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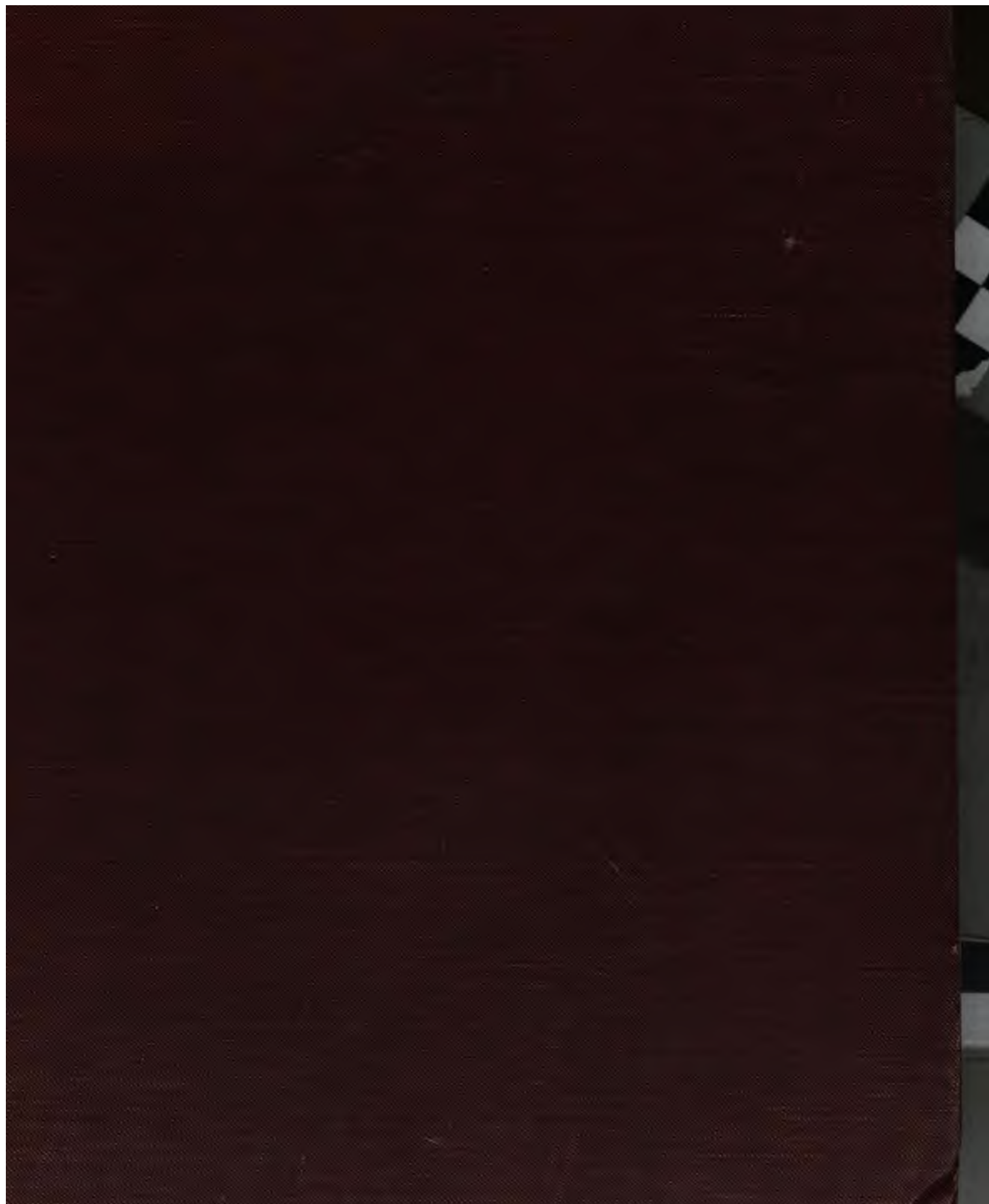
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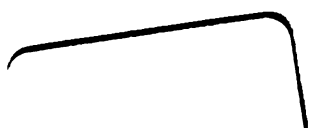
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**THE
CIVIL WAR IN HAMPSHIRE**

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No. 279 Ordinary



BASING HOUSE in HAMPSHIRE.

*from a very Ancient Drawing.
It acquir'd the name of Loyally House, from the gallant defence Lord Winchester made
in it, against the Parliament Army; but was afterwards destroy'd by Oliver Cromwell.*

Published, March. 2. 1795.



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THE
CIVIL WAR IN HAMPSHIRE
(1642-45)

AND THE STORY OF BASING HOUSE

BY
REV. G. N. GODWIN, B.D.
AUTHOR OF
"GREEN LANES OF HAMPSHIRE"
ETC.

ILLUSTRATED WITH PORTRAITS AND COLOURED
VIEW OF BASING HOUSE

NEW AND REVISED EDITION

SOUTHAMPTON
HENRY MARCH GILBERT AND SON
LONDON
JOHN AND EDWARD BUMPUS LTD.
1904

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TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE EARL OF PORTSMOUTH
VISCOUNT LYMINGTON
AND BARON WALLOP OF WALLOP
HEREDITARY BAILIFF OF BURLEY IN THE NEW FOREST
WHOSE ANCESTORS WERE MEN OF RENOWN IN
THE STORMY DAYS OF THE CIVIL WAR

PREFACE TO THE REVISED EDITION

IN the stern struggle between Charles I. and his Parliament, Hampshire played no unimportant part.

The capture, after an all too brief defence, of the strong fortress of Portsmouth was no small gain to the Parliamentary cause, whilst, on the other hand, the gallant stand made by the Cavalier garrisons of Winchester Castle and Basing House was eagerly watched and warmly appreciated at loyal Oxford.

The "Loyal Marquis" who so heroically defended "Basing House" was a worthy ancestor of Major the Marquis of Winchester who fell in South Africa. "The Marquis of Winchester was walking along the bullet-swept trench, encouraging his men. 'For God's sake, lie down, sir!' cried one of his men in an agony of fear—fear for the life of the good soldier and good sportsman who commanded him. Not till the bullet struck did Lord Winchester lie down, and then never to rise again."

The defeat of my Lords Forth and Hopton at Cheriton Fight "broke all the measures, and altered the whole scheme of the King's counsels," nor did the fierce contests at Alton, Christchurch, and Andover fail to influence the general result of the Great Civil War as a whole.

To record in a brief yet complete form the part played by the county of Hampshire during that most eventful time was the avowed object of the first edition of this work, which was most carefully compiled from original materials existing in our great national and private libraries. But years have gone by, and the many standard works bearing upon its subject-matter which have since appeared are proofs of the great interest still felt by all Englishmen in the annals of that stormy time.

The work has therefore been carefully revised and practically re-written, so as to include the very latest results of modern research.

In conclusion, the Author desires to thank right heartily the many friends who have generously aided him, and to express a hope that his labour of love (as it has truly been) will supply one more of those local histories which have become of ever increasing interest of late years, and which are useful aids to recorders of the great events of English history.

WEASENHAM ST. PETER,
NORFOLK, 1904.

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* Now first engraved from a Private Portrait, by kind permission
of Lord Portsmouth.

CHAPTER I

EVE OF THE CIVIL WAR—TAKING SIDES—PARTIES IN HAMPSHIRE

It comes not within our province to discuss the causes of quarrel between Charles I. and his Parliament. But before we speak of actual warfare we must briefly refer to a few events in the history of our county.

At Winchester there are frequent mentions in the Coffer Book of the walls and gates between the years 1632 and 1637, evidences of the coming struggle, and a notice of "xxs layd out by the Mair for the billeting of soldyers,"—"a picturesque lot of fellows no doubt these were, and destined to see service," as saith that genial antiquary, Alderman Jacob. Amongst the writs for ship-money in 1635 and 1636 we find Southampton charged £195 towards the sum of £6000 laid upon the whole shire for providing a ship of 600 tons with 240 men. The quota for Winchester, which caused much bickering between the Dean and Chapter and the Corporation, was fixed at £190, which fell to £170 in 1637. Basingstoke and Portsmouth each paid £60, and Romsey £30.

The Rev. J. S. Davies, M.A., F.S.A., in his admirable "History of Southampton," says of that famous seaport :

"King Charles, who had ascended the throne March 27, was proclaimed in the town on Thursday, March 31, 1625. A few months later he was in Southampton. The plague was raging in the metropolis in the early summer, and the Parliament had been adjourned to Oxford, where it sat a few days at the beginning of August. From that city the King and his council came to Southampton, several orders in council in August being dated from this town ; they were here also some portions of September. No. 17, in the High Street, which contains a good specimen of wood carving (a very beautiful fireplace), is said to have been the King's abode. During this interval an alliance, defensive and offensive, the 'Treaty of Southampton,' dated September 7, 1625, was concluded with the ambassadors of the United Provinces. The King was not only resident some little time in the town, but was indebted to the Corporation, as also to that of Salisbury, for the loan between them of £3000 for the wants of his household.

"At this time, as so often, the town was grievously oppressed by the billeting of soldiers. In January 1626 the Mayor asks Secretary Conway what to do with the soldiers—a part of Colonel Bruce's regiment, now in town and fit for service—he had built them a court of guard near the Market Place for practice. This detachment eventually, at the Mayor's request on September 5, occupied the town. In June he had written to Sir Benjamin Tichborne, Sir Richard Norton, and Sir Thomas Jervoise, commissioners for soldiers billeted in the town, begging a pecuniary supply to avoid mutiny, otherwise he must himself fly the town, as he could not endure the strain. In July he had reported to the Council that they had done what they could to repair the ordnance, but were unable to fortify the town without help, recommending also that the castles in the neighbourhood should be put in repair. In the following April, 1627, the captains of the town were reduced in pay, and the troops were ready to break out. In May Colonel Conway's regiment was stationed in the town and at Romsey."

"The King came again to Southampton on June 18, 1627. He was received at the Bargate by the Mayor, Mr. Francis Knowles, and the Aldermen, who presented him with a covered cup—what was in it the observer could not say—and also with the keys of the town, which latter he returned. His Majesty then passed down the street through a file of soldiers to Sir John Mill's house, where he dined, after which he reviewed the troops in the Saltmarsh, and then took 'koch'-coach for Titchfield where he remained the night."

"In April 1628 two companies lately from Ireland, and part of Lord Morton's regiment, were billeted in the town; and in May the Mayor begged for their removal to Lymington, as the town had been oppressed beyond bearing, and the inhabitants were ready to leave their homes; added to which the companies which had been with them since November had only received ten weeks' pay. By November 1630 a long bill had been run up for billeting soldiers, and the town sent Nathaniel Mill to treat on the matter. Five years later (December 1635) the heavy amount of £905 was owing to the Corporation on this account."

In 1634 an order was given for Southampton to furnish a ship of 700 tons, armed and victualled, to aid in the suppression of the Turks and other sea-rovers.

"In 1640, on November 28, William Prynne, barrister of Lincoln's Inn, the learned Puritan, and most voluminous writer, together with Henry Burton, clerk in holy orders, a lecturer in London, and formerly a closet-keeper of the King, when Prince of Wales, who had both some time previously been censured by the Star Chamber for libellous productions, and then banished—the former to Jersey, the latter to Guernsey—were brought back to England and landed at Southampton. Here they were well received by an enthusiastic crowd, their expenses were paid, and liberal presents made them. The like fortune attended their journey to the capital, numbers meeting them in every town. At Charing Cross they were greeted with a multitude of 10,000 persons, flowers being thrown on their way to the city.



Wm. Verelst.

Sir Henry Wallop.

John Bastwick, a doctor of medicine, who had been banished to Scilly, returned through Dover a few days after, meeting with the like reception in his progress through Kent, and in London."

In 1641 Charles I. granted to Southampton its last charter, which is still in force. In 1642 the Marquis of Winchester declared for the King, but his kinsmen, Sir Henry Wallop and Robert Wallop, who were members for the county, and for Andover, were Parliamentarians. Two other kinsmen of the Marquis, Sir Richard Jervoise, Kt., of Herriard Park, and Sir Thomas Jervoise, probably a son of Sir Richard, represented the borough of Whitchurch in Parliament. Sir William Waller, the general of the Parliament, was also a relative of the Marquis of Winchester, and was in 1642 returned as member for Andover. Sir Henry Wallop and Richard Whitehead, Esqrs., who were both Parliamentarians, represented the county at Westminster. Richard Whitehead lived at Norman Court, and was the son-in-law of Colonel Norton of Southwick. Sir Henry Rainsford and Henry Vernon, Esqrs., were the original members for Andover, in the Long Parliament, but by a petition, which bears date May 3, 1642, Mr. Vernon was unseated, and Sir William Waller was declared duly elected, the return being amended on May 12, 1642. Robert Wallop, Esq., a staunch friend to the Puritan cause, also represented Andover in the Long Parliament.

Henry Percy, Esq., was one of the members for Portsmouth, but on his electing to sit for Northumberland a new writ was issued, and in the Borough Records we find: "March 15, 1641, Edward Dowse, Esq., in lieu of H. Percy, who sits for Northumberland." The other member was the notorious Colonel Goring, who, deserting the Puritan cause, openly declared for the King on August 2, 1642, and was, in consequence, expelled from the House of Commons on the eighth of that month.

The members for Southampton were Alderman George Gollopp, Esq., the fifth son of Thomas Gollopp, of Strode, Dorset, Esq., and Alderman Edward Exton, Esq., who were adherents of the Parliament. The representatives of Stockbridge were William Heveningham and William Jephson, Esqs., son of Sir John Jephson, of Froyle, an active commander and Lieutenant-Governor of Portsmouth in 1644, who supported the same cause. Clarendon speaks of Norton, Onslow, Jarvis, Whitehead, and Morley, all colonels of regiments, and of two captains, Jervoise and Jephson, "the two eldest sons of the greatest rebels of that country, both heirs to good fortunes." One of the members for Winchester was the celebrated John Lisle, Esq., of Moyle's Court, near Ringwood. He played a very active part in the proceedings of the Parliament, and was at last killed by some Royalists at the church door in Lausanne. His wife was Dame Alicia Lisle, the aged victim of the brutal Judge Jeffreys. His colleague, Sir William, afterwards Lord Ogle, the brother-in-law of Sir William Waller, was a devoted Royalist, which caused him to be unseated on June 24, 1643. Henry Hulse, Esq., of Hinton, in Christchurch, and John Kemp, Esq., of Haywood, were the members for Christchurch. Sir Benjamin Tichborne, who had married one

of the Comptons, of Prior's Dean, and who represented Petersfield, was obliged to retire after the Battle of Cheriton to the old family mansion at West Tisted. This is now a farmhouse; and near it an old hollow oak is still shown, in which the knight contrived to secrete himself from the pursuit of the troopers who were sent to apprehend him. Sir Richard Tichborne was probably in the Battle of Cheriton, and is said to have been concealed in a cottage chimney, as were also his brother, Sir Benjamin, and his son, Sir Henry. These members of the Tichborne family were unhappily arrayed against a kinsman in the army of the Parliament. This was Robert Tichborne, a zealous adherent of Cromwell, afterwards Lord Mayor of London, and called by the Protector to his Upper House in 1657. He sat as one of the King's Judges, and signed the fatal warrant, "Alderman Tichborn, then Sir Robert, knight of the new stamp, now Lord Tichborn." At the Restoration he was arraigned, but was never brought to trial. Sir Henry Tichborne, the son of Sir Richard, is represented in Tillbourg's picture of the Tichborne Dole. For his attachment to the Royal cause his estate was sequestered, but it was given back at the Restoration.

Colonel Norton, the friend of Cromwell, lived at the Manor House of Old Alresford and at Southwick Park. Dr. Peter Heylyn, the rector of Old Alresford, who wrote a history of the Reformation, was hated by the Puritans for having arranged his church according to the injunctions issued by Archbishop Laud. The principal inhabitants of Alresford favoured the cause of the Parliament.

Winstanley ("Worthies of England") says that Heylyn spent large sums upon his parsonage at Alresford, and that he kept great hospitality for the poor, and a bountiful house among his rich neighbours. Nor was his care less for the service of God to be constantly performed, by reading the Common Prayers in the church every morning, which gave great satisfaction to the parish, being a populous market town. In spite of all this his house was plundered by Colonel Norton; and he himself was declared a delinquent by a Parliamentary Committee sitting at Portsmouth, to which town his library and household goods were brought by order, and sold for a very small fraction of their value. Heylyn himself took refuge during the war at Winchester, where he met with his full share of troubles. Winchester Castle was a place of considerable strength. James I. had granted it in fee farm to the Tichborne family for ever. Sir William Waller claimed the office of governor, but his sister, Lady Ogle, also asserted her rights as owner. In 1644 Sir Richard Tichborne aided in bringing it under the authority of the King. Bishop Curle, of Winchester, and the Rev. W. Lewis, Master of St. Cross, were staunch loyalists and churchmen; and when, on December 21, 1645, King Charles was brought as a prisoner to Winchester under a guard of horse *en route* from Hurst Castle to Windsor, "at his entrance therein the Mayor and Alderman of the city did, notwithstanding the times, receive the King with dutiful respect, and the clergy did the like. During his short stay of one night the gentry and others of inferior

rank flocked thither in great numbers to welcome his Majesty." The majority of the townsmen of Southampton seem to have favoured the Royal cause; while Clarendon says of the noble owner of Titchfield House, "The Earl of Southampton was indeed a great man in all respects, and brought very much reputation to the Royal cause." He watched the King's body during the night after the execution, and saw the entrance of a muffled figure in a cloak, whom he believed to have been Cromwell, and who said "Stern necessity." Lord Southampton was present at the King's funeral at Windsor on February 8, 1649. The father of Lady Rachel Russell of Stratton, he died on May 16, 1667, and was buried at Titchfield. A large portion of the parish of Abbot's Worthy belonged to Arthur, Lord Capel, who desired that his heart, after his execution in March 1649, might be enclosed in a silver vase, and be presented to Charles II. at the Restoration, which was accordingly done. Of him the old rhyme ran :

Our lion-like Capel undaunted stood,
Beset with crosses in a sea of blood.

Colonel Sandys, of Mottisfont House, Colonel Phillips, of Stoke Charity, Captain Peregrine Tasbury, with many others, and Sir William (afterwards Lord) Ogle took up arms for the King. The Fleming family, who were relatives of Oliver Cromwell, and who had settled at North Stoneham in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, were staunch adherents of the Parliament. A Captain Fleming was wounded at Cheriton fight, and received a grant of £30 from the Parliament. Colonel Fleming was appointed governor of Pembroke Castle in 1647; and Sir Oliver Fleming was, on November 2, 1643, appointed by the Parliament as their Master of the Ceremonies. Captain Francis St. Barbe, of Broadlands, a Parliamentarian, was mortally wounded at the first Battle of Newbury, and was buried at Romsey in September 1643. The family had another seat at Ashlington, in Somerset. In the Isle of Wight the Oglander family were staunch Royalists, as was also the Earl of Portland, who was governor of the island, and of whom we shall speak presently.

On June 21, 1642, the Deputy-Lieutenants, Colonels, and Captains of the county declared for the Parliament, with the cheerful assent of the county trained bands, who were about 5000 in number, and who were speedily joined by numerous volunteers who offered to serve in person.

Hampshire had its share in the local troubles and disturbances which preceded the actual outbreak of hostilities on a large scale. On August 10, 1642, seven straggling Cavaliers robbed two Wiltshire gentlemen on the highway, about three miles from Winchester, of about £80 in gold and £10 in silver, shooting their horses dead and riding off. They were pursued by two gentlemen of the county and their servants, and at length entered an inn at Romsey. Armed assistance having been obtained, they were promptly secured, and imprisoned at Winchester to await their trial. Next day there was a fight at Hosdown (Houndsdown, in Eling parish?),

which was a mile out of Southampton, according to a news-letter of the period. The High Sheriff of Hampshire, escorted by some eighty men, endeavoured to raise the county militia for the Parliament, but was attacked by between sixty and seventy Cavaliers and about 100 persons who disliked his proceedings. The fight lasted about an hour. Fifteen of the King's party were killed and nine mortally wounded, with a loss of five killed and none wounded on the other side. The country people came in great numbers to assist the Sheriff, as did also numerous well-armed volunteers from Southampton. At length many of the Cavaliers were captured and placed in safe keeping. The Mayor of Southampton addressed the crowd, urging them to act only in a strictly legal manner, but, at the same time, took good care not to say anything which might afterwards be construed to his hurt by either the King or the Parliament, "and so taking his leave of the Sheriff, he returned home." Mr. Parker, of Upper Wallop, wrote an account of these proceedings, with great satisfaction, to a friend in London. On August 13 the Sheriff received the thanks of Parliament for "his good service and ready affections to the House," and Mr. Button was ordered with his regiment to be assistant to the Lord Gorges (late of Langford House, near Salisbury) in the defence of Hurst Castle for the Parliament. This fortress had a captain, who received 1s. 8d. per diem, an under captain at 10d., ten soldiers at 6d. each, a chief gunner at 8d., one porter at 8d., and six gunners at 6d. each per diem. The total yearly cost was £264 13s. 4d. The fort at St. Andrew's Point, near Hamble, of which some faint traces may still be seen, cost £85 3s. 4d. per annum. Calshot Castle had a chief captain in receipt of 1s. 8d. per diem, an under captain at 10d., four soldiers at 8d. each, one porter at 8d., and eight gunners at 6d. each per diem. The whole annual expenditure was £107 7s. 6d. The cost of maintenance of Netley Castle is not stated.

On Friday, August 26, 1642, information was given to both Houses of Parliament about a ship coming from St. Domingo, in the West Indies, with a cargo valued at £600,000. Her name was variously given as "the ship *Cleare* of London," and as the *Sancta Clara*, and she was laden with silver, cochineal, ginger, hides, &c., &c. The fleet of the Earl of Warwick was then blockading Portsmouth in the interest of the Parliament, and, in consequence, the *Sancta Clara* was carried into Southampton by her captain, Benedict Strafford. Her cargo was seized by order of the Parliament, and sent up to London, the silver alone requiring three waggons and a cart to convey it to the Guildhall, under the escort of Major Burrell and a troop of horse. Don Alonço de Cardenes, the Spanish ambassador, remonstrated, and on January 2, 1643, the King issued a proclamation warning all his subjects against any illegal handling of the silver, &c., in question. The cargo was only partly landed at Southampton, and was carried to the house of Mr. Le Gay, a prominent Puritan, who laid claim to the ship.

Two Committee-men, the Deputy-Lieutenants of the county, and the members for the town, were ordered to ascertain the value of the cargo, so that it might be

restored to its lawful owner. The captain, who was also part-owner, John Marston, and others claimed the cargo, and gave a very curious account of the ship's voyage. Certain Spanish merchants put in a claim, which the Spanish ambassador supported, and which was allowed, for the sale of the cochineal, and for the coining of the bullion, which had been brought up from Southampton under escort and lodged in the Tower of London. They deposited £50,000 as security, and at last, after some very complicated proceedings in the Admiralty Court, the *Sancta Clara* was released in March 1643, and proceeded on her voyage to Spain. But the lawyers had not yet finished with her, and proceedings went on indefinitely, the matter being still further complicated by a petition presented to Parliament, which was referred to the Committee of the Navy on Wednesday, September 14, 1642, by "Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, and his Associates in the Royal Fishing of Great Britain and Ireland," asking for a share of the cochineal and silver because the Dunkirkers had destroyed their herring busses. Sir John Mill, of Mottisfont, was entrusted by Parliament with the delivery of the cargo to its owners, who were to pay freight and other dues. The *Sancta Clara* had previously been delayed for more than a year "by the Factors and President of St^a Domingo," who refused her clearance to the "danger of cargo, risk of life, and hazard of the loss of his ship, being eaten out with the worms."

That good antiquary, the late Mr. W. D. Pink, says, (*Hampshire Notes and Queries*, vol. v. p. 85): "The following extract from the Journals of the House of Commons, under date July 22, 1642, immediately before the breaking out of the Civil War between King and Parliament, is interesting from the number of names of contemporary Hampshire gentry contained in the document: 'Whereas information hath been given to the Parliament that divers ill-affected persons to the true Protestant Religion and the Peace of the Kingdom, have endeavoured to prepare Horses, and Store of Arms, Ammunition, and Money, with divers other Provisions, in some parts of this Kingdom, for the assisting and encouragement, of those that intend War against the Parliament; And whereas it is probable that the said Horses, Arms, or Ammunition may be brought through some part of the County of Southampton or provided there; For prevention whereof the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, do hereby require the High Sheriff of the County of Southampton, and all Justices of Peace, Mayors, Constables, and all other his Majesty's Officers, within the said County to be aiding and assisting in the execution of this order; and do hereby authorise the Deputy Lieutenants of the said County, or one of them, Sir Henry Wallop, Knight, Sir Henry Clerk, Knight, Sir John Compton, Knight, Richard Gifford, Esquire, Thomas Clark, Esq. John Kemp, Esq. John Hook, Esq. Richard Mayor, Esq. Thomas Hussey, Esq. Thomas Chandler, Esq. Edward Goddard (junior), Esq. Francis St. Barbe, Esq. Wm. Collins, Esq. James Nutt, Esq. Thomas Creswell, of Heckfield, Esq. William Pawlett, Esq. John Miller, Francis Rivett, Nicholas Love, Wm Bold, John Pitman, William Carrick, William Withers, John St. Barbe, Richard Love, of Basing, Henry Kelsey, Thomas Hambergh, Arthur

Bromfield, Thomas Betsworth, John King, Robert Knapton, Esquires, Francis Palmes, George Wither, of Hale, Gentlemen, George Baynard, Mayor of Basingstoke, and the rest of the burgesses there, Robert Harwood, Esq. Richard Ashley, Gentleman, George Verner of Goorely, Esq. Wm. Blake of Andover, Wm Jervis of Andover, Wm Cooper of Andover, Gentlemen. or any one of them to make stay of all Horses, Arms, Ammunition, Money, or other Provisions whatsoever, which they or any of them, shall suspect to be preparing or carrying for the making of war against the Parliament as aforesaid. And whereas, in the Store House at the City of Winton, in the said County, there are Six Field Pieces, with double Carriages, Nine Sows of Lead, Five dry Vats of Match, with spoons, ladles, and brushes, and iron bullets for the Pieces; which said Pieces and Ammunition aforesaid are belonging to the said County of Southampton. And whereas it is not convenient for the use and service of the said County that those Pieces and Ammunition aforesaid should remain and continue in the said Store House: It is therefore *ordered* by the said Lords and Commons that the said Pieces and Ammunition aforesaid shall be carried and conveyed into some more convenient place of the said County, as the Deputy Lieutenants, or any two or more of them shall nominate or appoint."

The Marquis of Winchester seems to have been at first inclined to neutrality, for in the "Description of the Siege of Basing Castle" (first reprinted by that good antiquary, W. Money, Esq., F.S.A., of Newbury, to the great comfort of all students) we read: "Hither, the rebellion having made houses of pleasure more unsafe, the Marquis first retired, hoping integrity and privacy might here have preserved his quiet, but the source of the time's villany, bearing downe all before it, neither allowing neutrality, or permitting peace to any that desired to be lesse sinful than themselves, enforceth him to stand upon his guard." The position of Basing House, commanding as it did the great western road, could not escape notice, and on August 19, 1641, "In the House of Commons, one, Mr. Sewer did this day give information that he did see on Monday was sevensnight, a great many arms in the Marquis of Winchester's house at Basingstoke, a recusant, and that the keepers of them told him there were arms for a thousand five hundred men." On November 4 of the same year "It was ordered that the Lord Marquess of Winchester, shall have liberty, by vertue of this Order, to sell off his arms to such tradesmen as will buy the same." Having thus, as they thought, made Basing House defenceless, some of its foes attacked it, which, says the "Description," then "enforceth him (the Marquis) to stand upon his guard, which, with his gentlemen armed with six musquets (the whole remainder of a well-furnished armory), he did so well, that twice the enemies' attempts proved vaine."

CHAPTER II

THE SIEGE AND SURRENDER OF PORTSMOUTH

AT the time of the raising of the King's standard at Nottingham on August 22, 1642, Portsmouth was held by one whose course, from first to last—devious, uncertain, and unprincipled—shed disgrace upon the nobleness of his name, and upon the honourable profession of a soldier. This man was Lord Goring, than whom, on account of his private vices of drunkenness, cruelty, and rapacity, and of his political timidity and treachery, scarcely any one was more unworthy to be trusted with any important matters for counsel or execution. Warburton calls him “this extraordinarily gifted and unprincipled man.”

Clarendon says that his premature declaration at Portsmouth on August 2, 1642, obliged the King to declare war “before he was in any way ripe for action,” and wishes, after his repeated treachery, “that there might be no more occasion to mention him hereafter.”

In the previous year he had been a traitor to the King, and had betrayed the Army Plot. The Parliament now felt sure of him; but he was all the while in treaty with the King. Queen Henrietta Maria nearly lost her life in trying to flee from Whitehall to Portsmouth, to place herself under his protection. This plan he duly disclosed to the Parliament, and received either £4000 or £5030, to be spent upon the fortifications, whilst “the Queen gave him £3000 and some valuable jewels to gain over the garrison” (Warburton). Parliament ordered the forces in Wiltshire and Hampshire to advance nearer to Portsmouth; and on January 12, 1642, Goring received orders to hold the town against any demands or force of the King. Colonel Norton, of Southwick Park, warned the House of Commons that Goring was fortifying and raising batteries towards the land, “and, in short, was not to be trusted.” Goring hereupon came to London, and, by a most plausible speech, completely deceived the Parliament, so that “not without some apology for troubling him, they desired him again to repair to his government, and to finish those works which were necessary for the safety of the place, and gratified him with consenting to all the propositions he made in behalf of his garrison, and paid him a good sum of money for

their arrears. With which, and being privately assured (which was indeed resolved on) that he should be Lieutenant-General of their Horse in their new Army, when it should be formed, he departed again to Portsmouth; in the meantime assuring his Majesty, by those who were trusted between them, 'That he would be speedily in a posture to make any such declaration for his service as he should be required,' which he was forced to do sooner than he was provided for, though not sooner than he had reason to expect." (Clarendon).

Goring, on receiving his commission as Lieutenant-General of the Horse, asked to be allowed to remain at Portsmouth as long as possible, in order to complete the defences. When he was at last ordered to come to London without delay, he threw off the mask, and wrote "a jolly letter" to Lord Kimbolton (Manchester), saying "that he had received the command of that garrison from the King, and that he could not be absent from it without his leave," and concluded "with some good counsel to the Lord."

The Parliament was much grieved at the loss of the only fortress in England, which was also a seaport; and the King at York was equally pleased, expecting that Goring would have laid in all necessary stores, and would be able to hold out for three or four months at least.

This and other considerations induced the King to issue a proclamation calling on his loyal subjects to rally round his standard at Nottingham on August 22, 1642, and to send the Marquis of Hertford, with Lord Seymour, his brother, Lord Pawlet, Hopton, Stawel, Coventry, Berkeley, Windham, and some other gentlemen "of the prime quality and interest in the Western parts," into those districts to raise regiments for his service. But no sooner had the standard been displayed at Nottingham than "his Majesty received intelligence that Portsmouth was so straightly besieged by sea and land that it would be reduced in a very few days except it were relieved. For the truth is, Colonel Goring, though he had sufficient warning, and sufficient supplies of money to put that place into a posture, had relied too much upon probable and casual assistance, and neglected to do that himself which a vigilant officer would have done; and albeit his chief dependence was both for money and provisions from the Isle of Wight, yet he was careless to secure those small castles and blockhouses that guarded the passage, which, revolting to the Parliament as soon as he declared for the King, cut off those dependencies; so that he had neither men enough to do ordinary duty, nor provisions enough for those few for any considerable time. And at the same time with this news of Portsmouth, arrived certain advertisements, that the Marquis of Hertford and all his forces in the West, from whom only the King hoped that Portsmouth should be relieved, was driven out of Somersetshire, where his power and interest was believed was unquestionable, into Dorsetshire; and there besieged in Sherborne Castle." (Clarendon.)

There are numerous accounts and news-letters of the siege of Portsmouth, from which we must try to gather a connected story.

THE SIEGE AND SURRENDER OF PORTSMOUTH 11

On August 2, the date of Goring's declaration for "the King alone," there were in garrison 300 soldiers, 100 townsmen able to bear arms, and in the remainder of Portsea Island about 100 more. There were about 50 officers, with their servants. The Governor and officers possessed more than 50 horses; but there was only two days' provision in the town, which was unfortified and very weak in many places. Colonel Goring ordered all men able to bear arms or to find substitutes to meet in the Bowling Green, on pain of imprisonment, knowing full well that only Cavaliers would put in an appearance. The friends of the Parliament were speedily disarmed, and 40 horsemen, with pistols and carbines, admitted into the garrison. At three o'clock on that August afternoon the Colonel addressed the meeting, urging them to stand fast for the King, promising money to the Cavaliers, and leave to depart to the adherents of the Parliament. The military chest was not empty, for Goring had received £5030, voted on June 30, from the Parliament for the payment of arrears to the garrison and for strengthening the fortifications (which he showed publicly), and £9000 from Mr. Weston, brother to the Earl of Portland, the Royalist Governor of the Isle of Wight. (Is this an error for the amount which he received from the Queen?) At the conclusion of his harangue some of the soldiers shouted in token of assent; but others were discontented, and strife ran high in the town. Colonel Goring at once sent out an officer to enlist recruits in the county; but only those who professed their willingness to fight for the King were admitted within the walls. All the soldiers and every townsman except three or four declared for the King.

According to information received by the House of Commons on August 8, most of the Corporation willingly took the oath of allegiance to the King which Goring proposed to them; but Mr. Peek (a minister), Mr. Odell, Mr. Goodfellow, and several others refused it, and were in consequence obliged to leave the town. The Mayor took his wife and family to Salisbury, intending to leave them there, and to return himself to Portsmouth, after doing his utmost to raise men and money for the King. A rumour was current that 5000 French soldiers would soon land to reinforce the garrison, and Mr. Jermyn, the Queen's favourite, was endeavouring to raise 4000 men at Rotterdam to strengthen Colonel Goring. Twenty horsemen were posted at Portbridge, with orders to keep guard both by night and by day. The bridge, at which Goring raised a "mount" or battery, was protected by a strong framework of timber, and four guns belonging to the *Henrietta Maria*, pinnace, swept all the approaches to it. The garrison had no great zeal for the King. Within ten days more than half of the soldiers and townsmen had found means to escape. A certain Captain Wiles completely failed to win over his men, who, after much discussion, killed him, the chronicler adding, "Alas, who knows whether, with his body, they slew his soul also!" Colonel Goring ordered all women and children who dreaded a siege to quit Portsmouth by noon on the following Sunday. Good cause had women to flee when troopers such as his were in garrison! Terrible indeed are the accounts given by ancient journalistic scribes—far too bad to be quoted here!

The Parliament acted promptly. The Earl of Warwick was ordered to blockade the harbour with five goodly ships, and he duly arrived on Monday, August 8. Preparations were also made for an attack on the land side. The Commission of Array was not put in force; but the militia was duly embodied, and one or two companies of the County Trained Bands declared for the Parliament against the King. Many Hampshire gentlemen who had promised to bring in reinforcements of horse and foot were stopped on their way to Portsmouth, as was also Sir Kenelm Digby, a great ally and confederate of Goring. Only two days had elapsed before the County Militia and Trained Band, together with the regiment of Foot, of which Sir John Merrick, Sergeant-Major (*i.e.*, Major) General of the Army, and afterwards General of the Ordnance, was Colonel, and one troop of Horse, began to blockade Portbridge, rendering the provisioning of the garrison a matter of great difficulty. Colonel Norton at once raised a force of musketeers, who took post at his house at Southwick Park, at Havant. Sir William Waller and Colonel Urrey, afterwards hanged as a traitor to both parties, were each in command of a troop of horse; and "there are some 20 firelocks that look like desperate souldiers." The Fairfax Correspondence speaks of "three troops of horse sent to Portsmouth." On Saturday, August 6, the supplies of provisions from the Isle of Wight were cut off; and on the 8th, as we have already said, the Earl of Warwick arrived with his blockading squadron, which, however, did not fire a single shot during the siege. The Earl of Portland, the Cavalier Governor of the Isle of Wight, was imprisoned; and on August 19 the Earl of Pembroke was appointed to succeed him. Goring now refused to obey a summons to surrender Portsmouth to the authority of the Parliament. On August 10 a gentleman sent by the King with great difficulty brought in a letter containing promises of help and reinforcements, which greatly cheered the garrison, which, on the next day, was 500 strong, "Papists and those ill-affected to Parliament." The Grand Jury at the County Assizes in August presented a most loyal petition to the King, asking for help against the Parliament. One hundred carbines, pistols, saddles, and much ammunition for the garrison were intercepted by the besiegers. Bishop Curle, of Winchester, sent five completely armed horsemen to Portsmouth; and Dr. Hinsham, a Prebendary of Chichester, sent in a load of wheat. Hackney coachmen were offered commissions on condition of using their horses for the King's service. A countryman who went to sell his butter at Portsmouth was forcibly impressed, as were also many others. Lord Wentworth, Goring's constant associate, was with him at Portsmouth as his Major-General, and afterwards saw service at Cropredy Bridge and at Newbury. His cavalry force was afterwards roughly handled at Ashburton, in Devonshire; and on January 15, 1646, he was in chief command of the cavalry belonging to the remnant of the King's army in the west. "Some say Lord Goring is at Portsmouth; however his soul is there, we may be assured." Colonel Goring sent an officer to Salisbury, with thirty or forty horse, in search of plunder and reinforcements: but on their arrival they were all captured and imprisoned. Before

Sir William Waller reached Portsmouth, the besiegers were commanded by Sir John Merrick. The loyal gentlemen of Hampshire at once raised a besieging force, asking for the authority of Parliament, and offering to hazard their lives and fortunes in the maintenance of the Protestant religion and of the just privileges of Parliament.

Vicars says that the Parliament's forces "first shewed themselves against Goring about Pochdown (Portsdown) in London, way halfe a mile from the bridge, about the 10th of August." Goring hereupon withdrew the four guns which guarded the bridge, which was now only protected by ten or twelve troopers, armed with pistols and carbines. About a mile from the bridge ("half a mile from the town") the wheel of one of the gun-carriages broke, and the gun was left behind, the other three pieces of artillery reaching Portsmouth in safety.

Cruel, indeed, was the pillaging of Portsea Isle, which had then 2000 acres of standing corn upon it. One thousand cattle and more than 1000 sheep were carried off by the all-devouring garrison. Bread, cheese, bacon, and everything shared the same fate, the plunderers not even leaving half-loaves behind them for the starving population. The owners were obliged to drive their own cattle within the walls, and were then themselves retained for military service. Another account says that 350 cattle with many sheep and lambs were taken away to Portsmouth. The soldiers killed the best; "and the rest they kept within the town upon some ground below the moats that round the town, but the most of them were kept on a marsh near the town," and were guarded by musketeers.

On Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, August 10-12, this plundering was at its worst. To aid the miserable rustics, the Earl of Warwick landed men from the blockading squadron at the east end of Portsea Isle, with two guns. Goring's horse were thus held in salutary check, while the seamen ferried numerous women and children over to Hayling Island. About 200 sheep and 100 cattle were also taken over to the same place of refuge, ropes being thrown over the horns of the cattle to make them swim after the boats. One hundred and thirty-five quarters of wheat were bound from Fareham to Portsmouth; but one Master Allen, of Gosport, succeeded in stopping the carts upon the road, and altering their destination, by the aid of a few watchmen. Great was the rage of Goring. He threatened to bombard and utterly destroy Gosport with the guns of Portsmouth; and it was only after the humble prayers of the Mayor and others, upon their knees, that he consented to desist from his purpose for the sake of the women and children dwelling there. As it was, he terrified the Gosport people exceedingly. His gunner, Meader by name, had already fled from the town; but he summoned "a cannoneer," and ordered him to fire at Gosport. Upon his refusal the Colonel threatened to run him through, whereupon he shot, "but it was over the houses, and did no harm." In 1688, we are told, "the castle at Gosport is situated on low ground directly facing Portsmouth, which is commanded by twenty cannon."

Communication with the outer world became every day more difficult. Three

gallant gentlewomen tried to hire a boat for Stokes Bay, but were brought back in a friendly manner to Sir Thomas Bowyer's house at Chichester, in his coach. Having no man with them, they were strongly suspected to be men in women's apparel. Those were evidently not times for ladies to travel alone. At Havant a traveller was caught with letters from Portsmouth concealed in his boots. The letters were taken from him and given to Colonel Norton, who sent out "a few lusty men with muskets" to arrest the messenger. Another envoy coming from Chichester to Portsmouth through bye-lanes was met by apparently a most boorish rustic, who proved to be an officer in disguise, and who carried him and his despatches to Colonel Norton, at Southwick.

But deliverance was at hand for the unhappy plundered dwellers in Portsmouth and Portsea Island. About 6 P.M. on Friday, August 12, 1642, twenty soldiers made an attack upon Portbridge, not knowing what resistance they would meet with. They found but eight men on guard, one of whom was taken prisoner, the rest making their escape. One who saw the attack said that it would make a faint-hearted man a soldier to see their spirit and resolution. Colonel Urry and Sir William Waller behaved themselves bravely on this occasion.

A horse was also taken, "the rider hardly escaping, having leapt from his horse, and ran away over hedge and ditch, with his hat cut, and his head a little rased with the sword, but not much hurt." The whole of Portsea Island was thus secured by the Parliament. Two mounts or forts were at once built to guard this important passage. The attack would have taken place before if very wet weather had not confined the besiegers to their quarters at Southwick and Havant. Of the 200 soldiers in garrison on August 15, it was believed that fully one-half would desert at once, if opportunity offered. Vicars says that the townsmen of Portsmouth greatly disrelished the doings of Goring; and Baker's Chronicle asserts that "the garrison soldiers were so practised on, the Governor had no confidence in them." Intelligence was sent in and out of the town in various ways. A woman arrested at Portbridge had a bundle, which looked like a baby, in the head of which was a black box filled with letters. About 5.0 P.M. on Saturday, August 13, a man and horse were detained at Havant. The man was carrying a suit of clothes with ten letters sewn up in the linings, intended for Mr. Bellingham, a young gentleman who had ridden fully armed from Chichester to Portsmouth, and who was now trying to make his escape from the garrison, keeping a boat in readiness, for which he paid 5s. per diem. The Rev. Mr. Bringsted, parson of Havant, "a most pestilent man," had sent a light horse to Portsmouth. For this Colonel Norton made him pay dearly. Ten light horses were quartered on him, "and lately one of the Scotsmen, being aggrieved with him, fell upon him, basted him well-favouredly, and fain he would be gone; but they will not let him. So he is forced to stay, waits upon them daily, gives them good words, and tells them that he will gladly lie out of his own bed to make them room!" He was afterwards deprived of his living, and had his private property sequestered,

for which he paid a composition of £40. He died broken-hearted. Letters from Lord Wentworth and others in Portsmouth, also fell into the hands of Colonel Norton. On August 15, Captain Browne Bushell, Martin, and Swanley, decided that it was possible, but dangerous, to cut out the *Henrietta Maria* from under the guns of Portsmouth; and the same night Captain Bushell, with several long boats, under cover of the darkness, made for the intended prize. She had a crew of fourteen men, two of whom were officers, according to Goring's account; and Goodwin, the master, was suspected in the garrison of Parliamentary leanings. On the other hand, the newspaper account says that she mounted eight brave pieces of ordnance and had forty soldiers on board, being fitted for service. Goring says that the pinnace surrendered without receiving a blow; but his opponents say that the crew were overpowered and driven below. At any rate the capture was complete. Sail was at once made, and the *Henrietta Maria* began to stand out of the harbour. When out of range of the batteries two ships laden with corn for the garrison were hailed, and at once struck their colours. Four days previously the blockading squadron had captured a ship laden with several hundred barrels of powder, "and 41 most stately horse." The steeds were forthwith sent up to London. The *Henrietta Maria* was taken to Southampton, where six of her guns were landed, and brought back to Portsea Island, where three of them were pointed towards Portsmouth, and the others towards "Porchdowne." On Saturday, August 16 (on August 13 according to Vicars), Goring sent Lord Wentworth with all the troopers in garrison, some sixty in number, together with two guns loaded with musket bullets, and two gunners, to bring in the previously abandoned gun. A Parliamentary trooper rode between the guns and the town, having his carbine loaded with two bullets, and shot one of the gunners, he himself escaping uninjured. The gun was, however, brought safely back to Portsmouth. On the same day Colonel Norton's forces marched from Portbridge almost to the gates of Portsmouth, intending to burn (one account says burning) a water mill "that only goeth at the ebbing of the sea," used by the garrison for grinding their corn, "fast by the Town Mount, whereon their Ordnance was planted." This bold advance and Goring's foraging parties were the cause of many skirmishes, "but no great hurt done, though some cannon bullets came very near, and under their horses bellies." At the fight for the mill, one Puritan trooper lost his hat, which fell off; and another lost his sword, which the captor said was worth £5, "a ribbon breaking at his wrist." At another time Goring's horse sallying forth were repulsed by Waller's troopers in haste and disorder. A brave Scotchman pursued them even within the gate; where he still fought, in spite of three wounds in the head, until the shutting of the gate made him a prisoner. Goring admired his bravery, procured him the best possible medical advice, gave him three pieces of gold, sent him blindfolded to a place called Newgate, where he was exchanged for a trooper captured at Portbridge, and went off mounted behind the trumpeter. A contingent from

Chichester treated the townsmen very harshly. On August 17 the town was said to have plenty of provision and ammunition, but to have in it only eighty or ninety horses, and no great strength of men, while the besiegers had 240 troopers and 500 infantry. Sir Philip Stapylton writes on August 15 that "two troops of horsemen are gone to Hantshire. One troop afterwards to Portsmouth: some Musqueteers thither."

Colonel Goring and Lord Wentworth, with their troopers in two parties, made a night sortie from Portsmouth as far as the besiegers' works, led by Master Winter, who was an alderman of Portsmouth and the Lieutenant of Southsea Castle. He guided them to the Court of Guard, a mile and a half from the town, close to the farmhouse which was the headquarters of Sir William Waller. The besiegers fought bravely, and Goring was repulsed, with the loss of three men. One of them, Glover, "the Colonel's own man," was killed; and a servant to Mr. Nicholas Weston, brother to the Earl of Portland, was captured, as was also Winter, their guide, who was mounted upon a horse, worth £30, belonging to Lord Wentworth. Goring carried off five musketeer sentries and a trooper, who had been wounded by a thrust in the arm. The five musketeers were induced to work at carrying baskets of earth to the defences; "but the other stood it out stoutly, and refused to comply." Winter was kept at the Court of Guard (*i.e.*, Main Guard), where his son was allowed to bring him clean linen and other things. The lad carried back to Portsmouth a report, which was carefully spread, that the King was at Broadlands and Romsey, if not nearer, and that a troop of Parliament horse had gone to bring his Majesty to Lady Norton's house at Southwick. Lord Wentworth's servant, disguised as a shepherd, reached Portsmouth, together with his guide, and stated that the King would arrive from Oxford within four days with 12,000 foot, 6500 horse, and 3000 dragoons, and "would liberally reward all their paines and good service. And t'was but need thus to take paines to perswade them, for the greatest part of the Garison-Souldiers were gone away from the towne by night, sometimes 4, sometimes 6, at a time—sometimes more, and sometimes lesse, for a great many nights together; and the most of his best Gunners were gone from him to the Parliament side, and such as were left of the Garison were even heartless, and did but little, and that on compulsion: the expectation of the King's comming, had so tryed and dul'd them, that they were even hopelesse thereof" (Vicars' Chronicle).

Many of the deserters offered to prove their sincerity by serving in forlorn hopes against the town. On August 18 the besiegers asked a parley for the exchange of prisoners. The garrison "knew not the sound of a parley from an alarum," and fired on the trumpeter, but missed him. There were now seven men-of-war of great force blockading Portsmouth, the *Paragon*, the *Cæsar*, the *Black James*, and four others. A letter, written on board the *Paragon*, says that the greatest harmony was the thundering of cannon, both by day and night. On the arrival of the anxiously expected land forces, a general attack was to be made both by sea and land. The

garrison of 200 men could not man the 100 guns which were mounted on the works; and desertions were of nightly occurrence.

The Royalists at Chichester were, in the meantime, not idle in seeking to aid their friends at Portsmouth. On August 19, Sir Thomas Bowyer, Sir William Morley, whose loyalty afterwards cost him £300, Mr. Lewknor, the Recorder, Mr. Thomas Alford, Sir William Goring, and others, demanded the city magazine for the service of the King. Captain Chitty, a staunch adherent of the Parliament, refused to surrender it, and placed a strong guard over it. Mr. Lewknor and the Clergy of the Cathedral made overtures to Colonel Goring, who asked them to aid him to the utmost of their power. On August 24, Chichester declared for the Parliament; but the Cavaliers there continued to intrigue, the Cathedral Clergy being especially active. The power of the pulpit was energetically used on behalf of the King. Parliament at once ordered that all Popish recusants, all who should put in force the King's Commission of Array, or any who should furnish horses, arms, money, &c., to the King, should be disarmed. Dr. Hinsham, a Prebendary of Chichester, had sent a load of wheat to the Portsmouth garrison; there was daily drilling in the Close of light cavalry, raised by the Cathedral Clergy, and £1000 in aid of Goring was raised in Chichester. The Mayor, Mr. William Cawley, firmly refused to listen to any Royalist overtures whatever made to him by the Bishop and Clergy.

About this time "Windmill Fortress," near Portsmouth, had a captain, who received 9*d.* per diem, two soldiers at 6*d.*, and eight mariners at 8*d.* per diem, the whole annual cost being £109 10*s.* Portsmouth had a captain with 13 gunners, each of the latter receiving 6*d.* per diem, and the whole yearly cost was £100. A bulwark called "Sportsmaking" had three gunners, at 6*d.* per day each. At Portsmouth town and island there was a new fortress, with a captain at 10*d.* per diem, who commanded 20 soldiers, who were each paid 8*d.* a day.

On August 18 the dwellers in Portsmouth could hear the noise of pickaxes and carts in Gosport, "a little village half a mile over the water from the town;" and Goring could plainly see that, as Vicars says, "the Parliament Forces were framing some workes to make a Fort, whereat the Governour was much troubled, and presently shot at them from all his workes that lay that way-ward, letting fly that night at least 60 bullets, but hurt but one man therewith, and that by his owne folly, for he stood on his workes with a candle and lanthorn in his hand, whereby they had a right aime, and so shot him." Another account says that this man was shot by a sentry in mistake, and that his name was "Peter Baker, a very good ship carpenter." "But for all this, ours desisted not, but went on day and night till they had perfected two plat farmes, the one behind a Barne for 10 pieces of Ordnance, the other behind a pile of Faggots for 2 pieces, though the Governour shot incessantly 14 days and 14 nights to have beaten them off, but could not. Shortly after this a parley was sounded, but without any good successe; so then they fell to it again, the Governour letting flie

his Ordnance apace, day and night, but not with any losse to us (blessed be the Lord for it!), no not of a man or horse. All this time, there being but 2 pieces of Ordnance planted on the small worke of Gosport, behind the Faggots (which is still standing on the beach), which played not at all on the Towne, though they could have done it, but some short time after they shot thence, and killed one of the Garison Souldiers on their Mount, and cut off a French mans leg, near unto him above the knee, to the endangering of his life. The Governour himselfe and the Lord Wentworth in their own persons (and all who could be spared from other duties) wrought all one night to make a Trench on the top of the Mount, that at the sight of the firing of our Ordnance, they might leap down into it, and save themselves from the like shot at Gosport." The soldier who was killed "was carrying of earth on the great mounts at the gate."

"On the Saturday following, ours played soundly from Gosport with our Ordnance, and shot through the tower of the Church (St. Thomas), and brake one of the Bells, and shot again against the same Tower, and that rebounded and fell into the Church, and shot down another top of a house near the Church, and the same Saturday morning they shot at the Water-mill, the Miller whereof commended it (by experience) for a good thing to rise early in the morning, for (as he said) if he had not risen early that morning, he had been kill'd in his bed, for a bullet tooke away a sheete and part of his bed. The reason why they shot so much at the Church-tower, was, for that at the top thereof was their Watch-tower whereby they espied all approaches by sea and by land, and the tolling of a bell gave notice both what ships came by sea, and what number of horse came by land. That Saturday night ours shot but five bullets from Gosport, but every one of them did execution. It was well observed, that in a small time, as ours shot from Gosport, beginning at 4 of the clock on Friday afternoon, and ending at 4 on the Sabbath day in the morning, we did more execution with our two pieces of Ordnance, than the Governour with the Towne Ordnance in 14, or 16, daies, and so many nights, in which they shot, at least, 300 bullets, and kill'd but one man in all that time's, a most remarkable providence of the Lord, we having but two pieces of Ordnance at Gosport, whereas the Ordnance planted against Gosport, from their foure workes, could not be less than thirty pieces of Ordnance." (Vicar's Chronicle.)

A blindfolded trumpeter was, to no purpose, sent by the besiegers to propose a parley on August 27, on which day the siege works were almost ready to open fire. Strong forts had been constructed by Sir John Meldrum, who gained considerable credit at this time as an engineer. He belonged to a Scotch family, and was a Lieutenant in the 2nd Troop of Horse. He commanded the besiegers at the siege of Newark, where he was signally defeated by Prince Rupert on March 22, 1643. He was mortally wounded at Scarborough in May 1645. Strong forts had been constructed which commanded the town, and from which it would be easy to batter the walls. On August 27 a soldier, "much drunk," managed to pass the line of the

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besiegers' sentries, thinking to take the town single-handed. He advanced with a lantern and candle in his hand, the garrison firing more than forty cannon shot in the direction of the light, all of which missed him, "but he, approaching nearer to the walls, was laid asleep with a musket shot." Letters were intercepted which showed that the Chichester Cavaliers were strongly bent upon the relief of Portsmouth.

On Saturday, August 27, Colonel Goring's trumpets from within the town sounded twice for a parley, which took place on the following day. Colonel Goring entertained the Commissioners very nobly, and carried himself like a gentleman. "He asked leave to send a messenger to the King, begging for relief by a certain date. Failing such relief, he said he would willingly give up his allegiance to the King, and hold the town for the Parliament, as he had formerly done. He refused to surrender at once without orders from the King; and the parley closed without result, Goring threatening to hold out to the last. The Parliamentary Committee promised to send him two fat bucks, which were duly brought into the garrison on the following Thursday, September 2, by a blindfolded trumpeter." On the night of August 27, the cavalry of the garrison attacked the besiegers, but were repulsed. Their leader was slain, two men were wounded, two taken, together with three of the best horses, and the whole party was chased back to the gates. One estimate considered the number of soldiers in the town at this date to be 300. The want of salt and corn now began to make itself felt in the garrison; and the Parliament despatched 1000 soldiers into Hampshire, who, as they marched, found profitable amusement in pillaging the houses of any whom they chose to consider Papists, and making them fly. The soldiers of the garrison, disappointed of relief, were on the point of mutiny.

On Monday, August 29, the town fired heavily on Gosport and on the Parliament Court of Guard, but the gunners "only made some holes into the tops of houses at Gosport, but killed not a man or a horse." On the same day a messenger from Portsmouth brought up to the House of Commons a Roman Catholic Priest, two other ministers, and the Town Clerk of Portsmouth, who were all committed to various prisons until further order. The discontent of the garrison was still further increased when, about four o'clock in the afternoon of September 2, the batteries at Gosport opened their fire, sending, however, only a few cannon shot into Portsmouth.

On Saturday, September 3, after long conference and discussion, Colonel Norton decided to attempt Southsea Castle, originally built by Henry VIII., then considered to be the strongest fort in England for its size. It was surrounded by a wall three or four yards in thickness and about 30 feet in height. The moat was three or four yards deep and five yards broad. The Castle mounted fourteen guns, all of which, with the exception of two, were 12-pounders, besides other smaller pieces of artillery. "It hath dainty chambers, fit to entertain a Prince." Another account says that there were nine or ten guns actually in position, and as many more ready for mounting. The

Governor of the Castle was Challenger, or Chaloner, a suspected Roman Catholic, whose pay was 2s. per diem, his under-captain's pay was 1s. 1d., one porter received 8d., and another 6d., the master-gunner 8d.; fourteen gunners and eleven soldiers at 6d. each. On this Saturday night he remained in Portsmouth carousing with Colonel Goring until 11.0 P.M. Vicars says quaintly: "On Saturday, September the 3rd (this was September 4), in the night, the Parliament forces took Sousey Castle, which lies a mile from the Towne upon the sea, and the way thither is on the sea-sands. The Captain of the Castle, his name was Challmer, who on Saturday had been at Portsmouth, and in the evening went home to the Castle, and his souldiers took horse-loads of provision, bisket, meal, and other necessaries with them. They reported he had more drinke in his head than was befitting such a time and service, and the Townsmen gave out that he had been bribed with money to yield up the Castle, but 'twas false, though the first may be true, yet was not that neither any furtherance to the taking of it." The storming party consisted of two troops of horse, and 400 infantry, of whom at least 80 were musketeers. They had with them "a very good Engineer," and either 20, 35, or 38 scaling ladders (accounts vary). Vicars expressly says that at this time the whole company in the Castle were "but twelve, who all were not able to deal with ours at such a disadvantage." Marching from their quarters about one o'clock on the morning of Sunday, September 5, singing psalms as they went, the stormers were exposed to a random fire from the town, which, however, was without effect, and at 2 A.M. they halted for an hour at a distance of two bow-shots from the castle, while a feigned attack upon Portsmouth from Gosport was in progress. Two men were killed in the town, and in addition were heard a very pitiful lamentation. At 3 A.M. (Vicars says about two o'clock in the morning) the storming party advanced, and got between the castle and the sea, all the guns being planted landward. They then jumped into the moat, some men falling and hurting themselves. Major Harbert, Captain Browne Bushell (a Yorkshireman, who joined the Prince of Wales in the Downs in 1648, which made the Parliament execute him on April 29, 1651), and a trumpeter reached the drawbridge, and the trumpeter sounded a parley, at which the assailants offered fair quarter to the garrison. Governor Challenger being something in drink, and withal newly awakened out of his deep sleep, suggested that if they would kindly defer their visit until the morning he would take the matter into consideration. The infantry then scaled the walls, and the Castle was taken without the loss of a man. Challenger, with his lieutenant, ensign, and small garrison, were disarmed, and, nothing loth, began to drink the health of the King and Parliament with their new friends, who, at their request, fired either two or three guns as a signal to Goring that the Castle was taken.

