, And. Lloyd, Rob. Charleton, Tho. Hunt.  
(A17)

Note

- 1 This is the word that is written. Possibly it stands for 'unlawly' i.e. 'lawless'; possibly the copyist intended to write 'unruly'.

333

*Com. of Salop to Brereton*

23-4-45 Shrewsbury. By our former letters and the last intelligence we have received you may conceive what a force and body is preparing this way. We are endeavouring the best we can to bring in such provisions as we stand in need of, and repeat our former desires to you concerning powder and salt. Concerning the Scots, doubtless it is of absolute necessity for the preservation of all these parts that they and what more force can possibly be spared be speedily drawn towards us. For the place where they may be conveniently disposed, both with relation to our joint interests and the Associated Counties, we conceive some part of Staffs. is the most convenient and the best able to give them entertainment. We need not tell you of the weak condition of our county, especially those parts adjoining to your county. We shall humbly submit to your better judgement and let you have speedily from time to time what we further understand concerning this great business.

And. Lloyd, Tho. Hunt, Rob. Charleton, Leigh Owen  
(A21)

334

[Intelligence Report]

23-4-45 On Monday last Rupert and Maurice came to Oxford to join their forces together. These lie all on this side of Oxford as far as Weston-on-the-Green. It is reported they are come to fetch away his Majesty, that their rendezvous is this day upon Brackley Green, and that on Monday 3,000 were drawn out of Oxford who marched to Brill, quartered there that night and the next morning marched away, but whither he could not learn.<sup>1</sup>

(A19)

## Note

- 1 Although confirmed by Sir Rich. Skeffington and Sir Sam. Luke, this intelligence was false. Maurice was at Worcester and Rupert nearing Ledbury, where on Tuesday, 22 April, he surprised and defeated Massey (402; 403; Webb II, 177–82). See 356 n.1 for a fuller explanation of what had happened.

## 335

*Langdale to Brereton*

23-4-45 Hereford. Capt. Crathorne is come to me as an exchange for Capt. Jones whom I left at Winchester<sup>1</sup> as a prisoner with a promise he should have his liberty if he would procure Crawthorne's release, which it appears he hath effected accordingly. But one Capt. Blith hath been set at liberty for Crathorne and letters attested from Ld. Fairfax to yourself for that purpose [160]. Seeing Crathorn is already exchanged for Jones, I think it but a reasonable request for you to send me Capt. Clavering, now prisoner with you, for Blith.

(A51)

## Note

- 1 After Marston Moor, Langdale's horse followed Rupert to Bristol and then Bath and, in Jan. 1645, were operating from Winchester. After a skirmish in Salisbury, they captured a number of Parliamentarians in the Close, among whom was a Capt. Jones. (99; Godwin, *Civil War in Hants.* 200)

## 336

*Jane Marrow<sup>1</sup> to Brereton*

23-4-45 Chester. I cannot promise myself that I still live in your memory but, in the common condition of a distressed and afflicted widow, I am bold to become a suitor for your licence and warrant for my going and safe passage to London to move Lord Saye and Sele in some affairs, wherein he was interested in my dear husband's behalf, which are now devolved on me. Also [I am a suitor] for my safe return as there shall be occasion. Whereas you shall perform a great work of charity to a distressed widow so shall I be thereby obliged to wish your happiness as your truly devoted cousin.

(A22)

## Note

- 1 Col. John Marrow came over from Ireland in Oct. 1643, but without accompanying troops and so took over Ld. Cholmondeley's regt of horse. He galvanised it into action (even so prejudiced a parliamentarian as Edw. Burghall admitted he was 'a valiant soldier'), but in Aug. 1644 he was mortally wounded in a skirmish at Sandiway in mid-Chesh. (Malbon, 126, 134, 141; Wanklyn, 231.)

His wife Jane, to whom he had only recently been married, with daughter to

Robt. Ravenscroft of Bretton, Flints., d. 1640, sister to the turncoat, Col. Thos., and the widow of Henry Hardware of Peele and Bromborough, Chesh., who died in 1639. Sometime during the Interregnum she married Sir Thos. Powell, 2nd bart. of Birkenhead Priory and Horsley, Denbighsh., who was only a boy at the time of Marrow's death. The exact nature of her relationship to Brereton is not known but, as the first sentence of the item shows, it was not close. (*D.W.B.*; Orm. III, 333; Sheaf 3rd ser. I, 79.)

*Sir Robt. King to Brereton*

23-4-45 [London] The bearer hereof, Sir Francis Hamilton,<sup>1</sup> is appointed by the C. of B.K. to carry a regt into Connaught, which I am confident may be of great use. His desire is to raise some English in these [your] parts, for he hath always been bred up among the English; his wife was sister to Sir Charles Coote, who is designed governor of the province. I desire you will give him way to levy much men as you conceive may be spared without prejudice to the service here. I suppose if there be any soldiers that come out of Ireland or other prisoners that will take the Covenant, they may be useful to him. If you please to let Robert King and Zachary Taylor go upon the like terms, I have received good assurance from Mr Philip Taylor, whom I know to be a zealous man in this cause, that they will serve faithfully against the rebels in Ireland, and do repent them of their former error, in testimony whereof they have not used any means to the King's side to release them. Some men will be willing to serve against the rebels there that desire not to take up arms on either side here.

There is little news here stirring. Sir Thomas Fairfax's train of artillery will be ready on Saturday night and then he may take the field, for I cannot find that anything else will hinder him. He has a gallant army whatever the malignants may say of it. The western men are resolved to keep up an army on the western side besides, but who shall command it I do not yet know.<sup>2</sup> Sir Arthur Haselrig is lately gone down to Sir Wm. Waller and would have taken on some good soldiers for that service before his [Waller's] going.

I am sure you better know than I do what loss Maurice's men lately received near Warwick [328 and note]. The belief of Grenefeild's [Grenville's] death yet holds; only the manner of the relation of it differs. Now they say a gent, who was brother to a High Constable he had hanged, pistolled him as he sat at supper. It is the more probable because it comes from Oxford.

The governor of Nottingham,<sup>3</sup> after a long attendance here, is gone to his charge and with hopes of regaining the bridge, if the town be not lost before he comes there.

(A55)

Notes

1 See 295 n.1

- 2 Eventually Col. Massey, gov. of Gloucester, did.
- 3 The hanging of the High Constable is yet another variant on the story of Sir Rich. Grenvile's conduct (see 223 and n.5 to it). There was no truth in the rumour of his having been shot. His command in the s.w. continued until Jan. 1646. (*D.N.B.*; *K.W.*; Amos Miller, *Sir Rich. Grenvile of the Civil War.*)
- 4 The noted Col. John Hutchinson, later a regicide. He had had a protracted dispute with the Notts. Com. (*D.N.B.*; *Hutchinson.*)

*Ld. Fairfax to Brereton*

24-4-45 [York] I have received a letter from my Major [George] making known the sad condition of my regt, which are lately much wasted and like to grow to nothing within a very short time for want of timely supplies. Those yet remaining, who submit to all orders, conceive their duty so extreme and their maintenance so little that they must be forced to repair to their country [i.e. own county] to be supplied by their friends. I do upon like former complaints acquaint you with their condition, which it seems being nothing bettered – wanting means from those [i.e. your] countries and not being able to be supplied from this – I must call them back contrary to my desires, lest they should be utterly scattered and this army deprived of such persons as have been willing and ready to do good services. I have sent the order here enclosed desiring you would dismiss them or satisfy them to their own content.

I cannot write you anything from hence but the great distress this army is in for want of pay. The Scots, of whom I borrowed 800 men for the siege of Pontefract last week and as many two months ago for the siege of Scarborough, are now drawn back from both these places. I conceive the Scottish forces which were lately with you are again ordered by their general to return to you, and I understand that today Ld. Leven with his whole army is advancing towards the Trent and they intend to have their rendezvous at Pierce Bridge or Catterick next Saturday. Leven hath likewise withdrawn his forces from before Carlisle, to which leaguer besides the two regts I formerly had there, I am forced to send two more. This will make so great a burden and labour to this army as I shall have few to keep the sieges of Pontefract, Sandall,<sup>1</sup> and Scarborough; so, your need of them not being much, they cannot be unacceptable to us.

(A33)

## Note

- 1 Sandall Cas. nr. Wakefield.

*Ld. Fairfax's Order to Lt. Col. Spencer and Maj. George*

24-4-45 York. It is ordered that Lt. Col. Spencer and Maj. George or those

that command the Yorks. horse with Sir Wm. Brereton shall forthwith march with the same into this county before Sandall or Pontefract.  
(A33)

340

*Lesley to Brereton* [See 342, note]  
24-4-45 Leeds. Yours [315] wherein I understand that Chester could well be reduced for the use of King and Parl., if our forces could be employed that way according to your desire, has come to my hands. I sent it immediately to Ld. Leven, desiring him to consider what a great advantage to the cause it were to gain that town, to which I expect a gracious answer and shall put it into speedy execution as far as lies in my power. On hearing of the enemy's taking of Nottingham Bridge I am drawing forces towards Leeds, until I hear whether this was done only by a party or that their whole army is advancing that way. I entreat you to let me hear from time to time of their moving. Ld. Leven is to break up from Newcastle this day and march hitherwards. Then I hope he will be more willing to help you with a party or the whole army.  
(A23)

341

*Lesley to 'the Committee of Cheshire'* [See 342, note 1]  
[24-4-45 Leeds] I have acquainted Sir Wm. Brereton that I have sent all his letters and intelligence to Ld. Leven and expect his order to advance to your assistance, which is my earnest desire. Also Ld. Leven is on his march with the body of his army. Therefore I desire to hear what intelligence you have of the enemy's motions.  
[P.S.] I question not but that you will encourage all your garrison towns and castles to stand to it if the Princes come before them, for I doubt not Ld. Leven will come to their assistance.  
(A23)

342

*Montgomery to Brereton*<sup>1</sup>  
24-4-45 Leeds. Having received so many real testimonies of your favour already that I shall never be able to register them, we regret we are not able to obey your desires. But our intelligence is that the Princes intend their march towards Newark and Ld. Leven hath ordered us to stay here until he join us with the body of his army, which we expect to be this week. The news I writ formerly concerning Montrose is most true. He is fled with a few number into the hills and there are three armies [MS has *their*] who have environed them

in the valleys. So we trust in God to hear joyful news from thence before long.<sup>2</sup> More forces are being recruited to our armies.  
(A23)

## Notes

- 1 Although it precedes them in the MS, it seems likely that this letter was written after 340 and 341. All three letters were written from Leeds on 24 April and no time of day is given for any of them. But Lesley's two letters express a wish to come to Brereton's assistance and an expectation that Leven will allow him to do so. The presumption is that, after they had been written, instructions arrived from Leven that they were to stay where they were until he arrived, and that Montgomery then passed on this information to Brereton.

The only other possible explanation is that Lesley pretended ignorance of Leven's latest instructions, in order to put on record his willingness to come to Brereton's assistance without appearing to disagree with his commander-in-chief's decisions. There is no great improbability in this, as we know Lesley resented the slurs cast on his reputation as a soldier when, a month earlier and in obedience to Leven's instructions, he had refused to pursue the Princes south of Chesh.

- 2 See 262 and n.

## 343

*Brereton to Lesley*

24-4-45 St. Asaph. Presuming that my former letters (whereof I have sent at least one every day giving you a sufficient account) have come to your hands, I will not repeat what I have formerly written. Neither will I add any more except to refer to the enclosed. [277; 322; 324; 325] which are the original letters. I received three letters dated 22 April<sup>1</sup> today, when I was ready to take horse at Carus [Caerwys] to march to St. Asaph. Whereupon I have thought good to hasten my return out of Wales sooner than I intended, so as, whensoever I hear of you, I will endeavour to manage my affairs so that I can wait on you, if you come before my going to London.

[P.S.] Be pleased to send the enclosed to Ld. Leven. If it be that so great an army marches towards these parts as seems to be intended, I hope it will be thought fit that your great army at Newcastle advance this way.

(A14)

## Note

- 1 That these three letters are from the Salop Com. and that they, together with the letter from Massey of 18 April, are the enclosed is made certain, not only by the nature of their contents, but by a note mixed up with the P.S. to 343 which says, 'In this letter was enclosed all the three last letters from Salop and from Col. Massie'. A fourth letter from the Salop Com. (326) was also written by the Salop Com. on 22 April, but it is not entered in the MS until f.21, which probably means that it would not yet have reached Brereton.

344

*Letter found in the pocket of Col. Mostyn's Quarter-Master when he was taken prisoner at St. Asaph 24 April, 1645.*

[No date or place.] We desire you to conceive that our intention in our former letters was not to breed discontent betwixt you and us but rather to stir you to hasten your relief and aid to our now bleeding and distressed county, in which we conceive you are equally concerned. We have never doubted of your willing forwardness and integrity in assisting.

Therefore we beseech you harbour no ill opinion of our former expressions. The enemy still continue in and about Hawarden. Except for some of their straggling scouts they are no nearer. They carry coals, corn and all manner of plunder to Wirral. When your full number of men are in readiness, we desire to have notice from you of the time and place to meet, which we still desire may be with all possible speed. We were promised men and horse from Col. Price<sup>1</sup> but received none.

(A18)

## Note

- 1 Wm. Price of Rhiwlas, Merioneth (Norman Tucker, *Royalist Officers of North Wales, 1642-60*; Newman.)

345

*Brereton to Lesley* [Margin, Brereton's writing: 'Sent by Andrew Milner from Dodleston, 27 April'. See 355]

25-4-45. I have this day received letters from the C. of B.K. and a copy of Ld. Leven's letter to them. I enclose copies of both of them<sup>1</sup> [269, 316, 317]. By them I understand that the forces under your command are intended for the strengthening and expediting of the work before Chester, which place, as it is most considerable as regards strength and situation, yet it is so much emptied of necessary provisions that, if this opportunity be lost, we can never expect to gain it with the like ease in respect of time and blood. We are able to keep all provisions away from the city, but the circumference being so vast and the necessary guards so many, our forces are so extended that a small brigade [brigade] from the enemy might enforce us to open some of our guards so that enough relief might be conveyed into the town to encourage them to remain obstinate. We have received various intelligence of the Princes' motions, yet from them all it is judged Rupert will advance this way rather than lose this place, and as your forces are now quartered the enemy may be with us before you can apply timely assistance. Therefore I propose you advance speedily with your forces to lie near this work. I conceive [Market] Drayton, Whitchurch, Newport or Wellington and that part of Shropshire will be most convenient for your quarters. By the information I have of Ld. Leven's readiness to advance southwards, if the King send part of his army, that army

of yours [i.e. those at Halifaz] joined with us will be able to make good proposition, and if the King shall move with his whole strength into these parts, Ld. Leven may so direct his motions upon intelligence of the enemy's design, that all our forces may conveniently join under his command to give them entertainment. I desire your answer hereunto that I may be confirmed by your advice and direction, whereby I trust that in a short time Chester will be added to those honourable services that have made your name and nation honourable to all posterity.  
(A21)

## Note

- 1 'Both' is used instead of 'all', although more than two letters are mentioned, because 317, the second of the two letters from the C. of B.K. to Brereton written on 22 April, was concerned with the depredations of Brereton's troops in North Wales. He was hardly likely to forward a copy of this to Lesley.

## 346

*Lt. Col. Spencer to Brereton*

25-4-45 Congleton. Upon our agreement with the Com. of Salop I went to York to acquaint Ld. Fairfax therewith, who was well pleased with your conditions. I received order from him to continue here until we were recalled, but on my return to you I was possessed [i.e. informed] of their march into Yorks., which to prevent I rode back and decided to stay with them until we either received your pleasure or a countermand from Ld. Fairfax. Now this night, upon discontent of the soldiers, which Ld. Fairfax was acquainted with by some, the disrespect they found at Salop and the feared ruin of the regt which for want of promised pay must necessarily follow, my Lord was moved to condescent to the soldiers' request that either they may have money for the service they have done or leave to return to their county, where by reason of their friends (though pay be wanting) they may be better supported. We have lost many horses since we came into your county, so it is our humble request, according to my Lord's desire, that you will grant accommodation for this, that we may march without trouble to any part of your or any other county.

I desire you will write your mind by the bearer or tell him what the soldiers must expect.

(A34)

## 347

*Com. of Salop to Brereton*

25-4-45 [Shrewsbury] Yesterday, by a friend that came on purpose to bring us intelligence, the same that Col. Massey writ to you in his last is confirmed: viz. that 3,000 arms and 4 pieces of ordinance were sent from Bristol a week

since to a place near Chepstow; that 50 of his [Rupert's] carriages were come to Hereford; that he is expected at Ludlow, having got a very great body together, 15,000 men as is supposed; that one of the Council of War in Bristol said there was great encouragement for their march into the north and that they had many friends in Chesh., Lancs. and Yorks. and in the way intended to raise the siege of Chester; that there was a great convoy went from Worcester to Oxford and that Lt. Gen. Cromwell was designed to waylay them if he could; that Rupert and his men have used the like cruelty in the Forest of Dean that the rebels use in Ireland, burning houses, ravishing women; then tying their neck and heels together, burning their breasts and other parts of their body to cause them to discover their money; that the great ship formerly fallen off from the Parl. into Bristol is preparing and freighting for Milford Haven, as is supposed, to block it up by sea and an army by land.

We received your letter this day [331], touching the pay of the soldiers different from our own rates and agreeable to the rates of their own country, intimating complaints and discontents also from the Committee [? commanders]'. We are sorry our care and endeavours are so much undervalued, it being our study night and day (whilst they that complain take their pleasures and ease) to make provision for the soldiers' pay. This we find extremely difficult to do in regard of the many petty garrisons round about us. The coy that you mention you have ordered to march hither in place of Col. Bowyer's coy we desire may be spared, in regard we hope the going away of that one coy will not hurt us, though it be a good coy, and we shall be able, or rather necessitated as we writ in our last, to spare some more coys the charge of their pay, being such as we cannot undergo it. We sent out this day some 900 horse and foot to meet with the enemy who we heard were come within seven miles of this town and were about 8-900. We have given direction that, if the enemy will stand, to fight with them. The county hath promised to rise with us, and we intend to put them to it.

Hen. Mackworth, And. Lloyd, Tho. Hunt, Sam. More, Leigh Owen.  
(A27)

Note

- 1 Brereton's letter has 'commanders', referring specifically to those of the Staffs. forces at that time serving under the Salop Com. In view of the frequency of copyists' errors it is impossible to determine with certainty which is intended. The minutes of the Staffs. Com. contain no direct complaint to Brereton on the matter, but do record trouble with Totmanslow Hundred from which Col. Bowyer's regt. was drawn. Various townships were refusing to contribute to the weekly pay or send in men to guard Leek in the absence of the regular soldiers. (P. & R., 274-5.)

one syllable of them to any one but yourself, only for Capt. Villars [Villiers] which you did know. Nottingham received the loss of a bridge just as the horse came home, so that they did march straight to their assistance and, as soon as they return, you may then command them to your pleasure. Though let me inform you that Newark do pitifully spoil some part of our country and Tutbury and Ashby [de la Zouch] the rest. I hope you will after some little space spare our horse to save our own county. I do so, as upon your request, the Committee [of B.K.] doth command them to you, which shall be readily obeyed by your most humble servant.  
(A28)

*Ashurst to Brereton*

[c.25-4-45] The reproach concerning the scandals upon your proceedings I did write in a paper by itself because I did not know to whom you might have occasion to show it. I desire you to write letters to Mr Recorder [Glynne] and Sir John Trevor, for they have been written unto and laboured to be deeply possessed with this business. I must say for the Recorder that when Sir Ralph Ashton and I went to the Court of Aldermen to borrow the £5,000 for you, he was very forward and the first man that offered to lend the money he was to receive out of the Excise which I would have you take notice of. The Lord Mayor [Tho. Allen] hath likewise been very forward in the procuring of it and so hath the Commissioners of Excise and Alderman Pennington. I desire you to write general letters of thanks to them. For the money itself I hope I shall get the Ordinance passed tomorrow for the securing of the money to the lenders and then, the rest of it being already provided, I doubt not but that the whole will be received towards the end of the week. Of this you may be confident.

167 [the Scots] took great offence at a letter written from 155 [Brereton] unto 168 [C. of B. K.] wherein they say there was something as though the Scottish party that were in Chesh. would not fight with the enemy. Since then they privately report that 155 hath been challenged for it and denied it. I suggest that when 155 doth write to 168 he should do it with all plainness, yet likewise with all caution, for that strict eyes are upon it. Withall, if you have been challenged for any letter written to 168, so as you can take notice of it from any other hand, then in your next to 168 I would have you desire of them that you may have a true copy of the letter returned to you, for that 155 doth not believe that he hath written anything but will admit of a fair construction, seeing you are sure no evil was meant in it. But seeing it falls out so, I would fully and clearly express what was the truth of the unwillingness to march after the Prince. Otherwise by carrying with too easy and fair a hand 155 may draw a misconfirmation of his own actions. I do rather write this because I see 167 are apt to take exceptions, for so they have of late to 63 [Ashurst] which

doth render him less capable of doing service to 155. Also because 143 [Leven] hath written lately a letter to 168 wherein he says that the Scottish army shall speedily march to the south and the party that was formerly with 155 and now in Yorks. shall forthwith march to 155, I thought it fit you should have speedy notice of it.

I hear that 133<sup>1</sup> hath a petition in the hands of some of the 170 [Commons] against 155, but I know not how to believe it. I think no man will offer it. But, if they should, let not 155 take any care of it, for 157 and others now here are able to speak that which will serve the turn. 63 will adventure to say 155 shall not suffer in it. I should be glad to hear you were well entrenched against Chester and had strong forts built. All I will at present add is that I desire you to write to 170, let them know how you lie, what hopes you have of 120 [Chester] and acknowledge their care in providing XIX [money] for you.<sup>1</sup> Post. I have caused Mr Cockson to stay here till toward ten at night for this letter; therefore I hope my good friend, Mr John Swinfen, will not take it ill. But be pleased to tell him nothing is amiss in the business of 91 [Stafford] and therefore he may stay awhile longer to assist 155.  
(A35)

Note

- 1 For the evidence that 133 is likely to be Col. Geo. Booth and 157 Cockson see App. V. 133 also appears in 350 and 364.

350

*Cockson<sup>1</sup> to Brereton*

[c.25-4-45] Several large letters from your friends acquainting you with our endeavours occasion my brevity, together with my desire your messenger should be hastened unto you. I hope the two main things you desire have been carefully thought upon and are brought to a good head. The letter from 168 [C. of B.K.; perhaps 316] gives you satisfaction in the one and the letters from 63 [Ashurst] acquaint you with the proceedings concerning xix [money] which doubtless will speedily be in our hands. Now our care is how it may securely be sent to 155 [Brereton] in time. I have found the Lord Mayor [Tho. Allen] and Aldermen very forward and willing to bring this to an issue. A gratulatory letter to them is conceived necessary. I apprehend their thoughts are that, if 155 receive xix, he should stay to see the work finished concerning 120 [Chester]. I beseech you that 155 will not repair up [to Westminster] until the time limited by the ordinance [S.D.O.] be expired. If the country doth conspire together to petition 162 [Parl.] for stay of 155, peradventure use may be made therein, if it were prepared to be in readiness. But 155 is not to take notice thereof because this thwarts the last Ordinance. It may (if any such things be intended by any other in the country) be a means to stifle their proceedings, at least for the present. Besides some such petitions or remonst-

ances may declare the continuance of the country's affection for 155 and his orderly proceedings for the benefit of the Commonwealth, and prevent the signing of other Petitions against 155, if any such thing should be prosecuted by 154 [Sir Geo. Booth] or 133 [see 349 n.1] in the absence of 155.

I am persuaded providence did much direct in the happy arrival of your letter directed to Sir John Trevor [not in B.L.B.], which hath given him no little satisfaction concerning the plundering in Wales and I hope may give others satisfaction also. He hath promised to acquaint Mr Recorder and others therewith. I beseech you hasten the answers to their letters. So many letters from so many members of the House on one subject had been superfluous had not the letter from Mr John Jones, a kinsman or officer to 135 [Sir Thos. Middleton], taken a deep impression with them and other members of the House, the substance of which letters you have at large from 63. I cannot express what ignominy it hath brought upon the Chesh. soldiers and how they stand branded, not in a private assembly, but amongst the representative body of the kingdom. Doubtless there was some strange design hatching in this and others and it is not impossible but it had an intended influence against 155, whereof, if I mistake not, some of my former letters have given a hint of some such like intentions in brewing. I conceive it is not yet ended, which you may plainly see if you take the pains to morrall [i.e. make moral reflections] upon this enclosed from the said Mr Jones [273]. This is a copy of his letter; it so came to my hands as it is not fit to be taken notice of in any public manner but to yourself. Mr Waterson can in part inform you how I received it (*verbum sap sapienti*).

It is a very tickle [i.e. precarious] time. Therefore be well advised and considerate in your answers to 168, in the particulars whereof 63 has given you a hint. I hope care will be taken for a good correspondence with the auxiliaries and that convenient quarters be provided for them. I beseech you provide to have all business in readiness concerning 133 [see App. V]. 63 has given you a touch of his proceedings. In the meantime if occasion be offered, I shall make use of that I find here against him. Hasten your messenger back with answers.

(A47)

#### Note

- 1 Knowledge of the Cockson, Coxon or Cookeson family is scanty and uncertain. They were settled in the Hough, Lancs. in the 16th century when a branch crossed the Mersey as a result of a marriage into the Tatton family of Wythenshawe. Northenden parish register records the marriage of Henry Cockson in 1635 and a little later the birth of his son. In 1660 a Henry Cockson is known to have been the steward of the manor of Wythenshawe and responsible for holding its court leet. It is probable that the first Henry Cockson and the Civil War parl. sequestrator and agent were one and the same man and that the Tatton steward of 1660 was a near relative. Nevertheless, despite the close connection with the royalist Tattons, Cockson seems very early in the war to have declared his support for the Parl. and

by 1645 (as B.L.B. shows) was occupying positions of considerable trust and responsibility in Brereton's war machine. Yet 389 (see note) would seem to show that he had not entirely abandoned his allegiance to the Tatton family. (Earw. I; Morrill.)

351

*Parl. Ordinance for repayment of loan of £5,000 for Brereton's army*<sup>1</sup>

Friday, 25-4-45 [Westminster] Whereas by order of the Commons 12-4-45 (C.J. IV, 109) £5,000 was assigned to be paid to the forces under the command of Sir Wm. Brereton out of the receipts of the Excise and new imposts and after the assignments already set, and whereas the necessities of these forces are such as require speedy supply, several of the Companies of London and other well-affected persons have consented to a present advance of the said sum by way of loan. Be it therefore ordered by Parl. that the said companies and persons shall be repaid the sums which they shall advance of the said £5,000 with interest after the rate of 8% at the end of nine months after the respective loans. The Commissioners of Excise and New Imposts are hereby authorised to make payment of the same; and the receipts of John Bradshaw Esq., who is hereby appointed to receive the said sum of the said several companies and persons, together with the particular and respective receipts of the companies and persons loaning the same, shall be sufficient discharge unto the said Commissioners.  
(A57)

Note

1 C.J. for 25-4-45 (IV, 122) records that this Ordinance was carried up to the Lords and received their assent, but does not give the text. So a slightly abridged version of the B.L.B. copy has been given here.

352

*Dep. Lts. of Cheshire and Council of War at Nantwich to Glynne, Trevor and Ashurst 'in answer to Mr Glynne's letter.'* [284]

26-4-5 [Nantwich] We understand by divers letters Sir Wm. Brereton has received from London, which he has imparted to us, that you have received many loud complaints of the misdemeanours of the soldiers now in Wales. In regard these irregularities come to be taken notice of in the Parl. and City and are represented to you by some misinformer to have encouragement from a debate at a Council of War held at Nantwich, which doth much reflect upon us who do tenderly prize our reputation with you, we take leave to acquaint you with the truth, which we are confident will satisfy you.

It is true our soldiers have been in high discontent through lack of pay and other necessaries and have (as is usual in such cases) taken too much liberty to carve for themselves in Wales, and no less to commit outrages upon the

persons and estates of many in Chesh. which have equal cause of complaint. But we must absolutely deny that their exorbitances have had any encouragement from Sir Wm. Brereton or any of us. There never was any argument held at any Council of War, as we know of, that it was lawful for the soldiers to make prize of what they could take in Wales, as of men's goods or anything to that purpose. We have been as equally careful to preserve Wales as Chesh. To that end timely advertisement was given to the Parl. and the C. of B.K. of the extreme want of the soldiers and the bitter effects likely to ensue thereupon to those places where they quarter. Chesh. first tasted thereof and, as soon as they began to break out in Wales, Sir Wm. Brereton, being at Dodleston, called several Councils of War there, at which four of the most unruly that could be laid hold on were adjudged to die. Two whereof being Lancs. men (to prevent mutinying in the army) were sent to suffer in their own county. The other two (one whereof was a soldier of Sir Thos. Middleton's, the other a Chesh. trooper) were hanged, one at Dodleston, the other at Wrexham. This exemplary justice was executed on 11 April, so that had your informant intended clearly [i.e. impartially], he might have given you an account of our care for preservation of order as well as of the soldiers' violation thereof.<sup>1</sup>

For the preservation of the goods that were plundered, Sir Wm. Brereton wrote to the commanders of all the passes and to the Coms. of Hooton, Tarvin and Nantwich to make stay of them [i.e. the goods] and of such as should bring them, that they might be dealt with according to their merits. Such goods as could be found out were restored to the owners, if friends. Especial care was taken of Sir John Trevor's [goods], in so much that some jewels that were taken (which were conceived to belong to him) were carefully preserved for him until, since we understand they belong to others, they are committed to the Treasurer to be made use of for the public [service]. But whereas it is said they are of £1,000 value, no man we know of will give £100 for those that are discovered.

Thus we have made bold to give you a large account both to free ourselves from the aspersion cast upon us and to set ourselves and our actions right in your thoughts. You know the particulars of what is writ to you and, so far as they differ from this, they differ from the truth. If you please to call the informer to an account that he may be ashamed of his error, you will much encourage us to contend still with the enemy. We shall be careful to take no more of Wales than what is necessary to keep our soldiers alive during the work about Chester which we believe you will allow us with patience, when you consider that at present we block it up and that the enemy will make use of what we leave and employ the same against the Parl. However we shall commit ourselves and our actions to your favourable considerations<sup>2</sup>

[No signatures given]

(A20)

## Notes

- 1 Three Councils of War, held at Dodleston on 10–11 April and pronouncing sentences of death on plunderers and arsonists, are given in B.L.B. (197, 204.). At two of them Sir Thos. Middleton and several of his officers, including a Capt. Jones who can hardly be other than the informant, were present. All voted for the death sentence.
- 2 The last paragraph of this letter is so garbled that it must be supposed that whole phrases have been omitted. This version gives what is clearly stated.

## 353

*Brereton to the C. of B.K.*

26-4-4 Dodleston. I have received your letter concerning some exorbitances committed since our last march into Wales by the soldiers assigned to be under my command [317]. For satisfaction whereunto I first assure you there is nothing accompanying this service hath more afflicted me than to see these insolencies that are sometimes committed by the soldiers and have not power wholly to restrain them. I know that the soldier's plunder is put into a bottomless bag; the State loses it; the soldier accounts it not for pay, and those that are most undeserving are most advantaged thereby. Our reputation is extremely lost hereby with the common people, who for the most part judge our cause by the demeanour of our army. Wherein formerly I have been able to hold forth good order, so that when the enemy wholly commanded our neighbour counties and great share of this county, the people comparing their usage by the soldiers on both sides, we then gained their hearts though the enemy had their holds. Yet I must confess some unsufferable exorbitances have been committed of late in Wales. I wish I could say Chesh. had escaped, but for my own part I know no other way to maintain order in an army but either by special interest or severe discipline. For the first it cannot be expected that I should so far prevail with the forces assigned from several parts as if they were my own. And for the last I have not had power to hold the reins of discipline as otherwise had been convenient, when extreme want of all necessaries hath inflamed the soldiers' discontents to an unmasterable height. In such a case I humbly appeal to your experience how hard it is to prevent outrages.

Yet my utmost endeavours have not been wanting. I have taken occasion privately and publicly to persuade those soldiers I found most tractable and by them the rest of the unwarrantableness and ill consequences of such courses. When it would not serve I have used blows and, as the last remedy, I have laid hold of the most unruly and incorrigible and have tried them by several councils of war, which we held on the 11 and 12 April. At this time four malefactors were judged to die, two whereof were executed, the other two, being Lancs. men, to avoid mutiny were sent into Lancs. to be executed. Which example I endeavoured to improve to the terror of all by letting them

know how far they were mistaken that were of opinion that they might be freebooters in Wales because for the most part it was the enemy's country.

For such goods as I heard were taken I sent to the officers that had command of all passes over the river into Chesh. to stop them and those that carried them, and such as possibly could be seized I restored to such owners who durst come to claim them. In particular I was most careful in whatsoever could be found that had been taken from Sir John Trevor's house, as his own servants can witness. I acknowledge your favour in giving me notice of what is informed against me, which hath given me occasion to make this just vindication of myself. I humbly entreat that if any other information concerning any other miscarriages in any service be presented to you, I may have the like notice and be allowed the like liberty to maintain a right understanding of my actions. If this information hath been made to the House or any worthy members thereof chiefly concerned in Wales, I humbly desire this answer may speak in my vindication.

(A25)

354

*Leven to Brereton*

26-4-45 Newcastle. I received your letter of 22 April [327], whereby it would appear that the enemy be moving, though it be yet uncertain which way he will incline. Now this army goeth to the fields, the rendezvous being appointed at Catterick, whence you shall hear more particularly. We shall hasten our advance with all possible conveniency so far as the present condition of those counties where we now are and of our own native country can admit. I doubt not but that you will keep constant correspondence with Ld. Fairfax and Lt. Gen. Lesley and let me be timely certified of what you hear concerning the enemy's strength and motion.

(A58)

355

*Brereton to Lesley*

26-4-45 Dodleston. The former [345] herewith sent was intended you divers days since, but by reason of our remoteness in Wales, whence we could not send but by a very strong party, those to whose care the conveyance was committed have not as yet sent the same away. Now that I have received further intelligence from Salop I have thought good also to speed the same to you, hereby you may be advertised that in my last from Salop, dated 23 April [332], I was informed that upon Sunday last the Prince [Rupert] was not yet come to Hereford as was formerly intimated, but that some of their forces were inclining this way. Therefore they [Com. of Salop] desire the Scotch forces may advance nearer, because they said that the Prince's army is strong,

bringing with it 17–8 pieces of ordinance from Bristol and intend through Lancs. to the north, raising the siege [Chester] by the way [347; also from Salop]. If it prove so, I doubt not but your whole army will think fit to incline this way to give them meeting before their conjunction with their friends in Lancs., which they expect or, if you think it of most advantage that timely meeting may be given to prevent the raising of this siege, Chester and these castles of Hawarden and Beeston could not long hold out. But herein I will not take it upon me to advise further but shall prefer to be guided by your counsel. I was at such inconvenient distance I thought fit to return out of the remote parts of Wales nearer to Chester, so that I might with speed and conveniency make my despatches unto you.

(A24)

## 356

*Brereton to Middleton and Lt. Col. Jones*

26-4-45 Dodleston. Upon my coming yesternight to Dodleston, I found my own messenger newly returned from London with many letters from our friends, most of them of 23 April and all of them concurring that those alarms that have been given of the Princes near approach to these parts be vain and have no better ground than the mere conjectures of those that writ so. The Princes went to Oxford on Monday last, as we are informed by Sir Sam. Luke and Sir Rich. Skeffington, and they had joined their forces to lie on the side of Oxford as far as Weston-on-the-Green, their end being, as is thought, to fetch the King thence and rendezvous, on the very day that my letters were dated, upon Brackley Green.<sup>1</sup> This is so distant from here that there is no cause that it should anyway disturb us and our present designs. So, as I wrote you yesterday night from Hawarden upon probable (though not so certain) grounds as these, you may either go on where you are or return, as you shall find best advantage. Only pray take this caveat that beyond that which is for victual (in which I wish all waste may be prevented) you restrain the soldiers (as much as you can) from plundering the country, which may more disadvantage us in the affections of the inhabitants than benefit us by their goods.

(A16)

## Note

- 1 Actually this new intelligence (the same as given in the anonymous report of 334) was false, as Luke admitted in a letter written to his father, Sir Oliver, on the previous day (*Luke*, 548). Neither of the Princes were at Oxford; the rumour had originated in the arrival of the Earl of Northampton from Worcester with some carriages for the King's transport. Brereton's previous intelligence of an intended northward move by Prince Rupert, in conjunction with the King, was correct, although this was delayed for a fortnight because the army at Oxford lacked an

adequate baggage train. Northampton's arrival in Oxford was connected with this problem, intensified by Cromwell's raids on the area west of Oxford where he seized large numbers of draught animals from the farms (*K.W.*, 441; Woolrych, 104). Of the places given here and in the anonymous report, Weston-on-the Green is direct north of Oxford, Brackley and Brill well to the n.e. So it was understandable that Brereton should deduce from these reported moves that they posed no threat the Leaguer.

## 357

*Capt. Luke Lloyd<sup>1</sup> to Middleton*

26-4-45 Willington. This bearer, Mr John Lloyd, had taken out of his house yesterday, while he was on his occasions at Whitchuch, some £20 or thereabouts by Sir Wm. Brereton's soldiers. I desire your honour to show him what favour you can to help him to his money again. There is one Capt. Walker that keeps garrison at Ridley whose horse doth much hurt in these parts. They pretend to be cavaliers when they go abroad to take men's horses out of the plough and harrow, and revile them so that they terrify the country exceedingly. They have plundered many in Dirtwich<sup>2</sup> and Worthenbury. I desire Sir Wm. Brereton be acquainted herewith, so that a course may be taken that the country be not abused.

(A34)

## Notes

- 1 A Puritan and a minor squire of Bryn, Flints. (det.), who maintained a garrison for Middleton at neighbouring Willington, owned by Thos. Dymock (*Dodd*, 128).
- 2 *Alias* Foulwich, right on the Salop border, 3 miles n.w. Whitchurch. It had salt workings which were twice despoiled by troops from Nantwich during the time that the royalists controlled the area (*Malbon*, 72, 128).

## 358

*Sir Rich. Lloyd to Ld. Byron* [Intercepted about Eccleston]

26-4-45 Holt. Your Lordship's directions touching [*Edw.*, 373] Taylor and the proposition between Jones and Mr Alcocke shall be punctually pursued. But I will engage Jones to work the proposition by his friends who are very solicitous for his exchange. If that pass not, there is one Allison, a sequestrator, will effect it. I have no more than I writ last night of any kind of advertisement, except that they of Wem think the King's army to be upon the march.

[Post] If the King's army come not so near Chester as to clear Hooton and Tarvin, Chester will have an uneasy being.

(A31)

## 359

*Sir Rich. Lloyd to Ld. Byron* [Intercepted about Eccleston]

26-4-45 [Holt] Since writing the enclosed [358] one that was this day seven-night in London, a person of good credit, arrived here. He assures me of the subsequent particulars.

Yesterday seven-night Fairfax was at Windsor, where he forms his army. He hath there 6,000 foot and about 1,200 horse.

Not only Essex, but Manchester, Denbigh, Stamford and Robarts<sup>1</sup> have all laid down their commissions upon an ordinance of Parl. that no member of the Houses should bear command in any army or be sequestrate of any office or place (which provision their masters, the Common Council of London, have put upon them).

Upon that motion Brereton, Middleton, Sir John Price, in Lancs. Ashton and Rigby, are to lay down arms and within 40 days repair to London. Warwick is to come from sea upon the same score and one Batten supply his place. Waller and Cromwell are to come from the west. Mytton is to supply Middleton's room in the command here in Wales.

At London it is confessed Argyle was defeated but they say Sir John Hurry hath since defeated Montrose.<sup>2</sup>

It's confessed there that Waller had a small defeat in the west.<sup>3</sup> They conceive the King's forces in the west to be master of the field since that defeat.

A difference between the Scots in Newcastle and the Houses touching a unsupportable tax laid by the Scots on coals.<sup>4</sup>

Many differences hourly in London amongst the several sectaries occasioned by putting in execution the Ordinance for the New Directory for God's worship. And multitude of anabaptists discovering themselves.<sup>5</sup>

Pennington and Venn to leave Windsor Castle and the Tower because members of the House.<sup>6</sup>

Prince Griffith like to be hanged upon articles against him in Parl. for several abominable crimes.<sup>7</sup>

This gentleman had business in Newark and assures me that Newark forces did this day seven-night take a sconce at Nottingham Bridge, which commands the passage there. Thereupon Gell and Rossiter have called all their forces that way and sent Brereton word they can send him no relief.

There was a late insurrection in Kent,<sup>8</sup> which the Parliament presently dashed and took occasion to raise £2,000 upon the offenders and raised [recruited] many men there.

Divers of Essex's and Manchester's officers refuse to serve Fairfax. Many of Essex's horse as yet freebooters about London.

This is all the account I can send you from the man's relation, whose understanding and integrity I do for my part confide in.

It was Balfour's regiment that came in to the King,<sup>9</sup> about which both he and Manchester are suspected.

(A30)

## Notes

- 1 These four peers had ceased to operate in the field, although Manchester, c.-in-c. of the Eastern Association, had done so as late as the Newbury campaign in the autumn of 1644. He was the only one of them who had ever been an effective commander.
- 2 Montrose's shattering defeat of Argyll at Inverlochy had occurred as long ago as 2 Feb., although it took many weeks for the news to filter south and be confirmed. There does seem, however, to have been a belief in parl. quarters that Argyll had suffered a further reverse and been saved from complete rout by Hurry (*Luke*, 465; Essex to Luke, 10-3-45). We know from Montgomery's letter to Brereton of 24 April (342) that the Scots in England were playing up Montrose's retreat from Dundee as a victory. But very shortly – on 9 May – Montrose was to round on Hurry and defeat him at Auldearn.
- 3 Early in April Goring twice attacked Waller's quarters in and around Shaftesbury and forced him to retire to Salisbury (Clarendon IV, 15–6). A letter of 10 April to Sir Sam. Luke from his father, Sir Oliver, M.P. for Beds. (*Luke*, 1219) shows that the reverse was considered as serious in Parl.
- 4 Leven's capture of Newcastle in Oct. 1644 had led Londoners to hope that plentiful sea-coal would again reach them in the winter of 1644–5. But the Scots refused this supply unless the profits of the trade were taxed and this revenue secured to them for the pay of their army, which the Parl. had failed to provide despite their original promise. (*K.W.*, 384.)
- 5 A reference to the interminable debates in the Westminster Assembly. Although in the previous summer Parl. had accepted from the Assembly the presbyterian Directory of Worship, the minority of independents in the Assembly were fighting a successful delaying action against further regulations for the carrying out of the new form of worship. They were conscious that they had the support, not only of the sectaries (i.e. the anabaptists of this item), but also (of far greater importance for them) of many M.P.s who, while not independent in religion, feared the imposition of a theocratic system and the consequent diminution of the power of Parl. (*K.W.* 511–14.)
- 6 Isaac Pennington and John Venn were London merchants and two of the City's four M.P.s (219 n.1). After the failure of the Attempt on the Five Members in Jan., 1641, when the radicals in the Council took over the City, Pennington became Ld. Mayor and was made Lt. of the Tower as well. He ceased being Ld. Mayor in 1643 but retained the Lieutenancy. Venn became a Col. of Trained Bands and in Nov., 1642, frustrating a sloop by Rupert as the royal army marched on London, he seized Windsor Castle. Parl. made him its governor. (*D.N.B.*; *K.W.*: *P.P.*)
- 7 Throughout the first part of 1645 there are various entries in *C.J.* IV and *L.J.* VII concerning a Mr John Griffith, who was a prisoner first in the Fleet and then in Newgate, for 'certain foul and capital matters', of which the only one to be specified was 'scandalising' the Elector Palatine (Rupert's pro-Parliament elder brother) and Lady Herbert. However, he was not hanged then for, early in 1648, a pamphlet – *A Letter of a Sad Tragedy by Prince Griffin* – said that Prince Griffin, after abusing many London ladies, had tried to seduce the virtuous Lady Calveley in Chesh. and, after killing one of her servants, had fled towards Scotland. From there he appears to have got away to France, for his somewhat unconvincing

version of the affair – *The Vindication or Justification of John Griffith* – seems to have been published there. He was John Griffith of Cefnamlwch in Lleyn, Caerns., nicknamed Prince Griffith or Griffin, who became M.P. for Caerns. in the Long Parl. Despite switching from supporting the court to becoming a follower of Pym and Hampden, he was disabled from sitting in Aug. 1642 for an assault upon Lady Eliz. Sedley. Clarendon's comment that he was 'a young Welshman of no parts or reputation but for eminent licence' appears to have been justified. (Dod, *Hist. of Caerns.*; Keeler; *Sheaf* 3rd ser. 32, 1937, 14–42; Clarendon I, 576–7.)

- 8 The big Kentish insurrection against Parl. was in the summer of 1643, but there were two smaller outbreaks in April, 1645 (A. Everitt, *The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion*, 312–6).
- 9 Lack of pay caused unrest in Balfour's regt., both during the campaign in the west under Waller and, after Balfour's resignation of his commission, when the regt was withdrawn to Herts. Suspicion of Balfour's own conduct seems to have been aroused in the Commons by an intercepted letter (*C.J.* IV, 25 March and 12 April), the contents of which are unknown. But a large scale desertion of his men to the royalists seems improbable. There is nothing of it in the Parl. records and later he was voted £7,000 for his arrears of pay. (*C.J.*, IV; *L.J.*, VIII; *C.S.P.D.* 1644–5; *passim.*)

## 360

*Com. of Salop to Brereton*

27-4-45 Shrewsbury. Upon perusal of your late letters [not in B.L.B.], in which you desire us to let you have such number of your own and the Staffs. foot as we can spare returned unto you for supply of your present necessities, and having raised some coys of our own, we have given order for the march of Col. Bowyer's coy to their own quarters in Staffs. (as you directed) and Maj. Daniell, Capts. Mason, Monke, Smith and Gyrle and their several coys to march to Tarvin under the command of Maj. Daniell, there to receive further orders from you. We give you our most hearty thanks for your and their courteous and ever faithful and ready assistance. We have made bold to retain the rest of the Chesh. coys until your further pleasure and God shall enable us to spare them. We continue your humble suitors that if any occasion of engagement with the enemy shall befall us, you will afford us such auxiliary supplies as our straits and necessities shall require.

Hen. Mackworth. And. Lloyd, Rob. Charleton, Sam More, Leigh Owen, Thos. Nicholls<sup>2</sup>  
(A33)

## Notes

- 1 All these officers (except Daniell who was from Chesh.) appear in the Order Book of the Staffs. Com. (P. & R.).
- 2 The signature here only approximates to Nicholls, but two further ones (that in

Item 401 unmistakable) make it virtually certain that the signatory was Thos. Nicholls of Boycott nr. Pontesbury, an undoubted Salop Com. man, although not (at this period, at any rate) a very assiduous one. He was a landowner substantial enough to have been sheriff in 1641 (*S.A.S.T.* 2nd ser. 6, 1894.)

*Intelligence forwarded to Shrewsbury*

c. 27-4-45 [Shrewsbury] It is this day reported from Hereford that of late the Princes have had good success and brought in divers prisoners, though the substance of these are conceived to be countrymen. There came this week six brass cannon from Bristol to Hereford, where Rupert is yet. He is resolved to march within two days and, by all supposition to join with his brother, having greatly enlarged their forces, all to besiege our town. They are to make their first attempt at Kingland [Kingsland]<sup>1</sup> or thereabouts, there to entrench themselves if possible. To which purpose they have prepared many leather boats to pass over the water. They hope at least to remove the siege at Chester. It is also affirmed the Queen hath landed great stores of ammunition and arms at Bristol already and that she hopes by night to pass by Milford Haven to land herself at Bristol.<sup>2</sup> Many suspect that the town's [i.e. Shrewsbury's] works are so large that all your army is not able to manage them. And yet it is well known that the hearts of many yet resident amongst you are inclined against you, which they will express when they may have an opportunity. Many also do murmur at the too hasty pressing of the new government.

(A33)

## Notes

- 1 Suburb of Shrewsbury, s.w. of the main town and on the far side of the R. Severn.
- 2 This information concerning the Queen was baseless. She had gone to France in July, 1644, and there was no intention that she should return unless and until her husband's cause had triumphed.

*Lt. Col. Jones to Brereton*

27-4-45 Dodleston. The army is safely returned with (as I conceive) 6,000 sheep and 500 cows, but they will soon lessen unless you have an eye to Wirral, Ince<sup>1</sup> and other places. I hear that 200 of the best are now driving over the water to Wirral. A gentleman's house near Holywell [see 375] was fired, for that it had soldiers in it that killed a man of yours. The widow Hanmer's house near Holywell,<sup>2</sup> that did us much prejudice, is taken, fired and all that refused quarter viz. 12, put to the sword, nine whereof were roasted. I desire you to be here tomorrow to hasten Sir Thos. Middleton to Wrexham. I am resolved that, while I stay here, his force shall never join with yours.

(A23)

Notes

- 1 Chesh. end of ford across Mersey leading to Hale in Lancs.
- 2 The house was Caerfallwch w. of Northop, now only a farm. Mrs Hanmer was Katherine, widow of Peter Hanmer of Caerfallwch who had died a year or so earlier. (Inf. from Mr A.G. Veysey, County Archivist for Clwyd.)

363

*Lt. Gen. Lesley to Brereton*

28-4-45 3 am Leeds. Yours of 24 and 26 April with a third having no date on it (and the enclosed) are come into my hands, which shall with all diligence (as I have done with the rest of your letters) be sent to Ld. Leven with my earnest desires that he will give me speedy order for coming to your assistance, according to his letter written to the C. of B.K., the like having never come to my hands. I desire that the enclosed may be sent to London with the first occasion, as I shall be ready, according to my orders, to come to your assistance.<sup>1</sup>

(A34)

Note

- 1 'Yours of the 24 and 26 April' are 343, and 355 and, despite the fact that the copy in B.L.B. has a date (25 April) on it, 'the third having no date on it' is 345. For this is the letter in which Brereton sent to Lesley the copy of Leven's letter to the C. of B.K. of 17 April (269) which said that, not only was he himself preparing to march south with the main Scots army, but he had ordered Lesley back to his commanded party with instructions that he was to 'be ready on all occasions to apply timely assistance' to Brereton. This is also the letter which, alleging he had never seen it, Lesley here wants Brereton to send back again to London. Despite what has been said in the note to 342 and his renewed protestations in this letter, it is impossible to avoid the suspicion that, with his requests for the despatching back and forth of these letters and their enclosures, Lesley was employing the same delaying tactics as his chief. That Brereton himself took this view is obvious from his letter of 30 April to the C. of B.K. (381).

364

*Cockson to Brereton*

28-4-45. The House being turned into a committee for two or three days, Church affairs and others concerning the Scotch army intervening, hath prevented the Ordinance having passage before this time. On Saturday I tendered [MS has 'intended'] it at the Excise Office and also to the Lord Mayor, who assures me that most or all the moneys will be ready this week. I have good confidence to believe that so long as it remains unpaid, so long the money will lie dead in respect of interest. It is intended that Mr Worrall shall come down presently; his errand may make him welcome. All our diligence shall be employed to expedite this despatch.

There is no further progress concerning 133 [See App. V] than you have

been certified by 63 [Ashurst]. By advice of 63 I have made ready a further charge against 133 if needs require. I have some assurance from Mr Frost that it is very improbable that 49 [Rupert] and 47 [Maurice] will XX [march] towards 120 [Chester], the engagements of 98 [Oxfordshire]<sup>1</sup> are so very hot. From him also I have this further assurance that by ten days' end, 145 [Sir Thos. Fairfax] will be in readiness to XX [march] with all his body. The messenger's haste compels brevity. Hoping our letters which were sent by Waterson are safe arrived, they being of consequence [349; 350].  
(A57)

## Note

- 1 In the MS is an O in front of 98 but, if this is not accidental, its significance is not apparent. For, if the further use of 98 in 491 is taken together with its use here, it is clear that 98 stands for Oxfordshire, and that is sufficient to show that what was expected to prevent the march of Rupert and Maurice to relieve Chester was Cromwell's raid with a brigade of the New Model cavalry on the King's garrisons and lines of communications west and north-west of Oxford. This raid which had begun on 23 April delayed until 7 May the northward march of the royal army, but did not (as Frost and Cockson hoped) prevent it altogether. (Woolrych, 104; *K.W.*, 440-1; Firth, 123-4.)

## 365

*Brereton to Middleton*

28-4-45 Dodleston. Whereas divers of the carters [MS has 'cartes'], instead of loading their carriages for the army, have plundered the country and thereby neglect their duty and service, these goods were therefore seized on and are here at Dodleston to be disposed of according to order. I desire you may send hither someone that may dispose of the goods to the poor people that follow them or how else you shall think fit, for I conceive none more unworthy of them than those that plundered them, who deserve rather to be punished than rewarded for their ill deservings.  
(A30)

## 366

*Brereton and Middleton's Order for Accounting for Cattle taken in North Wales*

28-4-45 Dodleston. By reason of the backwardness of the country of Wales upon warrants to bring in victuals and provisions for our forces now in the Leaguer [of Chester] and the cruelty of the country by snapping [i.e. taking by surprise] and killing our men sent in parties to fetch in provisions, without which we could not maintain the Leaguer, Chesh. being wholly exhausted of provisions, we were constrained to march with a considerable force into the body of the country and fetch in provisions of cattle, sheep and corn. As it

was not possible to make difference and distinction between persons disaffected and such as were well affected and poor people during our march and to the end that the said cattle and provisions brought in may not be any part of them embezzled or converted to private uses, it is ordered upon pain of death that no soldiers, commanders or others do presume to sell or drive into Chesh. or elsewhere without order any cattle, sheep or other goods brought in by the army. That none may pretend ignorance hereof, it is ordered, notwithstanding several former orders and commands that have been given against like exorbitances, that this order be made public in the army. To the end that an account may be given of what cattle and sheep have been taken in this way that restitution may be made to such as appear well-affected and the remainder may upon just account be disposed of to the public [service], it is ordered that all such cattle and sheep as were brought in out of the country, be tomorrow morning by ten o'clock brought to Dodleston to be taken notice of by the commissaries. To this end all the commanders of the several quarters are required to take care that their soldiers bring all such cattle and sheep as are in their hands without reservation. Whereof any that is concerned is to take notice and give obedience upon his peril. Lt. Col. Jones and Lt. Col. Twistleton are to take care that this be imparted in the several quarters of the Leaguers of Chester and Hawarden this night.  
(A29)

*Brereton to the Com. in Wirral<sup>1</sup>*

28-4-45 Tarvin. I have received letters from the C. of B.K. wherein they take notice of the plundering in Wales and driving cattle into Chesh. and are very much offended therewith. Having given command that strict care be taken that the like be prevented for the future, I thought good to give you this intimation, desiring you not to suffer any, contrary to this command, to bring over cattle or other goods on any pretence whatsoever or by any warrant except under my own hand.

Now that our army is returned out of the remoter part of Wales with some cattle and sheep to be employed for the public service in the sustenance of our forces, I hear some soldiers are drawing over some cattle and sheep into Wirral. I have therefore sent these persons to seek these men that dare rob the public [service] and to secure the cattle and sheep. I desire all your assistance (by appointing a considerable party of honest soldiers to join with them) that whatever cattle or sheep or other goods shall be brought over without such warrant as aforesaid may not be purloined and embezzled, but the same seized and kept in safe custody to be employed for the public, and that the persons attempting such exorbitances, be they officers or others, be restrained and imprisoned that they may receive condign and exemplary punishment by death or otherways. Neither officers nor other soldiers may

expect nor depend upon any exemption from punishment, if they be thus apprehended.

Let your care and vigilance be such that we may not incur the further displeasure of the Parl. and indeed the displeasure of God, who forbiddeth such courses, as are too much practised and it must be our endeavour to reform if we expect his blessing to accompany our undertakings.

Post. Pray you likewise take care that no cattle pass by Ince or those other parts. Rather than I will bear the burden of this shame and reproach of stealing and driving the cattle in this manner into Wirral out of Wales, I will cause all the commanders, officers, cornets and soldiers to be examined upon oath and proceeded against by martial law or the law of the land, to which these thieves and robbers must be responsible if ever the Kingdom be settled.

I desire you appoint honest soldiers or other faithful persons to be constantly upon the guard with those I have sent.

(A26)

Note

- 1 Presumably this is the Committee which met in Hooton and Puddington, garrisons under the governorship of Lt. Col. Chidley Coote.

368

*Brereton's Instructions to those appointed to guard the ford into Wirral<sup>1</sup>*

28-4-45 Tarvin. The C. of B.K. having taken notice of the exorbitant plundering and driving cattle and taking goods out of Wales into Chesh. and being very much offended therewith have given command that strict care be taken that the like be prevented for the future. Therefore these are to require you upon sight thereof to march with [blank in MS] of my own coy of foot into Wirral and there keep guard upon the ford out of Wales, and not for favour or respect of any person to suffer any soldiers, officers or others to pass over the said ford with any cattle, horses or any other goods out of Wales into Chesh. without order in writing under my own hand and not under any other hand whatsoever. You are to seize upon all cattle, sheep or other goods attempted to be brought over without such orders as aforesaid and the same is to be kept in safe custody to be disposed of by order for the public service. You are likewise to apprehend and keep in prison all persons, officers or other soldiers, who shall attempt to pass without such warrant as aforesaid, so that condign and exemplary punishment, by death or otherwise, may be inflicted upon them.

The commander-in-chief of the Puddington garrison [Lt. Col. Coote] is hereby required to assist with his soldiers the effectual observation of this order which you are to publish to all whom it may concern. You are to remain upon this duty until further order and to be constantly night and day upon the guard at the ebb water. You are to repose and refresh your men during the

flowing of the water [i.e. high tide] and the commissaries at Puddington are to supply and furnish you with accommodation.  
(A26)

Note

- 1 This crossed the Dee from somewhere near Hawarden in N. Wales to Shotwick, Puddington or Burton in Wirral. The combination of strong tides and strong current caused it to shift constantly. In 1698 Celia Fiennes commented on its dangerous nature (*Journeys*, ed. C. Morris, 182–3). Nevertheless it was a much used route to and from N. Wales until the building of the New Cut and the draining of the Saltney Marshes east of Chester in the 18th century.

369

*Sir Rich. Lloyd to Brereton*

28-4-45 Holt. The messenger that solicited the exchange of George Hunt, a soldier of this garrison and prisoner in Dogleston, and the release of Dudley Russell, a chirurgeon [surgeon], doth inform me that she had orders for the release of both and that Hunt's brother did take your orders from her, and that Russell was either stayed or hath taken conditions. I have sent this drum to acknowledge the constant rule of your justice in martial affairs, and desire that I may know from the prisoners or yourself in what condition the restraint of Hunt and the chirurgeon is, and whether their release will be granted upon the exchange and upon the privilege of chirurgeons, which shall be observed by me.<sup>1</sup>  
(A42)

Note

- 1 The wording of this letter is far from clear, but it would seem that Lloyd expected the release of Hunt, the soldier, because of an exchange agreed upon with a parl. soldier that he had imprisoned in Holt. But Russell was to be released (without an exchange) on the convention that both sides released chirurgeons, chaplainns, drums and trumpets without either exchange, ransome or charges. Ld. Byron had twice demanded that Brereton acknowledge this (266; 320).

370

*Brereton's pass to Sir Rich. Byron*

28-4-45 Tarvin. Permit and suffer Sir Rich. Byron, knight, with his wife, children, servants, horses and necessaries to pass from Chester to Holyhead without interruption and thence take shipping for Ireland, according to Ld. General Fairfax's pass granted to him on that behalf. The said Sir Rich. Byron is not to depart this kingdom within 14 days after the date hereof, but be ready upon demand in the meantime to return to give satisfaction to the Parl. when they require the same.

[Note added to copy.] Vide Ld. Fairfax's pass in the last book, his letters in this book requiring satisfaction and Sir Rich. Byron's own letters and promises.<sup>1</sup>

(A29)

Note

- 1 Ld. Fairfax's pass to Sir Rich. is not now in the D MS but, as no folio number is given here and some 30 folios have been torn from the earlier part of the book, it is possible that it once was. As all the correspondence concerning Sir Rich. Byron's desire to go to Ireland is in the D and not the A MS, 'this book' must mean 'the last book'.

371

*Hen. Harper<sup>1</sup> to Brereton*

29-4-45 [Chester] My wife's mother in Wigan is dangerous sick of a burning fever, which is a matter of great grief to my wife and enforces her and me in this extremity to beseech your pass for her and her servants' safe travel to Wigan and return hither without molestation.

[Note appended in Brereton's writing] When Chester is taken or the siege raised I shall willingly grant what is desired; in the meantime you must hold me excused who am your friend and servant.

(A32)

Note

- 1 Henry Harper, gent. (see also:— 400, 410, 428, 604), was of a family settled in Chester since the 15th century. He was an attorney of the Exchequer Court and steward to the Dean and Chapter. His (2nd) wife was Dulcibella, dau. of Ralph Brown of Ince-in-Makerfield nr. Wigan and widow of Rich. Bavand gent. of Chester. He seems to have spent much of his time during the war trying to get himself, his wife and his goods out of Chester. That he was ultimately successful presumably means that he took the Covenant and the Negative Oath. His fine for delinquency was small and soon remitted and he was prosperous enough during the Interregnum to purchase Huntington Hall south of Chester which, according to the Hearth Tax, had as many as 12 hearths by 1664. We hear nothing more of his severe eye trouble of 1645. He was knighted on the Restoration and died in 1669. (C.C.C. 1069; *Sheaf* 3rd ser. 35, 1940, 22, 24, 26, 29; 57, 1962, 50.)

372

*Order touching the disposing of Cattle and Sheep taken in Wales*

29-4-45. The inhabitants in these parts of Wales adjacent to Chester have refused to obey such warrants as have been sent to them for supply of provisions for the Leaguer and have killed those that have been sent with them. They also gather themselves into parties to oppose such others as shall be sent, and have thereby enforced us to send a great strength of horse and

foot to fetch in such provisions of beasts [i.e. cattle] and sheep as could be found in the fields. Whereof now a good quantity is brought in, the more especial care ought to be had for the careful and singular disposing of them, in regard the Leaguer much depends upon these present provisions, such a strength as will be necessary to renew our supply out of Wales may not well be spared and Chesh. is so exhausted, both by the enemy's diversion<sup>1</sup> thence into Wales formerly and the pressure of our soldiers in this Leaguer. It is therefore ordered that Mr Geo. Parker, Mr John Chadwick, Jo. Bruen, Rich. Johnson, Jo. Milner<sup>2</sup>, be appointed to see what beasts and sheep are brought and to take the number of them and see them disposed of, so that those fit for present use may be put into safe pastures and those that will more advantage if exchanged for other provisions may be sold back to the Welsh for other provisions or money to buy them or other [provisions] cheaper.

Those that shall be employed to sell any of them are to keep a note of the buyer's hand to it, what number are sold and what moneys received for them, that they may be able to give a true account upon oath of the moneys if these be used to buy provisions at the markets convenient for the Leaguer. Everyman employed to account upon oath to the persons above named is to have power to deliver so many milch cows to those that deserve them as they think fitting and so many of the beasts are to be delivered to Sir Thos. Middleton's officers as to make up those he hath already received to 100 [beasts] and 300 sheep. These are to be indifferently chosen.

P.S. So many as are fitting to be received for the army are carefully to be looked unto by the Commissaries and chosen out by themselves.<sup>3</sup>

Wm. Brereton, Mich. Jones, Jo. Bruen, J. Trevers [Trevis], Jer. Zankey, James Lothian, Jo. Ashurst.<sup>4</sup>

(A33)

#### Notes

- 1 The MS has 'devission'. In any case the reference is to the movements of the royal troops, first under Maurice and then under Rupert, who came to Chesh. in February – March. Many of them crossed and re-crossed the Dee (Malbon, 161–3).
- 2 Mr Geo. Parker was probably the Geo. Parker who was Head Constable for Macclesfield Hundred at this time and perhaps the Geo. Parker who supported Brereton in the pre-war law suits over his duck decoy. The Head Constable came from a family that lived at Edgeley nr. Stockport and, together with the Breretons of Handforth, were parishioners of the parish of Cheadle. (Earwaker *passim*; Chester Record Office; CCRO 63/2/702, Brereton Letter Book, 69.) There were families of Chadwicks in Stockport and Mottram-in-Longdendale parishes (Earwaker *passim*). Johnson was a sequestration commissioner for both Northwich and Wirral Hundreds (Morrill, 87). For Bruen see 65 n.1. I have been unable to find information on Milner/Miller.
- 3 A number of words have had to be supplied in this item which shows signs of hurried copying, some words being omitted, either intentionally for the sake of brevity or accidentally, and others miscopied.

- 4 For John Bruen of the Tarvin Com. see 65 n.1, for Maj. Trevis 385 n.1, for John Ashurst, Wm.'s brother and Col. Ashton's maj., 17 n.1.

## 373

*Middleton to Brereton*

29-4-45 Wrexham. I thank God we slept securely yesternight, though the enemy threatened us much. I thought good to send you this enclosed by this bearer, not doubting but you will see a reformation and a restoration of the money [357]. I should have acquainted you with some letters I received from Sir [John] Trevor and Mr Recorder Glynne wherein is desired restitution of all such goods as were plundered from Plâs Teg and condign punishment of both officers and men that did it.

I desire also that the jewels may be forthcoming and that you will command Capts. Vivers and Collham to bring in such of their under officers and troopers as had any part of the jewels, that they may be examined so that the truth may be known. I am bound to write this much unto you because it will be a good way to prevent future aspersions, which may reflect upon yourself in the presentation of this business. Eight oxen were brought thither, taken at Mrs Hanmer's house that was fired, which being a lawful service I shall be answerable to the state for them. As yet I cannot find any more cattle or other considerable plunder amongst any of my soldiers. If time discover any other matter I shall not fail to apply myself to the strict execution of the order agreed between us.

I desire Sir Rich. Byron may not be released until Edward Taylor be discharged, according to the tenor of an exchange proposed by Ld. Byron for him, which I have performed on my part and now he revokes. For the more ready we are to render them courtesies, the more backward they are to requite them. Ld. Byron now pretends that Taylor is Commissary General and capt. of a troop of horse under my command, whereas in truth he never held any commission for either under me, but was only made Commissary for Red [Powys] Castle garrison by the Committee there. So if you would intimate as much to Byron by a drum speedily sent on purpose therein, you will do me a great favour and besides oblige poor Ned Taylor to pray for your health.

[P.S.] Remember my best respects to Lt. Col. Jones and Maj. Lothian (A35)

## 374

*Brereton to Middleton*

29-4-45 Dodleston. According to your desire I have commanded Capt. Vivers to be ready with his men to give you all satisfaction, and I shall be ready in this or any other way to use my endeavours to bring this business to light.

[P.S.] I shewed your letter to Capt. Vivers and commanded him and his men to wait upon you to be examined.

[Note on letter appended] Post prandium 29 April. This was shown to Capt. Vivers 29 April, 1645, there being present [Mich.] Jones, Lothian, Zankey, [John] Ashurst, Mr Bruen, Mr Hinde; when he was commanded to have his men in readiness to be examined by Sir Thos. Middleton.

(A35)

Note

- 1 Commissary General to the Chesh. forces. See his letter of 27-10-45 to Brereton on his return to Chesh. (757).

375

*Lt. Col. Mich. Jones to Sir Robt. King*

29-4-45 Dodleston. I formerly gave you a brief account of the proceedings of our army before Chester, but now shall trouble you with a more ample relation because I hear some ill-affected man hath cast aspersions upon our proceedings, which you cannot be ignorant of being intimate with most of the members of the Commons who have been in this misinformed. The first aspersion is that our army lies in open quarters, without defence or putting spade in ground. It is true our remote quarters are not made defensible after the Low Country manner. But I am confident no city in England hath been closelier blocked up than this, considering the weakness of our army. On the Chesh. side they are kept in by three garrisons or quarters, each within half a mile of that city, all fortified. On the Welsh side there are five quarters, two of them not a mile distant from the city, of sufficient strength to oppose the enemy. But the quarter at Iron Bridge [Heronbridge]<sup>1</sup>, not distant half a mile, is sufficiently fortified. Those that lie at Hawarden have with trenches almost environed it round, and this day begin to mine which, if the Prince hinder not, will, I hope, be sprung within this week. By which you will perceive their information to be most untrue. It was offered by some that a fort should be made before Handbridge to hinder their passage over the bridge into Wales. But it was the major opinion that it was as well blocked up as if the fort had been made and, before it could be made, the place assigned for it being within musket shot of the walls, we would have lost most of our army. It was also the opinion of most that, if a fort had been made and the city relieved, it would be advantageous to them and very prejudicial to us. Until Hawarden be taken, where we have 600 men, we cannot lie so close to the city as we would.

The second information was that our men were backward to do duty or go to those guards near Chester where danger was. The loss of our men slain within pistol shot of the bridge and in sundry other places will disprove that. I am confident no men in England are more willing to do duty or expose themselves to danger than the men before Chester. Were it not so, the

officers that command here would never with this small force have undertaken so great a work. Lt. Gen. Lesley said he would not undertake it with under 10,000 men.

The third charge is that the soldiers pillage the country. It is true that they, going abroad for provisions, do sometimes pilfer (no army is free of it), for which they pass not unpunished, four already being executed for it. I dare say the whole army, since their coming into Wales, have not taken goods to the value of £10, except for blankets and such like being conveyed into their strongholds, and the goods of Sir John Trevor, which Sir William Brereton hath protected and now laboureth with all his power to have restored, and some jewels found in Baron Edwards' house. These the informer valued at £7,000. They are not worth £500 but, if they be, it is the better for the public [service], they being now in the Treasurer's hands. The informer also saith cattle valued at £4,000 have been taken. I have enquired after it and do find that some cattle belonging to the soldiers in Hwarden Castle, not worth above £100, were taken from under the command of it. But, in regard they were won by the sword, the soldiers and officers had sent them into Chesh. without privity of any commanding in chief.

The informer further writeth that there is bruit of some Irish being landed in Wales, and, now that the country has been pillaged, our army will as formerly march away. That the army marched out of Wales when the Prince came this way is, I am confident, not unknown to you, but as yet the brunt<sup>2</sup> of them hath not removed.

The last information was that it was resolved at a Council of War holden at Nantwich that it was lawful to take all that belonged to the Welsh. There never was any such resolution nor speech to that purpose.

This informer's letter beareth the date 14 April<sup>3</sup> (his name is John Jones, one of Sir Thos. Meddleton's capt's), since which on 23 April a party of 500 horse and 400 foot marched into St. Asaph, 20 miles distant from Chester, where they heard the enemy was. But, finding it impossible by reason of the mountains and castles to overtake them, being fled thence, the country was driven (by the assent of Sir Thos. Middleton) for the gaining of provisions for the army which until that time was in a manner provided for by Chesh. A number of cows, not amounting to 400, and sheep, not amounting to 2,000, which were not fit to be slain (and if it had been endeavoured to keep them until they had been meat most of them would have been stolen) were by divers honest men, employed for that purpose, sold into Chesh., and cheese and other provisions bought for the army with the moneys. No part was converted to private uses.