Goring replied with at least thirty shot, one of which narrowly missed the leader of the storming party. Ten men retreated behind a piece of timber upon the drawbridge, which was immediately afterwards struck by shot. No one was, however,

injured. Some eighty men were left to keep the Castle for the Parliament; and a mutiny at once broke out in Portsmouth. The mayor, a lieutenant, an ensign, and many soldiers fled from the town, and nearly all the rest of the garrison threw down their arms. Only some sixty were still willing to fight, most of whom were gentlemen and their servants who were unskilled in the use of muskets and in the working of heavy guns. Goring had already seen through a telescope that a ten-gun battery at Gosport would soon open fire. He, therefore, summoned a council of war before daybreak, and at a very early hour a drummer was sent out to sound a parley. The negotiations began at ten o'clock on the same morning, their hostages on both sides being appointed. Out of the town, the Lord Wentworth, Mr. Lewkner, and Mr. Weston, the Earl of Portland's brother. From the Parliament side, Sir William Waller, Sir William Lewis, and Sir William Thomas Jervoise. Of Sir William Waller we shall hear more. He and Sir William Lewis are thus described by Clarendon:—"Sir William Waller, Lewis, and other eminent persons, who had a trust and confidence in each other, and who were looked upon as the Heads and Governors of the moderate Presbyterian party, who most of them would have been contented, their own security being provided for, that the King should be restored to his full rights, and the Church to its possessions." "Lewis had been very popular and notorious from the beginning."

"The parley was ended about five of the clock in the afternoon, but articles of agreement not confirmed till seven, that a trumpet came, then, into the Town from the Committee of the Parliament, and then the conclusion was fully made known, and Articles thoroughly agreed on on both sides; namely, in brief, that the Town and Castle were first to be delivered up to the Parliament, and the Colonel after some few days liberty to dispose of his estate there, to depart the Towne; which both he, the Lord Wentworth, Mr. Lewkner, and Mr. Weston, and all the Cavaliers with them, their servants, and adherents did accordingly; and Sir William Waller, and Sir Thomas Jervoise, accompanied with Sir John Meldrum and Colonel Hurrey, together with a troop of horse, and two companies of foot took possession of the town."

The full conditions of surrender were as follows: "Two companies of Parliament troops were to be posted in the town about 6.0 A.M. on September 7 for the prevention of disorders and the safety of the magazines. The garrison to have free passes to any place except to an army in arms against the Parliament, with horses, swords, and pistols, but with no other arms. Twenty days to be allowed for the journey. All stores to be delivered up uninjured. Free passes, without arms, to be granted to those wishing to proceed beyond sea. Those belonging to the old garrison of Portsmouth to remain or depart at their pleasure. An amnesty to be granted to all except deserters from the Parliament. The magazines to be left uninjured." Vicars says: "The greatest cause (as was conceived) that induced the Parliament side to agree to any articles was because the Colonell had vowed and

threatened that if the town were taken by forceible assault, he would blow up the magazines of the towne, which lay in it, in two several places; namely, in the square Tower (on which the semaphore formerly stood) on the sea-side, where were, at least, 1200 barrels of gunpowder, and very much ammunition; and at the other end of the Town, near the Gate, about 200 barrels more of gunpowder and some ammunition; and they having power over the magazines, if they had fired them, the whole town had been utterly spoiled, and not one person in the town could have been secured from destruction thereby. But they wisely considered that old military axiom, 'If thine enemy will fly, make him a golden bridge, better be merciful to a few, though offenders, than to ruin all, both nocents and innocents.' Carriages were to be provided on payment, if required, for those who wished to leave the town. The prisoners on both sides were to be released, except those that were to be sent up to Parliament. Goring might choose and send a gentleman to the King to report his proceedings. Colonel Hurrey (or Urrey) we shall meet again at Winchester. Goring had bargained for conveyance in a King's ship to Brill in Holland, by way of France, and left Portsmouth on the evening after the surrender, either at six or at nine o'clock at night. His property was shipped on that and the following day. He threw the town key into the harbour, from whence it was dredged up some ninety years ago, began to raise recruits in Holland, and left his garrison to effect a difficult and hazardous march to the King's quarters in the west. Clarendon says, "This blow struck the King to the very heart."

The Marquis of Hertford, with Lord Seymour, Sir Ralph Hopton, Lord Pawlet, and others were at Sherborne, hoping to be able to relieve Portsmouth; but as soon as they heard of its surrender, they withdrew into Glamorganshire, with the Lords Seymour and Pawlet, leaving Sir Ralph Hopton to march into Cornwall with the cavalry under his command. Sir William Waller, with his forces, marched to join the Earl of Essex, after making himself master of Portsmouth. Heath's Chronicle says that "Portsmouth was taken by Sir William Merrick," who was in command before the arrival of Sir William Waller.

Goring had expelled from Portsmouth a minister named Tach, or Tache, "which said godly minister was brought in again by Sir William Waller and Sir Thomas Jervoise, and confirmed to be preacher to the garrison."

On Tuesday, September 6, 1642, the decomposed body of a brave Dutch trooper, who had been missing for fourteen days, and whose horse had returned with a blood-stained saddle, was discovered by his besieging comrades with £6 still in a pocket. On September 8, two troops of horse reached Portsmouth at noon; and two companies of foot were posted in Portsea Island. Hay and provender would not have lasted a fortnight longer in the town; and there was not much butter or cheese in store, but salt and malt were plentiful. There was enough meal and biscuit for at least three months; and large quantities of salt meat were found in the garrison. The Cavaliers boasted that they would re-take the fortress before Christmas; but it

was considered able to resist an army of 40,000 men. The Earl of Warwick was, moreover, protecting it with "six goodly ships," which had no need to fire a single shot during the siege.

On August 16, it was resolved that "Mr. Nicholas Weston did ill service to the Parliament in the business of Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight." He, Mr. Christopher Lewknor, the Recorder of Chichester, and Goring now lost their seats in Parliament. Sir William Lewis was, on September 8, 1642, appointed Governor of Portsmouth, with the pay of £3 per diem; and within a few days the High Sheriff, the Committee for Hampshire, the officers, and soldiers received the thanks of Parliament, Captains Martin, Swanley, and Browne Bushell being especially commended by name. Mr. John Lisle, M.P. for Winchester, carried this order of thanks with him, he and Mr. Tulse "of that county" of Hants, having each obtained a pass "to have license to convey into Hampshire six horses, and to bring from thence household stuff without interruption or let." On the eleventh of the preceding month the Mayor of Arundel had received authority "for making stay of suspected persons, horses, or other warlike provisions going to Portsmouth;" and on October 19, 1642, the Earl of Pembroke—a very wealthy nobleman, who wished to stand well with both sides, and of whom Professor Gardiner says: "No one, indeed, expected wisdom to flow from the lips of Pembroke"—was appointed by the Parliament as Governor of Hants, Wilts, Somerset, Dorset, Devon, Cornwall, and the Isle of Wight. He and the Earl of Essex had power "to raise and conduct forces for the suppression of rebellion and preventing insurrection, and was ordered to pay his soldiers by seizing the rents and revenues of Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, and other notorious delinquents." On October 27, Sir Thomas Jervoise and Robert Wallop were sent into Hants on Parliament service. Two days afterwards the Colleges of Winchester, Westminster, Eton, and Christ Church, Oxford, were authorised by Parliament to retain their revenues; but on February 22, 1643, an order was passed that the "young scholars" at Westminster, Eton, and Winchester were not bound to wear surplices if they objected to so doing. Sir John Meux, Nicholas Weston, and Sir John Leigh, M.P.s, were summoned to attend the service of the House in August 1642, to answer as to their conduct at Portsmouth.

CHAPTER III

ISLE OF WIGHT TROUBLES—CARISBROOKE CASTLE TAKEN— DIFFICULTIES AT SOUTHAMPTON

AFTER the death of Richard, Lord Weston, who was created Earl of Portland in 1633, and died at Wallingford House, Westminster, in the following March, his son Jerome, Earl of Portland, was appointed Captain of the Island, which office he honourably discharged until the year 1642. He was a man of very affable manners, and of very generous hospitality. Clarendon says that "the Parliament threatened the Earl of Portland, who, with extraordinary vivacity, crossed their consultations that they would remove him from his charge and government of the Isle of Wight (which they afterwards did *de facto*, by committing him to prison, without so much assigning a cause), and to that purpose objected all the acts of good fellowship, all the waste of powder, all the waste of wine, in the drinking of healths, and other acts of jollity, whenever he had been at his government, from the first hour of his entering upon it."

Ever since the days of Edward VI. and Elizabeth the dwellers in the Isle of Wight had furnished themselves with a parochial artillery; each parish provided one piece of light brass ordnance, which was commonly kept in the church, or in a small house built for the purpose close by the church. Towards the end of the eighteenth century some sixteen or eighteen of these guns were still preserved in the island; they were of low calibre, some being six-pounders, and all the rest one-pounders. One of these guns is still preserved at Nunwell House, near Brading. The islanders, by frequent practice, are said to have made themselves excellent artillerymen. The gun-carriages and ammunition were provided by the parishes, and particular farms were charged with the duty of finding horses to draw them. A lieutenant of the Military Company at Norwich who visited the island in 1635, says that Carisbrooke Castle was well guarded with arms, but not with men, "for in the armoury in one room were 500 good corslets, and in another room, by the other, 700 or 800 muskets." The same writer speaks of two generous knights, Sir E. Denning and Sir F. Oglander, lieutenants, and fourteen gentle and expert captains, who had under their command

2000 men, with arms for 2000 more. The Island was defended by Yarmouth Castle (Captain Burley), built by Sir R. Worsley when Captain of the Island, against Hurst Castle (Lieutenant Gorge); "Carey's Sconce, or Sharpnose Fort, one mile west of Yarmouth, built by Sir George Carey (temp. Eliz.), to replace the decayed Worsley Tower, just west of the Sconce, opposite Hurst Castle"; Cowes Castle (Captain Tarry) against Calshot Castle (Captain James), built of stone with a half-moon battery; by Gurnard Castle (Captain Barret) against Leap; by Ryde, against Portsmouth; and by the Needles and Sandown Fort (Captain Buck). Sandown Castle, a square fort, with a bastion at each angle, and a wet ditch, had a captain at 4s. per diem; an under-captain at 2s.; thirteen soldiers at 6d. each per diem; a porter at 8d.; a master gunner at 8d.; and seven gunners at 6d. each per diem. The whole annual cost of maintenance was £363 6s. 8d. The Captain and Steward of the Isle of Wight received £47 7s. 6d. per annum.

The mother and many of the friends of the Earl of Portland were Roman Catholics; and he himself was believed to, at least, favour the Church of Rome. To rebut this charge an address was signed by the principal inhabitants of the island in favour of their "noble and much-honoured and beloved Captain and Governor," in which, dropping all allusion to his waste of ammunition, &c., they confined themselves to the more important question of his religious faith, stating that not only was he a principal benefactor to the weekly lecture at Newport, but also that there was not one professed Papist or favourer of Papacy in the whole Isle of Wight.

The House of Commons disregarded this petition, whereupon twenty-four knights and squires signed on August 8, 1642, a declaration of their determination to support with their lives and fortunes the Protestant religion, and to "admit no foreign power, or forces, or new government, except his Majesty, by advice of his Parliament, upon occasion that may arise, shall think it necessary to alter it in any particulars for the good and safety of the Kingdom."

When Goring declared for the King at Portsmouth, on August 2, 1642, he had already received £9000 from Mr. Weston, the brother of the Earl of Portland; and on August 16 the House of Commons resolved that "Mr. Nicholas Weston did ill service to the Parliament in the business of Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight," and he, in consequence, lost his seat in the House as member for Newton, I.W. No election was to take place in his stead.

The Earl of Portland had been committed to the custody of Sheriff Garrett, and was not released until January 2, 1643, on his own petition, and went to Oxford. He afterwards took part in the siege of Weymouth for the King.

On Saturday, August 6, the Earl of Warwick, the Parliamentary Admiral, stopped the sending of supplies from the Isle of Wight to Portsmouth, which Goring was then holding for the King. The Earl of Pembroke was now appointed to succeed the Earl of Portland as Captain of the Island. Clarendon says: "And when they were resolved no longer to trust the Isle of Wight in the hands of the Earl of

Portland, who had long been the King's Governor there, and had an absolute power over the affections of that people, they preferred the poor Earl of Pembroke to it, by an Ordinance of Parliament, who kindly accepted it as a testimony of their favour, and so got into actual rebellion, which he never intended to do. It is a pity to say more of him, and less could not be said to make him known." Colonel Brett then assumed command at Carisbrooke Castle, by virtue of a commission from the King.

On August 13, 1642, the Earl of Warwick was ordered by Parliament to supply the town of Newport, in the Isle of Wight, with thirty barrels of powder, to be used for the defence of the island, as thought desirable by the Mayor (Mr. Moses Read), Mr. Bunckley, Mr. Thomas Bowreman, of Brook, who was the captain of 115 militiamen, and Mr. Robert Urry, of Freshwater. Mr. Venn and Mr. Vassall were to thank the Mayor and others "for their care of the safety of that place and respects to the House." Sir Robert Dillington, "for intending to send provisions into Portsmouth and for putting his hand to a declaration" in favour of the King, was sent for as a delinquent, but was released on bail September 8, 1642. Lieut.-Colonel Buck, Captain Burleigh, who afterwards tried to rescue the King at Carisbrooke, Colonel Brett, and Captain Humphrey Turney (of Cowes) were also sent for. They surrendered to the Sergeant-at-Arms, were brought before the Committee of Examinations, and on September 26 "shall be forthwith discharged from their attendance."

The Parliament had many friends in the Island; although, as we have already seen, many of the leading men in it were favourable to the King. This was especially the case with the Governors of the fortresses. Captain Burley, at Yarmouth, the Governor and Porter of Hurst Castle, and the Countess of Portland at Carisbrooke, left no doubt as to which cause they favoured. Sir Robert Dillington tried to send over corn to Portsmouth; but it was intercepted on the way by Master Bunckley. The adherents of the Parliament sent up a petition for horse and arms, saying that "they would serve the King in a Parliamentary way only." Whereupon 500 foot and two troops of horse were ordered to march to their aid, and to besiege Portsmouth. The arrival of the Earl of Pembroke was anxiously awaited, so that the malcontents might take active measures against Goring and his Cavaliers. On August 16 the Cavaliers made an attempt to secure the Isle of Wight under cover of darkness. The precise locality of the attack is not specified, but the people assembled, and Captain Johnson, "a man of most puissant courage," sallied from the town with 300 very well-armed men. The assailants opened fire, wounding two men, but were at length obliged to retire. About 9 A.M. they began to show themselves in battle array, and "after some parley, they fell to it like furious lions, and when they had felt the angry bullets on both sides they rested for the space of two or three hours, and then fell on again with as much fury as they did at first."

After a long skirmish the Cavaliers fled, having many killed and wounded.

Only six or seven of Captain Johnson's men needed the aid of a surgeon. The defences of Newport were but weak, and Carisbrooke Castle was in sad want of ammunition and other necessities. The Earl of Pembroke was ordered to proceed thither at once, and he accordingly started from Wiltshire on Monday, August 29.

One of the men-of-war then blockading Portsmouth was commanded by a Scotch nobleman, who, throughout the operations, did good service for the Parliament.

On Tuesday, August 16, he sent out his long boat and captured Captain Turney, the Governor of "Cowes Castle," and two other gentlemen, one of whom was brother to the Earl of Portland. These prisoners being safely secured, a body of seamen was landed, who took possession of the Castle, placing in it a garrison favourable to the Parliament. This same Scotch nobleman kept back provisions from Portsmouth, and captured a boat going to the Island laden with light horses, saddles, and equipments for the use of Cavaliers. The boatman saying that his fare was nine shillings, this active commander paid him, telling him at the same time that if he would bring the horses alongside he would give him another freight. This nobleman went on shore, and threatened Captain Newland, "a great, fat, tall man of a very heathenish behaviour," who had sent some corn to the garrison of Portsmouth, that if he offended again he should be sent up to the Parliament as a prisoner. "A captain that is possessed of a castle near the Cows" (no doubt Colonel Brett, at Carisbrooke), persuaded the Island Militia to entrust him with their arms for safe keeping against the Cavaliers. He then declined to surrender them until the ubiquitous but nameless Scotch nobleman threatened to batter the castle about his ears. This threat had the desired effect.

Moses Read, the Mayor of Newport, now represented to Parliament the great danger occurring to the State from the Countess of Portland being allowed to continue in Carisbrooke Castle, with her five children and her husband's brother and sister, with Colonel Brett as her warder. Read was soon ordered to adopt any measures he might think necessary for the safety of the Island, and the captains of ships anchored near the Island were directed to afford him every assistance. Read, expecting no resistance, marched the Newport Militia, with 400 naval auxiliaries, 200 of whom were landed by Captain Swanley, and an equal number from the fleet of the Earl of Warwick, against the Castle where Brett had not above twenty men, many well-wishers to him being deterred from assisting them by the menaces of the populace, who threw off all respect for their superiors. Harby, the Curate of Newport, a man under peculiar obligations to the Earl of Portland, distinguished himself by stirring up the feelings of the besiegers against the Countess and her children, saying that she was a Papist, and exhorting them, in the canting phraseology of the times, to be valiant, as they were about "to fight the battle of the Lord." The Castle had not at that time three days' provision for its small garrison; yet the Countess, with the magnanimity of a Roman matron, went to the platform with a match in her hand,

vowing she would fire the first cannon herself, and defend the Castle to the utmost extremity, unless honourable terms were granted. After some negotiations, articles of capitulation were agreed on, and the Castle surrendered. It was agreed that Colonel Brett and Master Nicholas Weston, with their servants and the garrison, should have quarter and might go anywhere within the Island; but they were not to visit Portsmouth, which was then held by Goring for the King. The Countess and her family were to reside in the Castle, with the use of a few rooms, until Parliament should otherwise order. On September 2 the House of Lords was urged to remove her and her family from the Island; and she was at once ordered to depart, with only two days' notice. No inhabitant of the Island would convey her to the mainland, since she was suspected of favouring Popery; and she was at last indebted to the kindness of some merchant seamen for a passage across the Solent. Master Nicholas Weston, her husband's brother, accompanied her. Captain Browne Bushell, who had, a few days before, captured the *Henrietta Maria*, pinnace, at Portsmouth, and landed ship's guns to batter the town, was placed in charge of Carisbrooke Castle by Captain Swanley, who afterwards saw service at Southampton and on the coast of Ireland, until further orders of Parliament; and on August 27, 1642, a letter from Newport ends thus: "So now our whole Island is at peace!" The other forts on the Island were seized at the same time as Carisbrooke Castle; and on the arrival of the Earl of Pembroke at Cowes, he received an address of welcome signed by the principal gentlemen and farmers.

No other attempt was made at resistance; and, though somewhat agitated by Charles's residence in Carisbrooke a few years later, the Wight remained fairly tranquil during the whole of the Civil War. This fortunate circumstance invited many families from the neighbouring counties, which were exposed to the horrors of warfare, to go and settle there; in consequence of which the rents of farms rose in proportion of from £20 to £100, and did not find their ordinary level until the Restoration.

Carisbrooke Castle was used as a State prison both by Cromwell and by Charles II. Towards the end of the Commonwealth period Sir William Davenant was confined here, and here completed his "Gondibert," a poem which probably no ten men now living have read from beginning to end. At Osborne resided Eustace Mann, a staunch royalist, who, according to a vulgar tradition, buried a large sum of money during the troubles of the Civil War in an adjacent wood, still known as "Money Coppice," and, not marking the spot, was never able to recover his treasure. He gave the fine seventeenth-century communion service to Newport Church, part of it in 1630 and the remainder probably about 1698. Sir William Lisle, a gallant Cavalier, who faithfully followed Charles II. in his exile, is buried in Wootton Church.

On September 26, 1642, Sir J. Lee was ordered to the Isle of Wight, having been appointed Colonel of a regiment by the Earl of Pembroke; and on December 12 twenty men, at 8*d.* per diem, were to garrison Carisbrooke Castle. Mr. Peter Gard,

collector in the Isle of Wight, is mentioned, January 14, 1643; and on February 11, Captain Richard Swanley wrote a letter to the House of Commons on board "H.M.S. *Charles*, riding at Cowes." He stated that a royal proclamation in 1639 had forbidden Englishmen "to sail with other nations." He had, therefore, sent his boatswain to "Captain Whittavell, Vice-Admiral to Van Tromp, now in Cowes Road, bound for East India," to demand the surrender of all English sailors. The Dutchman twice refused, whereupon Swanley ordered the Captain of Cowes Castle and the Mayor and Corporation of Newport to stop all supplies to the Dutch Fleet. Sir H. Vane, junr., and Mr. Lisle were ordered to write to Captain Swanley, bidding him countermand these orders without delay; and Mr. Pym was to write to Mr. Strickland "that he may satisfy the States herein." On Saturday, January 11, 1643, the Isle of Wight was to provide £500 worth of food "for the garrison of Portsmouth, which is to have all desired clothes," and on February 15 measures were taken for the relief of "such poor distressed Irish Protestants as are come out of Ireland into the Isle of Wight."

On Monday, February 27, 1643, a petition from the Isle of Wight was presented to Parliament. It stated that the defences of the Island were very weak, and that there was good cause for fearing a foreign invasion, and asked that all monies raised in the Island for purposes of defence might be expended within its limits. A supply of heavy guns, muskets, match, powder, bullets, corslets, &c., was requested for immediate issue to the various forts and castles, together with a guard of ships. The petitioners were also anxious that the troops on the mainland of Hampshire might be warned to hasten to their assistance as soon as an alarm was given. The subscribers to the fund for the defence of the Island seem to have been numerous; and on Monday, April 4, 1643, a Committee was appointed by Parliament to carry their wishes into effect, consisting of Sir Henry Worsley, Bart., Colonel Thomas Carne, John Lisle and John Bulkley, Esqs., all Deputy-Lieutenants of the Isle of Wight.

Mr. Davies says, "In the trouble of this period the authorities of Southampton seem to have sympathised generally with the Royalists. It appears, however, that a rising in the opposite interest took place on November 7, 1642, on the pretext of which, on November 8, Colonel Whitehead sought entrance for his troops, agreeing to be responsible for their payment, whether he brought three, four, or five hundred men for the quiet of the town. On the 13th November 100 men were sent by sea from Portsmouth, and were received by the Mayor at the Water-gate. The *Mayflower* also was anchored in the river, whilst within the walls the usual guard of burgesses was set in the wards, who had the authority to sound the alarm, and to rouse the inhabitants by beating drums at any threatening of assault." A garrison for Southampton was voted by Parliament on November 29, and the members for the town were on the same day ordered "to attend the service of the House, all delays and excuses set apart." Three regiments of volunteers, to be commanded by Colonels Ruthen, Bamfield, and some other commander, were on December 5, 1642, voted to

be raised for Parliament service in Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Wilts, and Hants. The Deputy-Lieutenants of these counties were ordered to disarm all Trained Band soldiers who refused to join this force, which had the power of martial law, and to give their arms to the newly-raised regiments.

"The authorities of Southampton on December 7 respite the enquiry into the commotion of November 7, for fear of another rising, which might bring forces on the town from the ships of war at hand in the Parliamentary interest," under the command of the Earl of Warwick.

There was a good deal of anxiety felt in Southampton about this time. Captain Richard Swanley, of H.M.S. *Charles*, an active partisan of the Parliament, who had played an active part in the attack upon Carisbrooke Castle, was giving trouble. On December 9, 1642, Master Goter, of Southampton, sent a letter "to a merchant of good quality in Lombard Street," telling how the Mayor and Corporation had met to discuss a letter received by them from Captain Swanley, and which Mr. Davies gives in full. Captain Swanley stated that on December 3 he was in possession of Calshot, and had disabled Nutley (Netley) and St. Andrew's Castles, and that he had also stopped the boats going with provisions to Southampton from Hythe and the Isle of Wight. Some other letters followed, which Mr. Davies has given *in extenso*, and at last a deputation was sent to Portsmouth to declare that the town would henceforth submit to the authority of the Parliament.

Master Goter says that the Mayor and some of the richer burgesses were inclined to favour the royal cause, and that the discussion upon Captain Swanley's letters was of a very lively character. With reference to the submission to the demand for a surrender, Goter adds: "Yet every man underwrit it not: it was thought that Swanley would have come up the river with his ships, and beat the town about our ears."

When Alderman Gollop and Mr. Le Gay had, as a matter of self-interest, signified at Portsmouth the fidelity of Southampton to the Parliament, Calshot Castle, which was then considered to be a strong fortress, was duly supplied with shot. The town of Lymington, which contained friends to both the contending parties, about this time sent its records to Hurst Castle for safe custody.

On December 30, 1642, Captain Swanley and others were ordered to be rewarded and held harmless for their services in the Isle of Wight and at Portsmouth. They were also to be commissioned to land men and guns, and to do hostile acts on occasion for the service of the King and Parliament.



Sir William Waller
From an Original by Corn. Janssen.

CHAPTER IV

THE GENERALS AND THEIR FORCES

BEFORE we speak of the capture of Winchester by Sir William Waller at the close of the year 1642, it will be well for us to look at the generals on either side and at the forces under their command.

Sir William Waller belonged to an ancient family residing in this county and in Kent. He laid claim to the ownership of Winchester Castle and to the office of hereditary chief butler of England. He had served with credit in the armies of the German Princes against the Emperor, and was knighted on his return home. When the Civil War commenced he was a member of the Committee of Safety, and raised a troop of horse for the service of the Parliament. Appointed to a subordinate command under the Earl of Essex, he, as we have seen, made himself master of Portsmouth during the autumn of 1642, obliging Goring, the Governor, to take ship for Holland.

Winchester, Chichester, Malmesbury, and Hereford in quick succession opened their gates, and a swift and successful night march brought him to the Severn shore. Flat-bottomed boats speedily carried him and his troops across the river at a point six miles west of Gloucester, and he at once captured or dispersed a small Royalist force which had designs against that city. The Parliament and the city idolised him, giving to him the proud title of "William the Conqueror," from his brilliant marches and successful battles. Essex loved him not, nor was Waller, truth to tell, the most loyal of subordinates. Essex wasted his army by inaction, whilst Waller lost his by desertion, "as the manner of him was."

The following letter from Sir William Waller to Sir Ralph Hopton, his constant and able opponent, is honourable alike to the writer and to the recipient:

"My affections to you are so unchangeable that hostility itself cannot violate my friendship to your person, but I must be true to the cause wherein I serve. I should wait on you, according to your desire, but I look on you as engaged in that party without the possibility of retreat, and consequently, incapable of being wrought upon by any persuasion. That Great God, who is the searcher

of all hearts, knows with what a sad fear I go upon this service, and with what perfect hate I look upon a war without an enemy. But I look upon it as *Opus Domini*! We are both on the stage, and must act those parts that are assigned to us in this tragedy; but let us do it in the way of honour, and without personal animosity!"

This letter was written before Waller's defeat by Hopton at Lansdown in 1643. Of this battle Denham wrote:

Great William the Con,
So fast did he run,
That he left half his name behind him.

Waller gained by the war only hard blows, personal suffering, obloquy in character, and ruin in his estate. He lost £30,000 by his campaign and was often-times obliged to borrow in order to procure a meal. He was pious, generous, and brave, and his "Vindication" is full of learning and noble thoughts. From his Parthian celerity in his beating up quarters and in night surprises he was known as the "Night Owl." He was kind to his own men, and the Cavaliers spoke of his "*gaieté de cœur*." The "Parliament Scout" says, on Tuesday, July 6, 1643, "On Saturday a messenger came to Sir William Waller from the Earl of Hertford, desiring Sir William in any future action between the armies his men might give quarter. Waller replied, that if any of his men should refuse to give quarter, so barbarously did he conceive of that action, that he would quarter him, and make him an example to others." The remnant of his army, like that of Essex, was incorporated into Fairfax's New Model Army in 1645. Waller, like Hopton, was a devoted adherent of the Queen of Bohemia. He was one of the forty-one Presbyterian members "purged" out by Colonel Pride, and was imprisoned by the Independent party. He survived the Restoration, and died at Osterly Park, Middlesex, on September 19, 1668.

Such was the man who was ere long to lay siege to Arundel, Chichester, and Basing. Waller's opponent at Portsmouth, "the King's most able general, Colonel Goring, was an airy Bacchanalian, who, on the most critical emergency, could not be enticed from the jollities of the table, slighting every alarmist till the carouse was concluded." But Lord Hopton was a man cast in a more noble mould. Eliot Warburton says ("Memoirs of Prince Rupert," p. 113), "Sir Ralph, afterwards Lord Hopton, heir to one of the most powerful and ancient families in Somersetshire, was born in 1598. He was, early in life, distinguished by an aptness for study, and for the attainment of languages, to which he joined an ardent and enterprising spirit. He was at the battle of Prague, and aided in carrying off the poor Queen of Bohemia from her dangers. He was devoted to her as fervently and after as pure a fashion as the other heroes whom she fascinated. For her sake he passed five years of his youth in the wars of the Low Countries and the Palatinate. He was knighted at the

Coronation of King Charles, and was elected to serve in Parliament for the City of Wells. Like most men of his disposition, he inclined at first towards the popular party, and was selected to read before the King the 'Remonstrance' of November, 1641. He, however, soon came to an opposite opinion, and henceforth applied himself vigorously to promote the interests of the Crown in his own county. He was almost constantly opposed to Sir W. Waller."

In January 1646, when the King had only two small armies remaining in the field, the one in Cornwall, commanded by Lord Hopton, and the other on the borders of Wales under Lord Astley, things were looking serious. The Prince of Wales, abandoned by Goring and Grenville, still held sway in the west. He sent for Lord Hopton, and offered him the command of the seven or eight thousand men who still remained with the colours. "My lord," answered Hopton, "it is a custom when men are not willing to submit to what they are enjoined to say that it is against their honour; that their honour will not suffer them to do this or that; for my part, I cannot at this time obey your Highness without resolving to lose my honour; but since your Highness has thought it fit to command me, I am ready to obey, even with the loss of my honour."

Having shown himself a right skilful general, his own men at last obliged him to surrender. "Treat then," said he, "but not for me," and neither he nor Lord Capel would be included in the capitulation. During the Commonwealth he found an asylum in Spain. He had been created a peer in 1643, and married the widow of Sir Justinian Lewer, but dying without children in great want at Ghent in 1658, the title became extinct. Sir William Waller was the assailant, and Lord Hopton the protector of the Cavalier strongholds in Hampshire and the neighbouring counties.

Colonel Richard Norton, already referred to, belonged to a family which had settled long before at Alresford, Nutley, East Tisted, Southwick, near Portsmouth, and Rotherfield. His ancestor and namesake had been knighted at Basing House by Queen Elizabeth, and it was while Charles I. was the guest of Sir Daniel Norton at Southwick Park that he received the news of the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham by Felton at Portsmouth.

Colonel Richard Norton resided as a young man at the Manor House of Old Alresford, and is said to have distinguished himself in the Battle of Cheriton by bringing up a body of horse through by-ways, from his hunting knowledge of the country, to charge the rear of the enemy. With this gentleman Oliver Cromwell was on familiar and intimate terms, distinguishing him in letters to his private friends by the appellation of "Idle Dick Norton." Clarendon says that the besiegers of Basing House were "united in this service under the command of Norton, a man of spirit and of the greatest fortune of all the rest," and speaks of "the known courage of Norton." Mercurius Aulicus styles him "the great incendiary of Hampshire." He served under the Earl of Manchester, was a fellow Colonel with Oliver in the

Eastern Association, became Member for Hants in 1645, and had a long Parliamentary experience. Cromwell addresses letters to him thus: "For my noble Friend, Colonel Richard Norton. These," and commences "Dear Dick." Carlyle says of Norton, "Given to Presbyterian notions; was purged out by pride; came back, dwindled ultimately into Royalism." He was not employed under the Protectorate, was in favour after the Restoration, and died an old man in 1691. His portrait was destroyed when a Berkshire house was burnt about a century ago.

A relative of the "Loyal Marquis" of Winchester married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Richard Norton, of Rotherfield.

A few particulars respecting the Cavaliers and their opponents may not be without interest.

In August 1642 the Army of the Parliament was about 23,000 strong. There were 75 troops of horse, each 60 strong. The five regiments of dragoons had 100 in each troop, and 1000 was the strength of each of the 20 regiments of infantry, whilst 50 brass guns and a few mortars or "murderers" formed the train of artillery. Iron guns had been manufactured at Buxted, in Sussex, by Ralph Hogge and his covenanted servant, John Jackson, as long before as 1543, but brass was now the favourite metal for guns. Sussex people used to say:

Master Hogge and his man John
They did cast the first cannon.

Another version of this important transaction is as follows: Petrus Baude, Gallus Operis Artifex, worked with Ralph Hogge or Hugget, of Buxted, and first made cast-iron guns:

Master Hugget and his man John
They did cast the first can-non.

The Earl of Essex wore a buff-coloured scarf, which gave origin to the colours of the Parliamentarians. Royalist officers wore red scarves, whilst those serving the Parliament affected buff or deep yellow. Uniforms, so-called, existed but only in name. Buff coats were used by both parties, but red, orange, grey, purple, and blue regiments, with flags of the same colours, were to be seen, whilst John Hampden commanded a regiment of "Greencoats." Red coats became universal in 1645. The best discipline seems to have been maintained by the London Trained Bands, who were 18,000 strong, and each of their regiments had the City Arms in the dexter canton of its flag. The Parliamentarian artillery had no distinctive uniform, and the cavalry, being cuirassiers, required none. At Naseby the Cavaliers attacked one another, having no special distinguishing badges. In each troop of cavalry, or company of infantry, there was a subaltern officer, who, from the ensign which he carried, was styled a "cornet." £2, defrayed by the Council of State, was the price of a regimental colour. The officers of a Parliamentarian regiment were a lieutenant-

colonel, captains, lieutenants, ensigns, a quartermaster, a carriage-master, a provost-marshal, a chirurgeon, and often a chaplain. There were ten companies in a regiment. The present-major was then styled sergeant-major, and non-commissioned officers were then, as now, known by the names of sergeants and corporals. One standard bore an arm painted, thrusting a bloody sword through a crown. They adopted scriptural names. Cleveland alludes to this by a stroke of humour: "With what face can they object to the King bringing in of foreigners, when they themselves maintain such an army of Hebrews? One of them beat up his drums clean through the Old Testament; we may learn the genealogy of Our Saviour from the names in his regiment. The musterman uses no other list but the first chapter of Matthew."

There are several publications intended for military service penned by ministers, such as "The Soldier's Catechism, by Robert Ram, minister, published by authority"; "A Spiritual Knapsack for the Parliament's Soldiers," the "Soldier's Pocket-Bible," and others. The most extraordinary specimen of the temper of the times is one entitled "Military and Spiritual Motions for Foot Companies, with the Exercises of a single Company as they now ought to be taught, and not otherwise, by Captain Lazarus Howard, 1645."

"It was a project of drilling and exercising a company of infantry at the same time by a double motion of soul and body. This full and whole exercise of a foot company, spiritual and temporal, may make us, like the Israelites, go up as one man, with one heart and in one form, a soldier of that Great Captain, Christ Jesus!"

"His scheme is to give the word of command to produce the military movement, and to every letter in that word he affixes some pithy and pious sentence to produce the accompanying spiritual one." He forms acrostics of "To the Right About"—"As You Were!" as thus:

The Devil is let loose for a season, to try the patience of God's Church.
Our Enemies, O Lord, are near to hurt us, but Thou art near to help us.
The sword never prevailed, but Sin set an edge upon it.
Hasten from the company of the wicked.
Every man shall sit under his own vine, nor hear any news or noises to affright us.
Religion made a stalking-horse for politics is odious.
It is a grievous judgment upon a nation when teachers sent for man's salvation shall become means of their confusion, &c. &c.

In both armies they had the field-word and sign given to know their friends in the heat of battle, and storming parties had a word and badge. At the sanguinary battle of Marston Moor the field-word of the Parliamentarians, in contradistinction to the King's "God and the King!" was "God with us!" On that day the soldiers seem to have depended on the colour of their coats as a signal of recognition; these, however, were as various as their regiments, and it sometimes

happened that both parties wore the same colour. The King had a red regiment, held to be "the Invincible Regiment," consisting of 1200 men. Among the Parliamentarians they had also a regiment of red coats (Vicars' "Parliamentary Chronicle," Part IV. 200). The Marquis of Newcastle had a regiment composed of Northumberland men, called from their dress "White Coats." These veterans behaved with the utmost gallantry, and though deserted at Marston Moor by all their friends, they formed a ring to oppose Cromwell, and the White Coats fell in their ranks without the flight of one man. Whether from the colour of their coats or their desperate courage, they also obtained the title of "Newcastle's Lambs." The complement of the regiment of foot was probably 1000 men. Each troop of Parliamentary horse was to consist of 60 men, but the numbers were never full. There was a troop of 100 cuirassiers as a bodyguard for the Earl of Essex, and much use was made of dragoons on both sides. They were mounted infantry, and were armed with swords and muskets or firelocks. Two of the chaplains were Dr. Burgess and Mr. Stephen Marshall, B.D., afterwards Rector of Hursley, and one of the authors of "Smectymnus." He was styled "the best preacher in England," "his great power was in the pulpit," and we read of "roaring like Marshall, that Geneva bull." John Hampden was Colonel of the 20th Regiment of Foot, with Richard Ingoldsby as his Captain. Among the Captains of Horse were, besides those who had also Foot regiments: Of the 67th Troop, Oliver Cromwell, with John Desborough as his Quartermaster; of the 60th, John Fiennes, third son of Lord Saye, with Oliver's cousin, Edward Whally, as his cornet; of the 15th, Sir Wm. Waller; of the 8th, Lord St. John, with Oliver Cromwell, eldest surviving son of the Member for Cambridge, as his cornet; of the 36th, Nathaniel Fiennes. The Parliamentary Colonels who had regiments appointed them were generally country gentlemen or students from the Inns of Court. Both King and Parliament eagerly welcomed military men, who had seen service in the Netherlands, to discipline their raw levies. Amongst these were many Germans, and in some accounts from the country we find noticed "the honest German" who drilled them. Cromwell writes, "Heed well your motions, and laugh not at Rose's Dutch tongue; he is a zealous servant, and we may go farther and get a worse man to our hand than he is." At York the King raised a bodyguard, in which the young Prince of Wales was a Captain, and which was under the command of Lord Bernard Stuart, the brother of the Duke of Richmond. The King used to say that the revenues of those in that single troop would buy the estates of my Lord of Essex and of all the officers in his Army. Oliver Cromwell writes thus: "Buy those horses, but do not give more than 18 or 20 pieces each for them, that is enough for Dragooners. I will give you 60 pieces for that black one you won at Horncastle, if you hold to a mind to sell him for my son, who has a mind to him." (Squire Papers.)

A pair of spurs cost 5s., "a feather for my basnet (*i.e.*, helmet), 2 6d."; and "a new staffe for ye colours, 1s. 4d."

By an order made in 1629, the following prices were fixed for offensive and defensive arms and armour :

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
A breast of pistol proffe	0	11	0	A cullett or guarderine	0	7	0
A backe	0	7	0	A gorget lyned	0	3	6
A close caske (helmet) lined	0	17	0	A gauntlett gloved	0	3	6
A payre of pouldrons	0	12	0				
A payre of vambraces	0	12	0	Soe the whole price of the cuir-			
A payre of guissets	0	17	0	assier's armour amounteth to	3	10	0

The prices of the parts and of the whole corslet or footman's armour russetted, viz. :

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
The breast	0	5	6	The combed head piece, lyned	0	4	9
The backe	0	4	6	The gorgett, lyned	0	2	6
The tassets	0	5	0	The total of the footman's armour	1	2	0

If the breast, back, and tassets be lyned with red leather the price will be £1 4s. od.

The prices of the parts and of the whole armour for a harquebuzier on horseback russetted, viz. :

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
A breast of pistoll proffe	0	9	0	The head	0	1	8
A backe	0	7	0	Socket and colouring	0	0	4
A gorgett	0	3	0	Summe	0	4	6
A headpeece, with great cheeks and a barr before the face	0	11	0	For a new musket, with mould, worm, and scourer	0	15	6
The totall of the whole and all the parts of a harquebuzier or light horseman's armour is	1	12	0	For a new bandalier, with twelve charges, a prymer, a prying wyre, a bullet bag, and a strap or belt of two inches in breadth .	0	2	6
A combed headpeece for a musket- tier, russetted and lyned	0	5	0	For a pair of horseman's pistols, fur- nished with snaphances, mouldes, worms, scourer, flask, a charger, and cases	2	0	0
Price of the pike :							
The staffe	0	2	6				

"Cromwell's Army," by Dr. Firth (Methuen), is a perfect mine of information on army matters of the period between 1642 and 1660, and is indispensable to every student of the military history of the Great Civil War.

CHAPTER V

MARLBOROUGH AND FARNHAM CASTLE TAKEN

THE inhabitants of Basingstoke and Farnham were now to suffer the miseries inseparable from Civil War. "On November 21, 1642, Lord Grandison's troope of horse and Colonel Greye's dragooners rode into Basingstoke, and 'one Master Goater' writes 'to a Merchant of good quality in Lombard Street' that they lay there 'eleven dayes; wee had employment enough to dress the meat and provide drinke for them. It hath been a great charge to our Towne, they demanded 2000 yards of woollen cloth and 500 yards of linnen at fourteene pence the yard; so the linnen Drapers brought theirs in, but the clothiers and wollen Drapers made no great haste, so they served themselves some at one shop and some at another.'"

These "dragooners" were mounted infantry, and Dr. Firth, in his invaluable "Cromwell's Army," says that their horses cost about £4 each, troop-horses being worth twice as much. From the old fable that the dragon spouts fire, the head of this monster was worked upon the muzzles of a peculiar kind of short muskets which were first carried by the horsemen raised by Marshal Brissac in the year 1600. This circumstance led to their being called "dragoons." They were drilled to perform the services both of horse and foot. They covered an advance or a retreat, lined hedges, and held enclosures. Lord Grandison had seen much service both in Scotland and in Ireland, was one of the first to take up arms for the King, and was immediately appointed to the command of a regiment of horse. Part of the garrison of Basing House was added to Lord Grandison's force, which called forth a letter of remonstrance from the Marquis of Winchester. All being prepared, "last Friday they went away, and as we heard, are gone to Marlborough, and many say they heard the guns goe off very fiercely." The cannons' roar told of the capture of Marlborough by Lord Wilmot, Lieutenant-General of Horse, who had led a cavalry charge at Edgehill, Lord Digby, who loved not Prince Rupert, and Lord Grandison, on December 3, 1642, after a sharp action. The town was given up to pillage, and according to Vicars, the Cavaliers committed great excesses. Sir John Ramsay, the Scotch Governor, who had held Kingston

Bridge against the King three weeks before (Gardiner's "Great Civil War," i. 68), was taken, "and other officers, who yielded upon quarter, above 1000 prisoners, four colours, great stores of Armes, four pieces of Cannon, and a good quantity of Ammunition, with all which the Lieut.-General Wilmot returned safe to Oxford."

Professor Gardiner says ("Great Civil War," i. 76): "The (King's) line of defence was completed on December 5, when Marlborough was stormed, and, after being ruthlessly plundered, was put into a defensible condition, and entrusted to a Royalist garrison." Warburton ("Memoirs of Prince Rupert," p. 139) says that Wilmot had warned the inhabitants of Marlborough that if they compelled him "to enter the town by force, it would not be in his power to keep his soldiers from taking that which they should win with their blood." John Vicars, who in the invocation to "Hudibras" is styled "Rabshakeh," thus writes ("Parliamentary Chronicle," p. 227): "The Lord Digbie, Lord Grandison, Commissarie Wilmot, and some others of their confederacie, having possessed themselves of Marleborough, and most basely and barbarously pillaged and plundered the same, and like so many traitorous and lustfull bloodie thieves ravished and abused the women and maids of the towne (brave defenders of the Protestant religion, and showing themselves indeed to be the true sworne brethren of their bloody brothers in Ireland)."

The loss of Marlborough, which Warburton assigns to December 3, was keenly felt by the Parliament, who had intended to make it a rallying centre for their adherents in Wiltshire and the adjacent counties. On November 28 the King issued "a proclamation of grace and pardon" to Hampshire men. It was dated at Reading, and speaks thus: "Except Sir Thomas Jervoise, Sir William Waller, Knights, and Richard Norton, Esquire, against all which wee shall proceed according to the Rules of the Law."

Sir William Waller, Colonel Browne, "whose very names were, and that very justly, very dreadful to them" (Vicars), Colonel Hurrey, who played both parties false, Colonel Middleton, and other forces of the Parliament were sent to attack the victorious Cavaliers. On their way they made a successful attack upon Farnham Castle, the ancient and stately home of the Bishops of Winchester. Clarendon says (Book vi.):

"Farnham Castle, in Surrey, whither some gentlemen who were willing to appear for the King had repaired, and were taken with less resistance than was fit, by Sir William Waller, some few days before (the capture of Marlborough, on December 3rd, 1642) deserved not the name of a garrison." Says Warburton, "A few days previously Farnham Castle was taken by Sir William Waller, after an indifferent defence by Sir John Denham, Colonel Fane, a son of the Earl of Westmoreland, who was shot through the cheek, and died a few days after, being almost the only person slain. Denham was a poet and a wit, but to confess the truth, the poets do not appear to advantage in this war, even in a Tyrtæan point of view.

Edmund Waller proved both a trimmer and a coward; Sir John Suckling, a poltroon; Denham, no better; William Davenant was dissolute and negligent, and the great Milton condescended to write the most rancorous and unworthy lampoons." To quote Lord Nugent, "Sir John Denham was more eminent as poet, gamester, and wit, than soldier. When George Wither was shortly after this brought prisoner to Oxford, and was in some jeopardy, having been taken in arms against the King, Sir John Denham begged the King not to hang him, for that 'while Wither lives, Denham will not be the worst poet in England.'" This good-natured epigram contributed to save Wither's life, and was also afterwards the means of restoring to Denham some of his property in Surrey, which had been confiscated by Parliament, and given to Wither. But it would be unfair to refer a kind and gentle act to interested motives.

Rushworth ("Hist. Collections," vol. ii. 92) says that Sir John Denham, the High Sheriff, and the Commissioners of Array for Surrey, had suddenly seized Farnham Castle, and placed in it 100 soldiers, and that when Sir William Waller, Colonel Fane, and other commanders made a sudden attack with "horse and dragoons, but having no ordnance, they contemned the summons." After three hours' fighting the besiegers damaged the gate with a petard, which was a metal pot shaped like a sugar-loaf hat, filled with a few pounds of fine gunpowder ("Cromwell's Army," p. 166), "but after the gate was shattered by the petard, yet they could not presently enter, by reason they within had placed at the gate great piles of wood. These being removed the garrison cried for quarter. They took in the castle 300 sheep, 100 oxen, besides some warlike provisions of powder and shot." Vicars says ("Parl. Chron.") "the Cavaliers within threw their arms over the wall, fell down upon their knees, crying for quarter (not so much as having once offered or desired to treat of any honourable conditions to depart, like soldiers, before the castle was entered), which Sir William gave them. There were taken in this Castle one Master Denham, the new High Sheriff of Surrey, Captaine Hudson, Captaine Brecknox, a brewer in Southwarke, a most desperate malignant against the Parliament, and divers other prisoners of quality, with about an hundred vulgar persons, together with all the armes and ammunition in the castle, and about £40,000 in money and plate, as was credibly informed, besides that the common souldiers had good pillage for themselves to a good value. The taking of this castle so terrified the Cavaleers in Sussex that those of them of the long robe (Master Luckener, the Corporation Proctour), Master Aderson, Master Heath (son to that dry and barren Heath the Judge, like father, like son), and others of the same stamp, began now to traverse the commands of their Cavaleers, and would then have gladly joined issue with the Parliament, on easie termes." Eighty, or, according to another account, 120 prisoners from Farnham were sent to Windsor Castle and from thence to London, carts being hired to convey them. Forty of them reached London on December 1, without even the loss of their clothes. Distributed amongst various prisons, they

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were released next day, and every man had money given him. Subsequent prisoners fared not so well.

Sir Francis Williamson and twelve other gentlemen taken at Farnham were, on December 7, 1642, ordered to be sent to Winchester House, the town house of the Bishops of Winchester, which stood near the Borough Market, and which the Parliament had taken as a prison on November 14, to the King's Bench, and to the Lord Mayor's prison in Southwark. Their names were to be given to the Speaker, who was to dispose of them. Mr. Hooke was to be disposed of by Mr. Pym, and the captive Irish Papists were to remain in the Gatehouse until further orders. Lord Petre's house in Aldersgate Street and the "Dean of Paule's" house near St. Paul's became prisons for Cavaliers on January 5, 1643. It was ordered "Mr. White to be keeper of my Lord Peter's house, and Mr. Dillingham keeper of the Dean of Paul's his house." Farnham Castle was henceforth a strong base of operation for the forces of the Parliament.

CHAPTER VI

THE FIRST SURRENDER OF WINCHESTER

THE weakening of the garrison of Basing House to reinforce Lord Grandison, who was often called "spotless Grandison," encouraged the friends of the Parliament to attack it, and they accordingly seem to have made one or both of those assaults which were repulsed, as we have seen, by the Marquis and "his Gentlemen armed with six musquets," probably aided, as they were on another occasion, by volleys of stones and tiles from the roof of the house.

Sir William Waller failed to come up with the Cavaliers at Marlborough, but pursued them hotly. After leaving Marlborough, Lord Digby, whom Nehemiah Wallington calls "a prime beast," went to Oxford with some of the troops and most of the plunder (Vicars), leaving Lord Grandison, by a miscarriage of orders, with his own very good regiment of horse, 300 strong, and a regiment of 200 dragoons, to face Sir William Waller, who was in command of 5000 horse and dragoons. So says Clarendon, but other writers say that Lord Grandison had at least 1000 foot, 600 horse, and 200 dragoons. Lord Ogle says (Add. MSS. 27,402, fol. 86) that Lord Grandison reached Winchester with six regiments, but does not state their strength. He was now trying to relieve the hard-pressed Marquis of Winchester at Basing House. Of Sir William Waller we have already spoken. Colonel Browne, who had been a timber merchant, is called by Sir Philip Warwick "a woodmonger" and "a man of a clear courage and good understanding, and very crafty." He was afterwards knighted by Charles II. for his civil usage of his father when a prisoner under his charge at Holmby House. Colonel Urrey had already fought against Goring at Portsmouth, but deserted to the King in the following June. He acted as guide to Prince Rupert at Chalgrove Field, and again went over to the Parliament, revealing all that he knew of the King's affairs. He afterwards joined Montrose, was wounded and taken prisoner at Preston, and was hanged forthwith. Colonel Middleton "lived to wipe out," says Clarendon, "the memory of his youth, for he was but 18 years of age when he was first led into rebellion." He left the service of the Parliament when they formed their New Model Army. He became a Royalist,

was wounded and captured at Worcester, and saved his life by escaping from the Tower and reaching France in safety. He received an earldom at the Restoration.

Sir William Waller pursued Lord Grandison from Marlborough, by Newbury and Andover, to Winchester, failing to come up with him on the road through the neglect or treason of some of his own officers. *Mercurius Rusticus* (pp. 89-90) says: "About December 1642, the Collonels Waller, Brown, and others, marching from Ailesbury to Windsor, and thence by Newbury to Winchester, their soldiers in the march plundered every minister within six miles of the road without distinction, whether of their own party or of the other, whether they subscribed for Episcopacy, Presbytery, or Independency, whether they wore a surpless or refused it, only if they did not they afforded them the less booty."

The plundered Nonconformists petitioned the House of Commons for relief, and it was ordered that on the next fast-day the preachers should urge the people to liberally relieve their wants. This was duly done, but Colonel Urrey, being afterwards charged with conniving at Lord Grandison's escape from custody, his house was plundered by order of Lord Mayor Isaac Pennington, "little Isaac" (*Merc. Rusticus*), whereupon Urrey demanded, and was actually granted £400, "to be paid out of the monies collected the last fast-day for the plundered ministers," as compensation for his losses.

Lord Grandison, finding himself pursued, turned aside from Basing, and retreated to Winchester, "a place more like to give him kind entertainment, being full of malignant spirits, who indeed were not a little glad at his coming, thinking themselves now secure from danger, being under the wings of a bird of their own feather" (*Vicars' Chronicle*). Christopher Lukner (*Lewkner*) was in command of the advanced guard of horse, which drew rein at the North Gate just as Lord Ogle was dining "at the Chequers Taverne." They brought an order to the Mayor (*Mr. Longland*) to provide quarters for twenty-five horse and dragoons, and were promptly followed by six regiments. On the preceding 18th of November the Corporation had voted money for "swords, bullets, and providing the Citie armes." But Winchester certainly contained some friends to the Parliament, for in a Royal Message addressed to its citizens in December 1642, the King says that "you have openly declared yourselves enemies, and evil entreated those whom you had cause to entertain with all love and respect, flatly opposing our authority, and betraying those to ruin that were the instruments of our preservation," concluding with a threat of forgetting that they were his subjects in the severity of his chastising them. The citizens justified their conduct, which they declared was sanctioned by all laws, human and divine, saying that "we cannot be justly blamed for endeavouring to secure our lives, and to keep our wives and daughters from rapine and inevitable destruction," and concluding by asserting at one and the same time both their loyalty and their resolution to continue the same course of action.

When Sir William Waller reached Winchester, the startled Cavaliers determined to fight in the open, as the city was not provisioned for a siege. Lord Ogle says that they resolved, "contrary to all advice and reason, to draw into Winchester Castle." From a letter sent by Cornet Sterly to Sergeant-Major (*i.e.*, Major) Alexander, one of the commanders under his Excellency the Earl of Essex, we learn that two regiments of foot belonging to the King's Life Guard made a sortie from the city and were nearly all captured. Also a brigade of horse, of whom only the officers were retained, the rest being stripped and sent away, "two regiments being utterly desolated." Waller reported that "we cut off two regiments, one of horse, and another of dragooneers, 600 of whom were gallant horse. We began our fight five miles wide of Winchester toward Salisbury way." Wherwell saw the beginning of this skirmish. The Parliament men took close order, and commenced a very hot engagement by a charge of cavalry. In half-an-hour the Cavaliers began to retreat towards the city, "in pursuit whereof we took fifty commanders besides Viscount Grandison, and killed divers, but the number we know not." A MS. at Welbeck Abbey says that "Sir John Smith, who recovered the King's standard at Edgehill, Sir Richard Willis—'men of undaunted resolution'—with eighteen more, stood whilst my Lord Grandison with the other forces made good their retreat, and being thrice charged by entire troops, still bravely repulsed the enemy and broke them, in Winchester." Other accounts say that Lord Grandison, his Lieutenant-Colonel, sixty-five other officers and commanders, forty or fifty of whom were of good quality and worth in Hampshire, 1000 foot, 600 horse, 200 dragoons, and 600 arms were taken, together with a quantity of other plunder. The city offered £2000 to be saved from pillage, according to Cornet Sterly, but Vicars says that the Parliamentarians demanded £1000. Sir John Smith was eager to make a sortie from the city, but was over-ruled.

Cornet Sterly gives the best list of prisoners, whose names were, according to him, as follows: Colonel Lord Grandison, Major Sir Richard Willis, Sir John Smith, Major Hayborne, Captains Garret, Honeywood, Barty, Booth, Brangling, Wren, Beckonhear; Lieutenants Williamson, Rogers, Elverton, Rodham, Booth; Cornets Bennet, Savage, Ruddry, Gwynn, and Bradlines. The county gentlemen taken with the Cavaliers were: Sir John Mills, of Mottisfont, Sir Thomas Phillips, of Stoke Charity, who died in March 1644, and his brother, Sir Francis Powre; Masters Ranford, Saunders, Griffin, Foyle and his son, Powlet and his son. Some of the prisoners taken at Winchester were confined at Portsmouth, whilst others were committed to the charge of Dr. Layton, the keeper of the Lambeth House Prison. On February 24, 1645, it was ordered that all standards which had been or should hereafter be taken by the forces of the Parliament should be committed to the care of W. Riley, Esq., Lancaster Herald at Arms at the Herald's College.