In our return a part of our army passing before Hugh Pennant's house<sup>4</sup> and divers of them shot and one killed, but when a party of ours marched towards it, those in it forsook it. To deter others from doing the like and, with the consent of Sir Thos. Middleton, the house was fired. Also at Widow Hanmer's house there was an enemy garrison which killed divers of our men

and hindered provisions being brought to Hawarden. The house being summoned and they refusing quarter, it was stormed and all but two put to the sword and the house fired.

I am still of the opinion that, if North Wales be not annexed to Chesh., these parts cannot subsist. For Wales is able to furnish those with victuals and to maintain more men than Chesh. now can, it being very much impoverished by the auxiliary forces sent to our assistance. As long as there is any possibility of subsistence and doing of service, I will not leave it but, if I be constrained [to do so], I hope I shall never leave the service of the Parl., as some have done, though I serve as a common soldier.

If the gentlemen proposed for the command of North Wales [Mytton] obtain it, he will do as little good as Sir Thos. Middleton hath. If forces must now be raised for him, the summer will be spent. And the money must be gotten. He hath no considerable force, although he vaunted of his and Sir Thos. Middleton's great force in the House. There are not left of Sir Thos. Middleton's 160 foot and 70 horse. This is the ground<sup>s</sup> army supposed to be joined with the Chesh. force. Chester is in some straits. If relief come not, I am confident we shall carry it. But a small force will refuse it, unless timely supplies of men, moneys and victuals (from the adjacent counties) be sent unto us. No news of the Scots marching this way. I am confident, if they came thither before the Prince and would join with us, we should carry the city by assault. If, the Prince come, he cannot within a month furnish the city with provisions and, as soon as he is gone, (if we be not able to fight with him) we will soon be before Chester again. So this petty army will endanger the ruin of the King's army, if it must relieve Chester as often as we distress it.

I am very glad to hear that the militia is to be guided by soldiers and the civil power by eminent gentry. If they agree, as I hope they will, all things may prove as well as if there had been no change.

(A38)

#### Notes

- 1 The site of a Roman settlement on a crook of the Dee a mile south of Chester. Known as Ironbridge during the later Middle Ages, it appears probable that the derivation had nothing to do with iron (or herons), but was from *hyrne-brycg*, 'a bridge at a corner'. There was no bridge there in the 17th century nor is there today, although there is now an actual Iron Bridge two miles further up the Dee near Eaton Hall, constructed early in the 19th century. (*E.P.N.S.* XLVIII, *Cheshire*, Pt. V Sect. 1, 54–6.)
- 2 The MS has what looks like 'bruite', which was also used in the previous sentence but the sense seems to demand a word for 'the greater part of' and perhaps 'brunt' could have this meaning.
- 3 This date for John Jones's letter agrees with that given by Ashurst to Brereton (318). This further supports the proof (given in n.2 to 318), that the letter of Jones to Barton which appears in B.L.B. (273) and is dated 17 April is not the original one that caused the sensation.

- 4 Plas Ucha nr. Whitford, Flints., home of Maj. Hugh Pennant (Tucker).  
 5 The MS has this, which perhaps should be taken in the sense of the *basic* army (i.e. without auxiliaries). But it is also possible that 'ground' is a mis-copying of 'grand'.

## 376

*Lt. Col. Spencer to Brereton*

30-4-45 Macclesfield. Our officers and soldiers are for the most part unwilling to go into Wales. They have no more faith and patience left. If you intend anything for their services I desire you will expedite the same for, since our men are so resolute to return, I shall be sorry to quarter upon your county doing no duty. We have lost between 40-50 horse in your service; my Lord [Fairfax] expects a recruit. I humbly request you will appoint some hundred for a supply for I am very unwilling to march a foot or charge any towns [townships] without your order. Whatsoever is or hath been done upon the first notice shall be redressed.

(A40)

## Note

- 1 Because most Chesh. parishes were large (some were enormous), they were subdivided into townships which were the lowest units of administration inside the county.

## 377

*Geo. Parker and John Chadwick to Brereton*

30-4-45 Dodleston. In obedience to your order we have taken a true number of the cows and sheep which were brought out of the enemy's country to Dodleston, and delivered them (according to the agreement) to Mr Hinde. For the price and day of payment we know nothing, but have an acquittance under his hand that he hath received so many as are undermentioned upon his account.

Cows	
Mr Ball and one of Lt.Col. Gerard's soldiers	3 cows
The poor woman restored	23 cows
To Mr Hinde the rest which were	854
	<hr/>
The whole number	880

Sheep	
Sir Thos. Middleton's officers	160
To Mr Manley's <sup>1</sup> quarterers	020
Maj. Croxton's men at Handbridge	002
Mr Hinde the rest which were	1712
	<hr/>
The whole number	1894

Concerning Capt. Bulkeley<sup>2</sup> I doubt not but Col. Jones will give you the news.  
(A39)

#### Notes

- 1 This is probably the Geo. Manley of Lache Hall who appeared as a witness for Brereton in the pre-war law suits concerning Brereton's duck decoy. He was descended from a younger branch of the Manleys of Poulton to whom the Breretons of Handforth had sold Lache Hall, part of the estates which they possessed to the s.w. of Chester. The decoy was situated only a mile or so away. (CRO 63/2/702, Brereton Letter Book: 1-115 for Decoy Case, 95-6 for Manley.)
- 2 Captured with most of his troop the night before (29 April) near Wrexham (439).

#### 378

#### *Sir Robt. King to Brereton*

[c.30-4-45] I have received yours of 14 April [not in B.L.B.] which came not into my hands until 29 April and, although I do not know how to convey you an answer, yet I rather chose to have a line or two in a readiness than to neglect the first opportunity in sending.

I am very glad that Col. Jones doth deserve those large commendations you are pleased to give him. Truly they have thus far advantaged him that several of the C. of B.K. have spoken to me to move you to recommend him to Parl. for some supply in regard of his charge and horses that he has lost in the service. If you do, they say they will effectually move the House unto it. Or if you like not to trouble the House, if you do it to Mr Ashurst it may give them an opportunity of speaking for him. I leave the whole matter to you to be advanced or desisted as you shall see cause.

About a year since I sent you a letter from the Lords on behalf of Mr Maule and some other gentlemen of Ireland that fled to Chester for shelter. I think they are all dead and gone but Mr Maule and, if the town falls into your hands, I pray you to have a favourable regard unto him as to one that I know to be of true and good affection to the Parl., albeit his necessities enforce him to live for the present in the tents of the [blank in MS].

I cannot for the present send you any good news out of Ireland. The fort of Duncannon is delivered up to the rebels which is a very great loss to us. The

lord of Esmond<sup>1</sup>, who did it, is gone to the Marquis [Ormonde] in Dublin. Sir Thos. Fairfax's army will be ready to take the field next week. His recruits come in very fast to him at Windsor. The Earl of Exeter<sup>2</sup> is lately returned out of France and saith there is no thought of sending any supplies out of that country to the King. So we are like to be let alone to do our own business ourselves, and I believe as soon as Sir Thos. Fairfax is in the field, you will not receive much opposition in that design upon Chester. It is very probable that God, who hath honoured you so much in making you so instrumental to his cause, will not leave till it be accomplished. Yet I suppose for the present you will be put off from that design upon Chester.

Sir Thos. Fairfax came to town last night to see his lady, who is come out of the north, but returns speedily. The ship that was going to relieve Scarborough was taken with all her provisions. Some other shipping that carried provisions for his Majesty is also taken upon that coast.

There is late news out of Scotland that Montrose, attempting Dundee, 24 miles from Edinburgh, was not only repulsed from the town but Col. Hurry, falling into his quarters, hath wholly routed him and killed 500 of his men in the place and the pursuit.<sup>3</sup>

I spake with Mr Ashurst who tells me what occasion you will have to recommend Col. Jones to the Parl. If at the same time you give a touch [i.e. hint] to the House of gratifying him for his service he thinks it will be of much more force than to do it in a letter to any private man.

(A18)

#### Notes

- 1 The MS has *Ormonde* which, if accepted, would mean that Ormonde had gone to Ormonde. But this is obviously a mis-copying of *Osmonde*, which itself is either another mis-copying or an alternate form of *Esmond*, the name of the gov. of Duncannon (see also 286).
- 2 John Cecil, 4th Earl (G.E.C. *Peerage*).
- 3 Another instance of the reports spread about by the Scots in England which turned Montrose's hurried, but successful, evacuation of Dundee into a major defeat. See also 262, 342, 359; but this is the first time the incident is placed at Dundee.

#### *Brereton to Ashurst*

30-4-45. Although it may be an extreme trouble in the midst of my employment to contend with unjust aspersions secretly vented against me there, yet I must thankfully acknowledge your faithful affection in giving me notice thereof [318] and thereby advantage to vindicate myself and others.

For the first: that there is no spade in ground by 14 April. This shows the informant [Capt. John Jones] winked at the good service of the soldiers and looked at their misdemeanours through a multiplying glass. Otherwise he might, as well as seeing their plundering in Wales, have seen their entren-

ching in Wales, begun at Hawarden Castle which is since brought to perfection within 30 yards round the castle and drawing out of it. Nearer Chester he might have seen, besides our older works at Tarvin, our defensive works at Iron Bridge [Heronbridge]<sup>1</sup> and at Hoole, Upton, Huntington etc.

For the second: that the soldiers are backward to do duty and to come upon those guards next Chester where danger is. It appears by this that the informer hath so little acquaintance with the Leaguer of which he gives judgement that he understands not which are the guards of most danger. The truth is we have more 'back' friends in Wales besides the informer, and those guards that lie out most in Wales and [away] from Chester are the most dangerous. The enemy from Ruthin, Holt and their other castles, together with the disaffected countrymen who gather into parties are continually ready to beat upon our quarters and this week have taken twenty of Sir Thos. Middleton's in their quarters in Wales. And divers of mine, when they have gone in to fetch provisions, have been killed and taken. And the very posture of our forces, which lie extended by the largeness of the work and betwixt two armies – before them Chester, behind them Wales – shows that they neither decline duty nor danger. I am sure their hazardous attempts have cost the lives of many of them: two or three at the taking of Gwysaney House, two or three at the taking of another house [Plas Ucha] that was held against us betwixt St. Asaph and Holywell, divers others in taking Mrs Hanmer's house betwixt Northop and Cayrus [Caerwys] and divers others daily wounded and some slain in skirmishes near the walls of Chester and Hawarden.<sup>2</sup>

For the third charge: that the soldiers scatter all over Wales and take all they can carry and drive away: plate and jewels of value £7,000, beasts of value £4,000 etc. Herein is something of truth but represented by an extreme hyperbole. It is true the Welsh refuse to bring in any provisions and kill those that bring them warrants and come for supplies, if they can master them. This has caused the soldiers too much to carve for themselves. But for the plate and jewels of £7,000 value, they are safely kept by the public treasurer for the states use. And, if no one but a malignant claim them, I wish the informer no more punishment than to take them £700. His rate of the beasts is like that of the jewels wherein, though he might have had more skill, yet he hath erred as much.

For the fourth: that he believes this spoil will be an example for us to leave the country as formerly. This is not an assertion de facto as the former but an inference of his own. I believe otherwise and conceive you will also when you read my letter to the C. of B.K. And for the argument held at a Council of War at Nantwich that it was lawful to make prize of all in Wales, there was never any such argument, as that Council of War have certified to those worthy gents who are most concerned in Wales [352]. *Plus valent duo quam singularis testis* ['Two witnesses are worth more than one'.]

(A36)

- 1 See n.1 to 375.
- 2 See 309 n.2; 375 n.4; 362 n.1 for the names of these Welsh houses.

*Brereton to John Glynne*<sup>1</sup>

30-4-45. You have much obliged me by imparting to me such reports as are brought up to you of the miscarriages of those soldiers under my command at present. I must acknowledge many misdemeanours have been committed in Wales and no less in my own country. Though I cannot justify the soldiers, yet this far I am able to justify myself that I have been as careful to preserve those parts of Wales as any part of Chesh., and rather more in that I desire to invite to us those deceived people if it were possible. I know nothing more prejudicial to our present work than by plundering to exasperate the inhabitants of the country so as to cause them to withdraw themselves and their provisions from us. This hath caused me to use all means with the soldiers, both by fair persuasions and by extreme severity, to prevent such courses. For your more particular satisfaction therein and your information of our progress in the work before Chester, I refer you to my letters to the C. of B.K. It is my unhappiness to have an army composed of forces from several parts, who often do most willingly send abroad those whom they find most discontented at home, and to aggravate their discontents these forces have long suffered extreme wants of pay and other necessaries. So that, instead of obedience to commands, I have had desperate threats to the hazard of my life, which yet have not abated my endeavours to prevent the spoil of the country. Yet all my endeavours will not so much prevail as those you have been pleased to use in procuring moneys for us, for which I desire you to accept my thankful acknowledgement. I am much obliged to many of my noble friends in the City for their favour therein, but chiefly to yourself whom I know to have the leading power. So I thankfully apprehend your forwardness in expediting supply to us without which I could not have carried on my command nor left it with honour. I desire you will believe all possible care shall be had to preserve your country which, though it merit not much by any entertainment it willingly affords, yet it doth in this, that so worthy a servant to the public hath been born there.

(A37)

## Note

- 1 The letter is actually headed 'To Sir John Trever and Mr Glynne in answer to theirs', and it is true that both had written to Brereton on the subject of plundering committed by his troops in North Wales and both could have been the recipient of the compliment that he regarded the area highly because they had been born there. But the letter is obviously addressed to one man and not two and, although the identical letter could have been sent to both as if intended for each, this would hardly have been very persuasive if it had been discovered (as it surely must have

been with both recipients being M.P.s and concerned with N. Wales). The letter seems more appropriate for Glynne, because he had not only been concerned with the damage done to the area in general and its consequences (while Trevor only wrote about that to his own property), but he was of great influence in the City and had been vital in the agreement for an immediate loan of the £5,00 which was the only means by which the sum could be made quickly available to Brereton. (See *Intro.* II and 284 n.1)

381

*Brereton to the C. of B.K.*

30-4-45 Nantwich. So soon as I received your letter with the enclosed [269, 316], both importing that the Scottish forces under the command of Lt. Gen. Lesley are designed to strengthen the Leaguer before Chester, I sent an express [345] with a copy of both to Lt. Gen. Lesley. I have since received an answer [363], but no assurance of their present march this way until further orders from Ld. Leven to whom, as he writes, Lt. Gen. Lesley hath sent for orders. I fear so much time will be lost in these despatches that the Prince, who we hear is now ready to march, will interrupt us before our assistance come<sup>1</sup>. It is doubtful whether any of the Scottish forces will move apart from the [main] body which, by reason of their number, will move slowly. Upon the direction of their motions the safety of these parts, especially the work before Chester, depends. I therefore propose that that part of their army intended for our assistance may be expedited to us and the main body move by way of Nottingham towards Lichfield, so that, as occasion requires, that part assigned to us may either remain to prosecute this work or march to join their grand army to advance towards Worcester. Thereby this work will be secured, the King's army straitened, the Associated Counties best defended and their army have the advantage of the most plentiful quarters, there being no other place in these parts of the kingdom where their body may be sustained together.

(A40)

Note

- 1 This letter and the correspondence referred to in it, together with the withdrawal of the commanded party from Halifax to Leeds (all occurring before Montrose's victory at Auldearn on 9 May) make it difficult to avoid the conclusion that Leven never seriously intended to send any of his troops to aid Brereton and that, whatever his personal inclinations in the matter, Lesley was aware of his chief's intentions and not prepared to find any excuse for disobeying them. See also the note to 363.

382

*Brereton to Ashurst*

30-4-45. The time of my command groweth short and it is uncertain whether

the King's army or the Scottish assistance will come first into this county, or whether either of them will come before my time be expired. The work before Chester is in good forwardness and, if the enemy disturb not before our intended assistance come, I doubt not much of gaining Chester. However my desire is to move every stone that may conduce thereunto. If I come away I intend to leave the command of these forces with Maj. Lothian and Lt. Col. Jones. But, if the Scots come under Lt. Gen. Lesley [MS has 'Sir D.'] during my stay here in the condition they did before, I then lie open to this disadvantage. The whole charge of the work lies upon my account and not upon the Scots, although their forces are the more considerable part. They receive not orders from me (nor is it desired they should), but from their own general and they pursue them according to their own apprehension. Yet, if any miscarriage be or anything fall short of what may be expected, the blame is wholly mine and will be owned by no other. To prevent his inconvenience I therefore propose that the commander of the Scottish brigade may have the whole charge of this work and the command of these forces. This will be a strong inducement to effectual action and, in regard the whole honour of so great a work as the taking of Chester will be theirs as having the chief command, they will hold themselves more accountable for interest in the success. I shall not be obnoxious [i.e. answerable] to mistakes nor liable to answer for what is not in my power to help. I thought it not so fit to write this to the C. of B.K. as to yourself, but you may please to advise with some about it.

(A39)

383

*Brereton to C. of B.K. and Speaker*

30-4-45 [Apart from the addition of the Speaker to the address, the substitution of *Parl. for you* (C. of B.K.) as the body giving Brereton his command and a few unimportant alterations in phrasing, this letter is identical with 283 of 18 April.]

(A44)

## Note

- 1 283 of 18 April is clearly dated and signed and the date repeated in a marginal note, which makes it improbable that it was a draft that was never sent. The 12 days between this and the 383 version would have been just enough time for some discussion between members of the C. of B.K. and Brereton on his proposals, and this could have been conveyed back and forwards through messengers by word of mouth or in letters that have not been recorded in B.L.B. It is noteworthy that neither of the versions of the militia proposals said to have been enclosed in 281 (to Ashurst) and 283 have been copied into B.L.B., but the version enclosed in 383 has. This suggests that Brereton had written 383 before the copyists had entered up 281 and 283 and that, as the proposals in all three differed very little, they only

copied the version enclosed in 383. Yet, if this were so, why did they copy in both the 18 and 30 April versions of the covering letter, as these also were almost identical? But, as the Introduction on the Texts shows, they were capable of stranger actions than this.

384

*Brereton's Proposals for settling the Militia in Cheshire* [Enclosed with 383]

The forces of this country by the enclosed are of horse 790

The foot are 4140

The garrisons are Nantwich whereof Maj. Croxton is gov., Tarvin whereof Lt. Col. Venables is gov., Hooton and Puddington in Wirral which is governed by Lt. Col. Coote. All are necessary to be kept until Chester shall be reduced and no men so fit to be employed in the charge thereof as these before named.

I conceive it most advantageous to the public [service] for all the horse to be placed under the chief command of Lt. Col. Jones and all the foot to be commanded by Maj. Lothian, who have had the chief managing of horse and foot as soldiers formerly and approved themselves gallant men and such as the soldiers will most willingly follow.

For the satisfaction of the country and those gents. who have approved themselves faithful to the engagement of themselves and their estates for the Parl., I humbly offer that they all be appointed Coms. of the Militia and as Coms. to have powers to impose levies, raise moneys, to put all former ordinances in execution for the raising of moneys, to appoint receivers and treasurers and to pay the soldiers as they shall think fit. Also to direct and give orders to the commanders of the forces from time to time for all such designs as they shall approve of, except at such times as the forces or any part of them shall be under special command for the Parl. or the C. of B.K.

For those that are the present govns. of any of the garrisons formerly mentioned I conceive them to be the most fit men to be placed and continued in their former commands. I conceive it meet for the prevention of distraction upon my coming away that these commanders and committees over the militia of this county be settled in these respective powers by some instructions from Parl. or the C. of B.K., until an ordinance for this purpose be perfected and passed, which I desire leave to offer to the House on my coming up.

(A44)

*A List of the Cheshire Forces* [on 30-4-45] [B.A.L. I]  
 [Also enclosed with 383 A44]

	Horse <sup>2</sup>	
	Sir Wm. Brereton's own troop under Major Zankey	100
	Lt. Col. Mich. Jones	070
	Col. Duckenfield	060
	Lt. Col. Chidley Coote	050
	Col. Brooke	050
	Capt. Hawkbridge	050
Staff.	Capt. Stone	100
	Capt. Vivers	050
	Capt. Shepley	060
Taken	Capt. Bulkeley	070
	Capt. Glegg	040
	Capt. Collham and Capt. Edwards	050
	Capt. Carter	040
		<hr/>
		790
	Foot	
	Sir Wm. Brereton's own regt upon instant duty <sup>3</sup>	
	Sir Wm. Brereton's own coy under the conduct of Lt. Col. Venables	150
Tarvin	Lt. Col. Coote	100
Wirral Hooton	Maj. Croxton	160
Nantwich	Ld. Calvin Capt. about	100
At Salop.	Capt. Finch about	070
Dragoons	Capt. Sadler about	070
Salop	Capt. Monke about	060
Staff.		
Countrymen		
Wirral	Capt. Greene about	120
Taken		
Wirral	Capt. Glegg (now disposed of) [and]	
	Capt. Birkenhead about	160
	Capt. Gimbert's dragoons	060
	Capt. Hulse and [? at] Cholmunlly [Cholmondeley]	060

Wirrhal	Capt. Rathbone	080
Tarvin	Capt. Hardware	060
Salop	Capt. Spicer	040
Wirrhal	Capt. Wm. and Rich. Coventry and Capt. Ball	150
	Capt. Holt's firelocks	080
		<hr/>
		1520
	Adj. Lothian's coy Broxton Hundred <sup>4</sup>	080
	Col. Booth's regt <sup>5</sup>	
Dissolved	his own coy under Maj. Daniell	070
	Lt. Col. Massey	160
country	Capt. Alcock [and]	
country	Capt. Grantham	100
country	Capt. Geo. Massey [and]	
coys;	Capt. Cartwright	100
both at	Capt. Wright and	
Salop	Capt. Whitney	080
	Two Nantwich coys of townsmen under	
Nantwich	Capt. Geo. and Capt. Thos. Mauberne [Malbon]	200
		<hr/>
		710
	Col. Brooke's regt <sup>6</sup>	
	his own coy under Maj. Church of Bucklow Hundred	140
Halton Castle	Lt. Col. Rich. Brooke	060
Bridge Trafford	Capt. John Brooke	070
Tarvin	Capt. Wm. Daniell	060
Nantwich	Capt. Delves and Capt. Blomell [Bramhall] both of the town of Nantwich	160
Dissolved	Lt. Tutchet [Touchet]	080
		<hr/>
		570
	Col. Duckenfield's regt <sup>7</sup>	
	his own coy	120
country	Maj. Bradshaw	140
country	Capt. Booth and Capt. Watson	140

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country	Capt. Siddal and Capt. Shelmerdine	120
country	Capt. Smith	060
		<hr/>
		580
		<hr/>
	Col. Leigh's regt <sup>8</sup>	
	his own coy	100
Tarvin	Lt. Col. Gerard	100
country	Capt. Acton and Capt. Whalley	120
Northwich	Capt. Pigott of the town of Northwich	120
country	Lt. Birtles	080
		<hr/>
		520
		<hr/>
	Col. Mainwaring's regt. <sup>9</sup>	
	Capt. Leadbeater	
	Capt. Cotton	about 160 all countrymen
	Capt. Baskerville	
	Capt. Hancock	
		<hr/>
		160
		<hr/>
	Horse	790
	Foot	4140
		<hr/>
	in toto	4930

(A45)

Notes

- 1 Some general problems raised by this army list of Brereton's are discussed in the Introduction on Subject Matter. Here it should be said that much of what is put in the left hand margin is in a different handwriting from the main list and bears obvious marks of a later interpolation. So that it may never have been sent to London. Usually these notes are concerned with places. *Staffs.* written opposite Capt. Stone's troop and Capt. Monke's coy (and unmistakably in the same writing as the rest of the list and written in with it) means that they were *Staffs.* troops and not necessarily that they were *in Staffs.* (Stone's were, but Monke's were sometimes not.) *Salop*, sometimes *at Sall.*, means they were in Salop, on loan to the Committee there, and not that they were Salop troops. From the names of the officers, *Wirhall* or *Wyr*: would seem to mean that their troops were from the Wirral. Probably most were also serving *in Wirral*, but we do get one definite instance where some of them were not (202). *Countrymen* presumably means that

the units were quartered in their own homes but ready for local action. But they could be used outside. The list shows Capts. Cartwright's and Massey's country company being used in Salop and 290 shows Col. Mainwaring's coys, drawn from the Congleton area, in action at Farndon Bridge.

There follow notes on individual officers in this list. Where these do not occur, it means that there is information elsewhere on them – either in the Introduction on Subject Matter or in notes on previous or subsequent items (use the Index to find these) – or that none has been discovered.

The omission from B.A.L. of the names of a number of Chesh. officers who appear elsewhere in B.L.B. is puzzling. Some can be explained by the absence in the lists of the names of the actual commanders under the cols. of all their personal troops of horse and some of their personal foot coys. Capt. Robt. Wyn, whose origins are unknown and was perhaps a professional soldier, was certainly in command of Col. Brooke's troop of horse (Harl. 2128, 92). Capt. Francis Acton of Over Alderley and Capt. Alex. Newton of Newton in Longdendale had been in Col. Duckenfield's regt of foot and either (but not *both*) of them could have commanded the Col.'s own coy. Newton possibly and Acton almost certainly are the officers who sign at councils of war at Dodleston and Hawarden in April and May, 1645. (S.P. 28, 128, 225 unfol.; Earw. I, 470; B.L.B. 197; 552.) Capt. Jas. Stockport, mentioned in conjunction with Mainwaring's four capts in the fighting at Farndon Bridge, may have been in charge of the col.'s own coy and, with his disgrace and the death of Maj. Jackson, exercised some sort of command over what was left of the regt. Later he was associated with Duckenfield and had a distinguished military career in Ireland. His family came from Saltersford nr. Macclesfield. (Earw. I, 30; II 13, 456; B.L.B. 290–1.) John Trevis of Horton Hall nr. Tarvin, once Col. Leigh's major, may have been omitted because he no longer had any troops under his command and, although retaining his rank, was employed chiefly as an emissary by Brereton. (S.P.28, 224, f.173; C.W.T.C. 146–62.) John Whitworth, prominent in Chesh. affairs during the Interregnum, and Hugh Holt appear to have been capts of pioneers (Harl. 2126, f.4; S.P. 28/224 f.52 and 28/225 unfol.) and such commands were not included in B.A.L.

That still leaves, however, Capts. Brereton, Davies, French, Holford, Marbury, Millington Partington and Walker. The omissions of Brereton and Davies are almost certainly errors as both appear in Brereton's foot regt in Oct. 1645 (B.O.R.0 703). Brereton was probably Anthony Brereton of Ridge nr Macclesfield and Davies Wm. Davies of Ashton-juxta-Tarvin (see ns 8 and 9 to 703 and 1 to 759). French appears to have been originally an officer of Col. John Booth's in Warrington (Harl. 2128, 47–52) and his appearance in B.L.B., first as attempting to collect recruits for Brereton's army in the area of Col. John's concession and then as part of Lothian's task force to follow the King, is mystifying. Marbury's horse is mentioned as still operational by Col. Mich. Jones in April, 1645 (509), yet neither the dep. Lt. Wm. Marbury of Marbury nor John, his brother and heir, are mentioned in B.A.L. or anywhere else in the D and A MSS as holding military rank. Holford's horse is also spoken of by Jones but the confusion concerning this name – a well-known one in Chesh. – is almost total. There appears to have been a Capt. Thos., a Capt. John and a Lt. Rich., brother to John. John and Rich, being of Lostock Gramam nr. Northwich, seem likely to be linked with Col. Leigh, but his troop of horse is also mentioned by Jones in the same sentence with Holford's and

Marbury's. Richard writes a letter while guarding a passage nr. Tarvin, but whether the Capt. Holford whose presence at the siege of Beeston the Chesh. Com. desired (202) and the commander of Holford's horse are one and the same person and whether Thos. or John is unknown. (S.P. 23, 148, f.369; p. 28, 152 unfol.; Harl. 2137, 159.) Capt. Walker was Brereton's scoutmaster and had a detachment of horse at Ridley (357, 515). He does not appear to have been a Chesh. man.

2 *Brereton's regt of horse.* Only one of the acting commanders of the Cols'. and Lt. Cols'. troops of horse is given (Maj. Zankey, a Shropshireman), so some of the officers omitted from B.A.L. may have been in this position. No troops are given for Cols. Geo. Booth, Hen. Mainwaring and John Leigh. It seems probable that those of the first two had been disbanded or put under other commanders, but the omission of Leigh's is almost certainly an error, as it was in existence and appears in B.O.R. in Oct., 1645. Capt. Collham belonged to an Anglo-Irish protestant family related by marriage to Michael Jones. Capt. Stone was gov. of Stafford and one of Brereton's principal supporters in Staffs. and his troop would have been raised there. Of Hawkbridge and Vivers nothing is known except that, according to Brereton (168), Vivers had a brother who was a col.. As their troops were not raised until 1644 and there are no known Chesh. families of these names, it is probable that they came from elsewhere; they may have been professional soldiers. The remaining officers are local. Wm. Edwards was an alderman and a former mayor of Chester. Bulkeley came from Cheadle and Glegg from Gayton in the Wirral. A family of Shepleys appears frequently in the Stockport parish registers during this period and it was in this region that Capt. Shepley took up arms under Geo. Booth in 1659 (Earw. I, 230, 410-1). Wm. Carter came from Cotton just east of Chester (Q.S.F. Trin. 1646, 62, 65; S.P.28, 224, 238).

3 *Brereton's regt of foot.* That this was more than twice as large as any other regt in B.A.L. is presumably the reason for its having two lt. cols. There is some doubt as to which was regarded as the senior and therefore the official 2nd-i-c. (But see Introd. II for whether there was much operational significance in this.) Both by this time had had plenty of experience, Coote in the war in Ireland and Venables in the war in Lancs. as early as the autumn of 1642 (*C.W.T.L.*) and later as a capt. and as Duckenfield's lt. col. in Chesh.. (There is some evidence that officially he still held the latter position; no lt. col. is given for Duckenfield's regt. in B.A.L.) Coote was appointed 2nd-i-c to Brereton's regt in August 1644, but Venables appears first in B.A.L. and as in command of Brereton's own coy. He was also gov. of Tarvin which, at this time, was really Brereton's operational H.Q. for the siege of Chester, while Coote was in charge of the more outlying garrisons of Hooton and Puddington. Later in 1645 Coote was moved to a command over Shropshire units.

Three of the coys in the regt were of dragoons (Brereton's dragoon regt having been broken up) and their officers were not local. Finch had come with the army from Ireland and, after being captured at Nantwich, had changed sides. Joseph Holt and Gimbert were very likely professional soldiers. Capt. Monke and his coy were from Staffs. and why they and not the foot regt and troop of horse of Col. Bowyer, Brereton's nephew by marriage, who constantly co-operated with the Chesh. forces, are included in B.A.L. is something of a mystery. Nothing is known about Capt. Spicer.

The remaining officers are local. The Major was Thos. Croxton of Ravenscroft nr. Northwich who had been a capt. of Trained Bands before the war (Harl. 2119,

211–3) and appears very early in the fighting in Chesh. (Malbon, 48). He also had the very responsible post of gov. of Nantwich, still the centre of parl. government and power in Chesh. Sadler, who later became Mytton's major during the latter's conquest of N. Wales, was from Nantwich (B.L.B. 595611, 121–31) and Hardware, whose puritan family had links with Chester, from Peel nr. Tarvin (Orm. II, 333). Hulse, who had once commanded a coy in Col. Leigh's regt, came from a family that had originated in Hulse nr. Northwich but had branches by this time in Nantwich and at Norbury nr. Cholmondeley (Orm. III, 464). The explanation of 'and Cholmondeley' in B.A.L., which seems to name an otherwise unknown parl. capt. from a strongly royalist family, is almost certainly that it should be 'at Cholmondeley'. Elsewhere in B.A.L. where two officers are named as in charge of one unit the rank is repeated for the second officer. Here it is not. Capt. Hulse was presumably in charge at Cholmondeley. Later he was made gov. of Beeston after its recapture (Harl. 1999, 56–7).

All the remaining officers are from the Wirral. The reason for them being put into Brereton's regt was probably that it had not proved possible to raise the Trained Bands here and form a local regt round them because most of the area was in royalist hands until the autumn of 1644. Capt. Greene was later stated to have been a capt for the Parl. throughout the war (*C.A.M.*, 1209) but both he and the father of Glegg of Gayton were also accused of co-operation with the royalists (Morrill, 215). Glegg had resigned his commission earlier in April, 1645, (202) which is presumably the reason for the 'now disposed of' opposite his name in B.A.L.

- 4 *Adj. Lothian's Coy. Broxton Hundred.* That there was no more than a coy from this hundred was probably due to the strong royalist influence there which came from Chester at its northern end and the long western border with Wales. Even the coy was under strength, which Lothian attributed to Brereton's policy of allowing other capt. to maintain detachments in Broxton which absorbed all the available man-power (181).
- 5 *Col. Geo. Booth's regt.* Although *Dissolved* is opposite Maj. Daniell's coy in the MS, it seems likely that it is meant to apply to the regt For Col. Geo. Booth had resigned his commission, whereas there is evidence that Maj. Daniell's coy was still in existence. The exact significance of 'dissolved', however, if meant to apply to the regt, is tantalising in its obscurity. For in the same item which tells us that Maj. Daniell's coy was still in existence and Col. Geo. Booth had resigned his commission (441), the 'Com. at Nantwich', composed entirely of dep. lts. headed by Brooke and Sir Geo. Booth, expressed great alarm to Brereton lest the regt 'be lost and become unserviceable to this county'. Perhaps Brereton wished it to be broken up and the coys attached to other regts but the dep. lts. successfully resisted this. As Wm. Massey, its lt. col., continued in Brereton's service and became a col., it seems probable the regt did survive.

The names of Col. Geo. Booth's officers are interesting and seem to show that the regt derived more from Nantwich town and hundred (Booth was gov. of Nantwich both during the siege and in the autumn of 1644 – *C.W.T.C.* 104, and *C.S.P.D.* 1644–5) than from the Booth estates at Dunham Massey and Wilmslow. Only Grantham and Alcocke came from this region, while Wm. Massey, the two Malbons, Whitney, Cartwright and (probably) Wright came from Nantwich Hundred. Wm. Massey and Cartwright were from near Audlem, Whitney from Coole Pilate, while the Malbons were the sons of the annalist, Thos. Malbon of

Bradley. Capt. Wright could have been the Robt. who had been a Chester sheriff in pre-war years, left the city to join the parl. party and became mayor in 1648. But it is more likely that he was the Capt. Matthew Wright who was buried at Nantwich on 22-11-45 and came from the well-known Nantwich family of merchants (Hall, 260).

Of the remaining two officers Geo. Massey came from Coddington in Broxton Hundred and was brother to the gov. of Gloucester. His earlier Civil War experience seems to have been with his brother in Gloucester and it is probable that he did not join the Chesh. forces before the end of 1645. It seems most likely that Maj. Daniell was from Daresbury. Dore (17) gives him as John, the brother of Capt. Wm. Daniell of Tabley, but this John had been an apprentice in London (Orm. I, 475) and there is no independent evidence that he was ever in Chesh. during the war. Whereas Harl. 1999 f.77 records a Maj. Daniell of Daresbury. It seems likely he would be John jun, son and heir of John Daniell of Daresbury, and therefore the Col. John Daniell who joined the revolt of his old Colonel (George Booth) in 1659 (Orm I, LXVI). If so, he was the only serving officer of Brereton's, except Col. Henry Brooke, to sign the anti-Brereton Knutsford petition (409).

- 6 *Col. Hen. Brooke's regt.* The names of the officers of this regt indicate that it was drawn mostly from Bucklow Hundred and dominated by the important family of the Brookes of Norton Priory. The head of the house was its col.; his brother Rich. was his Lt. col., his brother John one of his capts. In fact in the early stages of the fighting in Chesh. while Henry was still living with his wife's relatives in Notts. the younger brothers maintained the family home against the royalists. Brooke's great importance in the parl. war effort in Chesh. seems to have dated from the period after the battle of Nantwich (25 Jan., 1644) when Brereton was up in London and Brooke also visited the capital. By the Ord. of 7 May (C.J. III, 484) Parl. made him high sheriff and voted £1,000 towards the completion of his regt of foot and his troop of horse.

B.A.L. says that the Major, John Church, was of Bucklow Hundred. No family of that name is recorded as having lived there at the time, however, and it is possible that he was an outsider (perhaps from Notts.) or a professional soldier. But Wm. Daniell of Over Tabley and Thos. Touchet from Nether Whitley were undoubtedly from families living within the Hundred. Daniell later became a New Model col. and gov. of Perth during the Interregnum. Yet it was not only from this Hundred but from the part of it where Norton Priory lay, that Col. John Booth had been granted the concession of drawing money, supplies and recruits for the garrison of Warrington. The same Ord. of 7 May, 1644, that made Brooke sheriff cancelled the concession, but the D and A MSS show plainly that, despite this, Col. John was able to maintain it. His letter to Thos. Marbury (245) shows what was likely to happen to Capt. Touchet's attempts to recruit and this is probably the reason for the 'dissolved' in the margin opposite Lt. (*sic*) Touchet's coy in B.A.L. Difficulty in obtaining recruits in the Hundred may very well be the reason why the regt was made up by a coy of volunteers from Nantwich Hundred under Capts. Blomell and Delves. We know nothing of Francis Blomell except that he came from Nantwich itself (Harl. 1999, 328; 2126, 35) but Delves, an illegitimate son of Sir Thos. Delves of Doddington, was a prominent citizen of the town both before and after the Civil War (Hall *passim*).

- 7 *Col. Rob. Duckenfield's regt.* Duckenfield's officers can all with reasonable certainty be identified as local men, coming from Macclesfield and Stockport or

areas close to them. Wm. Watson (see 189, note) had been mayor of Macclesfield in 1643–4, Anthony Booth was mayor at the time B.A.L. was made, had been mayor before (1640–1) and was to be again (1649–50). Edmund Shelmerdine came from a family living at Etchells, Northenden parish (now part of the Wythenshawe estate). The Syddals and the Smiths lived near Bramhall and were tenants of the Davenportes (although they may well have held some freehold land as well). Wm. Syddall and Wm. Smith signed the refusal of Wm. Davenport's tenants to obey his injunction to enlist for the King (Syddal's name headed the signatories). Later Syddal was among the sequestrators who ordered an inventory to be made of Davenport's goods while Shelmerdine and Smith were among those who carried out this order, backed by a company of musketeers. Smith replaced Wm. Duckenfield, the col.'s younger brother, whose name follows his in the MS but is crossed out. At the outbreak of war he was 20 years old and the col. 23. The major, Hen. Bradshaw, was the eldest son of Hen. Bradshaw of Marple Hall and brother to John (*q.v.*) the future regicide judge. (Earwaker, *passim*)

- 8 *Col. John Leigh's regt.* From the officers this appears to be a central Chesh. regt but drawn from the three hundreds (Bucklow, Northwich and Eddisbury) that met at Northwich. The col., John Leigh of Norbury Booths, Knutsford, was a substantial squire of ancient descent. The lt. col., Gilbert Gerard, of Crewood Hall nr. Kingsley, was of more modest means, although coming from the same family as the much wealthier and better-known Gerards of Bryn in Lancs. Both, from their actions, were firm Brereton supporters and both continued to back the Interregnum governments right up to the Restoration. (Orm. I, 494–8; II, 131–2; Morrill, *passim*; W. Gibson and Alan Waterhouse, *Kingsley, a Cheshire village*, for detailed account of Gerard.) Capt. Rich. Pigott was certainly 'of the town of Northwich', the Pigott family being well-known there, and there is an intriguing probability that he was the ex-Master of what was then known as Witton School (now Sir John Deane's G.S.) and the future Master of Shrewsbury. He ceased to function as the Master of Witton in 1643 and began to act as the Master of Shrewsbury in 1646, dates that would just allow for his military career. (M. Cox & L.A. Hopkins – *Hist. of Sir John Deane's Grammar School, Northwich*, 74–6; J.B. Oldham – *Hist. of Shrewsbury School*, 52; *Sheaf* 3rd Ser, 4, 116.) Capt. Whalley was probably the Thos. Whalley of Shipbrook who was indicted for his parl. activities by the Chester Grand Jury in 1644 (*C.W.T.C.* 146–162). If so, he was of yeoman stock.

No attribution to central Cheshire can be found for Capt. Acton and Lt. Birtles, however. Acton was not the Capt. Francis who appears in 552 (see above Note 1) but was probably John of Nantwich (Harl. 1999, 283). Nothing is known about Birtles except that he continued to follow a military career, serving under Brereton in the midlands in 1646 and under Col. Wm. Daniell at Dunbar in 1650 (B.L.B. Birm., 203, 254; Q.S.F., Epiphany 1650–1, 52).

- 9 *Col. Hen. Mainwaring's regt.* The information we have of the officers of this regt indicates that it was drawn from Northwich Hundred (which extended south-east to the Pennines and included the towns of Congleton, Sandbach, Holmes Chapel and Middlewich) and the adjacent parts of Macclesfield Hundred. Mainwaring came from Kermincham, Baskerville from Withington, Cotton from Cotton Hall, all close to Holmes Chapel; Hancocke, who was a clergyman, from Odd Rode on the Staffs. border. Two recorded incidents link Leadbeater with Gawsworth, but there seem to be no records of his family there, so either he was of humble origin or his family had come in from outside recently. (Orm. and Earw. *passim*.)

The position of the regt at the time of B.A.L. is difficult to assess. Col. Hen Mainwaring, although a leading dep. Lt. from the beginning of the war and the virtual commander of the parl. forces in the county until Brereton's arrival from London in Jan. 1643, was officially removed from all his positions of command for 'dis-service to the Parl.' by the Ord. of 7 May, 1644 (*C.J.* III, 484). We do not know the reasons for this as no sequestration proceedings against him were ever carried through. He continued to command his regt in the defence of Stockport against Rupert on 25 May and the relief of Oswestry on 2 July (Malbon, 130; Thomason, E 54). But this could be attributed to the emergency caused by Rupert's presence in Chesh. and Lancs. at the time and certainly, although the regt is given as if it was still his in B.A.L. and in a letter of Brereton's to the C. of B.K. (527), nowhere in B.L.B. is he shown as still exercising military command.

Presumably the major, Robt. Jackson, commanded the regt. But he was killed at Fardon Bridge at the end of Feb., 1645. (SP 28, 152, 225, unfol.; Malbon, 162-3; B.L.B. 290-1). No local origins have been found for him, so presumably he was from outside the county, perhaps a professional soldier. But the four remaining capts continued to command their coys and are mentioned in various operations in the B and C MSS.

For Capt. Stockport who is mentioned together with the above officers in 290-1 (rather, in fact, as if he was in command) see above Note 1.

## 386

*Com. at Tarvin to the Com. at Stafford*

[April, 1645]<sup>1</sup> Tarvin. The complaints of this part of the county against Rugeley's troop while they stayed here (though it was not long) were many, which we passed over and forbear to mention. But now at their departure, which was without any warrant from Sir Wm. Brereton, they plundered many houses of our best friends near to our garrison and used much violence to them. This we desire you to take into your consideration and cause them [the goods] to be restored to the honest poor men that own them. This bearer is sent for them and we entreat your favour therein.

John Bruen, Rob. Gregg, W. Davies, James Gartside.  
(A29)

## Note

- 1 Although this item is entered into the A Letter Book among other items dated at the end of April, it is likely that it would have been written much earlier in the month or even at the end of March. The Staffs. Com. considered the matter of the return of Rugeley's troop without permission on 25 March (P. & R., 282). As this letter was not addressed to Brereton or to anyone in any of the three places which he visited most frequently at this time – Nantwich, Tarvin and Dodleston – it would be some time before it would get into the hands of Brereton's copyists.

## 387

*Lt. Col. Coote to Brereton*

[c. end of April, 1645] It is the desire of the officers under your command,

who (though strangers)<sup>1</sup> have spent our time exercising our best endeavours and care for the reducing of this county that, in regard you are called away from us, you would be pleased before the expiration of your command to give some competent satisfaction for our past service and what we cannot have at present – the remainder of our arrears – may be settled and assured to us, according to the power of the ordinance granted to you, out of papists and malignants estates. Thereby we may receive encouragements for after times, and we shall remain engaged to your particular self for performance of your promises and obliged with our future service to answer the public expectations of the common weal.  
(A29)

Note

- 1 These 'stranger' officers seem to have been concentrated in Brereton's own regts of horse and foot. Mich. Jones, Coote himself, Finch and Collham are known to have come from the royal army in Ireland, while no local origin has been discovered for Capts. Hawkbridge, Vivers, Spicer, Gimbart or Holt.

388

*Brereton's Agents to City Companies*

[c. end of April, 1645]

1 It is desired that all the benefit of time may be taken concerning the certainty of the £5,000 ordered by the House for the forces under Sir Wm. Brereton

2 Whereas these several companies have lent money [351 and *C.J. IV*, 122] upon the security of the Excise their forbearance [i.e. for repayment] is desired upon the same security at 8%.

Drapers	£1250-0-0
Grocers	£1500-0-0
Goldsmiths	£1166-0-0 <sup>1</sup>
Skinners	£0700-0-0

That the books at Guildhall may also be examined to know what other companies or particular persons have lent money *ut super*, that such persons may forthwith be sent for and moved for the like forbearance.

[Margin] One Mr Halls to be called speedily.

(A28)

Note

- 1 Written across the double noughts for s. & d. that follow the Goldsmiths' loan of £1166 are the words 'good money'.

*Sir Jas., with Sir Edw., Harrington to Brereton*

[Blank in MS]-4-45 London. After the acknowledgement of your many favours showed to my sister Leigh, I hold myself obliged to acquaint you with the miscarriage and disrespect of one Henry Cockson to yourself and the rest of the dep. lts., who in justice to the cause of my sister Leigh, did order that she might receive the rents of Baguley, according to her husband's will, she having given good security to be responsible in case the cause should be judged against her according to the said order. But he, in contempt of your order, hath in the name of Mistress Frances Leigh, sister to Mr Edw. the delinquent and a joint adversary of my sister's, petitioned the Lords and Commons without notice given. Thereby he insinuates that you have prejudiced the state and done unjustly in making such an order. By appealing hither from you who are the com. of the county and upon the place can best judge of the differences with less labour and charge to the inhabitants, he doth, by his petition, cast a blemish upon your judgement and integrity. We desire that you and the rest of the gents. who subscribed my sister's order acquaint the Com.<sup>2</sup> that their certificate may not be prejudicial nor different to your former order. This Cockson's end and endeavour is not for the benefit of but merely prejudicial to the state that, thereby, he might continue a title for the delinquent to the land.<sup>3</sup>

(A154)

#### Notes

- 1 After some deliberation the curious mixture of singular and plural pronouns and possessive adjectives in this item has been left because it was felt that it probably reflects the nature of the letter itself. Sir Edw. Harrington bart. succeeded to Ridlington in Rutland in 1614 but did not die until 1653. His son and heir Jas. was knighted in 1623. As 21 and its note reveals, he was already acquainted with Brereton and they had similar religious and political views. In addition his father must have been elderly by this time. It was probably Sir Jas. who formulated the letter and so, whenever his sister Bridget is mentioned, 'my' is used. But, to add weight to the family representation, Sir Edward's signature was added to Sir James's (it precedes it in the MS) and 'we' used when presenting their request.
- 2 Probably, as Morrill says (207), the Committee was that for Compounding meeting at Goldsmiths' Hall but, as Frances was certainly acting for her delinquent brother, Edward, and composition does not yet seem to be involved, it may have been the older Committee for Sequestrations at Armorers' Hall.
- 3 Bridget Harrington had married Rich. Leigh, squire of Baguley Hall, Chesh., who died just before the Civil War. He was succeeded by his brother Edward, who married into the Tatton family of Wythenshawe Hall and was among those captured when it surrendered to the parliamentarians in Feb. 1644. Frances was one of his younger sisters and, as yet, unmarried. Morrill (207 and n.1) cites the case as an example of the struggle of the Chesh. radicals, lead by Brereton and acting through Cockson, against the conservative dep. lts. It appears to have been less straightforward than this, however, being complicated by the pre-war will of

Rich. Leigh, as is made plain in the letter itself. Furthermore, the dep. lts. appear to have made an order favourable to the non-local and radical Harringtons, while Cockson (acting, of course, for Brereton) was trying to upset it to help a local lady and her delinquent brother, a reversal of the expected roles. Later the Com. for Compounding granted the lands, not to Frances, but to Bridget, and then asked Parl. to rescind their order in favour of Edward who had now paid his fine and been pardoned. They forwarded letters concerning the case to Sir Geo. Booth to hold pending further direction, because it was not the Com.'s task to determine such litigious matters. (21 and 350 and notes; Orm. I, 552, Earw. I, 315; C.C.C. 1090.)

## 390

*The Petition of Sir Thos. Middleton's Officers for his continuance in his command*

[c. 30-4-45] May it please your Honours [i.e. C. of B.K.]. We being employed in the service of King and Parl. under the command of Maj. Gen. Sir Thos. Middleton, having seen an ordinance of Parl. for the discharging of members of either House from their military employment, do out of the duty we owe to God and our country humbly present to your wisdom the ensuing considerations.

1 We find by experience that the country of North Wales is not so reducible as other parts of the kingdom by any power to be raised within itself, in regard the common people are awed by the malignant gents and the garrisons planted in every corner thereof and generally seduced by the universal dissension of the ministers, there being not (that we can learn) in all the six counties two beneficed ministers that have shewed any affection to the present church reformation or readiness to enter into the National Covenant. Therefore we humbly conceive that if any man shall undertake to perform that service by his interest in the country, he will but retard the work and be an occasion of losing the present opportunity, unless the Parl. spare such considerable strength as will enable him to finish the work.

2 We conceive that our Maj. Gen. hath hitherto proceeded as far and been as active with the strength he had as any man. And, if any argument hath been made use of to his prejudice, it ariseth from his earnest desire to advance the service and the publicness of his spirit therein by being as ready to promote the same in the neighbouring associations as in his own (as those in Chesh., Salop and South Wales will not be so ingrateful as to deny) which drew him to overact his forces and thereby (and by the coming of the Princes' forces into the country) occasioned a diminution of his cavalry which was some hindrance to this, though advantageous to the adjacent counties.

3 We think it our duty to acquaint you that our Maj. Gen.'s self-denying care of advancing the service is such that he hath assigned his own rents to pay the soldiers and that at this instant the country, taking notice of his indulgence and care of them to preserve them from plundering, have sent to him to desire him to plant a garrison in the county of Denbigh, whereby they may assure

themselves of his constant residence amongst them, and then they promise to join with him. This opportunity, in regard some of his forces are before Chester from whence they cannot yet be spared, we cannot at present lay hold on, but did intend as soon as ever they should be drawn off to take that course in hand. But if our Maj. Gen. deserts the service according to the tenor of the Ordinance this advantage will be lost, in regard we find that the motive inducing the country to this compliance is their affection and gratitude towards him.

4 This care to advance the reformation, expressed by his desire to have pious and faithful ministers about him, hath drawn many conscientious, honest men to bear arms under him, who do profess that they will serve no longer in this country than they may have assurance that religion and the professors hereof shall be countenanced and encouraged here.

5 There was an ordinance of Parl. passed to enable him by subscription to raise moneys for this service and make payment thereof out of delinquents' estates. Upon which many hundreds out of their joint respects to him and the service have subscribed and some of us have adventured our persons and the greatest part of our estates in the service, in hope that the power conveyed unto him by ordinance to make satisfaction should have been continued in him, which we find by the last ordinance taken away. Therefore we humbly offer to your judgements whether this will not be a discouragement to public advancements of that nature. For our part we cannot but conceive that it tends to our particular prejudice and is therein contrary to the intentions of Parliament.

But what we have laid down we do humbly, conceiving that if any of the members be continued in their employment (notwithstanding the Ordinance) he is as fit and necessary to be continued as any, which we humbly refer to your deep judgements and pious considerations.

(A49)

*Brereton to C. of B.K.*

1-5-45 I formerly received a letter from Lt. Gen. Lesley [156] wherein he intimated that he was informed of some expressions in my letter of 24 March 1644 [-5] to you [102] which he takes to reflect upon himself. I have returned a fair and moderate answer [157], my desire being to avoid all disputes between those engaged in a common cause against one enemy. Yet further to prevent any mistaking of my own actions when the enemy was last in our parts, or any mis-aspersions that my former expressions may seem to cast upon the Scotch forces, I take leave to lay down a particular narrative of all our proceedings. Upon 18 March last the Princes drew their whole army into Chesh., upon whose approach we withdrew all our forces from their quarters about Chester. The greatest part of the foot being such as were taken out of

the garrisons of Nantwich, Tarvin, etc. I sent them back thither to secure those places from the enemy, who was then master of the field and nearer to Nantwich than we were. This was all that then could be expected, as the enemy so far exceeded our number, being nearly treble our foot, that I was no ways answerable to fight; and I had received orders from you, Lord Leven and Lord Fairfax to put my forces into a posture of safety until assistance came up. 20 March the Scotch forces came to Knutsford, upon whose approach the Prince [Rupert] drew off his army and lay at [Market] Drayton, 20 March, (of which we had certain intelligence) and moved thence to Newport, 21 March, where some reported he intended to fortify. The Scottish forces then quartered at Sandbach. I then conceived that a body of such strength as we had could not suddenly be formed in any other place to oppose the Prince and that it would be expected we should pursue. To that end it was resolved by myself and the rest of the Chesh. and Lancs. commanders at a council of war held at Middlewich, 21 March, here enclosed [91], that the whole army should march towards [Market] Drayton in pursuit of the enemy, who still lay at Newport, seven miles from Drayton. This resolution was speedily sent to Lt. Gen. Lesley, then at Sandbach, for his concurrence and on the 22 a letter for the same purpose likewise enclosed, [96]. But Lt. Gen. Lesley concurred not with our judgement and desires, as appears by his answer to us 22 March (enclosed) [97], which I conceive was according to the orders he had received from Lord Leven here enclosed.<sup>1</sup>

I honour the Scots forces so far and esteem the military ability of their commanders so much above my own that it was never my intention in any former letter to carry any other construction than is in this relation; herein the positive truth is laid down, which I hope will offend no man.

(A45)

Note

- 1 Although notes in the margin give folio references 'in the last book' for this and the three earlier enclosures in this item, these all-important instructions from Leven to Lesley (although often mentioned) are not now to be found in the D MS or anywhere else in B.L.B. The other enclosures, however, are all in the D MS in the places stated. 'My letter of 24 March' referred to in the first sentence of this item is also in the D MS, but not on the folio given in the marginal entry opposite it.

*Brereton to Lt. Col. Spencer*

[?]1-5-45<sup>1</sup> Nantwich. I have received your letters [376] but, until it be known whether the Princes come this way, I cannot justify dismissing you to the Parl., nor can you, without dishonour if they march this way, return to Yorks. I entreat you to quarter towards Whitchurch which would be more convenient and, if the Princes do not come this way, I shall be willing to dismiss you. In the meantime I will use the best means I can to procure money for you, which

for the present I have not. There are some officers of your regt and others that have given out very ill and unbecoming words against me, as Sir Thos. Norcliffe's capt. It. I desire that some of them may be brought to a trial for it, as some of the other regts have been, since when they have carried themselves so as no complaints have come against them. They may quarter at Ickfeild [Ighfield], Ash, Cumbermare [Combermere], Marbury, Norbury<sup>2</sup> and other places thereabout and as you think fitting. In the meantime I desire you to give them the best satisfaction you can.

(A41)

#### Notes

- 1 See note to 393
- 2 All these places are close to Whitchurch. Ighfield, Ash (there are two – Magna and Parva), being s.e. of it in Salop, and Combermere, Norbury and Marbury n.e. in Chesh. (N.B. There is a 2nd Marbury in Chesh. nr. Northwich.)

#### 393

*Lt. Col. Spencer to Brereton*

[?]1-5-45<sup>1</sup> Macclesfield. If I should march towards Whitchurch the badness of the order would much exasperate the necessitated soldiers. Therefore, if in your better judgement you conceive it fitting, I shall hover in these parts and keep our men together until you have further intelligence of the Princes' motion. I assure you there is no man more willing to serve and none more wronged for insolences committed by the soldiers. I cannot altogether excuse our own, yet I am certain we are much injured by your own troops. Let the mischief be what it will, Yorkshire men doeth it. For the business of Sir John Trevor's [house], it is well known who did it. I am confident there is no place where I quartered but will justify my diligence in repressing all manner of abuse and inflicting condign punishment on the offenders, and I shall redouble my industry in finding out those that either have or shall injure you in name or estate. Sir Thos. Norcliffe's capt. It. I cashiered a month since. If there be any other officer or soldier that I can find out (which I shall study to do) that have given any unbecoming speeches against you, I shall do you that right, not only to bring them to trial, but severely to punish them.

(A56)

#### Note

- 1 It is quite certain from its contents that 393 is an answer to 392. The numerals of the dates on both letters, however, are so puzzling that it is possible that they were written on 6 and 8 May and not both on 1 May. (See Note on Numerals after the Introduction to the Texts for this problem.) They have been left at 1 May for two reasons. 392 is an answer to Spencer's letter of 30 April (376) and, negotiations with the Yorks.' horse being so urgent, it seems unlikely that Brereton would have waited a whole week before replying. The items in the MS before and after both

392 and 393 relate more to the end of April and the beginning of May than to a week later. As Macclesfield is only 20 miles from Nantwich, it would have been quite possible for both letters to have been written on 1 May.

394

*Maj. Goodricke to Brereton*

1-5-45 Ightfield. I have sent this bearer to acquaint you with the distempered condition of our regt. We quartered, according to your order, at Overton near Bangor on Tuesday night, where we were forced to watch the enemy all night with the whole regt upon intelligence from Capt. Lloyd [Luke; see 357 n.1] that there were at Chirk 200 horse and at Holt 40 horse besides foot. These are every night upon some design and, as we hear, have taken a whole troop of Capt. Bulkeley's since that time. So we were forced to remove to the Two Ashes, where we now are, and some of the troops are so far incensed that they went away of themselves without order into safer parts where they yet keep together.

I am exceedingly troubled and discouraged herewith. I find them so unbelieving of pay as that they affirm they will not march into Wales until they be paid. I see no way to remedy this unless you appoint shortly a day and place where pay shall be received, so that we may draw them thither, if possible. Then I am in good hopes they will readily march once again into Wales. I beseech you consider how much it doth perplex me to command men of this constitution, who are so impatient of delays and so extremely taken with desire to return unto their own country. I have testimony enough in myself, besides others, how much I have endeavoured to keep them to the command, the which I shall refer to your indulgent censure.

[Footnote] In answer whereunto Sir Wm. sent to Maj. Goodricke to come to Nantwich.

(A51)

395

*Nat. Lancaster<sup>1</sup> to Provo.-Marshall at Northwich*

1-5-45 Nantwich. At the instance of Mrs Kinsey of Wimbosly [Wimboldsley]<sup>2</sup> I signify to you that the exchange betwixt her husband and Peter Woodward of Barrow did pass upon this: that her husband should live quietly at home behaving himself inoffensively, as appears under the General's [Brereton's] own hand. If we break our covenants at the enlargement of our prisoners, we shall disable ourselves from any further trust to be reposed in us and become very scandalous before the enemy. I give you my advice therefore to forbear to molest him whilst he [behaves] according as was covenanted. If you have anything against him since his enlargement, others are to judge of it who will be as strict in justice and tender of the cause as yourself.

(A72)

## Notes

- 1 Nathaniel Lancaster, rector of Tarporley, Chesh., drew attention to himself before the war by his enthusiastic puritanism. During the war he became chaplain and clerk to the Chesh. army and, on the fall of Chester in Feb. 1646, he wrote an account of the whole siege which was accepted by Parl. as the official account and published under the title of *A More Exact Account of Chester's Enlargment*. Lancaster was a presbyterian and *persona grata* with the anti-Brereton dep. Its., and this is distinctly shown in his account which is critical of actions undertaken while Brereton was there in person and full of praise for those done while he was away. Nevertheless, it is a valuable parallel account of the siege and fills the gap left by the discontinuance of B.L.B. while Brereton was back in Westminster from June-October, 1645. (Orm. II, 232, 236; *Sheaf*, 3rd Ser. 38, 1943.)
- 2 John Kinsey of Wimboldsley compounded for his delinquency with a payment of £80 (Orm. I, lxiii).

## 396

*Dr. Fowler's undertaking to observe the terms of his parole*

1-5-45 Nantwich. [Summary: Thos. Fowler, Doctor of Divinity and prisoner at Nantwich, undertakes to use the parole granted him by Brereton to seek exchange with Dr. Harding, prisoner at Dublin Castle. He will either procure the enlargement of Dr. Harding and cause him to be sent to Nantwich or, at the end of one month, return to Nantwich himself as prisoner. The underwritten undertake that he shall 'really perform this engagement:']

Rich. Lee, Her [b]. Vaughan, Edw. Kinaston, Fran. Thornes, John Younge.<sup>1</sup> [Note appended from gov. of Nantwich, Thos. Croxton, to Provo.-Marshall there, ordering him to let Dr. Fowler go on his parole.]

(A86)

## Note

- 1 All these and Dr. Fowler, who was rector of Whitchurch, were prisoners taken at Shrewsbury (see 10).

## 397

*Order against sending Cattle out of the County*

[c. 1-5-45 Nantwich] It is ordered that such persons as have bought or shall buy any of the cattle lately taken from the enemy in Wales shall not convey nor sell the same to be conveyed out of this county. If any shall have been sent away, they are to take speedy course that they be returned and stayed within the county, as they shall answer the contrary at their peril.

Wm. Brereton, Hen. Brooke, Thos. Croxton, John Wettenhall, Rich. Leicester, Rich. Egerton, W. Raven.

(A53)

*Order for Payments to the Army from Money from Sale of Cattle*

1-5-45 Nantwich. Whereas it was upon debate though fit and so ordered that a great number of cattle taken from the enemy in Wales should be sold and moneys thereof bestowed in provisions for the army and garrisons belonging to this county, and whereas the said cattle are sold unto Commissary Hinde in pursuance of the same order, it is now ordered that £120 of the same due for the said cattle shall be paid unto the Treasurer at Tarvin by Com. Hinde within four days after the date hereof to buy provisions for that garrison (which hath been of late much exhausted) and for the forces at Hoole at the appointment of the Com. at Tarvin. The rest is to be paid unto Mr John Wettenhall, Mr Rich. Leicester and Mr [Rich.] Egerton to be by them disposed of in making provisions for the army and garrisons as occasion shall require.

Wm. Brereton, Hen. Brooke, Thos. Croxton, Wm. Raven  
(A53)

*Order for disposing of money from cattle taken in Wales*

2-5-45 Nantwich. Whereas Commissary Hinde received the beasts taken from the enemy in Wales upon the rate of 20s a beast and, having since sold the same to Marshall Trevors [? Trevis] and others for 29s a beast (the total being 366)<sup>1</sup> and hath received £170 in part payment and the residue is to be paid by the same Marshall Trevors and others within the space of the next four days, and whereas also Com. Hinde hath bought and received and hath now in his custody unsold 1,700 sheep but for the benefit of the public is contented to relinquish his whole bargain and interest in the said cattle and sheep, having allowance and recompence for his charges herein, it is therefore ordered that Com. Hinde shall forthwith pay into the hands of John Wettenhall, Rich. Egerton and Rich. Leicester, gents., all the moneys he hath received for the said cattle, abating only so much as he hath laid out for the provision of the army since his receipt thereof. Also the said Mr Wettenhall, Mr Leicester and Mr Egerton are hereby authorised to receive the residue of the said moneys from Marshall Trevors and the rest that bought the said cattle. Also it is ordered that Com. Hinde shall deliver all the sheep he brought out of Wales into the custody of Arthur Edgely, Thos. Wilkinson, Thos. Hancock, Ralph Leftwich and Rich. Weld. They are to take care and charge thereof and dispose of the same within the county to the best benefit of the public, wherein they are to be accountable upon their oaths. The moneys they shall raise from the sale thereof they are forthwith to pay over to the said Mr Wettenhall, Mr Leicester and Mr Egerton. And if Com. Hinde or any other have sold any of the said sheep, the money they were sold for is presently to be paid to these three who are ordered to pay all the same moneys in the

manner following: to the Treasurer at Tarvin £120 to be disposed of by the Com. there for the buying of provisions for the garrison at Tarvin (which hath been much exhausted by supplying the army with victuals and provisions) and for the army lying at Hoole; to Sir Thos. Middleton or his officers for his part of the cattle (his part for the sheep being already delivered him) £70: And the residue of the same moneys they are to dispose of in buying provisions, whereof those to the value of £20 are presently to be sent for the supply of the two ships now remaining in the river near Neston, those to the value of £30 for the garrisons of Hooton and Puddington in the Wirral, those to the value of £20 for the garrison at Upton Hall, and the rest for the supplying of the army at Eccleston and Dodleston in Wales [sic]<sup>2</sup> and of the garrison of Nantwich as there shall be occasion and it shall be proportioned. Com. Hinde is upon oath to deliver his account to the said Mr Wettenhall, Mr Leicester and Mr Egerton for his charges about the said cattle and sheep, and he is to have allowance thereof and so much more as shall be thought fit for his pains and care therein.

Wm. Brereton, Rog. Wilbrham, Geo. Spurstow, Thos. Croxton, Wm. Raven, Rich. Wright, Tho. Walthall.<sup>3</sup>  
(A52)

## Notes

- 1 Before 'and hath received', the MS has the seemingly meaningless phrase 'and two beasts in at payt.'
- 2 Eccleston and Dodleston are in Chesh. but they lie west of the Dee and, for military purposes, this was reckoned as being on the *Welsh*, as opposed to the *Cheshire*, side of the Leaguer.
- 3 Wright and Walthall were gents. of Nantwich. Wright was one of the original trustees for the bequest of Sir Edm. Wright, Ld. Mayor of London, which resulted in the still existing almshouses. Walthall was a churchwarden in pre-war days. (Hall, 493-4; 139, 298.)

## 400

*Certificates for Hen. Harper from Chester Doctors*

2-5-45 Chester. We, the doctors of physic, practitioners in physic and chirurgeons subscribed, do certify that Mr Hen. Harper of the city of Chester is troubled with an infirmity in the left eye called Ayglops or fistula lachrimis which, if not timely prevented, may endanger the bone and gristle of the nose and then be irremediable; the care whereof requires exquisite manual operation. We do therefore advise that in due time he repair to Mr Watson, the king's surgeon, or to the College of Physicians and Chirurgeons for their advice and assistance there, in regard the same hath not happened in any of our practices.

Doctors of Physic: Hugh Parry, M.D., Roger Pulston;  
Practicioners: J. Bray, M.D., James Read;

Chirurgeons: Edw. Hallis, Rob. Thornely, Rob. Morrey.  
(A62)

401

*Com. of Salop to Brereton*

2-5-45 [Shrewsbury] By a special friend that lives near Bridgnorth we received intelligence, which originally comes out of the mouth of one of the Princes' secretaries, that the Princes are upon their advance this way and one of them intended to be at Bewdley last night, that they purpose against this town and hope for a party in it and then to relieve Chester and overcome the county of Chester. We cannot rely on this intelligence but find that some part of it doth concur with what we hear from divers other friends: that the enemy hath a strong party in this town and have some design in hand. But as yet we cannot discover it. We are as active as we may be to prevent danger and for that purpose have entreated Col. Hunt with some select persons to be constantly in the castle. We have many strange soldiers amongst us and some that were employed by the other side. If any design be, we fear it ariseth from them. We desire you to have an eye upon us, as formerly you have had, and if you receive certain intelligence of the Princes' advance to send 200 good foot to Wem. We will remove some of them hither and so both places will be secured. Their stay need not be longer than until we perceive which way the Princes bend their course. Our want of muskets is great and course is already taken for sending for them to Hull and 400 of them lie ready for us at Coventry. Our earnest request is in regard our use of them may be more speedy than they can be got. So, if you would lend us 200 muskets, we do hereby engage ourselves to see a faithful restitution made.

[P.S.] We are content you do what you please touching surgeons and Dr. Fowler<sup>1</sup> procuring an exchange between him and Dr. Harding. For Maj. Zanke<sup>2</sup> he shall have all the respect we can express. But for the parsonage of Hodnet it hath long since been disposed of according to the Ordinance of Parlt. to Mr Boughe [Boughey]<sup>3</sup> and we cannot displace him unless he voluntarily leave it. Maj. Fenwick<sup>4</sup> that came from Coventry confirms the news of Bicester<sup>5</sup> in Oxfordshire. Only he saith we took and killed but 500 but all were routed and the Earl of Northants. not heard of.

Hen. Mackworth, And. Lloyd, Rob. Charleton, Leigh Owen, Tho. Nicholls  
(A57)

Notes

- 1 The text has 'Dr. Rowlers' and no 'and' between that and 'chirurgians'. However, 396 makes it plain that the person seeking an exchange with Dr. Harding was Dr. Fowler, that he was a Doctor of Divinity and had no connection with 'chirurgians'. He was, in fact, rector of Whitchurch.
- 2 Although it is uncertain whether Zanke had been ordained, he was undoubtedly a

- Cambridge graduate. He was also the son of a previous rector of Hodnet. See 186, n.1.
- 3 In 1632 Francis Boughey was inducted as vicar of Stokesay, which had been in royalist hands since the beginning of the war. It is probable, therefore, that he had fled from or been driven out of his living. He remained at Hodnet until 1654. (Inf. from Mr Baugh; *S.A.S.* 3rd ser. 5, p.358; 7, pp. 266–7, 271, 284; 8, p. 53; Shrops. Parish Reg. Lich. XI (2), p. X.)
  - 4 Maj. Rog. Fenwick first appears in the records of the Civil War in Salop towards the end of 1644 when he was gov. of Moreton Corbet. Gough (*Myddle*, 159) speaks with warm approval of him and his two sisters, one of whom married a local man and the other Col. Mackworth. Gough did not know from where they came and says nothing of how and why they came to Salop, whether because of the war or previous to it. He rightly thought the name common in the north of England. There was a particularly noteworthy family of Fenwicks in Northumberland at this time (537 n.2.).
  - 5 See 402 n.1.

## 402

*Brereton to Montgomery* [Margin says this letter for Lesley also and another sent by And. Milner [? Mills; see 528, 529]. For answers see 412–3]

2-5-45 Nantwich. I am very sensible of the duty and respect I owe your Lordship and cannot but lay hold of every occasion whereby I may receive from you news of your welfare and the present condition of your army, upon whose timely motions depend the well-being of these parts of the kingdom. I can assure you that, if your forces advance this way before the Prince's forces disturb our siege of Chester, Chester will be reduced in a short time and in all probability Beeston and Hawarden also. But, on the other side, if you should sit down before Newark it is not to be doubted that the Prince will make his way into Lancs. and much strengthen himself there and in Yorks. and either come on your back and raise and disturb you, or make his way into Scotland, which may be done without opposition. I cannot but advertise you of this and desire you to hasten your march. The Princes are still at Hereford and Worcester, preparing and disposing their forces this way. So it is not to be doubted that, seeing it is as easy to relieve as to attempt the relief of Chester, they will disturb and interrupt us, if the speedy advance of your forces give not prevention thereunto.

The news is confirmed of the defeat given to the enemy in Oxfordshire.<sup>1</sup> Our forces killed and took 400 in the first charge, pursuing them within three miles of Oxford. The enemy took in a house for security, which our forces likewise possessed and took in it 400 more of the Earl of Northants. and Col. Lunsford's regts<sup>2</sup> and some others.

Not many nights since the enemy from Ruthin in Wales fell upon one of our out quarters and took Capt. Bulkeley and the greater part of his troop prisoners.

[P.S.] Col. Massey of Gloucs. hath lately lost 120 of his men taken prisoners, and Maj. Backhouse then taken and since dead.<sup>3</sup>

Since I writ the lines above I have received two letters from Shrewsbury and one from Stafford, from all of which I collect that the Princes' armies are or will be speedily upon their march this way. Upon Thursday 1 May they rendezvoued near Hereford, which is not above two or three days march from Shrewsbury, where they expect them but are in no good posture to entertain them.

(A49)

Notes

- 1 This was a victory won by Cromwell's cavalry on 24 April. In 401 and 403 it is given as near Bicester; actually it was at Islip closer to Oxford. 403 in particular grossly exaggerates the numbers taken and slain. The 'house' mentioned in 402 was Bletchington, separately garrisoned by Col. Windebank and surrendered by him without resistance on 25 April. He was afterwards court martialled in Oxford and shot for this. (*Abbott Writings and Speeches of O. Cromwell 1937-47*, I, 340-2; Symonds, 163.)
- 2 These two regts were raised for the King early in the war and fought in the Edgehill campaign. For them and their commanders, Sir Thos. Lunsford and Jas. Compton, Earl of Northants. see *Edgehill, K.W. and T.C.I.*.
- 3 Massey was surprised by Rupert at Ledbury on 22 April. Maj. Robt. Backhouse had been one of Massey's principal officers in the defence of Gloucester, being involved in deluding the royalists into believing that he would betray the town to them. His dupe had been Lt. Col. Stamford (*q.v.* 120 n.3), a Staffs. royalist, and it is the latter's claim to old acquaintance which makes it likely that Robt. was elder brother to Peter Backhouse of Packington nr. Stafford, who certainly knew Stamford and who appears later in the B & C MSS as parl. gov. of Wrottesley, Staffs. (Webb I, 359-61; II, 177-82; Washbourne - *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis*, 284-324; inf. from Mr John Sutton.)

403

*Brereton to Leven and the Com. in the North*

[c. 2-5-45] Nantwich. By a copy of your letter to the C. of B.K. sent to me in one of theirs, both of which have been sent you since by Lt. Gen. Lesley [269; 316; 363; see note to this], you will understand how much the security of the work before Chester depends on the army under the command of Gen. Lesley.

It would be an extreme loss to the public if this work now in such forward hopes should be disturbed and the enemy sends relief before your assistance be applied to us. The enemy will be heightened in his obstinacy, the poor country wasted and our soldiers who, answerable to their hopes of a happy success have clearly born hard duty, will be disanimated.

The Princes, who we hear are ready to move, the one from Worcester and the other from Hereford, can be in no ways more disadvantaged and

discouraged than by the conjunction of the party assigned us and the report of your Excellency's main army approaching. I am not able to advise for the direction of your motion but I conceive that, if Gen. Lesley's army come to this place and your main body by way of Nottingham and Lichfield, if occasion requires the party assigned to us may remain here or join with your Excellency.

Post. If your Excellency should make any stay about Newark, nothing is more probable than that the enemy may break into Yorks. by way of Lancs. and so into the north. I am most confident it is ten times less difficult to reduce Chester than Newark, considering the present distress in Chester.

[P.P.S. This repeats the last minute intelligence given in the last two paragraphs of and P.S. to 402. The only difference is that the victory in Oxfordshire is placed near Bicester and the defeated royalist cavalry given as numbering 2,000, of whom at least 1,000 were slain and taken.<sup>1</sup> The capture of a nearby garrison is not mentioned.]

(A50)

Note

1 See Note 1 to 402.

404

*Brereton to the Com. in the North*

3-5-45 Nantwich. The safety and welfare of all these parts of the kingdom depend so much upon the timely motion of the Scotch forces that I can do no less than use my utmost endeavour to hasten those forces assigned to us, which if they come seasonably may much contribute to the perfecting of the work in these parts, but if they come too late Chester will be relieved and all these parts of the kingdom hazarded.

The Princes had a rendezvous at Hereford on Thursday last, 1 May, and it is very likely will speedily move upon their design.

The enclosed from Salop [401] will give you more certainty, which I desire you will communicate as you see cause and think fit.

[P.S.] I have forwarded all the news to Ld. Montgomery and you will find the same enclosed in Lord Leven's [403].

(A51)

405

*Brereton to Langdale*

3-5-45 [Nantwich] I believe it is true Capt. Blith was released for Capt. Crathorne. Ld. Fairfax hath been made acquainted that Crathorne was enlarged for Capt. Jones. If it appears that he hath not released any other

captain for Blith, then Capt. Clavering shall be enlarged according to your desire.  
(A51)

406

*Commons' Committee for Revenue to Thos. Fauconbridge, Receiver General of the Revenue*

Order for Payment of £835 to Brereton for Arms and Equipment.  
3-5-45 Westminster. By an ordinance of Both House of 21 Sept. 1643 and in pursuance of order of the Commons of 7 May 1644 [C.J. III, 484], these are to will and require you, out of such treasure as now is or will be remaining in your hands arising from the arrears and growing revenue of his Majesty's Court of Wards and Liveries, to pay unto Sir Wm. Brereton the sum of £835, out of £2,125 ordered him for the providing of 500 pairs of pistols, 500 saddles and 500 backs, breasts and pots for the service of the state, next after the assignment already set on the revenues of the said courts be satisfied and paid. For so doing this, together with the acquittance of him or his assignée, shall be your warrant and discharge. Also the receivers whom it may concern to allow the same in your accounts.

Thos. May, Hen. Mildmay, Denis Bond, Wm. Ashurst, Fran. Rous.<sup>1</sup>  
(A94)

Note

1 M.P.s for Midhurst, Maldon, Dorchester, Newton and Truro.

407

*Commons' Order* [C.J. III, 131]

3-5-45 [Westminster] [Approving the exchange of Mr Leigh of Adlington,<sup>1</sup> prisoner to the parliament, for Lt. Col. Alexander Rigby,<sup>2</sup> prisoner to the King's forces at Lathom House in Lancs.]

(A88)

Notes

- 1 This Mr Leigh is identified by Earwaker (II, 243 and note), on the authority of a family MS, as Thos., son and heir of Col. Thos. who had died in 1644. He had been captured at the taking of Stafford in May, 1643. This is confirmed by Malbon (55), who makes him a capt. at the time of his capture. Earwaker says he became Lt. col.
- 2 Eldest son of Col. Alex. Rigby of Goosnargh nr. Preston, M.P. for Wigan. He must have been captured either at the siege of Lathom or the sack of Bolton. But see 522 for his being offered as a part exchange for Sir Thos. Tyldesley and 627 n.1 for the whole problem of the Lancs. soldier M.P.s, their sons and the S.D.O.

*Petition and Propositions of the Gentry of Cheshire to C. of B.K.*<sup>1</sup> [first version]

[3-5-45 Knutsford]<sup>2</sup> Humbly sheweth that we your petitioners and inhabitants of the said county (entered into the National Covenant) have been and still are ready to prostrate our lives and the remainder of our fortunes at the King and Parl.'s service, as hath been and daily is manifested by our frequent and sharp encounters with your enemies both in this and the adjacent counties, our advancing of moneys in all manner of ways, even above the extent of our abilities, our almost continually free quartering and paying of strangers, which we are always enforced to retain amongst us for our assistance and defence both against the potency and force of our intestine enemies (being very many and of virulent and active spirits) and also against the frequent invasion of strangers which, this place being a frontier country, our inroad is most obnoxious unto, as we by sad experience have found by the Irish rebels and out of other places of England and Wales which have been and daily are threatened to be powered [? poured] in upon us. All which considered with the great losses we have sustained by the enemy's horse plundering the country this last year, with the constant insupportable charge imposed upon us for the maintenance of our own and other garrisons and forces of our friends which we are constrained to invite against the rage and power of the enemy in such numbers that we are scarce able to determine whether the intolerable burden thereof or the power of the enemy will be more destructive unto our exhausted fortunes and estates: all which pressures and distractions will be much augmented through the defect of an able soldier and commander-in-chief. All this makes us confident to affirm to your honours that there is not any county within the power of the state more justly the object of your compassion and regard nor over which all the miseries and distractions attending these dangerous times are more impendent.

These few particulars are a brief representation of our distress, and the other in the paper annexed, as the epitome of our earnest desires, we humbly beseech may be earnestly taken into consideration, being some means (as we conceive amongst many others) to rescue this country from destruction and ruin.

And your petitioners will ever pray –

Propositions:

1 That since Sir Wm. Brereton is called from us by ordinance we may have Sir John Meldrum<sup>3</sup> or such other commander-in-chief for our military affairs as the Ld. Lt. of this county and the major part of our dep. Its. may approve.

2 That a convenient number of ships may attend to intercept the Irish rebels passage hither and to infest their coasts.

3 That a considerable number of land forces to join with such of our own county may be appointed to these parts to attend the Irish rebels landing and in the meantime for the more certain and speedy reducing of Chester and

North Wales and other places in the enemy's possession: and that there may be moneys and provisions advanced out of other counties and places for their pay and sustenance, since we are not able to maintain our own.

4 That the Committee appointed by the first ordinance of Parl. for Sequestrations and such other gents of quality as your honours shall think fit, who have responsible estates, and not others, unless deputed by them and such as they themselves will answer for, may execute the said ordinance.

5 That the deputy lieutenants or any three of them or more may have power to compound with malignants and delinquents that shall submit themselves (except such as you shall except), rendering an answer and account to the public upon oath.

6 That some course may be taken for a supply of our defect in Parl., having neither knights nor burgess to appear for us there.

7 That until supply be made for the afore-named defection, the House and the Committees thereof will be pleased to pass no particular ordinance, order or vote upon private information concerning this county without knowledge of the opinions of the Committees for this county,<sup>1</sup> how they conceive it will tend to the good or hurt of the public service in this county.

8 That a settled Committee for the Militia may be speedily appointed, and those only of the chief gents of the county whose interests will make them more vigilant and industrious than others and their counsels more secret; and that unto these may be added Lt. Col. Jones and Major Lothian, two soldiers of eminency and desert.

(A54)

#### Notes

- 1 For discussion of this important item see note to 409.
- 2 This item has no date or place on it, but a marginal note in Brereton's writing says: 'At Knutsford May 3, 1645, there was a meeting of Chesh. gentlemen, at which time this Petition and the propositions annexed were subscribed by Sir Geo. Booth, Col. Geo. Booth, Thos. Stanley, Philip Mainwaring, Edw. Hyde, Roger Wilbraham, Geo. Spurstow'.
- 3 A Scots professional soldier who held important commands under the Parl. After Marston Moor he was c.-in-c. in Lancs.; he had overall command in the parl. victory at Montgomery (at which Brereton and Middleton were also present) and recaptured Liverpool in the autumn of 1644. His letters to the C. of B.K. at this time, with their criticisms of Brereton and chance meeting with a 'young gentleman of great expectations' (? Col. Geo. Booth) holding Tarvin 'although it was not defensible and imperfectly victualled', suggest that the movement to get him to supplant Brereton was already afoot and that he was aware of it and sympathetic. But by the spring of 1645 he had been moved to take charge of the siege of Scarborough where, in the summer, he received a mortal wound. (*D.N.B.*; *C.S.P.D.* 1644-5.)

*Petition and Propositions of the Cheshire Gentry to C. of B.K.* [Revised version]<sup>1</sup>

[c.4/7]-5-45 Nantwich.

[Summary.

Petition:— More succinct and less agonised than in 408 but substantially the same. The persistence of danger from Ireland is brought to the fore and to the phrase ‘the defect of an able soldier and commander-in-chief’ are added the words ‘Sir Wm. Brereton being commanded from us’.

Clauses:— 408

409

(For ease of comparison in the following table, the clauses in the two versions have been put opposite each other according to subject matter and not numbering, as the numbering was altered for the revised version.)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1 Replacement of Sir W.B. by Mel-drum or another.  | 1 The same.  |
| 2 Ships to intercept rebels from Ire-land.   | 3 The same.  |
| 3 Reinforcements for opposing rebels from Ireland and helping with Leaguer; provisions from other coun-ties.   | 4 The same.  |
| 4 Ordinance for Sequestrations to be executed with addition of such ‘gents of quality’ as C. of B.K. shall approve, having ‘responsible estates’ and ‘not others’. | 5 The following substantial mod-ification ‘That so many of the Com-mittee appointed by the first Ordi-nance for Sequestrations as you shall approve, with such other gentlemen of quality as have responsible estates (many of the first being absent) may be ordered to take their oaths for the true execution of the same Ordi-nance, and that they shall depute none to officiate under them but such as they themselves will be answerable for upon account.’ |
| 5 Dep. Its. to have power to arrange compositions (except such as C. of B.K. shall except).  | 6 ‘That such sequestrators or such committees as shall be appointed, or the major part of them, shall have power (only at the Board) to comp-ound with such malignants and delin-quents as shall be willing to come in and take the National Covenant (ex-   |

6 Some course taken to remedy lack of representation in Parl.

7 Until this done, Parl. and its committees to pass no ordinance upon private information without knowing the opinion of the County Committees on the matter.

8 A committee for the militia to be appointed from chief gents. of county with addition of Jones and Lothian.

cept as either are or hereafter shall be excepted by Parl.), they rendering account upon their oaths, to such as shall be appointed, of such compositions to the use of the public." Omitted altogether.

7 The same, even including the reference to the previous omitted Clause 6. Clause 7 has been erased and this is noted in the margin, but in such a manner that it can still be read. See Brereton's comment (443).

2 The same but promoted in the order.]

H. Brooke [of Norton Priory]

Geo. Booth [Sir, of Dunham Massey]

Tho. Stanley [of Alderley]

Ph. Manwaring [Mainwaring, of Peover & Baddiley]

Wm. Marbury [of Marbury]

Rog. Wilbraham [of Dorfold]

Edw. Hyde [of Hyde & Norbury]

Geo. Spurstow [of Spurstow]

Geo. Booth [grandson & heir of Sir Geo.]

Tho. Daniell sen. [of Daresbury]

Wm. Millington [Capt.; younger brother of John]

Pet. Legh [Leigh: of West Hall, High Legh]

Jo. Meire [Mere: of Mere]

Geo. Venables [of Agden nr. Altrincham]

Jo. Daniell jun. [son & heir of John sen.]

Tho. Bate [?]

Edm. Swettenham [of Somerford Booths]

Petr. Ouldfeld [Oldfield of Bradwell & Sandbach]

Jo. Millington [of Millington]

W. Vernon [?]

Tho. Swettenham [of Swettenham]

Tho. Swettenham [?]

? Minshall [Minshull: ?,]

Jo. Kinsey [of Blackden nr. Goostrey]

Georg[e] Leicester [of Toft]

Jeffery Minshall [Minshull: of Stoke nr. Nantwich]

Tho. Manwaring [Mainwaring: son & heir of Philip]

Tho. Marbury [brother & heir of Wm.]  
 Tho. Wilbraham [of Townsend, Nantwich]  
 John Bromhall [Broomhall/Bramhall: Capt./Maj. of Nantwich<sup>2</sup>]  
 (A67)

## Notes

- 1 The two versions of this Petition bristle with problems.
  - (i) Date. 408 has no date on it but this – 3 May – is supplied by the marginal note in Brereton's writing. 409 has the month – May – on it but no day. It cannot be later than 8 May when the dep. lts., by this time at Nantwich, said in a postscript to a letter to Brereton that they had forwarded it to him (441). It is unlikely to have been earlier than 4 May, the day after the first version had been drawn up at Knutsford.
  - (ii) Place. 408 gives no place but 'Knutsford' is supplied in the marginal note. 409 which has all the 'hands', i.e. additional signatures representing the strength of feeling behind it in the county, is not dated at Knutsford at all but at Nantwich. Nevertheless it is extremely unlikely that the dep. lts., having had their original meeting at Knutsford, near the homes of the majority of them and well clear of the military influence of Nantwich, would not only have then moved to Nantwich themselves (which they had to do for other urgent business), but delayed getting 'hands' to the Petition until they had arrived, and so forced the minor gentry to meet there also. Such a meeting would have been inconvenient to all concerned, in an over-crowded town where purely military affairs had a high priority and the atmosphere was likely to be hostile and, if held, would have been almost certain to have provoked comment elsewhere. There is none, and Brereton's letter to Ashurst about the Petition and its revision mentions only Knutsford (497). As the dep. lts. might well have expected to be able to deliver it to Brereton in person when they reached Nantwich, they may well have delayed putting it in a final form for posting until they arrived and found he was not there.
  - (iii) Contents and significance. These are fully discussed in relation to the power struggle in Chesh. between Brereton and the conservative dep. lts. in Morrill (154–63). Some qualifications of his views may be stated here. 408 is quoted in full by him but not 409, with the result that the full extent of the revision is not brought out. Clause 6 of 408, highly obnoxious to Brereton because it suggested, although he was about to resume his seat in Parl., that the county would be unrepresented, was left out altogether in 409. (The possibility that this is due to an error by Brereton's copyist, suggested because the omitted clause is referred to in the following clause in 409, is rendered unlikely because the number of clauses has been correctly reduced.) Clause 4 in 408, wanting the original Committee for Sequestrations resuscitated, was altered in 5 of 409, so that those whom Brereton had had thrown off by ordinance of Parl. could not re-appear. The power of the dep. lts. alone to arrange compositions given in 5 of 408 was taken away in 6 of 409 and given to the sequestration committee as organised in the previous clause. For there to have been such revisions there must have been a group among the dep. lts. (with support among the minor gentry) who stood between those who were for and those who were against Brereton. With the military situation so precarious and the possibility that his command would be prolonged, there would have been strong reasons for not antagonising Brereton too far. For this reason the implication in

Morrill (160) that Clause 7 in 409 was only erased in the copy sent to Brereton and may have been included in the original sent to the C. of B.K. seems improbable. With his contacts there and in Parl. Brereton would soon have known of the deception. It would seem likelier that the moderates, while insisting that Clause 7 be erased, conceded that it should left in legible form for Brereton to read (443), so that he should be aware that such rumours of his conduct were current, even if they could not be sufficiently substantiated for inclusion in the Petition. It could be significant that the omitted clause (6 in 408) was the one dearest to the Booth interest, for it was to promote young Geo. Booth as candidate for the county seat made vacant by the royalism of Peter Venables. Many items in B.L.B. reveal his and his uncle John Booth's hostility to Brereton and there is little doubt that their family was the driving force of the anti-Brereton group in the county.

What evidence is there as to possible leaders of this moderate group? Duckenfield is given by Brereton (497) as one of those who signed the Petition but later withdrew his name, and his signature does not appear on the revised version. But, despite his constant grumbling about the treatment of himself and his men, he was a Brereton supporter, as Brereton's letter to him (763) plainly shows. Henry Brooke, the sheriff, was another who Brereton said had withdrawn his signature, although it appears on the revised version (added a second time by Brereton himself). He seems a very likely candidate, with his family the mainstay of the parl. cause in N.W. Chesh. and not linked to either of the other groups by close ties of kinship or neighbourliness. So too, is Roger Wilbraham of Dorfold, although Morrill (83) places him in the anti-Brereton group and his signature does appear in the revised version, with the result that Brereton did not exempt him from his general condemnation of all who signed as never serving the Parl. 'diligently' (497). As against this must be set Brereton's letter to Swinfen (422) where he says that among the seven gents who drew up the original Petition, Wilbraham, 'who is most active and industrious, did not so fully comply and assent'. This 'activity' is borne out by his frequent appearance at committees in Nantwich and elsewhere. Wm. Marbury of Marbury is another possibility, as his name does not appear among the seven originators of the Petition, either in Brereton's marginal note to the first version or in his letter to Swinfen about it (408 n.2; 422).

- 2 There are four unidentified names among the signatories. Thos. Bate could be an error for Wm. Bate, a yeoman of Alvanley, indicted by the royalist Grand Jury at Chester (*C.W.T.C.*, 152), or perhaps his son. W. Vernon is hardly likely to have been a close relative of Henry Vernon of Haslington, the dismissed dep. It., as this would have provided Brereton with too much ammunition against the Petition. There appears to have been an obscure family of this name in Middlewich. The repetition of Thos. Swettenham may be entirely a copyist's error, or perhaps only the Christian name is wrongly given and one of Thos. Swettenham's brothers was intended. The Christian name in front of the first Minshull has not been deciphered. A Humphrey and a Peter Minshull of Kinderton were indicted by the Chester Grand Jury (*C.W.T.C.*, 154), but there were also junior branches of the Minshulls of Stoke living in Nantwich and Wistaston.

The range of the status of the signatories outside the dep. Its. is considerable, descending from Wilbraham of Townsend, Nantwich, and Leigh of West Hall, High Legh, whose families were quite as distinguished as those of some of the dep. Its., to some who were on the border line between minor gentry and the yeomanry. The obscurity of all but one of them during the Civil War would seem to justify

Brereton's stricture that they had done little to support the Parl. (497). The exception is John Bromhall, whose coy of dragoons had played its part in the defence of London in the autumn of 1642 and then been constantly in action with Brereton during the period January – October 1643, when he was building up his power in Chesh. Captured near Wem in September, 1643, Bromhall was exchanged in April, 1644, and, Brereton's dragoon regt having been disbanded, he became a maj. of horse. He did not regain his old prominence, however, and resigned his commission in January, 1645. (Harl. 2128, Accounts of Maj. Bromhall; Malbon, 54, 76–7; Wanklyn, 242–3.)

The geographical distribution of the signatories, including the dep. lts., may be of significance. By far the largest group comes from north Chesh. – the area around Knutsford and to the n.w. and n.e. of it. A second group is scattered about central Chesh. and only the third and smallest comes from Nantwich and its environs, the heart of the parl. war effort in the county.

410

*Henry Harper to Brereton*

4-5-45 [Chester] I assumed the boldness to move your favour for a pass for my grieving wife [371] to visit her dying mother as she conceived: which you were not pleased to grant, though the intent was but three days going, staying and returning before she meant to go along with me. She was in a sad strait between a deceasing mother and a diseased husband, whom all the doctors and practitioners of physic and chirurgeons in this city refused to undertake, my infirmity being an aegilop or fistula lachrimasis in my left eye. They recommend me (as is usual in cases of despair of recovery) to others. The certificate [400] which this bearer hath to represent to your view, will express their suit and opinions more fully. The contemplation hereof hath induced Ld. Byron to vouchsafe me his pass. My humble address is now to you to consider the continued misery I am in danger of by a languishing life (which is often to be a dying and yet unwillingly to live) and to grant your special pass for me, my wife, a maid and a man with our horses to travel to Oxford and London, as I shall be occasioned by my cure, without molestation.  
(A62)

411

*Brereton to Langdale*

4-5-45. I have received your letter [335] acknowledging that Capt. Crathorne is come to you and giving assurance that Jones is or shall be set at liberty in exchange for him.

Whereas you desire that Capt. Clavering shall be set at liberty instead of Capt. Blith, I have advertised Ld. Fairfax that Crathorne is exchanged for Jones and therefore am uncertain whether my Lord has released any other in

lieu of Blith. But when that appears Clavering shall be set at liberty according to your desire.  
(A51)

412

*Montgomery to Brereton*

4-5-45 Leeds. Lt. Gen. Lesley and I have sent your letters [402] to Ld. Leven, who is now come to the length of Ripon with most of his army. But until we receive orders from him, the Lt. Gen. cannot move, but will be in readiness, and therefore expects to hear often from you what intelligence you hear.  
(A60)

413

*Lesley to Brereton*

4-5-45 10 am Leeds. As I writ in all my letters and as I perceive by your letter [402], if with this party I was only assigned for your use, I should before this time have waited on you with them. But, since my order is that upon no occasion nor persuasions whatsoever I should move without Ld. Leven's further order, I hope you will have me excused. I have sent your letters by post to His Excellency who without doubt will give you such an answer as the posture of affairs permit. If he gives order for your assistance, be assured I shall be more willing and ready in obeying than he hath been in giving orders.  
(A60)

414

*Maj. John Morris<sup>1</sup> to Brereton*

4-5-45 Pontefract. When the Scots came to wait on you I sent my letter along with them to present my service unto you, because Ld. Fairfax would not let me wait in person on you, having given me a commission as Lt. Col. and sent me to besiege Pontefract Castle. There I have been ever since in small hopes of taking it until of late. But now I trust in God it will speedily be ours, for we find that their provisions grow very scarce, for a soldier hath but a pound of beef and a pint of wheat for four days, which hath occasioned two great mutinies in the castle amongst the soldiers. So they had no ways to satisfy them but to give them five shillings a man, which hath contented them for the present. But since that time 12 officers stole away out of the castle, the least of them a capt. So that by all probability we shall very speedily reduce it.

Sir John Meldrum hath battered Scarborough Castle very much and (as we hear) is upon conditions with Sir Hugh [Cholmley]<sup>2</sup> for the delivery of it up.  
(A70)

## Notes

- 1 A professional soldier who became gov. of Pontefract on its capture later in the year. In 1648 he went over to the royalists and held it for them during a long siege. Escaping just before its surrender, he was recaptured and executed. (Ashley, 102-3.)
- 2 Cholmley/Cholmondeley of Whitby, a wealthy Yorks. landowner. M.P. for Scarborough, he held it for the Parl. against Newcastle until the summer of 1643 when he went over and became the royalist gov. (*D.N.B.*; Cliffe.)

## 415

*Col. Rob. Duckenfield to Brereton and Council of War for Chesh.*

4-5-45 Duckenfield [Hall] The inhabitants of this side of Chesh. are grievously troubled with one Mr Bretland,<sup>1</sup> a pestilent [blank in MS][who] hath been a dangerous enemy to the Parl. party. By the favour of some he hath gotten some liberty at London to get writs there to prosecute any person in this county that oweth any money to another and refuseth to pay it presently when it is demanded. Under this pretence he hath procured many hundred writs whereby he now troubles many of my neighbours and soldiers and sueth many for word speaking and hath obtained writs of outlawry against some of my soldiers. Whereupon I was desired to present this petition [not in B.L.B.] and herewith send it you against the aforesaid Mr Bretland that you would be pleased either to relieve your petitioners yourselves or else that they may appeal to the Parl. for relief. Considering what a charge it is to travel to London for poor men and how this country hath been plundered and burdened with free quartering and the charge of the war, these suits may well and justly be stayed from being tried at London, until Chester be open for the trying of their controversies or the county better cleared from the enemy.

If you please to appoint a day for the witnesses to prove the charge preferred against Mr Bretland, they will observe the time and wait upon you when you please. I can assure you a great part of my regt will be lost if some severe course be not taken with this attorney. Some of my soldiers have been so feared [frightened] by him that they chose to compound with him on his own terms rather than be hurried to London, and many others [were] used by him in a worse manner.

[P.S.] Here is a Yorks. regt quarters about Prestbury [blank in MS] Stockport. Unless you please to remove them, they are so great a burthen as my regt say they will run home to defend their own families and means of livelihood.

(A77)

## Note

- 1 In 1647 the Macclesfield Sequestrators got an order sequestering Bretland's estate on the grounds that Bretland had been a royalist. Bretland denied this and a legal battle went on until 1654 when the Council of State for the Protectorate declared that Bretland had done nothing sequestrable and quashed the order. The papers of

the case and other documents reveal a complicated web of rivalry within the parl. party in Chesh. and no real evidence of royalism. Henry Bradshaw was the leading Macclesfield sequestrator, besides being Duckenfield's major, and between Bretland and Henry's brother, John, there was bitter legal rivalry, probably beginning at home but carried on in London where they were both busy in 1645 climbing up the legal ladder. Bretland had certainly acted for Sir George Booth early in the war and was very likely doing so in this instance, for Booth had much property in north-east Chesh. Bretland would certainly have gained favour with the Booth supporters when he said that John Bradshaw was Brereton's 'creature' and that Brereton 'was fitter to lead a flock of geese than a band of soldiers'. Details of the quarrel and the sources for it are in Morrill and Dore, "Allegiance of the Cheshire Gentry in the Great Civil War", *T.L.C.A.S.* 77, 1967, app. III.

416

*Brereton to Leven*

4-5-45 Hooton. Yesterday I received your letter dated at Newcastle 26 April [354], whereby I understand your intentions to advance so far to our assistance as may consist with the northern counties' and your own kingdom's [safety], which cannot but be exposed to successions of dangers so long as Chester remains unreduced. Also it must be of the greatest and most immediate danger if the Prince's army (which is still gathering and looking this way, though moving slowly) should march through the remote parts as they did last year. This they may do without opposition unless you be pleased to order Lt. Gen. Lesley with those forces that were here formerly to advance speedily so far and something farther than they were in their last being in these parts. So may not only the siege of Chester be made good but the enemy prevented from attempting to break into Lancs. and the northern counties.

I had yesterday conference with an understanding gent., an ingenious prisoner and great commander of the enemy's, who is of nothing more confident than that these parts of the kingdom will be made the seat of this summer's war. So it is not to be doubted that all or a great part of the Herefs. and Worcs. armies are purposed to be disposed this way, and that nothing can give more prevention than the advance of the forces assigned [here] and the advance of your Excellency's army towards these parts. If it be not done, the forces here will be altogether unserviceable to your commands. It is a matter of much admiration and wonder that the enemy's armies have so long delayed to advance this way and that they have trifled so long until Sir Thos. Fairfax's army be brought into readiness and your army advancing towards them.

It may be that the Lord is pleased to infatuate the counsels of those whom he intends to bring to destruction.

(A58)

*The Examination of Wm. Leadbeater*

'who was sent out of Hawarden Castle to Sir Wm. Neale and apprehended in the way of his return in Hawarden Park on 4 May by those who there keep guard.' [The second half of this note is in Brereton's writing.]

5-5-45 Hawarden. The examination confesseth that upon Sunday last [27 April, not 4 May] Lady Neale and Capt. Whitley moved him to go out of the castle to see whether he could hear anything of Sir Wm. Neale<sup>1</sup> and bring intelligence from him. They bade him tell Sir Wm. that if he sent her not some relief she must be forced to composition. Upon Monday at nine o'clock he came down and went to Denbigh, where he spake with Col. Trevor who directed him to Ruthin where, missing Sir William, he followed him to Chirk. There he found him and told him that his castle was closely beleaguered. He made answer to his lady's demand that if relief came within a month it would be time enough. But withal told him to go home and within a week or a fortnight he would bring relief. The Lady Neale gave him [Leadbeater] direction that if he brought good news he should make a fire in the park; if not, forbear. He confesseth that they in the castle mine in the Round Tower and that withall there is store of powder and match in four several places in the castle. The water was more plentiful in the winter than now, but they make shift with it. He saith further they make a sally port in the dungeon.<sup>2</sup> (A59)

## Notes

- 1 3rd son of John Neale of Wollaton, Northants. He became Rupert's scoutmaster, was knighted in Feb. 1643 for bringing news of the capture of Cirencester and distinguished himself at the defeat of Sir John Meldrum before Newark by Rupert on 21-3-44. Just before this he had apparently been appointed governor of Hawarden Castle by Rupert. A letter to Rupert from Lord Derby, the owner of Hawarden, dated 7-3-44, says that Neale on taking up his appointment had found there a gentleman with his wife and family who also alleged Rupert's warrant for his residence. He had therefore sent Neale with the letter to learn Rupert's intentions. It is possible that the 'gentleman' in question was Capt. Thos. Whitley (see 236 n.1) and that his continued residence in Hawarden in a subordinate capacity was Rupert's solution to the problem.

According to Ld. Byron Neale had gone (presumably with his connivance) to impress upon the King the weakness of both Chester and Hawarden, now that the Princes had withdrawn so many troops from the area, and had not expected Brereton's investment of Hawarden to come so soon. He was able to take up his governorship again after the abandonment of the sieges of both Hawarden and Chester in May, 1645, and he did not surrender Hawarden until March, 1646. He took part in Booth's Revolt in 1659 and did not die until 1691. (*D.N.B.*; Byron's Account, 4; Symonds, 246; Warburton II 382-4 - I am indebted to Mr John Lewis for calling my attention to Derby's letter here.)

- 2 The keep at Hawarden is round and, as Lady Neale says (458) that the enemy mine was approaching the *great round tower*, it seems likely that it is this that is being

referred to. The curious construction of Hawarden makes running a sally port from a dungeon less unlikely than it may seem. For there are remains of a considerable projection outside the eastern section of the curtain wall, with its base resting in a dry ditch and connected with the main ward above by a staircase and door. Either or both of the two rooms at the bottom of this projection could have been used as a dungeon, and a sally port leading out into the ditch would have been practicable. (G.T. Clark, *Medieval Military Architecture in England*, II, 92-5.)

418

*Brereton to Capts. Aspinall and Fox at Liverpool*

5-5-45 Hooton. For as much as I have received authority and command from the C. of B.K. for the blocking up and every way straitening of all passages to Chester, as well by sea as by land, and for that end to employ all such materials that in these parts may be found conducive thereunto, and in regard that I conceive the long boat at Liverpool, which is there altogether unuseful but would be very serviceable and advantageous for the hindering of any supplies by water to the city if it were brought into Chester water and there sufficiently manned and employed, I therefore desire you to take order and assist those herewith sent that they may bring this boat to be employed for the advancement of this service, which doth most import in all these parts, yea the whole kingdom, whereof Parl. is very sensible. Wherein not doubting of your willing and ready performance herein.

[P.S.] I shall be glad to hear your town is in a good condition and to partake of what you hear touching Carlisle and Lathom. I desire that some of those whole culverin bullets, for which you have no guns suitable and which came for my use and are remaining at Liverpool, may be likewise sent.

(A60)

419

*Brereton to Byron*

5-5-45. I am content to exchange Henry Richardson, drummer, now prisoner in Upton garrison, for W. Cross, prisoner at Chester, and if Cross be sent to Upton, Richardson will forthwith be discharged.

(A59)

420

*Ld. Byron to Capt. Blackwell<sup>1</sup>*

5-5-45 Chester. I may not decline my former proposal for the exchange of Lt. Col. Geo. Vane<sup>2</sup> and in regard to the advantage to your party, I wonder it hath received so long a dispute. In respect of your present weakness and indisposition of health I am content to give you two months more upon your

parole from the date hereof, on condition as formerly that you wholly apply yourself to the perfecting of your former proposal and [rest] on your former engagement not to endeavour or accept of any other overture or exchange. I expect to receive by this trumpet the like favour from Sir Wm. Brereton for the parole of my uncle, Sir Nich. Byron, for the like time and upon the like liberty of travel where he may conceive most convenient for his health or exchange.

(A61)

#### Notes

- 1 There are other refs. to Capt. Blackwell in 77, 421, 426, 496, 650, 664. All are concerned with his parole, exchange and use as a messenger. He appears to have been captured 18-1-45 at the fight at Christleton, for Brereton, describing the action to the C. of B.K., mentions that he was missing (Morris, 71). As he was still not released, he does not appear in B.A.L. in April, 1645. 77 reveals that he was a capt. of horse and 421 that his Christian name was Richard (not John, as Morris says). From the absence of any local family of the name of Blackwell, from his non-appearance in the records of the war in Chesh. prior to Jan. 1645 and from his having gone to London during his parole, it can be deduced that he was not a Chesh. man and had become an officer of Brereton's late in the war.
- 2 The other refs. to Lt. Col. Vane in B.L.B. are 121, 421, 664, 984. In addition there are these further refs. to a Capt./Lt. Col./Col. Vane in Civil War docs.: *H.M.C. 14th Rep. App. VII*, 123, 128, 131, 134, 137, 140, 143, 159; *C.W.T.C.* 109; Thomason 669, f. 8/46, 105; Malbon 144, 156; *Perfect Passages* quot. Phillips II, 225-7; Byron's Account of Siege of Chester in *Sheaf* 4th ser. 5, 6, 8, 14; Clennau MSS in Nat. Lib. Wales, 611; 'The Taking of Carnarvon' quot. Phillips II, 309. Where Christian names are given Vane appears seven times as George, once as Robert and once as John. He is an officer – first capt., then Lt. col. – in Col. Gibson's regt. in Ireland; killed 25-1-44 at Nantwich; killed 25-8-44 at Malpas; captured 18-1-45 at Christleton; a prisoner in the High Ho. at Stafford; exchanged; a pillar of the defence of Chester in its last days; with Byron and the remains of the garrison when they transferred to Carnarvon after the fall of Chester; a signatory of the surrender of Carnarvon. At first sight it looks as if there were three Lt. Col. Vanes named George, Robert and John. But closer examination of the docs. involved suggests that very likely there was only one and that his name was George.

The arguments cannot be set out in full here but – summarised – they are as follows. There is only one officer called Vane in the army in Ireland and his name was George. No other Lt. Col. Vane has yet been unearthed in the royalist regts in England. His death at Malpas is mentioned only by Malbon. His death at Nantwich is more difficult to dispose of, being given by two parl. sources including a letter from Fairfax. But it is significant that, when he was captured at Christleton, two capts and 25 soldiers of Gibson's regt were captured with him. As to his Christian names, John is given by an unreliable source, a pamphlet issued in London reporting a surrender in distant Carnarvon. Robert is given in an exchange doc. obviously referring to the same officer previously called George. George is not only given seven times, but twice by Lord Byron, his commanding officer, who

should have known.

Only the discovery of the home from which Vane (or the Vanes) came and the unearthing of some family history is likely to bring the problem any nearer final solution.

421

*Byron to Brereton*

5-5-45 Chester. I have granted a parole for two months to Capt. Rich. Blackwell to solicit the perfecting of the former proposal for the release of Lt. Col. Vane which in regard of the equality thereof I may not recede. I expect, according to your engagement intimated by your former letters, that Sir Nich. Byron have the like time and liberty of parole granted and sent to him by this trumpet. At your being in Wales I sent several letters unto you, whereto hitherto I have received no answer. The last was in your absence delivered to one Lennox who hath underattested the receipt and promise of dispatch to you, whereto I have long expected your determinate answer and hereby desire your performance thereof.

(A61)

422

*Brereton to Swinfen* [See 409, n.1]

5-5-45 Hooton. By the enclosed [408] you will perceive what was the effect of the last day's meeting at Knutsford, where there met Sir Geo. Booth, Col. Geo. Booth, Mr Stanley, Mr Phil. Mainwaring; Edw. Hyde Esq.,<sup>1</sup> Mr Rog. Wilbraham and Mr Spurstow, though the last but one, who is most active and industrious, did not so fully comply and assent. It is true Mr Stanley and Mr Mainwaring came to Nantwich one week every month, but the rest have not been there in many months to perform any service. How soon there may be hands to this I know not, but it is likely there will be no delay committed. Touching the letter you desire of 22 March [96, to Lesley] it was sent to you under my own hand. Though Maj. Harrison's and Col. Rossiter's names be not signed and subscribed, yet I am certain it was by their advice and concurrence and Maj. Harrison penned the letter. [See also 243].

(A61)

Note

- 1 Of Hyde and Norbury, n.e. Chesh., a member of a well-established county family with another branch at Denton over the border in s.e. Lancs. He had been prominent, not only as a dep. lt., but as a military man in the early days of the war, taking part in the defence of Manchester, raising a troop of horse, bringing his men to help Brereton establish Nantwich as a garrison town and parl. H.Q., when the latter first came from London, and fighting at the first battle of Middlewich. By the time of B.L.B., however, he seems to have resigned his commission. Morrill (83)

places him among the dep. lts. who were 'broadly behind Brereton', but this is not evident from B.L.B. As this item shows, he was one of the seven original promoters of the Knutsford Petition. Brereton does not exempt him from his condemnation of these as not having come to Nantwich 'in many months to perform any service', nor from his more general verdict on all who signed the final version of the Petition as never having served Parlt. 'diligently'. These judgements were almost certainly unjust, but they do reveal that, at this period, Brereton clearly did not feel that Hyde was 'broadly behind' him. (Orm. III, 811; *C.W.T.L.*; *C.W.T.C.*; Malbon; Morrill; B.L.B. 408, 409)

423

*Stone to Brereton*

5-5-45 5 pm Stafford. I have intelligence this day that the Princes, Langdale and all their forces marched from Worcester on Saturday last and were yesterday at Evesham, intending, as the report is, for Oxford. Their number was conceived to be about 5,000 horse and foot. It is likewise reported that upon Tuesday last at a place three miles from Ledbury Col. Massey and Col. Laugharne joined and had a great battle with the Princes<sup>1</sup>. Many were slain on both sides and Col. Massey kept the field and took many prisoners. But of this I shall writ more certainly by the next. Mr Swinfen passed safe to Coventry. Pray send a strict warrant to call to your assistance Major Snow's, Capt. Monke's, Capt. Hughes' and Col. Leigh's coys;<sup>2</sup> to march to you speedily, for though we have good use for men, as the case stands yet, I believe they will but endanger our peace and security here.  
(A64)

## Notes

- 1 Laugharne was certainly not in Herefs., never having left South Wales. (See 444, and notes to it, for confirmation of this and further information about him.) 'Tuesday last' would have been 29 April. Massey was sharply defeated by Rupert at Ledbury on 22 April (402 n.3) and there was no further engagement between them before Rupert left Hereford to join Maurice at Worcester.
- 2 What we know of three of these officers suggests that they had belonged to the anti-Brereton group in Staffs., although they were probably not irreconcilables. Hughes was imprisoned along with Lewis Chadwick, gov. of Stafford, when Brereton seized power there on 3 Dec. 1644 after instructions from the C. of B.K. But he was later released and restored to his command. (P.&R., lxxix, and *C.S.P.D. 1644-5*, 173-4.) About a month prior to the writing of this letter, one of Snow's lts. was brought up before the Staffs. Com. for making a violently anti-Brereton speech in a Stafford ale-house, (P. & R., 292.) In the 'recruiter' election for town of Stafford in Oct. 1645 Leigh was to stand against and defeat Brereton's brother-in-law, Sir Rich. Skeffington. In two letters describing these elections, Brereton was to state that Leigh had been brought in by 'the wrong party' and that he 'hath been all along mis-possessed by a rotten faction', but expressed the hope that, 'in regard I take him to be a religious gent.', he 'may be so moulded that he may be assistant'. (825; 826; for more on Leigh see 24 n.5.)

424

*Capt. Humph. Bulkeley to Brereton*

5-5-45 Ruthin Castle. I make bold to salute you with these few lines to do me the favour to exchange Col. Werden for myself, my trumpet and my man. Otherwise, whereas I have done you some service, I am afraid I shall not be able hereafter to do you any, in regard there may be a let. I desire your Honour to pardon my lines, yet consider the poor distress of your servant, who will (if God permit him) do you and the cause service. If God otherwise dispose of me, I am ready to yield to the mercy of Him that is your and my protector.

(A73)

425

*Ld. Fairfax to Brereton*

5-5-45 York. I have heretofore had many petitions from my soldiers with you that they might be recalled into their own country, in regard they could not have in the places where they were appointed for service necessary accommodation nor receive any moneys to provide for themselves. I am now again earnestly petitioned for my order that they may be dismissed hither, where from their friends they may have some relief of clothes and necessaries for their sustenance and support. I cannot any longer deny their just suit. Therefore I must desire you that, if you cannot supply them with some reasonable proportion of moneys and accommodation necessary for their being, they may march hither where, of necessity, I must take care for them. I am now reducing my horse and have no fewer places to besiege than formerly without any assistance of the Scots, and therefore find a necessity of employing all the forces I have in this country, until the Scots be either ordered for my assistance or remain out of this country, that I may raise more. They are on their [march] from Newcastle and yet remain in those parts very burdensome to us. Their further advance must be enjoined by Parl., otherways they may continue long here.

(A74)

426

*Brereton to Byron*

6-5-45. I am content to enlarge Sir Nich. Byron's parole for two months, as your letter [421] hath enlarged Capt. Blackwell's parole, from 5 May. At my being in Wales at St. Asaph's I heard of some letters of yours [320] but the same came not to my hands for divers days. That they consisted of many particulars wherewithal I was not well acquainted occasioned me to suspend the return of the answer, which shall be sent as soon as I can inform myself.

(A61)

427

*Brereton to Byron* [Margin: 'Both prisoners in Upton House'.]<sup>1</sup>

6-5-45. I am content to exchange Henry Richardson, drummer, and Anne Barkely, wife of Mr John Barkely of Chester, for Wm. Cross and Margaret Williams, wife of Richard Williams, prisoners in Chester. On the acceptance of this exchange the said Henry Richardson and Anne Barkely shall be enlarged.

(A62)

Note

- 1 A parl. garrison just n. of Chester established after the retirement of the Princes from Chesh. in March and not, as Morris says (70), in Dec. 1644. See 158, the P.S. to Coote's letter.

428

*Brereton to Henry Harper*

6-5-45. I much compassionate your present condition and am very willing to afford you all the favourable respect I may. But your desire to have my pass both to Oxford and to London cannot be granted by me, nor to London only, unless you please to take the oath that Parl. hath appointed in such cases. Which is all the answer that can be given at the present.

(A62)

429

*Brereton to Lothian*

6-5-45 Dodleston. I hear there is such spoil made by the soldiers amongst cattle and sheep in Wales as that I have no heart to come amongst them. I desire course may be taken to reform such destructive courses which will bring the judgement and curse of God upon the whole army. Whereof, although I doubt not you are sufficiently sensible, yet, because I see that, notwithstanding former orders, they still persist in such unwarrantable courses as will be much for your dishonour as well as for mine unless some severe and exemplary course be taken, I desire that some of those that kill sheep for their skins be laid hold of and punished. And that likewise what skins are found in any of their quarters may be seized upon by some man appointed for that purpose, that they may be disposed of for the public. For whilst the soldiers are allowed the benefit of the skins it is not to be expected that there could be prevention to the waste and spoil made in that way.

Do you desire the great gun in Hawarden? I hope to see you here tomorrow morning. Be careful to prevent plundering and other unwarrantable courses of the soldiers.

Post. I desire there may be a commissary appointed to take care for provision of victuals and that a party may be sent out with him by order to fetch in provisions, and that strict order may be taken that no soldiers presume to go

out of their quarters on any pretext whatsoever on pain of severe punishment. This I desire you not to omit to inflict upon offenders. The great waste and spoil which is committed in provisions cannot be expected to be remedied whilst the soldiers are their own carvers.

(A63)

430

*Byron to Brereton*

6-5-45 Chester. Not without any opinion of justice [i.e. not in any way admitting the justice] in the restraint of my uncle but because of the earnest importunity of Mr Glegg and his father I am induced to incline to the proposal now tendered, whereof I shall wonder [i.e. be amazed] if an acceptance be not returned. My uncle since his last imprisonment has not been anyway engaged in his Majesty's army or service and is willing to submit to a stricter imprisonment and an unreasonable exchange if it can be anyway evidenced that he hath, since his last release upon exchange, served against your party either in command or council.

I am sure there are very many prisoners of your party in the several castles of North Wales whereof, if I could receive a list, I should suddenly [i.e. immediately] propose a general exchange of prisoners, which would conduce to the ease and advantage as well of your as of our prisoners. To that purpose I desire a pass to send a drum or trumpet to the castles of Flint, Denbigh, Rhuddlan, Chirk and Holt for a list of their prisoners. I desire herein and at all other passages to receive and return civil and soldierly proceedings.

(A64)

431

*Ld. Byron's Parole for Wm. Glegg, junior*

6-5-45 Chester. [For six days from the date hereof to solicit the exchange of himself and his father, Wm. Glegg, prisoner at Chester, for Sir Nich. Byron, prisoner at Nantwich.]

(A64)

432

*Com. of Stafford to Brereton*

6-5-45 Stafford. We have received your letter and order for the forces to return back to you again [423]. Ours will be in readiness to march towards you tomorrow, and we have sent to tell Col. Ashenhurst and Lt.Col. Watson<sup>1</sup> who we doubt not but will observe your commands also.

Edw. Leigh, Hen. Stone, Phil. Jackson.

(A69)

## Note

- 1 These two officers and Philip Jackson were all from the upland area of N.E. Staffs. known as the Moorlands which produced a popular movement in favour of Parl. early in the war. Indeed Jackson has been identified as the 'Grand Juryman' whom the Parl. news-sheets spoke of as their leader. Lt.Col. John Watson was said to have been 'a cutter of turves' in the Moorlands. (Information from Mr John Sutton; P. & R.)

## 433

*Lt.Cols. Thos. Mason and Geo. Twistleton to Brereton*

[? 6<sup>1</sup>-5-45] We are confident the news of our misfortune is with you. Col. Trevor with 500 horse and foot surprised about 30 of our men in Wrexham, part whereof we had commanded thither upon business, the other part were there without order. Upon notice – though not of the number of the enemy but that it was far less – we drew out all the horse we could make, about 30 (the rest being forth in the country for provisions) and about 50 foot, intending to have relieved those of our men that were taken prisoners. When we came nigh the town we perceived them to be very strong, in which regard we commanded our horse to face the enemy whilst, with some loose sallies of foot, we had beaten back their forlorn of horse and begun ambuscades to secure the retreat of our horse who, upon the retreat of theirs, advanced. The enemy afterwards came on again with their horse. No sooner had they advanced but ours with haste retreated. The enemy pursued, our ambuscade so paid them that they soon retreated. But yet did our horse run which encouraged the enemy to return upon us with a full and great body. Then did many of our foot begin to run, though others did a second time, being placed in ambuscades, resolutely play upon them. We lost that were taken prisoners 20 foot and two slain. We slew two capts, wounded Maj. Morris in two places and many common soldiers. This hath much impaired our strength; yet not our resolution to persevere in our work, if we can but gain your suit for three or four days until we shall be recruited from our general: this is that you would spare us one coy of foot and one troop of horse. You may pleasure us the more if you command them presently to us seeing for certain the enemy intend to fall upon us this night. We are resolute (God assisting us) that we will not quit this place we are in but with the loss of our lives.

[Margin:– 'Officers lost: Capt. Massey, Mr Pierce, Lt. Knightsbridge, Lt. Williams, 4 sergeants. Last night we took Capts. Powell & Edwards.' In Brereton's writing:– 'Lt.Col. Twistleton came to me to Dodleston 8 May & reported that they had lost 41 common prisoners besides officers, which makes 60 in all.']

(A63)

## Note

- 1 There is nothing in this letter to say at what time of day this engagement took place

and Brereton adds to the confusion by telling the C. of B.K. that it was on Tuesday, 7 May (439). As Tuesday was 6 May that leaves it uncertain whether he had got the date or the day of the week wrong. Wrexham is near enough to Dodleston for it to have been just possible for the engagement to have been fought, the two Lt.cols. to have reported it to Brereton, he to have replied, they to have written a second time and he to have replied again on 7 May (434, 435, 436). But it would have been close work and it seems more likely that the engagement was on Tuesday, 6 May.

434

*Brereton to Lt.Cols. Mason and Twistleton*

7-5-45 Dodleston. I shall be ready to yield you all the assistance that may be. When the Yorks. horse, who are daily expected, come over, I will, according to your desire, assign you one troop to remain with you. Also some Staffs. foot are ordered and expected to come up this day to these parts. So soon as they come one coy shall be commanded to you. In the meantime my officers here cannot conveniently spare any of those we have, especially because we must draw nearer to Chester. If I may frequently hear [from you], you shall not want the utmost assistance that I am able to give.  
(A63)

435

*Middleton's commanders to Brereton*

7-5-45 7 pm. We perceive your honours forwardness to assist us but know not, if you order the Yorks. horse hither, how they quartering together (as they must, else there can be no security) shall subsist. But sure it is very necessary that in some way we should have relief, and which way we must have it from your country we leave to your discretion. We should be very happy if your judgement should jump with ours and you would join horse and foot with our horse and resolve to disperse the enemy. Certainly until then neither you nor we can be safe and, for our part, we cannot hopefully expect to proceed in our work, the which notwithstanding we are resolved to do. Let God work his will. It is certain the enemy are in a body and are probably resolved this night [to fall] upon us. We do prepare for them and what further is to be done we leave to your grave resolution.  
Thos. Mason, Geo. Twistleton, Alex. Eliot.  
(A65)

436

*Brereton to Middleton's officers*

7-5-45 Dodleston. The Yorks. officers have this night been with me and will, I believe, be in Wales with their horse tomorrow. In the meantime I desire your

advice where it may be best to quarter them, which they will not be willing should be far either from you or us. I shall very willingly concur with you in your design to go find out the enemy, fight with and disperse them. If I may see and speak with any of you tomorrow, you shall find me as forward thereunto as can be desired. In the meantime I desire I may hear from you by one or two messengers at least, if you have any certain intelligence of the enemy's approach either towards you or us, and also that you would cause some to be in Wrexham all night. The messenger who comes from you tells me a tale of some Irish landed, which we cannot here believe, but I desire to know the certainty of what you hear thereof.

(A65)

437

*Col. John Booth to Com. at Nantwich*

7-5-45 Dunham [Massey] I writ to you once before [304] to signify my endeavour to bring up some forces to the Leaguer before Chester, which I cannot perceive by your answer [329] was any otherwise accepted than with slight. I have now again addressed myself unto you to know where you think we may be most serviceable. I hope to bring with me 300 foot and a troop of horse. If you think they may be useful to you I am ready to advance. If not, I can be contented to employ them otherwise where perhaps they will [?] fill a welcome and I doubt not but I shall be able to answer it. I shall still desire to be informed of the intelligence you receive.

(A69)

438

*Ashurst to Brereton*

8-5-45 [Westminster] I have stayed the bearers so long in expectation of what the Houses would resolve with relation to your command, for the Com. of the Lords and Commons for military places having resolved that their order being only how to supply those military places that were voided by the Ordinance, they could take nothing else into consideration before they had resolved something and reported that to the House. Whereupon they have resolved that Lt.Col. Jones should command your horse and Adjutant Lothian your foot and that to supply a commander-in-chief there be a committee chosen (wherein the advice of the Chesh. gents here at London was taken) and they have resolved upon Sir Geo. Booth, Sir Wm. Brereton, Geo. Booth, Henry Brooke, Robt. Duckenfield and John Leigh Esqs. and the gov. of Nantwich (for the time being). They or the major part of them, being three or more present, are to order and direct all the forces now under your command for forty days after 14 May. This was done so that if any inconvenience should be discovered in putting it [i.e. arranging it] in this way it might be more easily

remedied. But if you, with the advice of the gentlemen of the country, shall think it to be a good way, upon your approbation of it signified to the House I doubt not but that they will easily continue it. Therefore I thought it most fit that this messenger should be speeded down to you, so that you might return him or some other with all possible haste with your sense upon this course, which I hope will give satisfaction. It is in all points according to your letter [384], except the names of the Com. which was done by the advice of your countrymen here. Thus I have fully informed you of the resolution of the Com. appointed to nominate unto Offices, and there is no great question but the House, to whom it is daily expected to be reported, will confirm it, if it be not otherwise desired by you. But if you should offer to come up to London and leave Chester before you be called hither, it would not only be contrary to the desire of all your friends here, but the House would take it ill. For they do depend upon it that you will continue to be a stay to that work and be active as formerly, though in another capacity. Therefore, that you would not by any means think of leaving Chesh. before you have further notice from hence is my earnest request.

(A97)

*Brereton to C. of B.K.*

8-5-45 Dodleston. If I were not every day more and more encouraged in my hopes of reducing Chester within a few months I would not have taken the boldness so often to have solicited you herein: that the Yorks. horse which are still in these parts may by you be appointed to stay with us and observe orders; that the Derby horse, who never returned since their departure hence, may be commanded to return. Otherwise without these or some others we shall not be able to continue our siege and make good our quarters, which we are about to place nearer Chester. For the country is so generally malignant or overawed they will not bring in any manner of provisions and now very little remains within eight or ten miles this side the water [i.e. the Dee]. So as, if we have not strong parties to send out to bring it in, our army cannot be supplied. Nor indeed can it be expected that with so small a party we should be able to block up Chester closely and make resistance against the preparations that are made by the enemy, who are (it is said) now bringing down the forces of Anglesey, Carnarvon and Denbighshire to join with those in these parts. Wherewith of late they have much plagued and infested our out-quarters, wherein they have taken (29 April in the night) Capt. Bulkeley and about 40 of his troop and ten of my firelocks. Before that time they had surprised more than 20 of Capt. Farrer's men, under the command of Sir Thos. Middleton. Upon Tuesday 7 May [see 433 note] Capt. Massey, brother to the gov. of Gloucester, and near 20 gentlemen and officers and about 40 common soldiers were taken in and about Wrexham by the Welsh forces

under the command of Col. Trevor. In all which successes they have had no great cause of triumph and rejoicing. For when Capt. Bulkeley was taken it is reported that near 16 were slain and divers more wounded. And Sir Thos. Middleton's men on Monday took Capts. Edwards and Powell and on Tuesday Capt. Morris was wounded and Capts. Kynaston and Lloyd<sup>1</sup> slain and divers others wounded. On the Chesh. side we took divers and slew on Tuesday 6 May five or six of those whom they hired to guard their cattle which are their greatest support. Thereof we will endeavour to deprive them as soon as possible, whose wants are much increased, in so much as a quarter of veal last Saturday was sold (as is reported by Wm. Sellbrye<sup>2</sup>, a Chester butcher) for ten shillings, some say 13s 4d. We have perfected our trench round about Hawarden Castle, are going on with our mine and have brought a piece of ordnance to be employed against the same. We have almost finished a mount before Beeston Castle gate, which is encompassed with a strong, deep trench. This will command and keep them in the castle, so that they dare not issue out in strong parties to annoy the country or bring in provisions. We hear nothing of the Scots forces approaching any nearer than their old quarters.  
(A80)

## Notes

- 1 There does not appear to have been a Capt. Kynaston in any of the royalist regts raised in N. Wales. On the other hand there was a Maj. Morris, a Capt. Lloyd, a Capt. Powell & a Lt. Edwards in Col. Robt. Ellis's regt of Denbighs. foot & two Capt. Lloyds in Col. Mark Trevor's regt of Denbighs. horse. Both units were likely to have been involved in the fighting nr. Wrexham. (Inf. from Mr. Lewis.) But there is no corroborative evidence that any royalist officers of these names were killed, wounded or taken prisoner then, & the improbability of Middleton's fleeing troops being able to take prisoners or identify those whom they killed or wounded among their pursuers must throw doubt upon the whole statement.
- 2 Morris gives this name as *Selsby* in his index (84, 261).

*Com. of Salop of Brereton*

8-5-45. There were three of the Staffs. soldiers that for a very great desperate mutiny were by a Council of War condemned. We rejected the execution of them in respect to Col. Bowyer and yourself especially, by whose command they came to us. Having this opportunity we thought fit to convey them to you, either to design them to this voyage with Sir Franc. Hamilton or to be hanged as a just reward of their carriage here with us. We leave this to your consideration.

[Post] The names of the soldiers condemned are: James Charlesworth, Hugh Smith, Thomas Phillips.

Hum. Mackworth, And. Lloyd, Rob. Charleton

(A84)

*'Com. at Nantwich'*<sup>1</sup> to *Brereton*

8-5-45 Nantwich. We have enclosed sent a letter [437] which we desire you will peruse and signify your pleasure touching the same. Ensign Cheshire came this day purposely to acquaint us that the regt formerly under Col. Geo. Booth (who hath resigned his commission) are in great discontent. Maj. Daniel's coy, being commanded to Tarvin from the rest of the regt and receiving no pay, desire to be commanded with the rest of the same regt where they now are,<sup>2</sup> or that they may have such pay and accommodation within this county as other soldiers have and they will be as ready to be commanded upon any service. You may be assured that, unless care be speedily taken, the regt will be lost and become unserviceable to this county. Capt. Geo. Malbon's coy refuse to march this night and it is likely the other [Capt. Thos. Malbon's] will do the like when occasion is afforded. The reason is because the officers have received pay and the soldiers have none. Expecting your speedy directions and answer to these particulars.

Post. We have sent you a copy of such particulars as we have resolved to send up to the C. of B.K. [409], wherein your concurrence is desired.

Hen Brooke, Geo. Booth, Thos. Stanley, Phil. Mainwaring, Wm. Marbury, John Legh, Edw. Hyde, Geo. Spurstow, Rog. Wilbraham, Thos. Croxton.  
(A66)

## Notes

- 1 The phrase 'Committee at Nantwich' is used in the margin. In this case all the signatories are, in addition, dep. lts.
- 2 Shrewsbury (235, 360, 443). But B.A.L. (385) shows that not all the regt was there. It included the Nantwich townsmen under Capts. Geo. and Thos. Malbon (mentioned later on in this item) and the country coys of Capts. Alcocke and Grantham residing in the Altrincham-Wilmslow area.

*Com. ['Gentlemen'] at Nantwich to Brereton*

8-5-45 [Nantwich] A friend of ours that was this day at 11 o'clock in Chester doth assure us by the faith of a Christian that the great men there have converted all their best horses to troop horses, and have mounted their best soldiers upon them and are now in readiness with 100 horse as good as any in the kingdom to fall upon our guards. This we certify you because it appears to us your intelligence is far contrary and might procure dangerous security. This intelligence further informeth that a party of horse went out this last night from Chester and took six of Capt. Rathbone's firelocks. They continually fetch in cattle that are good beef (as last night) and kill them, but those in the city [i.e. cattle kept within the city] are not good dog's meat and they have no fresh meat and little fire.

(P.S.) We shall endeavour to the utmost of our power to answer your desire concerning spades and picks, but we fear we shall fall far short of your expectations.

Hen. Brooke, Geo. Booth, Thos. Stanley, Phil. Mainwaring, Wm. Marbury  
Thos. Croxton, John Wettenhall, Edw. Hyde, Rog. Wilbraham, Geo.  
Spurstow.  
(A71)

*Brereton to the 'Gentlemen at Nantwich'*

8-5-45 Tarvin. I have received your letter [441] by Col. Leigh. To the letter enclosed [437] I know none more fit and able to return answer than those to whom it is directed and that answered the former [329, 304]. Touching Maj. Daniell's coy. I am informed that, whilst they were at Tarvin, they were so well paid that they had no cause to complain and, whilst they were at Shrewsbury, they had the like pay the others had. So long as they and the rest of that regt do serve as others do, you shall have my assistance and endeavours to provide pay and accommodation for them as for others and keep them together for the service of the county, so as they shall have no just cause at all to complain. Whereas you write that Capt. Geo. Malbon's coy deny to watch, for that their officers are paid and not the common soldiers, and that you doubt [not] the rest will do the like if they be not paid, I am of your opinion. For it cannot be expected that soldiers should do duty without money, and I believe it will hardly be answered to the Parl. by them that should have provided money out of the Excise, which hath often been ordered to be put into execution and is hitherto much neglected. I desire you, therefore, for their better pay and accommodation to countenance and assist the speedy putting the Excise into execution. In answer to the Post of this letter, I assure you my endeavours shall not be wanting to serve you and the country in all things to my power for the welfare thereof and I shall concur with you for that purpose. But before I join in these propositions you have sent [409] I desire you to consider whether it be not meet rather to attend the Parl's resolutions for other counties (which I expect to hear within a few days) than to propose unto them.<sup>1</sup> So we may make our addresses suitably. Albeit I perceive by your last proposition, which you have crossed out, that there is suspicion of private information to the Parl., I am sure that there is no information given by me but such as will abide the open view of all men. Nor was it ever in my thoughts to procure any ordinance to be passed without first making you acquainted, whose concurrence I shall as much desire as you do mine, that so the work may be carried on in such a unanimous way as shall tend most to the promoting thereof.

[P.S.] Since the writing of this letter Maj. Daniell is come hither and tells me that nothing hindered more the coming up of his men to do service than Col.

John Booth's interposition in the towns [i.e. townships] where his men are raised and his listing of the Major's men. Which I leave to your consideration whether we can have any great hopes of good by the soldiers thus abused. (A68)

Note

- 1 Brereton's letter to Ashurst of 12-5-45 (497) reveals that, although Brereton's 'concurrence' was apparently never given, the Propositions were sent up to London.

444

*Maj. Gen.<sup>1</sup> Rowland Laugharne to Brereton*

8-25-45 Pembroke. By my former of 2 May (which I doubt miscarried) I imported to you the present low condition of myself and this country with the potency of the enemy distressing us.<sup>3</sup> Since that time it goeth yet harder with us. The enemy daily prevaieth and is become master of the whole country excepting the garrisons of Pembroke and Tenby. My force is hardly able to make them good, having not above 400 foot and 120 horse, the enemy having about 3,000 strong besides the increase he forceth from the country. I have sent to the Parl. for relief; what impediment my expectations may be subject to makes me distrust the seasonableness of the issue. This emboldens me to importune you, the only friend of power and nearest at hand, to assist me in this great extremity by speedily sending a considerable party this way to divert [MS. has 'direct'] the fury of the enemy, now ready to destroy us. I have employed Col. Lewis (whose engagements and fidelity deserve that you give him credit) to you to enlarge my desires and distresses.

The country and haven [i.e. Milford Haven] are of so great importance and the power I have so unable for defence that your service to it cannot but be most acceptable to the state and exceedingly engage me to your service. (A130)

Notes

- 1 Although the marginal note to this item and 423 give him the rank of colonel, as c-in-c of the South Wales Association he had the title of Major-General. (*D.N.B.*; *D.W.B.*; Dodd; *K.W.*)
- 2 As it is placed at A 130 among correspondence dated 17-20 May, this letter must have taken some ten days to arrive.
- 3 No doubt this lost letter of 2 May told of his defeat by Col. Chas. Gerard at Newcastle Emlyn, Cards., on 27 April (Phillips II, 248-54).

445

*Brereton to Byron*

8-5-45 Dodleston. Your letter of 22 April [320] I (being absent) did not

receive till of late and therefore could not return your answer thereof until now. My intentions and actions for all civil and military quarter and proceedings have been so often and so fully manifested that you needed not to have questioned the same, neither by reason of the staying of your brother, Sir Rich. Byron, to whose own relation I shall refer my usage of him, nor for the usage of your drummer Morte. Touching him I heard nothing until I received your letter and, upon examination of that business at my being at Tarvin, I understand that two troopers meeting your drummer with a cloakbag behind him did require to see his pass and, the cloak bag not being in the pass, they took it from him and (as Morte at his coming to Tarvin did inform the Com.) one of the troopers offered to have taken his horse because it was not in the pass but the other trooper would not suffer it. Nor was anything at all (besides the cloak bag) taken from him. Nevertheless this act was so much disliked by the Com. that they presently sent after the troopers, caused them to be punished and the cloak bag and all the goods in it restored to Mistress Littler, the owner thereof, without the loss of anything, although she came out of Chester to this garrison without any pass from me or any that hath any authority here. And I suppose you will give the less credit to your drummer for that, in his examination [321], he swears that by drawing his knife he rescued himself and his horse from two well-armed troopers, a thing very improbable.

I may not accept of the exchange of Maj. Fox for Maj. Goffe [Gough]. It is true that a chirurgeon of mine was released at Chester without fees, exchange or ransom, as I had done some of the chirurgeons of Chester in the like manner, and my chirurgeon was the rather released that the Chester men, who were wounded and then remained prisoners with me, might be the more carefully dressed and looked unto. But that chaplains, drums and trumpets should be freely released was but an overture of yours never consented unto by me. Yet notwithstanding I released in requital of yours one Russell, a chirurgeon belonging to Ld. Capel,<sup>1</sup> without fees or ransom, when my forces lay at Farndon. I have received many complaints from my men that have been prisoners at Chester that your marshall and advocate expect of them extraordinary sums of money for fees and charges, which my marshalls are apt to imitate them in because of my command to them to use your men that are prisoners with me in the same manner as mine are used. But I could desire (though it be a time when there is great inequality in the number of prisoners between you and me) that you would send a particular of fees and charges for prisoners, men and women, to pay to advocate and marshall, that so we may obtain the like.

Touching the other two drums which were sent to Dodleston to Sir Tho. Middleton upon exchange of prisoners and met with uncivil usage, as you say, and were returned without being admitted or their letters delivered, I know nothing of it. Nor is Sir Tho. Middleton now in these parts, but he is best able to give you an account thereof.

(A65)

Note

- 1 Arthur, Ld. Capel, royalist c.-in-c. Salop and N. Wales 1643. He made several unsuccessful attempts to capture Nantwich. (*D.N.B.*; Newman; *K.W.*; Dore; Malbon.)

446

*Lt. Col. Bradshaw's Pass to Ambrose Jackson and John Collinge*

8-5-45 Eccleston. To all officers and soldiers whom it may concern in these parts. These are to will and require you to permit and suffer the bearers thereof, Ambrose Jackson and John Collinge of the parish of Rochdale in the county of Lancs., to pass your guards and scouts with three packs of sheepskins, bought of the commissary at Dodleston, and three nags to their own habitation.

(A72)

447

[? Lt.] *Rich. Holford* to 'Gentlemen' [? Com. at Tarvin]

[8/9-5-45] I have sent you three horse loads of skins and three horses which were bought in Eccleston. And these are the abuse of Chesh. men that Lancs. men should keep the fords.

[P.S.] These coming in the Commissary's name which is no such thing.

(A72)

Note

- 1 See 385 n.1, section on officers omitted from B.A.L.

448

*Brereton to [Lt. Col. John Bradshaw]*

9-5-45 Tarvin. Here is stayed in Tarvin three horses with three loads of sheepskins and [he] shows a warrant for his pass with your name subscribed [446], but whether by you or without your knowledge is not known by me. It is that which tends to the destruction of all provision. It is not unknown to all at Eccleston there have been orders that none should pass and I have stayed my own soldiers – Nantwich men, parishioners [*sic*] – at Eccleston and, as your soldiers know, have taken their skins from them. His name is John Collinge; the pass bears date 8 May, 1645.

(A72)

449

*Brereton to Ld. Fairfax*

9-5-45 Tarvin. I have received your letter of 5 May [425]. According to your intimations therein I have endeavoured to give the best content and satisfac-

tion to your horse that we are able. To that end I have offered your own regt, if they march into Wales, £200 in hand and £100 more within a week after their coming thither and stay there, and have engaged myself unto them that they shall receive content and satisfaction so long as they remain there for their future service. Otherwise they are to be dismissed. Whilst they were in Salop they received some pay from the Com. at Shrewsbury.

Sir Wm. Constable's men have received £200 and I have promised them £100 more if they will march into Wales. As yet I cannot tell you how they will be disposed of, but can assure you that neither of your regts shall want whatsoever accommodation lieth in my power to supply them with whilst I continue in these parts. Nor shall they be kept here any longer than until you send an absolute command for their discharge, which I shall readily obey. [P.S.] All this money I have paid to and which I intend for your horse I have borrowed, and my own horse have not received any pay since your horse came into these parts, neither have I received any part of that assigned by Parl.