The victors followed up the pursuit as far as the city walls, and resolved upon an assault.

The picturesque West Gate is now the principal remnant of the ancient defences of the city, but until 1824 the picturesque ruins of the city wall, intermingled with shrubs and ash trees, claimed the attention of every stranger. Running directly north from the West Gate, it retained in many places its original height, the ruins of several turrets, and its copings of freestone. Beneath this wall was the ditch or fosse, which extended as far as the North Gate, under the palace of Henry II., and was originally a stew for the King's fish. The entire site is now covered with houses.

Vicars says: "Notwithstanding the exceeding high and very steep passage up to the walls, even so steep that they had no other way to get up but of necessity to creep up upon their knees and hands from the bottom to the top, which was as high as most houses, the enemy playing all the while on them with their muskets, and yet slew but three men in this their getting up, so at last (though with much danger and difficulty) our soldiers got up and plied their business so hotly and closely that they had quickly made a great breach in the wall. And here Colonel Browne's Sergeant-Major (*i.e.*, Major) deserved much honour in this service, he himself being one of the first that forced upon the breach into the town, though the enemies' bullets flew thick about them, upon sight of whose ever invincible valour all the rest of his comrades followed close and drove the Cavaliers before them into the midst of the town; who, having no place else of shelter, fled apace into the Castle, which yet was not so considerable a sanctuary or place of sanctuary to defend them long, especially it being destitute of ordnance, so our men beset the Castle round with musqueteers and horse, and lay per-dues under the wall, so that not a man of them could stir." An eye-witness, who wrote from Havant on December 17, said: "The most part of our regiment assaulted the city, at one side of it, where the wall was broken down."

Colonel Browne's regiment was the first to make a breach in the walls and to enter the city. The attack began at noon on Tuesday, December 12, and the assailants entered the city between two and three o'clock in the afternoon. Some accounts give December 17 as the date of capture of the city. "Being masters of the city, they instantly fall upon the Close under a pretence to search for Cavaliers. They seize upon the Prebends' horses, and demand their persons with many threatening words. That night they break into some of the Prebends' houses, and such houses as they were directed into by their brethren, the seditious schismatics of the city, and plundered their goods." The townsmen had sided with the Cavaliers. "The greatest opposition," says the Havant soldier, "we had in taking the town was from the townsmen, who have since sufficiently paid for it." They were glad to compound for £1000 to save the city from pillage, but nevertheless "our soldiers most notably plundered and pillaged their houses, taking whatsoever they liked best out of them, but chiefly some Papists' houses there, and the sweet Cathedralists, in whose houses and studies they found great store of Popish books, pictures, and crucifixes, which

the soldiers carried up and down the streets and market-place in triumph to make themselves merry."

The Cavalier loss in killed and wounded was between thirty and forty, whilst the Parliament acknowledged but three or four killed.

Between ten and eleven at night the Cavaliers in the Castle sounded for a parley, which the besiegers would not hear, and kept their men under arms all that night. By next morning they had, for lack of artillery and petards, prepared a large quantity of faggots and tar barrels with which to burn the Castle gate. But the besieged at daybreak obtained a parley, in which Lord Grandison and five or six others took part, and at which they agreed to surrender the Castle, with their arms, horses, and money, receiving quarter for their lives.

Winchester Castle, which played no unimportant part in many a Hampshire contest, is said by Milner and others to have been about 850 feet in length north and south, and 250 feet in breadth east and west, becoming much narrower at its northern extremity, where a wall that followed the slope of the ditch united it to the West Gate. The keep was about 100 feet square, and connected by a wall with the southern defences of the city. It was flanked by four towers, one at each corner, and another tower above the entrance faced the north. The main gate of the Castle faced the west, and stood near the centre of the west front of the more modern King's house. Directly opposite, on the other side of the ditch, was a strong barbican or turret, in which a guard was posted, and in front of which was the place of execution. Square towers at intervals looked down into the moat, which was of varying depth, but which near the keep must have been at least 100 feet deep and as many wide. James I. had granted the Castle in fee farm to the Tichborne family for ever. Sir William Waller claimed the office of governor. His sister, Lady Ogle, also asserted her rights as owner. In 1644 Sir Richard Tichborne aided in bringing it under the authority of the King.

One who took part in the assault says that the prisoners were despoiled, contrary to the articles of surrender, even of their clothes, "four or five pulling at one cloak, like hounds at the leg of a dead horse." He speaks of gold being given to soldiers in handfuls by the prisoners, and of "many other disorderly passages," and says that only his zeal for the right cause prevented his quitting the army. Cornet Sterly, an eye-witness, says that only the officers were retained, all the rest being stripped and sent away. Theodore Jennings received £20, he being the first to announce the capture of Winchester in London. Waller himself afterwards publicly and deeply lamented his allowing this plunder of Winchester, which as a freeman he was bound to defend. The prisoners were all sent to prisons at Portsmouth. Lord Grandison, Major Willis, and one or two other officers who escaped on the road, were charged with a breach of their parole with the connivance of Colonel Urrey, who, however, disproved this accusation. Rushworth (ii. p. 92) says, "having, as was supposed, charmed their keepers with a good sum of money." According to

Lloyd's Memoirs, Lord Grandison marched northward from Winchester, raised the siege of Newark, and then very skilfully carried supplies to Oxford, "where his counsels and advice were as pertinent as his actions were noble." He was mortally wounded at Bristol on July 26, 1643, and dying at Oxford on September 29 of the same year, was there buried beneath a stately monument in Christ Church Cathedral.

The surrender of the Castle took away the last check upon Waller's forces, and Wednesday and Wednesday night were spent by the soldiers in plundering the city and the Close. On the Thursday morning, December 14, between nine and ten o'clock, the doors of the Cathedral were violently broken open, and the army prepared to deface that glorious church. It is, however, fair to state that "Oliver Cromwell" bears the blame of much mischief done by various persons at places which he never visited, and by all sorts of persons during the Civil War. Furthermore, he and the Puritans are credited with much defacement which was done by the agents of Thomas Cromwell, the Vicar-General of the Eighth Harry. Mercurius Rusticus (p. 144) is, however, very circumstantial in its account of the mischief done by Waller's forces at this time, and the Welbeck MS. estimates the damage at £7000. The House of Commons had on Wednesday, September 8, 1641, ordered the churchwardens of every parish "to forthwith remove the Communion Table from the east-end of the church, chapel, or chancel, into some other convenient place," to take away the rails, and to level the chancels. Crucifixes, pictures of any person of the Holy Trinity, and images of the Virgin were to be removed and destroyed, and all tapers, candlesticks, and basons were to be removed from the Communion Table. It was also ordered "that all corporal bowing at the name (of Jesus) or towards the east-end of any church, chapel, or chancel be henceforth forborne." The Sunday was to be kept holy, no sports being allowed, and permission was given for afternoon services.

On the same date, the House of Commons authorised all English and Welsh parishes "to set up a lecture and to maintain an orthodox minister at their own charge to preach every God's Day where there is no preaching, and to preach one day in the week where there is no weekly lecture." Mercurius says: "The doors being open as if they meant to invade God himself, as well as His profession, they enter the church with colours flying, their drums beating, their matches fired, and that all might have their part in so horrid an attempt, some of their troops of horse also accompanied them in their march, and rode up through the body of the church and quire, until they came to the altar; there they begin their work, they rudely plucked down the table, and break the rail, and afterwards carrying it to an ale-house, they set it on fire, and in that fire burnt the books of Common Prayer, and all the singing books belonging to the quire; they throw down the organ, and break the stones of the Old and New Testament, curiously cut out in carved work, beautified with colours, and set round about the top of the stalls of the quire; from hence they turn to the monuments of the dead, some they utterly demolish, others they deface. They begin

with Bishop Fox his chappel, which they utterly deface, they break all the glass windows of this chappel, not because they had any pictures in them, either of Patriarch, Prophet, Apostle, or Saint, but because they were of painted coloured glass; they demolished and overturned the monuments of Cardinal Beaufort, son to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, by Katharine Swinfort, founder of the hospital of S. Cross, near Winchester, who sate Bishop of this See forty-three years. They deface the monument of William of Wainflet, Bishop likewise of Winchester, Lord Chancellor of England, and the magnificent founder of Magdalen College in Oxford, which monument in a grateful piety, being lately beautified by some that have or lately have had, relation to that foundation, made these rebels more eager upon it, to deface it, but while that colledge, the unparalleled example of his bounty, stands in despite of the malice of these inhuman rebels, William of Wainflet cannot want a more lasting monument to transmit his memory to posterity. From hence they go into Queen Marie's chappel, so called because in it she was married to King Philip of Spain; here they break the Communion table in pieces, and the velvet chair whereon she sat when she was married. They attempted to deface the monument of the late Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Portland (who died March 13, 1634), but being in brass, their violence made small impression on it, therefore they leave that, and turn to his father's monument, which, being of stone, was more obnoxious to their fury; here mistaking a Judge for a Bishop, led into the error by the resemblance or counterfeit of a square cap on the head of the statue, they strike off not only the cap, but also the head too of the statue, and so leave it. Amongst other acts of piety and bounty done by Richard Fox, the 57th Bishop of this See, he covered the quire, the presbytery and the aisles adjoining with a goodly vault, and new glassed all the windows in that part of the church, and caused the bones of such kings, princes, and prelates as had been buried in this church and lay dispersed and scattered in several parts of the cathedral to be collected and put into several chests of lead, with inscriptions on each chest whose bones lodged in them. These chests, to save them from rude and profane hands, he caused to be placed on the top of a wall of exquisite workmanship, built by him to inclose the presbytery. There never to be removed (as a man might think) but by the last trumpet, did rest the bones of many kings and queens, as of Alfredus, Edwardus senior, Eadredus, the brother of Athelstan, Edwinus Canutus, Hardecanutus, Emma, the mother, and Edward the Confessor, her son, Kiniglissus, the first founder of the Cathedral of Winchester, Egbert, who, abolishing the Heptarchy of the Saxons, was the first English monarch, William Rufus, and divers others. With these in the chests were deposited the bones of many godly bishops and confessors, as of Birinus, Hedda, Swithinus, Frithestanus, S. Elphegus the Confessor, Stigandus, Wina, and others. But these monsters of men, to whom nothing is holy, nothing is sacred, did not stick to profane and violate these cabinets of the dead, and to scatter their bones all over the pavement of the church: for on the north side of the quire they threw down the chests wherein were

deposited the bones of the Bishops: the like they did to the bones of William Rufus, of Queen Emma, of Hardecanutus, and of Edward the Confessor, and were going on to practise the like impiety on the bones of all the rest of the West Saxon Kings. But the outcry of the people, detesting so great inhumanity, caused some of their commanders (more compassionate to these ancient monuments of the dead than the rest) to come in amongst them and to restrain their madness." Those windows which they could not reach with their swords, muskets, or rests, they broke by throwing at them the bones of Kings, Queens, Bishops, Confessors, or Saints, doing more than £1000 worth of damage to the windows. They broke off the swords from the brazen statues of James I. and Charles I. which then stood at the entrance to the choir, breaking also the cross on the globe in the hand of Charles I. and "hacked and hewed the crown on the head of it, swearing they would bring him back to his Parliament." "After all this, as if that they had already done were all too little, they go on in their horrible wickedness, they seize upon all the Communion plate, the Bibles and Service-books, rich hangings, large cushions of velvet, all the pulpit cloths, some whereof were of cloth of silver, some of cloth of gold. They break up the Muniment House and take away the common seal of the Church, supposing it to be silver, and a fair piece of gilt plate, given by Bishop Cotton; they tear the evidences of their hands, and cancel their charter; in a word, whatever they found in the church of any value and portable they take it with them, what was neither they either deface or destroy it. And now, having ransacked the church, and defied God in His own house and the King in his own statue, having violated the urns of the dead, having abused the bones and scattered the ashes of deceased monarchs, bishops, saints, and confessors, they return in triumph, bearing their spoils with them. The troopers (because they were the most conspicuous), ride through the streets in surplices with such hoods and tippets as they found, and that they might boast to the world how glorious a victory they had achieved they hold out their trophies to all spectators, for the troopers, thus clad in the priests' vestments, rode carrying Common Prayer Books in one hand and some broken organ pipes together with the mangled pieces of carved work, but now mentioned, containing some histories of both Testaments, in the other."

Vicars says gleefully, "Yea, and they for certain piped before them with the organ pipes, the fair organs in the Minster being broken down by the soldiers, and then afterwards cast them all into the fire, and burnt them." It has been said somewhat figuratively, that "of the brass torn from violated monuments might have been built a house as strong as the brazen towers in the old romances." That acute and indefatigable antiquary, Dr. Milner, tells us that prebendaries were regularly installed in Winchester Cathedral until late in the summer of 1645. The Rev. Lawrence Hinton, rector of Chilbolton, was installed on December 14, 1644; the Rev. Thomas Gawen, rector of Exton, dates from June 17, 1645; and the Rev. Nicholas Preston, from July 23, 1645. As the result of an Act passed in 1643, all

crosses, crucifixes, representations of saints and angels, copes, surplices, hangings, candlesticks, basins, organs, &c., were carried out of the Cathedral, and other churches, railings and altars were destroyed, raised chancels levelled, and according to local tradition cavalry were during these troublous times sometimes quartered, together with their horses, in the Cathedral. Water for troop-horses is said to have been obtained from the well in the crypt.

It is pleasant to find that a Wykehamist, who is said to have been Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes, the brother of Lord Say and Sele, who had as founder's kin been educated at Winchester and was also one of the Fellows of New College, and who possessed considerable influence amongst the Parliamentarians, was the means of saving from the spoiler Winchester College, together with the tomb and statue of him "whose rectitude, knowledge of humanity, talents for public work, and steady industry justify us in claiming for him a place in history close to, if not beside, such brightest stars of time as Chaucer, Wycliffe, and Edward the Black Prince." Need we say that we speak of William of Wykeham, whom all dwellers beneath St. Giles' Hill love so well? At this time Fiennes was not a colonel, but captain of the 36th Troop of Horse for the Parliament. Walcott records the gift of £29 5s. 6d. to the soldiers of Fiennes, who is also said to have placed a guard at the College gate. Nicholas Love, the regicide, son of Warden Love, and one of the six clerks in Chancery, is also said to have done the College good service in these troublous times.

On the Sunday after Waller's capture of Winchester, a public thanksgiving for his success, of which Sir H. H. Vane was directed to draw up a narrative, was duly observed in London, Westminster, and Southwark. Sir Philip Stapylton, Colonel Hampden, and Sir H. Vane were ordered to thank Waller "for his care and vigilancy at Winchester," and £2000 was ordered to be advanced by some Southampton merchants "to the forces at Portsmouth that came from Winchester." On January 14, 1643, Waller received the thanks of Parliament for his services at Portsmouth, Farnham Castle, and Chichester, and a week later it was ordered that the associated forces of Hants, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent "shall be drawn into a body."

CHAPTER VII

ARUNDEL AND CHICHESTER TAKEN—FARNHAM CASTLE "SLIGHTED"

WHILST Colonel Goring was fighting at Portsmouth, some of his friends had been trying to aid him by making various plundering forays in the neighbouring county of Wiltshire. After the surrender of Portsmouth, the Earl of Pembroke proceeded to deal summarily with these disturbers of the public peace. We have already noted his departure for the Isle of Wight. Having reduced that portion of his government to tranquillity he returned towards Wiltshire at the close of September. Cavalier marauding in those districts was at its height on October 1, 1642, but was speedily destined to receive a severe check. The Earl of Pembroke brought with him from Hampshire 300 horse and foot, and was joined on his march by some of the Trained Bands. On October 4, at some place unspecified by the annalist, he found himself confronted by Lord Coventry and 1000 cavaliers. The contest was short, but decisive, forty Cavaliers being slain and ten captured, Lord Coventry himself escaping in disguise. Ten men were lost by the Parliament, and the Earl, having "settled that county in a very good posture and peaceable condition," returned home to Wilton House on October 13, with much honour. A week later the three counties of Berks, Hants, and Surrey were raising troops of Dragoons, some of which had already reached Windsor Castle, whilst others were on their march thither, intending to fortify it on behalf of the Parliament. Throughout the war the excesses committed by those who, rightly or wrongly, styled themselves Royalist partisans did much to strengthen the cause of the Parliament in these counties.

Hampshire men of those days were by no means devoid of either military spirit or experience. Only three years before the county had sent forth, at the King's command, against the Scottish foe 1000 foot and 100 horse, and no fewer than 1200 Hampshire soldiers marched beneath the banner of the Earl of Northumberland, stout old Sir Jacob Astley, of Melton Constable, Norfolk, commanding another hundred meanwhile. Sir Jacob was of opinion that "if a fat Puritan could be laid hold of, it were best to punish him." These military companies seem to have been

considerably wanting in discipline, for on October 11, 1642, a letter written to Lord Grey by Lord Stourton was read in the House of Lords, complaining of "the great unruliness of the soldiers in Hampshire," especially finding fault with the infantry, who were then on the march between London and Portsmouth. Professor Gardiner's "Great Civil War" (vol. i.) shows that such outrages were not uncommon. The unfortunate nobleman complained that he had been plundered of his property, and that the robbers had threatened him with repeated visits. He therefore asked for protection to his house, stating that in Wiltshire also the soldiers had paid him four most unwelcome visits. On two occasions he bribed them to depart. Once they came to the number of 300, hacking and hewing at his gates, and vowing that they would, if refused admittance, cut the throats of men, women, and children indiscriminately. The county Trained Bands were usually about 600 in number, but on October 19, 1642, those of London obtained permission to double their effective strength. The Committee for the Defence of the Kingdom were ordered by the Upper House to afford hapless Lord Stourton all necessary protection. Soldiers who had been wounded or maimed in the service of the Parliament used to attend daily at the Savoy Hospital to receive the aid of a physician and certain surgeons. These sufferers were allowed 8*d.* per diem till cured. The Savoy became a regular military hospital about November 1644 (Firth's "Cromwell's Army," p. 262).

Early in November 1642 Sir William Lewis, the Governor of Portsmouth, issued seven guns and ten barrels of powder to the inhabitants of Chichester, who wished to strengthen their weak defences. The yearly pay of the Portsmouth garrison was £5030, towards which sum £1000 collected in Chichester in aid of Goring and afterwards confiscated by the Parliament, was a welcome aid.

The local magazines containing the powder and arms of the Trained Bands were eagerly coveted by both parties ("Cromwell's Army," p. 15); and on August 19, 1642, Mr. John Alford, Sir William Goring, Sir Thomas Bowyer, Sir William Morley, and others demanded the use of the Chichester magazine for the service of the King. They were refused by Captain Chitney, who placed a strong guard over it, and were promptly summoned "to attend the service of the House, and to explain themselves: Captain Chitney to retain charge of the magazine."

We must now march with victorious Sir William Waller for awhile over the pleasant Sussex Downs, taking with us as most trusty and withal right pleasant guides the late W. H. Blaauw, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., and G. Hillier, Esq., who have most successfully investigated the whole subject. Nor shall the late Rev. H. D. Gordon, of South Harting, be left out, who has also laboured in the same field. Through the exceeding kindness of J. Dudmey, Esq., Secretary of the Sussex Archaeological Society, and Mr. St. Leger Blaauw, who have given generous help, we need not dread losing our way in any historic by-road. Sussex had shown its loyalty in 1640, when the clergy of the diocese contributed £985 1*s.*, and the county

sent 640 foot and 80 horse to swell the ranks of the army which marched against the invading Scots. But on February 17, 1643, there was an ominous-sounding petition sent up to the House of Commons praying for "a thorough reformation of religion" in the county. Arundel and Chichester took opposite sides. The former, together with Portsmouth and Winchester, was in safe Cavalier keeping, but Chichester was devoted to the Parliament, being considerably under the influence of a great brewer, William Cawley by name, a man of short stature, who founded an almshouse or hospital for ten poor persons, and whose memory is still preserved by "Cawley's Lane," at Rumboldswyke, where he possessed certain lands. The son of an Alderman of Chichester, he sat in Parliament, first for Midhurst, and afterwards for his native city, steadily opposing the King whenever opportunity offered, and resisting all Royalist overtures. He signed the King's death warrant, but represented Chichester in the Convention Parliament of 1660. Being exempted from pardon at the Restoration, he died in exile at Vevey in Switzerland, and his estates were granted to the Duke of York. His remains were brought home to Chichester, wrapped in lead, and were temporarily disinterred a few years ago. Lewes was represented in Parliament by Colonel Herbert Morley, who was a firm Puritan partisan, and possessed immense influence in the county. On November 7, 1642, the King published a general amnesty for Sussex, from which Colonel Morley and Henry Chitney were specially excepted.

On August 28, 1642, it will be remembered that a parley took place between the besiegers of Portsmouth and the beleaguered garrison, in which Mr. Christopher Lewknor took part. He was the Recorder of Chichester, and is styled "the man appointed by his Majesty to take in money and plate on his behalfe." After the surrender of Portsmouth, Goring was allowed six days, Lewknor and the other officers two, to leave Portsmouth. On August 24, 1642, Chichester was reported to be "in a good state of defence, and resolved to maintain the Protestant religion, but some ill-affected persons had plotted to betray the town, and some ministers had made seditious sermons, saying that the irreverent clergie had preached down the bishops, and the reverend tradesmen had preached down the clergie." When the King's scouts, ten in number, appeared in Hyde Park on November 16, and his army was at Brentford, there was a general expectation on both sides that it would have turned towards Chichester, and the party in possession prepared for defence. An ordinance had been passed for associating the forces in the four counties of Hampshire, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent, under Sir W. Waller as Major-General, and the Parliamentary journalist states that a popular dread of the cruelty of the King's army prevailed in Chichester. "Such was the fear of the townsmen; yea, and of the cathedral men too (having heard of their plundering at Brainford) (Brentford), that they put themselves in armes, and out of their subscribed monies maintained a considerable strength." Captain Ambrose Trayton was, on November 18, authorised to call in 200 men, volunteers or otherwise, or more if necessary, for the defence of Lewes, and

to command them. One-fifth of the proposition money, plate, &c., collected in Lewes was to be applied to the protection of the town, and the security of the public faith was offered to all Sussex men willing to lend money or plate to the Parliament. By an ordinance hastily passed on November 21, Mr. Morley and others were sent down to put Sussex "into the like posture of defence as is Kent, and to disarm all such as shall refuse to join with them in securing the county." In West Sussex the Royalists mustered strongly, whilst Colonel Morley was supreme in the Eastern Division. Several of Colonel Morley's relatives, Sir Edward Ford, of Up Park, and many other gentlemen, were on the side of the King. It was remarked of Sussex, as of other counties in the south and east of England, that though many of the chief gentry were for the King, yet the freeholders and yeomen being generally on the other side, as often as they attempted to show themselves they were crushed and their efforts defeated. Sir Edward Ford had been just made High Sheriff of Sussex, "not three days old in his place," according to Vicars, and had offered the King 1000 men, and to undertake the conquest of Sussex, though sixty miles in length.

The Mayor of Chichester (Robert Eaton) had been too loyal to please the prevailing party in the city of Chichester, of which the Bishop and Christopher Lewknor (the Recorder), with many of the clergy, were Royalists, and after publishing the Royal Commission of Array, which the Parliament had declared illegal, had fled to join the King, though he afterwards, in September, made his peace by paying a fine of £150. His successor, William Bartholomew, had been active on November 2 in procuring seven pieces of ordnance from Portsmouth, with license to introduce 200 men from the County Militia for the defence of the city against the Cavaliers, but nevertheless by a concerted movement the Royalists assembled in such numbers on November 22 as to seize the cannon and the magazine, take the city keys away from the Mayor, and imprison some of the Trained Bands of the enemy. The news of this surprisal was sent up to Colonel Morley in Parliament next day. The two M.P.s for Chichester (Sir W. Morley and Christopher Lewknor) were expelled the House. "An impeachment was ordered November 23rd against Sir William Morley, while Sir John Morley and Sir E. Ford were voted delinquents and ordered into custody."

The report to Parliament was, of course, from a hostile pen. Parliament was then also informed that "the county of Sussex is in a great combustion, and that there is some thousands of the Papists and malignants in the county gathered together in Chichester, it being also reported that a great number of the Cavaliers are coming in thither to assist the Array men in opposing the ordinances of Parliament." Instructions were at once given to seize High Sheriff Ford, to exact money from Papists, and to take other precautions. Mr. Henry Chitney was ordered to continue as Captain of Trained Bands at Chichester, and the Mayor was forbidden to publish a royal proclamation of grace, favour, and pardon to the inhabitants of Sussex, and those who refused to aid the Parliamentary subscription were declared delinquents.

After the surrender of Winchester in December 1642, Sir William Waller, in

spite of rumours that Prince Rupert had led 20 troops of horse towards Chichester, marched against Arundel Castle. A few days previously the forces of the Parliament had gained a considerable success. On December 8 news reached London that the High Sheriff, Sir Edward Ford, when marching from Chichester to Lewes in company with the Earl of Thanet, had ordered all men capable of bearing arms to join him on pain of death, and of having their houses burnt to the ground. Some recruits were obtained by this summary order, but they were by no means zealous for the Royal cause. At Hayward's Heath, some two miles from Cuckfield, the Cavaliers were faced by a somewhat less numerous force. Neither party had any artillery. The fight began by a fierce attack by the Parliamentarians, and lasted at least one hour. "The fight was performed with their muskets at first, and after some volleys our horse broke into their van, our footmen just at that instant charging courageously into their quarters." The Parliamentarian reserves now came up, and completed the rout, the Cavaliers losing, it is said, not less than 200 men. The countrymen who had been forced into Sheriff Ford's ranks threw down their arms and ran away as fast as their legs could carry them to Hurst, Ditchling, and the neighbouring villages, Sir Edward Ford and the Earl of Thanet's horse "flying with all speed up to the not distant downs, and so to Wissum (Wiston?) to the Earl's house," and from thence to Chichester. The victors marched to secure Lewes. Sir William Waller's troops which had taken part in the capture of Winchester marched from thence to Havant, many deserting on the road, their pay being in arrears, and returning to London, intending there to re-enlist in other regiments, as the "Letter" from Havant tells us. At Havant Sir William Waller and Colonel Ramsay joined them at the head of 2000 men. The prisoners taken at Winchester having been safely disposed of at Portsmouth, and at Lambeth House, London, the whole force was ready to march towards Chichester and Arundel on the morning of Monday, December 17, when a sudden order was received from the Earl of Essex, recalling Colonels Urrey, Goodwin, and Browne, with four regiments. These troops, however, seem to have remained a few days longer under Sir W. Waller's command. The march into Sussex from Winchester, through Upham, where the church was used as a cavalry stable, was by no means unopposed. There are somewhat vague accounts of a fight "with a great party of the King's army in a great field for seven hours very courageously." At length Sergeant-Major Skippon came up with eleven troops of horse, and the Cavaliers fled, many of them being captured, and some 200 slain. The loss of the victorious army is said to have been about forty. Sir William Waller and Colonel Browne, his energetic second in command, then marched with the main body of their troops to Chichester, sending at the same time a detachment of 100 men to make themselves masters of Arundel Castle, which had "a garrison, though not numerous or well provided, as being without apprehension of an enemy," and which had been during the previous year abandoned in despair by its owner, Thomas Earl of Arundel, the friend and patron of the artist Hollar. Whilst the remainder kept the Royalist

townsmen in check, thirty-six daring spirits assaulted the castle, which, if well garrisoned, would have been impregnable. Their arrival was unexpected, but the gates of the castle were, nevertheless, closed. Thereupon "they set a petard to the gate, and blew it open, and so most resolutely entered the castle, surprising all there, amongst whom they took one Sir Richard Rochford and his son, a great Papist, and one Captain Goulding, raising men and armes in Sussex to assist the malignants in Chichester, which said prisoners," being sent up to London, were speedily placed in durance vile. The capture of 100 horse, together with arms and stores, rewarded the victors, who claimed to have captured this important stronghold with the loss of one man. Weapons having been sent from London, the Trained Bands of Sussex, who had been disarmed by Sir Edward Ford, the Royalist High Sheriff, informed the Parliament that they were resolved "to regain and fetch their arms from Chichester, or else to lose their lives in the attempt thereof!" They were as good as their word.

After the fall of Arundel Castle, the fate of Chichester was sealed. The newswriter of the day says of the Royalists: "These silly persons, being deluded with expectation of the Cavaliers to assist them, would gladly submit, if it might be accepted, with satisfaction out of their estates." Mr. Blauw says: "Although Clarendon speaks of the city as being encompassed with a very good old wall easy to be fortified (B. vi.), yet soon after Waller and Sir W. Lewis had blockaded it, they informed the Parliament that they find it of no great strength to hold out long." Clarendon thinks it would not have yielded "if the common people of the country, out of which soldiers were to rise, had been so well affected as was believed"; but he confesses that the cause was unpopular, and that in fact "their number of common men was so small that the constant duty was performed by the officers and gentlemen of quality, who were absolutely tired out." Colonel Browne was during the siege withdrawn to resist a pressing danger at Windsor, leaving Waller only 1000 horse, 300 dragoons, and six guns; but Sir Arthur Haslerigg was present, and was both now, and again in 1647 when invited by W. Cawley, "the especial scourge of the city."

Vicars has, fortunately for posterity, preserved in his "Parliamentary Chronicle" (pp. 234-240) Sir W. Waller's own account of the siege as given in a letter written to the Earl of Essex. From this letter it appears that Sir William was joined, on the evening before his arrival at Chichester, by three troops of horse and two companies of "Dragoneers" under the command of Colonel Morley and Sir Michael Livesay, making his troops amount to some 6000. On his arrival before the town on December 21, 1642, the garrison made a sortie, but were repulsed, one of their number being slain, and another taken prisoner. The besiegers suffered no loss, and secured their position "upon a Downe called the Broils, the onely commanding ground about the towne." The guns of the town were not silent, and the rest of the day was spent in the construction of siege batteries. With the approval of Sir Arthur

Haslerig and other officers, Sir William Waller summoned the garrison to surrender. A parley took place. Says Sir William: "The persons I sent were Major Horatio Carey and Captain Catre: the hostages from them were Colonel Lindsay and Lieutenant-Colonel Potter." Sir William Waller demanded an absolute surrender of the city, with the giving up of Sir Edward Ford, of all Papists, and of all persons considered by Parliament as delinquents. The soldiers were to depart without arms; but officers were to retain their swords and horses, giving a pledge never again to take up arms against the Parliament.

After long debate, the garrison declined to accede to these terms, but offered to give up any Roman Catholics within the walls. "Whereupon the next day our battery played, but our cannoneers overshot the towne extremely." Cannonading continued, and towards evening the besiegers received a letter from the Earl of Essex announcing the approach of Prince Rupert. Scouts were immediately sent out, and on the following day Waller brought his guns nearer the town. The suburbs of the West Gate were occupied after a fierce struggle, but the burning with wild-fire of certain houses by the garrison obliged the besiegers to beat a retreat. The garrison also fired some houses at the East Gate, "but we got possession of the Almes Houses, within halfe musket shot of the North Port, and then planted our ordnance very advantageously, which played through the gate up into the Market Place of the City." Two companies of foot and two troops of horse which Lieut.-Colonel Roberts had brought from Arundel took post after vigorous opposition at the South Gate. The suburbs of the East Gate were also occupied by the besiegers, who kept up a brisk fire upon any of the defenders who showed themselves upon the walls. A whole culverin (about 19 lbs.) was now placed in position within pistol shot of the East Gate. The West Gate was also to be set on fire, and Sir William intended "to petard a back gate that issued out of the Deanery through the town wall into the fields, and was walled up by a single brick thick." But whilst arrangements were being made for the attack a trumpet was sent out of the city at ten o'clock at night asking for a parley at nine o'clock the next morning. This request was granted, and at the appointed hour Sir William Balnidine and Captain Wolfe were sent from the garrison to treat for a surrender. A cessation of arms was agreed upon during the progress of the negotiations, but Sir William Waller declined to grant any more favourable terms than "Quarter, and with it honourable usage." This being refused, "not without hot indignation," the besieged prepared to sell their lives dearly, and Sir William "to proceed roundly and speedily with them." But at the last moment before the assault, a trumpet was sent out of the city desiring a respite until seven o'clock on the following morning, at which hour a surrender was agreed upon. In spite of the futile opposition of some of Lord Crawford's Scotch troopers, the city was delivered in the afternoon to Sir William Waller, "the gates being set open for us and then set fast againe. Then the first thing we did was to release and fully set at libertie all the honest men of the towne whom they had imprisoned, who being

thus enlarged, we employed in places of trust in the city." In the evening a train of powder was discovered near Sir William Waller's quarters where the commanders were at supper, but the gunner, on being apprehended, and all the Royalist leaders disclaimed all knowledge of the matter. Nehemiah Wallington says that there were seven barrels of gunpowder in the cellar with a burning match sticking in one of them, and that it was made known by one of their own gunners. During the eight days that the siege lasted no rain fell, which greatly facilitated the operations of the besiegers, but within half-an-hour after the victors had entered the gates there were "continual incessant showers." Vicars also records with exultation that the surrender took place at the very time of the observance of a solemn fast. Sir William Waller at once sent up to London Sir Edward Ford, who was soon afterwards released, through the influence of his sister Sarah, who had married the Parliamentary General Ireton. Sir John Morley, Colonel Shelley, Christopher Lewknor, Colonel Lindsay, Lieutenant-Colonel Porter, Sergeant-Major (*i.e.*, Major) Dawson, and Major Gordon were amongst the prisoners, with some sixty other officers and commanders, who were for the most part Scotchmen, "with all their brave horses, which were dainty ones indeed." About 400 "excellent dragooners" and three or four hundred infantry laid down their arms. Most of the humbler captives were sent up by sea and speedily imprisoned in London.

Other prisoners not previously mentioned were Sir William Balnidine, Mr. Collins, a minister, Walter Monk, William and Richard Mayo, John Windsor, and Mr. Anderson. The citizens, to escape plunder, offered a month's pay to Waller's army, "which was accepted of." The money and plate taken at Chichester were sent up to London by sea. On November 29 the Earl of Thanet was ordered to be called to account for sending forces to Chichester against the Parliament; and on the same day the security of the public faith was guaranteed to those who should aid the Parliament by their contributions. Sir Richard Rochford and his son were sent to London on December 20, and committed to Winchester House, in St. Mary Overies, Southwark, with twelve other prisoners from Chichester. The Wood Street Compter and the Poultry received Majors Lindsay and Gordon, Captains Wolfe, Cooper, Enniss, Atkinson, Stephenson, and Molum, as well as Sir William Balnidine, Mr. William Mayo, Lieutenants Withrington, Pridgeon and Bird, Ensigns Goffe, and Richard and Thomas Shelley. Sir W. Balnidine and Mr. Lewknor, who lost his Recordership, were kept in close custody, being allowed to receive provisions and necessaries, but being forbidden to converse privately with any one. Colonel Cockeram was likewise detained in Wood Street Compter. Colonel, Major, and Captain Lindsay, together with sixty other officers, chiefly Scotchmen, who were taken at Chichester, belonged to the regiment of Ludovic Lindsay, 15th Earl of Crawford, who was in chief command of the Cavalier horse in Hampshire. Sir Edward Ford was, in company with the Sheriffs of Devon and Kent, examined before the House of Commons in close custody on January 9, 1643, and on the following

day it was decided that "the sixty prisoners may go to Windsor in coaches if they will pay the cost." They were removed thither on January 11. On September 7, 1642, Sir John Caryll, of Harting, obtained a pass for France, or beyond the seas, for himself, his lady, two men and two maids, "provided he carry no prohibited goods with him with his convenient necessaries." Bishop King also ("a proud prelate, as all the rest are, and a most pragmaticall malignant against the Parliament, as all his cater-capt companions are") did not escape. He suffered severely, but regained his bishopric at the Restoration, and died on October 1, 1699. Seventeen captains, thirteen lieutenants, and eight ensigns were found in the garrison. Mr. Blauw says: "The Parliament accompanied their thanks with a special charge to the commanders at Chichester 'to be careful of the prisoners.' Ensign Richard and Thomas Shelley were in March removed from Lord Petre's to Plymouth for security. The prisons often at this period overflowed, and Colonel Morley was one of a committee 'to dispose of the prisoners, either by sending them to the Indies or otherwise.' Some were kept in vessels at Gravesend, and Colonel Goring was kept in custody at the 'Red Lion' Inn, Holborn, even though Parliament considered it not safe, and wished him to be removed to the Tower, but it was courteously resolved that 'Lady Goring shall have liberty to see her son, Colonel Goring, a prisoner to the Parliament, in presence and hearing of his keeper.' He was released March 12, 1644, by exchange with Lord Lothian."

Dr. Bruno Ryves, the Dean of Chichester, lost his Deanery, and was fined £120. He wrote an account of the damage done to the Cathedral for "*Mercurius Rusticus*," lived for many years on charity, was made Dean of Windsor at the Restoration, and died in 1677.

At the invitation of Mr. William Cawley, who wished that "only the ungodly should be troubled," a party was sent in the year 1647, under the command of Sir Arthur Haslerig, to finish the work of destruction, which it was alleged had been left incomplete, and they did finish it. Haslerig was famed for his extempore prayers and sermons, but opposed the idea of Cromwell's becoming King. Dean Ryves says that on the day after the surrender of the city to Sir William Waller, the Marshal and some other officers entered the vestry, and took possession of the vestments and church plate, leaving "not so much as a cushion for the pulpit, nor a chalice for the Blessed Sacrament. . . . As they broke down the organs and dashed the pipes with their pole-axes they scoffingly said, 'Hark, how the organs goe!'" They broke the rail and the Communion Table to pieces, together with the Ten Commandments, and the pictures of Moses and Aaron. Prayer-books and music-books, torn to pieces, were everywhere to be seen, whilst gowns and surplices were appropriated, with a view to their speedy conversion into shirts. The portraits of bishops and kings were destroyed, and "one of those miscreants picked out the eyes of King Edward the Sixth's picture, saying 'That all this mischief came from him when he established the Book of Common Prayer.'"

On the following Tuesday there was a solemn thanksgiving in the Cathedral for Sir William Waller's victory, and after the sermon "they ran up and down the church with their swords drawn, defacing the monuments of the dead, hacking and hewing the seats and stalls, scratching and scraping the painted walls." Sir William Waller stood by with his sword drawn, as if in fear of his own men, whereat Dean Ryves makes merry. The organ and the painted window facing the Bishop's palace were broken, the ornaments, tombs and brasses in the choir were defaced, and the altars in the Cathedral and Sub-Deanery Church were both destroyed. Other churches in Chichester were also defaced, whilst the houses of the bishop, dean and clergy were impartially sacked. In the Sub-Deanery Church the Bible was "marked in divers places with a black cole," Prayer Books were torn up, surplices taken, and broken chalices were carried away. Five or six days afterwards Sir Arthur Haslerig, who "had been informed by a treacherous officer of the church of the hiding-place of the remaining church plate, entered the Chapter House at the head of a party duly provided with crowbars, and ordered them to break down the wainscot. Sir Arthur's tongue was not enough to express his joy, it was operative at his very heels (pray mark what music that is to which it is lawful for a Puritan to dance), he cried out, 'Here boys, there boys, hark, it rattles, it rattles, it rattles!' and being much importuned by some members of that church to leave the church but a cup for the administration of the Blessed Sacrament, answer was returned by a Scotchman standing by 'that they should take a wooden dish.'"

Mr. Blaauw says: "Before quitting Chichester it is fitting that antiquaries should especially lament some of the accompaniments of this capture, such as the loss of the ancient city records, and the destruction of the north-west tower of the Cathedral. After a few years' trial as a garrison town, part of the time under the famous Algernon Sydney, as Governor, who was appointed on May 10, 1645, the Parliament fortunately resolved to disgarrison Chichester, March 2, 1646, and its ordnance was transferred to Arundel." The bastion of the North Wall of Chichester, between the two West Lanes, was built at this time with the stones of the two destroyed churches of St. Pancras and St. Bartholomew, which stood without the walls. After the surrender, Sir William Waller requested permission to visit London, he himself being in bad health and his troops being worn out with fatigue. On Wednesday, January 4, 1643, it was ordered "bells and expressions of joy this night to be done as is usual," and on Sunday, January 8, a solemn thanksgiving for the taking of Chichester was appointed in all churches within the City of London. On January 16 Colonel Herbert Morley received the thanks of the Speaker in his place in Parliament "for the great service he did in the taking of Chichester."

On December 10, 1642, the Earl of Pembroke was appointed by the Parliament "Lieutenant of Wells and Hants as the Lord Paulet, Lord Hopton and others, their accomplices have gotten together great forces in the western parts of this kingdom." We already know that Lord Paulet was with Sir Ralph Hopton and the Marquis of

Hertford when the war began, and after the loss of Portsmouth went with them into Glamorganshire. In Ireland, Sir John Paulet gained a great victory over the Irish rebels near Bandon Bridge, in County Cork, on November 23, 1642. On December 29, a series of explosions told of the partial "slighting" of the defences of Farnham Castle. We say partial because in July 1648 the Committee at Derby House was ordered "to take such effectual course with Farnham Castle as to put it in that condition of indefensibleness as it may be no occasion for disturbing the peace of the country." This was done by means of a county rate, the materials being sold to Mr. George Goodwin, and at the Restoration Bishop Morley spent £7000 in repairing the damage done at this period. On Christmas Eve Captain John Lobb was appointed Deputy Governor of Portsmouth. His family resided at Southampton, and one of them afterwards owned The Vine near Basingstoke. On July 26, 1645, it was ordered "Mr. Morris Jephson to be Lieut.-Colonel and Mr. John Lobb to be Major of Colonel Norton's regiment of foot now at Portsmouth." Sir William Lewis was now authorised to release, at his discretion, any of the private soldiers belonging to Goring's garrison who might be still imprisoned at Portsmouth, on their promising not to serve against the Parliament. Thus ended the year 1642.

CHAPTER VIII

SUFFERINGS OF THE CLERGY—WALLER AT WINCHESTER AND ROMSEY

MANY of the clergy suffered severely at this time. A few instances may suffice. Waller says in his "Sufferings of the Clergy" (p. 96) that no less than 100 had their livings sequestered in Hampshire during the single year 1646.

The most prominent sufferers in this district were: Bishop Curle, who after the surrender of Winchester to Cromwell retired to his sister's home, the old Manor House at Soberton, where he died in 1647. He was not allowed to compound for his own private estate, because he refused to take the Covenant.

Archdeacon Burby, D.D., was sequestered from the living of Wonston, and died between the years 1645-1660.

The Rev. Thomas Gawen, Rector of Exton and Bishopstoke, and Canon of Winchester, was chaplain to Bishop Curle and tutor to his children. On the outbreak of the war he went abroad. He regained his preferments at the Restoration with the additional living of Fawley, but becoming a Roman Catholic he resigned them all, and died at Westminster in 1684. He wrote several devotional and controversial tracts.

The Rev. Edw. Stanley, Rector of Hinton Ampner and of Mottisfont, was dispossessed. He preached the first sermon in Winchester Cathedral after the return of the Dean and Chapter, on August 19, 1660, and died in 1662.

The well-known Rev. William Lewis, D.D. (see Duthy's "Sketches of Hampshire"), was ejected from the Mastership of St. Cross, which was successively bestowed upon John Lisle, Esq., M.P. for Winchester until 1657, husband of Dame Alicia Lisle (executed at Winchester on September 2, 1685), and John Cooke, the Solicitor-General, who was executed at the Restoration. Dr. Lewis returned to St. Cross in 1660, and died there in 1667.

The Rev. Francis Alexander, Rector of Houghton and Crawley, "was also plundered in these times." One Samuel Tomlyn was presented to Crawley by the Tryers in 1655. The Rev. John Harris, D.D., "second to St. Chrysostome," was Warden of Winchester College. "He suffered nothing in that capacity, having by

his great prudence preserved at once his own and the Fellows' rights there, together with his own loyalty and a good conscience." He built "the sick house," and died at Winchester in 1658 at the age of 70. Other sufferers were the Revs. Edward Meetkirk, D.D., John Oliver, D.D., Sebastian Smith, D.D., John Crook, LL.B., Fellow of Winchester College and Master of St. Mary Magdalen Hospital, Winchester; Hugh Haswell, A.M., Rector of Cheriton, William Taylor, who held the Chauntership, St. Mary Calender, and the Rectory of St. Lawrence. "He was also plundered."

The suffering junior Canons were Robert Copping, Richard Ayleward, William Clun, and Edward Cotton. Most of the cathedral clergy were plundered and many of them imprisoned. The Rev. Edward Cotton of St. Thomas' was especially plundered. Of Dr. Peter Heylyn, Rector of Old Alresford and South Warnborough, mention has been already made. Winstanley says in his "Worthies of England" (pp. 610, 612): "Several times was the Doctor alarmed by drums and trumpets sounding about him, so that finding no other way of safety, for safeguard of his life he was forced to fly to the King at Oxford, the Parliament resolving if they could have took him he should have followed his good lord of Canterbury to another world than that described in his cosmography; but since they could not light on his person they secured his estate, sending down an order for sequestration of all his goods and chattels, and that the sooner by the means of one Colonel Norton, who (it is said) kept the best of the Doctor's plate, beds, and other costly furniture to himself, as a recompence of his great care in plundering him of the rest, although indeed he might have spared the Doctor his plate and beds, and only have took the *hangings* for his due. His books were carried away to Portsmouth, many of them being sold by the way, good folios for a flagon of ale apiece, and the carriage of them paid by books, Robin Hood's penniworths; yet notwithstanding the books were so embezzled and wasted by them, they were appraised at near £1000, and put into a public library from whence they could never be regained." . . . "But, weary of this perambulatory life, and some supplies of money coming in, he settled himself, his wife, and eldest daughter at Winchester, then a strong garrison of the King's, where for a while he had some halcyon days, but they endured not long, for this place, thought invincible, was cowardly yielded up in three days' time, so that the Doctor was now in more danger than ever, had not Mr. Lizard, in whose house he boarded, secured him in a private room, so cunningly contrived that there was no door to be seen nor entrance into it, supposed to be formerly made for the hiding of seminary Priests and Jesuits, the house heretofore belonging to a papist family. Here did he abide in safety while the soldiers hunted about for him. But, desirous of liberty, while the soldiers were gaming and rioting, he took his opportunity on the market-day to put on his travelling robes, with a long staff in his hand, and so walked out of the town, confidently with the country crowd leaving his wife and daughter to the care of his faithful friend Mr. Lizard. And now thinking himself out of danger, he was just upon the brink of it, for, having left

Winchester not many miles behind him, he met with some straggling soldiers, who, catching hold of his hand, felt a ring under his glove, which through haste of his escape he forgot to pull off. Now a gold ring agreeing so ill with his habit, made them conclude him some runaway Cavalier, and therefore resolved first to plunder, and then secure him; but whilst they were ransacking him, some of the Parliament Scouts came galloping by, who said to their fellow soldiers, 'Look to yourselves the Cavaliers are coming,' which affrighting words made them leave him, having took away his ring and that little money he had in his pocket, but through their haste missed of some pieces of gold which he had in his high shoes. And thus did the Doctor run through many dangers for his loyalty, never secure from their rage and malice, which was so inveterate that, could they have caught him, nought had satisfied but his blood, as he was informed from a friend in the House of Commons." At the Restoration he regained his preferments and became Sub-Dean of Westminster. He entertained some friends at supper after the Coronation of King Charles II. and, some of them being frightened at a thunderstorm, he said, "See how the ordnance of heaven answer those of the Tower, rejoicing at this royal solemnity." He afterwards lost his sight through over study, and died on Holy Thursday, 1663, in his sixty-third year. He was buried in Westminster Abbey.

The Rev. John Oliver, Prebend of Winchester, and President of Magdalen College, Oxford, had his house at Oxford plundered. He was driven to great hardship, wanted himself what he had before bestowed on others, and became in a manner an object of charity. He was the first loyal head of a college at Oxford replaced at the Restoration, became Dean of Winchester, and died on October 27, 1661, and was at that time strangely desirous to leave the world, though few alive had such temptations to stay in it. He left a portion of his small property to Winchester Cathedral.

The Rev. Alexander, B.D., Rector of Worthy, was ejected about the year 1644, and lived on the charity of his friends until the Restoration, when he regained his living. The Revs. Bayly of Colebigham, Blondworth of Westmeon, and Beasley of Longstock, lost their livings, the last-named clergyman being also imprisoned. The Rev. Paul Clapham, Rector of Martyr Worthy, and the Rev. Dr. Cox of Warnford were ejected. The former clergyman called the Parliament rebels and traitors, and fled to the Royal army. His enemies accused him of gross immorality. The Rev. Dowse, Rector of Broughton, the Rev. Eastgate of Iwisbury, the Rev. Good of Marshing, the Rev. D. Green, Rector of Avington, were all ejected. The Rev. Anthony Gosling, Rector of Morestead, shared their fate, and also had his private property confiscated for treason against the Parliament, by an Act dated November 18, 1652. "The Rev. John Hagar, A.M., Rector of Chilcombe, lay under sequestration thirteen years, and during that time was reduced to such extremity that as he hath walked the streets of London, if he hath seen a cast piece of bread in the streets, he hath dropt his glove upon it, took it up, and eaten it with greediness."

He regained his living and died in 1671. He was a man of good life and great learning, but had been succeeded on the sequestration by one Gaspar Binner, who was in every way inferior to him. The Rev. Laurence Hinton, D.D., Rector of Chilbolton, and the Rev. — Hyde, D.D., of Abbot's Ann, both of them suffered ejection and also imprisonment. The former died at Chilbolton in 1650. The Rev. — Holloway, of St. Clement's, Winchester, was plundered as well as ejected. His church fared no better, for in 1660 we read "the little church of St. Clement having been much dilapidated while the soldiers occupied it as a guard house, was used as a place to lay faggots in, yea, to keep hogs in, and wherein to receive horses, oxen, &c., at times of fairs." The Rev. — Lacy (or Lucy), of St. John's and St. Peter-in-Soca, Winchester, and the Rev. — Lake, of Linkenholt and Sopley, lost their preferments, and the Rev. — Lowman, Vicar of Bishop's Sutton, was ejected to be succeeded in 1657 by Richard Upsolm. The Rev. — Maddocks, of Itchenstoke, the Rev. Martin, of St. Michael's, the Rev. — Morgan, of Barton Stacey, and the Rev. — Mason, Rector of Alton, were ejected, the latter clergyman being also plundered. The Rector of Wherwell, who appears to have been the Rev. Matthew Nicholas, LL.D., Dean of Bristol, was dispossessed, and the same fate, with the addition of imprisonment, befell the Rev. — Pinke, Rector of Stoke Charity. The Rev. M. Roolfe lost the living of Bramdean, and was also plundered. He seems to have been identical with the ejected Rector of Alverstoke, near Gosport. The Rev. — Shingley, Vicar of Eastmeon, was both deprived and also imprisoned, and the Rev. William Taylor, Rector of St. Mary Calendar, and of St. Lawrence, Winchester, the Rev. — Trussel, of Week, the Rev. — Tutt, Rector of Winnal, together with the Rev. Myrth Waferer, A.M., Rector of Upham, were all ejected. The latter clergyman was summoned before Parliament in 1640 for using scandalous words, which were these, "That General Lesley did not stick to say that the southern lords were the cause of his coming on." After the Restoration he became Prebend of Winchester, was created a D.D. at Oxford, and died in the year 1680.

Some few years since in a shop at Bishop's Waltham an old book was rescued from destruction, which upon examination proved to be one of the registers of the neighbouring parish of Upham. It contains the following entry, for which, together with very much valuable information, I am indebted to F. Baigent, Esq., of Winchester: "Item, for cleansing ye church against Christmas (1642), after ye troopers had abused it for a stable for their horses, 2s. 6d." This entry proves that local traditions of some of our Hampshire churches having been used as stables are not without foundation. The old register above-mentioned contains frequent entries of relief given to sick and wounded soldiers, and in the year 1647 certain soldiers were relieved "on their march home." A year or two afterwards the writer of the entry referring to the troopers altered the words "had used it for a stable" into "had abused it for a stable." A slight alteration, but clearly indicative of the political creed of this rural keeper of the records.

The church linen was not taken from Upham, as it was from many other churches. We read, "1649. Paid to three lame souldiers from a hospital 1s." In the same year there were other payments to "maimed soldiers" of 7s. and 3s. 6d., and also this entry, "Paid to three men with their wyfs and children with a pass from y^e parliament, one of them a parson, 2s. 6d."

The Rev. John Pottinger, D.D., "was master of Winchester School, and forced to quit it for conscience sake." This, however, is doubtful. He died in 1659.

The clergy who refused to take the solemn League and Covenant and to adopt the Directory were severely treated as delinquents. Walker, in his "Sufferings of the Clergy," says: "In and about Southampton was one Rout, who, on the Restoration, appeared to be a Papist; one Say, a weaver, before whom, in contempt, they once hung up a shuttle; and one Byles, a saddler, who had an old saddle set before him instead of a cushion, officiated at Hound Church, near Southampton. And it is well known that at Over Wallop, in that county, the sequestered living of the very learned and pious Dr. Young, the suffering Dean of Winchester, one of the successors was a tinker. I have been otherwise informed that he was not the successor, but thrust in as an assistant or lecturer, I suppose to preach in the afternoon, when he would frequently preach down what that most learned and excellent doctor had preached up in the morning. And sometimes when the Doctor came out of the pulpit would begin a dispute with him in the church, but possibly, after the Doctor's sequestration, he was made his successor" (p. 98).

The Rev. Francis Alexander, LL.D., Rector of Houghton and Crawley, was "also plundered in these times." In 1655 one Samuel Tomlyns was presented to Crawley. The Rev. Lewis Alcock, Rector of North Stoneham, was a great sufferer. He valiantly defended his rectory until his death, which took place on June 15, 1647. He was a good and generous man. The Rev. — Barlowns, of Woolston, was imprisoned and sequestered, and the same fate of sequestration probably overtook the Rev. Samuel Baxter, of Dibden. The Rev. — Beasly, of Longstock, was sequestered and imprisoned, and sequestration was the lot of the Rev. — Bound, of Milton, near Lymington. The Rev. J. Cuffe was ejected from the vicarage of Fordingbridge and the chapelry of Ibsley, and replaced by one Richard Crossing. In the journals of the House of Commons is the following entry: "August 12, 1642. Whereas information was this day given to the House that Mr. Clarke, vicar of Andover, doth obstinately refuse to obey the order of this House in admitting of Mr. Symonds to preach there as Lecturer, and gives out that he his wife and children will be all put to death before they condescend to the said order." Mr. Clarke was cited for contempt, and on August 24 witnesses were called in, who testified that the said vicar gave a command to lock the church doors; that he said "rather than Mr. Symonds should preach there by order of Parliament he would lose his life, and his wife and children should die in prison; that the church was as much his own as his own house, and he would hold his right, let the Parliament do what they would."