[Note to this letter adds that, on the receipt of the letter from Ld. Fairfax, the ensuing letter (450) was sent to Lt. Col. Spencer at Macclesfield by Corp. Wilkinson from Tarvin 9 May.]

(A74)

450

*Brereton to Lt. Col. Spencer*

9-5-45 Tarvin. I have received a letter from Ld. Fairfax [425], in answer whereof I thought good to make this proposal unto you. If your regt march into Wales for our assistance to make good the leaguer at Chester, there shall be £200 paid unto them speedily. This I have borrowed for them and expect it to come this week or the beginning of next week. But I do not much doubt they shall have it this week, and within a week of their coming into and staying in Wales, they shall have £100 more, and afterwards such reasonable satisfaction as shall give them content. Otherwise they shall not be [so] designed. I received a former letter from Ld. Fairfax [not in B.L.B.] to furnish you with £300 and accordingly for the performance thereof in the manner aforesaid I hereby engage my credit, and do not doubt but such further reasonable satisfaction shall be given them as Ld. Fairfax shall well approve of and may give your regt good content.

[P.S.] If the regt draw near this way it would prevent the disbanding of Col. Duckenfield's regt of foot which are now in the Leaguer. If they go hence, which will not be avoided unless these horse be removed from amongst them [i.e. from their homes in Macclesfield Hundred], it will be of much disadvantage to us.

(A75)

451

*Brereton to Lt. Col. Spencer*<sup>1</sup>

9-5-45 Tarvin. I send you here enclosed a copy of a petition [452] which I received from the inhabitants of those parts where you quarter. Upon consideration whereof I doubt not but that you will think fit to remove from those parts, the rather because otherwise we shall lose a regt of foot, which will break from their quarter in the Leaguer before Chester. Thereby we shall be much disabled to preserve that work which lieth very hopefully before us. [P.S.] Since I writ the lines above I have received this letter which follows [453] from the Leaguer at Hoole.

(A70)

## Note

- 1 Although this item and 453, both dated 9 May, are five ff. earlier than 450, also dated 9 May, they have been placed after it. Brereton would hardly have written the vague and rather mild P.S. to 450, if he had already written 451 and been in possession of 452 and 453. In fact, as 461 reveals, Brereton did not send 451 and its enclosures, 452 and 453, direct to Spencer. In accordance with his new role since the passing of S.D.O. he passed it on to the Com. to take such action on it as they thought fit.

452

*The Petition of the oppressed inhabitants and soldiers within the parishes of Stockport and Prestbury in the Hundred of Macclesfield to Sir Wm. Brereton* [prior to 9-5-45] Many of your petitioners, by reason of the many taxations, leys and impositions which, by the occasion of the troubles of these times, have been and still are upon us (besides the charge and maintenance of the trained and freehold bands), are not able to subsist, especially at this present. The maintaining of the garrison at Hoole, the provisions thither weekly sent and the burden of quartering Yorks. horse lies heavy upon them, so as they neither can nor will endure it. The premises considered, may it please you to take into consideration the good affection of your petitioners, the great charge they have been and are at, and to discharge them of this burthen of quartering the Yorks. or other horse, who are so intolerably grievous unto them. Otherwise your petitioners will be forced to surcease their leys [MS has 'Payes'] and maintaining their soldiers before Chester.

(A71)

453

*Maj. Hen. Bradshaw to Brereton*

9-5-45 Hoole. There is divers of our neighbours purposely come hither to certify in what condition they have left our parts, which hath so increased the complaints of most of our regt that, crying out upon me, they say they expect

no other but that their parents, friends and families will be undone. They allege also that, whilst they themselves are upon duty here and have nothing, strangers, having pay, doing no service, devour that which should sustain both them and theirs at home. Therefore, seeing their petition disregarded and no hope of relief and hearing of the many outrages done by the Yorkshiremen and in as much as they and theirs are so continually opposed, they are resolved to endeavour to help themselves. What thereupon may [ensue] I leave to your widom, being assured that to continue our regt longer here is above my power.

(A70)

454

*Brereton to Byron*

9-5-45 Tarvin. I am content to exchange Sir Nich. Byron, now upon his parole in Chester, for Wm. Glegg the Elder of Gayton, prisoner in Chester, and Wm. Glegg the Younger, now upon his parole, and expect the said Mr Glegg the Elder to be forthwith enlarged.

[P.S.] If the two gents above mentioned shall be discharged without fees, the like course shall be taken concerning Sir Nich. Byron, but the same fees that are demanded from them are expected from him.

(A76)

455

*Brereton to Capt. Bulkeley*

9-5-45 [Tarvin] The exchange is very unequal between a capt. and a col., who hath a regt depending upon him which is much less serviceable than otherways it would be if he were at liberty. But if any other reasonable equal exchange be propounded it shall be assented unto by me.

(A73)

456

*Order from Com. of Chesh. regarding Witnesses against John Bretland*

9-5-45 Nantwich. Whereas sundry complaints have been made to this board of the turbulent ill-carriage of Mr John Bretland, tending to the impoverishing and discouragement of the country where he lives and to the prejudice of the present service, in regard of many weighty occasions of public concernment in agitation at this present and that the witnesses to be the aids touching the said complaints are far remote and many of them aged and otherways unapt to travel hither, it is ordered that the examination of the said witnesses be referred to Edw. Hyde Esq. and the sequestrators of Macclesfield Hundred, who are desired to call the same witnesses and to return

and certify all such examinations unto the board that such order may be thereupon taken as may be thought meet.

Wm. Brereton,<sup>1</sup> G. Booth, H. Brooke, Tho. Stanley, Phil. Mainwaring, Roger Wilbraham, Wm. Marbury, G. Spurstow, Robt. Duckenfield, John Leigh.

(A77)

Note

- 1 Although Brereton's signature is on this order, the evidence would seem to show that he was not with the Com. in Nantwich on this day. Not only did he write a letter to them on the same day from Tarvin (461), but they wrote to him saying that, as he was unable to come to Nantwich, they would meet him at Tarporley on the day following (462). A post to this letter says that Brereton, being at Tarvin, agreed to their proposal and 469 reveals that the meeting at Tarporley did take place on 10 May. The inclusion of his signature may be a copyist's error, but it seems more likely that the other Com. men drew up and signed the order at Nantwich on 9 May and carried it with them to Tarporley next day for Brereton to sign.

457

*Capt. John Brooke to Brereton*

9-5-45 Norton [Priory] Your free promise to me upon Thursday invites me to renew my former suit which was that you would bestow some clothes upon me out of the public or money to provide myself of such necessaries as my wants most require, which at this time are great and of one and the other and not unknown to you. Were it not urgent necessity, as well as a speedy return to my coy which compels me, I should be ashamed to solicit you, who have ever been so [?] munificent [M.S. has 'magnificent'] towards me, and would rather have developed some other supply than to be a continual trouble to you upon whose favour I herein wholly depend.

I crave further leave to acquaint you in brief of an act of baseness which cannot be paralleled. I licensed a corporal of mine to go over into Chesh. out of Wales to collect pay, as well for some soldiers in his squadron as for myself. He accordingly went and came to demand some arrears due from the constables of Daresbury. They forthwith acquainted old Mr Daniell; wherefore he came, who immediately raised the town[ship] to oppose him from levying what was due to be paid. The townsmen beat my soldier in a shameful manner and Mr Daniell himself run violently to have stabbed him with a knife, which by God's providence fortun'd upon a belly-piece on his doublet, otherwise he had either slain him or much endangered his life, being just opposite to his heart. Nor was he so sensible of God's mercy in preventing his intended mischief but attempted a second; being disarmed of his knife, he presently laid hold on a pair of shears and proffered with them, had he not been withheld by some standers-by, to have executed his bloody intent. His

reason for so doing I cannot hear nor learn, unless some old spleen towards me still galls him and so he thought to revenge it. But I shall desire the benefit of a Council of War to pass upon it, lest others (this passing unpunished) make it a precedent for them to act the like. I shall dispute this more at large hereafter and for the present cease to trouble you any further, desiring you will be pleased to supply my necessities.<sup>1</sup>  
(A79)

## Note

- 1 There would seem to be more to this affair than reluctance to pay out money for the upkeep of the soldiery. Mr John Daniell of Daresbury sen. was neither a royalist nor a neutralist. He had been indicted by the royalist jury at the Chester Grand Assize (*C.W.T.C.*, 154). It seems probable that the Maj. Daniell of B.A.L. was from Daresbury and possible that he was John jun., son of John sen. (385 n.5). It may be, as Capt. John Brooke himself suggests, that the cause was a family feud between neighbours; Daresbury is no more than a couple of miles from Norton Priory. There could be a link, however, with the Booth-Brereton struggle and even the controversy over Warrington garrison and its allocation from Bucklow Hundred (148 n.2). We do not know the exact boundaries of the allocation but Daresbury must have been in or near the area affected. Despite the proximity of Daresbury to Norton Priory, Maj. Daniell was not in Col. Hen. Brooke's regt but in that of Col. Geo. Booth, nephew to Col. John, the gov. of Warrington, and himself a leader of the anti-Brereton movement. That the Daniells of Daresbury, sen. and jun., were not wholly unsympathetic to this movement is shown by their signing of the revised Knutsford petition (409).

## 458

*Lady Helen Neale*<sup>1</sup> to *Sir Wm. Neale* [Margin: intercepted by Salop Com.] 9-5-45 [Hawarden Castle] My heart, I wonder infinitely that, sending for intelligence, I could not hear from you. Since the Capt. [Thos. Whitley] came hither, who proves himself an honest careful man, our condition is at this time very desperate for, besides the approach of their mine, which is very near the great round tower, they have brought over great pieces; for five carriages we discovered. But whether they be all for battery we know not, because the work they are making for one of them is conceived by the Capt. to be a mortar piece. That is making in the field above your seat. The presumption of the enemy doth more perplex me than the apparent forerunners of ruin, for I am well assured that where God hath a purpose to preserve he can do it without man's assistance. Had we such a thing as an army I am confident that, after five weeks siege, they durst not have ventured their ordnance hither, but that they are assured our army (if any such thing we have) is far enough from them. If it be so I pray thee resolve me with speed for, in the meantime, my mind is upon the rack betwixt hope and despair. I am purposed (God blessing me) to hold out as long as there is meat for man, for none of these eminent dangers shall ever frighten me from my loyalty, but in life and death I will be

the king's faithful subject and thy constant loving wife.  
(A129)

## Note

- 1 I have been unable to find out the family and antecedents of this gallant lady. She was not alone during the Civil War in undertaking the defence of a stronghold while her husband was away. Lady Derby at Lathom and Lady Brilliana Harley at Brampton Bryan are well-known examples of the same thing, but there are other instances also. What is unusual here is that Hawarden was not her husband's property. But possibly Civil War governorships were a good opportunity for landless younger sons to find good homes for their wives and families. The unknown previous 'governor' of Hawarden (417 n.1) and Sir Wm. Vaughan at Shrawardine (479) may be other examples of this.

## 459

*Capt. Wm. Vallett to Capt. Godfr. Gimbart*<sup>1</sup>

9-5-45 Beeston Castle. I understand by the bearer that you intend to burn the house.<sup>2</sup> Indeed it should not have been left for you to have done it, but that I did commiserate a poor widow and two poor orphans in so much that I was content rather to shew that extremity to suffer it to be a den of thieves and traitors. But if you take this course you prevent that which I might, upon good reasons, do myself and I shall make it such a precedent as the surveyors of your works – Aldersey, Spurstowe, Metcalfe<sup>3</sup> *cum multiis aliis* of your traitorous faction shall repent. And whereas you flatter yourself with hopes of taking this place, I scorn your threats and attempts and the forces of your best general, for all his great ram's head.

(A101)

## Notes

- 1 For a few more details of the two captains see Beeston Castle, p. 111 and Byron's Account, p. 23. The latter reveals that Vallett was a former officer of his regt. of horse. Both officers were probably professional soldiers.
- 2 See note to 460.
- 3 A Mr Ralph Metcalf is mentioned early in 1645 as being Commissary at Beeston Hall which Rupert burnt in March (S.P. 28/224 f.25; Malbon 168). The name is not local.

## 460

*Capt. Gimbart to Capt. Vallett*

9-5-45. 'From my royal fort which stands for the confusion of a den of traitors in Beeston Castle'. Governor, I have received your civil expressions in a scandalous paper. You said you delighted in civility; it appears in your beastlike expressions. You told me you would not be tied to conditions. And

do you think to tie [me] that am at liberty, and that by you whom I keep close prisoner amongst your anti-Christian, Babylonian crew and will wait to expend my dearest blood upon the destruction of such traitors to King and state as that den of blasphemers are whereof you are chief. You cause me to burn the house by your expressions.

[Omitted sentence]'

For your scandals to my general, you put it upon him whose shoes you are not worthy to clean. But I suppose you take the counsel to write this letter with the asses whom you took prisoners.

(A101)

#### Note

- 1 Although apparently by the same hand as the surrounding entries, this letter and its predecessor bear marks of very hurried copying. They are illegibly scribbled with many blots and erasures. The omitted sentence has defied fully intelligible transcription, but what appears to be written is as follows:—

'for your covenant ffor [?] owen I suppose by your accions and was [?] 'as was' i.e. 'of'] yesterday all is voide and you have now [?] new] moved mee to mercy [erasure] to your [?] to cruelty.'

If the word between 'ffor' and 'I suppose' is Owen – and it is by no means certain that it is – then it would identify the 'house' that the two commanders were squabbling about. Obviously it lay between the castle and the siegeworks and cannot have been Beeston Hall which Rupert had burnt in March, 1645. But Malbon (153–4) narrates an incident in Dec. 1644 when a sally from the castle surprised and destroyed a parl. detachment 'being in one Owens howse standing att the foote of the Castle hyll att Dynner and very carelesse'. It is true that he also says that, in order to smoke the parliamentarians out, the royalists fired the house, but this may only have been partial and repairable.

#### 461

##### *Brereton to the 'Gentlemen at Nantwich'*

9-5-45 Tarvin. If we can be furnished with spades and the Staffs. foot come unto us, we shall be able to strengthen them and much distress those in Chester, especially if the Yorks. horse can be obtained upon any good condition to come into Wales. By my last letters from the Com. [of B.K.] and other parts I am informed that Maurice is come back with some forces to Worcester. Therefore it behoves us to be more vigilant, seeing that we have brought the great piece into Wales. I shall in this case desire you to send away your letter and consider what is fit to be done with Lt. Col. Spencer's regt of horse.

Capt. Stone sent me word the money was ready. Perhaps your letter was dated after his, so if you send unto him and let him know the inconvenience of the delay, the money will speedily be sent you and may then be disposed of as you shall think fit for this service.

There were but three of Capt. Rathbone's men taken and our present

endeavour is to prevent their fetching in of cattle and bringing out their cattle to grass. As touching their horse, which you were informed were as gallant horse as any in the kingdom, yesterday a party of our horse beat them into the city. At which time they overrun and left their foot and our men killed some five and took some of their [word omitted in MS].

Post. Lt. Col. Spencer is with you and Maj. Goodrich's regt is here, and it will be a more than sufficient task for me to order them and procure them to march. Therefore I send you the enclosed to Lt. Col. Spencer [451], so that whatsoever you think fit to propound and conclude with him, which shall be consented unto by me, may be put into execution. When you have read all the letters and papers you will know what best to resolve. You must take the whole burden of management upon yourselves after a short time; I hope you will constantly attend it.

I offer it to your consideration and there leave it, whether you think it may produce no bad effect to deliver the enclosed to the Yorks. commanders [marginal note says 'vide the letter and petition on page 93, 94, i.e. 453, 452]. If so, then it may please you to manage the business as you think fit and keep my letters with you in safety. [See note to 451.]  
(A71)

462

*The 'Gentlemen' at Nantwich to Brereton*

9-5-45 Nantwich. We have today received Col. Leigh's letter (dated yesterday) [not in B.L.B.] whereby we are satisfied that you could not without prejudice and hindrance to your present occasions come to Nantwich as we desired. But we understand you would give us a meeting this day at Tarporley or be with us at Nantwich this night or tomorrow night. In regard our intelligence comes so late and there are many pressing occasions here we cannot give meeting this day but, being uncertain of your coming to Nantwich this night (and considering your present designs), we have concluded to meet you tomorrow morning at Tarporley by 9 o'clock at the furthest, where we shall expect to see you (or your answer in the meantime to prevent it in case you cannot come).

As touching the answer to Col. John Booth's letter, we have thought it fit to waive it until our meeting with you (intended tomorrow) as not convenient to be done without you, it being doubtful how it may conduce to the furtherance or hindrance of our present design and other occurrences of public concernment. We have written to the commanders of the Yorks. horse (and enclosed your letters) that, if they will return to service according to your order and command and send some (whom they will trust) this way, they shall receive £200 and such other accommodation as shall be fit when they come to you (which we doubt not you will make good according to your engagement by our letter).

Hen. Brooke, Geo. Booth, Tho. Stanley, Phi. Mainwaring, Wm. Marbury, Ed. Hyde, Rog. Wilbraham. Tho. Croxton<sup>1</sup>

[Note appended to the letter] Sir Wm. Brereton, being at Tarvin, returned answer that he would not fail to meet them at Tarporley, as it was desired, or to come to Nantwich, if they apprehended it convenient for themselves. (A73)

## Note

- 1 All the 'gents' signing this letter were dep. lts.

## 463

*Maj. John Bridges to Com. of Coventry*

9-5-45 Warwick Castle. I have intelligence that the King is come to Evesham and the rumour there is that Campden House<sup>1</sup> is fired. I beseech you let Sir Wm. Brereton have notice of it that they come not on him before he be prepared. The intelligence is confirmed by a party I sent out towards Campden to get coashaft,<sup>2</sup> therefore I believe both particulars to be true. (A89)

## Notes

- 1 Parl. garrison, s.e. Evesham.
- 2 This is almost certainly a version (or perhaps a mis-copying) of 'cowlstaff, coulstaff or colestaff', a normal household requisite at the time. This was a pole or staff by which two persons could carry a burden on their shoulders. It could also be used as a weapon. (*O.E.D.*).

## 464

*C. of B.K. to Brereton [C.S.P.D. 1644-5, 472]*

9-5-45 Derby Ho. By the intelligence we have received we conceive the King's march to be towards your parts. Wherefore we think it necessary that you with all care and diligence do furnish your garrisons of all provisions for the preservation of them, and that you keep a vigilant eye upon the enemy's motions that you may not be surprised or endangered by them, but take the best course you can for the security of your forces.

Saye and Sele; Loudoun

(A91)

## 465

*Com. of Coventry to Brereton*

10-5-45 9 am Coventry. We can add nothing to the enclosed [463] which gives you some intelligence of concernment, whereof we thought it needful to give you timely notice and therefore despatch it as soon as we received it. We hope

the motion of the Princes is taken notice of above, for we hear there is a stoppage made of Sir Thos. Fairfax's march into the west,<sup>1</sup> which we believe is to wait upon these forces. As intelligence comes to hand you shall be sure to share it with us.

[P.S.] This morning we received order touching Mr Lee.

R. Skeffington, John Barker, Geo. Abbott, Waldive Willington,<sup>2</sup> Tho. Willoughby  
(A89)

#### Notes

- 1 The march of the newly-formed New Model to relieve Taunton was halted at Blandford in Dorset on 7 May by orders from the C. of B.K. A small task force went on to Taunton; Sir Thos. and the remainder retraced their steps. (*K.W.*, 443; *Woolrych*, 104-5.)
- 2 Gent., of Hurley, Warks.; capt. of a foot coy and gov. of Tamworth Cas. (inf. from Dr. Anne Hughes). For other more important members of the Warks. Com., its composition and nature, its links with Brereton and its part in the anti-Denbigh movement see 227 n.2.

#### 466

##### *Middleton to Brereton*

10-5-45 Red [Powys] Castle. Since my coming into these parts it hath not been my happiness to hear from you or touching your proceedings about Chester, which I must impute to the distance betwixt us, not otherwise. For such occurrences as are come to me I shall make bold to participate to you. First, touching Rupert and Maurice, my intelligence is certain that both of them with about 5,000 horse and foot – but most enforced and pressed men – were at Worcester upon Wednesday was seven-night [30 April], their design then the raising of the sieges at Hawarden and Chester, but unexpected occasions happening about Oxford<sup>1</sup> – the certainty whereof I have not yet received by any letter, though it is publicly related by many – Rupert marched upon Thursday and Maurice upon Friday with all haste with all the forces that would follow them to Oxford, whereabouts they yet remain.

Upon Friday last at evening Sir Wm. Neale with eight men only came to Cause Castle averring he came out of Hawarden, and the next morning early with a convoy of eight horse thence he departed to Leominster,<sup>2</sup> affirming that he was going to the Princes for speedy relief, for otherwise the castle of Hawarden and Chester would both be suddenly lost. This relation I received from one Mr Edwards,<sup>3</sup> a kinsman of yours, who was a prisoner in Cause Castle at the same time and both saw and heard the passage between Sir Wm. Neale and the governor, Mr Edwards being upon Wednesday night last enlarged. This much I thought fitting to give you information of to the end you may proceed with alacrity on the great design of Chester.

I shall be a suitor to you for the loan of Captain Sadler and his coy, who I presume will be forward enough themselves to come, that they may

speedily be put into my new garrison at Stansty near Wrexham, there to form with my men who, by reason of their late loss, are but weak. In so doing you will do me and those forces of your own on that side of the river a favour by hindering the incursions of the enemy which otherwise may fall suddenly upon their backs.

As for the news out of South Wales, I am sorry to relate but think it fitting you should be informed that about a month since Col. Laugharne drew into the field and besieged [New] Castle Emlyn; that, Gerard returning with his own and some of the Princes' scattered forces, he withdrew from the siege and retreated but with loss, being pursued. He hath quitted Cardigan Castle and burnt it and since quitted Haverford [MS. has Hereford] West and taken himself unto Pembroke. This is the relation of these poor countries.  
(A90)

## Notes

- 1 The 'unexpected occasions' were Cromwell's tactics in the Oxford region, particularly his seizure of draught horses, so that the Princes, instead of waiting for the King at Oxford, had to go to fetch him, bringing draught horses with them. But, as 463-5 show, Sir Thos's intelligence was out of date; King and Princes had already left Oxford on their northwards march (*K.W.*, 441).
- 2 Apart from the initial L, the rest of this name is illegible. Geographically Leominster seems to be the most likely place.
- 3 I have not succeeded in discovering anyone of this name who could have been considered to have been a kinsman of Brereton's. Capt. Wm. Edwards, the Chester alderman, was a friend and follower of Brereton's, but he signed a letter from the Chesh. Com. at Nantwich as recently as 12 April and, if he had been captured since then, surely some notice of this would have appeared in B.L.B. Cause is eight miles e. of Powys Castle, over the Salop border.

## 467

*C. of B.K. to Brereton and 'Com. of Chesh.'*

10-5-45 Derby Ho. We have intelligence that the King with his joined forces is marching towards the north parts where, if we have not a joint force to oppose him, he may grow to such numbers as may easily destroy our divided parties and become thereby dangerous to the whole kingdom. We have therefore thought fit that, with all expedition, there should be a conjuncture of all our forces that lie northwards for that purpose, and have written to Ld. Leven to advance with the Scotch army and to appoint a common rendezvous for all the forces we have designed from your county and the counties of Lancs., Yorks., Derby, Staffs., Notts. and Lincs. which, with the Scots army, we conceive will be sufficient to oppose the motions of the King's army and to hinder his growing to greater numbers. We desire you, therefore, to have in present readiness 500 horse and 1,000 foot and as many more as you can spare to march with all possible speed to such rendezvous as shall be appointed by

Ld. Leven and Ld. Fairfax for the general conjuncture of these forces. This service is of so great consequence, both the general safety and your own being very nearly concerned in it, that we shall use no other argument to persuade it, only shall represent that if there be not an effectual, speedy and unanimous conjunction to resist the enemy in a body, it will not be difficult for him to oppress you severally and impossible for you to avoid it.

P. Wharton; H. Johnston  
(A99)

468

*Gell to Brereton*

10-5-45 Derby. I am heartily joyful to hear of your good proceedings at Chester. Nottingham is still in so bad a condition that we expect every hour to be summoned to their assistance and, in truth, our horse did but come to us the same day that your letter did. Now let me deal plainly with you. For aught that I can see, if Nottingham were in never so good a condition, our horse will have [to have] both clothes and money before they march so far as you desire. Truly, there is great reason for this, and to satisfy their reasonable request I shall make all the haste that may be.

I pray you give this trumpeter leave to deliver his foolish letters as they are directed into Chester or, if you please, to send one of your own – either drum or trumpet – so that they may be answered.

[P.S.] I hear the Scots are near you.  
(A87)

469

*Com. of Cheshire to Col. John Booth*

10-5-45 Tarporley. As the condition of affairs stands with us in this county three hundred old soldiers and a troop of horse would be very acceptable to us and much conduce to the design in hand; for which we shall be ready at any time to return the like assistance. But to alter the commands of those belonging to this county contrary to the intent of the Parl. in their late reference (which, as we conceive, was that things should remain in the same condition as they then stood until they were further determined) will rather prove a dis-service than an advantage to us, which we perceive you intend by your late free offers.

Wm. Brereton, Hen, Brooke, Tho. Stanley Ph. Mainwaring, Wm. Marbury, Edw. Hyde, Rob. Duckenfield, Rog. Wilbraham, John Leigh, Geo. Spurstowe.

Post. Having occasion to raise men for the reducing of Chester and there being a question betwixt Col. John Booth and some other cols. within the county for the command of men within some several allotments, which by

Parl. is referred [i.e. is referred to Parl.], we do hereby testify under our hands that the raising of men for the present design within the said allotment shall be no prejudice unto the said Col. John Booth nor this our subscription to us.

Hen. Brooke, Wm. Brereton, Tho. Stanley, Phi. Mainwaring, Wm. Marbury, Rob. Duckenfield.<sup>1</sup>

(A78)

Note

- 1 It is noteworthy that, although Sir Geo. Booth was at Nantwich on the previous day and signed the order regarding witnesses in the Bretland case and the letter to Brereton arranging the meeting at Tarporley, he does not sign this letter (456, 462).

470

*Lt. Col. Spencer to 'Com. of Nantwich'*

10-5-45 Macclesfield. According to your letter I have sent to receive the money promised. I have this day appointed a rendezvous for the regt, where I expect to hear from you with expedition, for our soldiers will not be persuaded to move or rest content without satisfaction.

(A77)

471

*Brereton to Lt. Col. Spencer*

10-5-45 [Nantwich] I have ordered £200 to be paid to Mr Rich. Leigh of Nether Knutsford<sup>1</sup> to be by him paid to such as you shall appoint to receive the same for the use of your regt.

(A77)

Note

- 1 Possibly an uncle of Col. John Leigh (Orm. I, 499-500).

472

*Cockson to Brereton*

10-5-45. The intervening of new information and intelligence since the dismissal of the last from 168 [C. of B.K.] hath occasioned the more hasty dispatch of this towards you to prevent the inconvenience the former letter [? 467] might bring forth, if you should in all points be guided by their letters. Besides the acquaintance you have from 63 [Ashurst: 491] who are in pursuit of the royal army, I have this information through a letter directed to my cousin Goure [? Gower] from Gloucester that Maj. Gen. Crawford is in

Worcs. with 3,000 horse, and we hear that Taunton hath relieved itself, although a party be sent that way. Providence may so direct that the work may close where it began.<sup>1</sup>

Here enclosed is a copy of the order from the Com. of Revenue [406] that you may be pleased to direct who is to receive it and [give] your acquittance. Mr Ashurst conceives it a piece of justice to have your discharge for the moneys he has formerly received out of the Court of Wards upon your request. The direction of some expedition herein will be very expedient for many reasons that we get the money into our hands. Shakeshaft, the carrier, and his partner are laded with ten 26 and a vi of xx.<sup>2</sup> If this enclosed be delivered to Mr Robt. Lunt and Mr Jas. Croxton, it will give them clear satisfaction what they are to receive.

If you call to Geo. Gleave he will give you information of some exceptions that are taken that you did not cause Lt. Col. Coote's men [to be] punished for plundering in Wales. This from Sir John Trevor. This is all for the present; only your messenger is hourly expected.  
(A117)

Notes

- 1 The general drift of this advice from Cockson would seem to be that, as there was now evidence of substantial parl. forces following the King's army, Brereton should not be guided too entirely by the first instructions from the C. of B.K., a hint that Brereton was not slow to act upon. But the chronology is puzzling. According to what has been entered in B.L.B., the C. of B.K.'s order to Brereton to join a rendezvous of northern forces (467) was only sent on the same day as this letter from Cockson (10 April) and Ashurst's letter that Cromwell and Browne were following the King (491) not until the next day.
- 2 It has not been possible to work out this cypher. But 406 would suggest that Shakeshaft's load was equipment for the cavalry: pistols, saddles, helmets and cuirasses.

473

*Will. Wenlocke's Receipt for sale of oxen*

10-5-45 Tarvin. Sold unto Sir Wm. Brereton 20 oxen which were taken for two year's rent last past:

at 45s a beast is £45-0-0

for the use of my Mr Thomas Ravenscroft<sup>1</sup>

per me Will. Wenlocke

(A3)

Note

- 1 Perhaps Col. Thos. Ravenscroft of Betton, Flints. (See 186 n.1)

*Walter Hill to his brother*

10-5-45 'past' 10 pm. My kind love to you. I remember the last words you spake to me. The King is advanced out of Oxford and did lie this last night here and his artillery in Evesham,<sup>1</sup> with the two Princes thereabout. It is said they are intended for Cheshire. Their horse are judged to be about 6,000; their foot not known yet. Some of the horse came to Alcester [MS: 'Oster'] this day. This intelligence that I send you came from Mr Reyes, the mercer, who came this morning from Warwick.<sup>2</sup>

(A82)

Notes

- 1 As this is phrased, the modern reader would take it to mean that 'here' was a different place from Evesham (possibly Alcester which is mentioned soon afterwards). But as Symonds, 165; 'P.R.M.', 739 and 'I.C.', 200 state that Charles spent the night of 9 May at Evesham and as the 17th century was a great deal more careless about the order in which it put its phrases, it is probable that the sense of the sentence should be 'the King and his artillery did lie this last night *here in Evesham*'.
- 2 For the connection between this item and items 475 and 476, their dating and possible deductions as to the speed of parl. communications, see note to 476.

475

*Col. John Fox<sup>1</sup> to Brereton* [Sent in enclosure to Capt. Stone; see 476] [? 11-5-45 Edgbaston] I understand by good intelligence that the King, Rupert and Maurice are at this present at or about Evesham. I sent you a letter dated 10 May wherein was enclosed the best intelligence that I had and, lest that should not come to your hand, I have here enclosed sent you a copy of the same [474], and do expect daily to hear of the same intelligencer the motion of the armies which, as soon as I shall hear, I shall be ready to the utmost of my endeavour to give you further intelligence.<sup>2</sup>

(A82)

Notes

- 1 An unusual and somewhat maverick figure. Although always referred to by the royalist pamphleteers as 'Tinker' Fox, it seems probable that he had been an ironworker in or near Birmingham. He emerged as a leader in the confused resistance to a royalist take-over of the area in 1643 in perhaps somewhat the same way as the 'turf-cutter', Lt. Col. John Watson, in the better-known movement of the Moorlanders in North Staffs. He obtained his colonel's commission from Denbigh but there is no sign of his being pro-Denbigh in 1645. He had annoyed Denbigh's supporters by backing the formation of a Com. for Worcs. in exile in 1644 (*H.M.C. Denbigh*: W. Crowne to Denbigh, 16 and 19 July, 1644). On the other hands he was not on good terms with the Warks. Com. despite the strong minor gentry and merchant element in the latter. They failed to control his actions

and complained of the disorderly conduct of his soldiers. (Information from Dr. Anne Hughes.)

- 2 For the connection between this item and items 474 and 476, their dating and possible deductions as to the speed of parl. communications see note to 476.

476

*Stone to Brereton*

11-5-45 9 am. [Stafford] This morning I received the enclosed from Col. Fox [475] which intelligence I believe to be true, for I had intelligence likewise that the forces from Worcester went forward on Friday [9 May] to meet the King. Since I began to write this I read the enclosed note [474], so there is no doubt of it. The Lord direct you in making preparations for your best security and the Kingdom's advantage.<sup>1</sup>

(A82)

Note

- 1 The contents of these letters and the fact that they are all entered together on f.82 in the MSS make it virtually certain that the first enclosure referred to in this item is 475 and the second 474, and that the enclosure referred to in 475 is 474. If this is so, if the dates and (even more important) the time of day given in the items are accurate and if Fox and Stone were (as might be expected) writing from the garrison towns that they were in charge of, then the alacrity of parl. commanders and the speed of their messengers were considerable. For Hill sent off his intelligence 'past' 10 pm on 10 May to Col. Fox at Edgbaston, 20 miles away if he wrote from Alcester, 30 if he wrote from Evesham, as seems more probable. This reached Fox in time for him to read and dispatch it with a letter to Brereton and (presumably) a covering note to Stone before midnight. Then, sometime in the early morning of the next day (11 May), he sent off duplicates to Stone which reached him at Stafford, 25 miles away, in time for Stone to be forwarding them to Brereton with a covering letter by 9 am.

477

*Intelligence from Com. of Northants.* [Margin: 'Another of same came from C. of B.K., 11 May, 1645'.]<sup>1</sup>

[11-5-45 Northampton] Who saith that he was at Oxford upon Wednesday last [7 May]; that on Thursday morning early about four or five of the clock the King marched out of Oxford. He rode in the company of the army two days' march; they came within seven miles of Worcester, where he left them yesterday morning, intending to march to Worcester that night. He saith the whole army both of horse and foot was not above 5-6,000, most of them horse. They had with them 80 carriages, but 13 pieces of ordnance of all sorts. Their intention, by all that he could learn, is for Chester, if they can, and so for the north. He saith further that Goring came with the King out of Oxford with about 100 horse, but left him and went with the rest of his forces to

Faringdon and, as he heard, was to return unto the west, where Prince Charles was with Hopton.<sup>2</sup>  
(A91)

## Notes

- 1 See note to 492.
- 2 Other sources show this to have been quite an accurate report (except that neither the King nor his army went to Worcester), and the day to day movements given in the first two sentences would lead to the conclusion that it was written on Sunday, 11 May.

478

*Com. of Leics. to Brereton*

11-5-45 6 pm Leicester. We received the above-mentioned intelligence from the Com. at Northants. [477] who desire it should be imported unto you. What news you hear of the Scots' advance and where they are we desire to be acquainted with by this messenger at his return.  
Wm. Stanley, John Swinfen, Edw. Craddock, Peter Temple, Hen. Smith, John Browne, Fran. Smalley<sup>1</sup>  
(A92)

## Note

- 1 The dominant member of the Leics. Com. was not one of these signatories, but Henry Ld. Grey of Groby, eldest son and heir of the Earl of Stamford. He was also Maj. Gen. of the Association of East Midland Counties, although by this time that command was largely nominal. Leics. was divided between the influence of the families of the parliamentary Earls of Stamford and the royalist Earls of Huntingdon, the first exercised by Henry Grey and the second by Henry Hastings (*q.v.*), a younger son of the Earl of Huntingdon, whom Charles had made Earl of Loughborough. The Leics. Com. tended to be made up of gentry of moderate fortunes or burgesses of the town itself. Stanley and Craddock were aldermen, Stanley had been mayor and Craddock was mayor at this time. Temple, a younger son, was said to have been in trade in the city before the death of a brother brought him his father's estate at Sibbesden. Temple and Smith (of Withcote) later became Recruiter M.P.s and in 1649 followed their leader, Henry Grey (the only close relative of a peer to sign the King's death warrant), in becoming regicides and Rumpers. This John Swinfen was of the elder branch of the family; Brereton's John Swinfen (*q.v.*) came from the junior and Staffs. branch.

A few weeks later the unfortunate Com. were to be engulfed in Rupert's storm and sack of Leicester. They had already been accused (by Cheshire's Col. Geo. Booth, who was Grey's brother-in-law) of neglecting its defences. This they denied and it seems probable that the mistaken strategy of the C. of B.K. in detaching so few troops to follow the march of the royal army was the main cause of the disaster. (*D.N.B.*; B. & P.; *P.P.*; J.F. Hollings, *Leicestershire during the Great Civil War*, 38; Jas. Thompson, *History of Leicester*, chs. L-LIV.)

*Com. of Salop to Brereton*

11-5-45 Shrewsbury. Vaughan with his horse are certainly designed for Evesham to the King's body, as by the orders intercepted we read ourselves; unless he have latter orders, which is not probable; for he is gone with bag and baggage from Shrawardine [w. of Shrewsbury], marched away yesterday morning with his coach and six horses, his wife and other women all with their portmantels furnished for a long march, and hath taken his leave of Shrawardine for this summer at least.

All our forces will do you no good if the King's body move that way, for here will be few enough for defence of this town, and your forces we suppose must unite with the Scotch body or draw into your garrisons. When the King's army is passed by, then what forces you command [from us] shall be ready. Benthall is perfected in the works and strong enough against any sudden assault. Capt. Brereton<sup>1</sup> is made governor there and of great use to us. [As to] the other you writ about you shall have all the respect we can show you. [P.S.] We cannot subsist longer without contribution, and that will not be had without a garrison toward Ludlow, which we shall not attempt till we hear which way the King moves.

H. Mackworth, And. Lloyd, Tho. Nichols, Leigh Owen  
(A89)

## Note

- 1 This Capt. Brereton is unlikely to be the officer of Brereton's who is mentioned in 181, 703, and 759 because he was still gov. of Benthall in Salop at a time when the other Capt. Brereton was either gov. of Cholmondeley Castle in Chesh. or a prisoner in N. Wales. The Benthall gov.'s letters in the B and C MSS (951, 993, 1004, 1042, 1121, 1131) reveal that his christian name was Thos. but otherwise he remains unidentified. There is no suggestion in his letters that he might be related to Sir William.

*Com. of Salop to Brereton*

11-5-45 Shrewsbury. We sent forth a very intelligent gent. into Herefs., Gloucs., Worcs. on purpose to get certain knowledge of the enemy's motion. He rode 40 miles this day to let us know what we now write to you: that the King and Rupert with his whole army marched yesterday about 11 o'clock by Worcester on your side Severn (Maurice stayed behind in Worcester). He tended his motion towards the north. Our intelligencer (who was within eight miles of Worcester) heard one of the King's officers say in discourse that they were for West Chester<sup>1</sup> and so for the north, and that York would be delivered up if the King came in person. It is supposed that the King is at least 12,000 strong. His motion is very swift; therefore if you believe this intelligence (as we fear it is too true) you will, we doubt not, be in readiness

for a storm and give notice to the northern forces to prepare an encounter withall, desiring that York may be carefully looked into, for it is reported by many that came thence to be full of malignants. We heard this day from Bridgnorth that there also preparation is making for great forces and the Princes are expected on Wednesday at the furthest. Campden House is quit and fired.

Post. Capt. Stone, since yours was writ, hath certified us from Stafford to the same purpose, and that the King is 6,000 horse and what foot he knows not. H. Mackworth, And. Lloyd, Rob. Charleton.  
(A90)

## Note

- 1 A name sometimes used in the 17th century to distinguish Chester from Chester-le-Street near Durham which was more often than not simply called 'Chester'.

## 481

*Rog. Wilbraham and Thos. Croxton to Lt. Col. Spencer and his officers.*  
11-5-45 [Nantwich] We hope you have by this time received the £200 according to appointment. You shall have more so soon as it is provided. We hear even now from Lt. Col. Jones that they are in good forwardness for the taking of Hawarden (which will be a good step towards the taking of Chester) if they be not prevented by the enemy, who are now fast gathering together in Wales; for the prevention of which both he and we much desire your present march thatways, than which you cannot better serve the public nor more endear unto you our trusty affection.

[Footnote "There was also notice sent them of the King's army marching this way".]

(A78)

## 482

*Capt. Hen. Swaine to Brereton*

11-5-45 Peover. I am heartily sorry that we should thus shamefully part from under your command and service, being also the special service of God and the country. I for my part had rather hazarded my life than thus have departed. If we be questioned we cannot answer it. But if myself and those that will stay with me can pleasure you, I shall be at your command. There is some I think will also stay of Capt. Askwith's troop and some others. We had persuaded our soldiers to stay at the rendezvous of Friday but that they were afraid of harm to be done them by the rest, and that they threatened me in your presence for that I pressed them to stay. So after our parture from you, some of the soldiers would have fallen upon me, and some drew their swords, yet durst not venture upon me for that I drew against them. And I think God

stayed their rage and hindered or discouraged them, else we had spoiled one another. I wish that our departure be neither offence to God nor prejudicial to you in your undertakings, and I pray God to stand for you and prosper you. [P.S.] I should have entreated your letter [i.e. order] for a nag, saddle and bridle taken from one of my soldiers at Northwich and his sword, but I had not a fit time for it by reason of your great occasions.  
(A92)

483

*Note of what moneys Lt. Fairfax's regt had in Salop, being two days pay and a half*

11-5-45

	£	s	d
A capt. of horse had	04	17	06
A lt. of horse had	02	05	00
A cornet of horse had	01	13	09
A quartermaster had	01	02	06
A trumpeter had	00	07	06
A corporal of horse had	00	07	06
There is nine troops			
There is eleven trumpets			
There is 27 corporals			
Out of the money the soldiers had all the officers had 5s a piece. This was taken from Mr Rich. Pursglove, <sup>2</sup> Lt. to Maj. Goodricke			
The major 2 days and a half; 54s per diem	£16 [ <i>sic</i> for 6]	15	00
8 captains 2 days and a half; 39s per diem	39	00	00
8 lts. 2 days and a half; 18s per diem	18	00	00
9 cornets 2 days and a half; 13s 6d per diem	15	03	09
9 quartermasters 2 days and a half; 9s per diem	10	02	06
11 trumpeters 2 days and a half; 3s per diem	[£10 <i>sic</i> for 4]	02	06
27 corporals 2 days and a half; 3s per diem	10	02	03
Summae Totalis	104 [ <i>sic</i> ]	06	03 <sup>3</sup>
There is received by the officers out of the £200 paid them 10s a piece, all alike, which being in number 73 is	36	10	00

(A92)

## Notes

- 1 This was for service at the abortive siege of High Ercall (498), which was raised on 14 April.

- 2 Presumably this is the bearer mentioned in the P.S. to 502, who would not only have brought that letter from Maj. Goodricke to Brereton but also the information about the pay of the other Yorks. regt which enabled this note to be made up.
- 3 If the figures in the text are used, the Summae Totalis should be £119 6s 3d; if the corrected figures for the major and the 11 trumpeters are substituted, it should be £103 6s 3d.

484

*Maj. T. Cromwell's Parole*

11-5-45 [Nantwich] I underwritten, having received from Sir Wm. Brereton the favour of a pass on my parole for the further benefit of my health and procuring my enlargement, do hereby promise upon the word of a gent. and honour of a soldier again to render myself prisoner to Sir Wm. Brereton wherever he shall be in the kingdom of England within ten days after notice given either to my brother, Nath. Paget, Doctor of Physic, resident in the city of London, or Mrs Hampden living in King's Street, Westminster, or within the space of one month given to Mr Rich. Barrett, chirurgeon-general at Nantwich.

Witnesses hereto: Wm. Maxey,<sup>1</sup> Rich. Barrett  
(A87)

Note

- 1 See 55 n.1 for Cromwell and Maxey.

485

*Brereton to Montgomery*

9-5-45 Tarvin. [But not sent until 11-5-45 at Nantwich. See P.S.] I doubt not but that you are acquainted with the good success the Lord hath given Col. Cromwell against the enemy in Oxfordshire about a fortnight since. I have certain intelligence that our forces have since fallen upon them twice in those parts and have taken a regt of foot and 200 horse with most of the officers thereto belonging. Doubtless God's wisdom hath ordered their disadvantages there for our advantage here. Nothing but these losses have kept relief from the enemy in these parts. The Princes are both marched into those [M.S has 'these'] parts; Rupert with 2,000 horse towards Oxford, it is conceived to guard the King there. Maurice and Sir Jacob Astley with their foot and some horse are at Worcester. It is conjectured they are to attend his Majesty's coming thither. Their progress this summer (as I am credibly informed) is northward and I know not what can prevent their design but the speedy advance of your army. Their scene [i.e. place of action] lies just as it did last summer through the remote parts of this country into Lancs., therein to increase their strength till it becomes formidable to the north, which the reputation of your advance would altogether frustrate. Blessed be God I am

in a fair possibility of taking Chester, but if that part of your army (which have been long assigned to our assistance) were with me that business would be soon affected. But it cannot well be imagined that the strength of this single county can easily take a place of that power and consequence. You know of what concernment the reducing of Chester may be to the whole north, the enemy not having in these parts of England any garrison of that strength nor so capable to advance their northern designs, as divers sad experiences have taught us.

My humble request is that you will use that great power which you have with Ld. Leven to speed over that brigade which was designed into these parts, and I hope that we should so truly obtain Chester as they may victoriously return and we be further serviceable to your army in their advance southward. For certainly if that brigade were speedily here and the rest of your army upon their march southwardly, it would extremely distract the Oxford plots, whereas if his Excellency should take the northern parts only into his consideration and principally endeavour their securement, it might give the enemy such an advantage against these parts and [enable him] to raise puissant forces hence as might endanger all the north. This I thought fit to advertise you knowing your zeal to the public, being confident that you will take this opportunity by speeding your army both this way and southward to engage the whole kingdom to you.

[P.S.] 11-5-45 11 pm Nantwich. Since I writ these lines I have received intelligence this evening by a messenger that came post from London, Coventry, Northampton and Stafford [477, margin], that the King is come out of Oxford this way, that his and the Princes' armies were at Evesham Friday night and doubtless their design is for these parts.

(A81)

*Brereton to Vane*

11-5-45 Dodleston.<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding all the difficulties wherewith we have encountered, yet through God's mercy we have good encouragement to hope that the conditions of this country may ere long be more comfortable, as free from enemies and as full of duty and obedience to the Parl. as most countries in the kingdom. The work now stands upon a vertical point; if it please the Lord to divert the enemy from these parts but a short time, our mines and good success in batteries give hope to gain Hawarden Castle before many days. And the close siege about Chester on every side, with their wants of ammunition and other provisions in the city, induceth to believe it cannot hold out many weeks. But if the enemy should now gain an opportunity to relieve them, I question whether all the forces the Parl. hath could reduce them to those straits they are now in. I have long expected to be seconded in this great work from the Scottish army, for it cannot well be imagined that the

forces of this single wasted country are sufficient to encounter a place of that great strength, largeness and consequence. Yet that Lord, who hath honoured himself by small means as well as great, can by these weak instruments accomplish his pleasure. But if you please to prevail with the C. of B.K. for a peremptory command that those Scots who were here formerly should speedily be sent to our assistance, I doubt not but their coming would much advantage us, both against the relief of the enemy and in the perfecting of the design. We are daily at the outwards of the city; I hope the Lord will one day lead us in. Those cattle they have they keep within the city, where there is very great scarcity of salt, as well as of ammunition. Another part of our forces lie entrenched close about Hawarden. Upon Friday night<sup>2</sup> we began to batter and with good success, so perhaps we may not stand in need of the help of our mines to gain the place.

If the Lord please to prosper our endeavour at these two places, the enemy will have no footing in Chesh. but Beeston Castle, which is so blocked up already that they have little comfort to hold out long. The Derby regt of horse hath been gone hence about three weeks. One of the Yorks. regts hath never assisted us since the Princes departed hence. The other of them hath since their return out of Salop quartered at such a distance (except ten days in Wales in our last expedition) that they have been useless. If these may be commanded to return and to continue on the Welsh side of Chester, it would be very conducive to the service. Your favour in effecting hereof will lay a great obligation on these parts and a greater on myself.

[P.S.]<sup>3</sup> A little time may produce a great change [M.S. has 'charge']; no better can be hoped if the King and Princes' armies continue their motion this way, as my last intelligence reports. Since I concluded the lines above, I have been so advertised from Northampton, Coventry, Edgbaston and Stafford [463; 465; 474-5-6-7], which I have enlarged in my letter to Mr Ashurst [498]. When I hear further you shall partake if the road be not obstructed, which I fear. My last messenger was in danger.  
(A83)

#### Notes

- 1 It is possible that 'Dodleston' is a copyist's error or that, as with the previous item, Brereton started the letter some days before (the correspondence for 8 May shows him to have been in Dodleston that day) and finished it in Nantwich on the evening of 11 May. But the writing of the date and address for this item make both suppositions less probable. It is very clearly written without interpolations: "From my quarters at Dodleston near Chester May 11th, 1645".

If date and place are correct then, Brereton, after meeting the Com. at Tarporley on 10 May (469) must either have returned to Tarvin for the night or gone on to Dodleston. Whichever he did, he must have done the journey from one to the other again on 11 May and then gone on to Nantwich the same day, a good illustration of his tireless activity. It was 16 miles from Nantwich to Tarvin along a recognised road of the day, but there was no direct road from Tarvin to Dodleston

nor Dodleston to Nantwich and the distances of about 10 miles in the first instance and 20 in the second would have been considerably extended by the necessity of working round by bye-roads with the additional hazard on the Dodleston-Tarvin route of proximity to the garrison of Chester.

- 2 Probably 9 May but, if the letter had been begun as early as 8 May (see Note 1), 2 May.
- 3 As 485 and 487 which also included this recent news in a postscript, were written in Nantwich, this must have been also. But not until 12 May, as this was the day when 498 to Ashurst was written, and this is referred to in it.

487

*Brereton to Gell*

11-5-45 Nantwich. I have not received your answer to my last letter [260] which occasions this letter, yielding account of our proceedings and conditions. We are in very good hopes Hawarden Castle will shortly be gained. Some breach is made and the enemy's great piece dismounted. Besides they are in straits by reason of the great number flying thither suddenly upon our advance into those parts, which may prove a good step towards Chester (the main design in these parts of the kingdom). We hear the enemy is now stirring and preparing for action. No doubt it is to relieve their friends in Chester and the castle, which we shall be loth to permit, having proceeded so far in the work. We have received divers letters from the C. of B.K. commanding your horse to this service and now desire your speedy despatch of them to our assistance. Else they may come too late which may tend to great disservice. The enemy had a rendezvous near Wrexham yesterday. It is reported they are a very considerable strength and will speedily advance. Your care and forwardness herein may very much conduce to the public good.

[P.S.] Since the writing of this letter we have received a messenger from London and letters from Northampton, Coventry, Warwick and Stafford [463; 464; 465; 474-6; 477] that the King came out of Oxford Thursday last and Friday was at Evesham with Rupert and Maurice, who are advancing towards Worcester and those parts. Whereof we thought fit to give you this timely advertisement.

(A78)

488

*Brereton to Leven*

11-5-45 11 pm [Nantwich] The enclosed letters [474-6; 477] I newly received and thought it my duty speedily to present them to your view, that you might be timely acquainted with their motions from Oxford. I had the same intelligence confirmed by letters from the Coms. of Coventry and Shrewsbury [463; 465; 480]. I dare not presume to give you advice upon it, but rest assured that you will speedily apprehend all opportunities to advance the good and prevent the evil of these kingdoms.

(A81)

*Brereton to Lesley*

11-5-45, 11 pm [Nantwich] [Summary: Encloses copies of original letters sent to Leven in 488. 'By them you will soon judge of the necessity for the advance of your army, both for the security of these parts and the north.']  
(A82)

*Brereton to Ld. Fairfax*

11-5-45 11 pm [Nantwich] The enclosed intelligence I newly received and thought fit with all speed to present you with the copies. I have sent the originals to Ld. Leven [488]. It is now more than probable that the King will visit the north and send relief into these parts. I am confident you will conceive the Scots' speedy advance the best way to secure both these parts and the north and will be pleased by your letters to quicken their motion.  
(A82)

*Ashurst to Brereton*

11-5-45 This enclosed [not in B.L.B.] I writ to have sent by a messenger from the C. of B.K. that I hope is with you by this time, and as that was altered from my former but two days before [prob. 438], so in something doeth this from it, as God is pleased to dispense Providences from them. 145 and 127 [Sir T. Fairfax; ? Skippon] being with the greatest xxi; 469 [part]<sup>1</sup> of army gone into the west, we did not think that we had any considerable party to follow 164: 172 [? King's army] but we had a letter this day from Maj. Gen. Browne<sup>2</sup> that he with Lt. Gen. Cromwell had drawn together near 7,000 horse and foot and were yesterday at Woodstock; that 164 [King] was the night before at Burford in 98 [Oxford]shire and that they held him to be about 6,000. So, if the Houses would but continue Cromwell in command a little longer, they would follow and did not doubt to give a good account of that army. Whereupon 170 [H. of Commons] have resolved to continue Cromwell for 40 days longer, and have appointed Monday to consider of some others, when 155 [Brereton] will be considered. Therefore I pray you do not unsettle your affairs. And although I should not hereupon by any means advise to alter anything I have written of that which in prudence is fit for you to do, either to secure your garrisons or your forces, yet this may give you more accounts and encouragement. For the Scotch army or party I will do what I can to bring them up, yet I would by no means that you should depend upon them but order your affairs as if they were not.  
(A118)

Notes

- 1 As in Item 364 of 28-4-45 145 was mentioned as commanding an army shortly about to march and as in this item of 11-5-45 he and it had 'gone into the west', there can be little doubt that 145 is Sir Thos. Fairfax and the army the New Model, which set out under Sir Thos.'s leadership to relieve Taunton on 1 May. As a brigade of the New Model cavalry was with Cromwell following the King, the cypher nos. xxi: 469 must presumably mean no more than 'part' or 'section'. 127 must be Maj. Gen. Philip Skippon, an old soldier of the Dutch Wars who had commanded the London Trained Bands in 1642 and had been appointed to command the New Model foot (*D.N.B.*; Woolrych; Young and Holmes; *K.W.*).
- 2 Richard Browne, a Londoner who became an officer of their Trained Bands. Later he was sent with London auxiliary troops to support Waller in the west and in 1644 was established as Maj. Gen. of Oxon., Berks. and Bucks. with a headquarters at Abingdon from which he could observe and check royalist movements from Oxford. Here again he was supported by auxiliaries from London.  
Later he became Recruiter M.P. for Wycombe and, after personal contact with Charles when he was a Commissioner from Parl. to take the King over from the Scots in 1647, a royalist. He was secluded at Pride's Purge and imprisoned for some time afterwards; elected to Cromwell's Parl. of 1656 but not allowed to take his seat. At the Restoration he was knighted and became Lord Mayor of London. (*D.N.B.*; *K.W.*)

492

*C. of B.K. to Brereton* [*C.S.P.D.* 1644-5, 482: to Lancs. Com.: 'the like to Sir W.B.']

12-5-45 Derby Ho. We having intelligence, as you see by the enclosed [477],<sup>1</sup> that the King is upon his march towards Chesh. and Lancs., and apprehending nothing he can have in his design of so much danger to the public affairs as his entrance into Lancs., where probably he may much increase his army, we therefore recommend it you as a service of special consequence to take care that the passes into that country (which are but few) may be so guarded that the enemy may not be able to get into it. We have given advertisement of this to Ld. Leven with whom we desire you to correspond. Also you will take care that your garrisons may be well stored with victuals.

Wm. Saye and Sele: Loudoun  
(A121)

Note

- 1 That this intelligence is the report from Northampton is proved by two footnotes to this item. The first gives the opening sentence of the report (with 'Thursday' mistakenly given as 'Tuesday'). The second says that the report is entered in p. 135 which is the contemporary numbering for f.91. The marginal note to 477, A 91 confirms that the report was also sent from the *C. of B.K.* But its date of 11 May must presumably refer to the sending of the original from Northampton and not to

the forwarding by the C. of B.K. which this item shows not to have been until 12 May.

493

*Ashurst to Brereton*

12-5-45. I have writ to you so often of late that I know little to add, but to haste these enclosed [494-5] to you, which give you notice of the continuance of your command and the settling of it for the future, which I hope will be to your satisfaction. For the castle of Eccleshall I did according to your desire propose that there might be nobody chosen to that command until further was heard from you. But there was a resolution that someone should be chosen. Whereupon the Com. [of B.K.] concluded upon Capt. Stone and the Commons consented to it, but the Lords would not agree and so it stands. What you desire to be done in it you may do well to signify and, if it be possible, to take on the concurrence of the Staffs. 176 [Com.]. [P.S.] I would entreat you to let some of the servants to Mr Latham to be conveyed with all possible speed.  
(A122)

494

*Parl. order for 'Grand Committee'* [C.J. IV, 139]<sup>2</sup>

Mon. 12-5-45, Sir Geo. Booth, Sir Wm. Brereton, Col. Geo. Booth, Col. Hen. Brooke, Col. Rob. Duckenfield, Col. John Leigh, the gov. of Nantwich for the time being, or any three of them, are at the end of 40 days to order and direct the carrying on of the war within the county of Chester and govern the forces under the command of Sir. W.B. until Parl. shall take further notice.  
(A123)

## Notes

- 1 The order is repeated on A 131 under date 13-5-45.
- 2 Other relevant orders passed on the same day were:-
  - (i) at the end of 40 days Col. Mytton to succeed Middleton as Maj. Gen. for North Wales, Lt. Col. Mich. Jones to succeed to command Brereton's regt of horse, Maj. Lothian to succeed to command Brereton's regt of foot;
  - (ii) Brereton (495), Middleton, Sir John Price to continue in their commands for a further 40 days;
  - (iii) Capt. Stone to have command of Eccleshall Cas.

495

*Parl. order continuing Brereton's command for 40 days* [C.J. IV. 139]

12-5-45 [Notwithstanding the S.D.O.]

(A123)

*J[ohn] S[winfen] to Brereton*

12-5-45 London. This day I received your letter [422] by Capt. Blackwell with the enclosed engine [408] which the gents of the country had prepared to set up themselves, but by the enclosed [494-5] in Mr Ashurst's letter you will see how they are prevented, and all is done with respect to you in the settling of your militia that you could expect to be done by the Parl. It is not as your enemies would have it; yet 40 days you must not yet lay down your command, your honour. It is not as you would have it; you must not yet lay down your charge, your burthen. Your commands are renewed and to exercise them a new inroad made by the enemy upon your borders, within which God hath made you successful. And I hope you will renew your strength and doubtless your resolution for such an honourable achievement as the necessity of those parts and the greatness of your enemy (above those formerly you have encountered) doth require.<sup>1</sup>

The Com. [of B.K.] you see doth much incline to give the enemy a check upon the borders of Lancs. I know it will be terrible to your country to leave the field wholly to him there, but if it cannot be prevented you will know there what will be your most advantageous ground, and I hope with those forces you have (more than those that must be returned to your garrisons) and the addition of the Lancs. forces that will fight best upon their own ground, you will appear considerable, to answer the Com.'s expectation and make the relief of Chester dear to the enemy.

There hath been much pleading for the government of Eccleshall Castle to be placed in Maj. Snow.<sup>2</sup> It is in your hands for 40 days more, but I do believe Mr Noble<sup>3</sup> and some others will be contending to offer a gov. to be invested by that time. The safest way to prevent them will be for you to write to the House and to nominate one whom you will confide in and have the Com. of Stafford to join with you therein. And this to be done speedily, for as things are carried here at present delay will be dangerous. You know whom I formerly offered unto you and, if no detriment may grow to the public thereby, you may please to resolve therein as you may think fit. For anything I can see Capt. Stone must come up by 4 June next. I shall desire Col. Haughton,<sup>4</sup> whom our county doth desire, would be pleased to reside at Stafford and take the care hereof and command of the soldiers in his [Stone's] absence and then I doubt not he [Haughton] be so ingratiated unto the soldiers that we shall set him in a full possession, so that he may upon the return [of Capt. Stone] come up to fit himself here and have the soldiers listed for him there to his content.

It is not now a time to trouble you with mere particulars; only I desire oft to hear from you concerning your and the enemy's motions that I may know the better how to express myself.

(A122)

## Notes

- 1 The 'enemies' first referred to in this confusing paragraph must be those opposed to Brereton (both locally and up in Westminster) on the parl. side, and the subsequent 'enemy' the royalist army then marching north towards Chesh.
- 2 See 423 and n.2 to it which suggest that this officer was anti-Brereton.
- 3 Michael Noble, son of a Lichfield mercer, Town Clerk of and M.P. for Lichfield; member of Staffs. Com. A letter of Col. Lewis Chadwick's to Denbigh of 28-7-44 reveals that Noble was a relative of his and that he expected him to act in his interests in the Commons (*H.M.C. Denbigh*). This suggests the possibility that Noble may have been the person at this time acting against Brereton in London and Westminster who is covered by the cypher no. 133, but see App. V for arguments that this more likely to have been Col. Geo. Booth.
- 4 P. & R. (352) give this officer as Col. Robt. Haughton of Haughton, Chesh., but this gains no support either from the ref. they give (*Harl. Soc.* lix, 141) or from Ormerod's pedigree of the Haughtons of Haughton (*Orm.* II, 292). A Derbyshire doc., 'A True Relation of what service hath been done by Sir John Gell', spells his name Houghton and says he was a Lancs. man (*S. Glover, Hist. of Derbyshire I*, App. 14, 64). (If this is true, he may have been one of the Hoghtons of Hoghton, although the most prominent members of this family were strongly royalist.) 'A True Relation' says that he held Burton-on-Trent with a mixed force of Staffs. and Derbys. men and that this was then taken by the royalists on the arrival of the Queen. This took place in the summer of 1643 and so Haughton may have spent some time as a prisoner. As he appears to have arrived at the rank of col. early in the war and to have been serving in counties where he had no land, it is likely that he was a professional soldier.

## 497

*Brereton to Ashurst*

12-5-45 [Nantwich] I formerly sent you a copy of a petition and some propositions [408], the result of a meeting of our gents at Knutsford. Since which time the same hath been something refined [409] and is (as I hear and believe) sent up, though I gave my apprehensions and opinion that I conceived it more convenient to respite the same and wait for the general resolution in that case for the whole kingdom. Though the sheriff – Col. Brooke – and Col. Duckenfeld<sup>1</sup> signed this, yet upon further deliberation they have repented and have given order for their names to be rased out. The rest are such who have either slighted Parliament's service or are discontent that others are employed and not themselves. And I believe you will not find one of those subscribed thereunto (except the sheriff and Col. Duckenfield who have recanted) who ever served the Parl. diligently.  
(A88)

## Note

- 1 Duckenfield's signature does not appear on Brereton's copy of the 'refined' petition and propositions [409], but this could well be a copyist's omission. Brooke's signature appears twice, the second one added in Brereton's writing. And

Brereton's comments on "the rest" – which must include the leading dep. lts. who, he said, drew the original petition up – are a great deal harsher than in his earlier letter to Swinfen [422] when he had seen only this version. There he praises Roger Wilbraham as 'active and industrious' and admits that Tho. Stanley and Ph. Mainwaring did come to Nantwich one week in every month.

498

*Brereton to Ashurst* [Margin: '& Mr Swinfen']

12-5-45 Nantwich. Yours dated 9 May [not in B.L.B.] came to my hands Sabbath day evening 11 May, whereby I perceive the sense of the Com. [of B.K.]. Thereunto I shall most willingly submit and shall prefer either in this or any other county rather to serve them in this quality and capacity than as formerly. Therefore though I was fully prepared to come up to the Parl. within a few days, I am now resolved for some time to defer that journey upon the reasons given in your letter, and will wait the issue of the great design against Chester, whence I fear we may be sooner disturbed than were to be desired. For your messenger brought me intelligence from Northampton, Coventry, Col. Fox at Edgbaston and Stafford [477; 463; 465; 474-6] that the King was come out of Oxford on Thursday or Friday last and was on Friday night at Evesham with the greatest part of his forces and artillery, that the two Princes were thereabouts or at Worcester and that he is designed for the north parts and to relieve Chester and Hawarden and these distressed parts by the way. Which report concurs so much with that which I have often advertised from some knowing ingenious prisoners and others out of the enemy's quarters as it is not much to be doubted. If so, the sieges at Chester and Hawarden will soon be at an end, for notwithstanding that I have sent very many letters, yet I cannot hear of the approach of the Scotch army this way, neither do I hear of their advance out of Yorks.

The Derby horse, designed to stay with us or return unto us, are not yet returned, neither can I conceive any hopes of them; touching whom I received a letter yesternight from Sir John Gell [468] which confirms me more in the doubt that we shall not enjoy their seasonable assistance. Ld. Fairfax's regt of horse hath done us no manner of service in this county since the Princes returning back, but were for some part in Salop with the Com. there as long as they continued the siege of High Ercall. During this time they received, as I hear, some money from the Com. there, but within a short time after, upon some discontent returning into Chesh., have there remained in the remote parts from us and not assisted to any manner of duty but remained rather a great burthen to the whole country, who before that time were more than sufficiently exhausted. To these I have tendered £200 in hand and £100 more within a few days after their coming into Wales, which will appear by the letter enclosed [450] which is a copy of that which I sent them, to which I received no answer at all; only I have also sent you a copy of a letter which

they have sent to the Com. at Nantwich [470].

I have received letters out of Wales from our forces there that they have great hopes of reducing Hawarden Castle, if they be not interrupted, but they hear that all the forces of North Wales, Anglesea, Carnarvon, Denbigh and Flint (with whom they also say Sir Wm. Vaughan's horse are joined) intend to attempt the raising of our siege. Thereof I have also given advertisement to all those designed for our assistance but cannot promise myself their reasonable access to us.

The other Yorks. regt under the command of Sir Wm. Constable was with us about ten days in Wales when we marched to Caerwys, St. Asaph, Holywell, and did perform good service, for which they also have received £200 and were to receive £100 after their going back into Wales. But whether either of these regts will march into Wales is more than yet I am certain of, for I have not received their positive answer.

The Lancs. soldiers find themselves much aggrieved by reason of their own taxation in their own country, complaining of some orders published, which occasioned many of them to return home. As also Col. Massey<sup>1</sup> informs me that the moneys assigned them will extend no longer to pay them than the latter end of this week. Then, if there be not further provision made for them, they cannot be expected to remain any longer upon duty.

Hereby you may perceive with what difficulty and vexation this work hath been carried on thus far, and what discouragements we have met withal from those from whom we could not expect it, which I hope will be a warning to some not to engage in such undertakings unless they have forces which will be subject to command. Yet notwithstanding, till the great armies from above come down to interrupt and disturb us, and so long as there is any hopes of being able to carry on the grand design, until the persons nominated for the management of these affairs be so well settled as that the work without interruption may be carried on, and until the clouds be dispersed which may seem to hang over us by the approach of the King and the Princes' armies this way, I purpose to remain here. Though I am sufficiently sensible how much the county suffereth and how much our affairs are prejudiced by reason of the allotment of Warrington which I doubt may not be [blank in MS] before my coming to the Parl., and by how much I suffer also by 133 and others in my absence.

The particulars which are the subject of my complaints will be also (I hope) the subject of your care in sending speedy orders and commands to the Yorks., Derbysh., Scotch and Lancs. forces, which may conduce much if they come timely to relieve us herein. Whereunto I have no more time to make any addition, having been more than sufficiently tedious herein.

[P.S.] I hear nothing about Eccleshall Castle.

(A85)

## Note

- 1 Not, of course, the gov. of Gloucs. but Wm. Massey of the Moss House, Audlem, lt. col. of Col. Geo. Booth's regt. (19 n.7; 385 n.5).

499

*Duckenfield to Brereton*

12-5-45 Hoole Hall. I received notice just now that the Yorks. regt under Lt. Col. Spencer is quartered about Stockport and in Mottram parish and intend to tender the ruin of these parts, as well as about Macclesfield. They take very many horses and much money and goods and neglect your orders. I desire you will consider so far of our neighbours' miseries as to be assured my regt will be gone home within these three days only [i.e. unless] they have certain notice that the horse aforesaid be removed out of their quarters. Therefore I pray you take care that this siege be not neglected because of my men going home. The besieged in Chester put all their cattle forth to grass on this side the town without interruption; we have not enough horse to keep them in. And as long as they may have the benefit of the milk of so many cows, they will be unwilling to yield. This may easily be prevented with six troops [of horse] and those foot we have. Our horse are unwilling to do duty because they have lost so many horses and ventured themselves for so little thanks or reward. Sir Wm. Constable's regt. is marching towards our parts also. So that unless you take some course to help they will ruin us. This enclosed I received from one of Lt. Col. Spencer's capts. [500].

(A93)

500

*Capt. A[dam] Baynes to Duckenfield*

[c. 12-5-45] I hope you hear no complaints of our regt for taking anything (in this or any other places of the country) more than man's meat and horse meat. We have nothing to do with what is allowed you for your regt, for by order we have been under Sir Wm. Brereton's command hitherto and do only stay for his dismissal which we have long desired. When we shall receive this we shall soon quit your hundred and country. In the interim we cannot subsist without man's meat and horse meat, all the pay that is due to us yet not being received from Sir Wm. Brereton, from whom we have order to remain here till we have further order from him. Therefore as for your own privilege and interest you have in this Hundred of Macclesfield, you may use your pleasure.

(A93)

501

*Petition & Remonstrance of Col. Duckenfield's regt 'in service in the Leaguer*

*before Chester' to Brereton and 'the Committees and Council of War at Tarvin and Nantwich; both in respect of themselves and others their distressed and grievously oppressed parents and friends and neighbours'.*

[c. 12-5-45] 'The Leaguer before Chester'. Who are constrained once more to complain and say that they have so often petitioned and sought for relief and redress of the intolerable payments and pressures that long have and still do lie and are daily increased upon them. And are sensible of the want of care both of themselves and others the well-affected, as that they know not what further to add, save that they are impoverished and undone and no regard had or taken of them, having for three weeks last past (whilst themselves have been and are on service abroad) been burdened with such as pretend themselves to be friends and yet lie devouring and depriving them of their estates at home, not being content with such provisions of victuals as they have to relieve their poor families withal, but daily threatening them if they provide not better, protesting also that they will not remove their quarters until they have either eaten them up or been beaten out of them. In the meantime wounding and abusing such of our friends and neighbours as do not observe their commands. They do also say (as in other places they have made it apparent) that before or at leaving of their quarters they will have such horses as they can find and like of, either by one means or another.

And your petitioners also complain that they are so far from being eased either of leys, payments, finding of soldiers or quartering of troops and others (as they have been promised) that they have now little or nothing left either to allow unto the public or to maintain themselves withal. And so are utterly disabled for further continuance upon duty, either at the said Leaguer or elsewhere.

(A94)

502

*Maj. Goodricke to Brereton*

12-5-45 Knutsford. I entreat you to accept these lines in good part. We are here still in a dubious condition; our two regts being in a continual dependence of your answer to their demands. We think we shall all be willing to accept such conditions as Ld. Fairfax's regt shall do. You know we have received as yet but £10 a man and nothing for officers or, at least, so little as to make them equal with every common soldier. The other regt hath received two days and a half's pay in Salop according to the proportion of the pay in Yorks, which was 17s weekly for the soldiers, £13-13-6 for the capts and so proportionable for every officer. Besides we understand you have granted them £200 more. We hope you will consider the service we have done from your own immediate command and that we may not be undervalued in references to this. And thereby you know also there is £100 due by your promise. If we march to Wales we shall accept such conditions as they do; if

otherwise, we humbly entreat that our officers may be considered for their service done.