Mr. Clarke, being called in, denied the truth of this information, whereupon he was ordered to withdraw. Being recalled, the Speaker told him that the House was not satisfied with his answer, the information having been proved by several witnesses. He was therefore committed to the King's Bench during the pleasure of the House, Mr. Symonds being duly installed at Andover. "Thursday, September 1, 1642, ordered, that Mr. Robert Clarke, upon his humble petition, expressing his sorrow that he had offended the House, be forthwith discharged from any further imprisonment." The Rector of Dean suffered sequestration, as did also the Rev. — Dibden. The latter was also imprisoned, and his wife and five children afterwards petitioned for relief from the Corporation for Ministers' Widows. The Rev. Henry Edmundson, M.A., Rector of Holy Rood, Southampton, was not only sequestered, but was also sent for in custody by the House of Commons as a delinquent. The Rev. — Imber, Vicar of Christchurch, was sequestered, plundered, and imprisoned. The Rev. James Lamb, Vicar of Titchfield and Rector of Botley, was sequestered. The following entry from the Botley Register is due to the courtesy of the late Canon Lee: "Dr. Lamb, Chaplain to Thomas, Earle of Southampton, was turned out by the Parliament that beheaded King Charles the First. Mr. Ethan Glascock (put in by that power), succeeded him and was buried there, March 18, 1661." The parishioners of Minstead, near Lyndhurst, petitioned the House of Commons on February 15, 1643, that Mr. Lake, a double beneficed minister, might be ordered to re-admit Mr. King as curate, to pay him arrears of stipend, and to allow him a competent maintenance for the future. This information was referred to the Committee for Plundered Ministers, who were instructed to provide for the services at Minstead Church. This they did by depriving Mr. Lake of his living. The Rev. — Manningham, Rector of Michelmersh, and the Rev. — Martin, of St. Michael's, Southampton, were both deprived of their benefices (Mr. Davies, however, considers that some other St. Michael's is here meant). A similar fate, coupled with imprisonment, befell the Rev. — Nose, of Seckford (Leckford?). The Revs. Lamburne and Squire, the Rector of Upper Clatford, and the Rev. Samuel Baxter, of Dibden, were deprived, as was also Dr. Colward Stanley, Rector of Moston (Mottisfont?). To this latter living one John Crofts was admitted in 1654. Rev. — Tull, of Fanly (Fawley?), was deprived, as was also Mr. Flea, the Vicar of Portsmouth. Canon Benham says: ("History of Winchester Diocese," p. 210): "Portsmouth was made a sort of convict settlement for the clergy who refused submission to the Parliament. They were put on board ship, and there hooted and even pelted as they were at prayers, being called 'Baal's priests.'" The Rev. — Cross, Vicar of Heckfield, was ejected from his living, as were also the Rev. — Hanham, Rector of Dogmersfield, and the Rev. — Hollnesse, Vicar of Odiham. Mr. Holnesse seems to have succeeded the Rev. Bezaleel Mainwaring, who was buried on January 10, 1641. Mr. Holnesse was ejected to make way for Mr. Mordecai Kaddens, a Presbyterian minister, who used to publish banns of marriage in the market place, and not in the church. Mr. Kaddens is styled

"minister," at his burial on October 19, 1703. Mrs. Hollnesse was taken in labour in the snow when ejected from the parsonage, and had barely reached friendly shelter when her child was born. The Rev. William Lucy, D.D., Rector of Burghclere and Highclere, "was often disturbed for his loyalty, and at length sequestered." At the Restoration he was made Bishop of St. David's, and died there in 1677. The Rev. — Moren, Rector of Cliddesden-cum-Farleigh Wallop, was dispossessed, and Martin Morland obtained the living in 1654. The Rev. — Page of Hannington, the Rev. Michael Smith, Vicar of Baughurst, the Rev. William Souch, Vicar of Amport, who was also imprisoned, the Rev. — Whistler of Faccombe, and the Rev. Edmond Webbe, A.M., Vicar of Kingsclere and of Basingstoke, were one and all deprived. Mr. Whistler died a little before the Restoration, but Mr. Webbe regained both his livings. "He became Chaplain to Charles the Second, and was in the year 1672 created D.D. at Oxford, as a reward for his loyalty and sufferings." As early as the year 1641 a Mr. Brockett was appointed by the House of Commons as Lecturer at Basingstoke. The Rev. Michael Glynde, B.D., Rector of Hawkley near Alton, a very loyal good man, "was dispossessed of his living by a leading man of these times, without the least notice given, or reason urged against him," but regained his preferments at the Restoration. The Rev. Joseph Goulson, D.D., lost his living of Waltham, but after the Restoration became Dean of Chichester, and died about 1674. The Rev. Joseph Gillingham, D.D., Canon of Windsor and Rector of Chalton, "was persecuted from place to place and took shelter for some time at Southampton, but was at last driven thence likewise." He was given back his living at the Restoration, and died December 16, 1668. The Rev. Benjamin Laney, D.D., Rector of Buriton, was a devoted Chaplain of Charles I., attending him at the Treaty of Uxbridge, and suffering much hardship in exile for several years with Charles II. He died Bishop of Ely in 1674. Adams of Bedhampton was deprived, as were also Crofield of Godshill, I.W., and Dickson of Bonchurch, together with Goodman, Rector of Freshwater, Hamilton of Fareham, Heath of Clanfield, and Hood of Bentworth, near Alton. William Johnson, Vicar of Brading, "was a great sufferer, and died at last in such poverty, that some of his family were afterwards relieved by the charity of the Corporation for Ministers' Widows." Of the Rector of Botley we are further told that he was not only created D.D. after the Restoration, but for his sufferings as a loyalist he was also rewarded with a prebend of Westminster, and the Rectory of St. Andrews in Holborn. He died in 1664, "with the reputation of being an able preacher, and a distinguished Oriental scholar and author." The Rev. John Langworth lost the Vicarage of Selborne, and the Rev. Thomas Moseley, Rector of St. Lawrence, I.W., was deprived, as were also Price of Gatcombe, the home of the loyal Worsleys, and Payne of Warblington, the home of the Royalist Cotton family. The late Rev. William Norris says of Warblington: "The church as well as the castle must have been battered in the Civil War. A fragment of a tomb now in the vestry was once built into the south-west

wall of the chancel, showing only one flat side, on which was engraved a cross in a circle. Some thought it was a Saxon altar, some that it was the dedicatory stone of the church. When restoring the church in 1860, and trying whether there were any remains of a window in that place, I had it taken out, and it turned out to be part of a broken monument of about the age of Queen Elizabeth. So it appears that the Republicans were not behind the Reformers in destructive zeal. The church, like most other churches at the Restoration, was imperfectly repaired. Much was done in the year 1800 to remedy the evils it had suffered, which considerably facilitated the still further restorations which were made in 1859, 1862, and 1864." Richards of Yaverland, Francis Bringsted of Havant, and Mr. Roolfe of Alverstoke, were all ejected. The latter was to give place to "Mr. Anthony Prowse, Master of Arts, a godly, learned, and orthodox divine, who is appointed to officiate the said cure, and to preach diligently to the parishioners, and to receive the rents and profits belonging unto it, paying all duties due unto his Majesty." Mr. Roolfe was also plundered, and lost his second living of Bramdean. Searle of Rowner was ejected, and Robert Long received the living in 1654. Shawe of Blendworth was ejected, as was also Hopton Sydenham, D.D., Rector of Calborne and Brixton, I.W., Chaplain to the King. On October 10, 1642, John Newman, Clerk, of Radnell; Francis Atkinson, Rector of Firle; Henry Shephard, Vicar of Kingston and Pendinghoe; Walter Dumbleby, of East Aldrington; Anthony Hugget, Vicar of Glynde and the Cliffe, and Thomas Russell, the parson of St. John's in Lewes, were ordered "to be sent for as delinquents, for denying to contribute or lend anything for this service, in this time of imminent danger." They were discharged on petition on November 11, 1642.

Under the rule of the Parliament, as we learn from Dr. Milner, in Hampshire parishes the Directory was substituted for the Prayer Book in churches, chapels, and private families. Deans, chapters, and archdeacons were summarily abolished, together with bishops, archbishops, and even their dioceses. Certain presbyteries and classes were appointed in lieu of parishes. The Puritans styled themselves "abhorrrers." They appointed a general fast on Christmas Day, and another to be held every month as an expiation for the crying sin of religious toleration. The use of the Book of Common Prayer either in public or in private entailed for the first offence a fine of £5; for the second a fine of £10; and for the third three years' imprisonment was the penalty. Quakers were whipped, whilst Roman Catholics were hanged and quartered. Between July 1641 and June 1654, no fewer than twenty-one priests were executed, besides others who also received sentence of death. Many of the city and cathedral clergy refused to take the Solemn League and Covenant, and to adopt the Directory, and were in consequence treated with severity as delinquents. Much Church land was sold for the benefit of the State between 1646 and 1651.

On January 2, 1643, the petition of the Mayor, Burgesses, and inhabitants of

Lyme Regis, which made such a gallant stand for the Parliament, was read in the House of Commons. It stated that the town was already threatened, and that Sir Ralph Hopton and his troops were hovering near, "for their good affections and hearty endeavours for the publick," that it was an important place, and that there were many ships in port, lately come home loaded with much goods and merchandise, that the guns and ammunition there invite attack, and that the town cannot resist. Sir William Earle and the other Deputy-Lieutenants of Dorset were ordered to send troops, and the town was empowered to take £200 of their subscription money for their own defence. Before January 5, £2000 had been borrowed from the town of Southampton. £1000 to be spent upon Portsmouth garrison was in the hands of Sir William Lewis, the Governor.

Nehemiah Wallington, in his "Historical Notices," records with great satisfaction the Puritan inclination of some of the inhabitants of Southampton. He speaks of a petition from that town coming up to the House of Lords from Southampton on July 5, 1642, and of another petition to the King in the same month from the whole county of Hants. Also he says: "Thursday, March 10, 1643, there was a petition brought to the Lords, and another to the Commoners, from the inhabitants of Southampton, tending to this effect, 'That his Majesty may be petitioned by both Houses to reside near the Parliament with the prince, and that the kingdom may be put into a present posture of defence both by sea and land, giving hearty thanks for the happy occurrence that hath already been between both Houses for the settling of many worthy things in the Government.'" "That day the House of Commons received a petition from Hampshire, it importing as former petitions the relief of Ireland, and it was then sent up to the Lords to consider of it."

On January 5, the Mayor and Sheriff of Southampton were forbidden by Parliament to publish the King's proclamation, prohibiting the receipt of tonnage and poundage, and another of grace, favour, and pardon to Hants and to other counties, and which at the same time ordered notice of the approach of any rebel force to be given to the nearest royal garrison. A third proclamation "for the better government of His Majesty's army" was to be published at once.

"On Wednesday, the 16th of March, there was a petition delivered from the Counties of Hampshire and Berkshire, jointly requesting that the Parliament would take into consideration great hindrances made against their good endeavours, because of the Popish lords' contradiction. They therefore most humbly prayed a speedy course might be had, that their votes in either House might be taken away."

On Monday, January 9, the Royalist Sheriffs of Kent, Devon, and Sussex were sent from Winchester House to the House of Commons for examination, no one being allowed to speak to them, and on January 14 the thanks of the House were ordered to be given to Sir William Waller for his captures of Portsmouth, Farnham Castle, and Chichester, and the House was to consider about his appointment as "Governor of the Fort and Island of Plymouth." It was also directed on January 21

that the forces of Hants, Kent, Surrey, and Sussex "should be drawn into a body." "Mercurius Aulicus," none too veracious, had heard at Oxford, on February 5, that there was much discontent, and as a result many desertions from Portsmouth, pay being considerably overdue. At the end of the month Sir William Lewis received £1500 on behalf of the garrison. There are frequent entries of large sums voted for the same purpose.

On February 11, 1643, two troops of horse and a regiment of dragoons, under the command of Sir Thomas Jervoise, were voted for the defence of the county, and Sir William Waller was on February 23 granted the power of martial law. But on the following day we are told that he had in some troops not more than ten men, in two other troops not more than thirty, and that of the 1500 dragoons which had been promised him he had received only 400. A fortnight previously he had received authority to raise money for the support of his army from the four associated counties of Hants, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent. Hampshire had formerly refused to join the three latter counties, fearing to incur the vengeance of the King, whose army was quartered in and round Reading. The miseries inseparable from civil war at last turned the scale, and our county joined the Association. When this was announced on Tuesday, February 24, 1643, and also that these four counties had agreed to raise 3000 foot and 300 horse for the service of the Parliament, the King issued a proclamation from Oxford, declaring all such levies illegal, and calling upon all soldiers already embodied to retire to their homes, under pain of being considered guilty of high treason.

Hearing that Sir William Waller was anxious to march towards the West, Prince Rupert, on February 22, rode out of Oxford at the head of a considerable force, and tried to intercept four guns and seven cartloads of ammunition, which were on their way to join the Parliamentary Army. Rupert and his troopers reached Basingstoke, and exchanged greetings with the stout old Marquis of Winchester, but failed to secure their prize, Waller having received intelligence of their arrival, and sent orders to the convoy to halt upon its march, whilst he himself retreated to Guildford. Detachments of his force had already reached Winchester and Alton, and orders were at once despatched to recall them. The party from Winchester retired without molestation, but the Alton detachment was not so fortunate. It was 200 strong and was reconnoitring the roads into Gloucestershire and Wiltshire, and reached Alton on February 22. Scarcely had the wearied troopers off-saddled, before 1500 of Rupert's wild riders beset the town. Thinking that resistance would be useless, they cried for quarter, which was scornfully refused, whereupon they prepared to sell their lives dearly. Having a field-piece with them, they loaded it with musket bullets, and calmly awaited attack. The Cavaliers came boldly within range, the gun was fired, and when the smoke cleared away eighty of the assailants were seen to be either killed or wounded, and the rest retreating in confusion. Night was falling fast, but on came the attacking party once more. Again did that

murderous field-piece scatter its deadly hail, and again did forty soldiers of the King fall *hors de combat*. Darkness put an end to the strife, and the Cavaliers deferred their intended capture until the following morning, only to find at dawn that the gallant defenders of Alton had skilfully escaped, and fallen back in good order on the main body during the night. During the last week of February 1643, Sir William Waller was still at Chichester with three or four hundred horse, some of his ten troops being but ten or fifteen strong. He was asking for and expecting reinforcements, as the Cavaliers were said to be meditating the recapture of Winchester and Chichester, and had nearly the whole of Wiltshire at their mercy.

On February 28 he had reached Farnham, but was said to have only 400 dragoons, all my Lord General Essex could spare, and ten troops of horse, "which being put together, will make three good ones," to oppose the Princes Maurice and Rupert, who were said to be at the head of 5000 horse, and at least 2000 Welshmen. Poor Hampshire paid weekly £750 for the service of the Parliament, and on Friday, March 3, we have reports of much indiscriminate plundering of friends and foes by Prince Rupert's soldiers. Prince Rupert was to a considerable extent successful in preventing Waller from obtaining horses upon which to mount his infantry, and would probably have given him a severe defeat had not his scouts, who were always active and well informed, given him timely warning of a threatened attack upon either Reading or Oxford. Reluctantly, therefore, he fell back from Basingstoke, reached Oxford on March 28, and on April 7 had taken post at Henley-on-Thames.

On Thursday, January 26, two horses, collectively worth £24, were taken for Parliamentary service. Their owner bore the historic name of Clement Paston, and the Knights and Burgesses of Hants and Kent were on February 6 added to the Prisoners' Committee "of which Sir Robert Harley has the chair," so as to give not more than 6*d.* per diem to poor prisoners. February 22 found Sir Ralph Hopton and Sir William Ogle debating about "sighting" the defences and leaving Winchester, on the ground that 14,000 horse, besides foot, could hardly find support in the district, and on account of Waller's rapid advance in person. Sir W. Lewis, Governor of Portsmouth, was voted pay at the rate of £3 per diem; Captain Henry Chitney, who had served the Parliament well at Chichester, was asking for the command of a Foot Company at Portsmouth (February 13); and we find mention of "John Wasse, Surgeon in Captain Langrege his troop, and in Sir William Waller's, and at Coventry." "Capt Langrege" (Langrish), lived at pleasant Langrish, near Petersfield. Surgeon Wasse's petition was referred to the Committee for Maimed Soldiers; Dr. Firth says ("Cromwell's Army," p. 256), that the pay of a regimental surgeon was 4*s.* per diem. Captain Hercules Langrish commanded the 54th troop of horse.

Sir William Waller was now at liberty to make what Clarendon calls a quick march through Wilts. The same authority tells us that he commanded a light party of horse and dragoons 2000 strong, belonging to the army of the Earl of Essex. "Mercurius Aulicus" says that he had 500 foot, a regiment of horse, another of dragoons,

six field-pieces, and four cartloads of muskets to be distributed amongst the recruits who might join his standard. His second in command, Colonel Browne, had upon his banner a skull and a wreath of laurel with the motto "One of These," and his constant associate, Sir Arthur Haslerig, had adopted the device of an anchor suspended from the clouds, and the motto "Only in heaven." Clarendon calls Haslerig "a bold, absurd man, of a rude and stubborn nature, and of a weak understanding." Lilly styles him a "furious" man. Colonel Ludlow admits that he was naturally sullen, but says that he was very honest. After Cheriton Fight, in which Roe charges him with great cowardice, he was, on reaching Alresford, suspended from his command. He was a great lover of horses which he used to buy for the Parliamentary army.

Clarendon thus graphically describes his regiment: "A fresh regiment of Horse, under the command of Sir Arthur Haslerig, which were so compleatly armed that they were called by the other side the regiment of lobsters, because of their bright iron shells with which they were covered, being perfect cuirassiers, and were the first so armed on either side, and the first that made any impression on the King's Horse, who, being unarmed, were not able to bear a shock with them. Besides that they were secure from hurts of the sword, which were almost the only weapons the others were furnished with."

Invincible, however, as they had hitherto proved, these bold cuirassiers were charged by Lord Byron at the head of his gallant "Blacks" on Roundway Down on July 13, 1643, and were, after a fierce struggle, in which Sir Arthur received many wounds, at last broken.

Haslerig was one of the King's judges, but did not sign his death warrant. He died in the Tower in 1660, and was buried at Noseley in Leicestershire, his ancestral home.

Waller's coat of arms was somewhat remarkable. One of his ancestors had captured at Agincourt the Duke of Orleans, who, after twenty-five years of captivity in England, paid a ransom of one hundred thousand crowns. The Waller family were granted as armorial bearings a leafy tree, from which was suspended a shield, bearing the lilies of France, with the motto, "Fructus virtutis" (the fruit of valour). Some of the Wallers resided at Stoke Charity, near Winchester, and there is in the library of the Hartley Institution an old Bible which contains a portion of the Waller pedigree.

On March 3, 1643, Sir William Waller marched into Winchester, "and being an inhabitant and a freeman of the city, he promised that no man should suffer any loss or damage by him, and he performed it for as much as it concerned himself, but when he went away on Saturday (March 4) he left behind Sergeant-Major Carie, with a troop of horse, to levy £600 upon the same. A most unreasonable sum to be imposed upon a town so lately and so miserably plundered. But say what they could in their own behalf, no less than £500 would be accepted, and that accordingly was raised,

viz., £350 out of the inhabitants of the city, £150 on one Sir Henry Clerke, a neighbouring gentleman." Master Say, a son of a prebendary of the Cathedral, who probably fared none the better on that account, had entrusted his horses for purposes of concealment to his servant. Having been betrayed by some of his neighbours, he was brought before Sir William Waller, who questioned him as to the whereabouts of the steeds. Master Say pleaded ignorance, and was forthwith handed over to the Provost Marshal, who received orders to make him confess. This official conducted him to the George Inn, which dates back to the days of the Fourth Edward, and led him into what was long known as "the 18-stall stable." Placing a halter round his neck, the Marshal renewed his cross-examination. Obtaining no information, he hoisted him up to the rack, allowing him to hang until he was almost strangled, and then gave him a little breathing space. This process was repeated several times, until the spectators of this barbarous scene quitted the stable in disgust. Finding torture ineffectual, the Marshal with many kicks and blows dismissed Master Say, who a few days afterwards was reported to be dangerously ill, a circumstance scarcely to be wondered at.

Sir William Waller marched from Winchester to Romsey, where the soldiers at once began to deface the Abbey Church, pulling up the seats and destroying the organ, "which was no sooner done but a zealous brother of the ministry, dwelling not far off, got into the pulpit, and for the space of two hours, in a furious zeal, applauded that religious act, encouraging them to go on as they had begun." The chronicler makes a pun in his lamentation that this stately church, having escaped destruction at the time of the *dissolution* of the monasteries, had been reduced to ruin in these *dissolute* times.

CHAPTER IX

SIR WILLIAM WALLER AND PRINCE MAURICE AT SALISBURY— HAVOC AT WINCHESTER

FROM Romsey Sir William Waller marched fifteen miles to Salisbury, securing many horses and being constantly joined by numerous recruits. On his arrival at Salisbury he ordered a general Cavalier muster in that city, as if in the name of Prince Rupert. Some 3000 responded to the call, and were on March 10, 1643, unhorsed and disarmed by Waller, who, in answer to all remonstrances, politely borrowed the steeds till the end of the war. At this time horses were worth £4 each, having been previously procurable at 30s. to 50s. for dragoons and twice as much for troopers. Hay cost 4*d.* for a day and night, and the price of oats was 16*d.* a bushel. ("Cromwell's Army," 129-244.)

Waller left Salisbury for Gloucestershire with 3000 men, including two troops of French and Dutch Roman Catholics, commanded by Sergeant-Major (*i.e.*, Major) Carie (or Carew) and Captain Carr. Some of these foreigners afterwards deserted to the King, saying that they had been brought to England under false pretences by the Parliament to fight "for King and Parliament."

Of Waller's subsequent operations in the West, Professor Gardiner says ("Great Civil War," i. 121): "If he had not accomplished all that he had hoped to do, he had at least secured the important district of which he was in charge. He had also shown that Parliament possessed a general whose wariness was united with that agility in which Essex, with all his sterling qualities, was terribly deficient. The name of 'William the Conqueror,' which was now applied to him, marked the estimation in which he was held."

On March 3, the *Charles* was still at Weymouth, and Mr. Samuel Cordell, maker of powder for the Parliament's Navy, received leave to freely carry saltpetre to his works near Guildford. Mr. Endymion Porter was disabled from sitting in Parliament on March 10.

On Wednesday, April 19, we catch a passing glimpse of the home life of a famous divine. Dr. Thomas Fuller was about to join the King and to lead a

wandering life, and his wife must be placed in safety. "Ordered that Mr. Dr. Fuller shall have a pass to carry his wife to Salisbury, and to return back again." Four days previously the Earl of Essex sat down before Reading, and took it after a siege of twelve days. The terms of surrender were not well observed, which served as a pretext for numerous similar excesses on both sides. There was a report in London on April 21 that "Dalbier, a German engineer," had been killed at Reading, but he lived to do much harm to Basing House. On Thursday, May 4, the Hampshire Cavaliers were once more raising their heads, only to be again disappointed. Two ships, bound from Dunkirk to Ireland, and laden with Royalist ammunition, were driven into Portsmouth, and seized by Sir William Lewis, the Governor. An ordinance of both Houses of Parliament passed on May 4 provided that the whole of the King's revenues from Hampshire should be applied to the repair, maintenance, pay, &c., of the garrisons (all of whom were to receive their arrears) and the defences of Portsmouth, Hurst (of which John Button, Esq., was Governor), Calshot, and Southsea Castles, and on May 13 a petition was read in Parliament signed by most of the inhabitants of Portsmouth asking for the appointment of Sir William Waller as Governor, and declaring their "readiness to serve them in the defence of that place with the last drop of their blood." The Earl of Essex was recommended to appoint Waller, but "Mercurius Aulicus" of June 28 says that Lewis having been superseded, "Master Wallop" was temporarily appointed. Waller having marched westward from Salisbury, Prince Maurice, who "understood very little more of the art of war than to fight very stoutly when there was occasion," who was Lieutenant-General under the Marquis of Hertford, and who had seen the 1000 weary prisoners tramp through the winter mud from Cirencester to Oxford with the Earl of Carnarvon and the Marquis of Hertford, reached that pleasant cathedral city, with 2000 men, at nine o'clock on the morning of Whit Sunday, May 20. Before the Prince arrived, Lord Seymour and some Cavaliers took divers well-affected persons prisoners, amongst whom Mr. Dutton, the Mayor, was one. Sir William Waller, Sir Edward Hungerford, Sir John Horner, and others were on the alert, "so that now this town, which under the pretence of standing as neuter, it is thought hath afforded no small supply unto Oxford, is now like to speed no better than Marlborough and other places, which have been utterly ruined by the Cavaliers." Before the entrance of the Royal army, the High Sheriff declared "that none should be plundered without order, which it is confessed was indifferently kept, but we were forced to give them free quarter." The three generals dined next day at Wilton House, and there took two special horses, "and shot a gallant stallion of the Earl of Pembroke's, which they could not take, but the horse is like to recover." Aubery says that "King Charles the First did love Wilton above all places, and came thither every summer," and that the King was so fond of "the excellent troutes" from a stream about a mile above Broad Chalke, that "the Earl of Pembroke was wont to send for these troutes for his Majesty's eating." The Earl of Pembroke was "much

affected with honest, godly preachers, he hears their sermons frequently, and is in converse with them ordinarily, and hath much improved his own and the publick's good." He had not been unmindful of defence. Mr. Tucker, of Wells, was given leave on September 14, 1642, "to convey there twenty muskets, with as many rests and bandoliers, for the service of that county," and the Earl of Pembroke's servant was allowed to carry forty rests, bandoliers, and cartridges for carbines, with sixteen cartridges for pistols, and as many "bolts" for the "service of that county, and of the said Earl." Returning to Salisbury, they obtained numerous arms by a threat to search the citizens' houses, and a collection was made to defray the cost of the Prince's table during the stay of the army. On Wednesday, May 23, two guns and two barrels of powder were discovered by the Cavaliers not far from the Council House, and a party of horse brought in four waggons laden with wool and oil from London, together with several pack horses. Another detachment found a gun and two or three drakes or field-pieces concealed at Wilton, which were likewise secured. Next day two loads of pikes and corselets arrived, which had been collected in the neighbourhood by dint of armed search. The following day was Friday, May 25, and Prince Maurice and the Marquis of Hertford marched out over Harnham Hill to Dogdean, where a general muster of the county had been ordered to take place. All partisans of the King were at once enrolled as soldiers, whilst the friends of the Parliament were either disarmed, or, if unprovided with weapons, obliged to contribute various sums of money. Two loads of arms were brought back to Salisbury in the evening.

On Saturday, May 26, the Prince's army, now increased to not less than 4000 horse and 1000 foot, which had left Oxford on the 19th, with the evident intention of holding out a hand to Hopton as he advanced (Gardiner, i. p. 103), was drawn up in battle array at Dogdean, from which place one detachment marched towards Warminster, whilst another was sent to plunder the Earl of Salisbury's house at Cranborne. About six o'clock on the morning of Sunday, May 27, the whole army marched away from Salisbury towards Dorchester, to the great joy of their own friends in the city. The Mayor, who had all this time been kept in durance vile, was released when they departed, but Master Hunt, a Parliament man, and some others, were taken away in safe custody.

On June 6 the Prince, Marquis, and Lord Carnarvon were once more at Salisbury, intending to join Sir Ralph Hopton on his march towards Oxford. A journalist of that day says: "They would willingly now give him £2000 to be gone who before gave him £1000 to welcome him. The canons and prebends had before their first coming taken down their organs themselves, and hid two hundred of their pipes, for fear of the Parliament's forces, hoping hereafter to have them up and play their old tunes, but now they may take them and help their countrymen to play the new tune of 'Fortune my Foe.'" Sir William Waller, who with Sir Edward Hungerford, Sir John Horner, and others, was striving to keep both the Prince

Maurice and Sir Ralph Hopton in check, was deficient in cavalry, but was early in June joined by Sir Arthur Haslerig and a welcome reinforcement of 500 horse. Notwithstanding this accession of strength, Prince Maurice and the Marquis of Hertford were able to defeat Waller's army on Monday, June 12, to which "*Mercurius Aulicus*" thus refers: "Friday, June 9. The rebels had solemn fast at Southampton, Portsmouth, and Hursley, for the speeding of Sir William Waller's great design against his Majesty's forces in the west, where Master Strickland, that learned, devout Levite, was pleased to say in his prayer these very words, 'O Lord, Thy honour is now at stake, for now, O Lord, Antichrist has drawn his sword against Thy Christ, and if our enemies prevail Thou wilt lose Thine honour!' But how God Almighty was pleased with this blasphemy and treason the issue of Waller's design hath manifested to the world!"

Two foot companies 300 strong of local militia were on June 24 ordered to be raised for the defence of the Isle of Wight, and £1500 was to be collected yearly in the island for their maintenance.

On July 7 we hear that Sir William Waller had sent a letter to Dorchester, asking that two troops of horse and 100 dragoons should be sent to Colonel Norton, of Southwick Park, who was already in command of an equal number of men, and who was speedily joined by this welcome reinforcement.

On July 15, after the complete defeat of Waller by Sir Ralph Hopton and the Cavaliers of the west upon Roundway Down, near Devizes (July 13), the House of Commons strongly urged the City of London and all friends of the Parliament in the counties of Hants, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent to send money, men, horses, and ammunition to the aid of either Fairfax or Waller, upon the security of the public faith for repayment. Towards the end of July it was deemed necessary to raise 7000 men for the service of the Parliament. London and Middlesex were to provide a contingent of 1500, and the four associated counties just mentioned were also to do their part, the Earl of Pembroke being appointed to the command of the cavalry raised in Hants, Surrey, Sussex, and Berks. Sir William Waller was to march to meet these new levies, who were to muster in London, and at Windsor, Cambridge, and Bedford, the contribution of Hants being 500 horse.

On Wednesday, July 19, 1643, "*Mercurius Aulicus*" tells us that the Parliament had ordered all possible aid to be sent to Sir William Waller from Portsmouth and other places of Hampshire. "Colonel Norton of Southwick, the great incendiary of that country, being made a Colonel amongst the rebels, St. Barbe and some others having the command of some troops of horse," marched to Winchester and plundered it for the third time of all arms and horses. From thence he proceeded to Salisbury, where he arrived on Thursday, July 13, where he also seized all the horses and arms to be found, and plundered the houses of the Cathedral clergy, even taking away their servants' clothes, and confiscating about £80 which belonged to an hospital of poor people, of which one of the prebends was governor. On his march

from Salisbury to Devizes to join Sir William Waller, hearing of the defeat of the latter upon Roundway Down, he retreated to Wardour Castle, and from thence to Wilton. Preparing to attack Salisbury once more, he found the citizens, who had heard of the defeat of Waller, in arms to oppose him, "and, thinking discretion the better part of valour," returned to Hampshire by a safer way, because, to him, the furthest way about was the next way home."

Unfortunately, the family papers and documents relating to Colonel Norton were burnt in a fire which destroyed a mansion in Berkshire belonging to his descendants about a hundred years ago, and I have not yet been able to hear of any existing portrait of him.

Dire was the confusion caused by doings of this kind, as we may easily see when John Chase, notary public, chapter clerk, and registrar of Winchester Cathedral, writes from the muniment house of the Cathedral, that after Waller's visit and havoc on December 14, 1642, he had seen "the muniment house defaced and spoiled and divers writings taken away." He again set all things in order, but on March 10, 1643, he states that "the muniment house was the second time by the army and soldiery broken up, and all my ledgers and register books taken away, the records, charters, deeds, writings, and muniments lost ; divers of them burnt, divers of them thrown into the river." One of the brethren of St. Cross secured some valuable documents which were floating down the stream. "Divers large parchments, they made kites withal to fly in the air, and many of the old books lost to the utter spoiling and destruction of the same muniment and charter house." Mr. Chase says that many of the lost documents had been preserved for centuries in the muniment house.

It is time to follow the fortunes of Basing House.

CHAPTER X

THE RUINED FORTRESS

A WALK from Basingstoke to the famous, though now ruined, Cavalier stronghold is full of interest. The Town Hall, in the Market Place, contains several pictures, one of which is a portrait of the Merrie Monarch, by Sir Peter Lely. Others seem to have come from Basing House, and one of these is thought to be "the counterfeit presentment of the loyal Marquis" himself, with his baton of command.

As we turn to the left out of the Market Place, we note the "Falcon House," a modern building which stands upon the site of a quaint old-fashioned hostelry, with the sign of the "Fleur-de-lys," which, according to constant local tradition, was for some days at least the headquarters of Oliver Cromwell.

The Bell Inn, across the way, which was formerly the local "lock-up," was almost a century old when Basing House was taken, and to it were brought as prisoners the Marquis and Sir Robert Peake, his Deputy-Governor, before being sent up to the Parliament in London.

On our right is the road leading to Hackwood, the stately home of the Dukes of Bolton, preferred by them to their old ancestral seat. Roundheads and Cavaliers alike have trudged, marched, and galloped along the road which we are now following. By this route "the puissant army" of Sir William Waller marched to face the house, and over these rolling hills, on which the grass then grew green and unbroken, advanced the Ironsides, who knew not the meaning of the word "defeat," who had conquered at Naseby and Marston Moor, and who failed not at Basing.

The valley below us is well watered, and the wide-stretching swamps must have aided the defence not a little. As we skirt the canal we reach a bridge, on the other side of which is a field still known as "Slaughter Close," where many a brave man on both sides died the death of a soldier. Close to the aforesaid bridge are two cottages, in one of which are some ancient beams, formerly belonging to a mill which was burnt during the siege, of which we shall hereafter have more to say.

Following the canal we see on the opposite bank a long ivy-covered wall, which

two centuries ago did good service as a "curtain" for the defence of the fortress, being furnished with towers at either end, in one of which may still be seen the embrasures for five cannon. The cutting of the canal, when two navvies made a "find" and departed without waiting for pay-day, some few years since, has considerably modified the outer defences, but still enough remains to interest the antiquary, the pleasure seeker, or him for whom the memory of bygone deeds of valour has a charm. The canal was, in fact, cut directly through the "New House." Looking across the valley we cannot fail to remark the Basingstoke Workhouse, just in rear of which is the London and South-Western Railway.

The workhouse and the railway mark the position of Cowdrey Down, whereon, as we shall see, Parliamentary troopers kept watch and ward for many a weary month, and that clump of trees to the right beyond the railway is near a large chalk pit, known as Oliver's Delve, wherein regiment after regiment of the besiegers found shelter.

Closer at hand, but "severed by a wall and common roade, againe divided from the foot of Cowdrey Downe by meades, rivulets, and a river running from Basingstoke, a mile distant, upon the west," is a farm house, which from a time long prior to the siege has borne the name of the "Graunge," or "Grange." To Mr. Barton, the present tenant, we and all other visitors to the site of Basing House are much indebted for courteous permission to examine the traces of the deadly struggle here to be met with.

A noble barn, said by tradition to have been the former riding-school of the mansion, still retains a roof of which many a church might well be proud, and has evidently served as a target for hostile gunners from the Delve and Cowdrey Down. Just beyond the farm buildings by the roadside are two gateways, the brickwork of which justly attracts attention by its exquisite workmanship. A similar gateway, perhaps due to the same skilful workman, may be seen at Titchfield House.

Within these two ancient but now walled-up gateways is a level greensward, beneath which the crowbar meets everywhere with brickwork. This was probably the site of the Grange at the time of the siege, the present dwelling-house being of more modern erection. This idea gains confirmation from the fact that only a few yards distant from the level space just mentioned the wall is loopholed for musketry, apparently for the purpose of defending the Grange, which was, as we shall presently see, strongly fortified. Between the Grange and the railway flows the river Loddon, adjoining which may still be seen some of the ancient fish-ponds, now devoted to the cultivation of watercress. Tradition asserts that the dwellers in Basing House used to go to church by water, and old engravings show that a considerable lake formerly existed on this side of the house.

Great difficulty was experienced in building the railway viaduct in consequence of the swampy nature of the ground.

Looking across this low-lying tract we note the neat houses of the pleasant

village of Basing, called in the accounts of the siege "Basing Towne," the new rectory, and the Church of St. Mary, which was more than once taken and re-taken. Nearly opposite to the aforesaid gateways is a wall, which has been battered by cannon shot, and just above, on the bank of "the barge-river," another, which was formerly defended by a now ruinous tower, and which extends to the ancient "Garrison Gate," the date of which, according to Prosser, is 1562, and on which may still be seen the ancient armorial bearings of the Paulets. Through that ivy-covered gateway have ridden chivalrous Colonel Gage, the rescuer of Basing in its time of need; stern Oliver, and Hugh Peters, "the ecclesiastical newsmonger," who brought word to waiting London of "The Sack of Basing House."

To our right is a level greensward, surrounded by the canal and by deep moats. Along the bank of the canal are the foundations of towers of massive brickwork, which defended the "New House." Wherever the pick is used foundations are met with just below the surface, and we see to our left front evident remains of some stately building.

From the "Description of the Siege," hereafter to be quoted, from the remains already met with, and from the descriptions given of the position of the batteries, it seems certain that we are now standing on the site of what was called "the New House."

Climbing or creeping through a rail fence, we note a gap in the rampart where the brickwork has fallen inward, evidently shattered by some resistless force. We know that batteries were constructed to play upon this portion of the defences, and that practicable breaches were made hereabouts. Furthermore, Mr. Hall, of "Basing Towne," points out the spot, some six feet to the left, from which he himself saw a 32 lb. cannon-ball taken. Let each decide for himself, but it seems, to say the least, very probable that this was "the imminent deadly breach" by which the besiegers, so long baffled, at last entered the stronghold. Beyond the moat to the south is an open space, still called the Park, as it was two centuries ago. Not long since two piers of fine brickwork stood at the former entrance, nearly opposite to which is a chalk-pit, in which several skeletons have been discovered. Those slain in the siege seem to have been buried where they fell. Some appear to have been interred with care and reverence, whilst the position of other remains seems to indicate haste and heedlessness. There was formerly a little wood between the house and the village of Basing. Leaving the site of the New House, and retracing our steps, we note a bridge of brickwork, which was brought to light a few years since. Mark it well, for on that bridge brave men on both sides "fought it out at sword's point."

Huge earthworks, circular in form, faced with brickwork, over which grass and ivy grow green, invite exploration, but, leaving the bridge behind us and walking over turf beneath which lie hidden yet more foundations, we soon reach a gate which opens into a spacious garden, in which the boy-King Edward VI. sought health in our fresh Hampshire air; wherein Queen Mary and her Spanish bridegroom spent

some hours of their all too brief honeymoon, and which saw Queen Elizabeth and the Ambassador of France in grave and earnest converse. Thomas Fuller, Wenceslaus Hollar, Oliver Cromwell, Sir Ralph Hopton, and Hugh Peters have each in turn visited this pleasant garden. Along one side of it runs the long loopholed "curtain" wall, with its two conical towers, one of which, as we have already seen, did good service as a battery, as also probably did the other, which is now transformed into a dovecot. All around the sides are nest-holes, most literally and in truth "pigeon-holes." Around a stout oak post in the centre revolves a framework with a ladder attached to it, which gives easy access to the several pigeon nurseries. The ancestral doves must have had unpleasant experiences during the siege, but no doubt proved most useful

With their heads down in the gravy,
And their legs up through the crust,

when other provisions began to fail. A postern gate from this dovecot is now walled up. We cross an orchard on the opposite side of the garden to the dovecot, noting the ancient wall on our right, and enter a chamber of massive brickwork, locally styled "The Banking," or "Banqueting House." The latter designation seems by no means appropriate, but it may have been a kind of mediæval "strong room." Who can tell? Turning to the right, up a flight of steps we see, at the door of the pleasant "Cottage," and in the conservatory, a heap of mementoes of the famous siege, which have been brought to light by the excavations which have at various times been carried on by Lord Bolton, who takes a keen and lively interest in Basing. Nor can we proceed farther without thanking his lordship for his kind assistance to the writer in his endeavours to throw light upon the siege and sack of the historic house. Broken pottery mingles with fragments of carved stone work. Here and there are proud escutcheons having on them, "*Honi soit qui mal y pense*," and fragments of the glorious family motto, "*Ayez Loyaute*." Blackened and discoloured here and there indeed are they, for flame-jets and smoke-eddies have done their worst, but "*Love Loyalty*" is still the text from which they preach, and spite of storm, sack, and spoil, Basing will be "the House of Loyalty" for evermore. Glass quarries have been found with "*Ayez Loyaute*" painted on scrolls of a period evidently prior to the siege. This discovery destroys the pretty legend of Basing House being styled "Loyalty House," from the "Loyal Marquis" having written this motto on every window with a diamond ring, with a view to animate and inspirit the garrison. These quarries bear also the family badge (a key and garter). Several cannon-balls have been found. Mr. Hall says, "Yes, I have seen a number recast in years gone by at the Basingstoke Foundry." Bullets, a pike, and a large number of fragments of shell have been met with; and two swords were brought to light some years ago. Beautiful encaustic tiles, over which Queen Bess walked, even in her old age tripping lightly; quaint tobacco pipes, with bowls suggestive of the days

when "the weed" was worth its weight in silver, and farmers chose their largest shillings to place in the tobacconists' scales, still tell of the past. Ancient manacles have been found, a magnifying glass in a mother-of-pearl case bound with heavy silver work, a curious horseshoe with staple intended for use in the Basing marshes, and a rushlight holder. Notice especially the recently discovered finely-carved classic head, with moulding in a fine state of preservation, and the grotesques which grinned at Queen Elizabeth and at Cromwell.

Those vitrified masses speak of intense and fervid heat. Hand grenades, and the jaws of horses that munched oats two hundred years ago, together with bones picked by hungry Cavaliers at the same distant period, are not wanting. The old ramparts are here gay with flowers, speaking not of war but of peace. Long may they continue so to do!

Retracing our steps towards the brick bridge, by which we paused awhile ago, we have between us and the Canal the Bowling Green, oblong in shape, and formerly defended, says Prosser, by a rampart and covered way.

Opening an iron gate, and as carefully closing it behind us, we halt for a moment at the entrance to a huge circular embankment of earth faced with brickwork, and surrounded by a moat, the average perpendicular depth of which (except towards the Bowling Green) is thirty-six feet. Round the top of the earthworks runs a path commanding wide and extensive views over the neighbouring country. Prosser ("Antiquities of Hampshire," 1842) tells us that around the citadel or keep was a parapet wall, about four feet high from the gravel, now destroyed. Some such protection must have been necessary, since the besiegers' works were within pistol shot. Several towers also protected the circular rampart, round which we will walk presently.

We are standing on the site of the lofty Gate House, and heaps of fragments of carved stonework tell of past magnificence. Notice especially some fine brickwork or terra cotta, of the Tudor period, and very similar to that at Layer Marney, in Essex, which probably formed part of the stately mansion erected by the first Marquis, who was "a willow, and not an oak."

In 1880 Mr. Walter Money, F.S.A., the author of the "Two Battles of Newbury," reprinted to the great benefit of all students "A Description of the Siege of Basing Castle, kept by the Lord Marquisse of Winchester, for the service of His Majesty against the forces of the Rebels under command of Colonell Norton. Anno Dom. 1644. Oxford, printed by Leonard Lichfield, printer to the University, 1644." From this diary, which has been variously assigned to the Marquis, to the Marchioness, and to Dr. Thomas Fuller, we take the following extract:

"Basing Castle, the seat and mansion of the Marquisse of Winchester, stands on a rising ground, having its forme circular, encompassed with a brick rampart, lined with earth, and a very deep trench, but dry. The loftie Gatehouse with foure turrets looking northwards, on the right whereof without the compasse of the ditch,

is a goodly building, containing two faire courts. Before them is the Graunge severed by a wall and common roade, againe divided from the foot of Cowdrey's Downe by meades, rivulets, and a river running from Basingstoake, a mile distant upon the west. The south side of the Castle hath a parke, and toward Basing towne a little wood, the place seated and built as if for Royaltie, having a proper motto, 'Aymez Loyalte.'"

Having read this account of Basing in its glory, let us explore its ruins.

Inclining to the right, as we enter the circular keep or citadel, which is evidently a prehistoric camp, we at once reach the excavations before referred to. Very curious and very puzzling are their results. The rooms at present explored seem to have been the kitchens of the mansion. Recesses in which some think the tinder-box and the turnspit dogs formerly rested have been opened out, together with chimneys, fireplace, and ovens. The main area seems to have been paved with flints, and to have been subsequently filled up with earth, either for the training of racehorses or for the cultivation of vines. Just within the rampart is what at present seems like a corridor, paved in some places with brick, and in others with flint. This paving has here and there disappeared, and there is reason to suppose that wood was used, as well as the more durable materials. Chalk also formed the floor in various places. A circular brick wall, three feet in height, a portion of which appears to have been hastily constructed, runs round the area parallel to the outer rampart. Was this wall built at the time of the siege, or is it of later date? Drains have been met with, and a large culvert leads beneath the moat into the open country. In one portion of the wall are several recesses, the original use of which is shrouded in mystery. A large arch, which probably did duty as a sally-port, has been uncovered, and various chambers below the surface are being brought to light. The foundations of a turret with a spiral staircase leading to the presumed kitchens, and also of what was apparently a square tower are visible within the circular area, and close to the latter is a large cellar, the arched roof of which was probably intended to be bomb proof. The stands for the beer barrels may still be seen, and light was admitted by shoots very similar to those in the crypt of Winchester Cathedral. The work is so massive that antiquaries believe that it was intended to support the great hall of the mansion. But many riddles will doubtless be solved by Lord Bolton's most interesting excavations. The steps leading down to this cellar were of brick with stout oaken kerbs. The all-consuming fire penetrated even here, as the charred timbers plainly testified. Indeed, this cellar was the probable scene of a tragedy as horrible as that of the Black Hole of Calcutta, of which Hugh Peters shall tell us more anon. The citadel was supplied with water from a well on the left of the entrance, which has been lately cleared out, and there is another well on the outer edge of the moat. Pursuing our walk round the circular rampart, we notice some masonry which seems to have formed part of the more ancient building which Adam De Portu called "home." Pleasant is the breezy walk along the path at

the top of the rampart, where steadfast Cavaliers did "sentry go" for many a weary month. From the summit to the left of the entrance to the citadel we look down into the moat, more than thirty feet below, and the site of the famous New House, beyond which is the canal, on the opposite bank of which some of the outworks of the fortress are still distinctly traceable. Farther distant is Basing Church, alternately occupied by both parties, and as we walk onwards we skirt the Park, in which the besiegers raised their strongest works. Close by, indeed within a stone's throw of where we stand, the foemen's trenches are still much in the same condition as they were after the final assault. Close quarters truly!

When we have completed half our circuit we see the well before mentioned on the outer edge of the moat, and we are evidently treading on foundations, probably of a tower, to defend a drawbridge, of the existence of which at this point there are some indications, and which Cromwell destroyed. A large mound to the right of the well perhaps marks the position of a hostile battery. Sir William Waller seems to have "faced the House" on this side. And now what a view we have! Away in the distance is Winklebury Circle, from whence, according to tradition, Oliver, on his all-conquering march, first surveyed from a distance the stately towers of Basing, doomed to fall. Rather nearer is Basingstoke, the head-quarters of the Parliamentary Committee, and we fail not to remark pleasant Hackwood House, wherein most fittingly find place the portraits of the "Loyal" Marquis and Marchioness. Close below us are Slaughter Close and the swamps which protected the fortress on the north. How clearly could the besieged discern the movements of the enemy's horse on Cowdrey Down, of the infantry quartered in the Delve, and of convoys moving along the lower road or "lane" from Basingstoke. Protected by the guns mounted upon and around the House, as well as by its own fortifications, was the Grange, which also was stoutly defended. Beyond the church, in a field called Priestcroft, which may be the land formerly belonging to the Chaplain of the free chapel of Basing, are the remains of an ancient camp, and across the River Loddon is Pyat's or Magpie Hill, from whence the besieged drew frequent and welcome supplies of corn.

There is a rare contemporary etching ascribed to Wenceslaus Hollar, the eminent engraver, who was himself one of the besieged, and a very ancient drawing of the House is preserved in the Bodleian Library. In "The Soldier's Report of Sir William Waller's Fight," &c., we are told: "This place is very strongly fortified. The walls of the house are made thick and strongly to beare out cannon bullets, and the house built upright, so that no man can command the rooffe; the windowes thereof are guarded by the outer walles, and there is no place open in the house save only for certain Drakes (or field-pieces) upon the rooffe of the said house, wherewith they are able to play upon our Army, though we discern them not. The house is as large and spacious as the Tower of London, and strongly walled about with earth raised against the wall, of such a thicknesse that it is able to dead the

greatest cannon bullet, besides they have great store both of ammunition and victualls to serve for supply a long time, and in the wall divers pieces of ordnance about the house." Cromwell speaks of taking "about ten pieces of ordnance." The area of the defences was fourteen and a half acres. The Marquis says, "Our courts being large and many"; and Hugh Peters states, "There were in both houses sixteen courts, both great and small." Several towers aided the defence, but the lead was stripped from all the turrets during the siege, to be cast into bullets.

CHAPTER XI

THE MARQUISES OF WINCHESTER—FIRST ATTACK ON BASING

THIS pleasant spot is, like many another place in Hampshire, an epitome of English history. The keep, or citadel, has been utilised in turn by Celt, Roman, Saxon, Dane, Norman, and Cavalier. King Alfred and the Danes had a fierce fight here. In a grant to the Priory of Monks Sherborne, in the reign of Henry II., mention is made of "the old castle of Basing," part of which seems to have been rebuilt by William Paulet, or Powlett, the first Marquis of Winchester, the son of Sir John Paulet, who was twice Sheriff of Hampshire. He was made Comptroller and Treasurer of the Household by Henry VIII., and became Lord Treasurer to Edward VI., by whom he was created Marquis of Winchester. He was a very shrewd but not a clever man, was the chief means of preserving the crown to Queen Mary, and died in 1571 at the age of eighty-seven, enormously wealthy, and leaving 103 descendants. He seems to have been remarkable for pithy sayings. Being asked how he had kept the favour of four Tudor sovereigns, he replied, "I was born of the willow, not of the oak." He said also "that there was always the best justice when the Court was absent from London." He wrote thus :

Late supping I forbear,
Wine and women I forswear,
My neck and feet I keep from cold ;
No marvel then, though I be old ;
I am a willow, not an oak ;
I chide, but never hurt with stroke.

In 1560 he entertained at Basing his Royal mistress, who made the full fond confession, "By my troth, if my Lord Treasurer were but a young man, I could find in my heart to love him for a husband before any man in England." Entertaining Royal personages was expensive then as now. The second Marquis, who was one of the judges of the Duke of Norfolk in 1572, died in 1576, bequeathing his body to be buried in the church of Basing, and ordering that his funeral should cost £1000. The third Marquis wrote poetry, and gave large estates to four illegitimate sons. His son



Ad. Kneller

*John Powlett.
Marquis of Winchester.*

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and successor impoverished himself by royally entertaining Queen Elizabeth in 1601 for thirteen days "to the greate charge of the saide Lorde Marquesse," of which, did space permit, much might be told.

For full particulars of the noble owners of Basing, see Woodward & Wilks' "History of Hampshire," which is full of valuable information. The fifth Marquis at first managed his estates in peace, keeping up the old customs that "tenants were to make hedges for the wheat field by or within six days after St. Andrew's Day, and for the barley field within six days of Maie Daie. No wheat was to be sown until within a fortnight of Christmas, and no fallowing done until within a fortnight of Candlemas." But more stirring times were about to ruin, whilst they immortalised, Basing, and to confer upon its owner the proud title of the "Loyal Marquis." We have already made mention of various events at Basing during the year 1642. During the month of March 1643 some of the Cavaliers from the garrison of Reading marched to Basing House, and in the neighbourhood of Basingstoke, (another account says near Wokingham), succeeded in intercepting several waggons laden with cloth, belonging to certain clothiers of the western counties. The spoil was worth from £10,000 to £12,000. The merchants went to Oxford, and petitioned the King for redress. Their prayer was heard, and on April 22 the cloth-laden waggons reached London in safety. Certain bales, however, belonging to Mr. Ash and his brother, who were both members of the House of Commons, were confiscated. The merchants who recovered their property were obliged to take the new protestation of allegiance, and to pay their fees, as if they had been prisoners, to Smith, the Provost Marshal of Oxford. This officer seems to have been terribly severe, and, in fact, most brutal in his treatment of the prisoners entrusted to his care. Frequent complaints were made to Parliament of his barbarities, and the House of Commons addressed a remonstrance to the King on the subject. My Lord General the Earl of Essex was, by a resolution of the House of Commons passed on March 16, officially informed of these proceedings, and also that certain passers-by had been fired upon from the windows of Basing House. The day of trial for "Loyalty House" was near at hand.

Towards the end of July the Marquis of Winchester, who since the surrender of Reading had seen his enemies increasing in numbers, and forming strong garrisons in his neighbourhood, found that Colonel Norton was threatening a visit to Basing House, "as being a place in which he hoped to find much spoil and little opposition, for, to say truth, he is a very valiant gentleman where he meets with no resistance." Clarendon, on the other hand, speaks of Norton as being a man of undoubted bravery. The Marquis made a journey to Court, and obtained permission to have "one hundred musketeers of Colonel Rawdon's regiment sent under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Peake with speed and secrecy to Basing." He then returned home, nor did he reach Loyalty House a moment too soon. Scarcely had he arrived before "Colonel Norton, with Capt. St. Barbe, of Broadlands, Romsey, with his troop of horse, and Capt.

Cole, with a ragged rabble of Dragoons, begirt the house and pressed the siege exceeding hotly." Within the walls there were, besides servants, only "six gentlemen, armed with six muskets, the whole remainder of a well-furnished armoury." They had already proved their prowess, for with them the Marquis "had done so well that twice the enemies' attempts proved vain."

But now surely, on this July 31, 1643, the odds are overwhelming, for see, two regiments of dragoons, under Colonels Harvey and Norton, have made their way through the park palings, and are bent upon an attack in force. Another half-hour, and the hopeless struggle will be at an end. But hark to yonder musket shots, and listen intently. Surely that is "Rupert's call" from cavalry trumpets, and see how the rebels are flying in all directions. Yes, aid is at hand. Lieutenant-Colonel Peake has come from Oxford by forced marches, and is now beating the foe from Basing village, clearing house after house. For the King, hearing of Norton's threatened attack, has, although he is about to march towards Bristol, and sorely needs the help of every available man, sent Colonel Sir Henry Bard, who disobeyed orders at Cheriton Fight, with some troops of horse to the relief of beleaguered Basing. The cavalry arrive just as the musketeers have cleared a way to "The Castle," as Basing House was often styled by the Cavaliers. Lieut.-Colonel Peake deserves full credit for his victory, for Harvey and Norton's two regiments of dragoons "ran quite away" from his musketeers. Basing being thus at liberty, Colonel Norton and his allies retreated that night to Farnham, and from thence to Portsmouth, "plaguering and plundering all the country as they passed along, for fear it should be thought that he had made so long a journey, and lain out so long, to undo nobody." A letter was at once written by the Parliamentary Committee at Portsmouth to the Lord General Essex, and read in the House of Lords on September 7, asking for more troops for the protection of the town, as the Cavaliers had succeeded in surprising both Dorchester and Weymouth. Colonel Norton's repulse at Basing was doubtless another cause for alarm to the adherents of the Parliament in Portsmouth. Colonel Harvey, who aided Colonel Norton in this attack upon Basing, had formerly been a captain in one of the regiments of the London Trained Bands. He had been unfortunate in business, and is described as a "decayed silkman." When the war broke out he was appointed to the command of a troop of horse and of a regiment of dragoons. The women of London presented a petition for peace to the House of Commons, and, refusing to disperse, Colonel Harvey, with his troop of horse, was ordered to charge the unarmed crowd. The order was rigorously obeyed, at least two women were killed, and not a few wounded ("Great Civil War," i. 219). Colonel Harvey's standard bore the device of a Bible with the motto "Lex Suprema" (the supreme law!) and below a city, with the motto "Salus Patriæ" (the safety of our fatherland). During the Commonwealth, Colonel Harvey was the temporary owner of Fulham Palace and of various revenues belonging of right to the See of London. One who knew him says "He came off blueely in the end."

The standard of the Marquis of Winchester was like those of other contemporary commanders, square in form, bearing a scroll with pendent ends, on which was the motto "Aimez Loyauté." The musketeers, who proved so timely a reinforcement to the defenders of Basing House, belonged to the Regiment of Foot commanded by Sir Marmaduke Rawdon, of whom and of the other officers of the garrison we will speak more at length hereafter. Warburton says ("Memoirs of Prince Rupert," p. 116): "During the early part of the Civil War the pikemen held the post of honour. The pikemen, as well as the musqueteers, wore a leathern doublet, steel cap, cloth hose, and square-toed shoes, with a large rosette. The pikeman, when he could get it, wore a back and breastpiece of steel, with an iron hook on the former, whereon to hang his steel cap while marching. The musqueteer wore a 'bandolier' or broad belt with charges of powder hung by little cords. The bullets were carried in a little bag or in the mouth for immediate use, over the left shoulder; a sword belt over the right; his match-lock rest was sometimes attached to his left wrist, while not in use, and sometimes he had a boy allowed him to carry this cumbrous piece of artillery for him. There were locks to the pistols and petronels (the latter so called 'because it hangeth on the breast') of the Cavalry, but none, I think, to the Infantry musket. The former were wound up like a watch by an instrument called a spanner, and when let off by the trigger the flint was brought against a rough surface that gave the spark by friction. These were called 'snaphaunces.' The charges of powder suspended from the bandolier being mostly twelve in number, were often styled 'the twelve Apostles.'" The pay was 8*d.* a day for the infantry, 1*s.* 6*d.* for a dragoon, and 2*s.* 6*d.* for a trooper. Such were the men who manned the walls and towers of Basing House.

After the repulse of Harvey and Norton, Basing House "is then begunne, according to the quantity of men now added, to be fortified." Cavaliers evidently knew how to use pickaxe and spade, as well as musket and pike. The whole area of the fortifications was fourteen and a-half acres, and many a now grass-covered rampart is still in existence. Whilst batteries were in course of construction at Basing, certain ships asked and obtained convoy from the Earl of Warwick, who was in command for the Parliament at Portsmouth. He thereupon ordered Captain William Thomas, who commanded the *Eighth Whelp*, to escort these vessels from Southampton, Torbay, and Lynn to the coast of France, the *Charity*, frigate, being also in company. Off Brest the men-of-war were attacked by one of the ships which had gone over to the King's party. The result of the fight was the spending of prize money at Portsmouth by Parliament men-of-war's men. The story is a stirring one, but comes not within our province. "Coats, shoes, caps, and shirts cost 17*s.* per man at their first marching" on August 6, 1642, and "coats, shirts, shoes, and knapsacks for 6000 men at 16*s.* each" were ordered by Parliament on December 5, 1642. Dr. Firth's "Cromwell's Army" gives exhaustive details of military equipment. Andover was in safe Royalist keeping, as were also Donnington Castle, near Newbury, and Longford House, near Salisbury. These garrisons rendered communication easy between Kent, Surrey, and

Sussex on the one side, and on the other Abingdon, Wallingford, Oxford, and the West.