[P.S.] We humbly entreat your answer by this bearer.<sup>1</sup> We understand that they have distributed the money they have received in equal proportions to the officers as to the soldiers, which we have not done in order that our soldiers might more willingly be drawn to obey your commands.  
(A92)

Note

1 See 483 n.2.

503

*Brereton's pass to Maj. Thos. Cromwell*

12-5-45 Nantwich. [Summary: suffer the bearer, Maj. Cromwell, prisoner at Nantwich 'and a weak, infirm man' with his servant, Gilbert Tan, and their horses to pass into Huntingdonshire 'for the benefit of his natural air and the perfecting of his care, and from there to London and to return without molestation or trouble.']  
(A87)

504

*Capt. Fran. Sandford's Parole*

12<sup>1</sup>-5-45. For that it hath pleased Sir Wm. Brereton to give me leave to go upon my parole for ten days for the settling of my occasions in Salop, I do hereby engage myself upon the word of a gentleman that I will return and render myself prisoner in Nantwich within ten days after the date hereof.

The underwritten undertake that Mr Sandforth shall perform his engagement.

John Persall, Edw. Kynaston, Tho. Owen, Fran. Smith  
(A86)

Note

1 Although, according to the usual practice of writing the Arabic numeral 'two' in B.L.B. date should be 22 May, the item has been left at 12 May. This is because no other parole in this batch is dated so far on in May and because at that time it was highly unlikely that Brereton would be concerned to grant paroles to prisoners at Nantwich. The town was hourly expecting an attack from the King who was as close as Market Drayton, while Brereton himself was away in Lancs. trying to organise a line of defence on the Mersey.

(See Note on Numerals after Introduction on the Texts.)

505

*Brereton, Brooke, Duckenfield to Sequestration Coms. of Chesh.* [See 4, 5]

12-5-45 [Summary: A fifth part of the estates of Sir Thos. Aston within the particular hundreds of Cheshire, now by ordinance of Parl. sequestered or to be sequestered, is to be assigned for the use and maintenance of Lady Aston and her children, as by the ordinances and directions of Parl. is allowed.] [P.S.] It is desired this order be speedily executed by all whom it concerns. (A100)

## 506

*Brereton to Lt. Col. Spencer and Officers*

13-5-45 Tarvin. I have often acquainted you with the great damage that parts of this county, in particular where you quartered, and all the county in general do sustain by your living there, where you are burdensome and no way serviceable. The want of you in these parts and in Wales hath been very prejudicial to some of our forces, which have been forced to lie somewhat weak in their quarters in expectation of your coming to them to strengthen them, but have been snapped by the enemy. And now again I am petitioned by some commanders of Col. Duckenfield's regt that are on service here, on the behalf of themselves and other soldiers and inhabitants in those parts where you are quartered, touching the great pressures they undergo by your continuance of your quartering amongst them; which I earnestly desire you to take into your consideration. The men are very honest and faithful and it is great pity and injustice they should be overburdened. You know I have done the utmost in my power for your men's accommodation for the present and shall use my endeavour for them for the future, and shall (God willing) perform what I have promised. And now that I have sent them [i.e. Spencer's horse] £200 I shall with all importunity move and entreat you either to draw down unto us with your men into Wales to do some service, or else, if they will not come to do service, that you will please to draw them out of this county unto your own country. This I shall expect from you, for otherwise we shall not only want your service but also lose the service of Col. Duckenfield's regt, now with us, whom I have no hopes to stay from their own homes if you do continue to quarter with them. (A95)

## 507

*Brereton to Maj. Goodricke*

13-5-45 Tarvin. I received your letter [502] last night and stayed the messenger hoping to have heard which way you intend to steer your course, that so I might the better have known how to have returned your answer. For I conceive if you stay with us more may be expected and deserved than if you now leave us and so disable us to carry on the work without you. Now that I have certain intelligence that the King's army is drawing down this way (both

from the C. of B.K. and other parts and persons of credit – from Coventry, Northampton, Edgbaston, Stafford and Shrewsbury), it were inexcusable on my part – seeing the King and Princes march this way – to give way to a dismissal [of your regt]. Notwithstanding I must needs say it were less prejudicial to us to have your horse return to your own country or elsewhere than to deprive us of the benefit of the assistance of another regt. When I know your determination I shall consult with the gents. and incline to do with the forwardest what shall be thought fit.

(A95)

508

*Brereton to Lt. Col. Spencer and Maj. Goodricke'*

13-5-45 11 pm Tarvin. Albeit I have not yet received from you any direct answer whereby I can know your determination, yet I thought fit to let you know that this night I received more letters from the C. of B.K. and other persons that inform me certainly of the approach of the King with a great army towards these parts, and that his forces are already near this country and do march swiftly, which I wish you to take into your consideration and let me know what you resolve upon.

(A96)

Note

- 1 As Spencer and Goodricke were the acting commanders of two separate regts of Yorks. horse and not quartered in the same place, a separate copy of the letter must have been sent to each.

509

*Lt. Col. Jones to Brereton*

13-5-45 Dodleston. Capt. Wright was with me and saith that a friend of his came from Llangollen, where Vaughan's, Trevor's and other forces were joined together with an intent to fall upon us. These forces (God willing) shall not remove us without blows. If we chance to be beaten the blame will fall upon you, in as much as forces were not sent us. No considerable enemy being in Chester, you might well spare Duckenfield's, Coote's and Carter's troops [of horse] until this fit were over (which cannot last above four days); also Venables (your own foot coy) and some of Duckenfield's regt. 60 in each place will maintain that side for a short space against all the power of Chester. The cattle thereof will not be much fatter if they grass three or four days longer. If horse must be on that side, Leigh's, Marbury's and Holford's troops will for the present be sufficient. I pray God the strong guard kept on that side will not be disadvantageous to us as the keeping of Christleton was when Maurice was in Wales. The Com. of Tarvin, I conceive, were the cause of that

and believe will be of this. Where are the Yorks. horse, if the King and Princes be tending this way? Why are not the Scots sent for and notice given to the C. of B.K. If you manage this business well and give the King and Princes a defeat to your immortal fame, you will be continued in your command here, although other members shall have no commands. If you will bring over Venables', Duckenfield's and Lothian's foot, there may be sent over Baskerville, Cotton and Hardware, whose men may prove well in houses, though not in the field. Victuals should be provided for the army for three or four days, for if we wait on the enemy to fight, we cannot fetch in victuals. If the forces mentioned in your last letter and those by me in this propounded come over and the iron piece, (with the help of God) Hawarden will be yours in three days.

(A96)

510

*Lt. Col. Jones to Brereton*

13-5-45 '9 o'clock' Dodleston. Your letter [not in B.L.B.] came into my hands before six this morning; the piece shall be drawn off this night. The enemy is still together; we resolve not to remove (unless beaten) for the Welsh force. Therefore hasten over what horse and foot you can make. The mine shall go on. It may be God will bless us. Provisions should be sent. If you did speedily send over the force mentioned in my letter to you this morning, we would seek the enemy and offer him battle. Had the Yorks. horse continued here they should never have drawn to a head.

(A97)

Note

- 1 The mention of 'this morning' (twice) in the letter makes it probable that this should be 9 pm, though the failure to put in the usual 'at night' leaves some doubt.

511

*Middleton's Officers to Lt. Col. Jones*

13-5-45 Stansty. We did resolve to meet you at your rendezvous, but in regard of the intelligence since received that a flying party of horse and dragoons will be very suddenly upon us from the main body that marches with the King, we are resolved to march with all expedition to Oswestry. Because should we march to you our retreat might be interrupted and our coy would be useless, seing you yourselves will sufficiently man your garrisons. Besides most of our horse have deserted us, being gone to Oswestry.

Tho. Mason, Geo. Twistleton, Alex. Elliot.

(A96)

*Brereton to C. of B.K.*

13-5-45 Tarvin. Since it hath pleased the Lord thus to unravel all our work, when we had almost brought it to perfection, we must with patience submit to his good pleasure, who knows what is fittest for us. But had it been pleasing to him to divert the enemy from these parts a few days longer, I am confident we had reaped the fruits of our endeavours, that were just ripe for us to gather. Hawarden Castle could not have held out above three days as those there affirm and believe; our batteries have had success there in so short a time. Good execution is done and two large breeches made. And this last evening I was assured people in Chester were in much distress and have little to feed on besides expectation of relief. Ammunition hath long been scarce with them, as upon all assaults we have had experience, which promised us great hopes of gaining that place in a short time. But since the Lord thinks good to turn the scales here, we shall contentedly wait till we are fitted for so great mercies.

I shall with my greatest care observe your commands of 9 May [464] which came to my hand this day, and use my best endeavours and vigilance for the security of your garrisons and forces in these parts.

[P.S.] We cannot give you any certainty of the motion of the Scotch army this way; neither have we any assurance of the Derbys. and Yorks. horse to assist us. If these had been continued with us we might in all probability have been possessed before this of Chester and all these parts of the kingdom settled. (A99)

*C. of B.K. to Brereton & 'Com. of Chesh.'* [C.S.P.D. 1644-5, 485; similar letter to Lancs. Com.]

13-5-45 Derby Ho. We wrote to you the 10 May [467], upon the intelligence we had of the King's marching into those parts to have in a readiness 500 horse and 1,000 foot and as many more as you could spare, that with all expedition they might march to such rendezvous as Lds. Leven and Fairfax should appoint for the general conjuncture of these forces and some others which we have both sent from these parts and also appointed out of Lancs., Yorks., Derbysh., Staffs., Notts. and Lincs. for opposing the King's motions and preventing of further recruits and danger by them. Which letters we doubt not but that you have received and are well advanced in prosecution of the directious given. But, having further intelligence of the King's motions that way and upon serious considerations of the necessity and consequence of an effectual compliance with those commands, we have thought fit again to desire you with all instance that there may be no delay in the preparation of these forces nor of their most expeditious marching when they shall receive orders.

W. Saye & Sele; Loudoun

(A123)

*Brereton to Maj. Thos. Croxton*

13-5-45 Tarvin. I desire you will with all speed take all the care that may be to victual your garrison of Nantwich. I believe the enemy will be so speedily in those parts, that if [i.e. unless] we be very dexterous they will be too nimble for us. If you will give directions to this bearer, Lt. Birchenshaw, he will serve you herein if there be occasion. It is the command of the C. of B.K. that we should have a special regard for the victualling of our garrisons.

[P.S.] I have heard nothing since yours came to my hands.

(A88)

*Brereton to the 'Gentlemen of Nantwich'*

13-5-45 Tarvin. The C. of B.K. expect your garrisons should be well provided. Your own care and judgement will I hope prompt you sufficiently thereunto, and the rather because what is not brought into your garrison is but left to sustain and nourish the enemy.

I desire every one of the Coms. would take a part and set themselves in earnest to work, after you have all considered and resolved in what way to prosecute this work. *Quod facis fac cito*. [What you do, do quickly.] I desire Mr Peartree (and every of you that hath any acquaintance and opportunity) to send out some intelligencers, who may give timely notice of the enemy's approaches.

Set all your people in town on work to finish and strengthen your works.

Make proclamation that every inhabitant in the town make speedy provision for one month beforehand. *Liberavi animam meam* [I have set free my soul.]; farewell.

[P.S.] Send for Walker the Scoutmaster's horse; keep one good scouter and also foot scouts, the want thereof was the loss of Shrewsbury. Pray you send out messengers' horsemen and who may be quick and expeditious. And let no man expect to shelter himself in your garrison and to keep horses, that will not employ them for the public service in time of need. You may, if you please and think good, keep and employ the troop of horse of Lt. Col. Watson,<sup>1</sup> which is now in your parts, to procure intelligence and help in provisions.

(A88)

Note

1 See 432 n.1.

*Com. of Coventry to Brereton*

13-5-45 Coventry. We have certain intelligence from the hands of Cols.

Cromwell and Browne that last night, being 12 May, they were come with 7-8,000 men as far as Tadmarton, 10-12 miles from Warwick, towards the enemy.

John Barker, Geo. Abbott, Tho. Bosnitt [Basnett]<sup>1</sup>  
(A117)

Note

- 1 Mercer and alderman of Coventry; Treas. Works. Com. For this body and its other members see 227 n.2.

517

*Com. of Coventry to Brereton*

13-5-45 Coventry. We have certain intelligence that the King and the two Princes were last night at Stourbridge, about four miles from Dudley, betwixt that and Bridgnorth. The best intelligence we have gives us to understand that they are about 6,000.

John Barker, Jo. Hales, Geo. Abbott.  
(A117)

518

*Major Wm. Goodricke and Yorks. Officers to Brereton*

14-5-45 Toft [nr. Knutsford] We received your letter<sup>1</sup> and in answer we desire this: that we have £300 before we move for Wales and assurance of 5/ a week for ou.<sup>r</sup> soldiers and proportionable for the officers for so long as we stay, to be paid at every week's end. This being done, we shall endeavour to carry our regt where you shall command. For the £300 we intend it thus: £200 for the officers and £100 for the soldiers and, in case the soldiers refuse to march as you command, we engage to return you £100 back. We desire present pay and present answer to the end we may ease this country speedily according to your desire, either to march for Wales or for Yorks., for which we have an order as direct as the other regt.

Wm. Goodricke, M. Deanesly, Edw. Place, Hen. Swaine, Rob. Sharpe, Wm. Nash, Tho. Hall, Rich. Parglove, Jo. Wrightson, Jas. Dancourt, Mich. Richardson.<sup>2</sup>

(A103)

Note

- 1 It is not certain that this letter is in B.L.B. The only recent letters from Brereton to Goodricke (507, 508) are concerned with the King's approach and do not discuss pay and the move into Wales. Brereton's letter of 9 April to Lt. Col. Spencer (450) does and it is possible that a duplicate or a similar letter was sent to Goodricke and that Brereton's copyists omitted to record it.
- 2 See App IV (i).

*Brereton, Brooke, Duckenfield to Maj. Goodricke and Officers*

14-5-45 Tarvin. In answer to the letter [518] I [*sic*] received from you and your officers this day, we are enforced to let you know that it is impossible for us to satisfy the conditions you demand. To promise and not to be able to perform were to injure you and ourselves. Were these parts so able as we are willing to give content, we would lose no soldiers for want of pay. We have sent £100 for your officers, which is more than can be spared or supplied until such times as your soldiers march into Wales. Which, if they do, we will provide 4-5s a week for them so long as they stay there. For in this county it is not to be had. Your officers shall not want the best accommodation we are able to provide for them. If the service to the Kingdom and this offer will not prevail, for present you cannot expect any other argument from your very loving friends.

Post. The staying of your regt and other regts in those parts where you are will occasion the disbanding of a regt of foot now before Chester and so consequently the raising of the siege, as we have here often intimated.

Wm. Brereton, Hen. Brooke, Rob. Duckenfield.

(A103)

*Lancs. Commanders to Brereton*

14-5-45 Eccleston. This day our Lancs. regt was mustered at Eccleston. At which time our soldiers expressed their grievances unto us, not only that they want means of sustinence here, having had no pay for a month, but that their pay issuing out of your [*sic*, ? our] county having been taken off by order of the Coms. and dep. Its. since our coming into service here, the moneys which the Parl. ordered for our regt is near spent. The remains will not pay them a fortnight's pay of that amount which is in arrears and, unless some course be taken for supply, we fear we shall not by all means we can use obtain them to stay upon duties, though the service be of great importance.

This much we thought good to present to your knowledge and consideration, and desire you will be pleased to supply us with so much money as shall make what we have a fortnight's pay for our regt. Whereby the same may be encouraged to continue under your command in this service in this great design in hand.

Ralph Ashton, John Bradshaw.

(A102)

*Brereton, Brooke, Duckenfield to Lancs. Commanders*

14-5-45 Tarvin. We have received your letter of this day's date, demonstrating

the necessities of your regt, whereof we are so sensible and of the good service they have done, as that we shall not allow ourselves to be wanting in the endeavouring of their supply, so far as we are able, so that they may serve comfortably and carefully. To that end we desire to know what sums of money you desire to make what you have a fortnight's pay.  
(A102)

522

*Ld. Fairfax to Brereton* [See also 120, 550, 585, 615 and notes.]  
14-5-45 York. I have received of the gov. of Pontefract Castle [Col. Lowther]<sup>1</sup> a Lt. Col. of the horse towards the exchange of Sir Thos. Tyldesley; and Lt. Col. Rigby,<sup>2</sup> being formerly given by the Prince Rupert to that end, I desire you would by this [Tyldesley's] release make good this engagement of myself and the Commissioners of the North. If you do accept hereof, I pray let Sir Thos. Tyldesley have his liberty and thereupon I shall desire his certificate [of release] for the further vindication of my own and my officers' honour which is so much engaged to Col. Lowther.  
(A136)

Note

- 1 Col. Rich. Lowther of Ingleton, W. Yorks., gov. of Pontefract Castle; see 550). He was a relative of Sir John Lowther (*q.v.*). (*Marston Moor*, 182-3; 'Journal of the Sieges of Pontefract Castle', *Miscellanea*, Surtees Soc. 37 (1861); *C.C.C.* 3135).
- 2 See 407 and ns. for Lt. Col. Rigby and a quite different exchange offered for him : 627 n.1 for the whole problem of the sons of the Lancs. soldier M.P.s and the S.D.O.

523

*Capt. Steph. Rich<sup>1</sup> to Brereton*

14-5-45 Liverpool. My humble service presented. These are to certify that I have received an enclosed letter [not in B.L.B.] specifying your desire concerning the ammunition, as also concerning the security of Liverpool; upon your intelligence and apprehension of danger concerning which, as also in all other matters tending to the good of the public, I shall endeavour to the utmost of my power to prosecute. But I hear you have not yet rightly understood what service I am (by commission from my Lord Admiral<sup>2</sup>) designed for; although, at my first arrival in these parts, I endeavoured to give you speedy intelligence by Mr Johnson, certifying that my service was designed for the coast of Ireland, although for present ordered by Capt. Swanley<sup>3</sup> to convoy the ammunition from Milford to Liverpool. But apprehending the necessity of shipping in these parts, I am very willing to do any service for the public according to my power, provided that I may have an order from you for my warrant whilst I shall, according to your appointment

(as the country's necessity shall require my service), abide in these parts.

Wherefore I humbly desire that I may speedily be resolved herein: for, if I do not suddenly receive some order from you for my stay, I may not presume any longer to omit any service in those parts which by commission I am designed for.

(A105)

Notes

- 1 Capt. of the armed merchantman *The Rebecca* of 250 tons, larger and more heavily gunned than Capt. Clarke's *Jocelin* (147 n.1; G. Penn, *Life of Sir Wm. Penn* I, 111).
- 2 Probably this is Robt. Rich, Earl of Warwick, the effective admiral of the parl. fleet until the S.D.O., although officially he was only the deputy of the Lord High Admiral, the Earl of Northumberland. I have found no evidence that Capt. Rich was related to Warwick. (*K.W.*).
- 3 Capt. Rich. Swanley, admiral of a parl. squadron of ships based at Milford Haven and in charge of operations in the Bristol Channel and the Irish Sea. A ruthless man. (Tucker; *K.W.*).

524

*Lt. Col. Jones to Brereton*

14-5-45 Dodleston. As the army now lieth dispersed it may be cut off in two days. By lying here there can be no good done and to pursue the enemy in Wales (who may avoid fighting with us until their relief come) is no sense. Our eyes are now on the King's army, whence we conceive relief is expected, and we neglect other ways. But I am confident that the force the rebels expect will come from Gerard, Ludlow and thereabouts, and they may be on us before we have notice of them. It is confidently affirmed that 600 more are arrived this night at Wrexham. There may be more for ought known by us. Chesh. lieth at the state that were there spades to entrench and victuals for the soldiers or a sufficient strength of horse to make provision for the foot, there were no reason to raise the sieges. But to lie here wanting everything and endangering the loss of the whole army is not justifiable. My zeal to the cause in hand and the many obligations by which I am bound unto you emboldens me to offer you my simple opinion.

[P.S.] Lothian expects your positive order for what you will have done, as appears by his letter [Not in B.L.B.].<sup>1</sup>

(A119)

Note

- 1 There is a letter from Lothian to Jones (560) asking for a positive order from Brereton, but it is written two days later and required for the abandonment of the siege of Hawarden, a course of action not yet decided on.

525

Lt. Col. John Bradshaw to Brereton

[c. 14-5-45 Eccleston] The bearer hereof telling such impossible and variable tales and having no pass to you through our guards but the bare subscription of the letter,<sup>1</sup> made me bold to break it open.

(A119)

## Note

- 1 If the opened letter is in B.L.B. at all then it is likely to be 524, which immediately precedes it in the MS, and is from Jones at Dodleston to Brereton at Tarvin. The direct route for the messenger would be over Eccleston ford guarded by Ashton's Lincs. regt of which Bradshaw was the 2nd-i-c.

526

*Leven to Brereton*<sup>1</sup>

14-5-45 Ripon. I received your two letters with the several enclosed intelligence [488; perhaps 416] and because nothing can better serve to guide us in the right ordering of resolutions than a timely and constant correspondence, I have thought good to show you that I have received a letter from Parl. and another this morning from the C. of B.K. recommending the speedy advance of this army southwards in regard of the King's marching northward. Ld. Fairfax likewise certifies me that the King is expected in Newark tomorrow and your intelligence querieth that he designs for Chester. Whereby it appears that they intend to divide their army, and therefore you will be careful to advert to their motions, enquire of their strength and let me understand their true numbers and what forces you may draw together in Lincs. Ld. Fairfax desires that a rendezvous of this army may be within two days at Wetherby, so that he might dispose the motion thereof to such forces in the several adjacent [counties] as are appointed by the Parl. to join with us and prevent the growing of the King's power in his motions northward. It shall be my care to satisfy the desires of the state and the advantage of this cause, as I shewed my willingness at a meeting with the Commissioners of Parl. yesterday at Knaresborough to draw the army presently together and be ready to march to such places as the greatest necessity should require, provided they should duly and timely furnish us with ten days victuals and draughts for our ammunition, without which no army could live or move. I doubt not your care to draw your forces together in case of necessity and look to your own preservation.

## Note

- 1 A marginal note says that a letter *of* the C. of B.K. entered on f.177 relates to this item. The letter on f.177 (545) does indeed do this but it is *to*, and not *of*, the C. of B.K., written by Brereton, Brooke, Duckenfield and Leigh.

*Brereton, Brooke, to C. of B.K.*

14-5-45 Tarvin. We have received your commands of 10 May [467] and shall study always to obey you. We are with all humble gratitude sensible of your great care for the general safety, wherein we know our particular county is included, and cannot stand without it. Wherefore we shall most willingly contribute our assistance at the general rendezvous for the north parts, if you conceive we may do you more service there than where we are. We have not as yet withdrawn our forces from Hawarden Castle or Chester and conceive the longer we continue before them the more advantageous we are to the service, if no other benefit succeed upon it than that we still incline the enemy's thoughts this way and put a demurrer to their other great designs. And although we have constant intelligence of the enemy's speedy march, yet we shall wait their nearer approach before we stir. Only we have this last night drawn off our great piece from Hawarden to secure that which is incapable of speedy motion upon a sudden.

If we be enforced to raise our siege, our resolutions yet are according to your command to strengthen our garrisons with our forces, which are so situated about Chester that the keeping of them will be a great straitening and more than half a siege to the city. And as soon as ever the enemy removes again, we may attempt something against that city before they can possibly relieve themselves with such things as they are at very much want of and will be of necessary use unto them. Besides we conceive that the strengthening of these garrisons will be a great means to preserve the greatest part of this county from desolation, which otherwise it will without doubt be subject thereunto and will be made incapable of serving you hereafter. Moreover we conceive that the forces of Yorks., Lancs., Derbys., Staffs., Notts. and Lincs. being joined with the Scotch army, may abundantly be able to accomplish the design against the enemy. And if they speedily unite may not only check their progress, but dissipate that strength they have already collected. We only take boldness to offer our reasons why we desire to dispose our forces thus. In the meantime, until your further pleasure be known, we will be preparing to observe your future commands. If you think it more advantageous to command it otherwise, we shall in all readiness submit.

[P.S.] Many of our foot are at Shrewsbury and many are of Col. Booth's regt and Col. Mainwaring's which we cannot bring up so much as to assist us in these sieges.<sup>1</sup>

(A100)

#### Note

- 1 As B.A.L. reveals there were only 160 men in Mainwaring's regt and that over half Booth's regt were either already in Salop or part of the garrison of Nantwich; as Booth had resigned his commission and Mainwaring's had been taken away by a Parl. ordinance (almost certainly promoted by Brereton) this statement may seem

rather extraordinary. Presumably it was meant to strengthen Brereton's request for more 'auxiliary' troops to be sent to the Leaguer, but as B.A.L. had been sent to the C. of B.K. and many of its members must have supported or, at least, been aware of the Ord. of 7-5-44, one must have doubts as to its effectiveness. For details of these two regts and comments on them see 385 and ns. 5 and 9.

*Brereton to John Bradshaw*

14-5-45 Tarvin. Had I written this letter two days sooner, I should have filled every [line] here with that which would have made it welcome to so good a Commonwealth's man as you are.<sup>1</sup> Good news I should then have told you: that I doubted not but within a few days Chesh. would have been as peaceable a county and as serviceable to Parl. as most are in the kingdom. And that, after all these difficulties and extremities, which the Lord hath carried us through for divers years, at last we had promising hopes of happier days. Our trenches have been driven up close to the walls of Hawarden Castle; our mines proceed on very hopeful; our batteries are successful to our wishes, have done very great execution and made two very large breeches. So that my officers assure me that within three or four days the possession of it would be ours. The siege is drawn up close to Chester and the last evening I had intelligence that the people there are in great distress, having had little to support them besides the expectation of speedy relief.

Yet now, when we well hoped to receive the fruits of our labours, a sudden storm is like to blast them all if the Lord do not mightily show himself in our deliverance. I hoped that the armies of the King and the Princes would have found employment about Oxford, especially after those great successes which the Lord hath given our forces in those parts, so that they could not have been at leisure to send much succour hither. Or, if they had, I hoped the Scottish forces who were in these parts formerly would have been as forward in their march to our assistance as the enemy to our prejudice. But last night I was from several parts confirmed of the contrary.<sup>2</sup> From Northampton, Coventry, Leicester, Stafford and Shrewsbury Coms. I had certain notice of the King's and both the Princes' speedy approach towards us with 13 pieces of ordnance; the second [*sic* ? seventh] of this month at Worcester [*sic* ? Woodstock], the eleventh at Alcester, thence towards Stourbridge and Kinver. Some say they quartered at Birmingham and so to Wolverhampton, and how near now I know not, but I expect them daily. It is generally agreed on that this design is to relieve Chester, strengthen themselves in Lancs. and attempt the north. If the Scottish forces be active themselves in their advance and part of Sir Thos. Fairfax in this pursuit upon the rear, I should have great encouragement to believe this should be the last game they should ever play. It was my resolution to have come up to London within a few days, but the condition of things stand so hazardous that I think it not so fit to leave them yet till this

storm be over, though my power here be so weakened that I cannot act as I would and think that, if I come up, I might do that service for my country that will not otherwise be done. It would be very necessary and I shall desire in all things (with the Lord's assistance) to lay myself out for the best advantage to the public.

Upon Sunday night last [11 May] I sent And. Mills to Ld. Leven [488] and upon Monday night I sent Maj. Trevis with as large intelligence as I received. 'your faithful friend and kinsman'<sup>3</sup>  
(A97)

## Notes

- 1 The first line of this letter is so garbled that alterations have been made to fit it to the sense of what follows. 'Received' has been altered to 'written', 'fitted' to 'filled' and 'line' inserted between 'every' and 'here'.
- 2 A letter from Coventry notifying Brereton of the King's advance (517) was written on 13 May and so could just have been received by him 'last night'. But an earlier notification from there (465) and others from Northampton, Leicester, Stafford and Shrewsbury (474-80) were all in Brereton's hands by the evening of 11 May and were mentioned in a series of letters written by him at that time (485-9).
- 3 I have not been able to establish what the relationship between Brereton and Bradshaw was.

## 529

*Brereton to Swinfen*

14-5-45 Tarvin. Your thoughts by Lt. Daniell that [M.S. has *of*] the King's army was not like to disturb us here went hand in hand with ours, for after those several victories that the Lord had given us in Oxfordshire, we did conceive that upon Sir Thos. Fairfax's advance and Col. Cromwell's assistance that they would have their hands full in those parts and no leisure to trouble these. But it hath pleased the Lord to alter the scene and, when we were in the most hopeful way to settle this country in as much tranquillity as any in the kingdom, we are like now to be the most scattered, if the Lord show not himself most wonderfully in our preservation. Our batteries had made two large breeches in Hawarden Castle and done good execution there, so that my officers doubted not possession within three or four days. We had intelligence of very great want of provision, as well as of ammunition, in Chester,. So that they are now in great distress, when the near approach of the enemy is like to blast all our expectations. It is the Lord's hand and therefore must be submitted to with patience. I shall use the best care I can for the security of the forces and garrisons in these parts. I have had good intelligence of the King's motions to Worcester [*sic* ? Woodstock], Alcester, Stourbridge, Kinver, Bewdley, and yesternight he was expected either at Bridgnorth or Wolverhampton. Their march is very speedy, but I hope will not prevent our intelligence. I cannot yet hear any certainty of Col.

Cromwell's motions, more than that he follows them, and am in as great uncertainty concerning the Scotch army. Whether they are out of Yorks. yet I know not. Your care and intelligence doth much oblige me; the continuance thereof will still add to my engagement to you.

[P.S.] Upon Sunday [M.S. has Munday, but see P.S. to 528] I sent away And. Mills to Ld. Leven and upon Monday night sent Maj. Trevis with as large intelligence as I received. I hear 128 [Col. Rugeley] is coming down to command 119 [?Staffs.; Eccleshall]<sup>1</sup>; it may be of great prejudice to you I doubt if 155 [Brereton] do come up to 112 [? London/Westminster].<sup>2</sup> The course proposed is well approved, but never more than 155 and no other could be procured together which may much impair [M.S. has 'impose'] and prevent necessary dispatches.<sup>3</sup>  
(A98)

## Notes

- 1 As 91, as used in Items 3 and 18, stands for the town of Stafford, then perhaps 119 is Staffs., although there is a suggestion in 18 (see n.2) that 91 could stand for the county as well as the town. Eccleshall Castle is another possibility, as Items 196, 493 and 496 show that Brereton and his supporters were much concerned over the governorship of it at this time. But, according to Swinfen (496), Maj. Snow, and not Rugeley, was the opposition's candidate for this post.
- 2 Both here and in Item 18 112 could be Westminster, either as distinct from or in conjunction with London. As by this time there was no open country between the two boroughs the latter is the more likely.
- 3 A reference to the attempt after the passing of the S.D.O. to run the campaign in Chesh. through a Committee of which Brereton was a member. He would not yet have received the Ordinance of Parl. prolonging his command for 40 days, for it had only been passed on 12 May (495). Reference to his correspondence about this time, some of it signed by Duckenfield and Leigh as well as Brooke, might seem to show that Brereton was not being strictly truthful but, as 'necessary dispatches' probably means the settlement of vital business as well as the sending off of correspondence, this may be more apparent than real. The absence of the other dep. Its., including the Booths, is certainly very noticeable.

*Brereton to Ld. Fairfax*

15-5-45 [Tarvin] These lines are to present this further account in satisfaction of your desires. I have not been wanting (as Mr Waterhouse, the bearer, can at large inform you) to the utmost of my power to make provision for your horse, and to that end have borrowed (this county not being able to afford so much) and paid to your own regt £200, though our own Chesh. horse have received no money since their [i.e. Yorks. horse] coming into these parts. And, as I take it, they received £200 more from the Com. of Salop for their service there at their siege of High Ercall. I have likewise paid to Sir Wm. Constable's regt, they continuing with us in service a great part of the time

that your regt was employed upon a more beneficial service who have for a good time quartered themselves in a remote part of the county where – doing no duty – the country find themselves much grieved therewith, so that divers of our soldiers are gone from the Leaguer and whole regts threaten to depart and repair home to their several habitations to preserve their estates if they be not removed. This poor wasted county not being able to maintain and pay them, we have offered that, if they will march into Wales where there is great use of their service, after one week's continuance there they shall receive £100 each regt and further satisfaction during their further employment in these parts. This I have offered to engage myself to see performed while I stay here (for longer I cannot oblige myself). Whether it stand with your approbation or otherwise that they should speedily depart, they do as yet continue themselves in Chesh. But as I cannot promise myself any assurance of [their] assistance, I humbly desire your speedy resolution upon the premises.

[P.S.] I have formerly by many messengers communicated intelligence of the King's march from Oxford, the scene of his design being laid northward. My last information from the Com. of Coventry [516] is that they have notice from Lt. Gen. Cromwell and Maj. Gen. Browne that upon 12 May they were come with 7–8,000 men to Tadmarton, which is 10–2 miles from Warwick towards the enemy. From Stafford and Coventry 14 May [not in B.L.B.] I have notice that the King's forces were about Birmingham, Sutton Coldfield and thereabouts, which is between Stafford and Coventry; that some horse have come the night before to Wolverhampton, 10 miles from Stafford, and incline this way. But of this last I have no absolute assurance.

(A106)

531

*Officers Yorks. Horse to Brereton*

15-5-45 Adlington. We have removed our troops from Stockport and are a little advanced towards you, being in a position of moving either towards Chester or Yorks., where there is more fear of the enemy's approaching than towards your county. We understand that you have received the greatest part of the £5,000, of which we desire part (as was first intended) for the service already done and some reasonable satisfaction to content our soldiers weekly for the future. Then we shall be most willing to advance towards you and receive orders from you, desiring not to be esteemed to refuse the service in regard of the enemy but rather the more ready, and that we may be free from all blame whatever shall happen.

Wm. Spencer, Hans George, Boynton, [G] Baynes, Bryers, Rookby, Conerly, Greene, Farrar, Urin, Mason

(A112)

*Brereton to Cromwell*

15-5-45 Tarvin. Yesternight I received intelligence from the Com. of Coventry [516] that yourself and Maj. Gen. Browne with the forces under your command were following after the King's army, which was then about Birmingham, Sutton Coldfield and towards Lichfield and some few towards [Wolver]hampton, and that your forces were upon Monday 12 May at Tadmarton 10-2 miles from Warwick. We hold it of so great consequence to maintain constant intelligence with you that we have sent this messenger purposely to acquaint you that, as yet, we have not drawn off our sieges from Chester and Hawarden Castle. The longer time we maintain therein, the more time we hope we shall gain for you to overtake the enemy, who is now so placed betwixt us that it will hinder that which no one desires more than myself, the uniting of our forces.

I have received intelligence that Maj. Gen. Laugharne's forces in South Wales are utterly routed by Gerard's forces, assisted by some of Prince Maurice's men. It is probable that the King's stay is until the Prince's forces return out of South Wales. It were to be wished that Sir Thos. Fairfax's army were hastened after you, if they be not more advantageously employed, and if something could be done against the King's army before the Prince's army come to join with them it might be of great conducement. But that I leave to your consideration. We are commanded to join with the Scottish forces, which we shall be willing to obey, if it be not conceived to be more advantageous to the public that we stay and be employed here where we are. Thereby we may much distract and amaze the enemy and gain you and the Scotch army and such as you expect to join with you to form and make full your several armies.

(A105)

*Brereton to C. of B.K.*

15-5-45 [Tarvin] In the present condition of your affairs in these parts, I hold it my duty to acquaint you with the continual progress of the King's army, according to the last intelligence that I can learn, knowing that you will be contriving all opportunities for the kingdom's advance. I received notice from the Com. of Coventry [516] that Lt. Gen. Cromwell and Maj. Gen. Browne with 7-8,000 men were come as far as Tadmarton within 10-2 miles of Warwick Castle towards the enemy upon 12 May. Whereupon I have sent to Lt. Gen. Cromwell to have constant correspondence with him and to know which way we may be serviceable to them. Letters that I received from the Coms. of Coventry and Stafford [not in B.L.B.] intimated to me that the King's forces were yesterday quartered at Birmingham, Sutton Coldfield and thereabouts, which is between Coventry and Stafford, and that some horse

came as far as Wolverhampton and that they inclined this way. But of this last they were not so positive. Our forces continue still before Hawarden Castle and Chester. The drawing off of our great piece hath somewhat heartened those in the Castle and retarded the work, but in my last letter to you yesterday I gave the reason why we thought it necessary to be withdrawn. I hope our mines will be ready before many days to supply the place thereof, if the enemy's speedy march prevent us not.

[P.S.] The care and duty I owe my country will not suffer me to leave it till it shall please God to dispel the black cloud which at present threatens it, though being dismissed from my former command I shall not presume to exercise any power, whereby I may entrench upon the late Ordinance, whereunto no man doth more cheerfully submit than myself.

(A108)

534

*Brereton to Leven*

15-5-45 Tarvin. [Intelligence of the movements of the King, Cromwell, Browne, identical with that given in the P.S. to 530 and in the first part of 533] We do not as yet withdraw our forces from Hawarden Castle or from Chester and shall wait their nearer approach before we stir, because we conceive the longer we continue the sieges the more advantageous we are to the service, if no other benefit succeed upon it than this: we still incline the enemy's thoughts this way and, putting a demur to their other great designs, may give you the opportunity to unite the northern forces with your army. We received commands from the C. of B.K. to attend your rendezvous with some horse and foot out of this county and, if you think not our continuance thus much more advantageous than our removal hence, we shall upon your notice observe your commands as far as we are able. I conceive that when the enemy comes hither, the strengthening of our garrisons (which are very many) will be very disadvantageous to them here, both by preserving the country from dissolution and interrupting them upon all opportunities.

(A106)

535

*Sir Wm. Armine<sup>1</sup> to Brereton*

15-5-45 York. Your letter [? 488 or 490] came to our hands when we met Gen. Leven and the rest of the officers of the Scotch army at Knaresborough and, in regard we are doubtful which way the King's force will march, whether by Chester or by Newark, we are very much divided in our opinions, for fear they will fall upon your weakest guards. We are not able to divide without great hazard to all parties. Nor can we lie in such a place as will succour both the west and the east, Chester and Newark. Therefore I pray you give us

timely intelligence of the motions of our enemy that so we may be ready to apply ourselves to either hand. We have 10–11,000 men together in a body and, if we can but get to encounter with our adversary, if the Lord add a blessing to us, we may have a fair set at them. For their march this week, let me hear from you.

(A128)

Note

- 1 Of Osgodby, Lincs., M.P. for Grantham. A wealthy landowner and an active M.P., he was a Commissioner for Parl. with the Scots army and in delegations from Parl. to the Scottish Estates in July, 1643, and July, 1645. He was supporting the war party at this time and, although he refused to sit on the Commission to try the King, he took his seat in the Rump. In religion he was a moderate independent. (*A. & O. I.*, 197, 738; *B. & P.*; *P.P.*; Yule.)

536

*Ld. Fairfax to Brereton*

15-5-45 York. Upon a deliberate consultation this day between Ld. Leven and myself, we have resolved that your forces of horse and foot, designed by the C. of B.K. to join with the Scotch army, shall meet on Thursday 22 May at such a place of rendezvous as you shall think most convenient for your own country and the forces of Lancs. and Staffs., in regard the passes and places of most advantage for your own security are best known to you. I desire to receive advertisement from you of the place you shall appoint for the rendezvous, that all care and diligence may be used to observe the time, and that those forces may be kept together until you receive further orders from me. The hastening of this service is of much concernment to the public safety of these parts.

(A125)

537

*Com. at York and Commissioners of Parl.<sup>1</sup> to Brereton and 'the rest of the Grand Com.'* [of Chesh.]

15-5-45 York. The Scots army is advanced to Ripon and have expected their monthly pay appointed by the Ordinance of Parl. of 20 Feb. for the two months of March and April. May is well nigh ended but not one penny received from your parts. We earnestly desire a speedy course may be taken for the raising of your proportion and the paying in of the monies to the Ld. Mayor of York, so that the Scotch soldiers may have no colour to take up anything at their own hands, which needs must be prejudicial to these countries through which they pass.

W. Armyn, Rob. Fenwick, Franc. Pierrepoint, Jo. [? Hen./Rich.]<sup>2</sup> Darley  
(A153)

- 1 See App. I. ii.
- 2 Ibid.

538

*Brereton to Ashurst*

15-5-45 Tarvin. I hope my tender care and respect to my country will not prejudice me in the opinion of Parl. and that they will not take it ill if I take part of [i.e. share] the sufferings of this county while this storm threatens the ruin of it. Being dismissed by the late great Ordinance from my command, I shall be so careful of my actions that none of them entrench in the least measure upon that Ordinance and, when it shall please God to blow over these clouds, I shall re turn ere long to my duties in the House.

[The remainder of the letter repeats intelligence concerning, (i) the movements of Cromwell, Browne and the King, already given in 530, 533, 534; (ii) the continuation of the siege of Hawarden but withdrawal from there of the 'great piece', given in 512, 527 and 533].

(A109)

539

*Brereton to Ashurst* [Margin: 'By Mr Russell']

15-5-45 [Tarvin] In my last yesterday' [538] by a messenger of the C. of B.K. (whose name I take it is Russell) I represented to you at large the state of affairs of these parts. Since which I have received intelligence from Stafford of yesterday's date, intimating the King's forces still quartering about Birmingham, Sutton Coldfield, Stourbridge and, as some reported, Wolverhampton, and that some of them were about Edgbaston garrison near Birmingham, maintained by Col. Fox. And our commanders (though we have drawn off our great piece from Hawarden) have such confidence of obtaining possession of the castle before the revolution of many weeks by the effect of our mines, as that our resolution is to continue our sieges as yet until we receive certainty of the enemy's approach near us. And though herein there may be a seeming danger, yet we hope by our diligence to gain timely intelligence and, by keeping our forces as near together and as ready to move as it is possible, to provide against that hazard. Though my commission be expired and no further commands as yet received from the Parl., yet upon your intimation I am resolved to continue in these parts until the dissolution of this storm, and shall make it my care to promote that which may conduce to the advantage of the public service, yet not to entrench upon the Ordinance of Parl., by ex[ercising] any power that by that ordinance is taken away.

We received a command from the C. of B.K. to have in readiness some

horse and foot to join with the forces of Notts., Derbysh., Leics., Lancs., Staffs. etc. and the Scotch. We humbly conceive, for divers reasons we have presented to the Com. and Ld. Leven, that our forces may be more serviceable in these parts, if the King advance northwards, which many believe is his design rather than for these parts, but we shall be ready cheerfully to observe further orders.

Post. The Com. of Coventry advertise me that Lt. Gen. Cromwell and Maj. Gen. Browne were at Tadmarton 10 miles from Warwick in pursuit 12 May. I have written to them.

Since I writ the above lines I have received letters from Ld. Leven [526], whereby I perceive that before the afore-mentioned command of the C. of B.K. there may be an expectation of our forces to rendezvous in Lancs. If so, we not only leave this county exposed to utter ruin but our garrisons hazarded, for the enemy in Wales is raised to a great number and have been lately successful upon the out-quarters of our Leaguer, and it is very probable and to be feared that, seeing Gerard hath been lately successful in South Wales, enforced Maj. Gen. Laugharne with loss to quit and burn Cardigan Castle and to make disadvantageous retreat, his forces may be applied against us besides. And that which is chiefly to be provided against, if we withdraw our forces now commanded to any rendezvous out of the country more northward, we shall be enforced to leave all our garrisons in an hazardous condition and the country utterly ruined by the King's army, whereas if we stay and keep our forces together and secure our garrisons, until we see how otherwise the King's army is employed, we may then take the advantage which may be offered, for the prosecution of the work remaining here.

The despatch of Major Sanders into the country might much advantage the Parl.'s service.

(A107)

Note

- 1 From what follows in the remainder of the sentence there can be little doubt that 'my last yesterday' is 538, although both it and 539 are dated 15 May.

540

*Middleton and his officers to Brereton*

15-5-45 8 am Red [Powys] Castle. We have information, to which we give credit, that Sir John Price hath sent to the forces of North Wales promising to deliver the possession of Montgomery Castle unto them, and that Maj. [*sic* Col.] Trevor is to come with forces either this night or tomorrow to receive it. We shall use the best industry we can to prevent it, but are not able of ourselves to resist such strength as may be sent from thence, and therefore we are necessitated to crave your assistance, either by diversion or by sending some aid with all possible speed. In the meantime we wish to understand your

resolution and know what intelligence you have. We hear nothing certain of the Princes' forces drawing this way.  
 Tho. Middleton, Hugh Price, Lloyd Pierce<sup>1</sup>  
 (A114)

Note

- 1 For Price see 273 n.5; Pierce was of Maesmawr, Guilsfield. Both were small Montgom. landowners with long pedigrees. Their being parl. capts. at this time led on to their becoming county officials and com. men during the Interregnum. (Dodd; *Montgom. Coll.* 57, Pt.2,101.)

541

*Col. Trevor to Byron* [intercepted]

15-5-45 9 pm Holt. I came this morning to Holt, where I met your Lordship's orders about the Chesh. quarters which, as the business now is, I do not hold it to be so good as to take advantage of those rebels that are now on retreat.<sup>1</sup> As I came hither this morning there was a party of them on the Chesh. side towards Aldford of which we took 12 prisoners and killed three. About 12 o'clock we fell up to Pulford, where we found them grazing their horses and the officers and troopers swimming in the river. We took 40 of their horses and eight prisoners and the rest fell naked into the church to the shelter of their foot. If I can possibly learn as soon as they begin to move, I will be in the rear of them. This night about 7 o'clock Captain Carter came to Farndon, whence a party of ours took seven of his men and had taken himself and all the rest but for the goodness of their horses. As soon as the way is clear I will wait on you.  
 (A112)

Note

- 1 The phraseology is obscure, but the remainder of the letter strongly suggests that, in Trevor's opinion, whatever orders Byron had given about the Chesh. quarters, should now be superseded by an all-out attack on the parliamentarians as they withdrew from their sieges.

542

*Com. at Manchester to Brereton*

15-5-45 Manchester. We thankfully acknowledge your great care towards this county in sending us your intelligence. We have given intimation thereof to the rest of the gents of this county, who have appointed a general meeting at Chorley tomorrow. After which we shall be better able to give you information of our resolutions. In the meantime all our endeavours shall be used for the answering of the expectation of the C. of B.K. We entreat you to persist still in giving us notice of what further intelligence you shall receive either of

the enemy's motions or intentions.

[P.S.] We desire to know your purpose if the King march on; that, if you intend to come into the field, our forces may join with you at some convenient place and, if not, that you would dismiss Col. Ashton's regt to return into this county for the better strengthening thereof. We desire you to certify us whether any of the Parl's forces follow the rear of the King's army.

Tho. Birch, Row. Hunt,<sup>1</sup> Rich. Haworth.

(A120)

Note

- 1 Apparently of Manchester. But, although he appears as a Lancs. Com. man quite often in B.L.B., nothing is known of him and his family. It is possible that he had married Elizabeth, the widow of John Ireland of Hutt in Hale, Lancs. (see 305 n.1).

543

*Com. of Salop to Brereton*

15-5-45 Shrewsbury. This day returned home unto us a boy, belonging to one of our commanders, who came upon Tuesday [13 May] from Worcester. He came through the King's forces and gave us this account. The King is quartered at [Droit] Wich, the most of his forces about Bromsgrove, a part whereof have besieged Col. Fox's garrison [Edgbaston], but with no hopes of taking it and many are slain before the house. They assaulted likewise a house called Hawksworth [Hawkesley] House near Bromsgrove, possessed by the [blank in M.S.] Com. and have burnt the house, but they keep the works still.<sup>1</sup> The Parl. forces, the van of them, upon Tuesday night came in to Pershore. This boy was there when the quartermaster came in and saw some of the forces upon Broadway hills upon their march.<sup>2</sup> This we believe for certain truth. He told what the discourse amongst the [royalist] commanders was, which we heed not much, as that they intended for Chester and then to fall upon Stafford or this town, but they had no hopes to take this town but by starving.

H. Mackworth, Sam. More, And. Lloyd, Rob. Charleton.

(A121)

Notes

- 1 Hawkesley House, Worcs., eight miles north of Bromsgrove, belonged to the catholic family of the Middlemores and had changed hands once before. The parl. Com. referred to must be that for Worcs. They possessed no town of sufficient importance in their county to reside in before Massey captured Evesham on 26 May. (P.R.M., 739; I.C., 200; Symonds, 167.)
- 2 That the soldiers at Pershore and on Broadway hills were parliamentarian is confirmed by 556 and 562. They could not have been Cromwell's and Browne's,

who were further east near Banbury, but must have been Massey's who, a fortnight later, captured Evesham.

544

*Brereton to Capt. Rich*

15-5-45 Tarvin. I received yours of 14 May dated from Liverpool [523] by Mr John Whitworth, and for it and for the pains and care, both for our particular as also for the public, I return you hearty thanks, and I could have been very glad that you might have had liberty to stay on our coasts, which might have proved very advantageous for our parts and much tending to the benefit of the public. And for this purpose I would have been desirous of your coming over that I might have discoursed with you of these things. But that your commission should be for the coasts of Ireland, as I perceive both by your letter and by Capt. Whitworth,<sup>1</sup> and that you cannot with conveniency spare so much time as to come hither, I must needs have [*sic*; ? leave] you at liberty to your own determinations, not doubting of your care and willingness whereof you are to do your utmost, both for the security of these parts and for the promoting of the kingdom's service by preventing the Irish coming over or any ships from infecting our coasts, so much as in you lieth. And for my own part I shall be willing to give you all assistance and encouragement.  
(A105)

## Note

- 1 Not in B.A.L., but this appears to be because he was a capt. of pioneers. See n.1 to 385.

545

*Brereton, Brooke, Duckfield, Leigh to C. of B.K.*

16-5-45 [Tarvin] After the close of my letter<sup>1</sup> to you yesterday [533] I received this enclosed from Ld. Leven [526] which I present to your view that you may know the motions of the Scottish army and their present resolutions concerning the northern parts. If Ld. Leven expects any of our forces to be drawn into Lancs., then would this county be delivered up to the enemy and our garrisons much endangered, which must unavoidably be exposed to hazard, except most of our foot be disposed into them for their security and our horse be reserved to secure the country which, if once destroyed, our garrisons cannot long subsist.

If the Yorks. horse (one regt whereof under Lt. Col. Spencer, since the Princes' departure hence hath done no service here but provide themselves fresh, free quarters and receive some money) might now be commanded constantly to assist us during this eminent danger, or the Derby horse, which are assigned to join with Ld. Leven to strengthen that army, might be applied

to us in these parts, I am confident much better service might be performed for the advantage of the whole kingdom. For by their removal to remote parts we shall not only lose ground, but Stafford, Nantwich and Shrewsbury and our other garrisons may be endangered, much time lost to us and much encouragement gained to the enemy. I must confess that these forces, without the addition of the Scottish brigade which formerly were assigned to our assistance, are not of convenient strength to meet the enemy in the field, but they might be of great advantage to your affairs, which I offer to your honourable considerations. But in my judgement the enemy's slow march towards us intimates that, if the Scottish and our northern forces made more haste towards them, it would so puzzle them for a retreat that all their designs would fail them.<sup>2</sup>

I only offer this to your considerations. As you shall please to give directions our forces will readily show themselves obedient.

Wm. Brereton, H. Brooke vic., Robert Duckenfield, John Leigh.  
(A111)

Notes

- 1 Despite the signatures of the three other dep. lts. to the letter, the first person is used throughout.
- 2 'Puzzle' could then be used in the sense of 'putting at a loss as to how to act'. The sense would, therefore, seem to be that the enemy's slow march indicated hesitation and, if the Scots and northern forces hastened to Brereton's aid, this would reinforce this indecision to such a point that they would retreat and all their designs would fail. [O.E.D.]

546

*Brereton to Cromwell*

16-5-45 Tarvin. In the midst of that storm threatening the blasting of the work, which was so hopeful in these parts, by the enemy's motions this way, it was great refreshment to us to receive the assurance of your advance in pursuit of them, whose speedy [*sic*] motions for two days past have not been very speedy towards us. We are resolved to continue our leaguers in hopes of speedy success against Hawarden Castle, until we have more certainty of their approach nearer us. In the interim I have thought good to despatch this messenger unto you and should much desire to keep a correspondence with you.

[Note to letter] "In this letter was sent a copy of yesterday's letter 15 May" [532].

(A110)

547

*Brereton to Ashurst and Swinfen*

16-5-45 Tarvin. [Summary: This letter repeats what was said in 545 to the C.

of B.K., that to withdraw the Chesh. forces to a rendezvous in Lancs., as Leven suggests, would endanger Brereton's garrisons and deliver up the county to the enemy, that the Yorks. horse were doing no service but living on the county, that it would be better to send the Derby horse to him than to Leven. It says that Spencer's regt had received £200 from the Salop Com. and was getting as much again now, that 'the other' (i.e. Constable's) regt had been paid £300.

On the advance of the Scots army southwards it says, "Whereas if the Scots army had moved towards Worcs. and those parts of Salop, they might have been strengthened with the addition of forces of Chesh., Stafford, Salop which now must be employed to serve their own country and garrisons, otherwise they will be left to the enemy's power".

A P.S. adds, "Pray assist that some relief be sent to South Wales or otherwise I fear that country will be lost."]  
(A120)

*Brereton to Lt. Col. Spencer's Officers*

16-5-45 Tarvin. It hath been our desires and utmost endeavours to give you all possible accomodation and content since you came into this county, but it hath fallen out so unhappily that you are not herein satisfied, which hath been no little trouble unto us. For it hath much tended to the retarding of the present design against Chester and the loss of many of our forces, and also to the great prejudice and discontent of that part of the county where you have quartered. We have several times acquainted you with so much, and hoped when you received £200 you would not have continued to lie in the county and not do service, but would cheerfully have marched into Wales, where you have been expected and there is much need of you. If you please to do it without delay, you shall have performance of the payment of £100 more within a week afterwards and shall ever have payment from henceforth to your content, so long as you shall stay. Or you shall have liberty to depart. It is true some part of the money is come from London, out of which is to be paid all the money that hath been borrowed for you and your other regt, being £500, and much more for ammunitiion and provisions for which we stand indebted. Also our own horse and many of our foot have not received any money at all. What is hereby promised unto you shall be really performed, and we expect either your speedy march to assist us in the present service, or that you will not continue a burden to these parts and so withdraw your regt from us.

(A113)

549

*Brereton to Capt. Bulkeley*

16-5-45 [Tarvin] So soon as Chester is taken (which I have good grounds to believe will not be long) I will give my free consent to the exchange proposed for yourself and officers for Col. Werden. In the mean time I could much rather desire that some other indifferent exchange might be thought on. (A119)

550

*Rich. Lowther [gov.]<sup>1</sup> to ?*

16-5-45– Pontefract Castle. I have endeavoured with what speed I could to get this to you, it coming by a drum of the adversary's. I desire you to send me a copy of what you receive for my discharge to Sir Marmaduke Langdale, as also that you be pleased to write to me wherein I may serve you in this more than I have done, being cooped up close. And, if you cannot make use of this, I desire to know by this drum if I may in any other thing do you service. Post. Col. Overton, who commands in chief in the leaguer here, promises me by his letter that this drum, which comes at my charge, shall stay two or three days for Sir Wm. Brereton's answer to Ld. Fairfax and yours to your servant as he waited upon you at Kendal.<sup>2</sup> (A136)

## Notes

- 1 See 522 n.1.
- 2 The last sentence of this letter with its mention of Ld. Fairfax & Brereton, its placing next to 522 in the MS and Brereton's further letter to Fairfax on the subject of Tyldesley (615) combine to show that, despite its obscurity, 550 is concerned with the possible exchange of Tyldesley for Lt.Col. Rigby and an unnamed officer of Ld. Fairfax's. The letter may even be directed to Tyldesley.

## Editorial Note on Items 551–60

The following items are all clearly dated 16 May and concerned with the perilous position of Brereton's troops on the Welsh side of the Dee. Nevertheless it has been found difficult to place them in the correct chronological order. All are written in haste and alarm, only two have the hour of day on them and, on one of these, it is uncertain whether it should be *am* or *pm*. With the short distances between senders and recipients (four miles from Hawarden to Dodleston, eight from Dodleston to Tarvin), it is not easy to decide which letters have been received when others are written. On the only occasion when one letter is stated to be a reply to another, it is probable (see below) that this is a copyist's error. The identity of some of the enclosures mentioned is not certain. Finally, there is no corroborative evidence, either elsewhere in B.L.B. or outside it, which might help.

In making up the order which follows from internal evidence alone, two particular decisions were taken. The first was to regard the 'quarter after ten' of 555 as *am*. If it

were taken to be *pm*, this would place 555 after all the others in the series, including 560 which has 'nine at night' on it. As 560, 559 and 558 all discuss details for an imminent withdrawal from Hawarden over the fords into Wirral, it is quite incredible that Jones should have written 555 *after* them, in which no mention is made of these matters and earlier alternatives are reverted to.

The second decision is to regard the marginal note to 556 which says the answer to it is on fol.192 (original, not Brit.Lib. numbering) as a copyist's error. For this note would make 555 the answer to 556, but internal evidence suggests that 556 is the answer to 555, not the other way round. For Jones begins 555 to Brereton by saying that an enclosure 'gives the sense of them at Hawarden; i.e. is 552, the report of the Council of War held there. But in 556 Brereton makes it clear to Jones that he has already received this report from him. In fact, 557 on fol.184 seems far more likely to be the answer to 556., for it mentions receiving a letter which it is sending on to Lothian. Now 556 is addressed to Lothian as well as Jones and uses that curious mixture of *we* and *I* characteristic of the some of the letters Brereton wrote, after the application of S.D.O. and before he learnt that his command had been renewed, when he was pretending to be operating simply as a member of 'the Grand Com.' Sure enough, 557 (but not 555) is addressed, not to Brereton alone, but to Brereton, Brooke and Leigh.

For further understanding of these items, it is useful to know that Eccleston ford, guarded by Ashton's Lincs. regt., lay on the route from Dodleston to Tarvin, and that all the places involved were within a six-mile radius from the centre of Chester. Hence the foot-note to 555.

## 551

*Lothian to Lt.Col. Jones*

16-5-45 Hawarden. Yesternight the enemy discovered our mine and pierced the field of it forth of theirs. Whereupon our men for the present fled, but upon my coming down I brought them to the breach again. Thereupon the enemy left theirs and have broken down the mouth of it, which butts upon ours, and stopped up the breach. Yet nevertheless our men all are very fearful to work. I desire your speedy repair hither to advise what is to be done that we may resolve of some speedy course, for I apprehend the enemy to be much daunted [*sic* ?].<sup>1</sup>

(A112)

## Note

- 1 The word appears to be 'daunted' which, from the contents of the letter, seems most inappropriate. Perhaps it was intended to be 'vaunted' i.e. puffed up by their recent success.

## 552

*Resolutions of a Council of War*

16-5-45 Hawarden.

I conceive that the mine may be sprung within eight days.

Wm. Middleton

I conceive that there is very little hopes of the mine and therefore it is necessary that we draw into a body very speedily.

Tho. Ravenscroft

I conceive also that we should not re-encounter such difficulties as we have already had; yet the mine cannot be ready in the eight days time. To lie divided is to give the enemy all the advantage that can be desired. To draw into our country I conceive to be the best, but if we could be commanded to join and fight the enemy before our departure I could be well content. Yet I refer all to the command of those who have the power.

James Lothian

Notwithstanding the hopes to take this castle, I hold it best to draw into a body and to fight our Welsh enemy, and then to draw into Chesh. if we receive command to this effect. In the mean time to pursue our last commands.

G. Gerard

The mine being hazardous, the instructions of the C. of B.K. being for the preservation of our garrisons and to have an eye upon the enemy, it is convenient in my opinion to draw into a body, whereby we shall be ready either to fight with the enemy or march away as we shall receive command.

John Hawkbridge

My opinion is that we speedily draw into a body and fight the enemy if it be thought fit. For the mine there can be no hope by reason of their counter mine.

Syon Finch

The mine is not like to take effect this eight days and, if the commander-in-chief command it, I think it fit to fight the enemy that is now in Wales.

Hugh Holt

The mine is not like to take effect this eight days and, if the commander think fit, to fight with the enemy that is now in Wales.

Francis Acton

My opinion is to fight the enemy in Wales, if the commanders-in-chief think fit. For the mine there is very small hopes.

Rand. Radman

My opinion is that the mine cannot be brought to perfection this eight-ten days and that therefore we draw into a body and either secure our own country by marching thither or else fight with the enemy in Wales.

Rich. Browne

My opinion is that the mine cannot be perfected this eight days and it is convenient to draw into a body either to fight or to draw to and secure our own country.

Sam. Ratcliffe<sup>1</sup>

(A113)

Note

- 1 Of those officers present at this Council of War, Wm. Middleton, a London alderman and cousin of Sir Thos's, and Col. Thos. Ravenscroft, the turncoat of Hawarden, were officers of Middleton's. Lothian, Gerard, Hawkbridge & Finch were officers of Brereton's who appear in B.A.L. Capt. Francis Acton and Capt. Hugh Holt, although not the Capts. Acton & Holt who appear in B.A.L. can be identified as officers of Brereton's. (See 385 n.1 for this identification and possible reasons why they are not in B.A.L.) Such scanty information as there is about Ratcliffe and Radman is contradictory; nothing is known about Browne and, if all three were of no higher rank than Lt., this could be the reason for their non-inclusion in B.A.L.

553

*Lt.Col. Jones to Brereton*

16-5-45 Dodleston. Before I received this enclosed [Margin confirms this is 541] I writ unto the Adjutant [Lothian] to advise with the officers what was best to be done. By the enclosed [551] you may understand that there is little hopes of the mine. Therefore I expect your orders.  
(A112)

554

*Lt.Col. Jones to Brereton*

16-5-45 Dodleston. By the enclosed [perhaps another copy 551, perhaps 552], you may understand the condition of Hawarden Castle. Captain Arndell' says the mine will not be ready these 20 days. It is my opinion that, if the army draw not off, Chesh. will be endangered and this small army lost, seeing that we have not a considerable strength to gain provisions for it. Expecting your further commands –  
(A113)

Note

- 1 *The True Informer* for 2-10-44, in an account of the storming of Red Castle by Sir Thos. Middleton, says that the outer gate was blown in by a petard placed by Mr John Arundell. Although he is described there as 'master gunner', the similarity of the names, the allied nature of the operations performed, the scarcity of specialists able to perform them and that the fact that both occurred in the very limited area of parliamentary campaigning inside North Wales, make it at least likely that Arndell and Arundel are one and the same person. (Thomason E.10-4; Phillips II, 212-3.)

555

*Lt.Col. Jones to Brereton*

16-5-45 'a quarter after 10' [a m] Dodleston. By the enclosed [552] you have

the sense of them at Hawarden. If you intend to undertake anything, resolve to repair hither. We may not go to you. Councils held at so large a distance can take no effect. It should be the desire of my soul to fight with the rogues but, they being all horse, it will be an impossible thing, so that our men will be tired to no purpose. And how to march with carriages it passes my understanding. If your horse and foot have not some time to rest and supply themselves with necessaries, when a command comes for them to march, you will find it a difficult matter to get them out [i.e. of quarters]. Be sure to keep the enclosed for it may avail you.

Post. Dragoons and not foot are proper for the beating up of quarters. Were there but eight troops of horse and four of dragoons I would engage myself – and never trouble the foot – that no enemy should lie quietly in Chesh. or near it.

[Footnote] Capts. Shepley & Glegg<sup>1</sup> are required to send six horse with the bearer past Waverton.

(A119)

Note

- 1 As horse were required, presumably this was Capt. John Glegg. (See 164 n.4 & 703.)

556

*Brereton, Brooke, Leigh to Lt. Col. Jones and Lothian*

16-5-45 Tarvin. We have received your several letters and, if by all the intelligence we have received we could have seen any signs of danger, we would have anticipated your resolution of remove but, for so much as we can discern or collect from all intelligence, the King's forces are so tasked, our army being so near them, being at Pershore on Tuesday last, and the enemy engaged at Hawksworth [Hawkesley] and Edgbaston Houses,<sup>1</sup> that in all probability there is no present danger of any forces from thence to annoy you. All the danger I can apprehend is from the forces in Wales that are to be gathered against you. And if it be true that I hear that Col. Mostyn's regt is disbanded, there will be very few foot to come against you. It is uncertain but we shall know tomorrow whether the Yorks. horse will march into Wales. We have sent either regt an offer of £100 after a week's service in Wales and afterwards during their stay in Wales to give them content or leave to depart unto their own county. We therefore offer it to you whether you think fit to remove before we receive their answer, or whether you think it not much more fit to continue together in a body on that side the water, according to the sense and opinion of the commanders at Hawarden which we received enclosed in your letters [552–555]; whether you do not think it more fit for Col. Ashton's men to leave Eccleston or Maj. Lothian to leave Hawarden and whether it shall be thought most fit upon serious debate to gather together in

a body and march into the country (provided that either Hawarden or Eccleston may be preserved unto us that we may that way send you intelligence) whereby you may either fight the enemy or gather and bring over provisions for the maintaining of our forces and for the revictualling of our drained garrisons (which cannot otherwise be supplied out of our impoverished country) according to the order from the C. of B.K.

We have sent away this night Mr Gregg and Capt. Whitworth to the Yorks. horse and offer it to your consideration whether you **think** it fit to hold on any resolution to remove till you know certainly whether the Yorks. horse will come to you or no. We have herein delivered our opinions unto you, who upon the place where you are may be able to discern that which we cannot at this distance. Therefore, having had so much experience of you, we leave it to you.

Post. We hear they have not above three or four barrels of powder in Chester. If Hawarden be released, Chester will be relieved. If the King's forces be so engaged as we hear, it were well worthy serious consideration whether now might not be a seasonable time to make some attempt against Chester before you rise.

[Margin says 'Sent by Matt. Tanner; Mr Partington sent to Col. Mytton to invite him thereunto'. Also, 'The answer to this letter you shall find fol.192'. But see Ed. note Items 551-60.]

(A115)

Note

- 1 See 543 notes 1 & 2.

557

*Lt.Col. Jones to Brereton, Brooke and Leigh*

16-5-45 Dodleston. The army lieth now in so many parts that it were easy for the enemy to annoy us. The course propounded and to be done with part and our [blank in M.S.]<sup>1</sup> is to deliver our men into the enemy's hands. Lothian desires that we might follow the enemy but what purpose that will be I know not, their strength being horse (and will not abide us), in which we are weak. I dare not leave Dodleston to go to Col. Ashton, alarum being given us by the enemy. We have had two this day. I am confident he<sup>2</sup> will not march with part of his men and leave the rest in danger. I will send him your letter and Maj. Trevis shall carry you his answer, which when you have received I shall be ready to obey what shall be commanded, although to prejudice.

(A115)

Notes

- 1 Perhaps the text should have read 'to be done with part of our forces'. In any case the remainder of the letter, taken together with 556 in which Brereton proposed

that some troops should be left at either Hawarden or Eccleston, make the meaning clear enough. Such further division of the parl. forces on the Welsh side of the Dee would make them even more vulnerable.

- 2 Grammatically this *he* should be Col. Ashton. Furthermore Brereton's proposals, given in 556, made it possible that he, as well as Lothian, would be forced to march with only part of his men leaving the rest in danger. Nevertheless, Lothian's much greater importance in the organisation of the next troop movement – whatever it was – make it more probable that it is he who was intended.

558

*Lt.Col. Jones to Brereton* [See note to 560]

16-5-45 Dodleston. If it be your opinion that we march off, Wirral fords is conceived to be the west way. Therefore, I pray you, command Coote's, Carter's and Duckenfield's troops of horse to meet us tomorrow morning at the fords. In the meantime let the foot secure themselves in their quarters. (A113)

559

*Lt.Col. Jones to Brereton* [See note to 560]

16-5-45 Dodleston. If you think it meet that we march off, it is worthy consideration what shall be done with the boats. The best course were to sink them all. When it is a doing no countrymen must be by. Because the march will be too tedious for the Lancs. foot, I think it the best course for them to march to Huntington Hall, thence to Tarvin. But all the rest march over the fords tomorrow by six in the morning. The tide will serve. At our landing we shall expect to hear from you which way were best to bend our course. Being upon our removal, all the provisions intended need not be sent. (A115)

560

*Lothian to Lt.Col. Jones*<sup>1</sup>

16-5-45 9 pm Hawarden. I have not time this night possibly to get carriages and draw off the whole forces in time to answer your design, in regard it is 9 pm upon the receipt of your letter. And when I do break off I must do it for good and all. But if you please to resolve upon it and procure me a positive order, I shall be ready tomorrow night to meet to join with you where and what time you please. But I beseech you let me have timely notice that I may dispose myself to draw off in an orderly and safe manner. I incline to this because I despair of any success by our mine. Though we still proceed in our trench (the enemy as yet not daring to break into it), we hear them counter-mining there afresh and therefore expect them hourly to spring it

upon us, being more ready than we are with ours. So that except we have time opportunely to starve and batter them, I conceive it time lost for the present to lie before it. Thus desiring your speedy resolution therein, as likewise how and when the cattle brought in this day shall be sent away.

[P.S.] The unfitness of the horse and foot that were forth this day is part of my excuse also for this night's drawing off, all which I desire may be imparted to Sir Wm. and the rest of the Grand Com.

I request you let me hear timely, that I may send away into Wirral all the carriages [blank in M.S.] in the morning tide, and [know] what to do concerning this town.

(A118)

Note

- 1 There is nothing in this letter or the two from Jones to Brereton (558, 559), to suggest that their dating (16 May) is wrong or that anything had been received from Brereton later than 556, which still envisaged the possibility of the army staying in Wales. The Council of War at Dodleston (565) which decided on withdrawal was not held until the next day, nor was the news that the royal army was approaching Newport (which made immediate withdrawal imperative) received until later in the same day (566–7–8).

This being so, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Jones was, at the least, pressurising Brereton into taking the course he desired – complete withdrawal – by making the preliminary arrangements on his own initiative and, perhaps, preparing to carry through the whole manoeuvre in the same way, simply informing his commander of what he was doing as he went along. It would seem to have been Lothian's refusal to act without adequate preparation that delayed the withdrawal until 18 May, rather than the absence of commands from Brereton or the Council of War.

561

*Leven to Brereton*

17-5-45 Ripon. I thought fit to show you that I have presently here a letter from the Com. at Manchester certifying that the King and the two Princes with an army of 12,000 upon the Lord's day last before noon marched by Worcester, and that upon Tuesday night last they quartered at Wolverhampton or Bridgnorth, marching with us much speed as is possible. I have therefore sent this bearer express to receive from you the best notice that can be given of what you can learn of their strength and motions and what forces you are gathering in Lancs. For, if their advance be so speedy as the intelligence bears, it may hinder the conjunction of those forces designed in the letter from the C. of B.K., and you must appoint the rendezvous yourself, in regard of their speedy march. Acquainting you therewith, I doubt not the continuance of your care to give me timely advertisement of what may

concern the right ordering of your affairs as God shall direct us for the best advantage of the cause.

(A133)

## 562

*Com. of Salop to Brereton*

17-5-45 [Shrewsbury] This day we are informed that yesterday Ld. Lindsey, Loughborough and divers more of quality came to Bridgnorth and dined with Sir Lewis Kirke.<sup>1</sup> The King's headquarters were about Stourbridge, the King himself quartered at a house of Lord Ward's,<sup>2</sup> not far from Dudley. The report of his carriages and boats are still [? to be] confirmed, but which way he intends to move is uncertain. We hear no certainty of Fox's garrison [Edgbaston] nor Rushall,<sup>3</sup> or that ever they were attempted. We still believe that Cromwell's and Browne's forces are not far behind, though the relation we receive this day mentions no such thing. We received today a letter from Sir Thos. Middleton in great haste desiring our assistance against Sir John Price who, as the letter informeth us, intended to betray Montgomery Castle into the hands of enemy. We sent out a considerable party under the command of Capt. More<sup>4</sup> (who by reason of his old acquaintance we conceived the most likely to do good offices). Since we hear Sir Thos. has drawn his forces before the castle. Sir John intends to keep it until the Parl. send their pleasures [and] directions. What will be the success [outcome] we know not.

[P.S.] We received assurance by a messenger that came to us from Montgomery Castle that Sir John Price is innocent and very much injured in this business; that there are very many horsemen in the castle with him and give him this testimony.

Just now we hear it confirmed that the King was upon Thursday near Dudley at Ld. Ward's; that the Parl. forces were part betwixt Banbury and Birmingham and part upon Broadway Hills.

H. Mackworth, And. Lloyd, Rob. Charleton, Leigh Owen, Tho. Hunt.  
(A129)

## Notes

1 Montague Bertie, E. of Lindsey, was the soon of Robt. Bertie, E. of Lindsey, a wealthy Lincs. landowner & soldier of continental experience, who was mortally wounded at Edgehill. Montague, captured at Edgehill, was later exchanged & became a Lt. Gen. & gov. of Woodstock.

Henry Hastings, E. of Loughborough, was a younger son of the E. of Huntingdon. Since early in the war, operating mainly from Ashby-de-la-Zouch, he had been one of the most vigorous of the royalist leaders in E. Midlands. Charles had made him E. of Loughborough for his services.

Sir Lewis Kirke was gov. of Bridgnorth. Previously he had been dep. gov. of Cirencester &, in April, 1643, temporary gov. of Oxford during which period he

was knighted. He came from Norton, Derbyshire, & had seen service abroad. Very much the stern professional soldier, he was sued after the war for actions taken during his governorships. (*D.N.B.*; Newman; *K.W.*)

- 2 Himley Ho., 4 miles e. of Dudley. Symonds (168) & I.C. (200) confirm that the King spent the night of Thurs., 15 May, there.

Humble Ward, son of a v. wealthy London goldsmith, owned Dudley Cas. also, as the inheritance of his wife, Frances Dudley. He had been made Baron Ward of Birmingham in 1644 for his services to the royalist cause, but in 1646 he put himself right with the parliamentarians also. When Brereton appeared before Dudley Cast., Ward surrendered it to him without a fight & later married his son & heir, Edward, to Brereton's dau., Frances, while his dau., Theodosia, married Brereton's son & heir, Thomas. (Chandler & Hannah, *Hist. of Dudley.*)

- 3 Rushall Hall nr. Wolverhampton. The home of Col. Edw. Leigh (*q.v.*), it was captured by Rupert in the summer of 1643 & recovered for the Parl. by Denbigh in June, 1644. A parl. garrison was maintained there. (P. & R.)
- 4 Sam. More, the Salop. Com. man, who had been gov. of Hopton Cas. when it was stormed by the royalists in March, 1644 (8 n.1).

## 563

*Ld. Fairfax, Com. at York & Commissioners of Parl.<sup>1</sup> to Brereton and Chesh. commanders*

17-5-45 York. The Scots army is now upon their advance and declare their intention to direct their course to such place as may most advantage the public service in restraining the King's march northwards. Therefore we have employed this gentleman to bring us intelligence from you of such certainty as you have received touching the motion of the King's forces. To oppose them, we find them [the Scots] very ready at this time to engage upon and to draw their forces thither or to some other convenient place in those parts, so long as they may be assured that their march thither and the joining of the forces of those counties with theirs may not be interrupted by some more speedy march of the King's army into those parts, preventing such union of our forces thereabouts. Wherein we desire an immediate return of your intelligence and your opinions.

Fer. Fairfax, Franc.? Prerepgull [Pierrepoint], Wm. Constable,<sup>2</sup> Wm. Aryme [Armine], Jo. [? Hen./Rich.] Darley, Ro. Fenwick.

(A127)

## Notes

- 1 A marginal note to 572 which is a reply to this letter has: 'Letter to the Ld. Fairfax, Sir WM. Constable & the rest of the Com. at York & members of the House of Commons'. For the meaning of the latter part of the note see Appendix I ii.
- 2 For Constable & the other signatories to this letter see Appendix I ii.

*Geo. Hill to Brereton*

17-5-45 Stafford. I dare not but acquaint you with the great mercies God hath shewed us. This present night I have been with our own troop to visit the King's quarters. I took 80 horse out of 100 out with me. I marched to Brewood, where Col. Wherwood's [Whorwood's]<sup>2</sup> regt was quartered and half a mile from town [there were] two troops on a guard. We took in Brewood, out of 300, 30 horse and 6 men and killed many which we could not get out. Thus I make bold to acquaint you with our proceedings. Another regt did quarter at Coven and the King at Bushbury. We know not yet which way he will march.

(A127)

## Notes

- 1 As Stone was occupied with his duties as gov. of Stafford, Hill, who also came from Walsall, was the effective commander of this very active troop of horse. His record as a vigorous parliamentary supporter got him into trouble with the Restoration government and he was imprisoned by them in 1663 and 1665 (information from Mr John Sutton).
- 2 Wm. Whorwood, col. of a regt of horse in the army from Oxford. He was the younger brother of Brome Whorwood of Sandwell Hall, West Bromwich, Staffs. and Holton, Oxon. Brome's wife, Jane, is said to have been involved in one of the attempts to arrange the King's escape in 1647-8. (Inf. from Mr John Sutton; M. Toynbee and P. Young, *Strangers in Oxford* and *D.N.B.* for the family and Jane Whorwood.)

*Decision of Brereton's Council of War*

17-5-45 Dodleston. Being put to the question whether as things now stand it be better to continue the sieges before Chester and Hawarden or to withdraw:—

To withdraw:—	Jer. Zanckey
To withdraw	Mich. Jones
To withdraw	James Lothian
To withdraw	John Leigh
To join and withdraw	Tho. Ravenscroft
To withdraw	Jo. Bowyer
To withdraw	Ralph Ashton
I conceive not to withdraw except an enemy appear	Wm. Middleton
To withdraw into a body	Wm. Brereton
To withdraw	Hen. Brooke

According to the judgement of the Council of War held at Dodleston 17 May 1645 it is ordered that all the forces now on the Welsh side the river do draw together into a body tomorrow at such time as Lt. Col. Jones and Maj.

Lothian shall think most convenient, and shall march into Chesh. as they shall think fittest. It is left to the direction of Lt. Col. Jones and Maj. Lothian whether Col. Ashton's regt *march to the body* [sic]<sup>1</sup> or march over the boat at Eccleston and so to Huntington, or shall march to Dodleston and Hawarden and so with the rest of the army. Dated 17 May 1645 Wm. Brereton (A130)

Note

- 1 This phrase appears to be both superfluous and confusing and may result from a copyist's error. It suggests there were three alternatives for Ashton's men at Eccleston boat and ford, whereas it is most unlikely that there can have been more than two. The first was to go direct east across the ford into the rest of Chesh., the second to remain on the Welsh side of the Dee, march west to join the 'body' being formed by the troops from Dodleston and Hawarden and, with them, cross the ford at Hawarden into the Wirral. They appear to have adopted the first alternative and then gone back into Lancs.

566

*Brereton to C. of B.K.*

17-5-45 Tarvin. For divers of these last days I received no letters from you, or Lds. Leven and Fairfax. The greatest intelligence I had was of the enemy's march and retreats about Worcester and their sieges of Hawksworth [Hawkesley] and Edgbaston Houses, wherewith I acquainted you by letters yesternight. [No letter of this date and giving this information to C. of B.K. in B.L.B.] This day I received three letters from you [492; 495 and 513]. In obedience to one of them I went myself this day to raise the sieges, which the commanders both at Chester and Hawarden very willingly entertained knowing that both places were reduced to very great straits.<sup>1</sup> This night they are to be drawn off. Another of your letters brought me command to attend the service here yet 40 days more, in which I have of late forborn to act in any other capacity than as a dep. Lt., because I was tender in the leastwise to entrench upon the last great ordinance. But now I shall in obedience to this command use my best endeavours to advance your service, though the enemy's near approach doth threaten the worst of their malice to these parts. I have certain intelligence that the King quartered last night at Bushbury in Staffs. His forces are at Wolverhampton, Tonge, Albrighton, Brewood, Coven and thereabouts.<sup>2</sup> At Brewood one troop belonging to my regt fell upon a regt of Col. Wherwood consisting of 300, of which they took 30 horse, divers men, many slain. This afternoon about three o'clock the quartermasters of the King's army came in to Newport, whither many of those forces soon followed him. But they only provided sudden quarters, alleging that they knew not whether the forces should continue there all night or not. Newport is 17 miles from Nantwich. This day I received a letter from Ld. Fairfax [536] expressing his desire that I would think of some place for the

forces of Lancs., Staffs. and this county to rendezvous upon Tuesday [*sic* for Thursday]. To which I have sent an answer this evening with this intelligence, so soon as it came into my hands; as also letters to Ld. Leven to the same effect. What is now possible to be done in answer to your commands shall be effectually endeavoured and nothing omitted that may anywise lie in my power.

[P.S.] So soon as I received your commands I sent immediately to Lancs. to have the passes and fords secured by the building of sconces and placing forces in them, but I doubt it cannot be done in time, because the Scottish and Ld. Fairfax's armies are at such a distance and all the Yorks. horse have left us. I have sent often for the Derby horse, but their answer is they are otherwise disposed of. You may be assured that all the forces we have or can raise shall be employed in your service, our garrisons being secured according to your commands.

(A123)

#### Notes

- 1 It is the sieges – or rather the prolongation of them – and not the raising of them which was *willingly* entertained by Brereton's commanders. This is made plain by the much less ambiguous account of their abandonment which Brereton wrote to Ld. Fairfax on 18 May (571). So that Brereton is here offering an explanation and apology to the C. of B.K. for not abandoning the sieges on receiving their instructions of 9 and 10 May (464, 467) but waiting until he received those of 12 and 13 May (492, 513).
- 2 Tonge and Albrighton are in Salop, Bushbury, Brewood and Coven in Staffs. All are n. or n.w. of Wolverhampton.

#### 567

*Brereton to Leven 'Sent by the Lord Fairfax's messenger'*

17-5-45 Tarvin. I no sooner perceived this intelligence but I hasted to present it to your view as a thing of much concernment to the whole kingdom. The King with his whole army is now forwardly on his march this way. He quartered last night at Bushbury in Staffs., nine miles from Stafford; about Albrighton, Brewood, Coven and those parts his whole army lay. A troop belonging to my regt fell upon Col. Whorwood's regt at Brewood with near 300, of which they took 30 horse, divers men and killed many. I doubt his march will be so speedy through these parts into Lancs. that the greatest speed your forces can make will hardly interrupt their passage thither. Lt. Gen. Cromwell with 7-8,000 men was upon Monday night at Warwick in pursuance of them. If your forces might speedily advance this way (though the enemy after three days rest and refreshment will I believe be very nimble in their motion) it may please the Lord that they, joining with the Lancs. forces and others, may so check them in the front, that Lt. Gen. Cromwell may overtake their rear and prevent that advantage they hope to make in

augmenting their forces in Lancs.

[P.S.] The King's army resting three or four days hath a little disadvantaged our expeditious proceedings, for as yet our men are not drawn from the siege. But I have given order for it and it will be done with all possible speed. The distresses of the castle and city [Hawarden and Chester] (hearing nothing for two or three days of their motions), invited us to continue our sieges so long, but I hope we shall secure our retreat. Since I wrote the lines above an intelligent faithful messenger of mine returned and imparts that the King's forces are this night come to Newport in Shropshire about 20 miles from Nantwich.<sup>1</sup> It is of great concernment that the Scotch and northern forces advance with all expedition possible. Their way must be into Lancs. I cannot hear that the enemy's strength is above 7-8,000. For the further towards York or Doncaster they [Scots and northern forces] go, the more they will be out of his way and the more liberty the enemy will have to range and to gather according to his desire. Our garrisons being secured, I do not believe we can bring to the field a third part of his army, the Yorks. and Derbys., horse being already gone from us.<sup>2</sup>

(A124)

#### Notes

- 1 Actually about 25.
- 2 For the sake of clarity, in the last three sentences of this item, 'their' has been used for the Scots and northern forces only, and 'his' for the King's army. In the original the usage is more indiscriminate and confusing.

#### 568

##### *Brereton to Lord Fairfax*

17-5-45 8 pm Tarvin. I have received your letter of 15 May [536]. Being desirous to despatch this bearer with the intelligence, I have not had time to consider what place to appoint for rendezvous, but shall despatch a messenger to you tomorrow with what further intelligence I shall receive tonight. [The remainder of the letter gives the same intelligence as in 566 and 567: the King quartering at Bushbury and his army roundabout, the attack on Whorwood's regiment at Brewood, the royal quartermaster coming to Newport with 60 horse but with no certainty that they would stay the night. The postscript ends: "I fear it will not be possible to form any army sooner than in Lancs.".]

(A125)

#### 569

##### *Ellis Andrews to John Andrews' 'Deare Cozen'*

17-5-45 This gentleman<sup>2</sup> being bound for Beaumaris, the place of your present residence (so to me signified from Bristol for R.A.), promises to salute

yourself and my good uncle with my duty to him and true love to you. My fortune since my journey to Bristol hath been various. The relation is fitter for a discourse than a letter. The generals are known and the bearer, whom I usually meet, this day at the army at Newport. Your wife is well, which comes to my knowledge by Captain Piggott,<sup>3</sup> present at the writing of this short epistle; as also Captain Mainwaring,<sup>4</sup> who saith you are an honest man and loves you as I do.

[P.S.] I refer you for news to my friend the bearer. T.A. and his wife and son, Eusebius, and sister, Jane, are well at London. Jo. and Geo. have been taken prisoners at Stafford. Jo. is escaped to B[ridg] N[orth] and Geo. is upon exchange.

(A140)

#### Notes

- 1 Ellis Andrews and his family remain very mysterious. They seem to have been much scattered at this time with Ellis himself on the move and other members of the family in London, Anglesey and Bridgnorth. Item 591 seems to be addressed to a member of another branch of the family living in Bridgnorth and a letter of 10 Jan. 1646 from Sir Jacob Astley to the 'Gentlemen' of Bridgnorth mentions a Mr Andrews, apparently a person of importance, as being in the town. He may have been Ellis or possibly the husband of the 'Deare Sweete Couzen' of 591. (*S.A.S.T.* 2nd ser, 8, pp. 293-4.)

Ellis does not seem to have had a commission and two of his three letters in B.L.B. suggest that he was being employed on intelligence work behind the enemy lines. Most of the people he mentions are part concealed behind initials and Christian names and he seems to have had too much freedom of movement to have been in London as a prisoner. Among the Christian names in the postscript to this item is 'Eusebius', 'son to T.A. and his wife'. It seems unlikely that this can have been the Eusebius Andrews who was a pre-war courtier and lawyer, rose to be a royalist col. before the end of the war and was executed in 1650 for plotting to seize the Isle of Ely. Col. Eusebius was born as far back as 1579 and would be unlikely to have had a father and mother alive and well or to have been in London except as a prisoner at this time. But the combination of names cannot have been common and it could be that Eusebius was a Christian name in use in the Andrews family and that Ellis and the royalist col. were, therefore, related. *D.N.B.* says his family came from Middlesex but Newman, citing various sources, from Northants. See also *R.C.E.*

- 2 It seems probable that the bearer of this and the two further letters from Ellis Andrews written on 19 May (591-2) is the Capt. Bulkeley mentioned by Brereton in a letter to Leven (581). as having 'been taken prisoner last day'. It is true the body of this letter is also dated 19 May, but the capture of Capt. Bulkeley is given in a P.S. which could have been added the next day. It was to Beaumaris that the bearer was going and the dominant royalist family in Anglesey were the Bulkeleys of Baron Hill. The royalist diary giving Rupert's movements from 16-29 March (142) is copied in on the same ff. as the three Andrews' letters and it is therefore probable that it was written by Capt. Bulkeley. It is possible that he was Thos., third son of Rich. Bulkeley of Baron Hill, who had been created Visc. Bulkeley in

1644, as Thos. was known to have been a royalist capt. in the First Civil War. The Bulkeleyes were from Cheadle, Chesh. and had acquired their Anglesey property as the result of their military presence in the island in the 15th century. The division between the Cheadle and the Baron Hill lines had been recent and therefore, if the diarist was Capt. Thos., he was quite closely related to Brereton's Capt. Humphrey Bulkeley, the head of the senior, but much poorer, branch at Cheadle. (Earw. I, 182; *D.W.B.*)

- 3 It is probable that this was Thos., son of Walter Pigott of Chetwynd Hall, two miles from Newport. The King stayed there on the night of the day on which this letter was written. Thos. had been a capt. in Sir Vinc. Corbet's regt. of dragoons in 1643 but, if his later statement to the Com. for Compounding is to be believed, his military career was by this time over. (*C.C.C.* 1092); *S.A.S.T.* 4th ser. 2, 235; *I.C.*, 200; Symonds, 170.)
- 4 It is possible that this could be Capt. Geo. Mainwaring, a younger son of Sir Geo. Mainwaring of Ightfield, Salop. Capt. Geo. had been gov. of Tong Castle from July to Oct., 1644 and, despite his absence from the list at 10, B.L.B., was captured at the surrender of Shrewsbury in Feb., 1645. He does not appear to have been still in arms by this time and is listed among the 'Gentlemen' in the prisoners' list given in 'The True and Full Relation of the Manner of the Taking of Shrewsbury'. He may, indeed, be the 'Geo'. of the postscript to this item, prisoner at Stafford and 'upon exchange', which would explain his re-appearance in royalist quarters comparatively soon after his capture. (Phillips II, 237; *S.A.S.T.* 2nd ser, 8, 289-290.)

## 570

*Brereton to Swinfen* [Margin: 'to Mr Ashurst, Mr Bradshaw and Mr Swinfen'] 17/18-5-45 [Tarvin] This morning and not before I received your letter concerning Col. Haughton [496], at which instant I received a letter from him dated at Leek, intimating that he was upon his march to London [not in B.L.B.]. This morn likewise I have received an Ordinance of Parlt. for my continuance in employment 40 days longer [495]; since the expiration of my last commission I have made it my care and been very cautious not to transgress that ordinance.

This day also I received two letters from the C. of B.K. [492 ?; 513] commanding that the fords and passes into Lancs. (which they are informed are not many but I know them to be many) should be guarded so as the King may not be able to make his passage into the county. I received also intelligence this day that the King's army lay within 10 miles of Stafford, and that Capt. Stone's troop fell into their quarters at Brewood and took 7-8 prisoners, killed divers and took some 30 horse of Col. Whorwood's regt, which consisted of about 300. This day and not before I received a letter from Ld. Fairfax [563], wherein he desires a rendezvous to be appointed where may be most convenient for securing of the passes into Lancs. Whereupon, being in the Cheshire Leaguer I hasted to the Welsh side of the river and ordered the forces in the siege on that side Chester and before Hawarden Castle to be raised, which was accordingly done.

Our first work must be to secure our garrisons and, in as much as we leave our garrisons behind us, we shall be constrained to leave a greater strength therein than otherwise, which being done the residue of our forces shall be speedily applied according to orders.

I sent yesterday to the Lancs. gentlemen [not in B.L.B.] to desire that some mounts and sconces might be made to secure and block up the fords on the Lancs. side, as namely Hale Ford<sup>1</sup> (which will be very advantageous) and some other places. But I doubt much lest this may be too late, and the Scotch army at such distance and their march so slow – except there be some intimation from above to quicken them – that I know not when we may expect them. The messenger is in much haste, I have many despatches and the army is upon the retreat from the Leaguer, so as I must desire your pardon.

[P.S.] Your father is well and is come safe to us. Now that we have raised the siege, it is conceived that so soon as the King have notice thereof he will rather apply himself speedily for Lancs. by the way of Hale Ford or Stockport than to march to Chester. So it is of great necessity and concernment that the northern forces hasten.

It is not to be expected that our single force should be able to encounter with or make any resistance to this potent army. Therefore I beseech you hasten the Scotch army, which will find it much more disadvantageous to encounter the enemy hereafter than to give them meeting in Lancs.

The intelligence this 18 May produceth is that the King quartered last night at Mr Piggott's at Chetwin<sup>2</sup> [Chetwynd], the Princes at Newport and the army thereabouts.

(A126)

#### Notes

- 1 A ford across the estuary of the Mersey (some two miles wide at high tide at this point) from Hale in Lancs. to Ince in Chesh. With the seizure by the parl. forces of the three main bridges at Warrington, Crossford (s. of Manchester) and Stockport, it was much used by the royalists in 1643 and 1644. Tolerable for horsemen, it was hazardous for those on foot, the more so because current, tide and wind combined ceaselessly to blur and shift the line of the ford. Local guides were really essential for safety.
- 2 Two miles n. of Newport. Confirmed by P.R.M, 739; I.C., 200, Symonds, 169–70.

#### *Brereton to Ld. Fairfax*

18-5-45 Tarvin. The intelligence I received this morning is this: that the King quartered himself this night at Chetwynd which is about three miles from Newport and 16 from Nantwich, the Princes quartered at the Swan in Newport and some of their horse quartered at Cheswardine, which is 14 miles from Nantwich. Yesterday morning I received two letters from the C. of B.K. [492; 513], in pursuance whereof I went presently to that part of our army that

lieth on the Welsh side beyond the Dee to whom I gave speedy orders that they should raise the siege. Although my officers were unwilling because of the great hopes they had of the speedy reducing of the castle and the city, where they were in great distress, yet they are with all convenient expedition marching off. And I hope we shall make good our retreat and (our garrisons being secured) shall apply all the strength we can spare according to the said commands of the C. of B.K. to join with the Lancs. forces to make good the passes into Lancs. and do the utmost we can to interrupt the King's motions and prevent his entrance into the county, until Ld. Leven and your army advance. It is of great concernment for you to be with us with as much speed as is possible, the King's march being very quick and it being probable he will make no delay till he fall upon our quarters or come into the county. To prevent which we have raised our siege and some of our men are come hither in safety. I hope the rest will do the like, whose first march must be to secure Nantwich, whereunto the enemy is almost as near as we. Which being done we intend with all possible speed to take the residue of our forces and march towards Lancs. and join with such forces of that county as may be spared to join with us. Though I believe there will be no considerable party able to make good the passes, which are many, or to make opposition to the King's army which I fear is about 10-12,000. So soon as we can collect any considerable forces together (wherein we shall admit no delay) you shall have timely notice. But in as much as we must leave our garrisons behind us, we shall be constrained to leave a greater strength in them than otherwise. Your horse are all returned.  
(A125)

572

*Brereton to Ld. Fairfax, Com. at York and Commissioners of Parlt.*<sup>1</sup> [Answer to 563]

18-5-45 Tarvin. I have this day despatched a messenger and last night a former [571 and 568] wherein I have advertised you of the condition of our affairs: that the King's army quartered last night at Newport, the King at Mr Piggott's house at Chetwynd and the Prince at the Swan at Newport. There are by some said to be 7-8,000; others speak of 10-12,000. It is most probable their design is for these parts or for Shrewsbury, they being much out of the road to Newark. Our forces are this day (through God's mercy) returned safe from the siege and I hope in God our garrisons may be well secured, though by a very tedious march-more than 20 miles by the foot in one day. Our first work must be to secure our garrisons, which I hope will be done speedily and which will require the greatest part of our foot to man them, seeing we must leave our garrisons and our country wholly exposed to the enemy's power and fury.

What remains shall be disposed to give meeting (if God direct) at such time

and place as you shall command and direct, to which purpose I have sent to the Lancs. forces and have already received the assistance of above 100 Staffs. horse and 150 Staffs. foot. If further occasion is administered either in advertising what we hear or observing what you command, you shall find me very ready to serve you.

[P.S.] I hope this night (by the blessing of God) we shall restore our foot to Nantwich and then I will not delay to draw all together to such place as may be judged most advantageous and as the enemy will permit.

(A127)

Note

1 See App. I (ii).

573

*Cromwell to Brereton*

18-5-45 Coventry. The intelligence you had from the Com. of Coventry concerning Maj. Gen. Browne and myself being in these parts was true [516]. We lie here attending the King's motions, with commands to dispose of ourselves according to the directions which we have received from the C. of B.K. with relation to the motions of enemy as they shall be either the one way or the other. We should be very glad to hold the correspondency of intelligence with you. Sir Thos. Fairfax is not yet come up but we have sent to him upon your letter to hasten to us. The force is great under our hands; we should be glad to improve it either to conjunction with our friends or other the impeachment of the enemy. I think it were happy you were conjoined with the Scots and we with Sir Thos. Fairfax and then I know not why we might [not] be in as hopeful a posture as ever we were, having the King's army between us, with the blessing of God to bring him into great straits. But God has set the way and time of putting a period to the miseries of this distressed kingdom. It is good for us to wait upon God and to seek his face, which I am persuaded you do.

(A145)

574

*Montgomery to Brereton*

18-5-45 Leeds. I gave obedience to the desire of your last two letters [402; 485] to me, for I writ very earnestly to Ld. Leven that a considerable part of his army might be sent to you and believe that he shows you in his letter that, if the enemy advance towards you, he will use expedition for your assistance. But I had intelligence yesterday from Birmingham that Rupert and Maurice were retreated with most of the King's forces back towards Taunton, so that we long extremely to hear certain knowledge from you. The messenger that brought my letter did not return this way, so that I could not return answer,

but assure you that I acknowledge your obligations are so many that I shall never be wanting to prove myself your very affectionate friend.  
(A128)

575

*Stone to Brereton*

18-5-45 9 am [Stafford] The King with the Prince [Rupert] quartered last night at Newport and his force of horse and foot thereabouts. They now march directly towards you without any stop, so that it will be your safest way to draw your forces together and provide for your own safety by drawing towards the Scots or Lancs. I hear nothing of Col. Cromwell further than that he was at Warwick. I have sent to him to acquaint him of their motion. I sent out my troop again last night with some other horse towards Newport to discover their quarters and fall on some quarter of theirs, only to keep stragglers in from plundering the country. They fell in at Sutton in a wood among 300 at least, where many of them were ready mounted for their guard who quartered there that night. They [my horse] took about 40–50 horse, killed they conceive about 20 and so returned without any loss. Only one of my men are yet wanting.

[P.S.] The enemy will now be nearer you than to this place, so that you will not now expect such intelligence from me as is needful to have. Yet what I can gain I will send.  
(A132)

576

*Capt. Rich to Brereton*

18-5-45 'From aboard the Rebecca'. Your letter of 17 May I received [not in B.L.B.] and whereas it was [*sic*: thought to be] Capt. Bartlett' that was in this river for the relief of Chester, it is very probable that it was not he, for I sent Capt. Little to discover him and have not yet spoken with him, which makes me conceive it is not Bartlett. Had it been he, Capt. Little would not have been from me this long but have given me speedy notice thereof. I am heartily glad to hear that the town [Chester] is so straitened for powder. I shall (by God's assistance) use all possible diligence to prevent all relief of what nature soever going thither, and shall resolve to continue here until I receive some order from you for my enlargement. I desire you would be pleased in the interim to certify to London how I have stayed here by your command, that hereafter I may not suffer any prejudice by it. Whilst I continue I shall endeavour to farther any design that may be for the advancement of the cause or service of the state, and therefore desire that you will be pleased to send with all the expedition that may be those directions you write of and may be for the advantage of the whole kingdom.

My boat was yesterday at Chester and gave the town an alarm and shot into it with one of our guns. But by their slowness in shooting I conceive it may be very probable that they are slenderly provided with powder. I desire you would order me to be provided with some boats against the next spring [tide] that I may be furnished to attempt some designs worth note. This night I intend to fetch off that ship that is under Flint Castle.  
(A128)

Note

- 1 Capt. John Bartlett of *The Swan*. He and Capt. Thos. Bartlett of *The Confidence* were the most active and daring of the royalist sea capts. operating between Dublin, the N. Wales coast and the Dee. (Tucker; see also 147 n.1.)

577

*Lt. Col. Trevor to Lt. Col. Jones*

18-5-45 Holt. I formerly from Ruthin writ two letters to you. I desire to know whether you received them and if you please to give answer to them. They went to you by Capt. Bulkeley's trumpet and servant. I have not had any answer from you yet. I desire particularly the exchange between Werden and Bulkeley, who acknowledges himself to be a dep. Lt. of Chesh. under Lord Saye [and Sele], which command is of both horse and foot. And I think the longer we keep him the less you will find his exchange unequal to Col. Werden.

'your kinsman' and servant'

(A3)

Note

- 1 Jones's mother was the sister and Trevor's mother the daughter of James Ussher, archbishop of Armagh and primate of Ireland.

578

*C. of B.K. to Brereton [C.S.P.D. 1644-5,504]*

19-5-45 Derby Ho. [Summary: Received your letter of 16 May [545] with copy of Leven's enclosed. Thank you for your care and pains and desire you to look to the security of your garrisons. Have appointed Ld. Fairfax's horse now with you to join Scottish army and desire proportion of your forces expressed in our former directions to go with them to rendezvous appointed by Leven. Parl. have continued you in your former command for 40 days.] Wm. Saye and Sele; A. Johnston

(A158)

*Leven to Brereton*

19-5-45 Ripon. I received both your letters [534; 567] today at the rendezvous and can return you no positive answer while [until] I hear by the express I sent to know assuredly which way the enemy directs his motions. Meanwhile be assured that I shall do the utmost of my power upon your just advertisement in what way may conduce most to the public safety. I doubt not but you will draw your forces together in Lancs. and have a careful eye upon the passages, while we discover their intentions that we may hereafter with greater assurance order our resolutions. For this army is in readiness.  
(A142)

*Brereton to C. of B.K.*

19-5-45 Nantwich. In obedience to your commands and hearing the enemy draw very near us, I went to our sieges on Saturday last to draw them off. And, though the officers who had taken so much pains and knew the enemy to be reduced to great straits and extremities were loth to lose the purchase, yet that night (according to orders) all were drawn away and (blessed be God) we have according to your commands made good our retreat to the several garrisons without any loss, though the enemy at the time our sieges were raised were nearer to Nantwich than we were. The King was then quartered himself at Chetwynd, the Princes at the Swan in Newport, and his whole army thereabouts within 16 miles of Nantwich. A troop of horse of my regt under Capt. Stone fell upon some of them that night in their quarters, took 60 horse, many men and arms and slew 20 in the fight. [Margin: 'These were of Sir Marmaduke Langdale his men'.] The night before the same troop beat up their quarters at Brewood near Wolverhampton, took 30 horse and many prisoners and slew and wounded many.

About Newport they refreshed themselves all day yesterday. We hear they have summoned in carriages this day to march towards us. I shall be so careful as I can to observe their motions and make the best advantage as may be for your service. What strength may be possibly spared out of your garrisons here (leaving them as secure as your commands are) shall not fail with speed to attend on the design of Lds. Leven and Fairfax, to whom I have sent three messengers with the full report of all proceedings here and a fourth stays to be gone with this day's intelligence.  
(A131)

*Brereton to Leven*

19-5-45 Nantwich. Your letter dated at Ripon 17 May [561] came to my hands this morning at two o'clock. For answer whereunto I have sent since Saturday

night three letters to you [only 567 in B.L.B.], two of them by messengers of Ld. Fairfax's and one of them by an express of my own. I have had constant intelligence of the King's motions for this three or four days last past, ever since they left the siege of Hawkesley House which is taken and burned. During this time the King quartered at Grafton,<sup>1</sup> Lord Shrewsbury's house; his forces quartered about Stourbridge, Bewdley, Dudley and thereabouts. The next night the King quartered at Bushbury within two miles of Wolverhampton and his forces about Brewood, Albrighton and Tong.

This night, being Friday last [16 May], one of my troops (belonging to Stafford under the command of Capt. Stone) fell upon the quarters of Col. Whorwood's regiment at Brewood nine miles from Stafford, killed divers of them, took 7-8 prisoners and some 30 horse. The next day, being Saturday last, the King marched and quartered at Mr Piggott's of Chetwynd, a mile on this side Newport, 16 miles from Nantwich, the two Princes at the Swan in Newport, [their forces] at Shifnal and thereabouts and part of them towards [Market] Drayton, 12 miles from Nantwich. Upon this night the same troop of mine, consisting of about 80, and some other horse to the number of two hundred fell upon their guard, which was very strong, and killed some 20 at least, took some prisoners and 60 horse without any loss. Only one man is wanting.

My last intelligence of yesterday's date I have hereof sent you; this morning's intelligence is that they rested yesterday in their quarters. But teams were summoned in for their remove this day, whereof you may be the better able to judge what is fit to be done. Since which time I cannot hear of their remove which makes me doubt lest Lt.Gen. Cromwell and Maj.Gen. Browne be diverted some other way; otherwise I conceive the enemy durst not so long have trifled and rested in any one place. Their motions were very speedy and quick for three or four days before, in so much as they were advanced so near our garrisons before we expected it that, if we had not been quick and nimble in breaking up the Leaguer and in our march, they might have interposed betwixt us and our garrisons. To prevent which upon Saturday night, as soon as I received the intelligence of their coming to Newport, I commanded the forces in the Leaguer to be drawn together. Part of those which were on the Welsh side came over a boat [i.e. ferry] at Eccleston<sup>2</sup> a mile from Chester, the rest marched over the fords three miles above Chester.<sup>3</sup> Through this our foot marched to the middle in water and afterwards the same day 20 miles to this garrison for the preservation thereof, the loss whereof would have been the loss of the whole county.

The reason of our stay so long before Chester and Hawarden was partly because we heard nothing from you or Ld. Fairfax, because we did not expect or believe the King would have been so quick in his motions this way and because we had great hopes of reducing Hawarden Castle and Chester, both being distressed, and very little powder left unspent in Chester and our mine almost ready to spring against Hawarden Castle. Notwithstanding which,

upon this advertisement and upon letters from Ld. Fairfax, we thought fit to remove and are now returned to our garrisons. Whence we intend to draw out so many men as can be spared to march into Lancs. to observe the command of the C. of B.K., and the time appointed by Ld. Fairfax upon Thursday next [22 May] at Barlow Moor, if the Lord permit and the enemy do not intervene, which I do not much doubt. I do not believe the enemy's strength to be above 8,000 at the most and those but meanly armed and accomodated. Notwithstanding we must leave our garrisons strong; if those now with us be admitted in to our numbers I hope we shall bring the numbers appointed by the C. of B.K.. That only which remains is expediting the march of your army that so we may not be enforced to give ground before your conjunction with us, who are nothing able to keep the passes into Lancs. against the King's whole army. Notwithstanding what we are able to perform shall not be omitted.

Post. One of my scouts, who is very faithful, returning this day from amongst them, brings intelligence that the King is certainly at Chetwynd and the Princes in Newport, that his design is to relieve Chester and, that being done, to fall down into Lancs. One of their capts., who was taken prisoner last day, whose name is Capt. Bulkeley<sup>4</sup> and who came with them from beyond Worcester, belonging to Prince Maurice's regt, saith as above said. And by other intelligence out of the enemy's quarters we are informed that it is a part of their design with a flying column to break into Scotland.<sup>5</sup> Your speedy answer is desired. But it would be a sad business if we in obedience to command should desert our own country and deliver up the same to the enemy's power and fury, and leave our garrisons exposed to danger to the end to keep the enemy out of Lancs., and if we should be disappointed of the assistance expected and if the Scottish army and Derby forces should not haste to join with us.

Post. I made bold to stay the messenger to gain more certain intelligence. If the [your] whole body do not march the next [i.e. nearest] way, it is humbly desired that the same party which was lately with us may be ordered speedily to return to us and the body of the army may come round about the otherward.

(A133)

#### Notes

- 1 This appears to be an error by Brereton's intelligence for Cofton Hall, belonging to a Mr Skinner, which was near Hawkesley House & is given by P.R.M., 739; I.C., 200, & Symonds, 167-8, as the royal sleeping place during the final attack upon Hawkesley. Symonds mentions Grafton but simply as a notable mansion close by.
- 2 Although Brereton mentions Eccleston & this was where the later ferry was, at this particular time it was up stream & nearer Eaton Hall, the home of the Grosvenors, and therefore known as Eaton-boat (*E.P.N.S. Cheshire* XLVII, 150).
- 3 The fords from round about Hawarden on the Welsh side across to Burton, Shotwick & Puddington on the Wirral side. (See 205 n.1 & P.S to 560.)
- 4 See 569 n.2.

- 5 Despite a despatch from the King to Montrose promising to come north to join him, there is not much evidence that the royalist higher command seriously contemplated sending 'a flying column to break into Scotland' at this moment. But, true or not, the passing on of this evidence to Leven by Brereton was a blunder. It had the opposite effect to the one Brereton had expected & it provided Leven with the excuse he needed for his retreat into Westmorland. Brereton seems to have realised his mistake almost immediately & tried to play the evidence down, but by then it was too late. Leven was reporting it in letters to others & in London Dr Robt. Baillie, the eminent Scottish divine who often had to exonerate the conduct of his countrymen to the English, was making much of it. (581, 605, 606, 610, 612; *T.L.A.C.S.* 67, 1957, 30-8; H.G. Guthry, *Memoirs*, 147; *Baillie II*, 272, 276.)

582

*Brereton to Leven*

19-5-45 Nantwich. Since the writing of this enclosed [581] which will present you with the affairs of the last three days, both concerning the enemy and ourselves, in further performance of your commands touching the strength and motion of the enemy, the number of ours and our friends' forces in these parts, with the time and place of their rendezvous whom we can possibly spare out of our garrisons to attend you, you may please to take notice that by the relation of a capt. of the enemy's whom we have taken prisoner (which agrees much with the conjectures of our friends that write to us discoveries of them) their number is about 7-8,000, their quarters are still at Newport, Chetwynd, Shifnal and thereabouts within about 14-6 miles of Nantwich,<sup>1</sup> where they have continued ever since Saturday night either to refresh themselves or wait advantages. The number [of our troops] which may be expected hence cannot be many because we have many garrisons which must be well secured according to the Parl.'s commands. Yet we hope to send hence (including those of Staffs. and Lancs. who are with us) as many as the Parl. requires. It is conceived that the most convenient place for our forces to attend you and Ld. Fairfax is at Barly [Barlow] Moor<sup>2</sup> in Lancs. The time (according to Ld. Fairfax's commands) Thursday next 22 May, if we receive not orders to the contrary or the enemy march not back again in the interim, for then our attendance there would be altogether unrequisite. But, unless your and Ld. Fairfax's forces be in Lancs. to meet us, it cannot be conceived how that party which we send hence, joining only with the Lancs. forces that they shall meet with there, can be anyway prevalent against this potent enemy and those that they shall meet with in that county [i.e. Lancs.]. So that hereby this county will be left to the mercy of the enemy, while we withdraw our forces thither where they will be unserviceable. We shall study obedience to the Parl.'s commands and your orders, and shall not doubt that you will have such a regard to our security that our loyalties may not prejudice us. If any alterations happen in the interim worthy your knowledge, you shall have

speedy notice and, if you can contrive how I may be more serviceable, I shall upon all your commands express myself your most faithful servant.  
(A134)

Notes

- 1 Market Drayton, which the enemy is mentioned as approaching in Brereton's previous letter to Leven (581) is about this distance from Nantwich, but the three places given here are some ten miles further off.
- 2 An open heath on the north bank of the Mersey, s. of Manchester & w. of Didsbury; now well within the boundary of the modern city.

583

*Cromwell to Capt. Stone* [Forwarded by Stone to Brereton with a covering note.]

19-5-45 Kenilworth. I heartily thank you for your intelligence. No man is more troubled (that I cannot advance to the assistance of friends) than myself. I must obey commands and truly, Sir, I am just now by orders which I received this day to return back upon important service. How be it a very great body of horse and dragoons is to attend the motions of the King's army. Of this I thought to give you notice to the end you may hold correspondence with it. The party will lie not far from Rugby and will be marching on northwards towards the Scottish army.

(A145)

584

*Col. John Booth to Brereton*

19-5-45 Warrington. I have seen a letter of yours to my father importing the approach of the King and Princes with a potent army. What you hear more of them I desire you would be pleased to impart by this bearer and what you desire to be done by the Lancs. gentlemen, who are all to be here this day. If you please to request me and my regt from them, I shall be in readiness to sacrifice myself for the remission [i.e. liberation] of my country. Notwithstanding any misconceits that may be held of me and whatever your opinion may be concerning me, yet I shall not refuse to take hands with you in this business to the uttermost hazard of my life and fortunes, now being the time wherein I may have the happiness to manifest my love to the public.

'your affectionate brother-in-law'

(A134)

585

*Lancs. Com. to Brereton*

19-5-45 Warrington. Although Col. John Booth did this day in the name of us

all write unto you desiring the speedy return of Col. Ashton's regt, for which we doubt not but in respect of our present condition and our [*sic ? your*] former promise you have already given special order, yet in regard of the King's speedy march and the condition of Liverpool (touching which we refer you to the relation of the bearer and for the supply whereof we intend that regt) we have thought fit again to send unto you and earnestly entreat you without delay (if they be not already marched) to dismiss them for Liverpool. At this general meeting a letter from Ld. Fairfax to yourself was produced [522], intimating an intention of an exchange for Sir Thos. Tyldesley. Now for the better confirmation of a former answer to you in that business, we are informed by Col. Shuttleworth<sup>1</sup> that an order of the Commons was in his hands which he sent to Sir John Meldrum, whereby it was ordered that he should not be exchanged or released and therefore (as also because of the great prejudice such an eminent man might do to the public in his malignant country in time of so great danger) we dare not give way against the said order.<sup>2</sup>

We desire you will give us intimation of what intelligence you have.

Rich. Shuttleworth, J. Booth, Peter Egerton, John Starkie, Robt. Hide [Hyde],<sup>3</sup> Thos. Birch, Rich. Haworth, Rowl. Hunt.  
(A136)

Notes

- 1 As Brereton, in a letter to Ld. Fairfax (615) about this parl. ordinance concerning Sir Thos Tyldesley, refers to *Lt. Col.* Shuttleworth forwarding it to Sir John Meldrum, this must be Nich. Shuttleworth, 2nd son of Rich. Shuttleworth sen. & brother to Rich. Shuttleworth jun., respectively M.P.s for Preston & Clitheroe. It is impossible to tell which of the two Richards is the signatory to this item. (93 n.1; B. & P.; *C.W.T.L.*; *Discourse*.)
- 2 See 407, 522 & 615 for the Tyldesley exchange & its complications.
- 3 Of Denton, Lancs. e. of Manchester, a junior branch of the Hydes of Hyde, Chesh., but the division of land had occurred as far back as the 13th century. This Robt. Hyde had assisted in the defence of Manchester in 1642 & was an active com. man. (Orm.III, 810; *C.W.T.L.*; Blackwood.)

586

*Brereton's order for Ashton's regt to go into Lancs.*

19-5-45 Nantwich. It is this day ordered that Col. Ashton with his regt of foot now in Chesh. march into Lancs. and that the said Col. Ashton do bring the said regt as complete as possible to the rendezvous at Barlow Moor in Lancs. upon Thursday and there remain in a body until further order, according to the command received from the C. of B.K. and Ld. Fairfax.

(A137)

*Brereton to Sir. Geo. Booth and the rest of the Grand Com. of Chesh.*  
 19-5-45 Nantwich. This enclosed Ordinance of Parl. [494] will acquaint you with the great trust and confidence both Houses have in your care for the advancement of the Kingdom's service in these parts, which I am commanded to acquaint you withal. It is thought that your presence here in the interim would much further the present employment and prepare the future according to this order for your engagement by acquainting you thereby with the state of all things as I shall have to leave them. If it please you that I may be made happy with your advice and company at Nantwich, I shall observe it a great advantage to the public and be much guided by you.<sup>1</sup>  
 (A131)

## Note

- 1 As we know that the other parl. ord. (495) renewing Brereton's command had also been received by him, so that Brereton had not got to consult the Com. for 40 days and from his past practices was unlikely to wish to do so, and as the reluctance of the Booths and some of the other senior dep. lts. to come south to Nantwich was obvious (Brereton commented on it to Swinfen in 529), it seems likely that this letter was written with tongue in cheek.

*Brereton to Col. Bright, gov. of Sheffield Castle* [see 160 n.1]  
 19-5-45 [Nantwich] The enemy approaching these parts, I am constrained to provide for the safety of some of those whom I should be most unwilling should fall into the enemy's power and mercy. I intended to take my children to London, if this unexpected command had not prevented, but so soon as I shall go up I shall take them with me (if the Lord please). In the meantime I beseech you for some few weeks direct some convenient quarter in town, where I shall take care that ample satisfaction be given and, if any enemy approach, I hope you will admit them a room in the castle. And because I have had sad experience of the enemy's dealings with me in sweeping away several times when they have come all that was mine, I have thought fit no more to try their dealings, but have caused all my cattle and horses to be removed towards you, and desire that you will be pleased to direct some place where they may be in safety for the present, and I will give full satisfaction and be ready to do you any service in this or any other way which falls into my power.  
 [Summary of P.S.: Gives news of the King quartering 'yesterday' (error for Friday) night at Bushbury, Saturday and Sunday at Newport, of the raising of the sieges of Chester and Hawarden castle and of the raids by Stone's troop on royalist quarters on Friday and Saturday nights. Believes enemy will move speedily towards Lancs.; no considerable force to interrupt them unless Scots speed this way.]  
 (A132)

589

*Capt. Vallett to gov. of Nantwich* [Maj. Croxton]

19-5-45 Beeston Castle. I thank you for gratifying my request in discharging the boy. As for Capt. Walker, I perceive you conceive him mortally wounded, but there is no such danger. His chirurgeon gives him good encouragement, and he [Walker] is strongly opinionated of his abilities and says he will employ no other. I conceive his removal might prejudice his health and I am sure my proposition for depositing the money is soldier-like and reasonable. In case (which I hope he will not) that he be in danger, your request shall be granted.  
(A135)

590

*Sir Dudley Wyatt to Sir John Mennes, gov. of North Wales*

19-5-45 Newport. I have now found an opportunity to serve you and I hope happily. Sir John Pennington<sup>1</sup> being ready to die, I went to Endymion Porter and divers others and solicited on your behalf for you to enjoy his honour and employment. And by this and other means which I used, by the Prince's soliciting them, with the considerations of his Majesty on your own behalf:—in fine, I believe if you come down and meet us in or about Chester the business is done. I need therefore say no more to you, but remember my service to Robin Jones.

[P.S.] We are now within 28 miles of Chester<sup>2</sup> with a sufficient army (God willing) to do the business of those parts. I desire you not to dispose of any of those things which you have with you of the Earl of Leicester<sup>3</sup> till I have the opportunity to see and speak with you.  
(A139)

## Notes

1 Pennington and Mennes were capt's in the royal navy prior to the war. When, in the summer of 1642, Charles discovered that the Lord Admiral, the Earl of Northumberland, and his recently appointed Deputy, the Earl of Warwick, were pro-Parl., he ordered Pennington to take charge of the fleet. But Warwick brought the greater part of it over to the Parl. (*K.W.*, 104-5.)

Early in 1644 the 'governorship' of North Wales went to Sir John Mennes. This included only the three north-western counties of Anglesey, Carnarvon and Merioneth and one of its principal tasks was maritime; keeping the sea lanes to Ireland open.

Wyatt had been Mennes's lt. gov., but if he was hoping by this piece of lobbying to step into his shoes, he was to be disappointed. After Naseby, presumably because of the absolute necessity of keeping a tight military grip on North Wales, Langdale was appointed to the governorship. (Dodd, 90, 97; *Clenennau* II, 17.)

2 The distance is more like 40 miles.

3 In 1642 Parl. had forced Charles to make Leicester Ld. Lt. of Ireland in succession to Strafford. Charles forbade him to take up his post, however, and early in 1644 gave it to Ormonde. (*K.W.*, 292)

591

*Ellis Andrews to 'Deare Sweete Cozen'*

19-5-45 Newport. I writ a former letter (which was left to be conveyed to you) with Mr Alanson of Wem<sup>1</sup> at Shrewsbury, which I think did there miscarry, and therefore I shall repeat the substance of that in this.

My hearty service to yourself and your husband. If I knew how to retreat to Bridgnorth I would not forbear – under the protection of this army – to give you a visit. Since I saw you my fortune hath been various and, against my will, I have seen London and there by a strange chance had the happiness to see your very fair and virtuous sister at her house. The circumstances this gent will inform you. If I had had my liberty, I would not have been beholding to fortune for that blessing but would have made it my business, not my chance, to wait upon her. She and hers are well, all cavaliers. She wants nothing but peace and a good husband, which I wish her such as may deserve her. I pray you let me receive a line from you at Capt. Corbet's<sup>2</sup> at Bridgnorth, by which I may understand that you are in such health as I shall rejoice in.

(A140)

## Notes

- 1 A Wm. Alanson/Allenson of Wem served under Col. Legge (C.C.C. 1299).
- 2 There were several families of the name of Corbet in Salop and most of them were royalist in sympathy. An active officer was Capt. Rich. Corbet of Shawbury, brother of Sir Vincent Corbet (9), and it is quite possible that he is the Capt. Corbet referred to here (*S.A.S.T.* 4th ser. 2, 247).

592

*Ellis Andrews to Mistress Mary Sanderson*

19-5-45 [Newport] I had rather be chidden for a presumption than a neglect, else I had not been now your trouble. This gent., the bearer, tells me you sometimes mention me. Be assured I do rarely forget you and your related, to whom I am much a servant. If a letter might include a story, I would have given you account of a year's travail. I am as much troubled that you have not changed your name with the advantage of a good husband, as that I myself have been all this while beating on a flint for no more fire than a spark to let me see my unhappiness. The change of either of our fortunes will be much desired and yours much implored by your most humble servant.

(A141)

593

*Order for the Rendezvous at Barlow Moor of Lancs. forces*

20-5-45 Warrington. It is ordered that in obedience to the command of the C. of B.K. and the directions of Lds. Leven, Fairfax and Sir Wm. Brereton, Col.

Ashton's and Col. Holland's regts, excepting Maj. Ratcliffe's [Radcliffe] company, shall forthwith have directions from this Board [i.e. Lancs. Com.] to march to Barlow Moor, the place appointed for rendezvous, to be there Thursday next (the day appointed by the said Lords) to join with the forces of Chesh. and Staffs. against the common enemy; either regt to be commanded by their own officers. And, for horse, that Col. Nich. Shuttleworth shall send to the place at the time aforesaid 60 horse, Capt. Butterworth his troop, Col. Dodding one troop consisting of 50 horse, Maj. Robinson and Capt. Hindley their troops; the horse to be commanded by the ancientest officers among them.' Vera copia ita testor Geo. Pendleton.  
(A157)

## Note

- 1 As they were M.P.s and no exemptions or postponements occurred for Lancs., the Self Denying Ordinance should have brought about the resignation of the five following Lancs. Officers: Cols. Alex. Rigby, John Moore, Ralph Ashton and Rich. Shuttleworth sen. and Lt. Col. Rich. Shuttleworth jun., eldest son of Rich. Shuttleworth sen. (See 627 n.1 for the problem of their resignations and replacements.) The Col. Nich. Shuttleworth here referred to was a younger son of Rich. Shuttleworth sen. and brother to Rich. Shuttleworth jun. Maj. Rich. Radcliffe of Radcliffe Hall [later Pool Fold], Manchester, and Capt. Edw. Butterworth of Belfield nr. Rochdale had been among the defenders of Manchester in Sept. 1642. Radcliffe's command of Manchester's permanent town guard is obviously the reason for his exemption from this order. Robinson was from Euxton in Leyland Hundred and is shown in the Preface to the *Discourse of the Warr* to have been its author. Little is known of Hindley, but he is mentioned in the account of the first siege of Lathom as having had a successful skirmish with its garrison just before the siege began in Feb. 1644. (*C.W.T.L.*; *Discourse*; Broxap; B. & P.; *P.P.*; Blackwood.) For Col. Dodding see 93 n.1.

594

*Lancs. Com. to Brereton*

20-5-45 Warrington. This day about 11 o'clock we received your letter [not in B.L.B.], wherein a place of rendezvous is appointed, which we shall with all diligence endeavour to observe. For which purpose we, being here at a general meeting, are despatching warrants and general directions [see 593] to the several forces by us designed for this service, in answer to the expectations of the C. of B.K. for their speedy march to the place appointed. Only that the time is so short that we doubt they cannot be got together as soon as Thursday. But we shall use all our endeavours to expedite them. But as touching the place you have appointed, we must needs acquaint you that that part of the country hath been very much exhausted of provision, for besides the spoil of Prince Rupert's army marching through them, the Scottish forces (lately with you) quartered among them, both coming and going. And now

the country adjacent to Manchester having in some places of it God's hand of visitation of sickness amongst them, we leave it to your consideration whether some more fit place might not be chosen in Chesh.

[P.S.] We doubt not but you remember how we have formerly sent great quantities of provision into Chesh., both for our own and other forces, and therefore we hope you will send with your forces a full proportion of victuals to the rendezvous.

Rich. Shuttleworth, J. Booth, Peter Egerton, Jo. Bradshaw, Jo. Starkie, Rob. Hyde, Thos. Birch, Rich. Haworth, Rob. [*sic* for Row.] Hunt.  
(A143)

## 595

*Col. B[art.] Vermuyden<sup>1</sup> to Brereton*

20-5-45 Sowe.<sup>2</sup> It hath pleased the C. of B.K. to appoint me to wait upon the King's motions with a brigade of 2,000 horse and 500 dragoons. I hope to be this night in Coleshill and thence advance according to my intelligence. I desire you to let me know where and in what condition the King is and from time to time advertise me of his motions. I shall not fail to communicate unto you what intelligence I shall at any time receive. So that keeping a continual mutual correspondence we may be better able (by God's blessing) upon occasions to assist each other.

(A154)

## Notes

- 1 Col. Bartholomew Vermuyden, a Dutch professional soldier, probably a relative – perhaps a younger brother – of the famous engineer Cornelius, who was responsible for draining much of the Fen country. He commanded a cavalry regiment in the Eastern Association and fought at Marston Moor under Cromwell. After the pursuit of the King northwards in May, 1645, he rejoined Cromwell at Newport Pagnell in June but, before Naseby was fought, had obtained leave to go to Holland on urgent family business. (*D.N.B.* under Cornelius: *Marston Moor; Eastern Assoc.*)
- 2 Named from R. Sowe; now called Walgrave-on-Sowe and an n.e. suburb of Coventry (*E.P.N.S. XIII, Warks.*, 188).

## 596

*Brereton to Col. J. Booth*

20-5-45 [Nantwich] It is true I sent a former and yesterday another letter importing the nearer advance of the King and Princes, who then were and, for anything I know, yet are at Newport and on this side Newport. I have sent divers letters to the Lancs. Dep. Lts. and Com., according to the general commands and intimations I have received from the C. of B.K. and from Lds. Leven and Fairfax. Some of these letters I sent to Manchester and some to

Ormskirk, which I doubt not are communicated to you before this time, importing the appointment made of the forces of Lancs., Chesh. and Staffs., so many as can be spared out of their garrisons, to be rendezvoused upon Barlow Moor upon Thursday next, which is the day appointed by Ld. Fairfax to that purpose. Whereof I doubt not but that you have received advertisement before this time, according to which I purpose (if the Lord permit and if the enemy do not be intervening) to be there and to bring such forces as can be spared, and to receive such assistance as from yourself and the rest of the country may be joined therewith in pursuance of the commands they have already received. Wherein no man, notwithstanding any former differences that have been betwixt any of us, shall more willingly comply nor more cordially join for the advancement of this service than your brother-in-law to serve you.

(A135)

597

*Brereton to Fairfax/? Leven<sup>1</sup>*

20-5-45 10[? am] Nantwich. I have formerly by several expresses given you an account at large of our affairs in these parts, that we have raised our Leaguer and made good our retreat to our garrisons, and of the King's progress likewise towards these parts: that he came to Newport upon Saturday last and there continued upon Sunday and Monday. Now I have thought good by these lines to give you this further account: that this morning it is generally reported that the King's forces marched this day and [? 'will be'; see P.S.] quartered this night at about [Market] Drayton and the foot upon Bloreheath, ten miles from this town. I have sent out to gain certain intelligence hereof and do believe it very probable. I am preparing all the forces this county can spare (leaving our garrisons, all which we leave behind us sufficiently manned according to the command of the C. of B.K.) to march into Lancs. to join with the forces of that county and Staffs., which I have (in pursuance of your orders) appointed to rendezvous at Barlow Moor near Manchester upon Thursday next, and shall continue and employ the same together in a body as may most conduce to the public advantage until we receive further orders. But if the King's advance be quick and he attempt to make his passage into that county, it cannot be expected that we should be able to resist his whole army and make good the passages upon the river which are very many. I doubt not you are sufficiently sensible of the sad effects which may ensue if the King should break into Lancs. before the forces intended to be employed to encounter them be united. Therefore in the assurance of your zeal and forwardness to advance this service, I shall not doubt but you will apprehend it necessary to expedite the conjuncture and advance of the forces designed for this service.

[P.S.] Since the writing of the lines above some of my scouts are returned and have taken prisoner near unto [Market] Drayton some officers who inform

that the army was upon the march and intends this night to quarter at Drayton, ten miles hence, and Norton [in Hales; text has Morton] and other places seven or eight miles hence.

(A144)

Note

- 1 No name is given in the headings to 597 or 598. The first is addressed to 'My Lord' and the second to 'Right honourable and my very good Lord', both more appropriate to Fairfax, as Brereton usually addressed Leven as 'Your Excellency'. Nevertheless – and despite the fact that it contains several explicit references to Leven – the marginal note to 598 says 'Letter to Ld. Fairfax and Ld. Leven to hasten'. It would seem likely that to save time roughly duplicate letters were written to Fairfax and Leven at this period. Both were in the same area and both were supposed to be sending Brereton assistance. Some letters would require alterations to fit them for each particular commander; others (such as 597) were so vague and general as to need none. This may apply to 581–2, nominally addressed to Leven, as well as to 597–8, and would explain why no copy had apparently been kept of the important letter to Fairfax (referred to in 598) telling him that the 22 May rendezvous was to take place at Barlow Moor. 581–2 give this information to Leven and could simply have been altered to make them suitable for Fairfax.

598

*Brereton to Ld. Fairfax* [See note to 597]

20-5-45 Nantwich. I hope my letter which I sent yesterday hath arrived, wherein I gave you a relation of the motion and strength of the enemy and of the time and place that all the forces which may be spared out of these parts may attend you and Ld Leven in Lancs. (the time being Thursday next – prefixed by you – the place Barlow Moor near Manchester which is conceived to be most convenient for the issuing forth of forces to stop all passages to the enemy) [not in B.L.B. but letters to Leven fixing Barlow Moor are 581–2]. I hope you will see it fit that both your army and the Scots should meet us there, both for the safeguard of these and those parts and terror of the enemy. By God's leave I shall not fail to wait upon your Lordship and his Excellency at that place of rendezvous with all my horse and as many foot as possibly may be spared out of these garrisons, which must be left better manned than I intended, because at this present time I have notice that the violence of the enemy is bent upon this country. A letter [590], whereof this enclosed is a copy (the original being so bloody that it is not fit to present it to your view), will discover the intention of the enemy to be for Chester, and then by all probability they must needs come by Hale Ford into Lancs. So that it will be very requisite that passage were well secured. This enclosed letter was taken in the pocket of the Lt. of the King's own troop who, together with one Capt. Browne, were brought prisoner this afternoon to Nantwich. I hear Ld. Leven intends to send some part of his Scottish forces by Notts. to intercept the

King's march that way to the north, but now the design being here I believe the greatest advantage may be made if both your armies will be in these parts. [P.S.] The enemy is at [Market] Drayton and at Woore within six miles of Nantwich. Though I had spared to bring near the number of foot which the C. of B.K. required at the rendezvous, yet the enemy being within three hours march of this place, I am forced to leave most of them behind to secure the garrisons. But I resolve with God's assistance to march tomorrow with so many as can be spared and with the horse and dragoons.  
(A139)

599

*Brereton to the C. of B.K.*

20-5-45 Nantwich. Apprehending it my duty to give you frequent intelligence of your affairs in these parts that your directions may give life to our service, I have sent this messenger to acquaint you with our condition and return with your commands. The King's forces marched this day from Newport (where they have stayed ever since Saturday refreshing themselves) unto [Market] Drayton ten miles hence. Many of them quarter this night at Whitchurch, at Woore and other villages within six miles of this garrison. An intercepted letter wherein this enclosed is a copy [590] (the original being so be-blooded over that it is not fit to be presented to your view) will certify to you that the King's design is directly for Chester, where I believe he intends to increase his army out of Wales and infest our garrisons in this country. This letter was found in Capt. Browne's pocket who was this afternoon brought prisoner to Nantwich together with the Lt. of the King's own troop. They both acknowledged this to be the King's resolution before they march into Lancs. In my judgement this resolution of his Majesty's gives much advantage to your service and the final period of these unnatural wars, if this opportunity might be made use of. Doubtless if the Scottish and northern armies and Lt. Gen. Cromwell's forces did hasten this way, the King and his army, being drawn into this angle of the kingdom, might be surprised before they grow too numerous, either of these armies at present equalling his in number, which according to my best intelligence cannot surmount 7-8,000. I have long expected the assistance of each of these and wonder at the cause of their delay. Should they protract their advance now it would expose most of your friends in these parts to ruin, which would be such a loss that could ever hardly be repaired.

I had made preparation (according to your commands) to march tomorrow with the number you required to Barlow Moor (the place of our rendezvous upon Thursday next) in Lancs. But, upon this afternoon's intelligence it is conceived necessary to leave a greater strength of foot in our garrisons. Yet, with as many foot as may be spared and my horse and dragoons, I resolve, through God's assistance, to set forth tomorrow. I know I need not implore

your more special regard at the present to this miserable country, which otherwise will be utterly desolate. But if your wisdoms thought fit to hasten the assistance of the fore-mentioned forces, through God's blessing on us I am confident the King's army would never find the way out hence, except it were by shipping into Ireland.

(A140)

## 600

*Brereton to Cromwell*

20-5-45 [Nantwich] I have received yours of 18 May to myself and another of 19 May to Capt. Stone [573; 583]; in that to me you writ of your readiness to march to our assistance, which we were very glad of, and the other to Stone of your being called back by order of Parl., which we must submit unto, and of having put off a strong party of horse and dragoons that are appointed to attend the King's motions, which now appear to be this way, he now being within three hours march of this garrison. Besides a letter newly intercepted from Sir Dudley Wyatt to Sir John Mennes [590] (wherein he mentions the desperate sickness of Sir John Pennington and offers his service to promote him to the King) [text has *Parl.*] intimates no less but that their intentions are to clear these parts. In which respect and in answer [to what] you writ that the forces designed to follow the King bend their course towards Nottingham to meet the Scots, I should think it more advantage if they would move this way. The body of the Scots is so great that, if these are added to them, it would prevent any accommodation afforded them if they marched separately from being sufficient. Besides there is the inconvenience of their marching to join together, their marches at the present being so far distant one from the other.

(A145)

## 601

*Brereton to Sir Robt. King*

20-5-45 Nantwich. I have received many of your engagements by letters and often blushed to read them because the public interests have so employed me that I could not show my particular respect and gratitude, but nothing has so much obliged me to you as Lt. Col. Jones has done by your favour to me in him, whom I find every day more deserving than you related. Had I had time and conveniency not many days ago, it would have been a pleasure to me to deliver to you how the affairs of these parts stood then, when all things went on so happily that we had hopes to see this as peaceable a county as most in the kingdom. In a short time anyone might have rid through the county without the least suspicion of an enemy, Chester and Hawarden Castle being close besieged and brought to great extremities and Beeston Castle blocked up on both sides. But the King's approach hath changed the face of all for the

present. Upon the last Lord's day we raised our sieges both before Chester and Hawarden. And you will acknowledge it high time to do so and intend our own safety, when the King's whole army was nearer to Nantwich (our chiefest garrison) than our forces were and all Trevor's, Sir Wm. Vaughan's and Chester's strength waited to fall upon us, knowing the King's approach would force us to raise our sieges. Yet (blessed be God) we made a safe retreat to all our garrisons. The greatest strength we have drawn to Nantwich; the most part of the rest we have left in Tarvin, Hooton, Puddington garrisons situated within five miles about Chester, which will much straiten their quarters till it shall please God we may return again to siege them. The King's army hath continued ever since Saturday night within 16 miles of Nantwich, the King himself at Mr Piggott's of Chetwynd, the two Princes at the Swan in Newport, their whole army thereabouts. Some of them have been taken at [Market] Drayton. A troop of my regt under the command of Capt. Stone hath upon Friday night last beaten up their quarters in Brewood in Staffs. and taken 30 horse and divers prisoners of Col. Whorwood's regt. Upon Saturday night the same troop with the assistance of some more horse fell upon Langdale's regt at Bishop's Offley and took 60 horse, many prisoners and killed 20 in the fight. And I hear the last night they fell on them again and took 140 horse, but of the certainty of this I am not assured. Upon Thursday, by God's leave, I intend to march 1,500 horse and foot to Barlow Moor in Lancs. whereof I hope at our rendezvous we shall meet with the Scottish and Ld. Fairfax's armies.

[P.S.] Since the writing of this letter two prisoners were brought hither. One was the Lt. of the King's own troop. There was another taken in whose pocket was this enclosed [590], which will acquaint you with the King's intention concerning these parts – that he means to go by Chester to Lancs.

(A138)

602

*Com. of Tarvin to Brereton*

20-5-45 2 pm [Tarvin] Even now Thos. Welchman's wife of Chester, being turned out of Chester, came to us and tells us that Ralph Bennett (our foot post) was taken prisoner when he went with your letter to Lt. Col. Jones on Saturday night and was hanged in Chester yesterday. He died with much courage and told them he was hanged for his other sins and not for his relation to this cause. We have two letter carriers now in Tarvin. We think to mention them unto you that (if you and the Council of War think fit) they may undergo the like censure. We desire answer of our former letter.

Rob. Venables, John Bruen, Ro. Gregg.

(A146)

603

*Brereton's Pass for Mistress Jane Marrow* [see 336]

20-5-45 Nantwich. For as much as the bearers' hereof, Mistress Jane Marrow and Mistress Mary Houlmott with her little son, hath urgent occasions to travel to Coventry and London, these are will and require you to permit and suffer them and the said Mistress Marrow's two men servants and a maid servant and cloak bag, containing wearing apparel and writings, and their horses quietly to pass all your guards and scouts thereunto without any let, molestation or hindrance.

(A136)

604

*Brereton's Pass to Mr Harper*

[c. 20-5-45] Upon consideration had of a certificate from the doctors of physic and chirurgeons of Chester, whereby it appears that the bearer, Mr Harper, is diseased with a fistula in his eye near the bone and gristle of his nose, and which may prove irremediable if not timely prevented, and that in regard the cure thereof hath not happened in their practices, therefore they do advise him to address himself to Mr Watson, the King's chirurgeon, or to the College of Physicians and Chirurgeons for his cure, as by the certificate aforesaid appeareth; these are to will and require you and all others whom it may concern that you permit and suffer him with his wife, woman and man servants and their horses to pass the several guards, garrisons and other quarters to London peaceably and quietly without any molestation.

(A135)

605

*Leven to Ld. Fairfax* [Margin: wrongly sent to Brereton; received Knutsford 22 May]

21-5-45 Ripon. I received your Lordship's letter and had the same intelligence from Sir Wm. Brereton. Whereupon I resolve presently and without delay to break up and march (seeing I hear the enemy's design bends that way) timely to oppose his advance (by God's assistance). Meantime I offer to your consideration if it were not now necessary to draw off your forces from Pontefract and secure York with them, ordering your horse to lie in the securest places about Pontefract so as to preserve the country from the excursions of the enemy. I have it by received intelligence that the King intends with a flying army to break through to Scotland. But because that flying army may possibly fall on to this county when we remove, I hope you will carefully advert thereto and we shall not be wanting to apply timely assistance where the greatest necessity of public safety shall require.

[P.S.] I must follow the way by Westmorland, as well because I cannot otherwise conveniently carry my artillery with me as to give timely stop to the enemy's advance, having certified Sir Wm. Brereton that I shall commit no delay, while I (God willing) be here where I may be most useful to you. (A155)

606

*Leven to Brereton* [Margin: Wrongly sent to Fairfax; delivered to Brereton at Manchester by Mr Roote Friday noon (23 May)]

21-5-45 7 am Ripon. I received your several letters, whereupon I resolved to break up presently and march with as much swiftness as can be and, seeing his designs bend that way, which you express in your letter, I shall direct my course by Westmorland timely to oppose his advance and as well to assist you as to stop his breaking into Scotland. If you find not yourself in that condition as to keep ground, draw back safely upon me and I shall commit no delay by night or day to be present with you, hoping (by God's blessing) to recover anything that may be lost in that interim. As touching the sending a party to you, I cannot spare so much strength as may do you good and it might endanger the army to divide. There was no other way to get my artillery brought along with me than this way which I must follow. Whereof I thought good to certify you and shall continue to give you timely notice of my motions, as I expect the like from you to know the enemy's. (A156)

607

*Brereton to C. of B.K.* [Sent by Geo. Gleave from Knutsford]

21-5-45 Knutsford. Though nothing can be more grievous (except an absolute defeat) than the deserting and delivering up of this country which hath been so real [i.e. sincere] and faithful to the cause, and will therefore be exposed to more misery than falls to their lot, to be subjected to the enemy's fury and revenge, and though the strength of horse now with us might have been a great preservation to the country by snatching up and restraining stragglers and small parties from plundering and driving away cattle and the like, notwithstanding, in obedience to your commands which I will always make the rule of my actions and according to the intimation received from Lds. Leven and Fairfax, I have withdrawn my horse and dragoons and am upon my march towards the rendezvous at Barlow Moor tomorrow, which is the time by Ld. Fairfax appointed for the uniting the Chesh., Lancs. and Staffs. forces. The foot assigned for this service were drawn out of our garrisons and almost ready to march, when we received intelligence of the enemy's approach and discovered by letters intercepted and by the relation of prisoners and by the course the enemy seems to hold, that their first design was for Chester and

then to clear this county and so for Lancs. and the north. Whereupon, upon serious debate, it was resolved to be of absolute necessity to strengthen our garrisons with more foot, and the gents. and inhabitants were very importunate that this might be done. Their first design, as the prisoners say, will be against Tarvin and Hooton, which they apprehend must either be taken in or Chester remains half besieged.