"This House hath not onely been a great annoyance to all the country round about, but hath been a meanes to stop the trading out of the west to London by robbing and pillaging the carriers and clothiers that come from them, it standing near unto the direct road." So speak my Lord Denbigh and Sir Thomas Middleton. The Marquis was also able to enforce the payment of the £180 demanded weekly by the King from each neighbouring hundred of Hants, Berks, and Wilts. A number of women and children had found refuge at Basing House, "wee not having lesse than sevenscore uselesse mouthes," and many Royalists had stored their valuables within its walls. Sir William Waller had hitherto been far too busy to be able to think much of either the Marquis or his doings. But having at length returned from his campaign in the western counties, where he had most assuredly lost all claim to be styled "William the Conqueror" for the future, he was at liberty to turn his attention to "Loyalty House." The "pure and spotless" Lord Grandison, who had formerly done his best to protect the Hampshire fortress, had lately died of wounds received at the taking of Bristol, which surrendered to Prince Rupert on July 26, 1643.

The garrison of Basing were not taken unawares. "Upon report of a puissant army under command of Sir William Waller, to be appointed for the taking of it in, Colonell Rawdon (or Roydon) with the rest of his Regiment (being one hundred and fifty more) is commanded thither. The Lord Marquisse taking forth commissions, as Colonell and Governor, for the raising of more forces for the defence of the same." ("Description of the Siege.") Lieutenant-Colonel Peake was also appointed Lieutenant-Governor.

The town of Basingstoke favoured the cause of the Parliament, and on Friday, May 19, 1643, it was ordered that whenever a fast was appointed for Wednesday, Basingstoke market should be held on Tuesday. The Camden Society has published many interesting particulars concerning Colonel Rawdon, the Governor of Basing House. He was descended from the ancient family of that name near Leeds, in Yorkshire, and at the age of sixteen was taken to London by his elder brother Lawrence, who placed him in business there and laid the foundation of his fortunes. Mindful of his kindness, when in after years his younger brother died at Leeds he requested that his nephew and namesake Marmaduke Rawdon, then a boy of sixteen, might be committed to his parental care.

"When the younger Marmaduke became a member of his uncle's household the London merchant was in the prime of life, and at the height of prosperity. He had married a wealthy heiress, and was the father of a numerous family. He enjoyed the reputation of being one of the most enterprising and successful of the English mercantile adventurers of his day. His transactions extended to almost every part of the known world. He traded largely in the wines of both France and the Peninsula through agencies or factories established at Bordeaux and Oporto. From

the merchants of Holland and the Netherlands he purchased the produce of the vintages which flourished on the banks of the Rhine and its tributaries. To encourage the introduction into this country of the wine recently produced in the Canary Islands, he joined in forming an important factory at Teneriffe. He was among the earliest of the adventurers who invested capital in the cultivation of the sugar plantations of Barbadoes. This island was first settled under the authority of letters patent granted by James I. A subsequent grant was made by Charles I." (See "Verney Papers," ed. Camden Soc., p. 193, note.) We learn from the "Calendar of State Papers," 1628-29, that Mr. W. Rawdon was either sole or part owner of the following ships in the years 1626 and 1627: "1626, Sept. 15.—Owners, M. Roydon, Rowland Wilson and others.—*Transport*, of London, tonn, 200. Capt. H. West. 1627, Jan. 30.—Owner, M. Roydon.—*Patience*, of London, tonn, 300, *George*, tonn, 80, Capt. Christopher Mitchell. 1626, Feb. 21st.—Owners, M. Roydon and others.—*Vintage*, of London, tonn, 140, Capt. R. West."

"It is said that he was one of the first who rigged out a ship for the discovery of the N.W. Passage. He was a member of the Company of Turkey Merchants, and he possessed the confidence of the French merchants who traded with England. We are not surprised to be told that he was much esteemed by the Royal favourite Buckingham, and that he received marked attention from both the great Duke's masters, King James I. and King Charles I. In the year 1628 Mr. Rawdon sat in the House of Commons as one of the representatives of the commercial and shipbuilding town of Aldborough, in the County of Suffolk, but it does not appear that he was returned to any subsequent Parliament. At an early period of his career he was made a member of the Municipal Corporation of the City of London, but upon being afterwards elected an Alderman he refused to accept the office." He was, under Major-General Skippon, Lieut.-Colonel of the 1st Regiment of the London Trained Bands, the regimental ancestors of "The Buffs." The standard of this regiment is thus described: "Gules. The Distinction Argent being Piles Wavey." As soon, however, as Lieut.-Colonel Rawdon perceived that "the citizens were inclined to the Parliament" he resigned his commission, and in 1643 joined the King at Oxford. He soon raised a regiment at his own cost, of which he took command. Having been ordered to Basing House, he there played a gallant part, winning for himself the well-earned honour of knighthood. His banner, square in form, bore the device of a spotted animal with a long bushy tail and an elongated snout, and the motto "Mallem mori quam tardari" (I'll rather die than stop my course).

Lord Capel, a relative of the Marquis of Winchester, who had large estates in Hampshire, had the device of a crown and sceptre, with the motto "Perfectissima gubernatio" (Monarchy the best of Governments).

A hostile writer says, "Colonel Royden, a decayed merchant of London, who lived at Clerkenwell, and went to Basing to recruit, being the Governor of that Garrison." Small wonder was it if he were "decayed," for the Parliament loved him

not. On Friday, May 9, 1643, we hear of "a ship of rich trafique belonging to Captain Royden" being taken by the Earl of Warwick, and on Thursday, September 14, we know that his goods and those of others taken in certain ships from the East Indies were "to be sold by the candle," and that the first £4000 of the proceeds were to be devoted to the maintenance of Waller's army, which was then meditating an attack upon Basing House. Lieutenant-Colonel Peake, the Lieutenant-Governor of "Loyalty House," was "sometime picture seller at Holborn Bridge," according to Symonds, and "a seller of picture babies," said his opponents. His name is affixed to numerous prints and engravings, which are now rare. He was a man of venerable appearance in his later years, with a long white beard, like a ball of cotton.

Under his orders was another artist, William Faithorne, his former pupil, who had worked with him for some three or four years previous to the breaking out of the Civil War. In the garrison was also the celebrated "Wenceslaus Hollar," who belonged to an ancient Bohemian family, and was born at Prague in 1607. He had been drawing master to the young Prince, subsequently Charles II. For a short period all went well with Hollar, for he now enjoyed the one fitful gleam of sunshine which illuminated his toil-worn life. He resided in apartments at Arundel House, and was constantly employed by his noble patron in engraving those treasures of ancient art still known as the Arundelian marbles. But soon the great Civil War broke forth; Lord Arundel was compelled to seek a refuge on the Continent, whilst Hollar, with two other artists, Peake and Faithorne, accepted commissions in the King's service.

Of Lieut.-Colonel Johnson Dr. Chalmers gives the following account (abridged): "Thomas Johnson, an English botanist of the seventeenth century, was born at Selby, in Yorkshire, and bred an apothecary in London. He afterwards kept a shop on Snow Hill, where, says Wood, by his unwearied pains and good natural parts he attained to be the best herbalist in England. He was first known to the public by some botanical works, published in 1620 and 1622, which were the first local catalogues of plants published in England. He soon after acquired great credit by his new edition and emendation of 'Gerald's Herbal.' He wrote an account of the flora of the southern counties, and was one of the first to botanise in Wales and on the slopes of Snowdon. The University of Oxford, in consideration of his merit, learning, and loyalty, conferred upon him the degree of M.D. on May 9, 1643. In the army he had the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel to Sir Marmaduke Rawdon, Governor of Basing House."

Major Cuffand, Cufand, Cuffel, Cuffles, &c. (his name is variously spelt), belonged to an ancient family, who dwelt in the old Manor House of Cuffand or Cuffell, which formerly stood at no great distance from The Vine, and of which the site is marked by an orchard, which is encircled by a brick-lined moat. On the tomb of Simon Cuffand, who was interred at Basingstoke in 1619, he is described as "Simon

Cufand, of Cufand, in Hampshire, 500 years the possession and habitation of gentlemen of that name, his predecessors." On his mother's side "Simon Cufand was extracted from the Royall blood of the Plantagenets. He was a man of exemplar virtue and patience in grievous crosses, who always lived religiously." Major Cuffand had both Tudor and Plantagenet royal blood in his veins, and was in religion a Roman Catholic. Lieutenant Cuffand also did good service. Major Langley had been "sometime a mercer in Paternoster-row." The senior Captain in Colonel Rawdon's regiment had been a cordwainer or shoemaker.

Major Rosewell had been an apothecary in the Old Bailey. "Captain Rowlet (Rowland), a scrivener, next door to the sign of the 'George' at Holborn Conduit, and Lieutenant Rowlet his brother. Lieutenant Ivory (Emery), sometime a citizen of London, a vintner." Ensign (Ancient) Coram was "the son of one Coram, a Papist, in Winchester." "William Robinson, a Papist, was surgeon to the Lord Marquis of Winchester." Captain Peregrine Tasbury was a Hampshire gentleman, and of Cornet Bryan we shall hear much.

CHAPTER XII

SOUTHAMPTON AFFAIRS—FIGHTING AT POOLE—SWANLEY'S ATROCITIES— BASINGSTOKE TROUBLES

CAPTAIN SWANLEY having persuaded Southampton, not without dread of possible bombardment, to declare for the Parliament, the opponents of the Royal cause took care to make their power felt, not however without some opposition from their fellow townsmen, and occasional fears for their own safety. On Saturday, August 5, 1643, "Mercurius Aulicus," at Oxford, had received letters from Winchester to the effect that "Legay, Wolfrey, Mercer, and the rest of the pack of the town of Southampton have sent their goods into the Island, and upon the least noise of the Royal army's approach will fly themselves likewise." Murford, the Parliamentary Governor, had serious thoughts of sailing for New England, and had lately exchanged £500 worth of silver for gold, he "being not worth £5 when he came thither." He was a Norfolk man, and afterwards quarrelled with the Corporation of Southampton about some arrears of salt duty. He wrote two volumes of poems, and was a prisoner in the Fleet for debt in 1652 ("Dict. Nat. Biog."). Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes, the brother of Lord Say and Sele, who had been educated at Winchester College, and had been admitted to a fellowship at New College, Oxford, in quality of founder's kin, had surrendered Bristol to Prince Rupert on July 26—for which he was sentenced to death, but finally reprieved—and on the last day of the same month reached Southampton, at the head of 80 horse, each of whom had a woman riding behind him. This arrangement may have been, and probably was, productive of mutual satisfaction, but would sorely wound the sensitive feelings of an adjutant in this prosaic twentieth century. Governor Murford, who had first come into the town at the head of "a foot-company from Norwich," at once took measures to secure the election of Colonel Fiennes as a burgess of Southampton, "and his (Murford's) chaplain, in his sermon the day before, like a desperate wretch, charged the King with dissembling protestations. Murford, like a brave villain," threatened to imprison a townsman for affirming that "the Queen's Majesty was joyfully entertained at Oxford, for (said Murford) it will discourage the well affected to hear that the Queen

is beloved in any place." The poor townsman would most assuredly have been placed in durance vile had not the wife of the Governor, who is described as "the hired Governess," been induced, by a seasonable gift, to mollify the wrath of her lord and master. A youth who relieved a half-starved Cavalier prisoner had a narrow escape from imprisonment, for, in the opinion of Governor Murford, "if such were not relieved, there would be fewer malignants alive!"

Before supper one evening he assembled some thirty young apprentices, whom he ordered to take the Solemn League and Covenant. On their refusal he threatened them with imprisonment, saying that "their refusal disparaged his Government," and the same night three women were arrested merely for saying that "they thought the King was too wise to be led by ill counsel."

On the following day Colonel Whitehead, whom we shall meet at Basing House, and Mr. Fielder, two of the authorities of Portsmouth, came to Southampton, and at once sent orders to various Cavaliers to pay them large sums of money. Sir John Mills was ordered to contribute £500, whilst Master Thomas Mills was assessed at £200. Mistress Clerk was to pay £200, Alderman Raymond £100 in proportion. Those who demurred were imprisoned, plundered, or carried away to Portsmouth, Colonel Whitehead playfully remarking that "he had been at a great charge to build a cage at Portsmouth, where many Hampton birds should sing very suddenly!"

About August 12 Colonel Powlet, who seems to have been a relative of the Marquis of Winchester, attacked Winchester with a party of horse, who probably belonged to the garrison of Basing House. He was at first successful, and levied contributions from most of the friends of the Parliament within the city. He at length retreated, carrying with him some forty prisoners, but at a distance of some two or three miles from Winchester was attacked by a party of dragoons from Southampton. In the skirmish that followed Colonel Powlet and two of his men were killed, sixty others were made prisoners, and the captive citizens of Winchester released.

"Mercurius Aulicus" loved not the Governor of Southampton, and learns on Saturday, August 12, that "Mudford, alias Murford, that infamous Brownistical Governor of Southampton," had that week shipped off "Mr. Jones, a learned ingenious gentleman," with certain others, to New England, "making him pass his own door, without allowing him speech of his wife, or necessaries from his friends." Another version of this story is that Mr. Jones, being suspected of having written a pamphlet in answer to certain observations on his Majesty's Declaration, was kept for a long time in custody at Portsmouth on an allowance of a penny farthing per diem for bread and water, but at length, in company with the Town Marshal, escaped to Oxford. Colonel Whitehead is reported to have said that "Cruelty to Cavaliers was acceptable work to God," and that he need not fear even if the King should prevail, for that he had secured his lands, had sufficient to maintain

him, and he had taken care to have a friend at Court, who had undertaken to save his life.

The good people of Southampton were strongly urged by Governor Murford's chaplain to take the Solemn League and Covenant. Here is a quotation from his prayer: "Bless the King, O Lord; mollify his hard heart, which delighteth in blood; open his eyes, that he may see that the blood of Thy servants is dear in Thy sight. He is fallen from faith in Thee, and become an enemy to Thy Church. Is it not he that hath sinned and done evil indeed? But as for these sheep, what have they done? Let Thine hand, we pray Thee, O Lord, be on him and his father's house, but not on Thy people that they should be plagued." Colonel St. Barbe, after taking the Covenant, said aloud, before many witnesses, that "he had rather see the kingdom in a flame than that the King should prevail against the cause they have undertaken." Governor Murford sent Thornborough Riggs and certain other apprentices to a most noisome dungeon at Portsmouth, and "the Mayor, a very ancient man," was imprisoned for eleven weeks. Colonel Whitehead had ordered him to give up the keys of the town to him for the service of the Parliament, the good old Mayor answering him, being a Jerseyman, "Me no hang for you, Master Whitehead, you hang for yourself." When he was at length released, Murford, to please Colonel Whitehead, gave orders to the soldiers on guard to prevent the Mayor by force from going out through any of the gates of the town.

"Mercurius Aulicus" remarks: "August 29, a seditious Levite at Portsmouth, one Tooker, Master Whitehead's own chaplain, in a fast sermon prayed God 'to open the eyes of five Lords who lately deserted Him and His cause, and were gone to the King.' And 'tis somewhat strange those Lords should have their eyes shut, and yet should find the way from London to Oxford. Whitehead last week starved two prisoners to death at Portsmouth, refusing their bodies the service of attendance of friends at their funeral."

On Tuesday, September 5, "Mercurius Aulicus," whose statements can, however, be digested only with the aid of a whole peck, if, indeed, a bushel be not preferable, of salt, is informed from Winchester that all Ministers in the neighbourhood of Southampton have been replaced by Murford with men of his own party. Robinson, his own chaplain, prayed thus, the last fast day: "O God, many are the hands lifted up against us, but there is one God; it is Thou, Thyself, O Father, which doest us more mischief than they all." Mistress Murford, "the other day a poor seamstress," is said to be "most devout." Two of Captain St. Barbe's troopers attempted to rob a poor labourer near Millbrook, who, however, although he had no other arms than "a prong and a good heart," unhorsed them both, fully armed as they were, beat them well, and brought them and their horses into Southampton.

At the end of September Governor Murford was actively engaged in fortifying Southampton. He threatened to hang the tythingman of Stoneham for negligence in execution of the warrants sent out for the raising of men and levying of money in

the neighbourhood, and his sub-committee voted that the King's proclamation forbidding the payment of rents to those in arms against him should be burnt by the common hangman. "The good old Mayor," however, possessed sufficient influence to prevent this plan being carried out. The Earl of Southampton's house was also seized, and made to do duty as a gaol. On Saturday, November 4, the Association of Hants, Sussex, Kent, Surrey, and the town and county of Southampton was officially announced, and Thomas Mason, Mayor of Southampton, was one of the Parliamentary Committee of Hampshire.

On November 22 the Parliament was of opinion that Southampton stood in need of further protection, and that it would be well to raise an additional force for that purpose. The cost of so doing was to be defrayed from certain new excise duties, and by the sequestration of the estates of Papists, Cavaliers, and delinquents. The following Committee was therefore appointed: Richard Norton, Esq., Thomas Mason, Mayor of Southampton, Richard Major, Esq., and Aldermen Edward Hooper, George Gallop, Edward Exton, Robert Wroth, and Henry Bracebridge, Esqrs. All things considered, the year 1643 must have witnessed some stirring scenes in Southampton.

"Certain Information" had heard on September 13 that Lord Crawford, who, according to the Army List of 1642-3, is said to have been in command of three troops of horse, had been attacked near Lymington by a Roundhead force from Sussex. "Certain Information" states that Lord Crawford had 300 troopers with him, of whom seven were killed and twenty-four captured. The rest must have surrendered at discretion if the pursuit had been continued as far as Christchurch. On Monday, September 18, Prince Maurice and Lord Crawford, with 3000 men, were said to be approaching Southampton, intending to besiege either it or Plymouth, and afterwards to march into Sussex. From Sydenham's "History of Poole" we learn that this seaport was now the scene of strife. In 1634 it was assessed at £60 for ship-money, whilst Dorchester paid £100, Wareham £30, and "Corff" £10. At the outbreak of the war Poole declared for the Parliament. The town gates were ordered to be watched by one gunner, one watchman, and one rounder by day, and by six watchmen and two rounders by night. The rounders were burgesses and others appointed by the mayor and justices. Fortifications were constructed to keep out the Marquis of Hertford, the King's general in the west. On July 21, 1642, by order of Parliament, the Mayor and Corporation were authorised to assemble townsmen, or volunteers, for the defence of the town. John Vicars (p. 137), describes "a vain summons" about this time by the Marquis of Hertford to Poole and Dorchester, and on August 20, 1642, the treasurer of Dorset paid £50 to be expended in fortifying Poole. But there were, nevertheless, many Royalists in the town, and in 1643 the Mayor (Mr. Harbin), the Recorder (Mr. Constantine), and others were arrested, and sent up to London to the Parliament. Mr. Constantine lost his recordership and his seat in Parliament; his estate was sequestered, and Mr. Harbin was released after compounding for his loyalty, as was also Mr. Wyatt, another Royalist. On June 23,

1643, the Poole garrison under Captains Sydenham, Jervoise, and Scutt, with Sir Walter Earle in chief command, commenced an unsuccessful siege of Corfe Castle, which they were obliged to raise on August 8, 1643. During the month of August 1643 Prince Maurice, after a summons to no purpose, prepared to attack the town, for the defence of which Parliament voted £300 on August 15, directing Sir William Waller to provide for its safety. On the following day a letter signed by the Speaker was sent to Poole, urging the inhabitants to hold out, and two tons of lead were sent into the town from Lulworth Castle, which was then in the hands of the Parliament. Prince Maurice failed in his attack, and left the neighbourhood, as the House of Commons was informed, on September 29, 1643. Lord Crawford was, however, left with some cavalry, and employed intrigue where force seemed useless. At Wimborne, a "malignant" (*i.e.*, royalist) town, Captain Phillips met a woman from Poole, and employed her to negotiate with Captain Sydenham, promising him a full pardon and compensation for all losses if he would secure the town for the King, and seize the man-of-war then lying in Brownsea Road. Captain Sydenham was also to have a commission as major in the Royal Army, and to keep the captured man-of-war as his own. He at once informed Governor Bingham, who prepared to repel an assault, which an intercepted letter fixed for September 24. At 2 A.M. on the appointed day Lord Crawford reached the town gate with eight troops of horse and two regiments of Prince Maurice's infantry, under Colonels Ashley and Griffith, 400 strong, and 100 foot raised in the county. Before the gate there was a half-moon with movable chains, which were drawn up as soon as the Cavalier horsemen had crowded into the half-moon. A heavy fire was opened, and the assailants beat a hasty retreat, with a loss of 300 horse and foot arms. Fifty horses and twenty horsemen were captured within the half-moon. Lord Crawford narrowly escaped, after having his horse shot under him. Few would have escaped if the town gunners had sufficiently depressed their guns. The Royalists are said to have carried away cartloads of their dead, and in 1835 a skeleton, with long hair, was dug up close to the old town wall. "Mercurius Aulicus," however, admits a loss of only ten killed and four prisoners, and says that the Cavaliers retired in good order, the garrison not daring to pursue them. The £140 which had been offered as a bribe to Captain Sydenham was retained by him as a perquisite. Four days after the repulse of the Cavaliers, it was ordered by Parliament that Mr. Trenchard should pay to the Poole garrison the sum of £200, a gift from Mrs. Barbara Lochere, of Fulham, and on Wednesday, November 22, the Governor of Poole was ordered to send up to London the horses taken from Lord Crawford, to be sold for the benefit of his garrison. Privateers were also fitted out at Poole, and did the Parliament good service. In October 1643 one of them, named the *Ann and Joyce*, captured two ships in Swanwich (Swanage) Bay, one of which was owned by Royalists at Weymouth, and was laden with linen, cloth, and other French goods. The other was a French ship, and had a cargo of corn, gunpowder, arms, and stores for the King's forces in Ireland. The

captors received two-thirds of the prize money, and £500 of the remainder was voted for the pay of the garrison and for the defences of Poole. On October 24 a further sum of £200 was voted by Parliament for the same object.

On November 3, a Committee of Parliament was appointed to provide for the safety of the town. Four ships were assigned for its defence, and thirty-two pairs of captured pistols were forwarded to Sir Walter Erle for the use of the garrison. On November 24 the Earl of Warwick, the Admiral of the Parliament, came to Poole with several ships, and sailed towards Wareham, which town they plundered, and also captured five small ships. On December 11 some goods which Captain Drinkwater had seized at Richmond were ordered by Parliament to be sold for the defence of Poole and Lyme. About this time there was a skirmish near Dorchester, in which the Poole garrison took many prisoners, with whom Governor Bingham was allowed to compound, "and also with Mr. Wyatt, who endeavoured to betray Poole." The money thus realised was to be spent upon the defences of the town.

On Wednesday, September 20, both Houses of Parliament were informed that Hampshire, Portsmouth, Southampton, the Isle of Wight and the western parts were in great danger, and might be speedily possessed by the enemy, if measures of defence were any longer delayed. In August 1643 the Earl of Essex, not without some grumbling, granted to Sir William Waller the chief command of a force to be raised in London, and on Wednesday, September 13, an ordinance of Parliament was passed permitting Waller to impress 5000 soldiers, taking any persons between the ages of eighteen to fifty, with the exception of clergy, scholars, Trained Band soldiers, widows' sons, &c., and the servants of peers, attendants, and assistants of Parliament. Watermen's apprentices were to join the army, and their masters were bound to receive them again when they had finished their service. On the following Wednesday he was ordered to march at once, which he had previously assured the Committee of Safety of his readiness to do, if the sum of £4000 was paid to him for the support of his army. He received directions to advance forthwith with all available men, leaving the rest of his troops to follow as speedily as possible, and on the 28th the Earl of Essex assured the Parliament "that he will begin upon a new score, and give Waller the best encouragement he can." On September 13 Waller was appointed to the vacant governorship of Portsmouth, with special orders to be on the alert against winter attacks of Cavaliers and other enemies. He received the £4000 for which he had asked, and his army of 5000 foot, with 30 or 40 troops of horse, was ordered to meet him at Windsor on Friday, September 22, 1643. A regiment of Dragoons left London for the appointed rendezvous on Tuesday, September 26. One who saw them depart writes thus: "The common saying is Dragooners are a rude multitude, but though they marched not very soberly, yet we will hope better of them." The same writer adds that Sir William Waller had already with him at Windsor 2000 horse and 3000 foot, and was daily expecting reinforcements. Waller was mustering his army on Hounslow Heath on October 12.

We must briefly chronicle the course of events in other parts of the county. The Generals of the Parliament had not been on the most friendly terms.

In August 1643, the Earl of Manchester having been appointed Sergeant-Major-General or Commander-in-Chief in the Eastern Counties, the Earl of Essex, who had frequent quarrels with Sir William Waller, took no pains to conceal his feelings. But eventually, on September 28, Essex assured the Parliament, as we have seen, that he was quite willing to support Sir William.

On October 7 thirty pieces of ordnance with their due proportion of shot were ordered by the House of Commons to be sent to the Isle of Wight, and on Monday, October 16, in consequence of a petition numerously signed by the inhabitants, an order was given that the Earl of Warwick should send some ships of strength speedily for the defence of the island. Mr. Lisle, one of the Members for Winchester, was directed to bring in an ordinance for the raising of soldiers to be stationed in the Isle of Wight and at Hurst Castle. Colonel Carne, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Island, was called in, and gave an account of several things which he considered needful to be done, whereupon he received the thanks of the House for his care and fidelity, and was ordered to repair to his command without delay.

On Wednesday, October 18, an intercepted warrant for the raising of money which had been issued by the Marquis of Winchester was read in the House, whereupon it was ordered "That the Marquis of Winchester's estate be forthwith sequestered. That the Marquis of Winchester be accused of high treason, and Mr. Browne is to bring in a charge against him."

On the following day Mr. Lisle was deputed to ask the Earl of Essex to grant Sir Gregory Norton a commission to raise 100 men in the Isle of Wight for local defence, and on Tuesday, October 24, Waller was officially informed of the arrival of some of the King's troops at Horsham in Sussex. On Thursday, November 2, Mr. Walter Erle, Mr. Lisle and Mr. Long were directed to go forthwith to the Earl of Essex, and to ask him on behalf of the House of Commons "to consider in what dangerous condition Sir William Waller is in at this present, to acquaint his Excellency that the enemy has drawn his main force towards Sir William, and to request all the assistance that Essex may be able to give." Two days later Essex reported that Waller is in no immediate danger, as the enemy has marched towards Northampton, and that as to Portsmouth "he would have the House settle a constant pay for that garrison, and he would keep it in his own hands, and put in a sufficient deputy." He wishes that the present Committee may still be responsible for its defence. Sir Thomas Jervoise, Mr. Button, and Mr. Lisle were added to the Committee, and on November 3 the Earl of Warwick, Admiral of the Parliament, was ordered not to allow any strangers or aliens to land in England, except merchants. On November 6 the Portsmouth garrison was paid £1000. High constables were ordered not to send any more money or provisions to Waller's army for the present, and eighteen of the King's ships with twenty-four merchant ships and pinnaces were

to be "forthwith sent as a winter guard for the safety and security of the English, Irish, and Scottish coasts." Sir William Morley, M.P., who had fought for the King at Chichester the year before, freed his estate from sequestration on September 9 by paying a fine of £1000 to the garrison of Portsmouth. On November 11 Sir J. Lee and Mr. Lisle are to be repaid the cost of sending soldiers to the Isle of Wight out of its local defence funds, and two days later the Committee of Safety was urged to send speedily to Waller the 1400 foot and the horse under Sir A. Haslerig, "and to consider of a settled way of payment" for his men. Two days more and Waller is told why the House has sent 500 of his men to Plymouth siege, and is asked if he can possibly spare 500 more, who are to remain under his command, for the same destination. On October 2, Sergeant-Major Struce or some other Engineer was to proceed at once to the Isle of Wight, and to fortify in the manner that the Deputy-Lieutenants of the Island shall think best. Eleven culverins or 18-pounders, and 20 Sakers or 5-pounders, had already been provided for these new defences, and the necessary timber was ordered to be cut in the New Forest and taken to the Isle of Wight. The Fleming family, who were relatives of Oliver Cromwell, and who had settled at Stoneham in the reign of Elizabeth, were staunch adherents of the Parliament.

In the regiments raised by the Parliament the Colonel's company was 200 strong, the Lieutenant-Colonel's 160, and the Sergeant-Major's (*i.e.*, Major's) 140, whilst seven captains had command of 700 men. Each regiment could muster 1200 men, besides officers, whilst those in the service of the King were 1000 strong, besides officers. Each Puritan troop of horse had in it two trumpeters, three corporals, a saddler, a farrier, and sixty troopers. Sir William Waller was in 1642-3 captain of the 15th troop of horse, and had as his officers Lieutenant Richard Newdigate, Cornet Foulke Grevill, and Quartermaster Francis Grey.

"A messenger came to Sir W. Waller from the Earl of Hertford desiring Sir William that in any future action between the armies his men might give quarter. Sir William replied that if any of his men should refuse to give quarter, so barbarously did he conceive of that action that he would quarter him, and make him an example to others."

On Monday, October 16, Dr. Harris, Warden of Winchester College, represented to Parliament that being bound by oath to reside at Winchester, he could no longer attend the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, whereupon Mr. Cawdrey, of Great Billingham, in the county of Northampton, was appointed in his stead. Sir William Kingsmill, the Sheriff of Hampshire, had summoned the Baronets, Knights, Gentlemen, and Esquires of the county to meet at Winchester on Monday, October 30, to devise measures for securing the peace of the county, and for checking depredation. Sir William Waller, who had lately been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Farnham Castle, took action at once, obliging the Sheriff to resign his office a week before the appointed time, and issuing an order on October 29 warning all men not to appear, as the whole business was a Cavalier plot.

On October 28 Parliament was informed that Portsmouth was in want of a Governor, and also of men, money, powder, and match. Either Sir Robert Harley or Sir William Erle "stopped the relation of such things in the open house ' for this is no place to mention the state of Portsmouth in, for 'tis likely his Majesty may come to the knowledge of it.'" After long debate a Committee was appointed to go to Lord Wharton, "who hath a commission from the General (Essex) to be Governor of that place," and to ask him to resign. Sir Arthur Haslerig, the constant friend and comrade of Waller, reminded the House that Sir William Waller had formerly been appointed Governor of Portsmouth. Nothing was, however, settled, for fear of offending my Lord General Essex, who was always perfectly ready to quarrel with Sir William Waller.

On Saturday, November 4, a Decree of Association united for the Parliament the counties of Kent, Sussex, Surrey, the Isle of Wight and the town and county of Southampton. Sir William Waller was appointed Major-General of this Association, and a committee was duly formed to further the interests of the Parliament. On Friday, November 10, we hear of the Earl of Essex, between whom and Sir William Waller there was certainly no love lost, complaining that the formation of this Association would be very prejudicial to the forces under his command, and saying that his troops were quite as much in want of pay and provisions as was the army of Waller, which was usually 3700 strong, and for the weekly support of which the four associated counties paid £2638.

The names of the Hampshire Committee were as follows during 1643 and 1644: "Sir Wm. Lewis, Bart., Sir Hy. Worsley, Bart., Sir Thos. Jervoise, Kt., Robt. Wallop, Rich. Whitehead, Rich. Norton, John and Edw. Doddington, Rich. Jervoise, John Lisle, Thos. Clerke, John Button, Edw. Hooper, John Bulkley, John Kemp, Rich. Major, John Hooke, John St. Barbe, Arthur and Hy. Broomfield, John Fielder, Hy. Champion, Wm. Wither, Nicholas Love, Thos. Chanderler, James Tull, Rich. Moore, Wm. Carrick, Wm. Collins, Francis Rivert, Thos. Bettesworth, of Childen, Thos. Cresswell, of Heckfeild, Robt. Knapton, John Pitman, Thos. Evans, Thos. Hanbury, Wm. Jephson, Edw. Goddard, Richard Moore, Arthur Evelin, Robt. Harward, of Sutton Scotney (Hawood), Geo. Baynard, Wm. Gore, Alexr. Wilson, Esquires; Thos. Gale, Thos. Dowse, of Elden, Rich. Love, of Basinge, Wm. Goore, William Woulger, Thomas Mason, Major of Southampton, Aldermen Gallop and Exton, John Kitwell, Ralph Riggs, Alderman of Winchester, and John Elliotte, of Ringwood, Gentlemen." (Ordinances of Parlt.)

On Thursday, November 9, there assembled at the house of Master Le Gay, an active Parliamentarian in Southampton, some 200 townsmen, who had taken the Solemn League and Covenant, to keep a solemn fast and to pray for the good success of Sir William Waller, who was then fiercely assaulting Basing House.

Lord Hopton had meanwhile been doing his best to aid the Hampshire Cavaliers. Dr. Milner is opinion that there was no garrison in either the city or castle of Winchester

during the early part of the year 1643. In a history of Winchester published in 1773 we are told that Sir William Waller left Lord Grandison and some of his troops as prisoners in the castle under a small guard. Soon after Waller's departure Lord Grandison with a few of his friends found means to escape, not without a charge of breach of parole, and, joining the King at Oxford, prevailed with Sir William (afterwards Lord) Ogle to attempt the recapture of the castle and the rescue of the prisoners. With the assistance of Sir Richard Tichborne and eight other Hampshire Cavaliers, who were greatly encouraged by the King's firm hold upon the western counties, Sir William Ogle in three days found himself in actual possession not only of the castle, but also of all the arms, ammunition, and effects of the enemy. Lord Ogle says (Add. MSS. 27,402, fol. 86) that in August 1643 he found Sir Humphrey Bennet, the High Sheriff of Southampton, and some other gentlemen at Andover in great danger. Lord Garrard (Gerard) was there with six score horse, but Colonel Richard Norton had "betwixt 400 and 500 good men and horse well accommodated at Winchester and Southampton." Andover was searched, and yielded four loads of match, two barrels of powder, and some fifteen muskets. Towards evening the horse mustered upon the hill next to Wherwell. They refreshed themselves till 11 P.M., and marched at midnight. When they reached the North Gate, it was immediately opened, and they marched into the High Street. The gates were shut, the guards were set, and "30 of my Lord General's convoy guarded the castle with muskets completely furnished." The City Militia were called under arms, and Lord Gerard's brigade of horse came on the following Wednesday. Sir William Waller says in his vindication (p. 202) that a good friend of his saved some furniture for him at this time, which he afterwards sent to Rotterdam, paying all customs duties upon it. Lord Grandison died of wounds received when Bristol was taken by Prince Rupert on July 26, 1643. At the close of 1643 the King held Bristol and all the West. The Parliament had no stronghold in Wiltshire, and held only one or two towns in Hampshire, the people of the county being strongly opposed to them. We learn from Clarendon (Book viii.) that, both armies having retired into winter quarters, great efforts were made in London to despatch Sir William Waller into the west with a powerful force to raise the siege of Plymouth, then closely besieged by Prince Maurice. The King determined to oppose Waller's march, and Sir William Ogle at once began to strengthen the defences of Winchester, so as to make it a rendezvous for a royal army collecting in the west.

On Friday, November 10, Lord Inchiquin was ordered to be charged with high treason for having sent troops from Ireland to fight against the Parliament, and on Wednesday, November 22, men-of-war from Bristol and Wexford were reported as being at Dublin in readiness to bring over a larger force. We shall meet this "Irish Brigade" again on Cheriton Down. (For a masterly account of the negotiations which culminated in the arrival of these troops, see Gardiner's "Great Civil War.") Captain Swanley, who was formerly expected to bombard Southampton, was about this time sent in command of the *Bonaventure*, of thirty-four guns, to the coast of Ireland.

A truce had been made with the Irish rebels at Siggins Town, in the county Kildare, on September 16, 1643, in the palace which, never completed, stands by the roadside near Naas, and is known to all the country-side as "Black Tom's Cellars," "Black Tom" being the well-known Irish nickname of Lord-Lieutenant Strafford. This truce permitted two good but weak regiments of infantry, under Sir Charles Vavasour and Sir John Pawlet, and a good troop of horse, commanded by Captain Bridges, to be brought over from Munster to reinforce Lord Hopton, who had at this time a strong force at Winchester.

The Rev. C. P. Meehan says of this truce: "Every creek and harbour suddenly became infested with the Parliamentary cruisers, so much so that it was difficult to send men or money out of Ireland. The orders issued by the Parliament to their partisans on the land were only equalled by the Algerine ferocity of their cruisers on the seas. Out of 150 men, who about this time sailed for Bristol, and were taken by one Swanley at sea, seventy, besides two women, were thrown overboard because they were supposed to be Irish. (The Englishmen on board were compelled to take the Covenant.) Nor did the Irish retaliate, for soon afterwards, falling in with a ship which had on board fifty Kirk ministers, deputed to preach up and administer the Covenant in Ulster, they contented themselves with making them prisoners. This fatal truce was the source of all our miseries, and the coast, which had hitherto been so watchfully guarded, now swarmed with rebel ships, whose commanders showed no mercy to such as had the misfortune to fall into their hands." The *Kingdome's Weekly Intelligencer* of May 7, 1644, says: "Captain Swanley caused them to be tied back to back, and to drink their belly full of salt water."

On Tuesday, June 5, 1644, the ever-zealous Captain received the thanks of Parliament, and a gold chain of the value of £200, for good service at the Isle of Wight, Pembroke, and Carmarthenshire, and Captain Smith, "his Vice-Admiral," at the same time received a gold chain worth £100. Both these officers received medals, which are almost the first on record as having been given in England for naval or military service. Swanley died at Limehouse, in 1650.

By the kindness of Miss Berthon, I have received the following entries from the register of Romsey Abbey: "Ffrancis St. Barbe, sonne of Henry, Esquire, hurt at the fight at Newbery; died September, 1643." He was a brother of John St. Barbe, Esq., of Broadlands. "1643, a soldier, whose name unknowne; buried, October, a soldier, slayne, whose name unknowne."

The following extracts from the exhaustive "History of Basingstoke," by Mr. Francis Baigent and the Rev. Canon Millard, D.D. (C. Jacob, Basingstoke), throw interesting light upon these troublous times. In the Churchwardens' accounts for St. Michael's Church, Basingstoke, we read (pp. 516, &c.):

"1643-44. Received for Henry Roe, a soldier's knell, 1s., and for Joachim Van Herne, a soldier's knell, 2s.

"Paid for digging 21 graves, 7s.; and for carrying 6 men and digging their graves,

8s.; Richard Beckley (the beadle) for digging 5 graves, 1s. 8*d.* Paid Richard Beckley for making clean about the church, 1s. 10*d.*

"1645. Recd. for a captain's knell, 1s., and for another captain's knell, 1s. For a soldier's knell, 2s.

"Paid Binfield for digging a grave for a soldier, 6*d.*, and for carrying the soldier, 1s. 6*d.*

"Paid Roger Binfield for digging 2 graves for soldiers, 1s., and for burying them, 5s. Paid for burying 2 soldiers, 3s. 6*d.*, and for digging a grave 6*d.* Paid Richard Beckley for digging a grave for a soldier, 4*d.* Paid Andrew Bastin for carrying a soldier to burying, 2s. Paid Roger Binfield for digging three graves for soldiers, 1s. 3*d.* Paid Binfield for digging 2 graves for soldiers, 10*d.* Paid Andrew Bastin and Binfield for digging a grave for a soldier and burying him, 2s. 6*d.* Paid William Hawkins for a shroud for a soldier, 3s.

"1646. Received for an Engineer's burial, 1s.

"Monies given towards the reparation of the Church by those whose names are hereunder written. Here follows a list of 259 names, many of them for amounts not exceeding 6*d.* or 1s. The highest donation was 40s., given by Stephen James. The learned authors thus explain the reason for this subscription on page 503. The Church received some damage at the time of the first attack upon Basing House, so that in 1643 fresh repairs had to be undertaken, and then again in 1645 a still greater havoc was made in the church by the Parliamentary soldiers assembled for the storming of Basing House. Some barrels of gunpowder appear to have exploded in the church, near the south aisle, which wrecked the windows on that side, and shattered and blew out all the glass, even from the clerestory windows. The accounts of 1646 will give some idea of the damage done. Money was again collected for the reparation of the church, and the inhabitants succeeded in getting a grant of £100 towards the costs from the Parliamentary Committee sitting at Winchester.

"Among the payments for the year 1646 occur: Paid to Peter Sandsbury (parish clerk), for his pains in going to Odiham to seek after the chalice or communion cup which was taken out of Vicar Webb's house by the Parliamentary soldiers the 21st day of May, 1645, being Wednesday, and still detained by them, 1s.

"Paid for a coffin for the soldier which was killed at Francis Dowce's house, and for a shroud, a woman watching with him, with other charges, by the command of the Garrison of Bazinge then being, 8s. 8*d.*

"Paid to Mr. Joseph Collyer for twice drawing and engrossing of the petition delivered to the Committee at Winchester for allowance towards the reparation of the church, being much torn by the blowing up of gunpowder lying in the church, 3s. 4*d.*

"Paid to Nicholas Coles for his dinner when he came to view the church how the windows might be repaired, 8*d.*"

CHAPTER XIII

WALLER'S FIERCE ASSAULT OF BASING—A SOLDIER'S WIFE

As we have already seen, Farnham was the Parliamentary base of operations, and from thence Sir William Waller determined to advance against Basing. The four associated counties of Hants, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent paid £263 per week for the support of his army, which was usually 5100 strong. On September 13 5000 were ordered to be impressed for him. London and Westminster were to furnish 2000, Essex 1000, Kent 600, Middlesex 200, Surrey 400, Hertford 200, Sussex 600. Watermen's apprentices were to be taken, but no clergy, esquires, or University students. It was resolved to occupy Odiham and Alton, and from thence to proceed by gradual approaches towards Basing, taking possession of or destroying anything that might prove of service to the enemy. Some of the military authorities thought that 1200 horse and 800 dragoons (who did duty both as infantry and cavalry), would be sufficient to "give a good account" of the House. Others advised that 800 horse, as many dragoons, and half as many musketeers should be detailed for this service.

The Red Trained Bands of Westminster (red flag with silver stars), the Green Auxiliaries of London (Colonel Conyngham was in command when this regiment afterwards surrendered in Cornwall), whose flag was green with gold wavy rays, and the Yellow Auxiliaries of the Tower Hamlets, under Colonel Willoughby (yellow flag with blue rays) were also ordered to Basing, which had at this time, according to a letter written by Lord Winchester, a garrison of 400 men.

Happily for us, Lieutenant Elias Archer wrote a "True Relation of the Marching of the Red Trained Bands of Westminster, the Green Auxiliaries of London, and the Yellow Auxiliaries of the Tower Hamlets (London, 1643)."

On Tuesday, October 17, 1643, the Yellow Auxiliaries marched from Wellclose, and on Wednesday, the 25th, effected a junction at Windsor with their comrades (Green) of London, and (Red) of Westminster. On Monday, October 30, the whole force was in motion, and on their march through Windsor Forest met by appointment some of Waller's horse, his regiment of foot, and a company of blue coats. Sir

William Waller had just before lost 800 men by desertion, and on October 24, being Tuesday, fourteen others, "belonging to the regiment of one Duett, a foreigner," followed the example of their comrades. But let Lieutenant Archer speak for himself:

"Oct. 30th we marched to a Greene about a mile from Windsor, where we made Alt and rallied our men, each regiment drawing into a Regimental forme, where likewise our Traine of Artillery and Waggons of warre came to us, and so we marched towards Farnam through Windsor Forest, where in the Afternoone we met some of Sir William Waller's Troopes of horse, his owne regiment of foot, and one company of Blew-coats with Snap-han muskets, which guard the traine of Artillery onely; all these marched with us." The "snap-hanse" musket was a flint-lock ("Cromwell's Army," p. 87). The whole force halted at nightfall within a mile of Bagshot. After an hour's rest they again advanced, reaching Farnham between one and two o'clock on Tuesday morning.

On the following day, Wednesday, November 1, all the infantry, with the exception of the Green Regiment, which was quartered at a distance of two miles from the town, was drawn up in Farnham Park. Including a reinforcement of four companies belonging to the garrison of Farnham Castle, there were present twenty-nine companies of infantry, beside horse and dragoons. The dragoons had five yellow standards with ends slit, and rounded points and black plates according to their numbers (*Archæologia*, vol. 52). On the same day a clerk of the company of Sir William Waller's own Regiment of Foot was sentenced to death by a council of war on a charge of having endeavoured to cause a mutiny in the army. On the next day he was hanged on a tree in the park in the presence of the whole force. The Londoners were not unmindful of their kinsmen in the field, sending much provision to them, which was very thankfully received. On November 2 Waller was said to have at Farnham and Guildford between five and six thousand men, and had surprised at Alton 100 Cavaliers under the command of Colonel Bennett. The King's forces were concentrating near Reading, intending to attack Waller's army, and on Tuesday, October 30, the county of Hants was ordered to pay the sum of £260 towards the fund for the relief of the maimed soldiers of the Parliament and of widows and orphans who favoured the same cause.

On Friday, November 3, the regiments marched from Farnham towards Alton, and were reviewed by their General on Bentley Green. The "field state" showed that there were present 16 troops of horse, 8 companies of dragoons, 36 companies of foot, and a Train of Artillery, consisting of 10 heavy guns, and "six cases of small drakes." After an hour's halt the march was resumed towards Alton, and that night Elias Archer's regiment was quartered at the little villages of East and West Worldham, two miles from Alton. Sir Ralph Hopton's forces retired from Winchester towards Andover and Salisbury on the approach of Waller's army. The guns above mentioned may have been either demi-culverins throwing a 9 lb. shot,

with a 9 lb. charge of powder ; or culverins, throwing an 18 lb. shot, with an 18 lb. charge of powder ; but were most probably demi-culverins. We know, however, that Sir W. Waller had with him at least one demi-cannon (24 lbs.) The small "drakes" were light three-pounder field-pieces, but the "sakers" threw a 5 lb. shot, with a 5 lb. charge of powder. Two "drakes" were often attached to a regiment.

On November 4 Sir William Waller was said to have with him 46 troops of horse, numbering in all 2000, whilst 13 troops from Kent were on the march to join him. He had four regiments of foot raised in Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, and further reinforcements from the latter county were expected, as was also Colonel Wems with some leather guns (of which more hereafter), and a train of artillery. Lord Crawford with a large body of horse was trying to assist the garrison of Basing House. Several skirmishes had taken place, with but slight loss on either side. In one of these encounters Waller surprised and made prisoners two troops of Cavaliers bound for Oxford. He also took 512 head of cattle coming south for sale, "the property of a great man in Oxford," and sent a party of horse towards Andover to keep in check Lord Crawford, who was advancing from Salisbury. Saturday, November 4, was a day of rain and snow, which compelled Waller's troops, who had mustered in force about two miles from Alton on the road to Winchester, probably at Four Marks Hill, to return to their quarters.

November 5 saw a great muster in the neighbourhood of Alton, and the army took the road to Winchester, but towards evening, when about nine miles distant from that city, turned to the right, halting for the night at the village of Chilton Candover, between Alresford and Basingstoke. The night was bitterly cold, and the Londoners, unused to campaigning, failed to appreciate their camping-ground, although at Windsor and elsewhere they had been usually quartered in barns and outhouses.

The Earl of Crawford's army from Salisbury was in the neighbourhood of Andover, and advancing to the relief of Basing, so that the Yellow Auxiliaries, being on the extreme left of Waller's army, were kept constantly on the alert. On Monday (November 6) the reveillé sounded long before the dawn, and about an hour before daybreak the whole force was in motion. The fog was dense, the roads were heavy, and marching difficult, so that it was past noon before the Marquis saw "Waller with the expected army (consisting of 7000 horse and foot) before the house." "Mercurius Civicus" describes the garrison as consisting of "the Woodheads, who are for the most part certaine malignants of the City of London, and parts adjacent." "The Scottish Dove" says : "There are in it divers ladies and gentlemen, and many citizens, and it's conceived much wealth." "The True Informer" states : "They say that the souldiers and other persons within it, being about 500, are very resolute and desperate, by reason that many of them, being Papists of great estates in those parts, have secured the greater part of their treasures and riches in that house."

"The souldier's report concerning Sir William Waller's fight against Basing House on Sunday last, November 12th," says that the garrison consisted of some 500 men, "all in a manner Papists," and that considerable treasure had been brought thither for safety, Basing being the only Cavalier stronghold in the neighbourhood.

The writer adds that the defences of the house were sufficiently strong to resist cannon shot, and that the house was as large and spacious as the Tower of London. The house was "built upright, so that no man can command the roof," upon which certain field-pieces were mounted. These guns were able to harass the besiegers, without danger to the gunners who served them. The windows were protected by the outworks, and earthworks had been thrown up, upon which the besiegers' guns failed to make any impression. The garrison was well supplied with provisions and ammunition, and had mounted several guns upon and near the house.

"Mercurius Aulicus" of Wednesday, November 15, says: "But that which was the chief news of the day was an express relation of the siege of Basing Castle, given by those who were eye-witnesses, and behaved themselves too gallantly in the service to be guilty of a lie, which was impartially thus. Sir William Waller, having hovered some eight or ten days about Farnham and Alton, came before Basing House on Monday, November 6, and though his drums, trumpets, and guns proclaimed his approach, yet the Lord Marquesse and the rest could not get sight of him through the greatness of the mist, till about one of the clock, when the sun, breaking and dispersing the mist, discovered Waller's whole body to the garrison." A survey was made from "the stately gate house of the Castle," and the Marquis estimated the number of his foes at about seven thousand horse and foot. Warm work was but too evidently near at hand.

One chronicler says that Sir William Waller sent out a party into the park under the pretence of hunting deer, who placed some of their number in ambush, and took prisoners about forty of the garrison, who sallied out upon them. "Mercurius Aulicus," however, says that a few rebel horse rode out in front, and that a slight skirmish took place between them and some cavalry from the house, with no loss on either side. A forlorn hope of about 500 musketeers was then selected from Sir William Waller's army, Captain William Archer being in command of the detachment of the Tower Hamlet Yellows, and was sent to storm the house. "Mercurius Aulicus" says that the strength of this forlorn hope was only 100 men. They boldly advanced "into a lane between two hedges towards the lower walls, giving fire amain," and for a while gained ground. They fought until they had expended all their ammunition, and were then relieved by a regiment of Dragoons, who continued the attack until "the edge of the evening."

Meanwhile, "the army and train" (*i.e.*, the artillery) marched towards Basingstoke, and, crossing the river there, returned "and came upon a hill over against the house, upon the side of which hill our ordnance were planted." "Mercurius" says

that the enemy took post "on the N.W. side of the house," and, says Woodward, "near where now stands the turnpike-gate." About four o'clock in the afternoon some ten or twelve shots were fired against the house, whereupon a parley was demanded. Lieutenant Archer says that the garrison asked for a conference, but "Mercurius Aulicus" says that Waller sent a trumpeter to demand a parley and to tell the Marquis "that Sir William Waller, being there in person, had sent him to demand the castle for the use of the King and Parliament, and that he offered fair quarter to all within the castle."

"Trumpeters," says Sir James Turner, quoted in Dr. Firth's "Cromwell's Army," p. 44) "because they are frequently sent to an enemy, ought to be witty and discreet, and must drink but little so that they may be rather apt to circumvent others, than be circumvented; they should be cunning, and wherever they are sent they should be careful to observe the works, guards, and sentinels of an enemy, and give an account of them at their return."

Whilst negotiations were in progress two drakes or field-pieces were suddenly fired from the besiegers' batteries. Suspicions of treachery were excited, and the trumpeter was at once arrested until a satisfactory explanation was given. It appears that some "scattering powder" became ignited by accident and fired the guns. Mr. Boutell says ("Arms and Armour," p. 222): "In order to fire the cannon the touch-hole was filled with fine powder that would ignite and burn with great rapidity, and to this was joined a train of slowly-burning powder, which was laid along the length of the cannon; this train was fired at the end most distant from the touch-hole, and while the fire was passing leisurely along, the gunners had time to retire to a safe distance. The larger the cannon the longer would be the train, and the gunners would have a proportionately longer time for their movement out of danger."

Pending explanation, Lord Winchester sent out a drummer with this answer, "That he understood very well the words 'King and Parliament,' that as they were now taken, 'the King' was one thing and 'the King and Parliament' another. That Basing was his own house, which the law told him he might keep against any man. That it was now more particularly commanded by his Majesty, who had put a garrison into it, beyond which command he knew no obligation."

Two hours afterwards the drummer returned with an apology from Sir William, "excusing the rudeness of his disorderly guns during the parley," and chivalrously offering free passage to the Marchioness, with her children, and also to all women and children within the house. His guns still fired, and the Marchioness returned answer "that she thanked God that she was not in that condition to accept of fair quarter at Sir William Waller's hands, being resolved to run the same fortune as her Lord, knowing that there was a just and all-seeing Judge above, who she hoped would have an especial hand in this business, from whom Sir William Waller could pretend no commission. Whatever befel, she was not unprepared to bear it, and so thanked Sir William for his offer of fair quarter."

After the receipt of this answer, the besiegers' guns ceased their fire for an hour, and their trumpeter was sent out of the house "by a strange way which he knew not," probably in the direction of the river. "They said that there was onely one small leap over part of a little brooke," instead of which the hapless "music," as trumpeters were then styled, found himself stuck fast in a deep morass. He was obliged to leave his horse, "a very stout one, and of about 20*l*. valew," and with difficulty returned to headquarters, considerably bemired.

Orders were given for an attack in force the next morning, and 36 cannon shot were discharged against the house about ten o'clock that night, or, as some say, between midnight and four o'clock in the morning. Then came a lull until day-break, the guns being protected by a hastily constructed breastwork. Says Lieutenant Elias Archer, "Some wounded, not four slain outright."

At daybreak on Tuesday, November 7, a very hot fire was poured into the devoted garrison from Sir William Waller's batteries, which were on the north-west side of Basing House, and which directed their efforts against the front of the Gate House. There were in position five small guns and a demi-cannon. This latter threw a 24 lb. shot. The garrison could bring only one gun to bear upon those of the assailants, but it did good service, and slew a large number of the enemy. No one was as yet hurt in the house, and the damage done to the stately structure itself was not considerable. As soon as it was light the Cavaliers had fired all the houses which could possibly provide cover for the assailants, and about 9 A.M. Waller again despatched "a forlorne hope" against the house, having previously sent a strong party of horse towards Andover to keep the Earl of Crawford's cavalry from Salisbury from raising the seige. Here is an account from one of the "forlorne hope": "I sent you a letter last Tuesday morning, which no sooner I had done but our forces were drawn into a body and 500 men commanded (for) the forlorne hopes. It fell to my captaine's lot, Captain Warrene, to be commander. We fought from ten till six, but two of our company wounded. Never in the world was there such desperate service on the very mouths of the cannon with so little loss."

On the other hand, "Mercurius Aulicus" states, on the authority of some of the garrison, that the forlorn hope was sent down the hill to take The Grange and the New House, "the Castle being to defend both." The attacking force came on boldly through a narrow lane, but a heavy fire was opened upon them from a half-moon, and from "divers holes made in the walls," so that they were obliged to retreat with heavy loss. Fresh attacks continued to be made in the same quarter, and three guns were brought to bear on the north side of the New House, whilst other troops were sent to storm The Grange, the attack and defence of which have many points of resemblance to the fierce struggle in and around the chateau of Hougomont at Waterloo.

Captain Clinson, Sir William Waller's Captain-Lieutenant, a man of great courage and resolution, "took The Grange with very little loss," whence having steady

aim at the holes, and sighting from easy places, they much annoyed the garrison. All along the north side of the fortifications and outworks, some of which were captured, the fight raged fiercely. The Captain-Lieutenant was the Lieutenant of the Colonel's company ("Cromwell's Army," p. 43).

The attacking force was exposed within pistol shot to the fire of the enemy, and could find scarcely any cover except the church, most of the surrounding buildings having been burnt by the garrison at daybreak. The stormers were at length obliged to take shelter in such buildings or ruins as remained standing, from which they continued to pour in a well-sustained fire of musketry, Sir William Waller's guns "battering the Castle and the New House" meanwhile. So says "Mercurius." On the other hand, "The Soldier's Report" speaks as follows: "Our Army had no shelter, not so much as any village hovill, nay, not very many trees, save only by Basing Park side some few young groves, which could not shelter them to any advantage; they were constrained to fight in a champion place, which was a great disadvantage to Sir William's army, yet did nothing at all discourage their resolutions." In spite of all disadvantages, however, the forlorn hope gained a partial success, and, as we have seen, "gained all their outhouses, wherein was much provision of bread, beere, bacon, pork, milk, creame, pease, wheat, oats, hay, and such like, besides pigs and poultry, and diverse sorts of household goods, as brasse, pewter, feather beds, and the like."

Thus did The Grange, "severed by a wall and common road," fall into the foeman's hands. A good encouragement, truly! Some of the assailants sat down to eat and drink, whilst others continued fighting, "and came unto the very gates of the house, beat down the turret and divers chimnies." Was this turret part of "the loftie gate-house, with foure turrets, looking northwards"? Dire indeed was the destruction of chimney pots by the besiegers. This was due to their anxiety to dismount "certaine drakes which are upon the rooffe of the said house, wherewith they are able to play upon our army, though we discern them not." Fighting and feasting went on simultaneously, revellers and warriors alike being constantly relieved by fresh parties, each of which had some men killed or wounded. Sir William Waller failed to secure his prize "by reason of the absence of his Granadoes, petards, and other engines to blow in the gates"; but the garrison were so hard pressed that they again sounded a parley, and offered to surrender if they might depart, bag and baggage. These terms were refused, and to it they went again.

It would never do to allow the Roundheads to feast on Cavalier stores at the very gates, and accordingly, hard as was the necessity, the Marquis decided to destroy the provisions which had been intended to feed the garrison during many a long month. Lieutenant-Colonels Peake and Johnson determined upon a desperate sortie. Meanwhile the strife continued with unabated fury all along the line of the defences on the north side. At least one sergeant (whose name has not been left on record, but who was nevertheless a brave man), and a few men were selected for this

dangerous duty. The gallant old Governor, Colonel Marmaduke Rawdon, aged as he was, had still a heart of fire, and sallied forth likewise with the little band of heroes. Deadly indeed was the fire poured upon them, and desperate were the hand-to-hand combats that took place. But right gallantly was the service performed. They "fired the outhouses and barns adjoining to them, which were full of wheat and other grain," old Colonel Rawdon cheering on his musketeers, and saying that "he knew that Waller would not stay it out." Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson, at the head of twenty-five men, penetrated as far as "the very Grange yard." Here he was singled out as an antagonist by Captain Clinson, and a hand-to-hand struggle followed. Colonel Johnson's life was only saved "by two or three stout fellows of the garrison." Overpowered by numbers, Captain Clinson was slain, his commission being afterwards found in his pocket. Lieutenant Archer says that the manner of his death was as follows: "Sir William Waller's Captain-Lieutenant, a man of great courage and resolution," lost his way and was killed, with many men, in a lane by two drakes, or field-pieces, loaded with case shot. The lower road to Basingstoke, in all accounts of the siege, is called "the lane," and, as may easily be seen, it is commanded by a tower pierced for guns of small calibre, such as were then styled drakes, minions, &c. It is possible, therefore, that the present cross-road was the scene of this slaughter. Lieutenant Archer states that none of the assailants were killed during the fight at The Grange, although some were wounded. "Mercurius" says, however, that they lost many killed and wounded, some of them being burnt to death in the barn. The party in the house found that retreat was to the full as hazardous as their sallying forth had been. "The sergeant which led them was killed, and most of his men, in the yard between the house and the barn." How is it possible to reconcile such a statement as this with the declaration of the Marquis that only one of the defenders was killed and another wounded, or with the statement of "Mercurius" that the loss of the garrison was only two slain, one of whom was "their youngest gunner, and three wounded," or the assertion of the same journal that only one of the garrison was wounded, and not one slain? At any rate, the approach of night and the combined influence of "fire, sword, and water" compelled Sir William Waller's men to relinquish their hold upon the fiercely contested and now completely destroyed Grange, leaving behind them some arms, and many killed and wounded. The assailants once more bivouacked in the fields, "wherein our lodging and our service did not well agree, the one being so hot, and the other so cold." Their loss was estimated at Oxford to have been at least 150 killed and as many wounded.

On the following day, Wednesday, November 8, Sir William Waller, who is said to have meanwhile kept a detachment at Winchester, drew off his forces, and retired to the town of Basingstoke, which was full of wounded men, one doctor alone having no less than eighty under treatment. The Marquis of Winchester sent into Basingstoke a cartload of Waller's wounded, and Cavaliers at Oxford asserted that Sir

William detained both the carter and his team. But this statement was but too probably a partisan slander, as such a meanness would have been totally at variance with the character of Waller, who, by the way, had his best gun broken during the attack. There was urgent need for wariness on the part of Sir William, who, repulsed at Basing, had now to prevent, if possible, the advance of Sir Ralph Hopton.

On Saturday, November 11, news had reached London that Hopton had concentrated his forces from Salisbury, Andover, Malmsbury, and elsewhere at Winchester, and that Sir William Waller, in no wise loth to give him battle, had drawn off from Basing House, and had quartered his men at Basingstoke, The Vyne, and intermediate places. The remainder of the week was devoted to rest and refreshment, but the Roundhead horse were by no means idle, scouring the country far and wide, and making raids into the adjacent counties. The reasons assigned for Sir Ralph Hopton's delay in succouring Basing were that Sir William Waller was both able and anxious to fight; that the noblemen and gentry under the command of Hopton were unwilling to risk another battle similar to that fought at Newbury only a few weeks before (September 20, 1643); that they wished to await the arrival of some Scottish reinforcements, and that the army was in want of arms and gunpowder.

On November 9 there was a motion made in the House of Commons that "all records and writings of antiquity in Basing and other places might not be as common plunder!"

On the day of the retreat from Basing, the Roundhead troopers secured a rich prize. Lord Saltoun, or, as other writers style him, Lord Sultan, or Salter, in company with a certain Friar King, his confessor, and several companions, whose number is variously given as three, twelve, and thirty, had landed on the coast of Sussex, after having been successfully employed in France as a collector of monies in aid of the Royal cause. He had with him a sum of money variously estimated at £300, £500, £2000, £3500, £4000, £5000, and £6000, with which he intended to raise two troops of horse in the western counties. He was also the bearer of important despatches from the French Court. Sir William Waller had a week's notice of his intended arrival, and sent out Captain Gardiner, who was commonly styled the Mayor of Evesham, with his own troop and some other horse, who intercepted him and his party at Newbury, on their way to Oxford. Captain Gardiner brought his prisoners to Basingstoke, in which town the present "Bell Inn" was the usual place of confinement. From Basingstoke they were afterwards transferred to Farnham Castle, and were at length sent up to London to be dealt with according to the good pleasure of the Parliament. After Waller had retired, the Marquis wrote an account of the fight to Secretary Nicholas, who writes thus to Prince Rupert:

"Monday last Waller sat down before Basing House, and Wednesday last he drew off his ordnance and forces to Basingstoke, a mile distant, where he now lies with all his forces, and threatens to return thither to assault the place again, and

hath sent for scaling ladders to Windsor for that purpose. The Marquis of Winchester writes cheerfully, saith he hath 400 men and three weeks victualling, and that he hath killed divers of the rebels, and lost only one man and one hurt. Sir F. Berkeley was, on Wednesday last, at Huntington, twenty miles on this side of Exeter, with four regiments of foot, and will, we hope, be at Winchester on Monday next." The Earl of Newport was at this time Master-General of the Ordnance. He was appointed on September 2, 1634, and held office until the Restoration, when he was suspended. He at once despatched the scaling ladders asked for by Waller, but fortunately for Basing House they came to hand too late for the great assault, which took place on Sunday, November 12, 1643. Concentrating his forces from the various positions which they occupied between Basingstoke and The Vyne, and being now furnished "with new supply and fireworks from London," Sir William Waller, at the head of from 6000 to 8000 infantry, together with five regiments of dragoons and ten guns, marched towards Basing on that November Sunday morning. He had an ample supply of petards, grenades, as shells were then styled, and ammunition, nor had ladders, which Lieut. Archer says were not scaling ladders, been forgotten. The cavalry reached Basing about an hour before noon, and halting within musket shot of the house, began to taunt the garrison, saying, "Where's your Hopton? Prince Rupert hath but three men," &c. This martial raillery continued until a gun, which had in the meantime been placed in position, opened fire, not without reply from one of the field-pieces mounted upon the roof of the house. The artillery duel was kept up with spirit until the neighbouring clocks struck twelve, when the assailants, who had previously formed up in three divisions well supplied with petards and ladders, rushed forward for a simultaneous attack. Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson had foreseen this manœuvre, and, before the storming party on the south-west side of the house could enter the defences opposed to them, he led out thirty musketeers into a lane under the half moon. This little force suddenly appeared, fired a volley, and retreated. The enemy pursued into a winding lane, until they came within range of the half moon, the fire from which proved fatal to not a few. Thrice was Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson successful in thus luring the enemy to their own destruction.

Sir William Waller sent a party of 500 men from the middle of the park, to storm "the Castle," but a small gun upon the ramparts loaded with case shot killed about a dozen of them, and wounded many others, whereupon the survivors refused to advance again. The stormers came sufficiently close to permit the women to take part in the fight by hurling bricks, tiles, and stones from the roofs of the various buildings. The artillery had by this time made several breaches in the defences, which seemed practicable, at any rate, so says the chronicler, but practicable breaches are not usually made in so short a time with guns of small calibre. On the north and north-east the enemy, having the protection of a small wood, felt sure of gaining the New House with ease, and concentrated here most of their guns and

about 2000 men. The Westminster Trained Bands and the St. Katherine's Regiment, better known as the Auxiliaries of the Tower Hamlets, were posted at this point. For two full hours did Waller's guns awake the echoes with their deep toned voices, which must have sounded but grimly on that Sunday afternoon, until about two o'clock, when the stormers were seen issuing from the wood, bringing with them drakes or field-pieces, "and two load of ladders." They advanced until they came within a few yards of the Castle, the circular site of which is still hugely conspicuous, crowded into the ditch, forced the garrison to beat a hasty retreat from a half-moon, and planted an ensign in the moat. Under the eye of Sir William Waller himself, and guided by two deserters from the garrison, who had undertaken to point out the weakest points of the defences, they fixed a petard on the jamb of the gate, which, however, fortunately for the garrison, was so strongly barricaded that the explosion did little or no harm. And now the courage of some began to fail. We are told "that the St. Katherine's Regiment was also faulty at Basing, especially the officers of those regiments whom Sir William could not get to come up so far as the front of his horse, where he stood in person." They absolutely refused to relieve their comrades, who gallantly maintained the fight until ammunition failed them, and fixed a petard in the wrong place, "upon a gate so strongly rampired within that it could not be stirred. Some of the officers and soldiers were very valiant." Those belonging to Sir William Waller's own regiment received especial commendations for valour, advancing as they did close to the very gates, and taking aim at the soldiers of the garrison. All those within the house are said to have done their duty manfully. Colonel Rawdon and his officers armed with muskets fought side by side with their men, and the Marchioness of Winchester, and all the ladies who had found shelter within the walls, cast bullets with the lead hastily stripped from roofs and turrets. At some period or other of the operations at Basing during the Civil War, the Chapel of the Holy Ghost at Basingstoke was also despoiled of its lead, which was found useful to kill Cavaliers. The lead from Basing Church also disappeared, each party in this case laying the blame on the other. In no wise disheartened by the failure of their petard, the stormers in the ditch shouted loudly, "All is our own." But they reckoned without their host. "An ingenious and vigilant German in the Castle" was on the alert. Was his name "Humphrey Vanderblin, engineer"? We know that "the foreign engineer" did much to strengthen the defences of Loyalty House, and in the list of prisoners taken by Cromwell at Basing we find the name of "Humphrey Vanderblin, engineer." Whatever his name may have been, "the ingenious and vigilant German" saved Basing House that day. Whilst the petard was being fixed to the gate by the storming party, the wily Teuton was busily knocking a hole in the north end of the buildings, with a view of opening fire upon the right flank of the assailants. His intention was perceived, and he was greeted with a few volleys of musketry. In no wise daunted, he, with two or three comrades, completed the opening, and returned the leaden compliments with interest,

killing three or four of the opponents. Encouraged by this success, and by the failure of the enemy's petard, the garrison, by a determined attack, retook the half-moon, "whereupon the rebels lose heart, and many men as well." Their ammunition was beginning to fail, and they looked in vain for support from their faint-hearted comrades. Whilst the dragoons and many of the other soldiers fought with great courage, the Westminster Regiment is said to have been less eager for the fray than were certain others. Some thought that "Captain White, the keeper of my Lord Petre's house" in Aldersgate-street, then used as a Cavalier prison, "would not go on for fear of displeasing his prisoners," his office being worth £1500 per annum to him, whilst others were of opinion that the soldiers of Westminster were unwilling to proceed to extremities, hoping as they did for the speedy return of the King to his Palace at Whitehall, and moreover they had been long unpaid.

The *Complete Intelligencer*, of November 21, 1643, says that "the house was extremely well fortified, and inaccessible for storming. The Trained Bands offered their lives to Sir William Waller in any service against men, but were loth to venture further against walls. We must excuse them, they being young and raw soldiers, and not yet frosted abroad."

Small wonder was it, therefore, that unsupported, without ammunition, with an active and inspirited foe pressing them hard both in front and on their flank, and perceiving the repulse of the other columns, Sir William Waller's soldiers at length fell back in considerable disorder, and retreated through the little wood in all haste. They left behind them their two field pieces, their ladders, and the colour which they had planted in the ditch. This latter trophy of victory "the soldiers wished to take, but were held back for fear of ambuscade." During this day's fighting seventy or eighty of the Westminster men were accidentally shot by their comrades. The front rank fired too soon, and whilst in the act of retiring had to face a volley from their friends in the rear, and the garrison, firing one or two field pieces at the same moment, increased the slaughter. Lieutenant Archer speaks of the Westminster Trained Bands as "being designed to set upon the south-west part of the house through the park, being upon a plain level ground before the wall without any defence or shelter."

Sir William Waller himself shunned no danger, and proved himself on that day, as indeed he had oftentimes before, a valiant soldier. Fighting continued until it was too dark to distinguish the loopholes and embrasures. About three o'clock in the afternoon of that short November day the wind began to rise, and heavy rain fell.

Darkness and stress of weather combined obliged Sir William to sound a retreat, and, drawing off his forces to the distance of half a mile, he himself lay all night in the midst of his men upon some straw in the open meadow, intending to renew the attack upon the morrow. About ten o'clock at night "the London youths of the Auxiliary Regiment" were sent towards the house to bring off the field pieces, &c., which had been perforce abandoned that afternoon. They succeeded in removing the

guns and some petards without loss to themselves, according to their own account, but "Mercurius Aulicus" says this bold enterprise cost about twenty of them their lives. For this achievement the Regiment was publicly commended and rewarded by Sir William Waller. The "Green Regiment," of which Colonel Rawdon had formerly been the Lieutenant-Colonel, suffered most of all the regiments engaged, and a Lieutenant in Waller's army writes thus: "Bazing House is absolutely the strongest place in England, and requires a summer's siege. By report of some prisoners, we have taken a great number of their men, and divers gentlewomen and ladies of great quality. The Green Regiment did bravely at Bazing. Captain Web, (who had been wounded at the relief of Banbury), therefore, to be Sergeant-Major (*i.e.*, Major); his Lieutenant Master Everet to be made a Captain upon the next opportunity."

It rained all that sad Sunday night, the hours of which, though comparatively free from war's alarms, were mournfully employed in the burial of the dead, with the exception of about thirty, whose bodies were lying close to the defences of the house. The garrison made prize of "more than 120 muskets with rests, two great brass petards, divers hand granadoes, three barrels of powder, much match, several heaps of bullet which lay upon the ground, halberts, half pikes, and scaling ladders."

One of the deserters who gave information to Waller had formerly served under that General. He had been taken prisoner at the battle of Roundway Down, and had taken service in the army of the King, only to desert at the first opportunity, but now found a grave at Basing. One wounded man who lay very close to the fortifications, with his leg shattered by a cannon shot, was asked "what the King had done to him that he should take up arms against him?" His only reply was to take his knife and to cut his own throat. During the first day's fighting "the youngest gunner" of the garrison was killed, and Sir William Waller having reason to suspect the fidelity of one of his own gunners, placed him under arrest, and afterwards hanged him.

On the morning of November 13 "much rain" was but too evidently the order of the day, and it was decided by a Council of War to retire to Basingstoke and Farnham in order "to refresh the army to receive the western Woodheads." This complimentary title referred to Sir Ralph Hopton and his relieving force, which, according to the reports of spies sent out in search of information through by-ways and our pleasant Hampshire woodlands, was said to be at least 5000 strong. When Waller's men reached Basingstoke they found scaling ladders, grenades, and ammunition from London awaiting them. Sir William's loss was variously estimated, but Lieutenant Archer considered that it amounted to some 250 to 300 in the three days fighting, whilst "Mercurius Aulicus" says that he lost 1000 in killed and wounded. One account says that how many of the Cavaliers "are hurt we cannot tell, nor what detriment they received, save only one of their cows, which being frightened with the noise of the guns, leaped over the wall, by which it seems to be of great thickness."

It was suggested that mining would prove more successful than a direct attack, and such was the expectation of success in London that wagers were laid upon the Exchange that Sir William Waller was actually in possession of Basing House. Lieutenant-Colonel Peake was falsely reported to have been killed, as indeed he was on several other occasions, together with certain other officers and "malignant citizens."

The Marquis of Winchester says that the result of the nine days' blockade and three days' fighting was the retreat of Waller, "having dishonoured and bruised his army, whereof abundance were lost, without the death of more than two in the garrison, and some little injury to the house by battery."

Monday, November 13, being a very tempestuous day, the besiegers, as we have seen, retired to Basingstoke, and spent the day in refreshing themselves and drying their clothes. The next day there was an alarm that Sir Ralph Hopton was advancing to the relief of Lord Winchester, and a detachment of Cavaliers drove in the Roundhead picquets at Basingstoke, whereupon Waller's army quartered in the fields two miles from Basing, and a great shout was raised of "Home! Home!" On Wednesday, November 15, the whole besieging force retreated to Farnham, which was reached at 2 P.M., the Marquis being by no means sorry to see them depart, though without any ceremonious leave-taking. "Mercurius" says that Sir William Waller had 1000 men killed and wounded at Basing, and that he speedily lost 1200 others by desertion. So ended the first attack in force upon Basing House. Upon his arrival at Farnham, at 2 P.M. on Wednesday, November 15, Waller at once asked for reinforcements, which were readily granted by the Parliament. He also "began to fortifie the towne with breast workes and the like," and at once made proclamation by drum-beat that all soldiers under his command should forthwith muster in the park. The names of all deserters and of men absent without leave were then duly recorded, and several of the culprits, being soon afterwards arrested in Westminster and Clerkenwell, were ordered to be sent down to Farnham, there to be tried by a council of war, or, as we should now say, by a court-martial. Lieutenant Archer says, "In the time that we lay there (Farnham) we had divers alarms and other accidents."

War has ever its seamy side, and a soldier's wife, Susan Rodway by name, lonely at home, with a sick child to care for, wrote a letter to her husband, which is here transcribed, with the original spelling, as some may like to see how soldiers' wives wrote 259 years ago:

"Most deare and loving husbane, my king love,—I remember unto you, hoping that you are in good helth, as I ame at the writting heareof. My little Willie have bene sick this forknight. I pray you to come whome, ife youe cane cum saffly. I doo marfull that I cannot heere from you ass well other naybores do. I do desiere to heere from you as soone as youe cane. I pray youe to send me word when youe doo thenke youe shalt returne. You doe not consider I ame a lone woemane; I thought

you would never leave me thus long together, so I rest ever praying for your
safe return.

"Your loving wife,

"SUSAN RODWAY.

"Ever praying for you till death I depart. To my very loving husband, Robert
Rodway, a trainee soldier in the Red Regiment, under the command of Captain
Warren. Deliver this with speed, I pray you."

Alas! poor Susan! Your letter, duly entrusted to "Robert Lewington, the
Hampshire carrier," was intercepted by a Lieutenant of Lord Hopton's army, and
never reached your husband's hands. Forwarded to Oxford, it was, after some weeks'
delay, published for the information of the whole kingdom in the columns of
"Mercurius Aulicus." And it is greatly to be feared that there was an ominous reason
for your husband's long silence, for Captain Warren led on his men as a forlorn hope
during one of the fiercest assaults upon Basing House, during the fighting days of
November 1643, and your dearly loved Robert may even then have been sleeping in
a soldier's grave beneath the stately ramparts of "Loyalty House." We also wonder
what was the fate of "little Willie," who "have been sick this fortnight," about
whom his mother was so anxious. But a truce to moralising.

CHAPTER XIV

LORDS OGLE AND HOPTON AT WINCHESTER—OPERATIONS ROUND FARNHAM

SIR WILLIAM WALLER speedily frustrated Lord Ogle's plans by his vigilance and activity. But for a while things seemed as favourable as the most ardent Royalists could desire. There is evidence that the Cavaliers occupied Winchester during the month of October 1643, for, in the Corporation records, which the writer was permitted to examine through the kindness of the late E. D. Godwin, Esq., and of W. Bailey, Esq., the Town Clerk, the following significant entry occurs: "27th October, 1643. Fifty pounds lent to Sir William Ogle and Colonell Gerrard." In vain, however, do we search for any record of the repayment of these monies. A history of Winchester published in 1773, which has been already referred to, says of Sir William Ogle: "His first care was to strengthen his newly acquired garrison, and render it as inaccessible as art could invent, wisely considering that its situation rendering it the principal key of the whole western country, it might be made a convenient and serviceable rendezvous for his Royal master. He, therefore, lost no time in putting this business into execution, and happily meeting with the concurrence and mutual assistance of the Mayor and citizens, he not only fortified the Castle, but put the city itself into a much better posture of defence than it had been in for many years before; immediately after which the western army marched into it, consisting of 3000 foot and 1500 horse, under the command of Lord Hopton." Mr. Francis Baigent, to whom also my best thanks are due, says: "The defences to the west of the Castle were some entrenchments thrown up at the spot known as Oram's Arbour, which was formerly the training ground for the City Trained Band and the place where the people assembled for the county elections. There were traces of these entrenchments visible some fifty or sixty years ago, if not later."

The city was also fortified in a more modern style towards the east, on St. Giles' Hill, &c. In November Lord Hopton arrived, in company with Baron Stratton, at the head of a force which his influence had collected in the west, together with a portion of the garrison of Bristol. "He had in a short time raised a pretty body of

foot and horse." Lord Ogle says that Colonel Gerard left for Oxford "to the great disservice of His Majesty," when Lord Hopton came with not more than threescore horse, but that Hopton was energetic, and in a month got together 500 or 600 horse, "they being all raw men." He was soon joined by Sir John Berkeley with two other infantry regiments, which he had raised in Dorsetshire, making Lord Hopton's whole force amount to some 3000 foot and 1500 horse. Winchester was an admirable base of operations, and ere long became such a centre of Cavalier activity that Waller was obliged to halt at Farnham on his westward march, and to ask for reinforcements, with which, as we have seen, he was duly furnished. On Saturday, November 11, news had reached London that Lord Hopton had concentrated his troops, from Salisbury, Andover, Malmsbury, and other places, at Winchester, and that Sir William Waller, in nowise loth to give him battle, had drawn off from Basing House, and had quartered his men at Basingstoke, The Vyne, and intermediate places. Waller wished to fight, but Hopton's troops were in want of arms and powder, expected reinforcements from Scotland, and declined any decisive battle. On November 14, the day after Waller had been finally repulsed at Basing House, a detachment of Hopton's men drove in the Roundhead picquets at Basingstoke, and relieved the Marquis of Winchester at Basing.

The garrison of Loyalty House now had "the liberty of further fortifying, which thus as time and number would permit made up, is rather strong than regular." According to "a relation of Sir William Waller's proceedings, by one of his army," proclamation was made by drum-beat on November 15 that "all souldiers should muster in the park at Farnham on pain of death," and the names of deserters were taken.

Lord Hopton was a brave man and an excellent officer, who sought not for preferment at Court, checked pillage, and protected the rustics, "fulfilling what he esteemed the duty of a faithful subject with all the humanity of a good citizen." On Thursday, November 16, an account of the operations at Basing was sent to Parliament, and on the same day "a strong party of horse, and sixteen of every foot company," were sent to beat up Lord Hopton's headquarters at Odiham. The hedges were found to be lined with musketeers, who kept up a galling fire, and the country people gave information that the main body of the Cavaliers had fallen back towards Alton and Alresford, so that "only some of their straggling pillaging forces were taken." Lord Hopton, as Field-Marshal-General of his Majesty's Western Forces, "summoned all Hampshire men, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, to appear in arms for the King at Winchester, and after much fighting near Farnham, withdrew his outposts, on November 30, from Odiham, Basingstoke, and Long Sutton, posting Lord Crawford with his cavalry and Colonel John Bolle's regiment of infantry at Alton, and quartering most of his foot at Winchester, Andover, and Petersfield, and the intervening villages—Basing House was well able to take care of itself."

On Friday, November 17, Sir William Waller was at Farnham, and Lord Hopton

at Basing. Cavalier scouts were everywhere on the alert, and news had reached London from Portsmouth that some of Hopton's men had organised a foray, but that the country people fired the beacons, which were ready, rose as one man, and drove the plunderers back to their quarters. On the same day Waller sent Captain Oakley with forty-five men to make a twelve-mile march into the enemies' quarters, to the market town of Methouse (Midhurst). Two other troops of horse had been detailed for this expedition, but as they came late to the rendezvous, Captain Oakley marched without them. When he and his small detachment were within six miles of Midhurst, some rustics told him that 150 Cavalier horse had visited the town that morning, but had just left for Petworth, intending to return to Midhurst that night. "It was thought that if we came not (to Midhurst) with a very strong party, the town being very malignant (*i.e.*, loyal), and store of Papists in it; would have risen against us; yet was this valiant Captain nothing at all discouraged, but resolved to march thither." On his arrival Captain Oakley posted his sentries at all the entrances of the town, which he held for two hours. Three Cavaliers who had been left behind in the town by their comrades were made prisoners, several horses were taken, "and some store of cloth which was taken from Papists and malignants there to clothe the foot." The little band retired unmolested to Waller's headquarters.

On Saturday, November 18, Lieutenant Archer makes a note: "There came to us much provision of victuals and strong waters to our regiment, which was very thankfully received, although, thanks be to God, we had no great scarcity before." On the same day the Committee for Westminster, sitting at Worcester House, was directed to furnish a list of all deserters from the Westminster Regiment, with a view to their apprehension. A sum of £5000 was to be paid to Sir William Waller, to whom Mr. Reynolds was to write a letter of encouragement, assuring him that as many soldiers as possible should be sent without delay. The four associated counties of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Hants were to be warned "to send all the assistance that may be." Sundry deserters ere long found themselves in durance vile at Westminster and Clerkenwell, awaiting the decision of a court-martial. In the armies of the King it was the rule to execute deserters immediately after their capture. Sir William Waller himself was by no means happy, but was, on the contrary, full of anxiety. He complained that his men were in want of pay, "and also that they were not so at command as was to be desired." He therefore begged for reinforcements from the Committee of Militia for London, saying that he had only from 1200 to 1400 foot and 15 troops of horse, 12 of which were from Kent. Colonel Morley's Sussex Regiment refused to march to join him until they had received their arrears of pay, and Colonel Norton's Hampshire Regiment had not yet reached him. His spies, whom he had sent out to lie in the woods, reported that Hopton had at least 5000 men with him, and some prisoners stated that the Cavaliers were only two or three miles distant, with a force of 2000 foot and 40 troops of horse. Sir William, almost despairing of success, adds "that he put himself into

God's protection!" The Westminster Trained Bands were anxious to recover their reputation for valour, which had been somewhat discounted at Basing; though it seems probable that if Hopton had attacked in force upon that memorable Saturday, the result of the campaign in the southern counties would have been very different. But the golden opportunity thus lost never again presented itself. Instead of pressing their attack home, the Cavaliers contented themselves with giving an alarm to Waller's Kentish Horse, who were quartered at Guildford, by means of small reconnoitring parties who penetrated as far as Pirbright and other places in the neighbourhood. Lord Hopton meanwhile made a leisurely advance towards Farnham. Waller, who was anxiously awaiting the arrival of the Kentish Horse from Guildford, drew out the few troops which he had with him, and boldly faced his foe on a heath at a distance of three or four miles from Farnham. Both parties sent out forlorn hopes, which faced each other for about an hour. Waller's men then received orders to charge, whereupon their opponents fell back upon their main body. Waller, seeing their retreat, advanced in force, on which Hopton drew off his troops in good order without fighting. It was generally supposed that the Welshmen, who were numerous in the Royalist ranks, were much indisposed to fight at so great a distance from their mountain homes. This reluctance to fight away from home was a potent influence on both sides.

Before the dawn of Sunday, November 19, the Kentish Horse, 400 in number, had joined Sir William Waller, who now felt somewhat more at ease. He, however, sent an express to London, urging the immediate despatch of the 1500 men which he had been promised as a reinforcement, saying that Hopton was within a mile of him with an army collected from Reading, Oxford, and elsewhere, which was at least twice as numerous as his own.

During the morning hours the Cavaliers appeared "upon Beacon Hill, a mile from Farnham," or, according to another account, "upon a hill two miles from Farnham," causing Waller's men to muster in the Park. An artillery duel was carried on at long range, and the two armies watched one another for some hours, Lord Hopton fearing to make an attack in force, as his enemy had received an accession of strength. At length Sir William Waller sent out some cavalry to fire upon the hostile ranks, and "our horse faced theirs until three o'clock in the afternoon, and sent forth scouts who fired upon the enemy (the Cavaliers), and killed some of them, but we had not one man hurt."

November days are but of short duration, and as yet Waller's scouts had only "slain two straggling Cavaliers and taken three horses besides those who were hurt." Their Roundhead comrades were becoming impatient, and towards evening a strong party of horse and foot, including the red-coated Trained Bands of Westminster, made a vigorous charge, and made the Cavaliers retire down the hill towards Crondall, which was only a mile distant from the scene of action. As they retreated they lined the hedges of the narrow lanes with musketeers, and Waller,

fearing an ambuscade, drew off towards Farnham. During the night a party of Lord Hopton's horse tried to beat up Sir William Waller's quarters, but the latter, having received timely warning, sent out three bodies of cavalry with a total strength of 300 sabres, who took prisoners, thirty or forty, or sixty troopers, as chroniclers variously relate, a sergeant-major (or major), two captains, with others, and slew some twenty-five more. But following up the pursuit too hotly, the victors, when they at length drew rein, were saluted with volleys of musketry from the hedges, which "did much hurt, killing some and wounding others; so that the purchase proved not much worth, costing some men's lives, a few of whom being worth many horse." During this week there was also a skirmish in Wiltshire, in which Lord Crawford was wounded, losing twelve horses and having several men placed *hors de combat*, whereupon he fell back upon a position nearer to Lord Hopton's main body.

On Thursday, November 16, all the cuirassiers under the command of Sir Arthur Haslerig, "being all compleat and experienced soldiers," were summoned by beat of drum, upon pain of death, to appear on Friday, November 17, in the new Artillery Ground, to march to join Waller.

The early hours of Monday, November 20, saw them on the march from London in the direction of Farnham, where Sir William Waller was anxiously awaiting their arrival, as well he might, for by nine in the morning a strong body of Cavalier horse and foot appeared upon the hill between Crondall and Farnham, which caused a muster of the Parliamentarians in the Park. Their guns, which were originally planted at a distance of a mile and a-half from Lord Hopton's cavalry, were, in consequence of the advance of the latter, able to open fire about an hour before noon, a party of Roundhead troopers having ridden up the hill and formed up to support them in rear. The gunners speedily got the range, and, according to the reports of prisoners, did great execution. Seven men were killed by the first discharge, and few shots missed their mark. After a protracted artillery duel, the Roundhead cavalry made a charge, and diverted the attention of the enemy from a body of infantry, who, advancing without molestation, charged in their turn. Sir William Waller's men had the field word of "The Lord of Hosts," their opponents having selected "The Prince of Wales." Thus charged by cavalry and infantry simultaneously, the Cavalier horse "wheeled about and fled down the hill, and their foot, being always behind the horse on the side of the hill, were not drawn up at all, and retreated while their horse stood for their reserve." In other words, Lord Hopton's cavalry covered a retreat in good order. Eight Cavaliers were captured, one of whom was a trumpeter, or "music." Lord Hopton carried off his killed and wounded, estimated by their opponents to be more than forty in number, "but the next day we found four of their horse killed, and much blood." So says the Parliamentary scribe, who only admits the loss of one man on his own side. On this eventful Monday the Kentish Regiment reached Farnham from Guildford, and

five companies of Sir A. Haslerig's Regiment of Foot were also a welcome reinforcement to Sir William Waller.

Before sunset on Tuesday, November 21, Colonel Richard Norton, the "Idle Dick Norton" of Cromwell, had reached Waller's headquarters from Southampton at the head of his famous corps of "Hambledon Boys," and Colonel Morley had arrived from Kent, his regiment having at length consented to march, on the understanding that they were to receive their full arrears of pay on reaching Farnham. The county of Kent had already sent 500 horse and foot, and was raising 1500 more men for Waller, whose strength was now estimated at 4000. On this day some of his soldiers went to a park called "The Holt," about a mile and a-half from Farnham, to kill deer, and, taking advantage of a thick mist, the Cavaliers' scouts surprised and captured nine of Captain Levett's men.

On Wednesday, November 22, as various merchants had been sending frequent requisitions for convoy, Parliament ordered that nineteen men-of-war and twenty-three merchant ships should be detailed as a winter guard for the shores of Great Britain and Ireland. This was the more necessary, as the Cavaliers were known to have sixteen ships at Bristol and Barnstaple, and to be fitting out others. Some rings and tobacco which had been seized *en route* for Oxford were ordered to be sold "by the appointment and directions of Mr. Jennour." The money realised by the sale was to be spent in sending to Sir William Waller "those forces that lie on the County of Middlesex," after the informer had received his promised reward. "Mr. Trenchard, Chairman to the Committee of Accounts," was to send these men, together with certain arms, to Sir William Waller. The arms in question were in the custody of Captain Ellingworth, of whom we read on December 9, 1643, "Captain Ellingworth shall be tried by a Council of War for cheating the State by false musters, and selling and pawning, and embezzling his soldiers' arms allowed by the State."

Says Lieutenant Archer, on November 23: "There came to us at Farnham a very fair regiment of horse, and a company of dragoons, consisting of 120 out of Kent, under the command of Sir Miles Lewsy (Livesay)." Sergeant-Major, or, as we should style him, Major Webb, who had, as we have seen, earned promotion before the walls of stubbornly defended Basing, with some of the green-coated London Trained Bands was this day sent, together with other forces, from Farnham, to aid in the relief of Plymouth, to which Prince Maurice and Sir Richard Grenville had laid siege. Sir William Waller also wrote a letter to the Parliament, which was read in the House of Commons two days afterwards, when it was agreed that £5000 should be raised for the supply of his army, "upon the credit of the Excise," £2000 of which was to be paid to him without delay. This latter sum was promptly furnished by Alderman Towse, in consideration of interest at the rate of eight per cent. Sir William thus writes in his "Vindication": "And for the payment of arrears I may say I was for it to the uttermost farthing. I may not say who were against it, but those who seemed to be pillars, or somewhat, whatsoever they were it maketh no

matter to me, contributed nothing, nay, gave their flat negative to it. And, truly, herein I did but discharge my conscience, for I was ever of opinion that a soldier's pay is the justest debt in the world. For if it be a crying sin to keep back the wages of an hireling, that doth but sweat for us, it must needs be a roaring altitonant sin to detain pay of the soldier that bleeds for us. There is a cry of blood in it, and God will make inquisition for it!" Well and nobly said, Sir William! He also stated in his letter that a battle was imminent, and that he was in great need of "some able officers." The Earl of Essex received orders to send him some, and Mr. Trenchard was to "take speedy order to send unto Sir William Waller Captain Carr's troop."

There was a report on Friday, November 24, that the King had marched to Basing House at the head of 2000 horse, intending to co-operate with Lord Hopton in an attack upon Farnham Castle. Accordingly, about ten o'clock in the morning the colours were hoisted on the castle, and the army was drawn up in the park, where it to no purpose awaited an attack. A party of horse was on the same day sent from Farnham into Sussex after Sir Edward Ford, "to make an end of his Sheriff year." After the morning's "alarm" the Cavaliers retired to Odiham, and their enemies were able to refresh themselves. A report reached Oxford that Hopton had beaten Waller back to London, and the Queen, overjoyed at the intelligence, "gave the messenger £4 10s., all she had in her purse!" But the tidings were false, for on Saturday, November 25, the Earl of Essex was preparing to send reinforcements to Farnham, and the county of Kent was raising a force of 2000 infantry, and was likewise fortifying Tonbridge and Sevenoaks to check the advance of Hopton. It seems somewhat doubtful whether there was a skirmish on Sunday, November 26, in which Lord Hopton gave Sir William Waller a few shot, losing, however, about 100 of his own men, or whether the somewhat vague account does not refer to the day of the retreat to Crondall. The Surrey troops having been withdrawn from their homes towards Farnham, it seemed not improbable that Lord Hopton would march upon Guildford. To keep him in check until his own main body could arrive from Farnham, Sir William Waller summoned all the men of Surrey between the ages of sixteen and sixty to muster at Guildford in defence of the county. Entrenchments were being constructed at Farnham, and several challenges to fight a pitched battle were sent to Hopton by his old friend and ever courteous antagonist Waller, who also on several occasions hung out flags of defiance at Farnham Castle. Sir William's own words are, "The war I abhorred, though I acted in it as upon the defensive, which I thought justifiable, but it was ever with a wish that the sword, as it was fabled of Hercules his, might be dipped in oil rather than in blood; that the difference might end rather in a peace than a conquest; that, as it fell out in the decision between Zenocles and Euripides, the one party might not have the worse, nor the other the better, but such an accommodation might take effect as might be with saving of honour to King and Parliament, whereby both might have the best."

Certain stragglers from Lord Hopton's force plundered an old woman's cottage

near Farnham, and stole her bedding, of which the Parliamentary newspapers did not fail to make much stern and satirical mention. Captain Batley, a deserter from the army of the Parliament, was taken and condemned to death by a council of war, and we learn from Lieutenant Archer that during these operations Bartholomew Ellicot, who had formerly been a butcher near Temple Bar, and who had also been a captain in the army of the Parliament, was taken prisoner whilst fighting for the King. He had not only deserted from the army of the Earl of Essex, but had also appropriated money intended for the payment of the soldiers. He could expect no mercy, and on Wednesday, December 6, he was hanged in the market-place at Farnham. He had, in addition to his other offences against the Parliament, done his best to betray the town of Aylesbury to the Cavaliers. One who saw the execution has left on record that "he died in a miserable condition, justifying himself in the Acts, and condemning the Council of Warre which found him worthy of death."

Lord Hopton's forces were scattered throughout Hampshire, and on the morning of Monday, November 27, he sent a party towards Farnham from the direction of Crondall, which was greeted by a hot fire from the artillery of the castle, and from some guns placed in position in the park. Three shots killed seventeen horses and fifteen men. There was a report that the King was to dine at Basing House that day, having brought with him "2000 or 3000 horse and some strength of foot," with the intention of carrying off the garrison and treasure, and of "slighting" or dismantling the fortress, and that a party had in consequence been sent out to Crondall in order to prevent any unwelcome intrusion on the part of the Farnham garrison. This rumour probably arose from the fact that "divers of His Majestie's servants and attendants" had lately come "from Oxford with the Prince's (Rupert's) owne regiment to the aid of the Lord Hopton." Clarendon says that "Sir Jacob Astley was likewise sent to him (Hopton) from Reading with 1000 commanded men, of that garrison, Wallingford, and Oxford; which supply no sooner arrived at Winchester, but the Lord Hopton resolved to visit Waller's quarters, if it were possible to engage; however that he might judge by the posture he was in whether he were like to pursue his purpose for the West. Waller was then quartered at Farnham and the villages adjacent, from whence he drew out his men, and faced the enemy as if he intended to fight, but after some light skirmishes for a day or two, in which he always received loss, he retired into the Castle of Farnham, a place of some strength, and drew his army into the town." Galled by this artillery fire, the Cavaliers were obliged to retreat towards Crondall, hotly pursued by the cavalry of Sir William Waller. Beaten out of the village, they were soon galloping at headlong speed toward Odiham and Basingstoke, some of them having only lately reached Farnham from Basing House, to the garrison of which they belonged. When the muster roll was called that evening, a Major, a Lieutenant, and sixty horses were reported as having fallen into the hands of the enemy, whilst thirty men were either killed,

wounded, or missing. The pursuers, who returned laden with various kinds of booty to Farnham, only admitted a loss of six men.

Thursday, November 28, witnessed the despatch of a party of horse and dragoons from Farnham towards Odiham, under the command of Colonel Van Rosse, to beat up the enemy's quarters. They slew some Cavaliers and took a few prisoners. But a whole troop declined to follow Colonel Van Rosse, who was dangerously wounded in the shoulder. The cowards were next day deservedly cashiered and disarmed!

Meanwhile Lord Hopton was making a formidable demonstration in force near Farnham. Sir William Waller is said to have had with him only six troops of horse; his officers were careless and his men slack in mustering. The rest of his cavalry had been despatched to Odiham and other places, but his scouts were active and intelligent. It seems probable that Lord Hopton only intended to prevent the retreat of his infantry from being discovered, he having sent off part of his foot towards Alresford either on this or the previous day. When the attacking party came within demi-culverin shot (200 yards), two guns were fired, which made complete lanes through the Cavaliers, who were said by Waller ("Experiences" MS.) to number 8000. A preliminary skirmish took place between 300 horse of each party, and the main fight was in the park. After a few shots had been fired the Cavaliers fell back. A pursuit was ordered, and proved very successful, although the retreating troops "rallied upon a hill near adjoining." The Roundhead news-writer says that Hopton's men, after a few hours, became disordered, that they lost many officers and horses, and fled about two o'clock in the afternoon, going for the most part towards Basing House; that many hundreds were slain, and that prisoners reported that Lord Hopton was being carried off the field, as if dangerously wounded; that only one of Waller's men was missing, and that his wounded was not numerous. Waller considered a thick mist providential, as it checked Hopton's attack, and says, in his "Experiences," "I was that day delivered from an imminent destruction."

But according to "Mercurius Aulicus," Sir William's great victory was nothing after all. He says that Hopton faced Farnham, and that Waller, not daring to come forth, fired two guns from the castle "over every bodies' head," until towards the close of "that dark misty day" the Cavaliers fell back, followed by the Roundhead cavalry, who killed only one dragoon, but lost five men themselves. The pursuers did not give up the chase until they reached Hook, on the other side of Odiham, and Waller despatched a messenger to the Parliament, who reached London on the afternoon of Wednesday, November 29, and found the members of both Houses listening to the Fast Sermon at St. Margaret's, Westminster. Master Bridges was the preacher, and his subject was "Though God do suffer the enemies of His Church to be great and exceeding many, yet God will raise up a power to withstand and overpower them." "After the sermon was done the House of Commons went to the Parliament House, and there sat very late." But in those "good old times" Parlia-

ment met at nine o'clock in the morning, and every unpunctual member was to be fined twelve pence!

On Wednesday, November 29, the Roundhead horse penetrated to Odiham and Basingstoke, giving divers alarms that day and the following night, and bringing back five of Lord Crawford's troopers, together with their horses. The public faith was guaranteed to those who aided the Parliament in Sussex, and the Earl of Thanet was ordered to be called to account for having sent troops to Chichester against the Parliament.

On November 30 the counties of Sussex and Surrey were ordered by the House of Commons to raise, "either by press or volunteers, the 800 Foot set upon them," and Sir William was to send officers "to receive them as they are levied." Within three or four days Waller went himself to London more effectually to solicit recruits than his letters had been able to do.

Listen to his own account of the treatment he received ("Waller's Vindication," pp. 13-18): "I confess after that defeat which I received at the Devizes (July 13th, 1643), upon my return to London, I found, contrary to my expectation, a multitude of friends, *populum amicorum*, in the Independent party that appeared for me. In that heat, as the sun is ever hottest after a cloud, I had an offer from them of a very considerable army, to be raised and put under my command, with a constant maintenance for it, if I would engage myself to maintain none but godly officers, such as should be recommended to me. Unto which I replied that I desired nothing more than to have such officers about me as might be remarkable for that spot, as Moses calleth it; but I wished them to consider that there went more to the making up of an officer than single honesty. *Alia ratio boni civis et boni viri*, as Aristotle said in another case. A good man might make a good soldier, but there must go the good man and the good soldier to the composition of a good officer. I besought them likewise to weigh my condition, how I stood answerable with my life and honour, for any miscarriage that should fall out in the service, and that it would be a poor plea for me to say that it was the officers' fault, when it might be justly retorted upon me as my fault that I took such officers. This I assured them, that where I could find persons qualified with piety and ability, such faithful centurions as knew how to command, and when to say go, come, do this, I would prefer them above all others. But in the want of those I looked to be excused if for the advantage of the service I made bold to employ such as should appear to be able soldiers, although they were not otherwise so refined men as I might wish. And to the end that there might be a fair choice, and to obviate all exceptions, the Parliament having voted a considerable body to be raised for me, I appointed a council of war, whereof Sir Arthur Hesilrigg was President, to examine the merits of every man that should stand to bear any office in that army, with power to cross all such out of the list as should be judged unfit or unworthy to be employed. But this did not satisfy, and I then found that they had it in their design to model and form an army that should be all of their own

party, and devoted to their own ends. Upon this we differed. I trusted not them, nor they me, and so we agreed. From that time forward I may date the expiration of their friendship. It is true that long after, and so long indeed as I held my command, I was kept up by them, but could plainly perceive it was but in the nature of a stale, in opposition to that noble Lord the Earl of Essex, whom they feared, and therefore hated implacably, and they were willing enough to foment those differences between his lordship and me, to the prejudice of the public service, that they might make their ends upon us both, and gain the better pretence to bring on their new model. In what condition I was maintained may be demonstrated by the Treasurer, Mr. John Trenchard, his accounts, where it will appear that from the time of my setting forth unto my disbanding I never received full £100,000, an inconsiderable sum compared with what others had, and yet out of that stock I was fain to play the good husband, and to be at the charge to pay for part of my arms and ammunition. Besides this they would be sure I should never have an entire body of my own, but so compounded of city and country regiments that when they pleased they might take me in pieces like a clock, and this was the true reason why I could never improve any successes, because these adventitious borrowed forces, having no dependence upon me, but upon those that sent them, would not follow me further than pleased themselves, but would be ready to march home when they should have pursued their point, as if they had done enough when they had done anything. Yet such were the charities which I met with in the world, that it was made my fault that, like Joash, I gave over shooting sooner than I should have done, when, in truth, I had no more arrows left to shoot. From time to time I was put upon all disadvantages that might lessen me in my reputation, and expose me to ruin. . . . So that, in effect, I was in no better condition than those gladiators of old among the Romans, preserved awhile, to perish in the end, and kept only to be lost. This was the friendship I parted with!"

CHAPTER XV

THE ISLE OF WIGHT—CAPTURE OF ARUNDEL—LEATHER GUNS

THE early days of December 1643 saw due provision made for naval matters, and for the defence of the Isle of Wight. On Thursday, December 7, the Deputy Lieutenants and Treasurers of the Isle of Wight were instructed to pay Captain Scofield the sum of £80 "towards his raising and conveying thither 100 soldiers," and four days later we hear of 500 men being embodied for the same destination, in addition to 100 formerly enrolled, and duly ferried across the Solent. We learn also that "whereas several fortifications are making in the said Island by Ordinance of Parliament," William and Thomas Bowreman and Thomas Carne, Esquires, were to be a standing Committee for the purposes of defence, with power to expel "undesirables." Thomas Wavell and John Hall, of Swanston, Gentlemen, were the Treasurers.

On Saturday, December 9, the Naval Estimates for the year were discussed in Parliament, and 5000 men were voted "for next year's fleet," which was to consist of forty-six ships. Of these two were to be second-rates, whilst the third-rates were to be nine in number. There were to be twenty fourth-rates, ten fifth-rates, and five sixth-rates, twenty-six of the whole fleet being men-of-war, and twenty hired merchant ships; light ships were to cruise to the westward, sixteen watching the estuary of the Severn and the coast of Ireland meanwhile. The Downs, the coasts of Scotland, and the northern shore of the Emerald Isle were protected by three squadrons, each consisting of eight ships. Three thousand men were to be employed in thirty men-of-war, and the merchant ships for the next winter guard, which was to last for five months, at a cost of £60,000. The expenditure for 5000 men during the eight months summer guard of the year 1644 was estimated to amount to £130,000. The ordinary expense of the whole Navy in harbour during the year 1644 was to be £18,000. The sum of £20,000 was voted for "extraordinary and ordinary service in the office of the Ordnance." The cost of victualling 4000 men for six months in forty ships "supposed to be sent to sea as reprisals, according to a late ordinance," was to be £24,000. The "payment of ordinary for

this year, the winter guard now at sea, the freights of sundry merchant ships already discharged, arrears, sundries, &c." amounted to £140,000, and the whole vote for naval expenditure for the year 1644 was £392,000.

Lord Clarendon was horrified to hear that the Parliament had laid a weekly assessment of £10,000 upon the City of London, and that their weekly revenue from the whole kingdom was no less than £33,518, or £1,742,936 per annum. He says that £20,000 was the largest sum ever raised by taxation in any previous year. What would the worthy Chancellor think of the Budget for the present year of grace?

An amusing description of the willingness of the citizens of London to aid the Parliament by their contributions is as follows:

And now, my Lord, since you have London left,
Where merchants' wives dine cheap, and as cheap sup,
Where fools themselves have of their plate bereft,
And sigh and drink in the coarse pewter cup;
Where's not a silver spoon left, not that given them
When the first Cockney was made Christian:
No, not a bodkin, pin-case; all they send,
Or carry all, whatever they can hap on,
E'en to the pretty picktooth whose each end
Oft purged the relics of continual capon.
Nothing must stay behind, nothing must tarry,
No, not the ring by which dear John took Harry.

Penny Magazine for 1844.

Nor were the ladies more backward in behalf of the cause, for in a satirical ballad entitled "The Sale of Rebellion's Household Stuff," the following lots are, amongst others, offered for sale:

Here's the purse of the public faith,
Here's the model of the sequestration,
Where the good wives upon their good troth,
Lent thimbles to revive the nation.

At the close of the year 1643, Lord Hopton had under his command, at Winchester, not less than 3000 foot and 1500 horse, together with the advantage of a very strong position, but Professor Gardiner says that four or five recently arrived Irish levies "could hardly be counted as an advantage." The Sussex Cavaliers were urging him to advance into their county, promising to aid him both with men and money, and in an evil hour he listened to their advice and obtained leave from Oxford to attack Arundel Castle, if at the same time he felt sure of being able to check Waller's march towards the west. Stout old Major-General Sir Jacob Astley was sent towards Winchester from Reading with 1000 disciplined troops, drawn from the garrisons of Reading, Wallingford, and Oxford, Colonel Bolle, of whom

we shall hear more hereafter, being in command of the detachment from Wallingford. Lord Ogle says, "My Lord Wilmot coming to Winchester with considerable horse."

Lord Hopton being thus reinforced, and finding that Sir William Waller having concentrated his army at Farnham under the protection of the Castle, had betaken himself to London to be feasted and lectured and to solicit reinforcements, determined to march at once into Sussex. Just then he received a most unwelcome letter from Prince Rupert ordering Colonel Gerrard's regiment to rejoin the Prince's own force, from which it had recently been detached. Mr. Warburton gives the reply of Lord Hopton, which throws considerable light upon the state of affairs at this critical juncture. It is as follows :

"May it please Your Highness,—Your Highness's commands concerning Colonel Gerrard's regiment, as all other your commands, I shall ever be most ready to obey. I shall only offer to your Highness my present difficulty, which is, that we being here, near the enemy, and our horse decreasing much, I am doubtful lest, in sparing a good old regiment, I may give the enemy too great an advantage upon me in this champaign country ; unless your Highness will please to do me the favour to send me some other regiment that hath had rest, till this be recreated. The truth is, the duty of the service here is insupportable, were it not in this cause, where there is so great a necessity either of prevailing through all difficulties, or suffering them to prevail, which cannot be thought of in good English, therefore, if your Highness resume the horse regiment, I should be glad to give these some ease as I could. I rest in all humility and faithfulness, your Highness's most humbly devoted servant, RALPH HOPTON.—Alresford, Dec. 1643."

For a full account of Colonel Gerrard and his gallant kinsmen, the reader is referred to p. 79 of the admirable and exhaustive work on "The Two Battles of Newbury," by W. Money, Esq., F.S.A.

Lord Crawford, who was in command of the Cavalier horse, sent out a detachment as far as Petworth, but was obliged to retire and take post at Alton. On Friday, December 1, we hear of Lord Hopton's forces being at Andover and Winchester, and that Sir William Waller was receiving reinforcements from Kent. Prince Maurice was half inclined to raise the siege of Plymouth, and to march to join Lord Hopton at or near Basing House.

On the afternoon of Saturday, December 2, Sir William Waller reached London from Farnham, and had a conference with the Earl of Essex at his house in the Strand. He asked for and obtained reinforcements, and set out again for Farnham on the following Monday morning. On Tuesday, December 5, Mr. Trenchard, the Chairman to the Committee of Accounts, was directed to give three days' pay "to Colonel Pottley's men that lie here in Middlesex, to carry them to Sir William Waller." These troops were to be sent at once under an officer appointed by Mr.

Trenchard. Colonel Pottley himself meanwhile writes from Farnham that Hopton's forces had beaten up one of their opponents' quarters, but had done but little harm. On Saturday, December 9, Mr. Trenchard was ordered to write to Sir William Waller, requesting him to send officers to take command of Colonel Pottley's men, each of whom was to receive a fortnight's pay upon arrival at Farnham. Soldiers refusing to march were "to be proceeded against according to the Law Martial," and Colonel Pottley was to be ordered to cashier those captains of his regiment that Mr. Trenchard had certified to be unworthy of their command.

There was a report that the King had slept at Basing House on the night of Sunday, December 3, having brought with him 2000 horse, besides foot, and that he had since returned to Reading, taking with him much plate and treasure from Basing House, intending to cut his way through Waller's army, and to march into Kent. Another statement was to the effect that the King had sent for "plate and other ornaments for ceremonies of State from Basing House to Reading, where his Majesty intends to keep his Christmas," but the sole foundation for these reports seems to have been that some of the Royal cooks came to Basing House about this time with the Prince's regiment. On Saturday, December 9, a Lieutenant of the Green Regiment of Trained Bands, quartered at Farnham, says that for some time past there had been alarms both by night and day, and that on Monday, December 4, he had been sent out in command of a forlorn hope of eighty musketeers to face the Cavaliers, who, "after some small firing and some great gun shot, ran away." On Tuesday, December 5, a strong regiment joined Sir William Waller at Farnham from Kent. This reinforcement was the more welcome, as the London Trained Bands were now eagerly desirous to turn their faces homewards, and clamouring for arrears of pay. On Monday, December 4, a letter from the Earl of Essex was read in the House of Lords to the effect that Sir William Waller reports the King to be advancing towards Basing with all his forces, whilst his own army is but weak, and is in great want of recruits. The sum of £1000 was at once voted for the relief of Sir William Waller, who asserted that Lord Hopton's army was three times as numerous as his own. There were said to be 8000 men in arms for the Parliament in Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, who were "not willing to have Sir John Culpepper made Viceroy, nor Sir Edward Deering Bishop of Canterbury." The only road for Cavaliers towards Kent lay through Sussex, "which they will at this season not be able to do."

Lord Hopton, however, meant to try what could be done, and taking advantage of an exceptionally hard frost, made his way with great ease over roads which were usually at that season of the year almost impassable, "and he came to Arundel before there was any imagination that he had that place in his prospect."

The Rev. H. D. Gordon says: "The cavalry force of Hopton in this brilliant feat passed over the downs to Arundel, *viâ* Petersfield, Harting, and Marden, and in order to secure the line of communication, Petersfield and Harting Place were for

the time garrisoned for the King. Colonel Sir Edward Ford's own regiment was quartered at Up Park throughout December to guard the passes in the hills, which were their chain of communication with Winchester and Oxford, and the possession of which secured their retreat."

"The pleas of Sir William Ford, of Up Park, who, on November 22, 1643, secured Chichester for the King, and John Caryll, of Harting," at the close of the war, are to be found amongst the Royalist Compositions, and show clearly the positions stated above. Caryll pleads "That your petitioner being at his father's house, called Harting, in Sussex, which is in the midway direct from Winchester to Arundel, and the King's forces having made a garrison in the said house about December 1643, Sir Ralph Hopton coming thither with part of his army, commanded your petitioner to attend him to Arundel, where he detained your petitioner until the Castle was taken by Sir William Waller." Sir William Ford, of Harting, Knight, complained that "2000 coards of woods had been cut down in Harting Park (Up Park) for satisfaction of wrongs done to certaine country people thereabout by some parties of horse of Colonel Ford, his sonne's, regiment."

Arundel Castle surrendered on December 9, and Lord Hopton returned to Winchester on December 26. An interesting memento of his march has been preserved by the descendants of his Commissary-General, in the form of a requisition for hay and oats sent to Farmer Binstead, of Warnford, whose after payment is somewhat doubtful.

"These are to require you in his Maj^{ty's} name to furnish and supply his Maj^{ty} both such provisioⁿ of hay and oates as you have for the horse to bee quartered this night at Warneforde for w^{ch} hay or oates you shall receive pay^{mt} out of the weekly Contributioⁿ of this County w^h of you are not to fayle. Des. 27th, 1643.