Thence it may come to pass I may not be able to bring so forces as I desire, but I shall hope to bring some choice dragoons, which are firelocks mounted, which may do good service, and the number of horse appointed, though I am constrained to leave many horse in and about our garrisons to protect the country as long as they are able and then to retreat to the armies.

The King's march is slow and with much ease, as well knowing there is no army near to disturb and annoy them. He marched yesterday seven miles from Newport to [Market] Drayton and the adjacent parts. Which way he may incline this day you shall hear speedily. But I was this day advertised that there was another army came last night to Newport, their number I heard not nor whence they come. But I do imagine out of South Wales; it is most probable they are Gerard's forces. Before which time their number (as I believe) was not above 8-9,000 at the utmost, the most whereof were horse. The forces of Ld. Byron and of North Wales are upon their march to unite with the other, quartered last night at Malpas and Sir Wm. Vaughan's (as it is said) at Whitchurch.<sup>1</sup> I have no more time to enlarge myself, being now upon my march towards the rendezvous at Barlow Moor tomorrow, being the time appointed by Ld., Fairfax. Whence I purpose (by God's assistance) so to order the forces under my command as may be most for the advantage of this cause. But I do believe it to be most impossible to keep the passes into Lancs., which I know to be very many and, in the judgement of all those soldiers with whom I have conferred, it is conceived of most dangerous consequence, seeing there are many of them: as Hale ford, Runcorn ford below Warrington and Thelwall ford, Irlam ford, Crossford bridge, Ashton bridge, Carrington bridge, Northenden boat and ford, Stockport bridge<sup>2</sup> where Prince Rupert passed last year, and divers other indefensible passes wherewith I am well acquainted; beside I have heard of divers other fords and passes.

So, it being admitted that these passes are not to be made good, I have and will hasten the Scots army and in the meantime, according to your command, will observe Lds. Leven and Fairfax's orders. I resolve (by God's assistance) to omit nothing that may possibly be affected by me to advance the public service.

Post. Since I writ this letter I received one from Ld. Leven [605: this was not received until 22 May, the P.S. must be of this date] which intimates that he intends to march by Westmorland into Lancs., which will be so tedious that we cannot hope for this assistance in due time. And the Lancs. forces with the Chesh. and Staffs. horse (I being forced to leave my foot to service our

garrisons) will be neither able to defend the passes or make opposition to the enemy, who now grow so potent that if Sir Tho. Fairfax or Lt. Gen. Cromwell be not speedily sent into these parts with a good strength the north is in much danger to be lost.

Take this into your serious thoughts and believe it: if your forces be not otherwise disposed the north is in much danger to be lost and your faithfulest servants oppressed, whilst your forces under Lt. Gen. Cromwell are called back from the pursuit of the enemy and the Scotch forces remain further from them, as the bearer can inform you.

(A146)

Notes

- 1 Either Brereton's intelligence was wide of the mark or he was encouraging these rumours of accessions to the King's army (which he admitted was no more than 9,000) in order to justify to the C. of B.K. the large number of his troops that he had left in garrisons and alarm them into sending him assistance. The King had ordered Gerard to join him, but the latter had not yet left S. Wales. Byron did come to meet the King, but not until the royal army reached Stone two days later. He came with only a small party and his object was to persuade the King to march on northwards into Lancashire. So far from augmenting the King's army with troops under his command in Chester and N. Wales, he pleaded that they should re-inforce him. (Byron's 'Account', 4-6; Woolrych, 104-10.)
- 2 All these are crossings of the Mersey, then the boundary between Chesh. & Lancs.

608

*Lancs. Commanders to Brereton*

21-5-45 Warrington. In the absence of the rest of the gents. we opened your letter [not in B.L.B.] and, upon perusal thereof, have as far as in us lay taken course for the securing of Hale ford and Runcorn, but for Liverpool they have left us in a strange condition, having designed only Col. Booth's regt to keep Liverpool and Warrington. The red regt is commanded to Barlow Moor, so is Col. Holland's. The rest of the forces are intended to stay at Ormskirk till we hear from you of the nearer approach of the enemy, which we desire you to signify unto us with all speed as occasion shall be offered. What other passages happeneth we desire you to certify unto us and, assure yourself, you shall find us as ready and willing to observe any commands that may tend to the advancement of the public service whilst we live.

Peter Egerton, J. Booth, G. Ireland.

(A143)

609

*Col. Vermuyden to Capt. Stone* [See 616]

21-5-45 [Sutton Coldfield] Being commanded by the C. of B.K. to wait upon

the King's motions with a considerable body of horse, I am now come to Sutton Coldfield. I desire you would be pleased to send me what intelligence you can that I may be the more able to perform the trust reposed in me. I shall be ready to be serviceable to you in anything I shall be able to upon all opportunities. I desire there may be a mutual correspondence whilst I remain in these parts.  
(A149)

*Brereton to Leven*

22-5-45 6 am Knutsford. These lines may give your Excellency assurance that I am upon my march towards the rendezvous upon Barlow Moor this day, according to your and Ld. Fairfax's commands, having left the enemy's body yesterday at [Market] Drayton and betwixt that place and Nantwich. There I do believe they either rested yesterday or removed to Whitchurch, seven miles from Nantwich, which is their way towards Chester and directly contrary to the way towards Newark. So as nothing seems more probable than that their design is (according to Dudley Wyatt's letter whereof I sent you a copy yesterday)<sup>1</sup> first to clear Chesh. and then for Lancs. and the north. Therefore it is so apparent that their course and design is against this county that I was thought fit to be importunately desired by all the officers and gents then present in our garrisons that those foot which were prepared and were ready speedily to have marched might be stayed in our garrisons for the defence thereof. Which foot, being so small a party and the enemy being so near and so strong in horse and dragoons, it was conceived would not march without danger. So I can bring no more foot than one regt and some choice dragoons – firelocks which were soldiers in Ireland lately mounted. With which and such others as may be joined thereto, we expect your orders and commands, but desire herewith to make you acquainted that it is not to be expected that we should be able to maintain our fords and passes out of Chesh. into Lancs., which are very many and indefensible, unless we had ten times a greater strength than I expect. So that nothing can give prevention thereunto but the advance of your army the next [i.e. nearest] way. Post.<sup>2</sup> Since I writ the lines above I have received your letter [605] directed to me but, as I perceive, intended for Ld. Fairfax, which hath occasioned the more speedy sending away of this messenger. In the meantime if you remove your forces further from us and the enemy advance upon us, you may judge how impossible it will be for us to make any defence, unless that brigade and part of the army formerly with us or your whole army had been speeded to us the next [nearest] way. Which, if I had not been misinformed, had been for most advantage and convenience and might, by God's blessing and all probability, have given a knock to the enemy's advance and strengthening themselves, as now it is possible they may do in Lancs. unless your army speed up.

Your speedy order is desired. I do not believe there is any present danger of [the enemy] relieving Carlisle or attempting anything against Scotland by a flying army, if your army were near to make resistance in Lancs. or Chesh. I fear nothing more than that, when they hear you are so far advanced that way, they may wheel about the other way. Nothing can so much prevent [this] as [your] marching the next [nearest] way and with speed.  
(A142)

Notes

- 1 The copy of Wyatt's letter [590] could have been included with 597, or 598, which, as the note to 597 shows, could have been intended for Leven as well as Ld. Fairfax. Although both are dated 20 May, they could have been held until the following day for the P.S. to have been added.
- 2 This understandably rather incoherent P.S. has been given largely as written. Its meaning is plain enough.

611

*Leven to Brereton* [Sent with 606 when this was re-directed.]  
22-5-45 8 am Catterick. You will pardon the mistake of this letter which, being intended for yourself, was sent to York to Ld. Fairfax. I have nothing to add since, but that we shall accelerate our march with as much swiftness as can be, intending this night to be at Bowes.  
(A156)

612

*Leven to Brereton*  
22-5-45 Rugsby [Rokeby].<sup>1</sup> I received your letter of 20 May with the enclosed [598 and 590] and those also of former date concerning the motions and strength of the enemy and the place of your rendezvous [581-2]. Where to I returned your answer with the gent. whom I sent express to acquaint you with our resolution, but the letter by a mistake in the address was sent to York to Ld. Fairfax and his letter came to yourself. But I have this morning despatched the same to you and, as I then shew you, it was impossible for us to carry our artillery by any other way than this which we have taken. Neither could we spare you so much strength as to send you any considerable party that would have been useful to you. Besides that it would have given the enemy more liberty to prosecute the design whereof you formerly writ: of breaking into Scotland with a flying army. So that we could not divide our army without endangering the same and casting open our own borders to a manifest invasion which we were not able to hinder. We are now advancing as swiftly as we can and shall admit no delay. So soon as we come to Appleby (where we hope to be on Saturday) we shall direct our course to the best advantage of our affairs. Meantime my advice is that you draw your forces

together, secure Manchester and such places as can be maintained and, if the enemy press sorely upon you, draw back timely upon this army. But I expect to hear from you constantly, as you shall likewise be advertised by me and, according to the exigency and weal of our affairs, so shall we dispose upon your motions and God shall direct us for his glory and the kingdom's good. (A156)

## Note

- 1 N. Yorks., just s. of Barnard Castle, on the Roman Road running through Bowes to Brough.

## 613

*Brereton to Lancs. 'Gents'.* [Answer to 608]

[? 22-5-45 ? Knutsford] I am very glad you have taken so good care to secure Hale ford and Runcorn, which I conceive must be by casting up some sconce and that I believe may do. The enemy I am assured is at Whitchurch and thereabouts, not above 24 hours march from Hale ford, which is probable to be their grand design and therefore ought more carefully to be guarded. If Liverpool have occasion I shall desire that some of my Wirral forces may assist them and have given orders accordingly.

(A143)

## 614

*Brereton to Leven*

22-5-45 Manchester. In pursuance of the commands of the C. of B.K., your Excellency and Ld. Fairfax, I have drawn all the forces out of Chesh. that can be spared out of the garrisons there (now lying in great danger of the enemy) and brought them through the borders of Lancs. And I find an absolute necessity of importuning you for the speeding of your forces this way, for the preventing of the enemy's entrance into Lancs. which, if he should do, he would exceedingly increase his strength by reason of the malignity of a great part of the country, and the encounter with him afterwards would undoubtedly be found a double charge. Besides, there being an infection in this town of Manchester and adjacent parts, which is daily spreading and by common report in the country is made much more than it is, it is much feared that the soldiers of the county will not be brought into the town in case of the enemy's approach. And, there being now a considerable quantity of ammunition and ordnance in the town, it may much invite the enemy to attempt the seizure of them and the plunder of the town, and thereby humbly offer it to your consideration whether it might not be requisite to make your march the near and speedy way lest the circumference intended for your march may give advantage to the enemy (who still stays at [Market] Drayton or Whitchurch

within 14 miles of Chester for anything I can hear) to wheel about and make an attempt on Yorks. or else presently to fall upon this county as aforesaid. Whereas, if your army does speedily march, the enemy being in a corner, you in front and another army (which I doubt not is designed for him from the south) to follow him in the rear, I am confident God hath given a fair opportunity of such a suppression of the enemy as may produce a quick despatch of this present war.

Post. [From news recd. must be 23-5-45] My intelligence I received this morning was of the enemy's motions yesterday towards Newcastle [-under-Lyme] and Stone, where it is conceived they quartered last night, whence they may either fall down to Congleton, Macclesfield and Stockport and so to Lancs. (as Rupert did last year) or more probably for Newark. There I beseech you move no further north-westward, that way being fromwards of the enemy, until you hear further from me.

(A150)

615

*Brereton to Lord Fairfax*

22-5-45 Manchester. Having today received your letter of 14 May [522] touching the enlargement of Sir Thos. Tyldesley, prisoner in Eccleshall Castle, for Lt. Col. Rigby and another of your Lt. Cols. of horse, I shall crave leave to advertise you that I have been informed that the Commons, in consideration of the quality of Tyldesley, his eminent interest in Lancs. and his hostile acting against the Parl., conceived an order that he should not be enlarged without further order from the House and that they have also, at the instance of some friends of Lt. Col. Rigby's, passed an order for the enlargement of Tho. Legh of Adlington, prisoner in Coventry, (whom formerly the House ordered not to be released) in exchange for the said Lt. Col. Rigby [407]. Which exchange I believe was granted by the governor of Lathom or the Ld. Byron before it passed the Commons. The order for not releasing Tyldesley was (I am informed) sent by Lt. Col. Shuttleworth to Sir John Meldrum. The enlargement of Tyldesley, as affairs now stand, may be much more prejudicial than hereafter, whereof the Lancs. gents. have desired me to acquaint you, the which I have now done.

(A144)

616

*Stone to Brereton*

22-5-45 6 am [Stafford] I received this morning about 3 o'clock a letter from Col. Vermuyden – a copy whereof in these words (viz):– [609 given here]. Upon the receipt of this letter I presently sent to him to inform him of your resolve expressed in your letter to me yesterday [not in B.L.B.] and to advise

him for Uttoxeter, in case he found not himself able to fall upon the rear of the enemy and conceiving that to be the most speedy way and the most safe to join with your forces. What course he will take I know not. I have sent him the best intelligence I could, promising what can be obtained further this night, that each may know the other's intentions for the furtherance of the main business.

(A149)

617

*Intelligence reported by Stone from Capt. Doughty, a Royalist deserter*  
22-5-45 Stafford. Intelligence that is given by one Capt. Doughty, who this day is come from the King's army, leaving the army, as he saith, because he hath spoken some words against the papists in their army, for which he should have been executed, as he feared, had he not made his escape.

He saith that the King's forces are betwixt 10–2,000 horse and foot; they are to quarter this night at Stone and thereabouts; they intend to march to Newark and there they are to have 1,500 horse added out of that garrison. They intend for the Associated Counties and to relieve Pontefract Castle. The gentry of Yorks. have promised to bring in to them 8,000. They have arms for them hidden in the ground. Gen. Gerard is to come to them with his force but is not yet come. Some of their forces are come to Stone already and the body marching that way. So that his relation may be probable. You may make use of it as you think good.

(A157)

618

*Lancs. 'Gents' to C. of B.K.*

22-5-45 Manchester. There hath been in us all possible endeavours to observe your commands for the conjunction of our forces with the forces of other adjacent counties. In pursuance whereof orders have been given to 1,100 of our best foot and four troops of horse to attend that service. Only, in regard of their remote distance (the most of them being employed in the service against Lathom), they will be a day slower than the time appointed for rendezvous, which nevertheless (we hope) will be no prejudice, in regard the Chesh. horse at the desire of the gents. of that county stayed one day longer (for the safety of that country) than was appointed. As touching the passes into our county, that of Hale ford (which was most dangerous) is already secured and (we hope) made unpassable. But those which lie here in the river towards Manchester are so many and the river so shallow that they are not to be defended. The Scottish army marching somewhat further about than we expected and Lt. Gen. Cromwell not so near in pursuit of the enemy as we hoped may much increase the danger of these parts and especially of this town

of Manchester, which being infected with sickness (of late more increasing) the soldiers about it are exceedingly deterred and discouraged. So that we make great doubt whether they could be prevailed with to come into defend it. And if that town should fall, in which is secured the best of our ordnance, the greatest part of our ammunition, together with the most considerable prisoners, which cannot be safely removed, it would mightily hazard the loss of the whole county, a great part of which, being full of malignity, would add a great increase to the enemy's strength. And the town (no doubt) would be made the place of his retreat for these northern parts. Wherefore our humble desires are that all means hastening assistance unto us may be used. Otherwise we conceive ourselves to be at present left in a worse condition than we have been at any time since the war began. The more full relation whereof we leave to the bearer and submit all to your grave wisdoms.

Rich. Haworth, Tho. Birch, Row. Hunt.

(A151)

619

*Lt. Col. Peter Egerton to Com. at Manchester*

22-5-45 Ormskirk. The bearer hereof (Maj. Ashurst) can fully inform you what a grand mutiny hath been this evening made by the soldiers in the want of pay, so much as many of them (I may almost say the most) have marched clearly away with their colours and many of the rest, that stand in the town, refused to pass upon duty. Notwithstanding, with extreme importunity and persuasion, I have prevailed with them to stand till Saturday next upon this assurance: that they shall then receive a full month's pay or be left to their own discretion what to do. And to this purpose I have entreated Maj. Ashurst to come over to you to acquaint you herewith and to be assistant unto you (if need require) with the troops sent along with him in the collection of the arrears of this month's pay; with this earnest request to you, that you will not fail in providing so much money as may satisfy the soldiers to be maintained by your hundred – one month's pay – and that it may be sent by this bearer on Saturday next. Otherwise it is impossible to keep the soldiers any longer together, but this service will be deserted to the ruin and destruction of the whole county. The whereof I shall be enforced to certify to Parl. and in whom I apprehend the default, which I leave to your consideration.

[P.S.] The blue regt being drawn into the field, it was proposed to them to march into Chesh., but they unanimously denied it, as this bearer can satisfy you.

If this be not performed the whole county is utterly lost, for many of the soldiers with many vows and protestations have broken their muskets and sworn they will never serve in this county again, if this be not had.

(A157)

620

*Maj. Wm. Maxey [55 n.1] to Brereton*

[22-5-45 Nantwich] After a long and tedious imprisonment of 38 weeks and being so much neglected of our own side as in this time not once to send unto me, stirs me up to labour the best to my own enlargement, humbly requesting your grant for so much liberty as to go on my parole to his Majesty, there to labour the best of my exchange for Capt. Bulkeley or any other that may be agreeable to your content. It is the wonted clemency you bear to capt. emboldens me to write unto you for a grant of this my request, which shall never go unregarded with the acknowledgement of great thankfulness and a requital in the same when it lieth in my power.

(A149)

621

*Brereton to Ld. Fairfax*

23-5-45 9 am Manchester. According to your command and my former intimations I came yesterday to Barlow Moor in Lancs., where there were appointed to rendezvous the regts of Cols. Holland and Ashton. But very few of them (the time being short) came up and Col. Holland's regt, I hear, is in a very great mutiny and refuse to march. My own and the Staffs. horse and dragoons quarter in Cheshire upon the borders of Lancs., which was the desire of all the Lancs. gents. and likewise the gents. of Cheshire to the end they might preserve that country from the enemy's excursions as much as might be. I have also herewith sent you a copy of such intelligence as came to my hands this night from the gov. of Nantwich<sup>1</sup>. The siege of Lathom doth very much puzzle this county and, if this siege be raised and the forces elsewhere employed, it is believed by the gents. that the forces in this house (which are very considerable) may in a short time double their numbers. I hope you will make such use as to call together all your forces and the horse out of Derbys. (whereof are those that went forth from me without orders) and that they may be employed to the best advantage.

Post. I received letters from Stafford [609, 616] advertising that Col. Vermuyden with a considerable strength of horse was 21 May at Sutton Coldfield five miles from Lichfield to attend the motions of the King's army.

(A150)

## Note

- 1 There is no separate item giving this intelligence from Maj. Croxton. But it seems likely that it is the news of the royal army's move towards Newcastle-under-Lyme contained in the P.S. to Brereton's letter to Leven of 22 May (614). Notes to this and to 621 say that the P.S. to the letter to Leven was added to that to Fairfax, both to the original sent by Fairfax's drum and the duplicate by Mr Roote.

*Brereton to C. of B.K.*

23-5-45 Manchester. I cannot but apprehend it a part of my duty faithfully to represent my apprehensions touching the conditions of your present affairs in these parts, which are not in so good a posture as were to be desired. The forces assigned here to be united to make good the passes are very inconsiderable and the passes very many and indefensible. So many horse and dragoons (which are more than the number assigned) which could be spared out of Chesh. are now upon the borders of Lancs. as near as the Lancs. dep. lts. desire.

The Lancs. foot assigned are about 1,000 and four troops of horse, and are not yet come up from the Leaguer at Lathom. The foot and horse from Staffs. are not many, the foot being in Nantwich, and horse now with me being about 100 or 150.

The Chesh. foot which I expect are not above 5-600. There are 8-9 troops of Chesh. horse and 3-4 very serviceable coys of dragoons, well accommodated. This I cannot believe but [you] will judge to be very unsuitable and disproportionable to the King's army, which is now moving into such straits (if they proceed on to Chester) as your army met with all last year in Cornwall.

If the Scottish army be ordered to march toward them the next [nearest] way and if Sir Thos. Fairfax and Lt. Gen. Cromwell may be commanded to pursue, this might in all probability put an end to these wars. But this is rather to be desired than hoped. For the Scotch army are marching, as appears by some letters [606; 611; 612] (received this day from Ld. Leven) through Westmorland, which must needs be a very tedious march, during which time it is not improbable that the King may force his passage into Lancs. and much increase his strength, and encourage and enrich his army by the spoil of all these counties wherein no opposition nor resistance can be made against them. And then he may with much advantage (if he see cause) return without interruption. Whereof, it seems now, they are very confident (Lt. Gen. Cromwell being recalled), when they take encouragement to march at their own ease and quarter in much security, having rested three nights at Newport and three at [Market] Drayton, whence this morning (as I am informed) they are preparing to remove, but whither I have not heard.

The condition of this place is very sad, the infection much dispersed and reported to be much more than it is, and the people in the town much more affected with discouragement than (I hope) there is just cause.

Whence it comes to pass that the country begin to estrange themselves and the soldiers express themselves very averse and unwilling to come into the town, preferring (as themselves say) rather to be hanged at their own doors than come in to a town so much infected. To rectify them herein and to encourage the town and country, I went with a small number into the town, which I find more dejected and discouraged than I can discern cause, and in a

much distracted condition.

The soldiers also in the blue regt are in a high discontent and will not continue upon duty, so that I cannot hope to receive the number of foot proposed in this county. Notwithstanding, as soon as any considerable body can be collected (which I cannot hope in any short time in this divided and distracted country), you and Ld. Leven shall receive speedy advertishment. And I beseech your speedy commands, according to which I purpose to frame my course, so as I may still approve myself most observant to the commands of the Parl., which I shall also account as matter of duty.

[P.S.] My intelligence, since I writ my letter is, of the enemy's motion yesterday towards Newcastle[under-Lyme] and Stone, where it is conceived they quartered last night. Whence they may either fall down to Congleton, Macclesfield, Stockport and so into Lancs., as Rupert did last year, or more probably for Newark.

(A151)

*Brereton to the Speaker*

23-5-45 Manchester. I hold it part of my duty to give you a relation of your affairs in these parts, since the enemy for six-seven days quartered in and near about us. Though nothing in my own thoughts can make me so unhappy as to expose those to sufferance of whose fidelity I have had great assurance, yet upon the commands of the C. of B.K. I have marched with all my forces that possibly could have been spared out of my garrisons into Lancs. to the rendezvous at Barlow Moor near Manchester, the enemy advancing with all their forces near us to [Market] Drayton, Whitchurch, Woore and the adjacent villages to within six miles of Nantwich and, according to their own letters and my best intelligence, being on their march for Chester there to recruit their army out of Wales and assault Tarvin and Hooton, two of my principal garrisons situated to distress that city. It was thought advantageous to the service very well to strengthen and man all our garrisons, so that many of the foot which I had designed and were almost ready to march into Lancs. to the rendezvous I was constrained upon this occasion to leave behind me, and also divers troops of horse upon the importunity of many gents. and other inhabitants of that county, both for their security from stragglers and pillaging plunderers and to free the county from the insolency of small parties. Yet with the number of horse which the C. of B.K. required and with my chosen firelocks accounted for dragoons, I marched myself at the time appointed by Ld. Fairfax for our rendezvous, where – some weighty occasions preventing other forces from meeting us yesterday – this day we have appointed to meet. But it cannot be imagined that the small forces which can be spared out of Chesh. and Staffs., joining with the forces of this county, can either secure the passages (which are very many into this county) from the enemy or make any

opposition against so great an army. Very many forces are come to Newport upon Tuesday night, which I suppose were Gerard's out of South Wales. Ld. Byron's, being on their march from Chester, are at Malpas and Sir Wm. Vaughan's at Whitchurch to join with them, which now have made their army numerous. Ld. Leven marcheth with his army by Westmorland, which way will so delay their approach that we cannot hope for assistance in convenient time. I hear Ld. Fairfax's forces do move towards Newark to join with those in those parts to prevent the enemy's march that way, which would be a service of very great advantage, if the enemy's own letters and prisoners did not give us assurance that they intend for Chester, there to strengthen (text has 'straighten') themselves and annoy Chesh., and then to march through Lancs. (where doubtless their strength will be much augmented) into the north. Where, if they should once more gain command of the field, sad experience hath taught us already the mischief of it and the difficulty in removing them hence. My humble advice for the prevention of these growing evils and utter dissipation of all their fine designs is only this: if the Scottish army might speedily advance to assault them one way and Sir Thos. Fairfax or Lt. Gen. Cromwell be speeded to second these forces on the other side, and so constantly attend the royal army where his greatest strength and the King's own person is – which way soever they march – I hope this very pursuit might (through God's assistance) prevent and put an end in a short time to this poor kingdom's miseries. But if their army should gain opportunity to swell in the north as it did last summer, I believe (if God did not wonderfully interpose) experience would teach them to make better use of it than they did then, to the trouble and hazard of the greatest part of the kingdom.  
(A158)

624

*Ld. Callander<sup>1</sup> to Brereton*

23-5-45 Kirby Stephen. Being thus far advanced with the Scottish cavalry and as Gen. Leven with the foot will be quartered near to Brough this night, I thought good to give you notice thereof, whereby you may the better (being pressed by a powerful enemy), as the General writ to you, retire upon this army or give us timely notice of their motions to the end we may be assisting each to other for the good of this cause and both kingdoms.  
(A159)

## Note

- 1 Jas. Livingstone, E. of Callander. He had come into England with re-inforcements from Scotland shortly before Marton Moor. He had commanded Scots. troops in the Dutch service, but the Preston campaign of 1648, where he was 2nd-i-c to the Duke of Hamilton, was to reveal his deficiencies both as a soldier and an individual. He had already on 18 May written a letter from the Scots army in Yorks to their

Commissioners in London explaining Leven's refusal to move south and presaging the march north-westwards into Westmorland. Among other excuses for this course was Brereton's action in placing so many of his troops in garrisons that he had no worthwhile field force to bring to the assistance of the Scots (Portland I, 223-4; *D.N.B.*; Woolrych).

## 625

*Montgomery and Lesley to Brereton*

23-5-45 Kirby Stephen. We regret we were not able to give you an answer to your last, in respect we were on our march and knew nothing of whether the messenger returned. Conforming to your desires, we were in readiness and entreated his Excellency that he would march by Blackstone Edge,<sup>1</sup> but in respect of an order from the Com. [of Estates]<sup>2</sup> of Scotland, he would not condescend to come any other way nor this with resolution to advance with all speed for the opposing of any forces that can come for Lancs. Therefore we entreat to know of you the motions of the enemy.

(A159)

## Notes

- 1 A pass over the Pennines between Rochdale and Halifax. The Lancs. parl. leaders fortified and garrisoned it against Newcastle's troops after Adwalton Moor in the summer of 1643 (Broxap, 91-2 and n.).
- 2 The Com. or Convention of Estates, representing the Scottish Parl. (which could not be called in defiance of the King's wishes), was the *de facto* government of Scotland at the time. Members of it accompanied the Scottish army in England.

## 626

*Brereton to Com. of Lincs.* [Sent] by *Jo. Waterson*

24-5-45 Stockport. I cannot but apprehend that much of your security or danger may depend upon the knowledge or ignorance of the King's motions, which makes me desirous to let you know his present progress. After he had with his army hovered for divers days about [Market] Drayton and that part on the Chesh. side and gave us strong inducement to believe, both by letters intercepted and asseverations of the Lt. of his own troop and other commanders taken prisoners, that his march was resolved for Chester, there to augment his army out of Wales and march thence through Lancs. into the north, upon Thursday last [22 May] he removed thence to Newcastle in Staffs. and lay himself at Trentham House, thence to Stone and quartered himself at Mr Crompton's.<sup>1</sup> This day I hear he is marched towards Uttoxeter, whereby I conjecture that his resolutions are either for Newark in the north or into the [Eastern] Association. I conceive the timely notice hereof might much advantage you for the preservation of yourself and seasonable intelligence of your friends, whereof I hold myself obliged to acquaint you with this and shall

be very ready to do you further service to embrace all opportunities and occasions.

(A148)

Note

- 1 Neither P.R.M., I.C. nor Symonds have the King staying at Trentham on Thurs. 22 May. All three say he went straight from Drayton to Mr Crompton's, Park Hall nr. Stone. Symonds says 'a sweet place in a fine park, he a rebel'. Col. Thos Crompton was an active member of the Staffs. Com. (P.R.M., 739; I.C., 201; Symonds, 175; P. & R.)

627

*Brereton to Col. Ashton*<sup>1</sup>

24-5-45 Chorlton [cum-Hardy] I came this day to Chorlton in expectation of meeting some of your [text has 'our'] officers or regt, but saw not any or heard of very few that appeared. I have therefore thought good to send these lines to desire you that especial care may be taken that your regt, as complete as may be, appear upon Barlow Moor upon Monday next by noon. Herein I desire you will not fail that so I may be able to give an account to Parl., not only of your readiness but also of the service that will be expected from me. (A153)

Note

- 1 As Ralph Ashton of Middleton sen., the original col. of this regt, was one of the M.P.s for Lancs. and there is no record of his having been granted any exemption from S.D.O., it seems likely that his son, also Ralph, had taken over his father's regt. In support of this belief, not only is the tone of this letter rather too sharp as directed to a kinsman of the same generation, an old comrade-in-arms and a fellow M.P., but a later letter from Col. Ashton to Brereton (1076 of 22-12-45) speaks of 'my father' as striving to get the regt to return to its colours and march into Cheshire. In addition, there is in T.D. Whitaker's *Hist. of Whalley* (II, 153-4) a letter from Ralph Ashton sen. of 2 July, 1645, in which he says that he is glad to hear that 'my son's regt' has done so well before Lathom. Nevertheless Ralph Ashton jun.'s succession to the command of the regt is surprising in view of the fact that, if the date of his birth has been given correctly, he was only 19 at the time and also because the regt already had an experienced 2nd -i-c in Lt. Col. John Bradshaw, whose military career seems to have ended with the withdrawal of the regt from Chesh., although he continued to remain a member of the Lancs. Com. (*C.W.T.L.*, 210).

The whole problem of when the Lancs. soldier M.P.s handed over their commands under the S.D.O. and who succeeded them is considerable, and much complicated by the loose use of titles to rank in contemporary docs. (e.g. *col.* frequently used for *lt. col.*) and the fact that four of the sons of these commanders had the same Christian names as their fathers. The presumption is that Lt. Col. Alex. Rigby (jun.) succeeded his father, Col. Alex. Rigby (sen.), and Lt. Col. Nich. Shuttleworth his father, Col. Rich. Shuttleworth (sen.), But Rich. Shuttleworth

jun. was not only an M.P. like his father but an officer, and his rank is usually given as col. Does this mean that there were two Shuttleworth regts and, if so, what happened to the command of the 2nd one at the S.D.O.? Later writers on the Civil War in Lancs. – the editors of *C.W.T.L.* and the *Discourse* and Broxap – have ignored the whole problem.

628

*Ld. Fairfax to Brereton*<sup>1</sup>

24-5-45 York. I have received your letters of 22 and 23 May [615; 621] together with the intelligence and letter to Ld. Leven [614] both of which I have sent on to him. I have received a letter from my son [Sir T. Fairfax], who by orders from both Houses is engaged before Oxford and Lt. Gen. Cromwell joined with him. I thank you for your frequent intelligence and vigilancy to know all the motions of the enemy, which I very much depend upon, and therefore shall desire your continuance thereof that, upon all occasions, I may be better enabled to make use thereof or direct the union of the forces that are appointed for the securing of these parts. Those forces that I have at Pontefract have so straitened the siege that I hope very shortly to give a good account of it. I see no great danger to disturb our hopes but the King's forces coming by Newark. If you find an appearance of it, I beseech you give us as timely a notice as may be, that I may desire the Scots army from the north for our assistance, which had need be timely desired seeing the way they are gone cannot suddenly give passage to the [return of their] army.  
(A160)

## Note

- 1 The margin says that this letter was received 26 May at Withington at the rendezvous when Lancs. dep. lts. were present.

629

*Brereton to Com. at Nantwich*

24-5-45 Dunham [Massey] I have sent this enclosed [537] desiring your care in the distribution of warrants throughout the country: that proportion of moneys laid upon the same towards the paying of the Scotch forces may be carefully collected, that so the army when they shall come to these parts (who are now on their march) may not be their own carvers, for that would be a great burthen to this poor country. And they [the Scots] are much incensed seeing that an ordinance of Parl. is performed in most counties but not in this. I pray you use your utmost endeavours and, for the same purpose, cause Mr Walkelate<sup>1</sup> to draw effectual warrants and the same to be sent to all parts, giving the country to understand their own good in the performance of this ordinance and their great prejudice if it be not performed. I desire all care

used herein to the encouragement of your friends and the preservation of the whole county.

[P.S.] It is desired that you will consult with the ordinance and see the same distributed with equality upon so much of the country as will be solvent. And when these warrants are drawn we will sign them, but if this be not done it will have a very ill effect.

(A153)

Note

1 Possibly the Clerk to the Chesh. Com.

630

*Ches. 'Gents' to C. of B.K. Sent by Jo. Waterson 25 May*

24-5-45 Dunham [Massey] We are bold to present to your apprehension an order intimated to be sent to Sir Wm. Brereton, wherein he is commanded by you that, upon the access of the King's army this way, he should retreat with our forces into Lancs. and further to observe Ld. Leven's orders. Which we conceive had carried no other sense but the stoppage of the enemy's motion, if he should attempt to enter that country and, although we have intelligence that the King's army is upon their retreat or diverted from us, yet we desire to inform you how we are still obnoxious to several very potent parties of the enemy's, who are ready upon all advantages to infest us from Shrawardine, Ruthin, Chirk, Holt, Hawarden, Flint, Chester and Beeston, all of them very much strengthened and confirmed of late by the incursion of the King's army and the raising of our sieges from some of them. We fear lest the extent of our order might oblige our forces to the observance of general commands to a greater distance that can consist with the safety and preservation of this county, whose utmost ability will not be sufficient to the support of itself against our own and foreign enemies' invasions, much less to the defence of others. Besides six of our foot coys. are in Shrewsbury for the defence of that garrison. Therefore, we have thought fit humbly to desire that the several forces belonging to this county may by your order be confined to the defence thereof during the potency of our intestine enemies and the invasion by others, to which we are continually liable, and that an order may be sent down to that purpose. All which we humbly refer to your speedy and serious considerations. We are also credibly informed that Maj. [*sic*; Col.] Trevor is returned from the King with 500 horse to Ruthin.

Geo. Booth, Geo. Booth, Tho. Stanley, Ed. Hyde, Phi. Mainwaring, Wm. Marbury, Rog. Wilbraham.

(A147)

631

*Brereton to C. of B.K. [Margin: sent by John Waterson 25 May]*

24-5-45 Stockport. The enemy varying his course so often makes me so often vary my intelligence, for as I hold it my duty constantly to observe his stops, so to acquaint you speedily with his motions. Yesterday I sent a messenger away from Manchester that might inform you of the certainty of the enemy's removal from [Market] Drayton, Whitchurch and those parts of Chesh. where he had continued divers days and intended to march to Chester, stay there a while and hence to Lancs. as their own letters and several [other] letters assured us. But, contrary to all thoughts and expectation, upon Thursday last (the same or the next day that the Scots broke up their leaguer and marched towards Westmorland this way) the enemy marched the contrary way to Newcastle in Staffs. (the King, I hear, quartered at Trentham House), thence to Stone and the parts adjacent towards Stafford. The King last night quartered at Mr Crompton's house, a mile from Stone. A drummer of theirs tells me that they are this morning removed thence, but which way as yet I cannot certainly inform myself but I shall speedily be able to assure you. By all our best relations their design is northward still but whether by Newark or through Lancs. or back again for Chester is something uncertain. But it is most probable for Newark and then either for the north or for the Association that way. A few days now will declare the bottom of their project. As soon as I shall learn anything worthy your view I shall not neglect my duty in presenting it to you.

Post. 25-5-45. In pursuance of Ld. Leven's and Ld. Fairfax's orders I have continued on the skirts of Lancs. and Chesh. betwixt Knutsford and Manchester and Stockport with my horse and dragoons and a regt of foot ever since the day of rendezvous appointed by Ld. Fairfax. There were two regts of Lancs. foot appointed to meet us. One of them is in a high mutiny and I doubt few of the other will be procured to march out of their own country, if such a command should come, and if the rest of the Chesh. forces, which are on the other side of the county, may be permitted to stay there I hope they will do you good service, and dare assure you they will not be out of action. I have sent one post to Ld. Leven and two to Ld. Fairfax upon Friday [23 May] and another to each of them upon Saturday with such intelligence as then I knew. This morning I hear the King quartered at Judge Milward's house [Eaton-in-the-Clay] at Uttoxeter this night and his forces about Uttoxeter, which is doubtless their way to Newark.

(A148)

*Brereton to Leven and Ld. Fairfax.* [Margin: sent to Com. of Manchester to be conveyed thence.]

25-5-45 Stockport. Apprehending it a matter of absolute necessity to give you speedy notice of the King's motions I despatched posts away to you both on Friday and yesterday with intelligence of his progress out of our parts. Last

night I hear he quartered himself at Sir Thos. Milward's house and his army at Uttoxeter, within 12 miles of Derby but in Staffs. His most probable design is now for Newark, thence either for the north or for the [Eastern] Association. But some conceive he hath Pontefract in his first care. I know your thoughts will be for the advancement of the public cause and opposition of the public enemy. I have sent a party of horse and dragoons under Col. Bowyer to pursue the enemy at as near a distance as they may with safety, to secure the country and give us intelligence. But the enemy, if they move forward according to expectations, will be at such a distance from us that you may more conveniently expect intelligence from Derby and those parts. Only what comes to my knowledge that may be anyway serviceable to you I shall not omit speedily to present you with.  
(A155)

633

*Brereton to Col. Vermuyden*

25-5-45 Stockport. Had your letter arrived with me sooner or I known sooner where to send to you, I might happily have sent you such intelligence of the enemy's motions as might have given you an opportunity to take advantage against some of his army. But yours of 20 May [595] came not to my hands until 24 May and in the interim the King with his army is marched from our parts to Uttoxeter in Staffs. His motions, I believe, now lying nearer to your brigade than to any of my forces, you may more speedily have notice which way he steers his march, though I have many abroad who constantly attend his progress. What you learn I desire you will please speedily to impart and you shall find the like correspondence from me, wherein I may be able anyway to give you assistance to advance the public service.  
Post. The Scots were upon their march this way, but I sent them timely notice that the King was upon his march to Newark and Pontefract and I have given the like timely notice to Ld. Fairfax at York [632]. There were some forces appointed to be here out of Lancs. which move very slowly, for there is an infection in this county [i.e. Lancs.] which causeth sad effects. One regt which is at Lathom is not to be expected, the other I hope will come up tomorrow but yet they have not appeared.  
(A154)

634

*Leven to Brereton*<sup>1</sup>

25-5-45 8 pm Ravenstone.<sup>2</sup> I received your two letters of 22 and 23 May<sup>3</sup> representing to me the absolute necessity of the speedy advance of the army that way for preventing the enemy's entrance into that county [Lancs.]. I did show you in my former letters that I could not possibly get my artillery carried any other way, and now I am advancing the nearest and speediest way and

shall accelerate my march with all the haste that can be, committing no delay to do everything which shall be found of advantage against the common enemy and for the public safety. Whereas you conceive it most probable that they will fall into Yorks., I will notwithstanding continue my resolution, being thus far advanced upon the borders of Lancs. with my cavalry, while the enemy's motions and designs be further discovered. And then (God willing) I shall use all means to direct our course where the public necessities shall most require.

Post. Since the sealing of this I received your last letter<sup>d</sup> and one from Ld. Fairfax bearing almost the same and shewing me that the enemy doth yet design for Newark and Yorks. In regard whereof I cannot possibly move from hence while first I be certified of the truth of his motions, whereof I desire you to send me certain notice with all speed.

(A160)

#### Notes

- 1 This letter is repeated, with a few slightly different phrases, on A 168, but dated at 11 pm. It is probably, therefore, a duplicate sent off a few hours later.
- 2 Ravenstone/Ravenstonedale, Westmorland; 3 miles s.w. Kirby Stephen.
- 3 610 and 614 from Brereton to Leven are both dated 22 May. But 614 is from Manchester and therefore must have been written after the march from Knutsford had been completed. In addition a P.S. was added, so it could well have been 23 May before the letter was finally sent.
- 4 The only further letter in B.L.B. from Brereton to Leven up to this date is 632, which is actually dated 25 May, the same day as 634 itself. But, as 634 was not begun until 8 pm and the further letters from Brereton were not acknowledged until the P.S. was being written, it could have been 26 May by the time 632 actually arrived. As the distance from Stockport to Ravenstone is not much short of 100 miles, this would have been possible, although still very good going.

#### 635

##### *Callander to Brereton*

25-5-45 Kirby Lonsdale. I thought good to show you that we are this far advanced with our horse and the General is to be at Kendal upon Monday next at night [i.e. tomorrow night] with the foot. Whereof I entreat you to advertise Ld. Fairfax that we hear from time to time from him and you of the motions of the enemy so that we may be the better able to direct our course for the prevention of the enemy's undertakings, as I did write to you from Kirby Stephen upon Friday last [624].

(A167)

#### 636

##### *Lesley to Brereton*

25-5-45 Kirby Lonsdale. Not being able to give you any answer to your many

letters writ to me in my absence at Carlisle, I take this occasion to beg your pardon and withal to show you that at this instant we are come here, whereby we may be able for the defending [i.e. preventing] the raising of the siege of Carlisle and also join you in defending of any forces that can be raised [by the enemy] in Lancs. When it shall please God we be masters of Carlisle (which I believe cannot hold out a fortnight), we hope his Majesty will not be able to send any flying army unto Scotland, as then our army will be strengthened by some 3,000 more men, whereby we shall be enabled to encounter any army the King can bring. Assure yourself that I shall be assistant to the utmost of my power in gaining whatever assistance you shall desire from his Excellency, as I have still been earnest that I and that party that was with you before should be sent to you.

[P.S.] Since the writing hereof I have got letters from Scotland showing me the extremity of some losses there which are likely to hinder our intentions.<sup>1</sup> (A166)

Note

- 1 The defeat of the Covenanters by Montrose at Auldearn near Nairn on 9 May [K.W., 459–61].

637

*Brereton to Lesley, Callander and Montgomery*

[26-5-45 Barlow Moor] Yours dated 23 May at Kirby Stephen [624–5] I received 25 May at 9 pm whereunto I have thought fit to return you this answer. Upon Thursday 22 May the King altered his course from what was expected and marched from [Market] Drayton to Newcastle [upon Lyme] and Trentham; Friday night to Stone, himself quartering at Mr Crompton's house in the Park. Upon Saturday they marched towards Uttoxeter where they quartered their foot and carriages and the King himself quartered at Eaton at Sir Thos. Milward's house, and the horse at Wootton, Snelston and Ellastone and other parts in the Moorlands in Staffs. Upon Sabbath day 25 May they marched from Uttoxeter to Eggington Heath, three miles from Derby, but where they would quarter the last night is more than I have heard. But do observe that their march is now as swift and speedy as it was formerly slow. So soon as I had the first notice I sent away an express post to Ld. Leven upon Friday 23 May and other express by mine own servant 24 May, and I sent further intelligence yesterday being 25 May both to Lord Leven and Lord Fairfax.<sup>1</sup> But I do fear that the enemy, being now removed behind Derby, will be at this present a distance from us so that no intelligence I can receive can be conveyed in time either to you or to Ld. Leven. But there is no manner of doubt or question to be made which way they are designed, this being the direct way to Newark and their motion being concurrent with the examination of Capt. Doughty who came from them to Stafford (a copy whereof I have here enclosed) [617]. It will be sufficient and apparent unto you what

course may be fittest for your army to steer, seeing the enemy hastens towards Newark, and so either for the north or the Associated Counties.  
(A159)

## Note

- 1 A stream of correspondence such as this is not easy to identify because sometimes, particularly if fresh evidence of enemy movements came in before the letter was despatched and a P.S. was added, the letter was not sent until the day after the date on it. This is probably the case with 614 of 22 May which is likely to be the 'express post to Ld. Leven upon Friday, 23 May'. The 25 May letter to Leven and Fairfax is 632. But the 'express by mine own servant 24 May' does not appear to be in B.L.B.

## 638

*Col. Duckenfield to Brereton*

26-5-45. I did meet my company on foot at Mottram [in Longdendale] this day and I could not prevail with them to march to Barlow Moor this day for divers reasons. A party of the enemy at least are now in Derbyshire about Ashbourne and Bakewell. Some think they are marching a party of them in all haste towards Pontefract Castle before the Scotch army be ready to meet them. The messenger that came to me from Derby yesternight saith that Lt. Gen. Cromwell was quartered then about Tutbury and Barton Park with very near 500 horse and dragoons.<sup>1</sup> My coy and divers others of my regt do allege that you have paid to Capt. Booth's company a week's pay last week and another week's pay at Beeston Castle since the rest of them received any pay. They conceive that coy under Capt. Booth<sup>2</sup> deserve least pay of all the rest by much. They moved me this day to inform you that they desired you would show them as much favour and afford them as much pay and encouragement as you did to the coy aforesaid and to other coys, and then they would be more ready to observe you. I have done my part herein.  
[P.S.] Till I receive further orders I can proceed no further for calling my regt together. Some pay will cause them to make more haste.  
(A170)

## Notes

- 1 This would be Vermuyden and not Cromwell. Barton Park was opposite Tutbury on the Derbyshire side of the R. Dove. Gell established a garrison there in Oct. 1644. (643-7; *E.P.N.S. XXIX, Derbyshire*, 524; S. Glover, *Hist. of Derbyshire I*, App. IV, 67.)
- 2 Anthony Booth of Duckenfield's regt, mayor of Macclesfield (385 n.7).

## 639

*Brereton to Lds. Fairfax and Leven*

26-5-45 Barlow Moor. The King's rendezvous being yesterday upon Egging-

ton Heath, not far from Burton-upon-Trent, gives me great assurance that his march is for Newark. I dare not omit a day's intelligence, being confident that you will make much advantage of the knowledge of their motions. Still I believe they prosecute their design for the north, although not the same way that they first intended. I hope my last three letters arrived, which daily discovered the enemy's progress and might sooner incline you to expect them the way they now take. I am sorry our strength was not such in these parts as might have given them some interruption in their motions, but I shall always be ready to the utmost of my power to serve the public interests.

[P.S.] Since our coming from Nantwich the enemy hath removed further from our quarters. Their motion is very quick and speedy.

Sir, Sir John Gell is desired by several letters from Sir Will. Brereton to give frequent intelligence of the enemy's motions to Ld. Fairfax. [N.B. This last sentence may simply have been a note to the letter and not included in it.] (A163)

## 640

*Gents of Lancs. and Chesh. to Lds. Fairfax and Leven*<sup>1</sup>

26-5-45 Withington. According to the order of the C. of B.K. and your Lordships, there are already drawn to a rendezvous at Barlow Moor the Chesh. horse, Col. Duckenfield's and part of Col. Ashton's regt of foot. But the Lancs. horse and Col. Holland's regt are not yet marched hither from the service against Lathom. Now in regard of the diversion of the enemy's course who are (we hear) marched yesterday from Uttoxeter to Eggington, the way towards Nottingham, we shall desire to know your Lordships' further pleasure, how and whither these forces shall be disposed of. What orders you give, shall be most readily observed.

[P.S.] The number hereof that may be depended on we believe will not amount to much above 1,000 foot and 4-500 horse and dragoons, which are only the Chesh. horse.

Wm. Brereton, John Legh, Rob. Hyde,<sup>2</sup> Tho. Birch

(A163)

## Notes

- 1 The heading says the letter was to Ld. Fairfax, a first marginal note that it was to Leven and a second that it was sent by a servant of Ld. Fairfax's with a duplicate enclosed to the Com. at *Halifax*. As there seems to be no reason why a duplicate should be sent to a purely local committee, possibly the Com. of Yorks. was there at the time. On the other hand the name may be a copyist's error.
- 2 The text has *Ed.* Hyde and, as he signs the letter from the Dep. Lts. of Chesh. to the C. of B.K. written at Dunham Massey on 24 May (630), he was certainly in the area at the time. But as *Rob.* Hyde of Denton signs other letters with his fellow Lancs. dep. lt. and com. man Thos. Birch at 585, 594 and (above all) 641 which is on the same ff. as this item and obviously written about the same date and place, it seems more likely that it should be Robt.

*Brereton, Rob. Hyde and Tho. Birch to Col. Ashton 'and the like sent to Col. Duckenfield'*

[?c. 26-5-45 Withington or Barlow Moor] It is not to be doubted that, now the King with his forces is marched towards Newark, we shall receive orders for a speedy march to such place as shall be appointed by Lds. Leven and Fairfax. And it would be unanswerable if our forces that are commanded should not be in a readiness. Wherefore we shall desire that the remainder of your regt may be in readiness for a march, so soon as the commanders shall come. Whereof you shall have speedy notice from us.

Wm. Brereton, Rob. Hide, Tho. Birch

(A163)

*Brereton to Col. Bowyer*

[c. 26-5-45<sup>1</sup> Withington or Barlow Moor] The commands of the C. of B.K. require the forces of Chesh., Staffs. and Lancs. to be called together and kept in a body to be in readiness to observe further orders. I sent two letters unto you this morning desiring your care to bring back speedily those horse which I sent out with you. I hope that, seeing I sent them for the security of their country, they will not take the advantage of the opportunity to delay their return to the prejudice of the public service. The enemy being marched away, it is very probable I shall receive orders to remove. It will be your desire, I am confident, to be found in such readiness as may be expected. I pray therefore hasten up your horse to Congleton and there receive further orders for your quarters from Lt. Col. Jones.

'your assured loving uncle'

P.S. I sent in one of my letters a letter to the Com. of Stafford to hasten up their horse.

(A164)

Note

- 1 The text has unmistakably '16 May', but the contents of the letter make this impossible and, together with the dates of the letters near it, make 26 May probable.

*Sir Geo. Gresley<sup>1</sup> to Brereton*

26-5-45 11 am Derby. I have as yet received only two letters from you [not in B.L.B.]; the one upon Friday morning dated 20 May, the other Saturday morning dated 23 May. The intelligence of Ld. Fairfax not keeping the appointed time for the rendezvous at Nottingham caused our horse to return

home as they were on their march thither. Your news of Col. Vermuyden's attending the motions of the King's army is very true, for he himself with four cols. more viz. Fiennes, Sydney, Pye and Okey,<sup>2</sup> were with about 3,000 horse and dragoons quartered in this town and the adjacent villages upon Saturday night last. Lt. Gen. Cromwell was at Coventry with them and went from them with 1,000 horse and 4,000 foot towards Oxford to join with Sir Thos. Fairfax, Maj. Gen. Browne, the London auxiliary regts and such other forces as the Associated Counties next Oxford have lately raised for the besieging of that city, which is already or will be suddenly surrounded with 16,000 horse and foot at least. Upon Saturday afternoon we had certain intelligence of the King's forces coming to quarter at Uttoxeter and between that and Tutbury that night, which fell out true for the King lay at Mr Kinner's house called Loxley,<sup>3</sup> the two Princes at Uttoxeter and the rest of the army betwixt that and our garrison at Barton. From thence about 30 of our horse, going out that afternoon to give us the best intelligence they could, had a skirmish with 100 of the enemy's horse in which (through the blessing of God) we killed and wounded about ten of the enemy, whereof one was a Lt, and we had not any hurt but one horse run through the neck with a tuck by one of the enemy and the rider killed the enemy with his tuck. That night late Col. Vermuyden had intelligence from Stafford that the King intended to march through the Peak the next [nearest] way to Pontefract. Col. Thornhaugh came thither in the middle of the night with the same news and so hastened him [Vermuyden] away towards Sheffield which, had he not done but stayed here all Sunday (as we would have had him do to have been certain which way the King had moved), we had by all probability cut off many of the King's horse and those straggling troops which plundered the country. For upon Sunday morning about 8 o'clock the King had his rendezvous upon Fosson Heath within two miles of Tutbury, where it is said he had about 4,000 foot, 3,000 horse and 12 pieces of ordnance. He drew a brigade of his horse into Barton Park which was attended with a party of foot without the pale. A party marched about the garrison to view it, in which it is said both the Princes were – a probable conjecture whereof we have from a fair Irish greyhound which ventured over the works and was taken by ten of our men. He had a collar about his neck with P.R. in brass and the Prince's arms and is said by some prisoners we have taken to be the Prince's. Some of the ordnance were once turned to be drawn against our Barton garrison, but a sudden command came and diverted that course. The King and Princes were earnestly solicited to storm that garrison and this town and he had been hearkened unto but it retarded his march from Tutbury (as we conceive) to Ashby [de la Zouch] and so to storm Coleourton [Coleorton; 3 miles e. Ashby] garrison, and so from there to Newark or else to Leicester and into the Associated Counties. After the enemy's brigade was drawn out of the park we sent out of the garrison several parties successively which (blessed be God) had good success. For we took 11 prisoners, whereof one was a capt. Lt. to a col. in Langdale's brigade, as

desperate and as a valiant a man as any in the army by the report of the prisoners, and would not yield till he was desperately wounded and died of it since his being brought to the garrison. We took also more horses and arms and plundered stuff. Our Derby horse faced the enemy on Sunday in the afternoon until the evening till they marched over Dove to Tutbury and there quartered on the other side of the river. But they never sent out any party to charge us. We had intelligence from Leicester on Sunday night, that a private friend in Newark sent them notice, that the enemy there [Blank in MS; 'and in'] Belvoir had order from his Majesty not to stir out of their quarters, but to have provision brought them and be ready on an hour's warning; that they have made a work in the ground at Muskham Bridge<sup>4</sup> to harbour 400 horse and men and another within musket shot of Newark towards Grantham, where they have a tent and men ready to march upon an hour's warning. I have fetched in 300 horse to mount dragoons. We have some intelligence come from Sheffield, which you shall have by the next for the messenger will not stay till it be writ.

(A161)

#### Notes

- 1 Of Drakelow nr. Burton-on-Trent. An early opponent of Ship Money, he declared for the Parl. at the outset of the war. Rather too old for fighting (he was born in 1580), he headed the substantial landowners who backed Gell on the County Com. His estates suffered severely from nearby royalist garrisons during the war. He died in 1651 (Brighton).
- 2 These four officers had seen much service and were soon to become cols. of the New Model. Algernon Sidney and Nat. Fiennes were aristocrats, the first a younger son of the Earl of Leicester, the second of Lord Saye and Sele. Sir Robt. Pye, M.P. for Woodstock, came from a younger branch of the Pyes of Mynde Park nr. Kilpeck, Herefordshire, and was first cousin to Col. Walter Pye, the royalist (*q.v.*). John Okey was a Londoner and had been a brewer or (according to some) a brewer's drayman. He became a regicide, fought with distinction at Dunbar and Worcester, opposed the Protectorate and was executed at the Restoration. (*T.C.I.*; Woolrych; Ashley; *D.N.B.*)
- 3 See note to 650.
- 4 A crossing of the Trent n.w. of Newark. The site of a sconce or fort used at different times by each side (*Newark*).

#### *Capt. Nath. Barton<sup>1</sup> to Brereton*

27-5-45 Barton Park. In that you are pleased so far to make use of me for intelligence, I shall not neglect to impart what concerning the enemy's motions cometh to my hand. This day the King with his army is marched from Tutbury Castle to rendezvous near Ashby de la Zouch, and they give out that from thence they are for Newark and so for Pontefract Castle. They likewise

in some of their quarters give it out that it is expected that some place be delivered into their hands. They were much solicited to have fallen upon this garrison but God hath diverted them for the present. The Lord hath been pleased to give this poor garrison several considerable prizes from Tutbury Castle since I was in your parts. We have set most of their commanders (besides their soldiers) on foot, being made possessors of most of their best horses. The King's army marched close by this garrison and in their march we had several skirmishes with [blank in MS] of them. Our men have slain two capt of theirs, one buried in Tutbury, the other here; divers sorely wounded and about 14 taken prisoners with horse and arms, besides variety of plunder taken. Prince Rupert marched round about our garrison to take a view of it but, blessed be the Lord, had no great stomach to engage against it. We have taken prisoner a fair greyhound which was his, having his name and arms in brass upon his collar. The Lord has been pleased to bless this poor party in this garrison of late, which makes us envied and lays us open to the malice of divers of own side.

(A164)

Note

1 For Capt. Barton see App. IV (ii).

645

*Capt. Jos. Swettenham to Brereton*

27-5-45 Derby. Yesterday morning I sent you such intelligence we had. The King hath his rendezvous this day between Burton and Ashby. His intentions we know not. Conjectures are either for Newark or Oxford. He viewed Barton garrison but disliked their complexion. We are every day forth with our regt and force them to keep close. Our forces have taken some 12 and killed six. We have lost but one and one wounded, though many of the enemy have legged it with bloody pates. Our town is suspected by some to be their design, but we fear them not. The enemy by some we have taken (who seem to be more ingenious than they) are confessed not to exceed 7,500 and of those more foot than horse, 14 pieces of cannon, 100 carriages. Vermuyden is in our county betwixt Nottingham and Derby. We fear not the enemy but would desire the north could hinder their recruits.

(A165)

646

*Capt. John [Jos.] Swettenham to Brereton*

27-5-45 Derby. I have twice advertised you of the enemy's strength and motions. He is betwixt 7 and 8,000, the major part foot. His rendezvous this day betwixt Burton [on Trent] and Ashby [de la Zouch]. We have received no

loss but one man slain and have taken 12, slain six of the enemy's. He is either for Newark or Oxford. He hath yet assaulted no garrison.  
(A165)

Note

- 1 Despite the fact that here and on one previous occasion (220) the name John is written in front of Swettenham, it seems probable that both are copyists' errors, that there was only one Capt. Swettenham and that his Christian name was Joseph. Two Capt. Swettenhams never appear on the same document and Brereton never refers to more than one Capt. Swettenham. Evidence outside B.L.B. also produces only one Capt. Swettenham and he was Joseph, vicar of All Saints, Derby (Brighton, 45). This item, squashed into the margin of the previous item in the text, was presumably an afterthought, written in case the former did not get through. It does not contain any fresh intelligence. For Swettenham, see App. IV (ii).

647

*Brereton to Leven*

27-5-45 Handforth. I have this 27 May at 9 o'clock received your letter dated from Ravenstone 25 May [634] and have immediately despatched away this answer. It is five or six days since his Majesty with his whole army diverted his course fromward Chester and Lancs. towards Newark. For that end he quartered upon Thursday night last about Newcastle [u-Lyme] or Trentham, the next night being Friday about Stone, the next being Saturday the main body about Uttoxeter and the King himself at Sir Thos. Milward's house and the next night being Sunday at Mr Kinnersley's house of Loxley,<sup>1</sup> whereof I have formerly given you several advertisements and then I perceived that the King's motions pointed directly towards Derby. I sent to Derby for intelligence, whence I received from Capt. Swettenham this which followeth in a letter dated Derby 26 May.<sup>2</sup> "We have intelligence that the King yesterday being the Sabbath kept his rendezvous on Fosson Heath, two miles from Tutbury and half a mile from Barton garrison. It was conceived his army consisted of 5,000 horse, 12 pieces of cannon. The King drew over Tutbury Bridge yesternight, his headquarters Burton [on Trent] and we hear the army is now betwixt us and Ashby [de la Zouch]. Some of the prisoners we take say they are for Newark and so for Yorks."  
(A161)

Notes

- 1 See note to 650.
- 2 What is quoted is not from either of the letters from Jos. Swettenham given in B.L.B. (645-6) which, in any case, are dated 27-5-45. Either it is from a letter not given or a compilation from theirs and other letters. The information about the King's rendezvous on Fosson Heath is only given in Sir Geo. Gresley's letter (643).

648

*Brereton to Ld. Fairfax*

[27-5-45 Handforth] I have received today a letter from Ld. Leven dated 25 May at Ravenstone [634], intimating that he purposed to remain there until he had some further certain intelligence. Whereupon I thought good to advertise him again that the King continues his course towards Newark, as my last intelligence relates as I received it in a letter from Capt. Swettenham dated Derby, 26 May, 1645 viz. 'We have received intelligence', and as in the letter to Ld. Leven, fol. 147. [647. But see note to this.]

(A161)

649

*Brereton to Col. Vermuyden*

27-5-45 [Handforth] I apprehend it concerns you to be made acquainted that some parts of the Scottish army are now near Lancaster, having passed by way of Westmorland. I received this day two letters from Ld. Leven dated Ravenstone 25 May [634, A160; perhaps repetition on A168]. I received letters last day from Lds. Callander and Montgomery and Lt. Gen. Lesley dated Kirby Stephen 23 May [624-5] advertising their advance thither with the Scottish cavalry. The messenger that brought me these letters say they will be in Lancs. with their whole body. But Ld. Leven says in the postscript to his letter that they will rest where they be till they hear further from me, who have not omitted to send daily to them. Ld Fairfax hath sent also to them to acquaint them of the enemy's motions and desire their return [628]. I understand by some letters from Derby that with the forces under your command you are gone towards Sheffield [643], where I doubt not that from Derby you are advertised of the enemy's motions, that on Sunday night he quartered at Burton [on-Trent; text has Barton] betwixt that and Ashby [de la Zouch].

(A170)

650

*Brereton to C. of B.K.* [Margin: sent by Capt. Blackwell's quarter-master from Handforth.]

27-5-45 Handforth. Though I despatched away an express yesterday which might acquaint you with the King's motions towards Newark and thence without doubt either to Yorks. or the Association, yet since the best security depends much upon the best and timely preparations either for assault or defence, I shall presume to repeat (lest the former might miscarry) what was yesterday advertised and add what further intelligence came since to my knowledge.

Upon 22 May the King's army steered its course fromward Chester and this

county eastwards upon the skirts of Staffs., quartering that night about Newcastle [u-Lyme], the King himself at Trentham, the next night at and about Stone, the King at Mr Crompton's house near Stone, the next day (Saturday) they removed to Uttoxeter. There the two Princes quartered, his Majesty either at Kinnersley's house called Loxley (as one informeth) or at Sir Thos. Milward's house called Eaton<sup>1</sup> (as another informeth). Upon the Lord's Day 25 May he kept his rendezvous at Fosson Heath, two miles from Tutbury. Their forces were conjectured to be 4,000 foot and 5,000 horse; in their train of artillery 12 pieces of ordnance. He drew over Tutbury Bridge and made his headquarters that night at Burton-upon-Trent, where my intelligence left them. But I hear they are toward Ashby [de la Zouch], where I believe they will not make it the work of two or three days to Newark. So soon as they began to alter their course, I despatched away posts to Lds. Leven and Fairfax and have not omitted any day since whereon I have not acquainted them both with their further advance towards Newark. Yet notwithstanding I cannot but much fear lest they be not sufficiently prepared to make seasonable opposition against so powerful an enemy, the Scottish army being at so great a distance. Whereof I received intelligence from Lds. Callander and Montgomery and Lt. Gen. Lesley, dated 23 May [624-5], that they were then about Kirby Stephen in Westmorland. I have this day received a letter from Ld. Leven dated from Ravenstone [634] which intimated that his army was upon their march so far towards Lancs. I leave it to your wisdoms to take such course as you think fittest to prevent those great inconveniences that do threaten the north. What mischiefs a potent enemy (strengthened with many multitudes of halting and evil-disposed people out of those parts) may do to the whole kingdom may be easily foreseen. For having raised the siege at Pontefract, it is much to be doubted that they will be much disturbed by the siege at Oxford.

(A167)

Note

- 1 The King spent the night at Eaton (P.R.M., 739; I.C., 201; Symonds, 175). The information sent to Brereton by Sir Geo. Gresley (643) and forwarded by him to Leven (647) that he spent it at Loxley was incorrect.

651

*Brereton to Ashurst* [Margin: sent by Capt. Blackwell's quartermaster 27-5-45 [Handforth] By some letters received from Lds. Callander and Montgomery and Lt. Gen. Lesley dated 23 May from Kirby Stephen in Westmorland [624-5] and likewise by a letter from Ld. Fairfax, whereof a copy is enclosed [628] it will appear to you how remote the Scots assistance is, though I have sent them divers expresses and omit no day sending to them and Ld. Fairfax to acquaint them of the enemy's motions and advance

towards Newark. Also I doubt whether such early credit was given thereunto as was requisite.

Herein I shall not presume to advise but shall deliver my judgement that if Sir Thos. Fairfax or some other be not speedily sent down with a powerful army, you hazard all the north; yea and York itself. I have been five or six days about Barlow Moor to provide the conjunction of the forces that were to be united for such service as Lds. Leven and Fairfax should order, and have brought up the Chesh. horse and dragoons and what foot could possibly be spared (which was Col. Duckenfield's regt) and now have sent for more foot. There were two regts of Lancs. foot appointed, Col. Holland's and Col. Ashton's. Col. Holland's regt (as appears by the enclosed [perhaps 619]) was in a high mutiny and Col. Ashton's on Monday last were few of them come up, but have undertaken to be in readiness. But in as much as these have received no orders, there could be now scarce time enough to interpose between the King and York, because the King marches on swiftly and without interruption. Therefore, seeing it is much to be doubted that the Scots will engage unless some other forces be joined to them and because the enemy is not much more remote from York than the Scots army is from us, I humbly offer it to you that there may be some considerable army ordered speedily to follow. If I were worthy I should rather advise to draw some forces from Oxford to be employed against the King than to suffer him to range in the north, to strengthen himself there and then come and disturb them before Oxford.

(A169)

652

*Ld. Fairfax to Brereton*

27-5-45 York. I have received several letters of intelligence from you for which I am much obliged. On receipt of your last (this day), I despatched a messenger to Ld. Leven, desiring him to take into his serious consideration the danger these parts are in by the King's motions with his army [away] from you and so near us. Also I have written to Col. Vermuyden to give him notice thereof, desiring his assistance and that he would join with the forces of Lincoln, Derby, Nottingham and other counties before the interposition of the King. By joining your forces with the other, unto which I shall add mine, and all attending the King's motion, we might be able, not only to prevent his designs, but to encounter him. As you shall have further intelligence, I desire your continuance to communicate the same to me.

(A166)

653

*Com.<sup>1</sup> at Nantwich to Brereton*

27-5-45 Nantwich. We have received yours of 26 May [not in B.L.B.] and are

forward to give way to anything that may advantage the public, though it be to the prejudice of our own particulars, which this will be sure to do by sending these forces out of our country, when we are almost environed with the garrisons of our enemies, who are already active and will not be less so when we are less strong. Maj. Lothian, with the forces in the postscript of your letter [for these see 654], will be at Middlewich Thursday night, there to expect your further orders, which (if not ordered by the C. of B.K. or Ld. Leven from them) we desire, according to our letters (by your direction) to the high Com., may be stayed in these parts, not only for the defence of the country but for the annoyance of the enemy. It is thought these, if now followed, might be wrought upon by good advantage.

Rog. Wilbraham, Geo. Spurstow, Thos. Aldersey, Tho. Croxton, Jo. Wettenhall, Wm. Raven.  
(A165)

Note

- 1 No title is given to the writers of this letter, either in the heading or in a marginal note. But in his letter to Ld. Fairfax of 29 May (661) Brereton specifically refers to the *Com. of Nantwich* having written a letter expressing the same views as in this item to the C. of B.K. Actually in B.L.B. is yet another letter to the C. of B.K. expressing such views (630). But this is from Dunham Massey and the signatories are all substantial gentry and dep. lts., headed by the two Geo. Booths. Only Roger Wilbraham is a signatory to both this letter from Nantwich to Brereton and the one from Dunham to the C. of B.K. This only serves to emphasise the difficulty of distinguishing between the different bodies claiming to represent Chesh. and (as Wilbraham was the only one of the Dunham signatories living close to Nantwich) to indicate that geography may have played some part in their composition.

654

*Maj. Lothian to Brereton*

27-5-45 Nantwich. I received yours upon 27 May wherein you desire me (by the advice of the gentlemen) to bring along those forces which they shall spare. The gents. have ordered these numbers enclosed to rendezvous upon Thursday next at Middlewich and there to attend upon further orders, where I shall be ready to expect your further command. Only if you command not your treasurer to come and give some moneys, I shall be forced to march without my coy.

[P.S.] If you will let me have 10s a man for my coy and proportionable for my officers.

These are the coys that shall attend your further order at Middlewich on Thursday next:-

Adjutant Lothian .....	080
Major Snow .....	200
Cpts. Cotton and Baskerville .....	080

Capt. French .....	060
Capt. Holt 25; Maj. Daniell 20 .....	045
Duckenfield's regt .....	300
Leigh's regt .....	120
	In all
	885

(A165)

## 655

*Sir Geo. Booth to Brereton*

27-5-45 Dunham [Massey] I received your letter [not in B.L.B.] and cannot but commend your great care in sending out scouts to discover which way the King's forces march, as also for informing Lds. Leven and Fairfax thereof. Concerning the Ordinance of monthly pay for the Scots, I must acknowledge it fit to be observed and will use my endeavours to put the same in execution. But I could wish (in regard of the poverty of this county) that you would interpose your power with the Parl. to grant that that part of this money now in my levying and intended for the relief of Ireland might be employed for discharge of that to the Scots. If you conceive that that notion may not be unseasonable, there is no one that knows more of the deplorable condition of this county than yourself, and how scarce money is here and difficult to levy. I am confident that if you or any other had been attending in the House to have informed Parl. of the state of this county, that Chesh. would have been freed. But sithence it is not, you cannot do a better office for the country than to propound this: that part of the moneys intended for Ireland may go to pay the Scotch army. If not that, then that you would give way that part of it might go out of the £5,000 sent from the Parl. for the use of the county. Which being made known the people will be much encouraged when they perceive the care of the Houses in sending money hither. Otherwise they will not be sensible that Parl. hath respect to the miserable condition of the country.

'your very loving father-in-law'

(A171)

## 656

*Callander to Brereton*

28-5-45 Kirby Lonsdale. I received yours [637] for which I tender you thanks, hoping mine from here [635] is come safe to your hand and having been yesterday with Gen. Leven at Kendal, who entreats you by your first occasion to send these to London. As yet we have no other notice of the enemy nor [except] that we have had from you.

(A172)

*Brereton to Sir Geo. Booth*

28-5-45 Stockport. I have received your letter [655] touching the monthly pay to the Scotch army, and had I been present in the Parl. I should willingly have engaged all my interest for the promoting of your desires therein for the ease of this county, which indeed is much exhausted. And hereafter, when I attend there according to the great Ordinance, I shall be ready to serve my country and, after the revolution of a short time, I conceive such a motion may be more seasonable than at this present, when the grand affairs of this kingdom are in agitation. Touching the allowing of it out of the £5,000, I fear the crying necessities of our own soldiers will not permit any part thereof to be otherwise disposed of than as it was intended: for the forces of this county, amongst whom it shall be distributed with all possible equality and consideration, as you shall receive an account.