"To Rich. Binstead
of Warneforde."

"Arthur ffry,
Commissary Generall.

"Received of Richard Binstead in the parish of Warneforde A ton of Hay for the service of his Maj^{ty's} Army under the Command of the L^de Hopton for which hee is to bee allowed twenty six shillings and eight-pence out of the weekly Contributioⁿ of the County. Dated the 27th of desi, 1643.

"Arthur ffry."

Waller's journey to London had a successful issue. He exaggerated the strength of Lord Hopton's army, and easily obtained all necessary supplies and reinforcements. The *True Informer* of December 9, 1643, has the following: "That renowned and unmatcheable engineere, Colonell Wems, Lieut Generall of the Ordinance and Traine unto Sir William Waller, according to the desire and appointment of the House of Commons in Parliament, went down from London on Tuesday night last, Dec. 5th, with wagons laden with leather pieces of ordinance, and much other

ammunition, and is by this time at Farnham with Sir William Waller. These leather pieces are of very great use, and very easie and light of carriage. One horse may draw a peece, which will carry a bullet of a pounce and a halfe weight, and doe execution very farre. This is the said Colonell's particular invention, and will be of very great service unto Sir William's army, especially for this winter season." These guns, which were made of the toughest leather strengthened with metal hoops, were fashioned at Lambeth, and could only be fired seven or eight times. They were afterwards captured at Cropredy Bridge, loaded with case shot. A strong horse could carry twenty through bad roads. For a full account of them see Dr. Firth's "Cromwell's Army," p. 156. "8000 from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey are in armes against the Cavaliers." We shall meet some of these Surrey and Sussex men before Basing ere long. The City of London was now requested to allow "the longer stay of their forces." Five hundred men of the Windsor garrison were ordered to join Sir William Waller, the Kentish Committee wrote from Westerham to offer assistance, and Sussex was required immediately to pay £1080 5s. 5d. and to raise 125 horse. The Parliamentary regiments were recruited by impressment, voluntary enlistment, and also by allowing apprentices to count their time of military service as if it had been spent with their masters. But in this emergency the White and Yellow, two of the strongest regiments of the London Auxiliaries, were on December 13, 1643, by consent of the City of London, which could recall them at pleasure, ordered to march with all speed to Farnham; officers and men not marching out were to be fined and imprisoned. Sir William Balfour with 1000 horse was detached from the army of the Earl of Essex and placed under the command of Sir William Waller, who at once repaired to Farnham, and, speedily ascertaining that Lord Hopton's forces were quartered at too great distances from each other, prepared, after the manner of him, to strike a decisive blow, and before his return to Winchester Lord Hopton heard bad news.

CHAPTER XVI

ALTON FIGHT—SIEGES OF ARUNDEL CASTLE—CORPORATION PLATE

SIR WILLIAM WALLER now determined to attack Lord Hopton's scattered forces in two places at once, "as beating up of quarters was his master piece." Colonel Norton, the "Idle Dick" of Cromwell, and now Governor of Southampton, received orders which he was not slow to execute. His old friend and comrade, Captain Francis St. Barbe, of Broadlands, had been slain in the first battle of Newbury, on the 20th of the preceding September, but he had as his subordinates Sergeant-Major (or Major) Murford, of whom frequent mention has already been made, and Captain Bowen. Major Murford's company was 130 strong, whilst that of Captain Bowen mustered 96. Another account says Norton had less than 220 men. An attack was planned upon the town of Romsey, which was then garrisoned by Colonel Bennet's regiment of horse, variously estimated to be both 130 and 200 strong, and a regiment of foot commanded by Colonel Courtney, said to number 300, with a view of keeping in check the Parliamentary garrison, which was ordered on Tuesday, November 29, 1642, to be established at Southampton. Sir Humphrey Bennet was, says Mr. Money, one of the Bennets of Pythouse, Wilts. Colonel Thomas Bennet was Prince Rupert's Secretary, and the family were staunch adherents to the Royal cause. Sir Humphrey Bennet himself was High Sheriff of Southampton, and commanded a brigade of horse at the second battle of Newbury, which was fought on Saturday, October 26, 1644. On this occasion his regiment consisted of nine troops, almost full, but having only two colours. Sir Thomas Jervoise speaks of him as being "very active and very cruel," writing, of course, with prejudice. We learn from a letter written at Southampton, on December 13, that Colonel Norton's force left that town at three o'clock on the morning of December 12. The forlorn hope was led by Lieutenant Terry, whose family lived at Dummer, the first division by Sergeant-Major Murford, the main body by Colonel Norton, whilst Captain Bowen, with his men divided into two parties, brought up the rear. In this order they marched in silence to Romsey, which was reached about an hour after daybreak, whereupon the forlorn hope was sent to force its way over a bridge into the town near Broadlands. Major Murford,

with some of his men, "fell upon their strong traverse, which was presently quitted by their sentinels." He at once followed up his success, fought his way into the town, capturing the main guard, whereupon the Cavaliers threw down their arms and fled. Murford then entered several houses, and secured various prisoners, one of whom was "Captain Lieutenant (*i.e.*, Senior Lieutenant) Norton, brother to Colonel Norton, and a far honester man than himself" (Egerton, 868, sub. 1643-44). Seven Cavaliers were killed in the market-place, two of whom were captains. "Murford hath one of their commissions." Colonel Norton then entered the town with the main body of his forces, and the Cavaliers fled, most of them probably taking the direction of Winchester. The prisoners, either twenty-five or forty in number, included three captains, two lieutenants, one corporal, and several gentlemen. Nearly 200 horses, numerous arms, and the magazines were captured. Many muskets were broken by the victors, who also threw several barrels of powder into the river, and the triumphant Roundheads returned unmolested to Southampton. On the same night a party of thirty men sent from Southampton to Romsey brought back some plunder without opposition, and on the following day there was a solemn thanksgiving at Southampton for Colonel Norton's success. In the Romsey Abbey burial register are the following entries, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Miss Berthon: "1643, Dec. 12—George Nightingall, a soldier; William Knight, a soldier; a soldier, name unknown; ditto, ditto." "Dec. 13—D'Arcy, Captain; George Hind, a soldier, slain at the routing of the King's forces at Romsey, Dec. 12." "Dec. 16—Edward Berry, a soldier," evidently mortally wounded in the same fight.

On December 20 the sum of £300 was granted by Parliament for the purchase of arms for warlike stores for the garrison of Southampton, and "solid" Colonel Ludlow records in his memoirs that just before the siege of Wardour Castle, of which he was Governor, began, he went to Southampton to buy up all the ammunition which Colonel Norton was able to spare. About this time Ludlow says (vol. i. p. 66): "Having noticed that some of the King's forces were at Salisbury, I went out with six of my troop to procure intelligence, and to do what service I could upon the enemy's stragglers. When I came to Sutton Mandeville, I was informed that six of them had gone up the town just before, whereupon we made after them, and by their horses, which we saw tied in a yard, supposed them to be in the house to which it belonged, upon which I went in, and was no sooner within the door but two of them shut it upon me; but my party rushing in, they ran out at another and escaped. A third mounted one of my men's horses and rid away; the other three, who were in a room of the house, upon promise of quarter for life, surrendered themselves, with whom and six horses we returned to the Castle. The Mayor of Salisbury was directed 'to keep Mr. Wroughton, now in prison, in safe custody until further orders.'"

The news of this disaster was but a sad welcome to Lord Hopton, who returned to Winchester from Arundel on the evening of December 26, but more doleful tidings still were to follow. It will doubtless be remembered that Lord Crawford

had taken post at Alton. Our old friend Lieutenant Archer says on Friday, December 1, 1643, "towards the evening intelligence came that Lord Crawford was come to Alton with a regiment of horse and another of foot, and began to fortify that town with all the speed he could, and that Sir Ralph Hopton had quartered many of his men at Alresford and Petersfield, which was done in policy to keep our forces from Winchester, while their main body got into Sussex and Kent, at which time they took Arundel Castle, or within a day after." The infantry regiment here referred to was largely composed of Welshmen and Irishmen, and had been recently sent from the garrison of Wallingford to reinforce Lord Hopton. Clarendon says that it was about 500 strong, but the epitaph of its Colonel states that it was not less than 1300. It was under the command of Colonel John Bolle, second son of Sir John Bolle, who died in 1606. He was an ancestor of the late Warden of Winchester College, to whom I am indebted for much information concerning him. This gallant soldier was a brother of Sir Charles Bolle, of Louth Hall, Lincolnshire, who on one occasion concealed himself beneath the arch of a bridge near the gaol at Louth, whilst the enemy's troopers galloped unsuspectingly above his head. He raised a regiment amongst his tenants for the King, and gave the command of it to his brother John.

Colonel John Bolle did great deeds at Edgehill and other places at the head of his regiment, whose ranks, sadly thinned by the ravages of war and disease, seem to have been afterwards filled with Welsh and Irish recruits.

On the evening of Saturday, December 9, most of Waller's men were drawn up in Farnham Park, and a party was that night sent towards Alton, which beat up Lord Crawford's quarters, and afterwards fell back upon Farnham. But more stirring work was at hand.

An attack in force upon Alton having been decided upon, Lieutenant Archer says: "Tuesday, December 12, most of our men went presently into the town (Farnham) to refresh and prepare themselves for the service, where, although they before gave their general consent, many of them stayed behind, and went not with their colours. Nevertheless, we advanced without them." Waller's Intelligence Department was very efficient under Colonel Birch, who was afterwards Governor of Hereford. Burnet says that he was a carrier; his monument says "of worthy parentage." He is said never to have suffered defeat, had previously repulsed Hopton at Farnham, and from his exposed quarters at Crondall had sent out spies so that "though you were never at Alton yet when you had made all ready you did as well know where their trench was deep, and where shallow, as if yourself had ordered the work" ("Birch's Memoirs," Camden Society, 1873).

During the morning hours of this memorable 12th of December Lord Crawford had sent a messenger to Farnham, asking Sir William Waller to send him to Alton a runlet of sack, promising to send a fat ox in exchange. "Our worthy Sir William sent in a loving compliment to the Lord Crawford half a hogshhead of sack, who,

mistrusting the matter and the messenger, caused the messenger and divers others to taste thereof, and then caused it to be carefully laid by for his own drinking." Sir William Waller demanded the promised ox, whereupon Lord Crawford replied that he would bring it himself. Waller "fails not at nightfall to go in search of his ox, and, instead of a beast, brought away 565 prisoners." His men, 5000 in number, mustered without beat of drum in the park at Farnham, and commenced their march about seven o'clock in the evening, going in the direction of Basing House. But after advancing about two miles the cavalry halted for an hour upon a heath between Crondall and Farnham, and awaited the arrival of the infantry, and thus reinforced continued their march, which was favoured by the hard frost, which at this time lasted for six weeks without intermission. Lieutenant Elias Archer says: "But having marched that way about two miles we returned to the left." Another eye-witness says that the whole force marched as if towards Basing until one o'clock in the morning, and then "faced south towards Alton between the hills." Lieutenant Archer says that they "in a remote way between the wood and hills marched beyond Alton, and about nine o'clock on Wednesday morning, December 13, came upon the west side of the town, where we had both the wind and hill to friend." Sir William Waller's scouts were vigilant, so that his main force arrived without attracting observation. Colonel Birch was surrounded by six Cavalier scouts "on the hills short of the town, but escaped, bringing away their leader as a prisoner" ("Memoirs," p. 4). "Mercurius Aulicus" admits that the Cavalier scouts had concentrated their attention on the main road leading from Farnham to Alton, not expecting an attack from any other quarter. Some of Sir William's scouts were captured, but others brought information that Lord Crawford was quartered in the town with between 300 and 500 horse, in addition to the infantry regiment of Colonel John Bolle. Scarcely had they made their report before Lord Crawford and his troopers were both seen and heard galloping at speed out of the town towards Winchester, having promised their comrades of the infantry that they would speedily return with reinforcements. They quitted Alton on the eastern side, but being unexpectedly headed back by the Parliamentarian horse, they galloped hard through the town, and rode to the southward direct for Winchester, whilst in their rear, now sabring one, now capturing another, rode the pursuing mail-clad squadrons of Sir Arthur Haslerig, known as "Lobsters," from their iron shells, and never broken until Roundway fight, and, says the stern Puritan chronicler, "our Foot made the woods ring with a shout." Three or four Cavaliers were slain in the pursuit, which was followed for about half a mile through narrow lanes, and about thirty horses and some prisoners were taken by Sir Arthur's men, who then returned and blocked up all the entrances to the town, leaving Lord Crawford and his men to make the best of their way to Winchester.

Nor were the infantry idle meanwhile. Lieutenant Archer says: "Then Sir William's own regiment of foot, Sir Arthur Haslerig's five companies, and five companies of Kentishmen went on upon the north and north-west side, and gave the

first onset by lining of hedges and the like, but could not as yet come to any perfect execution, in respect that our London regiments were not come in sight of the enemy, and therefore they bent all their force against those three regiments, and lined divers houses with musqueteers, especially one great brick house near the church was full, out of which windows they fired very fast, and might have done great prejudice to those men, but that when our train of artillery came towards the foot of the hill they made certain shot, which took place upon that house, and so forced them to forsake it. In the meantime our London regiments and four companies that belong to Farnham Castle came down the hill ; then the Red Regiment and the Green coats and the four companies of Farnham Castle, set upon a half moon and a breast work, which the enemy had managed, and from which they fired very hot and desperately till the Green Auxiliaries marched on the other side of a little river into the town with their colours flying, and being in the wind of the enemy, fired a little thatched house, and so blinded them that this regiment marched forwards, and coming in part behind the works, fired upon them, so that they were forced to forsake the said half-moon and breast work, which they had no sooner left but presently the Green-coats and part of the musqueteers of the Red, and our Yellow regiment entered, while the rest of our regiment marched into the town with their colours flying." Another eye-witness, already referred to, says that the infantry advanced as far as the Market Place.

Lieutenant Archer continues : " Now was the enemy constrained to betake himself and all his forces to the church, churchyard, and one great work on the north side of the church, all which they kept near upon two hours very stoutly, and, having made scaffolds in the church to fire out of the windows, fired very thick from every place."

The other account says that the Cavaliers, being all musketeers, retired to the works near the church, " where they had double trenches and a half-moon." The church and a barn close by were their " chiefest refuge ; " and there was " a very hot fight near two hours by reason of a malignant, who willingly fired his own barn and other houses." The smoke caused much annoyance to the assailants, who lost about three men " by reason of which smoke." The battle word of the Cavaliers was " Charles," that of their opponents being " Truth and Victory."

The fight continued, says Lieutenant Archer, " till divers soldiers of our regiment and the Red Regiment fired very thick upon the south-east of the churchyard, and so forced them to forsake that part of the wall, leaving their muskets standing upright, the muzzles whereof appeared above the wall as if some of the men had still lain there in ambush, and our men seeing nobody appear to use those muskets, concluded that the men were gone, and consulted among themselves to enter two or three files of musqueteers, promising Richard Guy, one of my captain (senior) sergeants, who was the first that entered the churchyard, to follow him if he would lead them. Whereupon he advanced, and coming within the churchyard door, and seeing most of the Cavaliers firing at our men from the south and west part of the churchyard,

looked behind him for the men which promised to follow him, and there was only one musqueteer with him."

"Nevertheless, he, flourishing his sword, told them if they would come the churchyard was their own; then Symon Hutchinson, one of Lieutenant-Colonel Willoughbie's sergeants (Tower Hamlets Auxiliaries), forced the musqueteers, and brought them up himself. Immediately upon this one of the sergeants of the Red Regiment, whose name I know not, and, therefore, cannot nominate him as his worth deserves, brought in another division of musqueteers, who, together with those which were there before, caused the enemies' forces to betake themselves towards the church for safeguard, but our men followed them so close with their halberts, swords, and musket stocks that they drove them beyond the church door, and slew about ten or twelve of them, and forced the rest to a very distracted retreat. Which, when the others saw who were in the great work on the north side of the churchyard, they left the work, and came, thinking to help their fellows, and, coming in a disorderly manner to the south-west corner of the church, with their pikes in the rear (who furiously charged on in as disorderly a manner as the rest led them), their front was forced back upon their own pikes, which hurt and wounded many of the men, and brake the pikes in pieces. By this time the churchyard was full of our men, laying about them stoutly with halberts, swords, and musket-stocks, while some threw hand granadoes in at the church windows, others attempting to enter the church, being led on by Sergeant-Major (Major) Shambrooke, a man whose worth and valour envy cannot stain, who in the entrance received a shot in the thigh, whereof he is very ill." Major Shambrooke is elsewhere said to have been wounded in the thigh in the church, by the pistol of a prisoner, to whom he had given quarter. "Great hopes there is of his speedy recovery." Colonel Birch is said to have been the first to enter both the town of Alton and the churchyard. "Nay, at the entry of that church, dreadful to see the enemy opening the doore, ready to receive you with their pikes and muskets, the horses slaine in the allies (aisles), of which the enemy made breast-works, the churchyard, as well as the church, being covered with dead and wounded. . . You escaped with a few dry blows from the stockes of the muskets of those who afterwards, soe many as were living and able, were carried prisoners to Farnum, the choicest men for soe many that were taken since the beginning of these warres." ("Memoirs," p. 4.) An entry having been forced into the church, the exterior and interior of which still bear many a bullet mark, Colonel Bolle declared with an oath that he would "run his sword through the heart of him which first called for quarter." Clarendon says that he hoped to defend the church "for so many hours that relief might be sent to him, but he had not time to barricade the doors; so that the enemy entered almost as soon, and after a short resistance, in which many were killed, the soldiers, overpowered, threw down their arms, and asked quarter, which was likewise offered to the Colonel, who refused it, and valiantly defended himself, till, with the death of two or three of the assailants, he was killed in the place, his enemies giving

him a testimony of great courage and resolution." According to a family tradition the Colonel was shot in the pulpit, but, according to "Mercurius Aulicus," he was knocked on the head with the butt end of a musket. The *Weekly Account* of December 20, 1643, says, "I am certainly informed there were not above fifteen pieces found in the pocket of Colonel Bolles, who, until he fell himself, did bravely encourage and lead on his soldiers."

This gallant soldier's epitaph is inscribed on two brasses, one of which is affixed to a pillar near Bishop Morley's monument in Winchester Cathedral, and the other is in Alton Church. It states that the strength of his regiment was 1300, and that he took refuge in Alton Church with about eighty of his men; that the fight lasted six or seven hours, and that Colonel Bolle killed six or seven of his assailants before he was slain, together with sixty of his men. The author of this epitaph, who claimed kinship to the gallant Colonel, erroneously stated the date of Alton Fight as 1641, instead of 1643, and it has been justly remarked, "As no hero was ever perhaps more deserving of an honourable commendation to posterity, so never perhaps was there an epitaph more devoid of grammar and orthography than that which is here erected to his memory." It thus concludes:

"His Gracious Soueraigne, hearing of his death, gave him his high Commendation in ys pationate expression:

'Bring me a Moorning Scarffe, I have Lost one of the best
Commanders in this Kingdome.
Alton will tell you of that famous Fight
Which ys man made, and bade this World good night.
His Vertious Life fear'd not Mortality,
His Body must, his Vertues cannot die,
Because his Bloud was there so nobly spent,
This is his Tombe; that Church his Monument.'
Ricardus Boles, Wiltoniensis in Art. Mag.
Composuit Posuitque Dolens,
An. Dmi. 1689."

According to Lieutenant Archer, "He being slain, they generally yielded and desired quarter, except some desperate villains which refused quarter, who were slain in the church, and some others of them wounded, who afterwards were granted quarter upon their request." The Lieutenant says that Waller's loss was "not above eight or nine at the most, besides what were wounded, and I conceive their loss of men to be about fifty or sixty, most of which were slain in the church and churchyard after we had entered." Other accounts say that the Cavaliers had forty or 100 killed, and that Waller lost only five killed, five or fifteen wounded, "and about six scorched with powder by reason of their own negligence." "Mercurius Aulicus" says that "27 of the King's men fell at Alton, and that only 300 were made prisoners, whilst Waller had 200 men killed in the church and churchyard!" "A

looked behind him for the men which promised to follow him, and there was only one musqueteer with him."

"Nevertheless, he, flourishing his sword, told them if they would come the churchyard was their own; then Symon Hutchinson, one of Lieutenant-Colonel Willoughbie's sergeants (Tower Hamlets Auxiliaries), forced the musqueteers, and brought them up himself. Immediately upon this one of the sergeants of the Red Regiment, whose name I know not, and, therefore, cannot nominate him as his worth deserves, brought in another division of musqueteers, who, together with those which were there before, caused the enemies' forces to betake themselves towards the church for safeguard, but our men followed them so close with their halberts, swords, and musket stocks that they drove them beyond the church door, and slew about ten or twelve of them, and forced the rest to a very distracted retreat. Which, when the others saw who were in the great work on the north side of the churchyard, they left the work, and came, thinking to help their fellows, and, coming in a disorderly manner to the south-west corner of the church, with their pikes in the rear (who furiously charged on in as disorderly a manner as the rest led them), their front was forced back upon their own pikes, which hurt and wounded many of the men, and brake the pikes in pieces. By this time the churchyard was full of our men, laying about them stoutly with halberts, swords, and musket-stocks, while some threw hand granadoes in at the church windows, others attempting to enter the church, being led on by Sergeant-Major (Major) Shambrooke, a man whose worth and valour envy cannot stain, who in the entrance received a shot in the thigh, whereof he is very ill." Major Shambrooke is elsewhere said to have been wounded in the thigh in the church, by the pistol of a prisoner, to whom he had given quarter. "Great hopes there is of his speedy recovery." Colonel Birch is said to have been the first to enter both the town of Alton and the churchyard. "Nay, at the entry of that church, dreadful to see the enemy opening the doore, ready to receive you with their pikes and muskets, the horses slaine in the allies (aisles), of which the enemy made breast-works, the churchyard, as well as the church, being covered with dead and wounded. . . You escaped with a few dry blows from the stockes of the muskets of those who afterwards, soe many as were living and able, were carried prisoners to Farnum, the choicest men for soe many that were taken since the beginning of these warres." ("Memoirs," p. 4.) An entry having been forced into the church, the exterior and interior of which still bear many a bullet mark, Colonel Bolle declared with an oath that he would "run his sword through the heart of him which first called for quarter." Clarendon says that he hoped to defend the church "for so many hours that relief might be sent to him, but he had not time to barricade the doors; so that the enemy entered almost as soon, and after a short resistance, in which many were killed, the soldiers, overpowered, threw down their arms, and asked quarter, which was likewise offered to the Colonel, who refused it, and valiantly defended himself, till, with the death of two or three of the assailants, he was killed in the place, his enemies giving

House of Commons on Monday, December 18, together with a letter from Sir William Waller, whose first messenger, announcing his victory, had reached London on December 13:

"To Sir W. Waller.—Sir,—I hope your gaining of Alton cost you dear. It was your lot to drinke of your own sack, which I never intended to have left for you. I pray you favour me so much as to send me my owne chirurgion, and upon my honour I will send you a person suitable to his exchange. Sir, your servant,

"CRAFORD."

"To Sir W. Waller.—Sir,—This is the first evident ill successe I have had. I must acknowledge that I have lost many brave and gallant men. I desire you, if Colonell Bolles be alive, to propound a fit exchange; if dead, that you will send me his corps. I pray you sende me a list of such prisoners as you have, that such choice men as they are may not continue long unredeemed. God give a sudden stop to this issue of English blood, which is the desire, Sir, of your faithfull friend to serve you,

"Winton, 16th Dec.

RALPH HOPTON."

Several officers were not exchanged until the following April (Birch's Memoirs, p. 71).

Clarendon adds: "The Lord Hopton sustained the loss of that regiment with extraordinary trouble of mind, and as a wound that would bleed inward; and therefore was the more inflamed with desire of a battle with Waller to make even all accounts." A little more patience, my Lord Hopton, and your wish shall be fully gratified.

It was noticed that Alton was taken at the very time when the Cavaliers at Oxford were making "bon-fyers with much triumph" for the death of Pym.

On Friday, December 15, Sir Arthur Haslerig and Sir Gilbert Gerard were ordered by the House of Commons "to prepare a letter to be written to Sir William Waller to acknowledge the great service he has done, and how it has pleased God to bless it with good success." The House thanked the officers and commanders, including those belonging to the city, for their valour and good service, and wished "to encourage them in the perseverance."

One thousand horse-shoes and 8000 nails were ordered to be issued from store on payment to Sir William Waller. Cavalry shoeing-smiths now use only six nails per shoe, whilst civilian smiths still use eight. Three hundred muskets, bastard muskets, and calivers (the caliver was a lighter kind of musket), 300 swords, 1000 clubs, 50 barrels of powder, and four tons of match, the two last items being drawn from the Navy stores, were to be sent to Waller's army, and £200 was to be spent on arms and saddles for Captain Savile's troop. About 40 prisoners were taken by Waller during the week following the Alton fight, and were secured with their comrades in Farnham Church and Castle. On the third day they were offered freedom on condition of taking the Covenant and engaging to serve the Parliament. A number of them, variously stated as being 300, 500, and 600, accepted these terms, took the Covenant in the chancel of Farnham Church, and during the following week proved

the groundlessness of the doubts which were freely expressed as to their fidelity by a fierce assault upon their former comrades at Arundel. About 500 others, many of whom were Irishmen, refused these offered terms, and were detained in custody.

On Monday, December 18, the Committee of Safety was directed to dispose of the prisoners taken at Alton, "and if any be Irish rebels, to consider what is fit to be done with them." The Committee for Prisoners was to decide about those who were not exchanged or who refused to take the Covenant. The London Trained Bands now marched homewards, and the prisoners, tied together with match, were brought up to town, some being consigned to the custody of each regiment, by way of Guildford. The prisoners were disposed of in the church at Kingston.

On Tuesday, December 19, the Trained Bands, with their captives, halted at Hammersmith, and on the following day 37 officers, 330 soldiers, and four servants to the principal officers were marched under a strong guard to the Royal Exchange. Ten principal officers and 40 others were committed to Lord Petre's house, in Aldersgate Street, 20 were sent to the Gatehouse, 50 to the Marshalsea, 50 to Winchester House, 50 to Lambeth House, 50 to the Fleet, 40 to Bridewell, 40 to Maiden Lane, 30 to London House, 20 to Ely House, which last soon became a military hospital. Thirty-two others were lying sick and wounded at Farnham and Alton, and were said to be well cared for. On the same day the House of Commons voted that a sum of £26, realised by the sale of some raw hides which had been seized on their way to the Mayor of Reading, should be paid "to a lieutenant in Sir Arthur Haselrigge's regiment that hath lost a leg in the service at Alton."

Lady Butler, a well-known courtesan, who often appeared in public clad in male attire, on hearing that her paramour, Sir Giles Porter, had been wounded at Alton, shot herself with a pistol. The chronicler adds, "*Qualis vita, finis ita. As was her life, so was her end!*"

Thus did Lord Crawford "leave his sack at Alton!"

There must have been sad hearts at Basing when news arrived of the disaster at Alton, in the immediate neighbourhood. But misfortunes never come singly, and a more grievous blow was ere long to be given to the Royal cause.

On Friday, December 15, the newspapers in London stated that the King had marched from Oxford to Reading, and that the Prince's own regiment, which had lost a cornet at Alton, had brought from Basing much money "in trunks, iron chests, boxes, and the like," much plate having been there deposited in safe keeping, together with "crucifixes, candlesticks, jewels, and Popish trinkets," a large proportion of which was promptly sent to the Mint established in loyal Oxford during these troublous years.

The Committee of Safety had meanwhile been urging the Earl of Essex to come nearer to Sir William Waller, or at any rate to send him some infantry, "or otherwise he will not be able to prosecute this advantage which he has now gotten, for the King's forces increase in Hampshire and Sussex, and divers new regiments are

raising there, which would be very prejudicial to the public unless presently prevented," and a news writer observes: "No doubt the rot was in Hantshire as well as in Sussex, for it came thence." The Earl of Essex grumbled on December 14, and four days later the Committee of Safety informed him that Prince Rupert was marching to join Lord Hopton, with a view to forcing Waller to an engagement with 6000 horse and foot, desiring him to advance to Windsor, or to go to the assistance of Sir William Waller. Another account says that Rupert was marching southwards from Northamptonshire, and had with him ten guns, in addition to his cavalry and infantry, and on December 28 "Lord Wilmot being come already to Winchester strong in horse to join with Lord Hopton."

This order of the Committee was confirmed by the Parliament on December 20, Sir William Waller having gone towards Arundel, leaving a garrison at Farnham, "and that Sir Ralph Hopton, as the Houses are informed, hath drawn all the forces he can make towards Basing."

On Monday, December 18, also, measures were taken to reinforce Waller, as the King was drawing all his forces towards him. £500 was ordered to be spent "for the better enabling and encouraging 500 men to march to Waller from Windsor," 500 men of the city regiments being sent to supply their place.

On December 20 the answer of the Earl of Essex was read in Parliament. It was to the effect that he considered Sir William Waller to be in no great danger, since he had such a strong base of operations as Farnham, which had lately been regularly fortified, and "that the enemy, especially at this season of the year, will not be able to do him any harm;" that he was, nevertheless, sending to Sir William Waller Colonel Behre, a Scotchman, with nearly 600 horse, "and so well commanded" that they will easily be able to face 1000 Cavaliers. This letter was written at St. Albans on December 18, 1643. Sir William Waller was, however, perfectly capable of securing his own safety, and of this he speedily gave proof.

On December 20 the sum of £300 was ordered to be spent in purchasing arms and warlike stores for the Parliamentary garrison at Southampton, and Ludlow records in his "Memoirs" that just before the commencement of the siege of Wardour Castle, of which he was the Governor, he went to Southampton to buy all the ammunition which Colonel Norton could spare. On Saturday, December 23, 1643, the Governor of Poole received permission to compound with the prisoners whom he had taken at Dorchester, "and also with Mr. Wyatt, that endeavoured to betray Poole." The money thus realised was to be expended upon the defences of Poole.

"Mercurius Aulicus" of December 25 has preserved the following warrant sent to the tenants of the Marquis of Winchester by Colonel Jones, the Governor of Farnham Castle:

"These are to give you notice, in regard you have made such a return to my warrant, issued out to the High Constable of your Hundred, that except you send into Farnham Castle, by Monday next, without further delay, the several proportions of

wheat, malt, barley, and other things assessed and charged upon you, according to the said warrant, you are to expect the same penalty with which the Marquesse of Winchester threatens you, there being more reason that you should serve a Protestant before a Papist. Given under my hand at Farnham Castle, the 8 day of Novemb., 1643.

"SAMUEL JONES, Collon.

"To the Tythingman of Sherfield."

On which the journalist satirically remarks, "Yes, Master Jones, wee'l call you Master Colonel when you know how to spell the word; it is most reasonable such a personage as yourself should be served before the Lord Marquesse of Winchester, especially of such as are his Lordship's tenants." The women of England found that the long duration of the war had a very depressing effect upon the matrimonial market, and in the *Harleian Miscellany* are three witty but coarsely worded petitions purporting to emanate from the maidens, wives, and widows of the kingdom, urging on the Parliament the desirability of a permanent and lasting peace. The maidens one and all express their eagerness to marry at once, if only the men would return from the wars; the wives deplore the absence of their husbands; and the widows unanimously express their determination to marry at the least once more, as soon as the war is over. As it is now, so was it then. A fourth petition says that war would not be such an evil if it slew only the old men, leaving the young ones in health and vigour.

Before his return to Winchester Lord Hopton heard of the capture of Romsey by Colonel Norton at the head of a force from the Puritan garrison of Southampton, and of the defeat and death of Colonel Bolle at Alton. The fugitives from both Romsey and Alton reached Winchester on the morning of December 13, and on December 20 Sir William Waller commenced his seventeen days' successful siege of Arundel Castle.

Contemporary accounts say that Lord Hopton evacuated Petersfield and Alresford in great haste, leaving many arms behind him at the former place, and interrupting his communications between Winchester and Arundel. Having concentrated his forces at Winchester, he was "entrenching apace," 1000 men being daily employed as a fatigue party. Forced labour was also exacted from the country people, and Lord Hopton was summoning all men between the ages of sixteen and sixty to join his standard. Five or six who refused to take service under him were hanged at Salisbury, as were also certain others in various places.

Colonel Norton, the Governor of Southampton, about this time surprised and captured 200 Cavalier horse who were quartered at Twyford, and Sir William Courtney, of Brambridge, a Cavalier, afterwards paid a fine of £25 3s. 4d. as a composition for his estate.

Lord Hopton was meanwhile most anxious to relieve the beleaguered Cavaliers at Arundel. But there were, unfortunately, sad dissensions in his army. The Irish who had come over to reinforce the Cavaliers constantly styled the Cornish men,

who were numerous in the army, Cornish Choughs, Puritans, and Roundhead rogues; whilst the men of Cornwall in return retaliated with the epithets of Irish kernes and Popish dogs. From words they came to blows. Several Cornishmen were killed, and many of their comrades, variously estimated at 500 and 1500 in number, deserted their colours and returned to their homes.

Determined, however, to make an effort to relieve Arundel Castle, Lord Hopton ordered the county to send one hundred carriages to Winchester for the use of his army, and on Tuesday, December 26, news had been received in London of his having sent an armed force to break down the bridge over the Test at Redbridge, thus cutting off the town of Southampton from supplies from the New Forest, in the hope that Sir William Waller would send troops from Arundel, if he did not altogether raise the siege. This proceeding had, however, only the effect of stimulating Sir William Waller to greater exertions. The two Houses of Parliament ordered necessities for the supply of Southampton to be furnished by the Isle of Wight, and Lord Hopton's men retired to Winchester without gaining any advantage, except killing three or four of Colonel Norton's soldiers.

On December 26 or 27, 1643, Lord Hopton marched from Winchester by way of Petersfield (near which town he lost, captured in a cavalry skirmish, two quartermasters, one sergeant and two men), to the relief of Arundel, with 2000 horse and 1500 foot, but failed in his object. Colonel Norton at once took advantage of his absence to boldly advance with the garrison of Southampton to within two miles of Winchester, and to carry off more than fifty fat oxen. Alderman Towse and other Commissioners of Excise had advanced £500 from their own purses "for supply of the pressing necessities of the town of Southampton," paying the money to George Gallop and Edward Exton, Esqrs., the members for the town, at the time when Lord Hopton had broken down the bridge at Redbridge. They were, on January 8, 1644, reimbursed from the Excise duties. On December 30 Colonel Ludlow, the Governor of beleaguered Wardour Castle, was urgently asking for help.

On December 30, 1643, we find the following entry in the Winchester Corporation records: "Taken out of the coffer plate delivered to Mr. Jasper Cornelius, appointed to receive the same for His Majesty's use, by virtue of an ordinance sent by His Majesty to the Mayor and Aldermen of the City for the loan of money or plate for the maintenance of the Army, by the consent of the Mayor and all the Aldermen of the City, one silver ewer, weighing 32 oz. 4-1 oz.; three silver bowls, 31 oz. 4-1 oz.; two silver wine bowls, 15 oz. 4-3 oz.; one gilt bowl with the cover, 31 oz. 4-2 oz.; one great silver salt, weighing 28 oz.; one silver tankard, 19 oz. 1-2 oz.; one silver basin, 74 oz.; total, 225 oz. 4-1 oz., at 5s. an ounce, amounting to £58 16s. 3d." A loan never destined to be repaid! Mr. Jasper Cornelius was an attorney by profession, and was a firm supporter of the Royal cause.

Thus ended the year 1643.

CHAPTER XVII

WARDOUR CASTLE—LYMINGTON—WARBLINGTON—HAVANT

ON January 1, 1644, Mr. Nicoll was directed by the Parliament to request the Earl of Essex to grant Sir William Waller a commission as Major-General to command the forces of the four associated counties of Hants, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent, "according to the ordinance for that association," and the storekeepers were directed to furnish Sir William Waller with any necessaries which were not in store in the Tower of London. The commission was at once granted by the Earl of Essex, but not without an energetic protest, and was delivered to Sir William on January 3. On the same day it was ordered that the regiment of horse which had been ordered to be raised for service under Sir Richard Grenville should be completed by the Committee of the four associated counties, and that Mr. Trenchard, the treasurer for the Parliament, should pay on account £40 to Lieutenant-Colonel Cooke, £40 to Colonel Van Hust, and £20 to Captain Smith, "to fit and despatch them away to the service of Sir William Waller." Next day the House of Commons ordered that the burden of billeting soldiers in Hants should be lessened, and that the county forces under Waller's command should receive regular pay. On January 5 we read of a skirmish near Petersfield, between 200 Cavaliers and 80 of the cavalry lent by the Earl of Essex to Sir William Waller. The latter were victorious and, with a loss of six men, captured five Royalist officers. A day or two before a body of either 500 or 800 (accounts vary) well-armed soldiers mutinied, whilst marching from the western counties to join Lord Hopton at Winchester, and, marching to Poole and Lyme Regis, took service under the Parliament.

Whitelocke, in his "Memorials," says that 800 native Irish landed at Weymouth in January 1644, under the command of Lord Inchiquin, to aid the cause of the King. They were, on February 18, 1644, attacked by the garrisons of Poole and Wareham, and suffered considerable loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Two of their guns were also captured, and their magazine of gunpower was blown up. Whitelocke remarks, on March 1644, "Divers of the Irish, about 1500, were cast away at sea coming to serve His Majesty. It was observed that these bloody Irish coming

over hither never did any service considerable, but were cut off, some in one place, some in another. In all places the vengeance of God follows bloodthirsty men."

At the end of the year 1643 and during the spring of 1644 there were four Parliamentary armies in England, besides garrisons and local forces—Essex's own main army; Waller's, raised, or to be raised, also for action, chiefly in the south and west; Manchester's, of the seven Associated Eastern Counties; and the army of the Fairfaxes in the north. "Jhon Winn, a sojer, the 20 of October 1643," and "Matthew Goff, a sojer, January 2nd 1644," are entries in the Hambledon Burial Register.

One of the King's ships, named the *Mayflower*, which had been flagship at Falmouth, was taken by the Parliament's ship, the *Eighth Whelp*, and brought as a prize to Portsmouth. On January 8, 1644, the storekeeper at that port was ordered to deliver to "Henry Dolling, part owner of the ship *Ark* of Poole, appointed by the House to lie before that town for defence and safeguard thereof, six pieces of ordnance, with carriages, ladles, emptions, shots, and other gunner's stores," forming part of the armament of the *Mayflower*, allowing Captain Dolling to select his own guns. The *Ark* of Poole seems to have been one of the privateers fitted out at that town, of which mention has been already made.

Wardour Castle, of which Colonel Ludlow was Governor, had long been besieged by the Cavaliers, and about the middle of January Sir William Waller assured the garrison that if they would hold out for another fortnight he would either relieve them or lay his bones under the castle walls. Poole and Southampton were strongly garrisoned for the Parliament, and between these two towns Colonel Ludlow's troop had taken post, with the double object of harassing the enemy, and, if possible, raising the siege. The troopers fell into an ambushade, and Cornet, afterwards Major, William Ludlow's horse was wounded in two places. A bullet passed completely through the Cornet's body, notwithstanding which he recovered, to the astonishment of every one.

Colonel Ludlow having discovered a considerable amount of treasure concealed in the castle, offered the garrisons of Poole and Southampton £700 or £800 if they could succeed in raising the siege. All efforts and offers, however, were in vain, and Lord Hopton having reinforced the besiegers with a strong detachment of Mendip miners, commanded by Sir Francis Doddington and an engineer, Ludlow was obliged to surrender on February 18, 1644.

He was conducted by his captors that night to the house of Mr. Awbery, at Chalke, and from thence was sent to Oxford by way of Salisbury and Winchester. At the latter city Lord Hopton strongly urged him to desert the service of the Parliament for that of the King, as did also "a relation of mine, Colonel Richard Manning, who, though a Papist, commanded a regiment of horse in the King's service." But all solicitations were fruitless. His captivity was not of long duration, and on April 17 the House of Commons was informed of his release by exchange. He was

soon afterwards appointed Sheriff of Wiltshire, and accepted a commission as Major under Sir Arthur Haslerig. During the month of May 1644 he did good service under Waller, who blockaded Oxford on one side, whilst Essex took post on the other.

Before Friday, January 12, Lord Hopton had been reinforced by 28 colours, or 500 men, and five days later he was reported to be planning, with the advice of his cavalry, to place guns and a fixed camp in a commanding position upon "Warhill," or Weyhill. One fortified post was to be established at Winchester, another at Weyhill, and a third at Reading, at a distance of fifteen or twenty miles from each other, so as to maintain an easy communication with Oxford. On January 19 Hopton's forces were in motion towards Salisbury and Andover, but operations were greatly impeded by a hard frost and a deep fall of snow.

On January 17 the Parliament ordered the sum of £300 to be paid to Colonel Norton, the Governor of Southampton, for the purchase of arms, and about a week afterwards several letters from Thomas Carne, Esq., the Deputy-Governor, and from several Deputy-Lieutenants of the Isle of Wight, were read, asking the Parliament to allow the *Charles*, man-of-war, to remain at her present station for the protection of Hurst Castle and Lymington Fort. They also asked that Parliament would provide for the defence of the Island, and place a strong garrison in Hurst Castle, as 800 native Irish rebels, under Lord Inchiquin's command, had landed at Weymouth, and were plundering Dorsetshire. Five hundred others were expected. During the following month a party of them plundered Lady Drake's house in Dorsetshire, burning it to the ground. "They stripped the good lady, who, almost naked, and without a shoe to her foot but what she afterwards begged, fled to Lyme for safety." The citizens of Bristol refused to allow some of Lord Hopton's Irish reinforcements to land in their city in fear of similar outrages. About the middle of February 1644 a party from the Parliamentary garrison of Poole captured Colonel Wyndham, with seven or eight horsemen, and killed Lieutenant Barker. On February 20 the Poole garrison captured near Dorchester the sum of £3000, which Prince Rupert was sending to Weymouth for shipment to Germany, together with 100 horses as well as some arms and ammunition. By order of Parliament on February 26 Colonel Wyndham and his Lieutenant-Colonel were assigned for ransom to Governor Bingham, who was ordered to spend the money upon the garrisons of Poole and Wareham. The £3000 was to be spent in paying soldiers, £140 being repaid to Captain Sydenham, and Mr. H. Bridges being specially rewarded. The papers which had been taken at the same time were to be sent up to London for examination. Sir John Evelyn, of Deane House, had taken the covenant and the oath of allegiance to the Parliament, but on March 2 it was still a matter of debate whether he and certain other Hampshire gentlemen were eligible for seats in Parliament.

On January 24 the Lords at a conference desired the Commons to provide for the safety of the Isle of Wight. The *Charles* was ordered "to reside where she is now"

for the period for which she was victualled. The Earl of Warwick was ordered to send ships to lie off the Isle of Wight and all the western coasts for their protection. The Committee for the Safety was to provide for Hurst Castle and Lymington Fort, for the strengthening of which £500 was voted on February 17. The necessary funds were advanced by the Commissioners of Excise, of whom Alderman Towse was one, together with £200 for Newport garrison.

Some extracts from the "Lymington Records," which are given by Mr. Wise in his book on the "New Forest," throw light upon the condition of the country at this period. They are as follow: "1643. Quartering twenty soldiers one daie and night, going westward for the Parliament service, 16s. 2d." "1646. For bringing the towne chest from Hurst Castell, 2s." "Watche when the allarme was out of Wareham, 4s." "For the sending a messenger to the Lord Hopton when he lay at Winton with his army, with the towne's consent, 14s." Notice here that there were evidently two parties in the town, "with the towne's consent." "1646. For keeping a horse for the Lord General's man, 3s. 10d." "1650. Paid to Sir Thomas Fairfax, his souldiers going for the Isle of Wight, with their General's passe, 12s." "1643. Billeting of seamen, £4." "1645. For cheese and beer for the souldiers, 10s. 10d." "1646. Warning the Watch when the alarme was for Watch and Wards, and Beer, 7s., 5s., 5s. 6d., in all 17s. 6d. For 2lb. powder, 2s. 8d." "1650. For quartering of souldiers at the Mayor's house, 4s. 6d., and grasse for their horses, 4s. 8d." We learn also from Woodward that there were also influential Cavaliers in the town. The Dore family made great sacrifices both for Charles I. and for the Duke of Monmouth, and when in 1648 Prince Charles (afterwards Charles II.) appeared off Yarmouth (Isle of Wight) with 2000 men and nineteen ships, in the hope of rescuing his father, he was aided by Barnard Knaption, the mayor, and certain burgesses of Lymington.

"Mercurius Aulicus" tells an amusing story, on October 2, 1643: "One John Stanley, who was purser to a ship, was pleased to send his powerful warrant for venison in these very words, 'These are to will and require you upon sight hereof to kill, or cause to be killed, one fat buck of this season, and send him to the 'George,' in Limmington, to be sent aboard our ship, and this shall be your warrant. Per me, John Stanley. To Mr. George Rodney, Master Keeper, or to any of his Under Keepers.'"

Did the purser get his venison after all?

Colonel Norton was the son-in-law of Sir Walter Erle, a staunch adherent of the Parliament, and, according to "Mercurius Aulicus," of Wednesday, August 16, 1643, his mother, Lady Amey Norton, was as devoted as himself to the Puritan cause. "Mercurius" is, as usual, uncomplimentary, but journalistic satire is by no means of modern origin:

"It was also signified from thence (Portsmouth) that the Lady Norton, mother to that most noble Colonel who hath done such wonders of late days, and governess for

the present of the town of Portsmouth, for the Committee dare do nothing without her advice, was very busily employed in making some new works about Portsey Bridge; and was not only every day in person amongst the workmen, whom she encouraged much by her presence, but brought also with her every day thirty or forty maids and women in a cart (they may live to be so coached hereafter) to dig and labour in the trenches. To the great honour of her sex, of her person more, who in a short time will grow as able to command-in-chief as the good Lady Waller (widow of Sir Simon Harcourt) to possess the pulpit. It was further signified from thence that the Committee by her direction had caused a dungeon to be made there as dark as hell, that if the liberty of the subject should be laid up there nobody should have hope to find it, intended for such malefactors, as it now appears, who either do refuse to take the new oath or to pay their taxes, or otherwise shall show any good affections to his sacred Majesty." Sir William Waller had commenced his successful seventeen days' siege of Arundel Castle on December 20, 1643, greatly aided by either four or six heavy guns from Portsmouth, and by the soldiers who had changed sides at Alton, and who now showed great zeal for the cause of the Parliament.

Lord Hopton himself tried to aid the garrison at Arundel by laying siege to Warblington House, between Chichester and Portsmouth, which Colonel Norton in the early days of January occupied with a garrison variously said to number forty, fifty, sixty and eighty men. Of this castle Mr. Moody says that it "appears to have been built with brick, faced on the outside with hewn stone, and was originally a square pile of about 209 feet, surrounded by a quadrangular court, but the only part now standing is a gateway and tower, fast mouldering away. The whole was surrounded by a fosse ten feet deep, and included about an acre of ground. Before the northern angle appears to have been an entrenched camp of five acres, now overgrown with wood, surrounded by a bank nearly eight feet high, and a ditch of a similar depth to that around the castle." (*"Antiquarian Sketches of Hampshire,"* p. 340.)

The late Rev. W. Norris, M.A., to whose kindness I am much indebted, says: "Henry VIII. conferred Warblington on Sir Richard Cotton, the Controller of his Household. To him I am disposed to attribute the erection of the present castle, of which the tower remains, the style of the architecture of which is that of a Tudor rather than of an earlier age. It remained in the hands of the Cottons till the Civil War. Sir Richard Cotton received King Edward VI. in it in the year 1552, and, according to a terrier of the manor, it was in perfect repair in the year 1633. After that we know only of a ruined tower, a broken arch, and a few nondescript mounds, and remains of a moat; but the story is soon told. The Cottons were Royalists, the Civil War broke out in the year 1642, and those who adhered to the Royal cause suffered for their loyalty."

The church was seriously damaged at the same time. A contemporary writer

says that Lord Hopton "after long siege and loss of more men than were there in garrison," took Warblington Castle, and another remarks, "Sir Ralph Hopton has spent his time frivolously against Warbleton House, betwixt Winchester and Portsmouth, where we leave him till divine justice finds him."

On Saturday, January 6, 1644, the Parliament ordered £100 to be given to Major Scott and Captain Cockeram, the Mayor of Rye, "in testimony of their good services to the State" in removing the guns from picturesque Camber Castle.

The "Perfect Diurnall," of January 8, 1644, announced that Lord Hopton was hemmed in between Chichester and Winchester, and that it would be difficult for him to escape from Sir William Waller's army. Despite all predictions to the contrary, the Royalist Commander "made a nimble retreat to Winchester," whither Waller prepared to follow him, leaving Colonel Norton to hold Cowdray House, so that we read in February 1644 of "the garrison of Colonel Norton in Cowdray House, which lies indeed as a forlorn hope between them and their enemies."

The city of Winchester certainly contained some friends to the Parliament, for in a Royal Message addressed to its citizens in December 1642, the King declared with reference to the capture of the city by Waller that "you have openly declared yourselves enemies, and evil entreated those whom you had cause to entertain with all love and respect, flatly opposing our authority and betraying those to ruin that were the instruments of our preservation," concluding with a threat of forgetting that they were his subjects in the severity of his chastising them. The citizens justified their conduct, which they declared to be sanctioned by all laws, human and divine. "We cannot be justly blamed for endeavouring to secure our lives, and to keep our wives and daughters from rapine and inevitable destruction." They end by asserting alike their loyalty and their determination to act as before.

On December 29, 1643, there had been a skirmish between Hopton's and Waller's forces with a loss of three or four men on each side, after which Hopton retreated nine miles to Heaveon (Havant). Another account locates this fight as taking place three miles from Arundel. But on January 2, 1644, Colonel Norton wrote a letter from Portsmouth describing a brush with the Cavaliers on their retreat from Arundel. He marched to join Sir William Waller on December 30, 1643, but could not learn the enemy's whereabouts. Stress of weather obliged him to quarter his men less than a mile from the enemy who were "upon a hill undiscovered." On the information of scouts Norton prepared to repel an attack of the Cavaliers whose numbers were hourly increasing, and accordingly began to retire in the direction of Chichester, covering the retreat in person with fifty men of his own troop. The pursuers attacked in force, striving to cut off the rear-guard, whereupon Colonel Norton "was fain to make a stand," and to retire, so as to form up on an adjacent heath. After some manœuvring his men continued their retreat in good order, but on reaching Havant met "the two regiments of Dragoons, so

they say, of Lord Crawford and Colonel Ennis, coming out of a cross-road. Some of them faced us, while the rest marched by," wearing red uniforms. At once Colonel Norton charged them, heedless of superior numbers, and as soon as he came within half pistol shot, the Cavaliers broke and fled, losing a Captain and a Captain (senior) Lieutenant, "but I think few escaped without broken pates." Several prisoners were taken, and Norton, who lost two or three men, marched to Chichester and then to Portsmouth, where he wrote his letter. On January 6 the Commissioners of Excise were directed to advance £4000 "in regard of the great extremities that Sir William Waller's army (10,000 strong) was in."

On Tuesday, January 16, Mr. Trenchard received instructions to provide £1000 worth of shoes, stockings, and boots for Waller's army, the value of which was to be deducted from their pay. Three hundred muskets and three cartloads of ammunition for the same army passed through Lewes on January 8.

Ludovic Lindsay, fifteenth Earl of Crawford, joined Charles I. at the raising of the standard at Nottingham. He "was made welcome and created commander of the volunteers." He was with his regiment at Edgehill, on October 23, 1642, and at Chichester, on December 29, in the same year, Colonel, Major, and Captain Lindsay, of his regiment, together with about sixty other officers, chiefly Scotsmen, were taken and sent up to London. Vicars says that their horses "were very dainty ones!" Lord Crawford speedily made good this loss, and took part in the battle of Lansdown, on July 5, 1643. Soon afterwards, having been sent to bring up some powder, he was intercepted by Sir William Waller, and lost one or two troops, besides the ammunition. He, however, played a distinguished part at the great battle on Roundway Down, fought at the first battle of Newbury, on September 20, 1643, and had, as we have seen, a very narrow escape at Poole, only five days afterwards. At Alton, on December 13, he had "got out with his troops," but being overpowered, was obliged "to get away with a few," leaving his "sack," hat, and cloak behind him, and owing his safety to the speed of his horse. He went north with Montrose, but soon returned to England, and held command as a Major-General of Marston Moor, on July 2, 1644, "incurring the greatest hazard of any." Captured when the town of Newcastle was stormed, on October 9, 1644, he was sent to Scotland, and condemned to death. Reprieved for a short time, the victory of Montrose, at Kilsyth, where his regiment suffered terribly, set him free once more. After Montrose's defeat at Philiphaugh, on September 13, 1645, Lord Crawford took refuge in France and Spain. He was at Badajoz in June 1649, and took part in Paris in the tumults of the Fronde, guarding Cardinal de Retz in his citadel of Notre Dame with fifty other officers, who had seen service under Montrose. He is said to have died in France, a childless man, in 1653, "a steadfast Scottish Cavalier, all of the olden time!" The following inscription in South Harting Church is silently eloquent: "Major John Cowper lost his life in Winchester Castle in the service of King Charles the First: he was plundered and sequestered of all that he had by the rebels."

CHAPTER XVIII

CAPTAIN BALL—SOUTHAMPTON TROUBLES—CAVALIER GENERALS

WE must return to Basing House, which had steadily held its own, doing as it had done after the first battle of Newbury, when we read "the Marquesse of Winchester with his forces at Basing hath also gathered up many stragglers, whereof some are officers."

On Sunday, February 2, whilst Waller was waiting at Farnham for artillery before marching in pursuit of Lord Goring, who had returned from Holland, some horsemen from Basing reached Tilehurst Church near Reading during service. They threatened to carry off the clergyman and his chief parishioners unless they were paid £300, which was, perforce, done. Three more Parliamentary regiments of horse and foot were now being raised in Kent.

On January 11 Mr. John Ashburnham wrote to the Marquis of Winchester recounting the royalist services of Colonel Zouch who died at Reading, and saying that his widow, then living at Odiham, was unable to pay the contributions levied upon her for the support of the Basing garrison. Some within the walls began to lose heart, and on this same January 11 we are told of various Cavaliers with their horses coming from Basing House to Major-General Browne, who was in command of some London Trained Bands at Croydon, saying that they had been forced to take up arms, offering to serve the Parliament, and being enlisted accordingly. The Marquis had not only to contend with open enemies and faint hearts, but he also had some trouble in controlling the lawless spirits of certain of his own partisans, who thought that loyalty and plunder were synonymous terms. A certain Captain Ball complained that he had been deprived of his horses by Major-General Astley, after he had at his own expense raised a whole regiment for the King. Warburton, in his "Memoirs of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers" (p. 212), gives the old General's letter to Prince Rupert, with the original spelling, which does not make Captain Ball appear to much advantage. Mrs. Ball seems to have been a help-meet for her husband: "May it pleas your Highnes,—As conserninge one yt cales himselfe Capne. Ball, yt hath complayned vnto yr Highnes yt I have tacken awaie his horsses



George, Lord Goring.

from him, this is the trewth. He hath livede neare this towne ever since I came beather, and had gotten not above twelve men together and himselfe. He had so plundered and oppressed the pepell, paying contributions as the Marques of Winchester, and the Lord Hopton complayned extreamly of him ; and he went under my name, wtch he vsed falscely, as givinge it out he did it by my warrant. Off this he gott fairerly offe, and so promised to give no more caues of complaynt. Now, ewer since, he hath continewed his old coures in so extreame a waie as he and his wife and sone, and 10 or 12 horssees he hath togeather, spoylees peepell, plunders them, and tækkes violently thear goodds from them. As vpon complayntes of the contrie and the Committee hier, I could do no less then comitt him, and took awaie som nine or ten horssees from him and his, for he newer had mor, and these not armed ; which horssees ar in the custodie of Sir Charles Blunt. Divers (persons) claime satisfiactiõ from him for thear gooddes he hath taken from them : as one man 30 powndes worth of hoppes he took from them vpon the high waie. And this day the Comittie heir hath given warninge that both he and his complaynt shall be heard ; all wtch shall be amplie informed hereafter to yr Highnes yt yr Highnes may se no wronge shall be don him. Yr Highnes most humbell and obediãt scervant, JACOB ASTLEY. Reading, this 11th Jan. 1644."

On February 1 it was reported (Cal. State Papers Dom.) that Lord Hopton had taken up his winter quarters at Winchester with 3500 foot and 2000 horse. "Waller is at Arundel, a castle of great concernment to His Majesty's affairs basely sold for £2000 in gold," and 100 barrels of powder were ordered "for his store and use" on February 20, on which day the Earl of Lothian was to be exchanged for Colonel Goring "for as much as it tends to the preservation of his life." A week later Essex was to order Waller to cause the Kentish horse and Sir Richard Greenville's (Grenville's) to march towards the King's quarters, and the Earl of Manchester was also to march thither "with as large a party as he shall think fit."