My intelligence is that the King rendezvoued yesterday betwixt Burton [on Trent] and Ashby [de la Zouch]; his designs are uncertain. The Scotch army is about Kirby Lonsdale. I give them and Ld. Fairfax daily intelligence of the enemy's progress. 'your assured faithful son-in-law to serve you'  
[P.S.] I shall assist, if you think fit, that some of the money, now collected and to be paid in out of the country, may be applied this way.  
(A171)

*Brereton to Ld. Fairfax*

28-5-45 Stockport. Though it be divers days since the enemy withdrew from these parts towards Derbys., yet conceiving nothing of greater concernment to the present affairs of the kingdom than certain intelligence of his motions, I have pursued [them] with as vigilant an eye as possible, that I might impart it to you. To that end I have sent daily expresses to Derby to the commanders there desiring them constantly to advertise you and likewise myself, who have even now received letters whereof the enclosed are true copies [perhaps 643-6]. I have likewise despatched copies of them to Ld. Leven, Ld. Callander and Lt. Gen. Lesley, from whom I have this day received a letter from Kirby Lonsdale, whereof I thought good to send you a copy [636]  
[P.S.] Since I writ the lines above I received your letter of yesterday's date [652].  
(A167)

*Brereton to Lt. Gen. Lesley*

[28-5-45 Stockport] These lines may return you an acknowledgement of your letter of 25 May from Kirby Lonsdale [636] and of your willingness to assist

us. I have formerly by several expresses advertised his Excellency and yourself of the enemy's withdrawing from these parts towards Derbys. Sithence I have been as careful as might be to observe and gain certain intelligence of his motions that I might impart [them] to you. For that end I have sent daily expresses to Derby, some of which are even now returned and bring me the intelligence here enclosed [perhaps 643-6].  
(A166)

660

*Brereton to C. of B.K.*

29-5-45 Stockport. Having of late sent you divers intelligences of the King's motions, which I hope have arrived, I shall not trouble you with repetition. His army hath rather moved than marched this two or three days; he hath hovered much about the same place. His rendezvous about 27 May was between Burton [on Trent] and Ashby de la Zouch. He appears to be about 8,000 as near as could be judged; 14 pieces of ordnance, 100 carriages. One intelligence informs me that 1,500 horse are gone from Newark to him. If so, it is an argument that they intend not for Newark, though vast entertainments (as I have been informed) have been preparing there for a long time. I fear Prince Rupert may rather aim at some counties in the Association that may lie convenient, being able to make little opposition and to yield great benefit to the soldiers. Their motions have hitherto been so uncertain that no certain conclusion can be gathered from them, which makes me present you with such a variety of intelligence, holding it my duty to give you an account of all their meanders. I received letters yesterday from Ld. Callander and Lt. Gen. Lesley [635-6] that the 25 May they were advanced with the horse as far as Kirby Lonsdale and that Ld. Leven with the foot was expected at Kendal. What commands you desire to convey to them upon notice I shall speed away thither, and what you shall lay upon me I shall think myself happy in the observance.  
(A169)

661

*Brereton to Ld. Fairfax*

29-5-45 Stockport. Since this day sevensnight, being the day appointed by you for the rendezvous, the Chesh. horse and dragoons and Col. Duckenfield's regt of foot have hereabouts waited for your orders. I see but little hopes of any Lancs. force. Col. Ashton's regt hath been promised, but I have not yet seen them, and Maj. Ashurst was with me this day desiring that the regt might be employed against Lathom, else the enemy would grow too powerful. The Dep. Lts. perhaps will assent to it. The Chesh. force lying here have much prejudiced this part of the country and have given the enemy liberty to spoil

those parts of the country that lie towards Beeston and Chester, which had easily been prevented had our forces lain thereabouts. To which end the Com. of Nantwich have written to the C. of B.K. that their forces might be employed that way. I am informed by some Lancs. gents that it is as near from Lancaster to York as from Manchester to York, whence the Scottish army may be applied to your relief if you please. But then they must not come into the lower parts of Lancs.

[P.S.] The King himself lieth at Ashby [de la Zouch] and his forces about Coleorton. The Scots are at Kirby Lonsdale and Kendal, where I believe they may make some stop for some short time.

(A172)

662

[? List of Loans from City Coys and others towards the £5000]  
[April–May, 1645 London]

Coy. of Grocers	£500
The Drapers	£500
The Goldsmiths	£500
Mr John Oldfield	£1000
Mr Nath. Mathews and Mr Rob. Robinson by Mr Gittins	£300
Mr Joseph Juxon by Mr Gittins	£300
Mr Tho. Man	£300
Tho. Allen, Lo. Mayor	£600
Mr Mich. Herring	£200
Mr Recorder	£100
Mr Arthur Juxon	£300
Mr James Fletcher	£100

(A117)

Note

- 1 This item is without heading or date or place of writing. It is presumably a list of city coys and merchants with the sums they have loaned on the security of the revenue for speedy payment of financial assistance to Brereton's army. But it is quite different to the list given in 388 (also undated), although the Grocers', Drapers' and Goldsmiths' Coys appear on this also. The amounts given in either almost make up £5,000. The item may be connected with the one next to it in the M.S. (472), a letter from Cockson to Brereton written on 10 May. This is concerned (among other things) with the despatch of arms to Brereton paid for by the money advanced from London and encloses the order from the Com. of Revenue to pay for the same (406). But this is for £835, a far smaller sum than that given in this item.

# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX I

### JOINT COMMITTEES IN LONDON AND THE NORTH

#### (i) *The Committee of Both Kingdoms*

This was created in the early months of 1644 and replaced the old Com. of Safety, set up by Parl. at the beginning of the war to advise and assist the commander-in-chief. Because of the Solemn League and Covenant agreed between the Estates of Scotland and the English Parl. in Sept., 1643, and the entry of a Scots Covenanting army into the north of England in Jan., 1644, its sessions at Derby House included Scots Commissioners in London as well as appointees from the Lords and Commons. The English delegation (given in two Ordinances of Parl. of 16-2-44 and 23-5-44; *A. & O.* I, 381, 425) was much the larger and consisted of: the Earls of Northumberland, Essex, Warwick and Manchester; Lds. Saye and Sele, Wharton and Robartes; Sir Hen. Vane sen., Sir Hen. Vane jun., Sir Ph. Stapleton, Sir Wm. Waller, Sir Gilb. Gerrard, Sir Wm. Armine, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Oliver Cromwell, O. St. John, John Crewe, Robt. Wallop, Sam. Browne and John Glynne. The Scots Commissioners seem originally to have been only four: John Campbell, Earl of Loudoun, Ld. Chancellor of Scotland; John, Ld. Maitland, who by the time of his entry into B.L.B. had become Earl of Lauderdale through the death of his father; Sir Archibald Johnstone of Warristoun and Master Robt. Barclay. Later three others were added: John Elphinstone, Ld. Balmerino; Sir Chas. Erskine and Maj. Hugh Kennedy.

Each letter sent out by the Com. was signed by one English and one Scots member. The right or duty of signing appears to have gone according to some sort of order of seniority and the signature is therefore of limited significance. The English signatory was always a peer. So the signatures of Sir Hen. Vane jun. and Oliver St. John, known from correspondence in B.L.B. and elsewhere to have been at this time the driving force behind the 'win the war' policy of the Com., appear nowhere. Instead, of the 25 letters of the Com. in the D & A MSS, Saye and Sele signs eleven, Wharton six, Manchester five and Northumberland two. (The signatures have been omitted in the B.L.B. copy of the remaining letter.) Saye & Sele certainly and Wharton probably were behind the outright 'win the war' policy. But Manchester had shown by his military actions in the autumn of 1644 and his quarrel with Cromwell that he had grave reservations about it, while Northumberland was too aloof and half-hearted to pursue it with any conviction. The Scots were a closer-knit group but also a much smaller one, with the result that sometimes the person who signed did so simply because he was available. This explains why Hugh Kennedy signs one letter in the C MS and Chas. Erskine another (932, 966). Towards the end of 1645 these two were left in London while the more

high-ranking and well-known Commissioners were away (*Baillie* II, 325). Of the 24 signed letters in the D & A MSS Loudoun signs fourteen, Lauderdale eight and Johnstone of Waristoun two. Biographical details of all the signatories to the letters from the C. of B.K. in the D & MSS can be found in *D.N.B.*. Brief notes on Erskine and Hugh Kennedy will be inserted in Vol. II of this Calendar. Besides the official letters of the Com. which are in *C.S.P.D. 1644, 1644-5, 1645-7*, a selection of letters from the Scots Commissioners, mostly back to the Committee of Estates in Edinburgh or to the Scots commanders in the field, was edited by H.W. Meikle for the Roxburghe Club in 1917 (*Correspondence of the Scots Commissioners in London*). There is also a great deal about their activities in Robt. Baillie, *Letters and Papers* (3 vols. ed. D. Laing, 1841-2). Yet disappointingly little has been written by modern scholars about the Com. There is a little in the Introductions to the 1644 and 1644-5 vols. of *C.S.P.D.* and an article by Prof. W. Notestein in the *American Historical Review* of 1912. But the latter deals almost entirely with how the Com. came into being and the political and religious viewpoints of its English members. (Coming before the appearance of the recent classifications into 'War' & 'Peace' parties, it uses the older ones of Presbyterian and Independent.) It has nothing on the military work of the Com. once it was constituted and nothing on its Scots members. Nor have recent works by David Stevenson, *The Scottish Revolution, 1637-44* (1973) and *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Scotland, 1644-51* (1977), although, of course, they have something to say on the other activities of the more famous of the Scots Commissioners. For some discussion of the position and importance of the C. of B.K. in military affairs in 1645, of its relations with Brereton and of the attitude of its members, Scots and English, to the problem of Scottish aid to the Leaguer of Chester see the Introduction on Subject Matter.

(ii) *Commissioners and Committee Men in the North*

Some seven – perhaps eight or even nine – persons, other than Ld. Fairfax and the Scots generals, Leven and Lesley, corresponded with Brereton from York and other places in the north in the spring of 1645. From among the seven names given, those of Sir Wm. Armine, Sir Wm. Constable, Robt. Goodwin and Franc. Pierrepont are easily identifiable. On four of the five occasions when the name J. (or Jo.) Darley appears it is probable that Hen. Darley is intended but on the fifth it may be either Hen. or his brother, Richard. Robt. Fenwick was undoubtedly from the vast Northumbrian family of the Fenwicks, but there is some doubt as to his identity as several members of the family had the Christian name Robt. at this time. Only Rich. Hatter is a complete mystery and here there is the possibility that the name should really be *Hutton* or (less likely) *Hatcher*. Whoever he was, however, it is plain that, like the others, he was of some standing in northern affairs and that with him, as with them, this standing did not derive solely from personal status but also from his being a member of some parl. organisation concerned with the war in

the north. As there appear to be no modern studies of such organisations and as contemporary records (including B.L.B.) tend to be haphazard and inconsistent in their naming of them, it will help in their identification if what is known about the persons above mentioned is given.

Sir Wm. Armine was a wealthy landowner from Osgodby, Lincs. and M.P. for Grantham. He was one of the Commissioners for Parl. sent with Sir Hen. Vane jun. in July, 1643, to confer with the Scottish Estates in Edinburgh. Together with Hen. Darley (see below) he stayed behind to tie up the details of the agreement reached when Vane and the other Commissioners returned to England. He was one of the original English members of the C. of B.K. when it was set up in Jan. 1644. In July, 1645, he was again sent to Scotland as a parl. commissioner. A moderate independent and a backer of the war party at this time, he later refused to sit on the Commission to try the King but subsequently took his seat in the Rump. (*A. & O.* I, 197, 381, 425, 738; *C.J.* III, 289, 291, 292; *L.J.* VII, 288; B. & P.; *P.P.*; Yule.)

Sir Wm. Constable was of Holme, Spalding Moor, E.R., Yorks., M.P. for Knaresborough, a son-in-law of Ld. Fairfax and the commander of a regt of Yorks. cavalry. (It was one of the two in service with Brereton at this time but Constable was not with it. See Appendix IV (i).) A zealous puritan, although also noted for extravagance and debt, in the 1630s he had been concerned with Hen. Darley and Sir Math. Boynton in schemes for emigration and had been among the opponents of Wentworth as President of the Council of the North. (*A. & O.* I, 229, 700, 914, 1081, 1254; B. & P.; Cliffe; *P.P.*; Yule.)

The four letters from Darley (and others) in B.L.B. are all signed J. or Jo. But in 47 the J. has been altered to H., possibly by Brereton himself. Hen. Darley was a parliamentarian of some note; son of Sir Rich. Darley of Buttercrambe nr. York and M.P. for Northallerton. His father had been well-known as a patron of Calvinistic ministers in pre-war days, while Hen. had been a zealous promoter of the Massachusetts Bay and Providence Island schemes and was one of the first to collaborate with the Scots Covenanters in 1640. This being so it is not surprising that he was one of Vane's delegation to Scotland in July, 1643, and that (as mentioned above) he remained with Sir Wm. Armine to finalise the negotiations after the others had returned. As 43, 47, 537, 563, are all concerned with the Scots army in the north of England it is most likely that the Darley who signed them was Hen., but, as 56 is concerned with Yorks. troops, it is possible that the signatory here could have been Hen.'s younger brother, Richard. Both brothers and their father, Sir Rich., were committee men for the Association of Northern Counties. Rich. afterwards became the Recruiter M.P. for New Malton. Both brothers sat in the Rump, although neither had taken part in the King's trial. Both were elected to but excluded from the 2nd Protectorate Parl. in 1656. (*A. & O.* I, 91, 112, 147, 197, 230, 544, 655; *C.J.* III, 289, 291, 292; *L.J.* VI, 288; B. & P.; Cliffe; Yule.)

Robt. Goodwin was of Horne, Surrey, and was M.P. for East Grinstead,

Sussex, and it was for these two counties that he was a com. man throughout the war. But he was an M.P. of long and wide experience (he had sat as early as 1626 and been sent as an emissary from Parl. to Ireland in 1643) and it was probably for these reasons that he was appointed a commissioner from Parl. to reside in northern parts in Oct. 1643 and to go into Scotland to confer with the Scottish Estates in July, 1645. Entries in *C.S.P.D.* show that he was in the north with other commissioners and with the Fairfaxes from the autumn of 1644 on. (*A. & O.* I, 32, 116, 234, 335, 451, 540-1, 624, 636, 731, 738; *C.S.P.D. 1644-5*, 104, 279; Meikle, 93; *Baillie* II, 299; *B. & P.*; Keeler; *P.P.*; Yule.)

Wm. and Francis Pierrepont, two of the younger sons of the Notts. magnate, the Earl of Kingston, were both strong parl. supporters. Wm. was M.P. for Much Wenlock, Salop, (see 180 n.3). But 537 and 563 are signed Franc. Pierrepont and it seems likely that the 'Mr Pierrepont, one of the Commissioners' of 241 was Francis also. As members of a neighbouring Notts. family, either brother could have vouched for Sir Rich. Byron and both were com. members for Notts. in the reformed Northern Association. But there is no evidence that Wm. was in the north at this time, whereas both *C.S.P.D.* and *Portland* I show that, at least from Nov. 1644 on, Francis was. He was working in York with Ld. Fairfax and the other six persons under discussion. Later he became the Recruiter M.P. for Nottingham and appears as more religiously and politically radical than his brother, for Wm. was excluded at Pride's Purge whereas he was not. (*A. & O.* I, 707; *Baillie* II, 447; *C.S.P.D. 1644-5*, 107, 279; *Portland* I, 240, 252; *B & P.*; *P.P.*; Yule; Wood, *Notts. in the Civil War.*)

Robt. Fenwick is something of a mystery. The Fenwicks were a great Northumbrian family with many branches. Two of them were among the original M.P.s of the Long Parl., John being a strong royalist and Sir John Bt. a side-changer. Two more became Recruiter M.P.s. But their names were Geo. and Wm. and the possibility of a copyist's error in B.L.B. is ruled out by the appearance of Robt. Fenwick in *C.S.P.D.*, *A. & O.* and *C.J.* as well. He was, along with various other Fenwicks, a commissioner for Northumberland in a number of parl. ordinances and one of the four original commissioners appointed by the Commons in Oct. 1643 to reside in northern parts and concern themselves with those parts and with the Scots army that was soon to enter them. The selection of Fenwick and another of the four, Brian Stapleton, is surprising as neither were yet M.P.s. In view of this, it is perhaps even more surprising that, when the Recruiter M.P.s were later selected, Robt. Fenwick was not among them, although Brian Stapleton and two other members of the Fenwick family were. Robt. had to wait until the Protectorate Parls. of 1654 and 1656 before he entered the House.

There is a final difficulty that there were several Robt. Fenwicks at the time but it seems most probable that this one was Robt. Fenwick of Bedlington nr. Morpeth. In 1657 a neighbour was accused of saying that Robt. of Bedlington was 'a base fellow, his father was hanged for felony and he did wonder who

sent him to Parl.' (B. & P.: *A. & O.* I, 707, 972, 1089–90, 1142, 1241; J. Hodgson and J.H. Hinde – *Hist. of Northumberland* II pt.2, 351.)

Rich. Hatter is the only one of the seven persons under discussion whose identity remains entirely undiscovered. His one letter in B.L.B. (242) seems to suggest that he was a personal follower of Ld. Fairfax's. So also does his letter to Ld. Fairfax in *Portland* I (253). But another item in *Portland* I (252) shows him in a wider role: together with Pierrepoint and others at what appears to be a Council of War of the Northern Association. But no Rich. Hatter appears among the com. men of the Northern Association in the Ordinance of July, 1645, nor as an M.P. or a commissioner to the Scottish Estates or to northern parts. A miscopying of one of two other names is a possibility (although this would have to have been committed, not only by Brereton's copyists, but by the 19th century transcriber of the *Portland* MSS). A Rich. Hutton was on committees for the city of York, including the one for the Northern Association. Thos. Hatcher, whose name was sometimes written as Hatter, was M.P. for Stamford, Lincs. and employed, together with Armine, Darley and Goodwin, as a commissioner to Scotland in 1643 and 1645 and to northern parts. (But in neither the one entry in B.L.B. nor the two in the *Portland* MSS is Rich. Hatter involved in Scottish affairs.) (*A. & O.* I, 703–14; *Portland* I, 252–3; Meikle, 66, 93; *Baillie* II, 89, 299; *C.J.* III, 281, 285, 287, 292; *L.J.* VI, 288; B. & P.)

Even if Hatter was not Hatcher, Thos. Hatcher does appear in other contemporary docs. (notably *C.J.* and *L.J.*, *Portland* I and *C.S.P.D.* 1644–5) as being in the north in the first half of 1645 acting in conjunction with those who are in B.L.B. So also do Rich. Barwis, M.P. for Carlisle, and the calvinistic Yorks. squires and future Recruiter M.P.s, Sir Matthew Boynton and Brian Stapleton. What we know of all of these men indicates that they were exercising authority, not simply as themselves, but as representatives of two wartime organisations: the commissioners sent from Parl. to reside in the north and with the Scots army and the revived Association of Northern Counties. The commissioners were part of the cumbrous structure raised during the negotiations for the alliance between Parl. and the Scots Covenanters in the summer and autumn of 1643 to ensure maximum co-operation in London, Edinburgh and the area where the Scots army was most likely to operate, the north of England. On 17-10-43 the Commons nominated Rich. Barwis, Robt. Goodwin, Robt. Fenwick and Brian Stapleton as their commissioners to reside in the north with the Scots army and asked the Lords and the City of London to nominate two further commissioners each. On 1-11-43 the Lords considered further instructions for the commissioners to whom had been added, not only two members from the City and one from the Lords, but three additional members from the Commons, Sir Hen. Vane jun., Sir Wm. Armine and Hen. Darley. All three had been on the original delegation which had initiated the alliance with the Scots. Vane was just returning from Edinburgh, Armine and Darley had remained behind to deal

with the final details. By Feb. 1644 three of the original nominees for the Commons, Fenwick, Goodwin and Barwis, together with Armine, Darley and another of the previous year's delegation to Edinburgh, Thos. Hatcher (but no reps. from the Lords or the City) were at Morpeth in close proximity to the Scots army and writing a report to the Speaker. From then on until the Scots army moved south in June, 1645, there seem always to have been commissioners from the Parl. with them. (*C.J.* III, 279, 593, 678; *L.J.* VI, 288; *Portland I*, 181, 182, 185, 206, 212; *C.S.P.D. 1644-5*, 104, 279, 537, 613.)

They and their Scots counterparts in the north never, of course, developed a power and influence in any way equal to that obtained by the C. of B.K. They were too far from the source of their own authority, Westminster, and from London and Edinburgh. They changed too frequently, had no permanent base and were only too likely to appear as hangers-on of the Scots commander in the field, condemned to follow the wanderings of him and his army. Furthermore, as the war developed in the north after the parl. triumph at Marston Moor, they tended to become more and more involved and even confused with the revived Association of Northern Counties.

The original Association of Northern Counties was for all practical purposes destroyed when Newcastle overran all the north-east in the summer of 1643. Marston Moor made possible a revival and, some seven weeks after it, on 22-8-44 Parl. ordered an examination to be made of ways and means for raising money to equip troops from Yorks., Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland and Notts. Throughout the autumn the struggle to fund and organise this Association continued. The Scots were not wholly approving. Although the result would be new allies for them in the field, they feared that the raising of fresh English levies in the north might mean the diversion of money and provisions that should have come to them. But Parl. persisted. They were aware that, unless they did so, outside Yorks. itself, where Ld. Fairfax's troops operated, they would have to depend entirely on the Scots to prevent any royalist revival and allow them to garrison every town and fortress that surrendered. They had in the north a number of men available to second their efforts. There was Ld. Fairfax (see 3 n.2) himself and Yorks. squires such as Constable and Boynton who had been prominent in opposition to the Crown since pre-war days. There were several commissioners with the Scots army who were also available as belonging to one of the Associated Counties: Armine, Darley, Fenwick, Stapleton. New men began to appear, the most notable being Franc. Pierrepoint, son of the Notts. magnate, the Earl of Kingston. Notts. had not been a member of the old Northern Association, but was of the new. In June, 1645, a parl. ordinance set forward the organisation of the Association and named its committee men. Lancs., originally omitted because in Aug. 1644 it had not recovered from Rupert's attack and was by no means cleared of royalist troops, was brought in. (It had been a member of the old Association.)

By the spring of 1645 the move of units of the Scots army south into Yorks.

made it increasingly possible for the parl. commissioners 'residing in the north and with the Scots army' to meet in York, as the com. men of the Northern Association were already doing. In the following summer there was a development that seemed to show that the emphasis from Parl. might now be more on 'residing in the north' than being 'with the Scots army'. In June, in response to repeated requests from its English ally, this came south. It marched through the midlands and eventually laid siege to Hereford. No commissioners from Parl. accompanied it and there were complaints that this was a breach of the agreement between the two countries. In August Armine, Hatcher and Goodwin, who had been on yet another special commission from Parl. to Edinburgh, arrived in the north of England on their return. There they stayed, making no effort to join the Scots army at Hereford and receiving no orders to do so. Although Goodwin had no connection with the north of England and Hatcher was M.P. for Stamford in Lincs., a county which was not in the Northern Association, they concerned themselves with its affairs, consulting with members of its regional coms. and with its council of war at York and sending back reports and recommendations to Westminster. In September, because of the threat from Montrose (soon to disappear) the Scots army re-appeared in the north of England and the commissioners from Parl. were able to resume contact with them. But from then on until the end of the war relations were acrimonious. It is plain that whether commissioners from Parl., com. members of the Northern Association or both, they now regarded the presence of the Scots as more of a liability than an asset. (*A. & O. I.*, 703–14; *C.J.* III, 659, 717, 723; *C.J.* IV, 241, 247; *C.S.P.D. 1644–5*, 104, 279; *Portland I*, 181, 185, 196, 200, 240–3, 247, 252–4: for the period Sept. 1645 to end of war *C.S.P.D. 1644–5 & Portland I passim.*)

It may be mentioned in conclusion that Parl.'s habit of using men of experience and reliability wherever they needed them under cover of *ad hoc* war-time organisations of their own creation is reflected in superscriptions and marginal notes that occur in B.L.B. These range from the vague 'My Lords and Gentlemen' through the ambiguous 'the Com. in the north' to the all-embracing 'the Ld. Fairfax, Sir Wm. Constable and the rest of the Com. at York and members of the Commons', the last covering every signatory but one twice over (403, 404, 537, 563, 572).

## APPENDIX II

### UNCALENDARED ITEMS IN THE D & A MSS

#### (i) *D MS*

*Daniel O'Neill to Ld. Digby ? May–June, 1644 Dublin. (D65)*

A foreword to this letter says it was intercepted about the beginning of the

summer of 1644, 'it is probable when Prince Rupert came towards Lancashire'. In the previous entry (D64, Item 152), a letter to Vane and St. John of 31-3-45, Brereton says that, although it was written last year, 'because the enemy prosecutes the same design', he will send a copy of the captured letter to them.

Although nephew to Owen Roe O'Neill, the exiled Earl of Tyrone, Daniell O'Neill, having been converted to protestantism, had spent much of his time at the English court. This explains why, although his uncle was back in Ireland, leading the Ulster army of the Confederacy, Daniell was in Dublin serving King Charles and his deputy, the Marquis of Ormonde. His letter is full of royalist and Confederate intrigue and there are hostile references to Rupert's military plans in England and the alleged scheming of his friend, the Duke of Richmond, to promote opposition to Ormonde in Ireland. But the most important part of the letter concerns plans for co-operation between Ormonde and the Confederacy for the raising, arming and despatching of 10,000 Confederate troops to England to assist the King. Daniel is enthusiastic for the scheme, despite the reservations of his master, Ormonde, and the opposition of the catholic clergy on the supreme Council of the Confederacy, an opposition which he claims has been overcome by the intervention of his uncle. There is special mention of the necessity of clearing the coasts of Lancs. and Chesh. of enemy opposition. A small section of this part of the letter is in cypher which has not been decoded.

The reason for Brereton making use at this juncture of a letter written so long before is obvious. It would re-inforce the plea he was making, both in the rest of his letter to Vane and St. John and in his other correspondence to London and Westminster at this time, for speedy and substantial assistance in money, arms, provisions and auxiliaries to be sent to the Leaguer of Chester. Thus the city could be captured and the conquest of the north-west completed before any intervention of this nature could occur.

(ii) *A MS*

*The Great Feast at the 'Inthronization' of George Nevill, Archbishop of York, in the sixth year of Edward the Fourth (1465-6) (A110).*

This is apparently a copy of a pamphlet printed according to order from a document discovered in the Tower of London. It is simply a list of the vast quantities of food and drink ordered for the feast with the comment, 'Wherein is manifested the great pride and vainglory of that prelate'. It is inserted in the MS at what appears to be a most inappropriate place for so long-term and dubious a piece of propaganda; in the middle of the frantic correspondence of 15-22 May concerning the advance of the royal army towards Chesh. and the preservation of Brereton's forces in the face of this. There is no reference to it elsewhere in B.L.B., so we do not know if it was ever used. Ironically, in later life, Brereton was himself accused of being a great trencherman by the royalist pamphleteers.

## APPENDIX III

## LISTS OF ITEMS CONTAINING UN-INDEXED NAMES

Most of these are lists of prisoners. One is very long and so, to avoid the repetition of so many names in an inevitably lengthy index, those have been omitted which are not of known gentry, clergy or officers, do not recur in B.L.B. and do not appear to have any especial significance. But, because it is recognised that any one of these may have significance for particular researchers, a list of items where they occur is given below.

Item 10 22-2-45; prisoners taken at Shrewsbury: 146 names, gentry, clergy, officers, soldiers.

Item 25 6-3-45; the 'Countrymen risen against Hereford': 26 names.

Item 55 15-3-45; prisoners sent from and prisoners remaining at Nantwich: 55 names, gentry, clergy, officers. Most, but not all, given in 10.

Item 145 30-3-45; prisoners taken at Northop, Flints.: 1 lt., 3 troopers, 1 gent. volunteer, 2 gents., 1 preacher.

Item 236 14-4-45; parl. prisoners at Hawarden Castle: 9 soldiers.

## APPENDIX IV

## 'AUXILIARIES' IN BRERETON'S SERVICE

(i) *The Yorkshire Horse*

The D & A MSS of the B.L.B. contain some 70 items devoted in whole or in part to the units of the Yorks. cavalry which between Feb. & May, 1645, appeared west of the Pennines to assist Brereton in the Leaguer of Chester. It was not the first time Yorks. cavalry had come to Brereton's help. In the winter of 1643-4 they had ridden under Sir Thos. Fairfax to the relief of Nantwich and had been the only parl. cavalry involved in the subsequent battle. There is no evidence that at that time they were discontented with their assignment. They had been driven from their homes by Newcastle in the previous summer; the rescue of Nantwich and the parl. cause in the north-west was an essential preliminary to their return to their own county. It was very different in the spring of 1645 when they had been re-established in Yorks. for some time. Royalist Chester was no particular threat to them and the service Brereton wished them to carry out – helping to blockade the Welsh side of the city – was remote and dangerous. The one inducement for them to cross the Pennines – that they might receive from Brereton the

regular pay which their own county com. could not provide for them – was soon shown to be a delusion. That left them the usual alternative of living in free quarters on the countryside and, whereas in their own county among their own people this might have been tolerated, in Chesh. it aroused bitter hostility.

So the greater part of the entries concerning the Yorks. horse in B.L.B. are filled with acrimonious disputes between their officers and Brereton and his officials. There is not much on their military activities and details which we would wish to know about their regimental organisation and numbers, together with the narrative of their service west of the Pennines, have to be pieced together from fragments of information thrown out in a welter of recrimination. In addition, not much corroborative evidence is available as yet from other contemporary sources. In the Fairfax correspondence (at least in those parts printed in H. Cary, *Memorials of the Great Civil War*) there is nothing at all; in ‘The Sufferings of Wm. Davenport of Bramhall’ (Earw. I, 433) a single reference and in *C.S.P.D. 1644–5* and Malbon a few more. What follows is an attempt, based mainly on the entries in B.L.B. itself, to establish what units of Yorks. cavalry crossed the Pennines into Chesh. between Feb. & May, 1645, what their numbers were, how long they stayed and what actions, military or otherwise, they took during their stay and in what regions.

On 8-2-45 the C. of B.K. told Brereton that they had written to Ld Fairfax, then in command at York, to send 500 of his horse to Brereton’s assistance (3; *C.S.P.D.1644/5*, 205); on 11-2-45 Malbon (161) recorded Yorks. troops among those who assembled at Prees Heath nr. Whitchurch to oppose Prince Maurice who had just arrived at Shrewsbury. On 26-2-45 Brereton, who was at Shrewsbury four days after the parliamentarians had captured it, reported to the C. of B.K. that a regt. of Yorks horse (presumably a second one) had just reached him (16). Later on in March, when Rupert was about to relieve Beeston and Ld. Fairfax to send a further 1,000 horse to help Brereton, there are references to the two regts. of Yorks. horse already with Brereton (31, 56). This additional 1,000 horse was placed under the command of Col. Bethell (how many regts this comprised is never said) and brigaded with Lincs. and Notts. horse under Cols. Rossiter and Thornhaugh. They arrived in Chesh. at roughly the same time as the 5,000 Scots under David Lesley (c.20–22-3-45; see 28, 96, 98; Malbon, 168–9), when the Princes had already relieved Beeston and were retreating southwards. On 24-3-45 Fairfax requested Brereton and Lesley to send them back and they appear to have left with Rossiter’s and Thornhaugh’s men when Brereton, alarmed lest the Princes’ swift withdrawal should presage an attack on the Eastern Association, suggested to these two officers that they should return to their own counties (84, 85, 90, 108, 110). There is no further mention in B.L.B. of Bethell and his men and it is clear in the later arguments over the pay and conditions of the two Yorks. regts that they had been in Brereton’s service for some time.

From the recall of Bethell’s horse to the return to York of the original two

regts on 17-5-45, there was a period of six weeks during which Brereton not only resumed the sieges of Chester and Beeston but threw a force into Wales to blockade Chester from that side and to besiege Hawarden Castle (177, 178). He undoubtedly intended the Yorks. regts to play an important part in these new activities by foraging for supplies and uncovering and giving warning of intended enemy raids. He succeeded for a time as far as one regt was concerned but failed almost entirely with the other.

At the time when the two regts were sent into Chesh., no source names them, nor tells us who their acting commanders were nor gives us their numbers. In the ensuing correspondence while they were under Brereton's command, they are always referred to as Ld. Fairfax's regt and Sir Wm. Constable's, but neither of these officers ever appear in person and we have to work out who was actually in command. This appears to have been Lt. Col. Wm. Spencer for Ld. Fairfax's regt and Maj. Wm. Goodricke for Constable's (203, 338, 449, 461, 483, 498, 499, 502, 530; 483 may seem at first sight to show the opposite but see Note 2 to it.) If the 500 horse which on 8-2-45 the C. of B.K. ordered Ld. Fairfax to send to Brereton (3) were the first regt and the regt of Yorks. horse which Brereton said had come to him at Shrewsbury on 26-2-45 (16) the second, then their numbers must have been somewhere in the region of 800-1,000 horsemen. As to the field officers, two letters to Brereton from Goodricke's officers and one from Spencer's, together with the naming of certain officers in the complaints of the villagers of the Wybunbury area against Goodricke's men, enable us to determine with reasonable certainty which of them belonged to which regt (184, 213, 214, 244, 518, 531; see note at the end of this section).

By piecing together the places from which these officers write letters, either collectively or individually, with such scanty information as is given (mostly by Brereton himself) of the activities of the two regts, it is possible to construct a rough account of what they did (or did not do) while they were west of the Pennines. As Brereton withdrew all his field army to mid-Chesh. when Rupert relieved Beeston on 17-3-45, it must be presumed that the Yorks. regts went with him. When, after Rupert's departure, he resumed the sieges of Beeston and Chester, there is evidence that (as before mentioned) he attempted to use them in his new blockade of Chester from the Welsh side. This venture was accompanied by a great deal of plundering and complaints about this find their way into B.L.B. Among them we find Evan Edwards of Rhual, Flints., saying 'My wife stripped out of her clothes by the Yorkshiremen', while the uproar over the devastation of Sir John Trevor's house, Plas Teg, drew from Lt. Col. Spencer the comment: 'Let the mischief be what it will, Yorkshiremen doeth it; for the business of Sir John Trevor's house, it is well known who did it'. He may have been defending the other regt, but it seems more likely that he was concerned with the reputation of his own. So it is probable that both regts took part in the original push into Wales (which took place about the beginning of April), despite Brereton's later

statement that Spencer's men (Ld. Fairfax's regt) did no manner of service after Rupert's withdrawal. (186, 187, 188, 393, 545.)

After this both regts appear to have been withdrawn from North Wales, Constable's to the Nantwich area where there were complaints from the local people over their conduct (213, 214, 244), and Ld Fairfax's into Salop where they assisted the Salop forces at the abortive siege of High Ercall, raised on 15 April (258, 483, 498, 530). (This of itself shows the inaccuracy of Brereton's above statement.) During this operation they appear to have been under the temporary command of Maj. Hans George, for Spencer was away in York seeing Ld. Fairfax. George himself then got as far south as Little Betton or Betton Strange nr. Shrewsbury but, if the rest of the regt were with him there, by the time Spencer returned from York they had retreated north-east out of Salop altogether and reached Congleton. According to him this was the first stage of their return to York, because of the failure of Brereton to look after their needs or pay them and the disrespect shown them in Salop. Brereton's plea for them to move to Whitchurch preparatory to returning to North Wales was rejected and by 30-4-45 they had reached Macclesfield. (285, 346, 376, 392, 393).

Meantime Constable's men had re-entered Wales and taken part in the raid of 24-26 April which went as deep as St. Asaph and Caerwys. Then they helped to guard the ford at Overton-on-Dee but at the beginning of May the activities of Col. Trevor's men, coming on top of their disgruntlement over lack of pay, caused them to retreat in disorder to the Whitchurch area. Maj. Goodricke made it plain to Brereton that without some more satisfactory arrangements over their pay he would not be able to get them to return to Wales and soon they began a similar movement to Spencer's men, north-eastwards towards home but on a parallel line further west. By 9 May they were at Tarvin, by 11 May in the Knutsford region. (394, 436, 461, 482, 498, 502, 518.)

By this time units of Ld. Fairfax's regt had reached the Stockport area, Wm. Davenport of Bramhall was providing quarters for some of Spencer's officers and the presence of the Yorkshiresmen in n.e. Chesh. was causing discontent among the inhabitants and near-mutiny in Col. Duckenfield's regt, drawn from this area but at the moment in the front line of the Leaguer of Chester. So, although the King's army was now approaching, Brereton told the Yorks. commanders that, if their men would not perform the service he wanted, he would prefer them to return home. On 15 May Wm. Davenport recorded that Spencer's men were on their march to York and on the same day Brereton wrote to the C. of B.K., 'All the Yorks. horse have left us'. (499, 501, 506, 507, 508, 519, 531, 566; Earw. I, 433.)

Pay remained the crucial question until the end. As far back as 17-3-45, when Ld. Fairfax was sending the additional force under Col. Bethell, he and the Yorks. Com. had admitted they had no money to supply the needs of their horse and asked Brereton to raise £500 for this purpose (56). At the beginning

of April the officers of Constable's regt demanded arrears from the time of their first coming into Cheshire and guaranteed pay for their entry into Wales. In reply Brereton could only make promises contingent on a loan arriving from London or exactions upon a subdued North Wales and a captured Chester becoming possible (184, 185). Soon Ld. Fairfax's regt were also complaining and the question of their withdrawal if they were not paid by Brereton was presumably the reason for Spencer's visit to York to see Ld. Fairfax (203, 285, 338, 346). Their part in the siege of High Ercall brought them 2½ days' pay from the Salop Com. (some £200) and, on the eve of their departure, Brereton said he had paid this regt £200 and Constable's £300, both with a promise of more to come if they went into Wales (483, 498, 519, 530). The sums paid were insufficient and the promises of future payment regarded with suspicion. Yet, as late as 15-5-45 when they were already gathering near Stockport for their march to York, Spencer – having heard that £5,000 had arrived from London for Brereton – wrote to him that he and his men were quite willing to stay and serve him if they were given reasonable satisfaction (531). They were not, Brereton replying that there were already many charges on the London money (548), and two days later they departed (566).

The whole sorry episode of the Yorks. horse under Brereton's command and their opposition to performing adequate service is an outstanding illustration of the difficulties that beset the Leaguer. The failure to create an overall organisation (perhaps a county association) to conduct the siege, with Brereton or some other parl. leader having an official command over it, meant that auxiliaries were fed to it piece-meal and on a temporary basis from neighbouring counties. There was no clear understanding as to who was responsible for their pay and upkeep. So, the Chesh. Com., which was faced with an outlay far too large for their resources, and the com. of whatever county was responsible for sending the auxiliaries tried to shug the responsibility off on each other. As a result the soldiers were paid – if at all – in spasmodic dribbles that only exacerbated their discontent and uncertainty. As we shall see in Vol. II, there is some evidence in the B & C MSS of a partial attempt to solve the problem. At some time between May and October, 1645, a mysterious ordinance appears to have been passed under which the pay of all who took part in the Leaguer, whether native Chesh. troops or auxiliaries, was regulated by a new 'Model'. A further comment on this will appear in Vol. II.

#### *The Regiments with Brereton*

N.B. The following information about the officers of these regts has been supplied almost entirely by Dr. Cliffe, either through his book, *The Yorkshire Gentry*, or correspondence. In giving the position of family estates I have used the old divisions into Ridings. The no. of officers who did not apparently come from gentry families inside the county is markedly higher than in Chesh.

(see B.A.L., 385 and notes). They may have been citizens of York or Hull (this is a possibility with Capt. Swaine) or of lower status in the county itself. Otherwise they will have been outsiders from other counties; in the case of Maj. George, probably from another *country*

*Sir Wm. Constable's Regt.*

The acting c. in c. was Maj. Wm. Goodricke of Walton Head, W.R. His father, also Wm., was lt. col. and may have been the absentee 2nd i-c. of the regt. One of them was a commissioner for the E., not the W., Riding in the Northern Association of 20-6-45 (*A. & O. I*, 705).

Capt. Simon Askwith/Ayscough was of Osgodby, N.R.; Capt. (?) Matthew Peirson/Pearson of Kilham, E.R. Mich. Richardson may have been one of the Richardsons of North Bierly, N.R.; John Wrightson may have come from a family that later bought Cusworth, W.R.; Capt. Hen. Swaine was a commissioner for York in 1652 (*A. & O. II*, 662), so may have been a citizen.

Cpts. Robt. Sharpe and Caunaday; Lt. Parglove/Pursglove; M. Deansley/Dennesley, Thos. Hall, Wm. Nash and Edw. Place of uncertain rank and Quartermasters Glendinge and Rawlinge do not appear to have come from Yorks. gentry families.

*Ld. Fairfax's Regt.*

The acting c. in c. was Lt. Col. Wm. Spencer/Spenser, eldest son of Wm. Spencer of Attercliffe who had been an enthusiastic promoter of puritan preaching back in the 1630's. The 2nd i-c. was Maj. Hans George who was probably a foreign professional soldier.

Capt. Adam Baynes, whose voluminous correspondence is now in the Brit. Lib. (Add. MSS 21417-26) was of Knostrop nr. Leeds. Capt. John Boynton was a younger son of Sir Matthew Boynton of Barmston, E.R. They were a strongly puritan family and Sir Matthew and another son – also Matthew – acted as govts. of Scarborough Castle. Capt. (?) Farrar/Farrer could be either John or Wm., sons of John Farrer of Ewood nr. Halifax. The family was puritan and both sons are known to have fought for the Parl. The Rookbys/Rokebys of Cottingham, E.R., were a younger branch of the Rokebys of Skiers. Thos. Rokeby of Cottingham was a commissioner for E.R. in the Northern Association of 20-6-45 (*A. & O. I*, 705). The officer here may have been him or his son who became a lt. in the parl. army. Greene remains unidentified because, although there were three families of this name in the W.R. and one in the E.R., the only one known to have taken an active part in the war was royalist. Bryers, Conerly, Urin and Mason, all of uncertain rank, do not appear to have come from the Yorks. gentry.

(ii) *The Derbyshire Horse*

Co-operation between the parl. forces of Chesh. and Derbys. had occurred earlier in the war. They had fought the battle of Hopton Heath outside

Stafford together in March, 1643. In June, 1644, when Rupert was in Lancs., a detachment of Derbys. horse had come to the big rendezvous of local forces at Rudheath in Chesh. (Malbon, 42–3, 133–4). But the Derbys. horse in question came as a result of an order from the C. of B.K. early in Feb. 1645 that a number of local forces were to assist Brereton in repelling Maurice's advance upon the Leaguer (3). Malbon (161) confirms a Derbys. presence in the force that marched and counter-marched across the Dee but failed to prevent Maurice from entering Chester. Gell in his 'True relation' of his services to Parl. (Glover I, App. 14, 67) says that he sent six troops of horse and dragoons at the request of Brereton (rather than at the order of the Com.) as early as Dec. 1644. But the similarity of the numbers (his six troops and the Com.'s 300) and the absence of the sending of any further detachment in his account suggests that only one force was sent and that Gell, in what was special pleading, exaggerated the length of their stay with Brereton.

The stay was shorter than that of the Yorks. horse, more obscure and – at least after the retreat of the Princes – even less productive. Their movements can only be plotted by the places from which their officers wrote letters to Brereton complaining of their lack of pay and Gell's machinations to get them to return to Derbys. (See 234 n.1 for identification of these places.) Their first of 13-3-45 (38) has no place of origin but they must by this time have been pulled back out of Wales. Their second, written on 19-3-45 (79), the day the Princes began their retreat southwards and the Scots crossed into Chesh., was from Brereton, a village a few miles s.e. of Middlewich where Brereton had established a temporary H.Q. Their third of 12-4-45 (220) was from Darliston, s.w. of Market Drayton in Salop. There is no doubt that Brereton would have liked their presence in Wales most of all, but help to the Salop Com. in the siege of High Ercall was an option that might have been more acceptable to them in the disgruntled condition of their men, and Darliston was well placed for this (260). But their letter insisted that lack of pay and Sir John's promise of it if they returned had by this time driven the troopers into going back to Derby whether their officers agreed to it or not. If Brereton wished to preserve the regt and the honour of its officers he must give them a discharge. A fourth letter from Winnington n.e. of Market Drayton on 14-4-45 (234) and a fifth and final one from Whitmore still further on the road to Derby on 16-4-45 (261) revealed that the march back was a reality and that Brereton had accepted it by sending the officers a discharge from his service. The abortive siege of High Ercall which was abandoned on the day this final letter was written had the assistance of a regt of Yorks. horse alone (See App. IV (i)).

Lack of any agreement as to responsibility for paying the auxiliaries and Brereton's own inability to do so had the same result with the Derbys. horse as it was to have eventually with the Yorks. horse (see App. IV (i)). Their earlier return, however, was due to Gell's ability to offer his men immediate prospects of pay and the inability of Ld. Fairfax in York to do the same.

Brereton must have recognised that this was the reason and accepted fully the pleas of the Derby officers that they and their men would really have preferred to continue in his service. His warm personal relationship with the officers (something which never existed between him and the Yorks. officers) continued and he went on hoping for a return of the regt (260, 348, 539). An examination of what is known about the Derby officers who served under Brereton will undoubtedly give some indications as to the reasons for this special relationship.

Capt. Jos. Swettenham signed all five of the letters written to Brereton and in four of them his signature came first. (The substitution of the Christian name John in 220, the third of these letters, and again in 646 is almost certainly a copyist's error. See 646 n.1.). His continued respect for Brereton was shown after his return to Derby by his sending him intelligence reports of the movements of the King's army past the town on the way to Leicester and Naseby; his continued hostility to Gell by his giving evidence against him in the enquiry into Gell's conduct during the Naseby campaign (Brighton, 46-7). He was of a clerical family, his father Thos. having held two livings in Derbys. in pre-war days and he himself the rectory of Dalbury. In 1643 he had become vicar of All Saints, Derby. After the war he seems to have abandoned military life and returned to his clerical work. He was a member of the Derby-Notts. Committee for Scandalous Ministers in 1654 and in 1658 he became rector of Whitwell. Nevertheless, like many other presbyterians, he did not conceal his desire for a return of the monarchy, although he seems to have stopped short of engaging in conspiracy to bring this about. (Brighton, 46-47; *A. & O. I*, 979.)

Capt. Nat. Barton was Brereton's other 'very reverend divine'. He signed only two of the five letters, his name coming after Swettenham's on both occasions. He was of Caldwell, Co. Derby, his father having been a clergyman in Salop. Some sixteen years younger than Swettenham, he had only just finished his Oxford career before the outbreak of war, having become B.A. in 1638 and M.A. in 1641. He had been chaplain to Sir Thos. Burdett but does not appear to have held any living. After returning from Brereton's service in April, 1645, he was made co-gov. of Barton Park, the garrison nr. Tutbury set up by Gell 1644. From here, he, like Swettenham, sent Brereton intelligence of the King's movements in the area (644). After the war, although he obtained a B.D. from Oxford in 1649, he pursued a military rather than a clerical career. He was a major in various New Model regts and saw a great deal of action, fighting at St. Fagans nr. Cardiff and Preston (probably) in 1648 and at Worcester in 1651. In 1659 he lost his commission because of ambiguous actions in the suppression of Booth's revolt but had it restored again on declaring for Gen. Monck. (Brighton, 15; *A. & O. I*, 32, 295, 463, 660.)

Brereton characterised the rest of the Derby officers serving him as 'godly men', but we know little about them and are not even certain of their identities.

Capt. Robt. Hope, who signed four of the five letters, may have been the son of John Hope who was mayor of Derby, 1638–9, or from the Hope family of Grangefield in Sutton-on-the-Hill. He served throughout the war and later in the Derbys. militia. In 1659 he was an officer of the New Model, supported Lambert and consequently was in trouble both during and after the Restoration. This suggests that he may, indeed, have been an ardent puritan. (Brighton, 33; *A. & O.* I, 32, 295, 463, 660.)

Sam Sleigh signed the first two of the letters. His rank is uncertain (but cannot have been above capt.) and so is his identity. Sir Sam Sleigh of Etwall, a successful barrister who had bought much land in Derbys. and been knighted before the war, was a prominent parliamentarian, a dep. Lt., a com. man and an opponent of Gell. But in the parl. ordinances his name always appears at the beginning of the Derbys. list with Gell, Sir John Curzon and Sir Geo. Gresley. It is hardly likely that such a man would be serving as a capt. or Lt. and junior to men like Barton and Swettenham in the detachment sent to Brereton. There was also a Thos. Sleigh who was mayor of Derby, 1648–9, and a Sam Sleigh who appears in 1683, four years after the death of Sir Sam Sleigh, as a benefactor to Ashover nr. Chesterfield. This last may have been the officer in question and he may have been a son of Sir Sam Sleigh. (Brighton, 45–6; *A. & O.* I, 228, 540, 621, 637, 693; II, 32, 295, 463, 660; Glover I, 102.)

As it seems likely that the remaining signatories were not from Derbyshire at all but from Staffs., it will be as well at this point to consider the personality and career of Maj. Thos. Sanders, who was not with the detachment in Brereton's service but who is mentioned in several letters between Brereton and his London supporters as Brereton's choice for its commander. This will provide an explanation for the possible presence of some Staffs. officers in a Derbys. regt, as well as showing that there may have been other reasons, besides Brereton's undoubted liking for 'very reverend divines' and 'godly men', for his continuing enthusiasm for the services of the Derbys. horse. Thos.'s father, Collingwood, owned lands in Surrey and Derbys. and he himself had acquired Little Ireton by marriage with an heiress of a branch of the Sleighs. On the outbreak of war he became a capt. in Gell's foot regt but the two soon grew into bitter enemies. From Brereton's partiality to him, his connection with 'very reverend divines' such as Barton and Lucy Hutchinson's testimony that he was 'a very godly, honest country gentleman', it would seem that Sanders was a zealous puritan which Gell was certainly not. In addition, Sanders in 1643 accepted service under the mysterious Col. Robt. Haughton (496, n.4) who was raising a regt to garrison Burton in Staffs. and, according to Gell in his 'True Relation', took some of the best Derbys. foot with him. Burton was captured in July, 1643, by the army conveying the Queen south to Oxford, but Sanders was soon exchanged. In Oct. 1643 he got a parl. ordinance placing him on the Derbyshire Com. and another enabling him to receive subscriptions so that a regt of horse could be raised in the county. Presumably this would have been in addition to the regt of horse

already raised and so under his command and not Gell's. In this he had obviously not been successful by February 1645, for the detachment sent to Brereton still had Gell as its official commander. But from Brereton's repeated demands that Sanders be sent down to command it and from the hostility to Gell that appears in all the letters sent from its officers to Brereton, it looks as if Brereton was looking forward either to the creation of a new regt of Derby horse or at any rate to the continuance of a detachment of the existing one that would be under Sanders command and ready to follow his orders and not Gell's.

In the autumn of 1645, with Gell's influence weakened by his half-hearted co-operation with the New Model in the Naseby campaign, a detachment of the Derby horse did return to help the Leaguer of Chester. Sanders was in command and it distinguished itself at the battle of Denbigh on 1-11-45. Sanders continued his military career after the war. The Derby horse being disbanded, Sanders took one troop to the Notts. regt of Col. Thornhaugh and became his second-in-command. When Thornhaugh was killed at Preston in 1648, Sanders took over the regt with Barton as his major. But in 1654 Sanders was one of three cols. who petitioned Cromwell against the dismissal of the Nominated Parl. and the establishment of the Protectorate and lost his commission in consequence. Despite this 'Good Old Cause' stance, he was very half-hearted in his opposition to Booth's Rising in 1659 and got his regt back by declaring, not for Lambert, but for Monck. So he was left untouched at the Restoration and, when he died in 1689, was revealed to have accumulated considerable estates. (34, 80, 122, 539, 801; Brighton, 43-4; *C.J.* III, 110, 276, 285; *A. & O.* I, 637, 686, 963; II, 32, 295, 463, 660; Glover I, App. 14, 64; *Firth & Davies* I, 229, 285.)

The raising of a regt by Col. Robt. Haughton (alleged by Gell in his 'True Relation' to have come from Lancs.) with Sanders as its 2nd i.c. and stationed at Burton in Staffs. is probably the clue to the identity of the three remaining officers who signed the letters to Brereton from the Derby horse - Dan. and Thos. Watson and John Goring. Dan. Watson signed all five, Thos. Watson four and John Goring two. On 30-5-43, about the time of the raising of the regt, a parl. ordinance added Haughton and Sanders to the Com. for Staffs. They also added a Capt. Dan. Watson, who was from Burton itself. (He is not to be confused with Capt., later Lt. Col., John Watson, the 'turf-cutter' from the Moorlands and a very prominent officer in the war in Staffs.: see 432 n.1.) With the capture of Burton and the regt in it membership of the Staffs. Com. by the three seems to have lapsed as they do not appear in its Minute Book. But the business of Haughton's regt and the garrisoning of Burton, which is close to the Derby border, would be quite sufficient to explain the presence of Dan. Watson with the Derbys. horse. (He appears to have been in charge of a coy of dragoons rather than a troop of horse and Gell, in his 'True Relation', says he sent dragoons as well horse to aid Brereton.) Thos. Watson may have been a relative, perhaps a brother. A John Goring of Croxden Abbey appears

during the Interregnum on Staffs. Committees. Croxden Abbey is well to the n.w. of Burton and nearer to Uttoxeter but, like Burton, it is very close to the Derbys. border. In the dangerous days of 1643 with the royalists in the ascendant and their garrisons all around, these east Staffs. supporters of the Parl. may well have felt that service with their counterparts in west Derby was the only way of saving themselves. Two years later their continued presence in the detachment of the Derby horse sent to aid him could have helped Brereton in more than one way. Their old service in Burton under Haughton and Sanders would make them hostile to Gell but, being Staffs. men, they could assist Brereton there also in his struggle with the pro-Denbigh party. Their old commander, Col. Haughton, was suggested by Brereton's supporters as temporary gov. of Stafford if Capt. Stone should be called up to Westminster and as the commander of a new regt to be raised in Staffs. (38, 79, 220, 234, 261, 496; Brighton, 66; Glover I, App. 14, 64; A. & O. II, 42, 307, 476, 673; P. & R. 356; C.J. III, 110.)

It should be mentioned, however, that Capt. Villiers, who had been in the detachment serving under Brereton, but signed none of the letters because he had, at Gell's instigation, marched his men back to Derby, was quite probably a Staffs. man also. There was no Derby family of this name at the time but there was a Staffs. one, living at Hanbury which is close to Burton and the Derbys. border. (38, 79, 220, 234, 260, 261, 348, 496; Brighton, 66; Glover I, App. 14, 64; A. & O. II, 42, 307, 476, 673; P. & R., 108, 199, 356; C.J. III, 110.)

A note may be added on the remaining officers mentioned in the correspondence concerning the Derby horse. Cpts. Greenwood, Rhodes and Frith, who had presumably all stayed under Gell's command, are said to have received preferential treatment from him in the matter of pay. Robt. Greenwood had been a skinner in Ashbourne. Later he was made co-gov. of Barton Park with Barton and he continued under arms for the rest of the war. He raised a troop of horse that fought in the 2nd Civil War and was with Cromwell in Scotland in 1650. Wm. Rhodes was of Streetley; members of the wealthier branch of the family at Barlborough were either royalists or neutralists. He was engaged in a number of minor fights during the war and led the detachment of 300 horse and dragoons from Derbys. which went to the big rendezvous of parl. local forces at Rudheath in Chesh. in June, 1644, while Rupert was in Lancs. Nothing is known of Wm. Frith, who does not seem to have been a Derbys. man, except that he was still recruiting for his troop in July, 1645. There remains Capt. Beswicke whom the officers with Brereton alleged Gell intended as the commander of a troop raised from their deserters, a man of 'debauched demeanour', 'infamous in Chesh.', according to them. He was not from Derbys. and the sole clue as to his identity is an entry in the Liverpool Town Book for 22-7-43, a time when the Lancs. parliamentarians were establishing their control of the town. A Capt. John Bexwicke was given the freedom of the borough. If this is the man, then he was in the service, or considered for the service, of three counties and, so,

may well have been a soldier of fortune. (38, 79; Glover I, App. 14, 67; Brighton, 30, 42, 67; G. Chandler and G.K. Wilson, *Liverpool under Charles I*, 314.)

(iii) *The Warwickshire Horse*

Brereton had useful links with the Warks. Com. through his brother-in-law, Sir Rich. Skeffington, who was one of their leading members, and because both he and they were hostile to the Earl of Denbigh and his supporters. Yet, during the period covered by the D. & A. MSS, Warks. aid sent to Brereton was slight and our knowledge of it negligible. On 8-2-45 the C. of B.K. told Brereton that, among other forces sent to aid him against Maurice, were 150 Warks. horse. These were to march to Stafford and there await his orders. Nothing more is heard of them until, in letters written to the C. of B.K. on 18-4-45, Brereton and the Chesh. Dep. Lts. announced the return of almost all the auxiliaries which had been returned to Coventry. By this time the Princes had stationed themselves in the Worcs. – Hereford area and, to aid him in resisting them, the C. of B.K. had ordered the Com. of Coventry to lend their horse to Massey.

There are no letters from this Warks. detachment while it was under Brereton's command nor any information as to who commanded it or where it was stationed. (3, 227, 279, 280.)

(iv) *The Lancashire Foot*

Despite rivalries and quarrels between its leaders, the parl. parties in Lancs. and Chesh. had from the beginning of the war given considerable assistance to each other. Squires from n.e. Chesh. had helped to defend Manchester in Sept. 1642. In the autumn that followed when Manchester became the centre for parl. resistance in the n.w., it twice sent assistance to the struggling dep. lts. in Chesh. After Brereton's arrival in January 1643 there were joint attacks on Warrington, eventually successful, and a useful Lancs. contingent supported Brereton's invasion of N. Wales in November of the same year. Lancs. foot were prominent in attempts to break the siege of Nantwich by the army from Ireland, the first under Brereton which was defeated at Middlewich on 26-12-43 and the second under Fairfax which was successful at Nantwich itself on 25-1-44. After the failure of Chesh. to stop Rupert in May, 1644, and the devastation he caused in Lancs. afterwards, most of the Lancs. leaders were aware of the importance of maintaining a strong parl. presence in Chesh. and reducing Chester itself. (*C.W.T.L.*, 52, 153-4; *C.W.T.C.*, 108-9; Malbon, 29-30, 44-6, 56-7, 112-7; *Portland I*, 151.)

So, when first Maurice and then Rupert appeared in Chesh. in March, 1645, the alacrity with which a regt of Lancs. foot was sent across the Mersey and provisions got together for the Scots force coming to aid Brereton is noticeable. In addition there was less trouble from this regt than from any of the other auxiliaries sent to Brereton at this time. On 8-2-45 the C. of B.K.

first announced in a letter to Brereton that it had ordered Col. Ashton's regt to come to his assistance. Writing from Shrewsbury on 26-2-45, four days after its capture, Brereton said that 500 of the regt had arrived and more were expected. We have no direct evidence that these ever arrived but further references to the regt while in Brereton's service suggest that it was complete and certainly its commander and his 2nd i.c. were with it for much of the time. Col. Ashton was present at a Council of War of Brereton's officers at Middlewich on 21-3-45 which invited Lt. Gen. Lesley and his Scots to pursue the now retreating Princes and this confirms what already seemed likely, that Ashton's regt was part of the force Brereton drew off to mid-Cheshire in the face of Rupert's advance. By 10-11 April Ashton was attending councils of war called by Brereton at Dodleston to try looters. In the first of these Ashton's 2nd i.c., Lt. Col. John Bradshaw, and several other officers of his signed the death sentences that were passed. Their presence at Dodleston indicates that they were part of the blockade of Chester on its Welsh side that Brereton set up after the withdrawal of the Princes. Their task was to guard the ford and ferry across the Dee at Eccleston. This was the link between Brereton's main forces centred on Tarvin and Nantwich, Lt. Col. Jones's cavalry detachment at Dodleston and Maj. Lothian's infantry, gunners and sappers engaged in the siege of Hawarden Castle.

As Eccleston was not much more than a mile from the southern outpost of the Chester garrison at Handbridge, it was a position of considerable responsibility. There is sufficient evidence that the regt continued to hold this position until another council of war at Dodleston on 17 May, which Ashton also attended, decided to withdraw all the troops concerned in the blockade of Chester from the Welsh side in the face of the advance of the King's army from the midlands. As a consequence of orders from the C. of B.K. there was to be a rendezvous of troops from Chesh., Lancs. and Staffs. behind the Mersey to prevent the King breaking into Lancs. The Lancs. Com. had already been calling for the return of Ashton's regt and on 19 May Brereton gave the order for its withdrawal.

Only in the last week or so of their stay in Chesh. did there appear to be any trouble and any tendency to desert back to Lancs. The original freedom from trouble was undoubtedly due to the men having been paid through the use of money loaned from London, and the ending of this period of calm to uncertainty about their pay once the London money was exhausted and to demands made upon their homes in the way of taxation while they were away. (There is an obvious analogy here with the discontent in Col. Duckenfield's regt over demands made on their homes in n.e. Chesh., partly to support the Yorks. horse, while they were away participating in the siege of Chester.) This and their long absence in Chesh. were presumably the reasons for most of the regt taking unofficial leave to visit their homes once they had crossed the Mersey. They had still not re-assembled and moved to the rendezvous by 29 May, seven days after it was supposed to have taken place, although by this

time the news of the march of the King's army away in a south-easterly direction was making this particular manoeuvre unnecessary. (3, 16, 91, 92, 94, 197, 204, 280, 281, 446, 447, 448, 498, 520, 521, 525, 542, 556, 557, 565, 586, 621, 627, 640, 641, 661.)

For biographical notes see 3 n.1 and 627 n.1 for Col. Ralph Ashton and his son, also Ralph, who succeeded him in command of the regt; 197 n.1 for Lt. Col. John Bradshaw and the other officers.

## APPENDIX V

### THE CYPHERS

Two main types of cypher are used in the Brereton Letter Books. One is alphabetic, each letter of the alphabet being represented by a Roman or Arabic numeral. (From the examples given some letters at least could be represented by a numeral both in its Arabic and its Roman form e.g. c by 7 or vii.) This alphabetic cypher is used in only three items that appear in Vol. I; 18, 39 and 98, all of which come from the D MS. (An entirely different alphabet cypher is used in the B & C MSS which will comprise Vol. II.) Far more frequently used is a cypher in which whole words are represented by Arabic numerals which – as far as the items in Vol. I are concerned – range from 47 to 176. This cypher is used in 14 items: 3, 18, 28, 39, 40, 69, 103, 196, 349, 350, 364, 491, 498 and 529. All the numbers except two represent proper names of persons or places; 172 (used in Items 18, 39, 364) is 'army' and 176 (used in Item 18) 'committee'. But the first is used for particular armies – Brereton's, the Scots, the King's – and the second for particular committees – the county committees of Staffs. and Salop.

Identification of most of the proper names represented by the cypher numbers has been possible because of internal evidence in the items themselves combined with additional evidence from other items in B.L.B. and from outside sources. It has been found possible even when the cypher number has been used only once. 132 occurs only in Item 18 and yet there can be no doubt that it stands for Col. Mytton. This becomes obvious if what is said about 132 in the rest of the paragraph containing the cypher number is put alongside what is said about Mytton at the taking of Shrewsbury in Brereton's letter to the C. of B.K. (Item 11) and in the four Thomason pamphlets in the Brit. Lib. (E 270, 271, 282, 284).

A few of the identities behind the cypher numbers are more uncertain. Whether 112 stands for London or for Westminster alone or for a composite London/Westminster is discussed in Note 2 to Item 529. 73, 74 and 79 cover the identities of important Brereton supporters in London/Westminster

whom Ashurst was to consult on the tricky question of Lt. Gen. Lesley's refusal to pursue the Princes. Vane and St. John suggest themselves as probabilities for two of the three names in question; the matter is discussed in Note 1 to Item 103. But the most interesting of the identities concealed by cypher numbers are those of 154 and 133 who were trying to promote anti-Brereton petitions in Parl. at the end of April, 1645, and of 157 who was to organise the opposition to them. We know that 154 was Sir George Booth because, whereas the B.L.B. copy of the C. of B.K.'s letter to Brereton of 18-3-45 (Item 69) gives the name as 154, the P.R.O. copy of the same letter (C.S.P.D. 1644-5, 351) gives it in clear as Sir Geo. Booth. The circumstantial evidence that 133 was Sir Geo's grandson and heir, Col. Geo. Booth, is strong. Items 19 and 20 reveal that Col. Geo. was up in London either in late February or in March, 1645, engaging in considerable anti-Brereton propaganda. By 12 April, 1645, he had still not returned to the north-west for he was writing from Leicester to his brother-in-law, Lord Grey of Groby, on the state of that town's defences (J.F. Hollings - *History of Leicester during the Great Civil War*, 38). Although units of his regt are constantly mentioned in B.L.B. as in action in Chesh. and Salop from February to April, 1645, he is never said to be with them and we know from Item 441 that some time before 8 May, 1645, he had resigned his command of it. It is almost certain that this was not simply because of his opposition to Brereton and dislike of being under his military leadership. When Booth did return to Chesh. early in May it was to support his grandfather in organising an anti-Brereton petition at Knutsford which, among other things, demanded that the seats held by disqualified royalists in the county and city of Chester be filled (408, 409). The clause was dropped in the second and more moderate version of the petition (409) but revived strongly in the autumn as far as the county seat was involved (it was obviously impractical to hold elections for Chester itself until the city was recaptured), when Col. Geo. was the only candidate put forward and his grandfather his main promoter (B. MS., 824, 843, 845, 862, 864). A likely alternative to an anti-Brereton petition promoted by a Chesh. opposition led by the Booths was an anti-Brereton petition promoted by a Staffs. opposition led by a supporter of the Earl of Denbigh such as Col. Lewis Chadwick (we already have the number 128 for Col. Rugeley) or the Lichfield M.P., Michael Noble. But this is completely ruled out by the postscript to 349. After having told Brereton in the letter itself of the attempts of 133 to promote the anti-Brereton petition Ashurst adds a note for John Swinfen, then with Brereton. 'Be pleased to tell him nothing is amiss in the business of 92 [Stafford] and therefore he may stay awhile longer to assist 155 [Brereton].'

It seems equally probable that 157 stands for Henry Cockson, although the number is used only once - in the same letter from Ashurst to Brereton. Ashurst tells him not to be worried by the actions of 133 because '157 and others now here are able to speak that which will serve the turn'. In a letter to Brereton of about the same date (350) Cockson himself says of 133, 'if

occasion be offered, I shall make use of what I find here against him'. In a further letter of 28-4-45 (364) he adds, 'By the advice of 63 [Ashurst], I have made ready a further charge against 133 if needs require'.

The B.L.B. cyphers are of the simplest kind and the manner in which they are presented poses a problem. If they appeared in the original letters in the way that they appear in the B.L.B. copies, then they were surrounded in the same items by lengthy passages in clear and this must have greatly increased the likelihood of their being deciphered if they fell into the wrong hands. The proper names behind the single cypher numbers sometimes appear ludicrously obvious. Brereton's letter to Ashurst from Middlewich of 24-3-45 (103) has a long passage in clear about the refusal of the Scottish task force to pursue Rupert because of their fears that this might leave the road to Scotland open. There is no concealment about the army or its commander which are clearly labelled 'Scottish' nor about what they are concerned over – the safety of their 'home'. Yet it is considered necessary to use the number 159 instead of Scotland, although immediately afterwards it is made even more obvious that this must be Scotland by the use of the phrase 'they will hazard *that* kingdom'. Perhaps originally more of the letters were in cypher, but partly decoded copies were circulated among Brereton's closest officials and officers before being handed over to the copyists. Some such system is suggested by the footnote, 'This was written in character' (i.e. cypher) to the C. of B.K.'s letter to Brereton of 13-3-45 (40) although, as we have it, only four proper names are in cypher while the rest of the letter is in clear. Yet it is difficult to see how such a system could have worked in practice.

Yet another problem is the identity of the organisation or set of persons who issued and controlled the B.L.B. cyphers. Were they the official cyphers used by the C. of B.K. to communicate with their commanders in the field. Or private cyphers used by Brereton's allies up in London to communicate with him? Or perhaps a mixture of both? Four of the letters using cypher numbers for proper names are from the C. of B.K. to Brereton (3, 28, 40, 69) and these introduce numbers (e.g. 120 for Chester and 154 for Sir Geo. Booth) which are used by Brereton and his allies in letters between themselves. Brereton uses the alphabetical cypher in one letter to the C. of B.K. (98) and it is the same cypher that he uses to cover the name of Capt. Stone in a highly confidential letter to Vane and St. John about the struggle for the control of Stafford (18). He also uses it in a letter to Ashurst and Jane Done on his lack of foot and the necessity of Scots assistance (39). Most oddly, if the cypher was the C. of B.K.'s official one, he apologises in a letter to Vane and St. John for using it (18) and says that Ashurst will interpret it for them, although they were members of the C. of B.K. and Ashurst was not. Most of the letters between Brereton and Vane, St. John, Ashurst, Swinfen and Cockson contained comments on matters, such as the control of Stafford and Eccleshall, the quarrel between Brereton and the dep. lts. of Cheshire, the quarrel between Mytton and the Salop Com. and – above all – the failure of

the Scots to play a major part in the fighting in England, which the correspondents would surely have wished to conceal from many members of the C. of B.K. Most of the comments on Scots affairs would have been displeasing to any of the Scots members of the Com. Among the English peers on the Com. only Saye and Sele and (perhaps) Wharton were sympathetic to Brereton and his allies, yet an English peer and a Scots member signed every letter from the C. of B.K. to the commanders in the field. The disadvantages of Brereton and his London allies using a cypher which was (even if only in part) the official cypher of the C. of B.K. must have been considerable. Yet this is what they appear to have done.

APPENDIX VI

CALENDAR FOR JAN.-MAY (1644) 1645

	SUN.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI.	SAT.
JANUARY				1	2	3	4
	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
	26	27	28	29	30	31	
FEBRUARY							1
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
	23	24	25	26	27	28	
MARCH							1
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
	23	24	25 †	26	27	28	29
	30	31					
APRIL			1	2	3	4	5
	6 *	7	8	9	10	11	12
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
	27	28	29	30			

MAY					1	2	3
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
	25	26	27	28	29	30	31

† First day of the new year 1645, Old Style.

\* Easter Sunday.

N.B. According to the Old Style of Calendar still in use in England at the time of the Civil War the year began, not on 1 Jan, but on 25 March. So all dates from 1 Jan. to 24 March, 1645 (according to our modern reckoning), are given in the D. & A. MSS as in 1644. In this edition such dates in the text itself are given as *1644/45*, but in the introductions, appendices & notes as *1645*. The dates of the days themselves and their placing in the week have been left as given in the MSS, although the Old Style Calendar was by this time some ten days behind the present-day or New Style Calendar, already in use over most of the continent.

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