On February 5, 1644, a very interesting letter was written to Captain Thomas Harrison, who guarded the King on his last journey from Farnham to Windsor, and who was afterwards one of the regicides, by Mr. Peter Murford, who had been Governor of Southampton, but had been superseded by Colonel Norton, under whom he was now acting as Sergeant Major, or, as we should now say, Major. As his name frequently occurs about this time in connection with Southampton affairs, a few notices of him may be of interest, albeit they are drawn from the hostile "Mercurius Aulicus." Mr. Murford, whose relatives were salt manufacturers near Norwich, was a tailor by trade, as plainly appears from this extract, bearing the date of Wednesday, September 30, 1642: "And the members may well think to tax all the world when Murford, the pretended Governor of Southampton (nine of whose profession make one man) hath power to fine that town as seemeth best to his greatness. For as by letters from Winchester we were this day certified, Colonel Morley, the Sussex rebel, having at Ringwood surprised two or three straggling

soldiers of His Majesty's forces and brought them into Southampton, was as a grateful welcome entertained with a banquet at the Council House of the town by that imperial seamstris Mistris Murford, and after dinner was created burgess of Southampton by Murford himself. But the poor townsmen paid for all; it so pleasing this mighty Governor that he assessed the town to £650, which they were forced to pay suddenly to avoid plundering, which he threatened, especially the old Mayor, who was constrained to ransom his goods with £40. And in the same letters it was further signified that this infamous Governor pulled down the picture of Queen Elizabeth from over the north gate of that town (called the Bar Gate), saying that the Queen was the occasion of all these troubles, for if she had made a thorough reformation all this fighting would have been spared. But if nothing but religion had stirred this good man's spirit, he might still have governed the shears and thimble and let corporations alone."

On October 2, 1643, we hear of stirring scenes at Southampton: "The good Governor this last week, as this day we were certified, had a full commission to exercise marshall law, and therefore made the Earl of Southampton's house a common gaol on such delinquents as His Mightiness shall think convenient. By virtue whereof he sent abroad his strict warrant, commanding all villages near unto Southampton to assist him with men and money in fortifying the town, among whom the Tythingman of Stoneham was convented before him for negligence in executing of his Worship's new warrants, whereupon Murford said unto him, 'Sirrah, if the King send to you, then you can presently go, run, and ride; but, Sirrah, when I speak the word hereafter, I'll make you fly, or you shall hang for it.' In imitation of whom, his own Sub-Committee—Richard Major, Paul Mercer, Peter Legaye, and others, moved very eagerly at the meeting in Southampton that the King's proclamation for non-payment of rents to rebels might be burnt by the hand of the common hangman at the market-place, but were prevented by the good old Mayor of that town, who hath sufficiently smarted for his loyalty."

Once more, on Tuesday, October 14, 1643, we are told: "Nor is the city of Coventry only happy in a good servant, the town of Southampton being able to match Purefoys with her famous Governor, Master Murford, one who, though I know not the man, is resolved still to trouble me with his weekly actions. For having, as we told you heretofore, decreed to make the Earl of Southampton's house a prison, this week he sent in fifty prisoners to take possession, and to show his mightiness, he assembled his Committee, viz., Mercer, Le Gay, Major, and the rest, at their meeting place in Southampton, where, after a serious debate, it was concluded that all the coal in Netley House (Netley Abbey), a house belonging to the Lord Marques of Hertford, now Chancellor of the University of Oxford, should be removed to Southampton by some of the rebels of Master Murford's garrison, which, in obedience to the just authority of this rebellion, was quickly performed; whether they will fetch coals so easily from Newcastle (then besieged) we shall see ere long, but if

they do not they tell us that they will cut down all the woods within threescore miles of London." Governor Murford's chaplain was the Rev. Nathaniel Robinson, a friend of Oliver Cromwell, who, in 1649, was settled in the Rectory of All Saints Church, Southampton, and who negotiated between Oliver and Richard Major, of Hursley, concerning the marriage of Richard Cromwell and Dorothy Major. Murford and his friends, Le Gay, Mercer, and others, towards the end of the year 1643 announced the discovery of a real or pretended plot to betray the town to the Cavaliers, "but the offenders were only the inhabitants of the town, and such only as had somewhat to lose, as appeared by a good round assessment levied on them within few hours after breaking open of the plot."

From Murford's letter of February 5, 1644, we learn that after destroying the bridge over the Test at Redbridge, Lord Hopton's troops retired to Winchester. On the following day a letter reached Mr. Robert Mason, a merchant of Southampton, from Mr. Jasper Cornelius, a Royalist attorney at Winchester, asking him to persuade Murford to betray the town to Lord Hopton. Murford talked the matter over with Colonel Norton, who ordered him to send a favourable reply. Mr. Jasper Cornelius offered him £1000 in money, a better office than that which he then held, a pardon under the Great Seal, and an assurance of the King's favour. By Colonel Norton's secret directions, Murford asked for either the £1000 at once, or else £500 and the Royal pardon. Colonel Norton meanwhile informed the Earl of Essex and Sir William Waller of the offers made by Cornelius. The pretended treaty was protracted, in order to gain time, in the hope that Lord Hopton would blockade Southampton, and be defeated by Sir William Waller on his return from Arundel. The promised pardon was at length sent, but no money. The reward was only to be paid when the work was done. A month went by, and eight letters passed between the negotiators, Mr. Robert Mason being bound to secrecy by oath. At length Murford told him that Colonel Norton knew everything. Mason made an earnest appeal for mercy, for the sake of his wife and large family, but in vain. He was, however, allowed to return to his own house, three doors distant from Murford's, and profiting by the opportunity, before he could be arrested he made his escape to Winchester, where he was welcomed and employed in a confidential position. Lord Hopton now despatched troops to blockade Southampton, and several skirmishes took place, in all of which the soldiers of the Parliament had the advantage. On January 31, 1644, a cornet, five soldiers, and their horses were taken prisoners. Two days afterwards two men of the town were captured with their horses and arms, three or four being wounded. One of the latter, a captain, was on February 5 dying of his wounds at Romsey, and it was not safe to go a mile from the town. On a previous occasion we find that the Mayor of Southampton and some of the richer burgesses favoured "the Malignants," or Cavaliers. On February 5 the Lord Admiral, the Earl of Warwick, sent the *Henrietta Maria* pinnace to Southampton Water, to guard the town, which was then threatened by the Royalists, Lord

Hopton's men having committed certain depredations on the land side, so that there was in the whole county "hardly anything left for man or beast." Lord Hopton was expecting to be reinforced either from Oxford or the West. Major-General Browne with the City Brigade was fortifying Petworth, in order to prevent a Cavalier inroad into Sussex. Lord Hopton's army was about 7000 strong at Winchester, and was recruited with Irishmen, horse raised in the western counties, and pressed men. The persons and estates of those refusing to serve the King were alike liable to be seized. The Cavaliers at Winchester were now "fortifying apace," but many of them, who were Protestants, declared that they would not serve with the Irish troops, who had either arrived or were daily expected. In one of the skirmishes near Southampton, a Parliamentary officer was taken prisoner. His men followed the retreating Cavaliers, and brought them to action again at the village of Twyford. The prisoner was placed in the front rank, but the Parliamentarians fired hotly, killed eight of their opponents, put the rest to flight, and rescued their officer. On February 9 the counties of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Hants were raising 5000 men to check the movements of Lord Hopton, who had formed the plan of attacking Colonel Massey in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire.

Sir Benjamin Tichborne, M.P. for Petersfield, and a staunch Cavalier, dwelt in the old moated oak-panelled family mansion at West Tisted, which was used as a cavalry outpost by Sir William Waller, and a casualty occurred there. The following entry from the parochial register, for which the writer is indebted to the late Rev. W. Stewart, speaks for itself:

"A soldier, one Leiftenant Vernon, under a gentleman, one Captayne Gibbon, of a Kentish Regiment of Horse for the Parliament against the King in the tyme of ye Civill Warre betweene King Charles and his Parliament, being quartered at Sir Benjamin Tichborne's house, was buried in the Charnell of West Tisted, on the north side, directly under the little window. He was unfortunately killed by his Captayne's Groome of his horse in the kitchen standing by the fire, on the Monday before, being February the 10th, being about 9 of the clock at night. Shott into his left shoulder through the bare (breast?) bone, with a pistol charged with two bulletts. The Captayne's man that did it was tried by a Councell of Warre, as a thing of infortune, and not of set purpose maliciously. The Colonell of the Kentish Regiment was one Colonel Lacy, Feb. 12, 1644. A memorable accident!"

"Mercurius Aulicus" tells us that the good people of Odiham were sadly disturbed on February 11. Some of the garrison of Farnham Castle rode into the church during the service, and "presented their pistols at Master Holmes, the minister, saying with a loud impudence, 'Sir, you must come down, for we do not allow of such kind of preaching.'" One trooper fired his pistol in the church; a number of women fainted, "and one Bushell's wife fell down dead."

According to Lord Ogle, after the return of Hopton from Arundel with Lord Wilmot, the latter left him, "desiring him not to engage his horse, for that they were

new raised men, and would never be able to do him any service for the present." Ogle himself meanwhile was providing for the garrison, and fortifying the Castle, giving "full fourscore pounds to a Dutch engineer, and making it indifferently tenable." All Hopton's horse and foot were quartered in the city and suburbs, "having raised for himself 800 foot soldiers and 80 horse, and laid in very great provision in the Castle. Waller and Browne, with certain regiments of foot, and Sir William Bellford (*sic*), with a very great squadron of horse, and Norton with his regiments of foot were about Bishop's Waltham, some 7 miles East of Winchester. My Lord John Stewart and my Lord Ruthen came with the Queen's regiments of foot, and one troop of horse, and were all lodged in the city and suburbs."

Lord John Stuart, second brother to the Duke of Richmond, was "a young man of extraordinary hope, and whose courage was so signal in this action (Cheriton) that too much could not have been expected from it if he had outlived it, and he was so generally beloved that he could not but be very generally lamented. He was a young nobleman of great courage and gallantry in all his actions, and very affable and debonnaire in his behaviour towards all" (Clarendon). He was little more than twenty-one years of age, and was far more at home in the camp than he was at Court.

Of Lord Ruthven, better known as the Earl of Forth, Dr. Gardiner speaks highly as a strategist.

Mr. Money says that "he had seen service in Sweden under Gustavus Adolphus, in Denmark, Russia, Livonia, Lithuania, Poland, and Prussia. In England alone the number of his wounds had equalled that of the battles in which he had exposed himself. At Edgehill, says Lloyd, he modelled the fight. He was at Brentford and Gloucester, was shot in both the fights at Newbury, at Cheriton, and at Banbury. He had been shot in the head, in both arms, the mouth, leg, and shoulder, and, as if all this had not been enough for his scars and his story, the catalogue was finished by a fall from his horse that broke his shoulder. He survived to wait upon Charles II. in exile, and, returning to his native country, was buried in 1651 at Dundee."

Dr. Gardiner says ("Great Civil War," i. 377-8): "Hopton's army was in good spirits. The Earl of Forth himself, having brought a reinforcement of 2000 men, remained to give Hopton the encouragement of his personal assistance in the manœuvres which were about to open. There had been much straining of courtesy between the two commanders, each insisting that the other should give orders to the troops. In the end Hopton's urgency prevailed, and Forth, who was suffering from a severe fit of the gout, was induced to occupy a position which would require all the energy of a general in robust health. Ill as he was, Forth's skill as a strategist did not fail him." Clarendon says that he had been a very good officer and had seen much service. He was a hard drinker, "he having been always illiterate to the greatest degree that could be imagined." An intimate friend of Lord Hopton, he

had obtained leave from the King to spend the winter on active service, and, if the fortune of Cheriton Fight had been different, the two generals would have marched together to make the King supreme alike in Sussex and in Kent.

On Thursday, February 15, 1644, it was known in London that two troops of Lord Hopton's men from Winchester had reconnoitred Southampton. Colonel Norton sallied out upon them, outflanked them, and "many were wounded in their wheeling." No less than eighty Cavaliers were either killed or taken, the fire on both sides being well sustained. One hundred good horses, 120 arms, and other plunder rewarded the victors, whose loss is not stated, and the rest of the Cavaliers fled in disorder. Hampshire farmers were now ordered to supply Lord Hopton's cavalry with horses, or to pay £10 per man in lieu of each horse. A weekly payment of 25s. per week was levied "upon such as are but meanly landed." Imprisonment and fine awaited those who refused payment. Almost all the sheep are said to have been eaten by the Cavaliers, who are charged with having converted into mutton 3000 sheep at Odiham within twelve days without payment.

Romsey was still a royal garrison, and in the Abbey Burial Register we read: "1644, Feb. 27, Thomas Hills, a soldier, slaine by his own musket per infortuniam (by accident)." "Feb. 28, Richard Geld, a soldier, buried."

About the middle of February, 1500 of Lord Hopton's cavalry were at Salisbury marching to the westward. Having been suddenly recalled to Hampshire, some 500 of them deserted their colours. The rest were "badly armed, not worth much, as were many Cavaliers elsewhere." Lord Hopton had ordered some dozens of maps of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey to be sent to him from London, for the use of his officers. His supply of ammunition was now fast failing him.

On Saturday, February 17, Sir William Waller was quartering his army near Chichester and Arundel. The London Brigade, consisting of the White and Red Regiments and the Southwark Regiment, was at Petworth on March 10 ready to move on March 16. Its officers maintained strict discipline, and on February 20, "a corporal was to be tried by a Council of War for revealing the watchword in the night time." Some of Colonel Norton's men were in garrison at Cowdray House, near Midhurst, five miles from Petworth. Detachments of Cavaliers from Winchester were hovering about Alton, and giving constant alarms to the garrisons at Cowdray and Petworth, but inclement weather prevented any important military operations.

On February 20, the Parliament passed an Ordinance for giving an allowance of £12,000 per month to the Scottish Army, to commence on March 1, and two days afterwards news reached London that Lord Hopton and Sir William Ogle were discussing the advisability of demolishing the fortifications of Winchester, and evacuating the city, for the double reason that it was difficult to provide for the wants of 4000 cavalry as well as infantry, and that Sir William Waller was threatening a personal advance in force. "Mercurius Aulicus," on February 23, reports a mutiny of some of Waller's troops, and that Captain Guthred and some others had come over

to the Cavaliers. Waller was expecting to be reinforced by 3000 foot, 1200 horse, and 500 dragoons, which had been lately raised in the four associated counties of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Hampshire.

On February 27 Hopton was impressing men, many of whom deserted at the first opportunity. Of 600 men thus forced into his ranks 100 deserted at once, and 200 more were missing when the detachment reached Winchester, despite the exertions of a guard of horse. Many country gentlemen were said to be preparing to abandon Hopton, and to welcome Waller whenever he should advance into Hampshire. The 29th of February brought news that Sir William Waller's rendezvous was to be at Chesterfield (Chesford?), and that he would march towards Winchester after another ten days. The Kentish men were to be there, also 1200 foot, 400 horse, and 200 dragoons, Sussex and Surrey sending their due proportion under "that valiant soldier Sir Richard Grenville."

After his capture of Arundel Castle and his victory at Alton, Sir William Waller was eager to proceed on his march into the western counties, more especially as the 1000 horse which, under the command of Sir William Balfour, the Earl of Essex had been obliged, sorely against his will, to lend his subordinate but rival Waller, might be withdrawn at any time. Besides, the Auxiliary Regiments of London were anxious to return home, their period of service having nearly expired. Accordingly, as an old writer observes, "Sir William Waller, after his reducement of Arundel Castle, marched to find out my Lord Hopton, to cry quits with him for his defeat at Roundway Down" (near Devizes).

Lord Hopton, on his part, was nothing loth, especially after the disaster at Alton, which "inflamed him with desire of a battle with Waller to make even all accounts." Sir William Waller was massing troops near Farnham, meaning to seek the Cavaliers, and "they cheerfully embraced the occasion and went to meet him." A contemporary account says: "Both armies were near one another a good space, for my Lord hovered about Winchester and those parts."

CHAPTER XIX

MUSTERING ARMIES—PLUNDERERS—COLONEL CARNE AND
SIR JOHN OGLANDER

ON March 1, 1644, Hopton was said to have barely 6000 men at Winchester, and desertions were frequent. Sickness was decimating both armies, but the Cavaliers were the greatest sufferers. The town and garrison of Portsmouth were distressed for provisions, as Hopton's outposts were in occupation of Southwick, Bishop's Waltham, Fareham, and other places in the neighbourhood. As we have seen, 100 barrels of powder were ordered to be stored in Arundel Castle for the supply of Waller's army, and on March 7 orders were given that forty other barrels from the powder mills, near Guildford, should be sent for the same purpose to Farnham Castle, the garrisoning of which at this time caused some anxiety to the Parliamentary Committee of Both Kingdoms. All the officers of cavalry and infantry regiments raised in Kent, and the governors of all the garrisons in the four associated counties of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Hants, were to obey the orders of Sir William Waller as Major-General of the Association. Sir William himself, when present in the House of Commons about this time, obtained authority to make a summary levy of horses in three days in West Sussex, so as to complete the proportion of cavalry to be provided by the county for the regiment then being raised for Sir Richard Grenville. The regiment of Colonel Weldon was sent to him on March 1, and two days later "3000 horse, 5000 foot, and 600 dragoons were to march westward against the forces of Lord Hopton," whilst on March 9 the Committee of Both Kingdoms wrote to Colonel Cromwell, "informing him what forces are gone towards Hants, that he may make a strong diversion towards Aynho, or where he shall think fit that way." The Committee of Militia wrote "to encourage the City Regiment, now in Sussex, to continue for yet longer upon the service, the necessity for it at this time being so important." Sir John Trevor was raising money in Sussex for Sir William Waller, and on Thursday, March 7, the Committee of Militia and Mr. Molins, Comptroller of the Ordnance, delivered to that General's army, "one demi culverin, called Killcow, three drakes at Leaden Hall, one demi culverin drake, and one sacre drake, upon shod

wheels, with their carriages, and for carriages, with provisions for sixty shot round." Hampshire and Sussex Puritan recruits were coming in apace, and Kentish Volunteers, nearly 5000 strong destined for the same service, were being maintained at the expense of their county. Colonel Ralph Weldon was a son of Sir Anthony Weldon, of Swanscombe, Kent. We shall hear of him again at Taunton and Bristol.

On or about March 9, 1644, some of Lord Hopton's cavalry from Winchester faced Southampton. Colonel Norton sent out a party to skirmish with them until some other troops, who had made a long and circuitous march, could attack them from an ambuscade in their rear. The result was most disastrous to the Cavaliers. One of the sons of Sir John Stawell, of Hinton Ampner, the Governor of Taunton, was killed. His family were all staunch Royalists. The Cavaliers are said to have carried off five cartloads of their dead, whilst the slain and prisoners are variously estimated at 80 and 140. Between 60 and 80 horses were brought back to Southampton, together with two cornets and other officers. Colonel Norton, according to one writer, lost only three men, but all concur in stating that his losses were but slight. On Sunday, March 10, eighteen loads of ammunition left London for Waller's army. Sir John Evelyn, of Dean, and other Hampshire gentlemen had promised allegiance to the Parliament, and had taken the Covenant, but on March 2 it was debated whether or not they were eligible for seats in the House.

On Tuesday, March 12, a party of Cavaliers marched out of Romsey, and when approaching the New Forest met a party of their comrades, who did not recognise them, and shots were exchanged. This mistake having been discovered, the whole force returned to Romsey, which town some of Colonel Norton's men from Southampton had that evening occupied, under the command of Captain Thomas Evans, "where they had but a short night's rest."

Early in the morning of March 13 the Cavaliers entered the town and surprised their opponents, who were about 120 in number and very well armed. From 80 to 100 prisoners were taken, "the rest by different ways escaping." Captain Evans had in his pocket a commission as Governor of Romsey. Six of the prisoners were deserters from Lord Hopton's army, and were summarily hanged at the especial request of their own regiment. One at least of these deserters was hanged upon the still-standing signpost of the late Swan Inn. In the Abbey register the following entries appear, for which I am much indebted to the kindness of Miss Berthon: "Mar. 13. Charles Wall, a soldier, slaine of the 15th; a sargeant ye same day. William Morris, a soldier, hanged upon the Swan signpost." "Mar. 14. James Smith, a soldier from Hampton, ye same day. Norris, a soldier from Hampton; 18th March, George Whetley, a soldier, of hys woundes." "20th, James Bowles, sonne of Xtopher, a soldier from Hampton, wounded." "22nd, Walter Horman, a soldier of the King's."

Colonel Harvey, who, in company with Colonel Norton, had been repulsed at

Basing House on August 2, 1643, was now sent with his regiment of horse to join Sir William Waller at Farnham, and our old acquaintance, Captain Swanley, the terror of Southampton, and of the Irish, about this time made prize of a Bristol ship laden with arms and ammunition for the King. On March 13 (Cal. State Papers Dom.) Sir William Balfour, Major-General of Horse under William Waller, had already been three or four days at Petersfield with 4000 horse and dragoons. On his march from Reading to Devizes he took a few straggling Cavalier horsemen, who were billeted at Andover, and immediately afterwards occupied Newbury, which now had a garrison of 5000 horse and foot.

Waller was to join him at once, as Prince Maurice was thought to be ready to reinforce Hopton, and "also Wareham and Poole in danger to be lost." From Newbury, Captains Dolbery (Dalbier?), Turner, and Thompson were sent to face Basing House with about 200 horse. "The foxes and wolves there came out," and followed the retreating Parliamentarians as far as Odiham, plundering meanwhile, and capturing a waggon-load of provisions. Then they, numbers being about equal, halted, and fell back towards Basing House, only to be attacked in turn. Balfour's men slew twenty of them, routed the rest, and retook the waggon, besides taking many prisoners; or, according to two chroniclers, "many troops of horse and provision carriages," or "six waggons of beef, malt and bacon, going to Basing House."

Sir William Balfour's troopers then advanced, somewhat to the alarm of the garrison at Winchester, but "that good knight, Sir John Smith (who had gallantly recaptured the King's standard at Edgehill), beat up the rebel quarters at Bramdean, Petersfield, and Alton," recapturing the provisions, and making the unwelcome Parliamentarian intruders retire. On Tuesday, March 12, Lord John Stuart, who was in command of Lord Hopton's cavalry, led a party of Sir Edward Stawell's horse and foot "to a place near Alresford."

On March 19 a petition was presented by "the Master and Almesfolk of the Poore Hospitall of St. Mary Magdalen, neare Winchester, to the Right Honourable Ralph, Lord Hopton, Baron of Stratton, and Field Marshall General of His Majesty's Western Forces." The petitioners stated that they could not live without charitable additions to their endowment, and that sixteen acres of barren arable land and dry common for 120 sheep was all the land they possessed, which they diligently cultivated. That about Christmas, 1643, Lord Hopton's men had killed thirty-six of their sheep, necessitating the removal of the rest to a distance of sixteen miles. Of this they had made no complaint. "But your petitioners do farther shew that within four nights last past the soldiers keeping their rendezvous there have not only devoured nine quarters of their seed barley for this season, being the full provision for the same, and have broken down and burnt up the great gates, all doors, table boards, cupboards, gyses, timber partitions, barnes, and stables there, but have also used violence to the House of God, burning up all the seats and pews in the church,

also the Communion table, and all other wainscot and timber there that they could lay hands on, and have converted the said house of God into a stable for horses and other profane uses, to the great dishonour of God and grief of soul of your poor petitioners, being very aged and impotent persons, and thereby made destitute of the means of having either temporal or spiritual food." Lord Hopton endorsed this petition with an order that Henry Foyle, Esq., and Commissioner Fry should protect these distressed almsfolk.

On March 18, "*Mercurius Britannicus*" says that "Rupert is about Wem, Colonel Cromwell will call the young man home again."

Meanwhile, things were by no means going smoothly in the Isle of Wight. On Tuesday, March 12, the petition of Captain Scofield, Captain Baskett, Richard Bury, gentlemen, and of others against Colonel Carne, "the present Deputy-Governor of the Isle of Wight," was read in the House of Commons, and referred to the Committee for the Safety of the Isle of Wight. The Committee "are to take some course for repressing the petition now in preparing in the Isle of Wight." Colonel Carne, who was accused of discountenancing the friends of the Parliament, and of countenancing those of the King, was to appear in London in his own defence. The Earl of Pembroke, Governor of the Isle of Wight, wrote to its standing committee "to take care of the safety of the Island, especially of Carisbrooke Castle and of Sandown Fort. And that James Millis and Captain Hunt may be secured, or sent out of the Island by the Committee, that they may do no prejudice to the safety of the Isle." On March 22 a petition of the knights, gentlemen, and inhabitants of the Isle of Wight was read, and the Earl of Pembroke was bidden to take care of the island until the matter should be decided by authority. Colonel Carne was afterwards acquitted of the two charges brought against him by a majority of twenty-one and twenty votes respectively.

Notice was also taken on March 22 of "the demeanour and carriage of one Oglander in the Isle of Wight." On this point "*Mercurius Aulicus*" enlightens us on Monday, August 14, 1643:

"This day also we received intelligence that Sir John Oglander being in the Isle of Wight, one, who is a sufficient brother, said to him that the King's ships were goodly ships. 'Yes,' said Sir John, 'but they would be better if they were restored to their true owner,' meaning His Majesty. The Roundhead replied, 'Why, what would you gain if the King had them all?' 'No matter for gain,' said Sir John. 'I would I had given £500 of my own purse so as the ships were in the right owner's possession.' 'And verily,' said the other, 'it shall cost you £500,' and so presently informed against him, and caused him to be fetched to prison, where now the good knight is kept close only for discovering a good wish to His Majesty."

On Tuesday, March 19, 1644, two letters from the Earl of Warwick, dated, one three days previously, and the second the day before, were read in Parliament

enclosing "extracts of Captain Jorden's letter and Captain Thomas, his letter from Portsmouth and Stokes Bay," to the effect that they had chased the Earl of Marlborough, "and had taken four prizes of good value, the one of thirteen guns, belonging to Lyme."

On March 25 it was decided that the Summer Guard should consist of eighteen merchant ships. The two second-rates and one third-rate men-of-war previously ordered to be sent to sea were countermanded. A strong escort was to be provided for certain ammunition carts going to Sir William Waller. Secretary Sir Edw. Nicholas wrote to Lord Forth on March 21, saying that the King highly approved of the proceedings of himself and Lord Hopton, and that the Sheriff of Berkshire was to send provisions for men and horses to Forth's headquarters at Andover.

But all these matters of detail were speedily to be dwarfed by the great struggle which has been variously styled the Battle of Cheriton, Alresford, Brandon, Brandon Heath, Bramdean, and Winchester, as well as Cheriton Down Fight, and Cheriton Fight. Truly manifold are the appellations of this dread and stern reality!

CHAPTER XX

CHERITON FIGHT

ENCOURAGED by the presence of the Earl of Forth, his firm friend and superior officer, and sorely grieved by the late disasters at Alton and at Arundel, Lord Hopton, having been also reinforced from Oxford, was anxious to try conclusions with Sir William Waller. He and Lord Forth intended, if successful, to advance into Sussex and Kent, in which counties Rushworth says "they were like to find many to join them." The same author says that the Cavaliers were 13,000 or 14,000 strong, and that Sir William Waller, Sir William Balfour, who commanded the cavalry, Sir Michael Livesay, who had brought up a force from Kent, and Major-General Browne, who led the London Brigade, had upwards of 10,000 men. But most authorities give the numbers on each side as being from 8000 to 10,000. The Parliamentarian Generals, especially Sir William Waller, "who wished to cry quits with Lord Hopton for his defeat at Roundway Down" on July 13, 1643, were by no means reluctant to stake the issue of the contest upon the result of a battle. Waller was elated by his previous victories gained at Alton and Arundel, and knew that his London Brigade was exceedingly anxious to march in the direction of the metropolis. Moreover he feared the speedy recall of the cavalry which had lately been lent to him by the Earl of Essex.

According to a letter from Petworth we learn that the White and Red Regiments and the Southwark Regiments, which composed the London Brigade, were to advance on March 16 from Petworth to Midhurst, at which latter town they halted for five days. Lord Hopton, who on March 19 was said to have under his command 10,000 men, the majority of whom had been impressed, was now concentrating all his forces from the western counties, preparatory to a general rendezvous on Titchborne Down. Many of his pressed men were expected to desert, if opportunity offered, and there was a report that 10,000 arms had been landed at Weymouth from Dunkirk for the Cavaliers. Sir William Balfour, who was in command of 4000 horse and dragoons, was on March 18, says "*Mercurius Britannicus*," "betwixt Winchester and Romsey, and the rebels in Oxford are betwixt fear and despair." Sir

William Waller was on his march from Sussex with six or seven thousand horse and foot, the county of Kent having sent him 500 cavalry and 1200 infantry. The armies were nearly equal in number, and Lord Hopton was busily fortifying Winchester, and "building a great fort about one mile thence, to keep off all approaches thereunto, but the hills so command the city that his labour will be lost, and his great sconce" (or redoubt) "prove useless." Is not this great fort or sconce the well-known earthwork, with its clump of fir-trees visible from afar, known to all men as Oliver's Battery, so called probably from having been occupied by that stern soldier, Cromwell, in October 1645?

For details of military equipment, "Cromwell's Army," by Dr. Firth, and "The Parliamentary Generals of the First Civil War," by Major Walford, R.A., will be found most useful.

On March 18, Sir William Waller reached Chichester with his train of artillery, and on the following day a solemn fast was observed by his army, just one week before the appointed time, as the following week was likely to prove somewhat eventful. All the farmers' teams were impressed by Waller for the transport of his baggage and guns. Sir William Balfour had also taken up a position nearer to Portsmouth, and on March 20 the whole army was to advance towards Winchester. On the 21st Sir William Waller himself was still in Chichester, but some of his forces had marched to Catherington, and others were quartered at Havant. The London White and Yellow Regiments, under Major-General Browne, were at Midhurst, and the horse and foot from East Kent, under Sir Michael Livesay, had effected a junction with the rest of the army. Sir William Balfour's 4000 horse and dragoons were "at Porchester, Portsmouth, Petersfield, Lippocke, &c." The Surrey forces of the Parliament were on the march towards Godalming, and a traveller reported that for nineteen miles together all the towns and villages were filled with the soldiers of the two opposing armies, each of which was said to be 10,000 strong. On March 21, a solemn Day of Humiliation was observed at the Church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, for the success of Sir William Waller, who was even then expected to act upon the defensive, as he was advised to do by the Parliament. He had appointed Tichborne Down as a rendezvous for the London Brigade, and also for the cavalry force under Sir William Balfour. When it was known in London that Waller was actually on the march towards Winchester through Petersfield, "two gallant pieces of ordnance, fit for battery, with divers carriages and ammunition," were at once sent to him.

On March 22 the Earl of Manchester's Treasury was ordered to advance fourteen days' pay to the regiment of Colonel Hoogan for their good service "being quartered about Farnham." Lord Ogle graphically describes how three days after the coming of Lord North and Lord John Stuart he was summoned by a messenger to a council "at my Lord Hopton's lodgings, nigh at Eastgate house," where he found assembled the three lords (Forth, Stuart, and Hopton), with all the field officers. He found

that his opinion, as Governor of Winchester Castle, was only asked as a matter of courtesy, and that every one but himself had resolved "to march to remove Waller's army out of these parts." Ogle said that it was a mistake "that you should seek a formed army and well commanded, with raw men, new raised, horse and foot." That if Waller were nearer the city a sortie of a mile or two might be risked, but in "extream hot weather" you weary soldiers to carry provisions and stores, and, moreover, Waller is retiring towards London. Hopton promised that he would either bring back a victory, or that he would retreat upon Winchester if defeated. He wanted the stores from the castle which Ogle had collected with much expense and trouble. The latter objected as he might be besieged, but eventually gave Hopton six carts laden with biscuit, cheese, and divers other provisions. On "the Wednesday following" the three lords marched out of Winchester to attack Waller, and to hinder his retreat to London. Most of Lord Hopton's provisions came from Somersetshire, whilst Waller was supplied from the Weald of Sussex. A week's supply of hay, oats, or peas for Lord Forth's cavalry was to be sent with all possible diligence to Andover, and "from thence Lord Hopton is to take order for carriages to bring it to his quarters." Lord Percy is to send to Hopton 50 barrels of powder, 6000 weight of match, and "bullet proportionable to the powder." "Carriages are there very scarce and hard to be gotten."

Lord Hopton and the Earl of Forth had previously challenged Waller to fix the day and place for a battle, and by the night of Saturday, March 23, some of the troops on either side were within six miles of one another. Some of the Cavaliers were posted on the downs a mile distant from Winchester, whilst others were constructing entrenchments upon Tichborne Down. Mr. Duthy says ("Sketches of Hampshire," p. 194): "There is a tradition that when Alresford was occupied by the Royal Army under Hopton, before the battle of Cheriton, some of the outposts were on the ridge of Ovington Down, where the present turnpike road now skirts Sir Thomas Dyer's park, and a field, which slopes down to the river and is still known by the name of Butcher's Close, is pointed out as the spot where the Commissary collected and slaughtered cattle for the use of the King's Army. Marks of entrenchments are visible, or were lately so, which were probably thrown up at the same period." These entrenchments are near the road from Alresford to Winchester. Other entrenchments are also to be traced upon Gander's Down, apparently intended to protect the old road from the Four Lanes, Beauworth, to Winchester. On March 26 a newsletter speaks of "Sir Ralph Hopton entrenching himself at Hunsted Downes, four miles from Winchester." Is this Hunton or Wonston where Hopton undoubtedly posted Sir John Smith and his troop of horse? But Lord Hopton's soldiers were mostly "young boys, forcibly taken from their parents and masters, who also want arms and military exercise!"

For information as to the manœuvres on both sides we are much indebted to Mr. Duthy's "Sketches of Hampshire," Woodward's "History of Hampshire,"

Dr. Gardiner's "Great Civil War," the "Calendars of State Papers Domestic," and other sources. Major-General Browne was in command of the London Brigade, and in an account of the battle, "presented to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor" by one "employed in the service of the City and State to attend the London Brigade," we are told that "upon Thursday, the 21 of this instant, March (our Brigade being quartered at Midhurst), our major-general received orders from Sir William Waller to advance towards Winchester, to a town called Traford, which accordingly he did with incredible speed, almost at an hour's warning, and that night arrived there, which we found to be a small village, not above seven or eight houses to quarter all our men. There we met with much hardship." No long halt was made in the village, for from "an account published three days after the battle, as sent in a letter from an intelligent officer in the armie to his friend in London," we learn that "on Monday last, March 25, we (the writer was one of the London Brigade) were drawn forth from a town called Traford into a heath appointed by Sir William Waller for the meeting of all his forces." Traford is evidently Treyford, five miles from Midhurst.

At this rendezvous three disorderly soldiers of the London Brigade were executed. One was tied to a tree and shot for killing his comrade. Another, who belonged to Sir William Waller's own regiment, was hanged as a deserter, as was also the third for mutiny, and for levelling a musket at his captain in order to rescue an offender. Towards evening on Monday, March 25, the London Brigade approached West Meon, which village they were informed was five miles distant from Alresford, six miles from Bishop's Waltham, and nine from Winchester. This brigade, forming the advance guard of Waller's army, also ascertained that the Cavaliers were assembled in force only some five miles off. Lord Hopton's outposts had already occupied the village, and "as the quarter-masters came riding in, with a piece of a troop for their guard," a brisk skirmish took place, which resulted in the retreat of the Cavaliers, leaving behind them in captivity their commanding officer, "with a good horse under him, and good store of money." Soon afterwards a rumour was circulated that 600 Cavaliers were entering the village, which caused the Londoners to evacuate it. Some few shots seem to have been exchanged, but Captain Robert Thompson bravely led on a forlorn hope of musketeers, and secured the possession of West Meon to Sir William Waller. Who shall read us the riddle of the stone let into the floor of East Meon church, beneath which the oldest inhabitant will tell you that there are six men buried standing upright, and which bears the mysterious inscription "Amens Plenty"? Open the parish chest, and you shall find in the parochial register records of the burial of brave men who found soldier graves in this peaceful village, after a long march from distant Treyford, through deep March mud, on Lady Day, 1645, when Royalist scouts fell back, not without some sharp exchange of shot and sword-cut, with the result that a few years ago skulls, skeletons, and broken swords were dug up on the Burleigh Road, on the outskirts of the village.

Horses were stabled in the old church at West Meon, and the village cross (now happily restored), set up in the centre of the village by Cardinal Beaufort, the munificent benefactor of St. Cross, was destroyed by the soldiers. On March 26 the dwellers at East Meon saw a brave show, for Sir William Waller and his head-quarter staff rode into the village from Petersfield. There was need of the general's presence, for a reconnaissance in force was taking place at West Meon, where sixteen troops of Cavalier horse attacked six troops of Waller's, and, after discovering the strength of the Parliamentarians, retired, leaving three prisoners behind them. Was the outcome of this skirmish, "Aprilis 2nd, 1644, a souldier buried, who died at Thomas Farmar," in the parish register?

On Wednesday, March 27, Sir William Balfour, who had under his command Sir Arthur Haslerig's cuirassiers, known to fame as "The Lobsters," from their iron shells, was sent by Waller with a large force of cavalry to occupy the town of Alresford. But Lord Hopton was too quick for him. Putting himself at the head of 800 horse and dragoons, and ordering the infantry to follow with all speed, he hastened to secure the town. His force and that of Sir William Balfour marched in full view of one another nearly all the way, but the Cavaliers were the first to arrive, and Balfour and his troopers reluctantly fell back to quarter themselves in the neighbouring villages.

In the "Life of Colonel Birch" (p. 9) we read: "The army rose out of there winter quarters, the wether being very fine, and marched towards Alsford (Alford), where Sir Ralph Hopton was at the head of an army of great strength (about 5000 foot and 3000 horse, Clarendon, book ii.), which army on the 25th of March following you had sight of, marching on the plaine towards you in battalia (heavy columns); upon which you drew up by Sir William Waller's and Sir William Balfore's command, and faced one another most part of twoe dayes at cannon-shott distance."

On Wednesday, March 27, the Cavaliers received a considerable accession of strength, and made an attack in force, hoping to surprise the enemy, whom they expected to find at church, the day having been set apart for a solemn fast. But in this they were disappointed, for the Londoners had taken advantage of their halt at Midhurst to keep the fast during the previous week. "Thus the Royalists found them prepared for their reception, full of confidence instead of humiliation, under arms instead of at prayers." The assailants, however, succeeded in capturing some stragglers, and "appeared in a great body upon the hill on the left hand of the town," or, as we should rather call it, the village of West Meon. On the same day Major-General Browne, in obedience to orders received, marched out of West Meon towards Cheriton, the enemy meanwhile threatening an attack in force. Some tumuli called "The Devil's Jumps," on West Tisted Common, which may be pre-historic, but which are also said by local tradition to be the graves of soldiers, perhaps cover the remains of those who fell on this day. "We drew our men into a body near the town (West Meon) and marched as forlorn" (*i.e.*, advance guards), in hourly expecta-

tion of an attack, until at length they were obliged to halt "a mile or more from the village in extreme danger." So writes one who styles himself "an Eye-Witness." This gentleman had been sent by the Lord Mayor and the Committee of the City Militia to follow Sir William Waller's army, and to report the proceedings of the London Brigade, and seems to have been the first specimen of a war correspondent on record. Unfortunately, his excessive modesty has buried his name beneath the obscurity of two centuries, and to us moderns he can only be a nameless "Eye-Witness."

Canon Benham says: "This, then, was West Meon fight, and I could show the reader the very spot. More than fifty years ago a new broad turnpike-road was made for the benefit of the Gosport coaches, for the old road was dangerous. They cut through some wide fields, and in doing so came upon three skeletons, with some pieces of armour and a halberd beside them. Of course, very few persons living remember the circumstances, and I do not believe there is a single person besides myself who could point out the exact place. I was a very small boy, and used to be sent by my father to show it to chance visitors. And I could do it still. No doubt, if the field were explored others would be found. It delighted me hugely when I read 'Eye Witness's' account, to find it exactly tallying with this discovery. At West Tisted there was another brush, but the parish register has the record of a man 'killed in the fight.'"

William Lilly, the astrologer, was meanwhile preparing his "Map of the Heavens, Cheriton Battle," and predicting a somewhat incomplete victory for Sir William Waller.

At length Sir William Waller brought up his brigade from East Meon, and the army advanced until they "came near to Cheriton, to a place called by some Lamborough Field," a name which it still retains. There and on the adjacent common they quartered for the night, "the enemy lying upon Sutton Common, and some part of them nearer to us, so near that the sentinels could hear one another talk." On Wednesday and Thursday nights Waller's troops "lay in the open field about three miles from Alsford, where the enemy kept a garrison."

On the morning of Thursday, "a commanded party sent to view the enemy" met with a Cavalier forlorn hope of considerable strength. The cavalry fought desperately, and two heroes, whose names are unfortunately not recorded, gained for themselves great renown.

Then spur and sword was the battle word, and we made their helmets ring ;
Shouting like madmen all the while " For God and for the King : "
And though they snuffed psalms, to give the rebel dogs their due,
When the roaring shot poured thick and hot, they were steadfast men and true.

—THE OLD CAVALIER.

At length a gun, which did great execution, was brought to bear upon the Royalists, who thereupon retreated somewhat hastily.

Lord Hopton (Clarendon MSS. 1738, 6) says in his account of his own manoeuvres, quoted by Dr. Gardiner: "We disputed that ground that day with little parties and loose skirmishes, but towards the evening we got the top of the hill, and the view of the enemy's quarters." Dr. Gardiner puts the matter very clearly ("Great Civil War," i. 378):

"At Alresford the Royalists commanded the road to London, whilst Waller was compelled to halt at Hinton Ampner, between Cheriton and Bramdean, where the clear stream of the Itchen rises from the chalk. In this situation he could only put himself in communication with his base of operations (Farnham), either by a decisive victory, or by a dangerously circuitous march. Once more, as at Newbury, the strategical advantage lay with the Royalist commander. It seemed as if the tactical advantage was to be on his side as well. During the 28th Forth and Hopton, having established themselves on the crest of the hill which separates Alresford from Cheriton, succeeded in pushing their outposts over the top, to the tongue of high ground which rises from the north bank of the Itchen, about a hundred feet lower than the crest itself. From this point Waller's army could be descried in a field near Hinton Ampner, on the south side of the Itchen, surrounded by a thick hedge, and supported by artillery ranged on the slope behind. Leaving Sir George Lisle with a small detachment to guard the lower eminence, Forth and Hopton occupied in force the height behind."

Sir George Lisle had a force of 1000 foot and 500 horse, and probably occupied part of Cheriton Wood.

It is evident that the skirmishes on this day were by no means of a decisive character. Whitelocke's Memorials say that the armies for "two or three days faced each other, and had some light skirmishes with the horse, and Sir William Waller's men took about thirty of the enemy, and slew one captain and an Irish rebel." Councils of War were held this day in both camps, and on either side it was decided to fight on the morrow, the setting of whose sun many a brave soldier both of King and Parliament was fated never to behold. In the life of the Parliamentarian Colonel Birch, published by the Camden Society, it is plainly stated that the decision of Waller's Council of War was to "make fiers and retire," but that Colonel Birch being in command of the guard that night, did, without orders, so entangle the two parties that retreat was impossible without a contest. A cavalry bivouac on this eventful night near Cheriton Wood is still known as "Horse Garrison Field." The oven of the old cottage near the wood and its well are said to have supplied bread and water to the soldiers, and the local squire, Sir Benjamin Tichborne, is said to have been concealed in its chimney during some period of the fight, and to have given lands to the Earle family in consequence. (*Hants Notes and Queries.*)

Both Essex and the Committee of Both Kingdoms had charged Waller and Balfour "to be wary, and cautious not to engage ourselves in a fight with the enemy, but upon advantage." In "*Britannicæ Virtutis Imago*," printed in Oxford, 1644,

we have a vivid picture of Sir John Smith who had been made a Knight Banneret for a gallant recovery of the Royal standard at Edgehill. "Every eye looked up to him as the loadstone of their success. In the night before the fight, he goes out himself, and, killing the enemy's Centinell, returns back with honour; in truth we had not any more daring and vigilant than he." In the morning he was very cheerful and bade his men "feed heartily, for they should have princely sport anon." Sir George Lisle in the very misty morning "being so near as he heard them span and drive their waggons, conceived they were drawing off." But when the fog cleared two hours after sunrise, Hopton in person saw that during the night Waller had placed men and guns in Cheriton Wood, so that Lisle was obliged to retire, and his position was at once occupied by Waller in force.

Early on the morning of Friday, March 29, Sir William Waller's men were seen to be strongly posted on the high ground which extends from the neighbourhood of the village of Cheriton to the farther end of Cheriton Wood, which lay in the front of their extreme right, at which part of the line the London Brigade was posted. Forth and Hopton's regiments took advantage of the numerous lanes leading from Alresford and the neighbourhood of Bishop's Sutton to crown the eminence that extends from Tichborne to Bramdean Common. Before the battle began, the Cavaliers employed "a subtle device, such that none could fathom," which was the announcement of a victory over the Scotch army by the Earl of Newcastle, at the very time that the Scottish warriors had defeated the Earl, and also of an exaggerated account of Prince Rupert's success at Newark. A contemporary account says: "There was a very hot dispute betwixt them, but Waller having the advantage of the ground and a covert of trees and hedges to shelter his foot, did thereby great execution on the King's party, who pressing too eagerly to gain a victory lost it, yet it was not an entire conquest."

The contest is variously said to have commenced at eight, nine, and ten o'clock in the morning. The "Field Word was the same in both armies, 'God with us,' which Sir William Waller discovering, substituted for his own men, 'Jesus bless us,' which towards the close of the struggle was exchanged for 'Glory to God alone!'"

The gaining of Cheriton Wood "was conceived to be of extraordinary advantage," and four files per company of the London Brigade had been formed up in the darkness 1000 strong as a forlorn hope, and sent to occupy it under the command of an officer who is variously styled Captain, Sergeant-Major (*i.e.*, Major), and Colonel Thompson, or Tompson, and who, it will be remembered, had commanded a forlorn hope at West Meon on the previous Monday evening. The attack proved successful, in spite of the efforts of the forlorn hope of the Cavaliers, commanded by Sir George Lisle, who fought hand to hand, and from tree to tree. Lord Hopton had foreseen this attack, and had planted some drakes or field pieces upon the high ground at the north-eastern side of the wood which commands the rest, "which they

so furiously discharged that we were forced to retreat," and although reinforced by musketeers, the Londoners did not hold the wood for more than a hour, during which time their casualties were numerous, and they lost Captain-Lieut. Milton, wounded and taken. Was he a relation of the poet? A map of this neighbourhood still gives the name of Gunner's Castle to some houses at a cross road close to the position said by the contemporary historians to have been selected by the Royal artillery. Colonel Thompson's leg was so badly shattered by a cannon shot as to render amputation necessary.

"Notwithstanding the strength of Waller's position, which was such as he usually chose, a spot intersected with hedges and trees, behind which his men were strongly posted, and from which they poured such tremendous volleys as few soldiers had ever experienced before, yet the gallant Colonel Appleyard, being ordered to drive them from it (the wood), 'so led up his men, and they so followed their leader, that the confident rebel, with all his odds, was forced from his seat, and made give place to his betters.'"

Colonel, afterwards Sir Matthew Appleyard, came from Dillingham, Cumberland. He was "a soldier of known courage, and experience," and had been a Major in Colonel Vavasour's regiment. He fought at Cropredy Bridge, and in Cornwall, and was made Governor of Leicester in May 1645, "having greatly distinguished himself during the night of the assault." He was wounded at Cheriton and was captured at Naseby, in 1645, together with the following officers of his regiment, some, if not all, of whom fought at Cheriton: Captains Triwhit, Masters, Sanderson, and Hubbard, Lieutenants Middleton, Thompson, Lewen, and Baker. They wore yellow uniform.

Mr. Duthy says: "The position originally occupied by each army was strong. The ground rapidly descending in front of the Parliamentarians formed a regular escarpment, and before the Royalists it was equally but more irregularly steep, while the wood and detached hedges and coppices lay between them both."

But the country was unfavourable for cavalry manœuvres, being of a heathy nature, and a Parliamentary writer remarks that "the ground where the enemy's horse stood was so uneven that they could not march in any order." This circumstance, together with the warm greeting which they had met with, no doubt damped their ardour in this "sharp battle."

Dr. Gardiner clearly shows that there was an open common between the armies, and that Waller's horse were posted upon it in front of his foot, and not upon the flanks, to attack in detail the Royalist cavalry as they emerged from the one narrow lane which gave access to it. Contrary to the advice of Lord Forth and of Sir John Smith, who wished to force Waller to attack at a disadvantage, Hopton's cavalry began to charge the enemy, who acknowledged that "the day was doubtful if not desperate." Lord Ogle says: "When in all appearance Waller was worsted, but some of my Lord's horse, charging, unfortunately were routed." Young Sir Henry Bard, in utter disobedience of orders, with his men "are of necessity to charge a

solid body of the rebel horse, being under the protection both of Canon and of hedges lined with Musketeers, and our men bravely receiving their first shock, and answered them blow for blow and bullet for bullet." Nevertheless, although they had the support of a large force of musketeers, who, posted in coppices and enclosures, kept up a heavy fire, the Parliamentarians were forced to give ground.

Clarendon says: "The King's horse never behaved themselves so ill as on that day, for the main body of them, after they had sustained one fierce charge, wheeled about to an unreasonable distance, and left their principal officers to shift for themselves," and he speaks in another place of "the few horse that stayed and did their duty."

But Dr. Gardiner quotes both Slingsby and Haslerig in proof of most gallant conduct by all the Royalist cavalry, except perhaps the Queen's Regiment, with many Frenchmen in its ranks. Sir Henry Bard's regiment was destroyed, and Sir Edward Stawell's men, who followed them, left their colonel a wounded prisoner. Sir John Smith charged home, "but their Canon, when he is come almost within pistol-shot to charge in, flies off so freely that it amazes his horse," which reared and turned sideways, so that a cuirassier shot him on the left side below his armour. "With this wound he falls, and with him the fortune of the day and the courage of our horse. All ran away almost except his own troop," who brought off him, his horse, and his arms. The "Lobster" who wounded him was shot in the eye by a Reformado lieutenant (one whose troop had been disbanded) of his troop. The "Phisetian generall" missed his wound, finding only a bruise on the same side beneath it. He was taken to "Woonston, a village five miles from Winchester, where his troop lately quartered," but died during the retreat, "over against the signe of the Angel in Andover," and received a stately funeral at Oxford on April 1.

On the other hand, Sir William Waller's horse "did little for the space of an hour after their retreat." About this time Sir William Waller himself had a very narrow escape. He was isolated with three soldiers, lost his helmet, and only rallied his men by dint of very great exertions. ("Experiences" MS.)

Meanwhile the "foot regiments fought stoutly on both sides, and came up to push of pike; the London forces and Kentish men with Waller, and Sir Arthur Haslerig and Balfour did brave service." But in the life of Colonel Birch it is expressly said that Sir Arthur Haslerig, who had been swearing many oaths before the battle, showed great cowardice during the fight, and stood crying under a hedge, saying, "Ah! woe is me! All is lost, we are undone!" and that "a great Scotch officer (Balfour?) reproved him severely for it, and bade him leave the field, and not stand gudding (crying) there to dishearten the soldiers." He was deprived of his command after Waller reached Alresford. He was of a surly disposition, and a good judge of horses, which he was employed by the Parliament to buy. The fighting on the right and in the centre seems to have been less severe than it had been on the left.

But now Major-General Browne collected 100 musketeers from the hedges, and led them in person to attack the wavering, but not as yet routed, Royalist cavalry. It was now about one hour past noon, when "the London regiments drove the enemy from the hedges, which they had lined with musketeers, and gained a passage to a wood, which stood the Parliament's forces in great stead." They "falling unexpectedly upon the enemy's horse, gave fire so bravely on them that they were forced to wheel about, and thereupon our body of horse came on again, and gave them so hot a charge that they were forced to a disorderly retreat." These London musketeers fought "most gladly and courageously. They charged quite through the enemy's body, and put them to a rout, so that they were forced to retreat to the top of the hill where they first appeared." This hill was Tichborne Down. Seeing that the fortune of the day was going against him, Lord Hopton, who, by the admission of his enemies, "managed his forces soldier-like" on this and many other occasions, sent off his baggage and artillery and a portion of his infantry towards Alresford, so that "only the horse and a few of the foot were left to fight us," and to cover the retreat of the main body of the army. Three hundred Roundhead musketeers now left the shelter of the hedges, and advanced at speed, so that the Royalist foot, "who all the day till then had stood to it, perceiving their horse begin to fly, do seek for shelter by flight themselves, and throw down their arms." To make matters worse, Sir William Balfour, with his 4000 well-armed cavalry, including Sir Arthur Haslerig's iron-clad "Lobsters," who had been repulsed in the earlier part of the day, once more charged the disheartened infantry, completing their discomfiture. Sir William Waller, as this living torrent of cuirassiers swept past him, making the very earth tremble with the trampling of their chargers, "bravely encouraged them to second the example and courage of their leader, and they did notably serve to increase the victory. The Kentish regiment of horse, assisted with Col. Norton's regiment, stood manfully to it, and never lost ground." Colonel Norton, who had lived much at Alresford, and as a hunting man, was well acquainted with every lane in the neighbourhood, is said to have brought up his renowned troop of Hambleton Boys, and charged the Cavaliers in the rear, thus not a little contributing to the victory. The Kentish regiment gave no quarter to the Irish, "who first ran for it, and threw down their arms. They were mostly red coats of Lord Inchiquin's regiment, and were led by his brother." Another account says, "The first of the King's men that are said to have run away were two regiments of Irish." The officers did their best to rally the fugitives, "beating and cutting them with their swords," but to no purpose. "There was a hollow betwixt both bodies, which each endeavouring to gain, many men found it for their graves on both sides" ("Heath's Chronicle"). This is probably the lane leading from Sutton Scrubbs towards Cheriton, which, on that fatal day, according to village tradition, ran with blood. The victory was complete. Those who followed the pursuit found nearly 2000 arms under the hedges, and many of Lord Hopton's newly raised Hampshire levies made the best of their way to their homes without opposition.

from the victors. The next evening, Saturday, March 30, Lord Ogle sent out a party of horse from Winchester "towards Cheriton, whence Waller was gone." On Sunday morning they brought in "above sixty barrels of powder, which they found in carts upon the downs, with divers arms, and other provisions which were left behind the army." Lord Hopton in person did his best to cover the retreat with a body of cavalry composed of the regiments of Colonels Butler, Nevil, and Howard. Colonel Butler received a wound in the leg, but reached Oxford in safety. Sir W. Balfour and Sir A. Haslerig were energetic in the pursuit, and, in spite of the efforts of the Royalist cavalry, succeeded, after a chase of between two and three miles, in overtaking the retreating infantry, who, according to rustic report, shouted to their mounted comrades, "Face them, face them once more; face them." Thus urged, the cavalry made a final charge, only to be broken and chased until the infantry were a second time overtaken and attacked, losing many men. It was five o'clock in the afternoon before the battle was at an end, and neither army was sorry to perceive the coming on of night. As the Cavaliers retreated through the town of Alresford they set fire to it at both ends, probably in revenge for the Parliamentary politics of some of its principal inhabitants. Cromwell visited Norton at Alresford, and "recommended and befriended several of the tradesmen." The soldiers of the victorious army, however, speedily arrived, and aided the inhabitants to extinguish the conflagration, which only destroyed four or five houses. Sir William Balfour, who commanded the cavalry, in his account, written on the following day, said that the pursuit was kept up till Winchester was not four miles distant, and informed the Parliament that he was drowsy for want of sleep, which he considered a sufficient reason for curtailing his official report. Misled by unfriendly rustics, and seeing that most of the infantry were retreating in the direction of Winchester, Sir William Waller urged on the chase towards that city, and so failed to secure all the fruits of his victory. "Mercurius Aulicus" asserts that Lord Hopton took three colours from him, carrying them off in triumph. The same newspaper says that Hopton lost neither guns, colours, nor carriages. Another account says that Waller captured seven guns, but Rushworth says that only two guns fell into his hands. It is expressly stated by one writer that two hours before the defeat became general Lord Hopton sent away nine guns towards Winchester, with an escort of 300 men, leaving only two on the field, which were afterwards captured. Six of the nine guns were buried in a place of security, and the other three were conveyed in safety to Basing House. "Baker's Chronicle" says: "My Lord Hopton retreated to Winchester with all his cannon, except two heavy pieces, which were plunged, and could not easily be drawn off." One hundred loads of corn, meal, and provisions, including fully half Lord Ogle's stores from Winchester Castle, two waggons conveying field pieces and muskets, and thirty other conveyances are said to have rewarded the victors.

Favoured by the darkness Lord Hopton, "with his horses and carriages, it being in the night, wheeled about through a narrow lane, and so went unperceived to their

garrison at Basing House," which he himself reached in company with the Earl of Forth and fourteen other officers. The line of retreat seems to have been through Wonston and Avington, and thence towards Basing House, which a considerable body of troops succeeded in reaching in good order. All through the night did the disheartened Cavaliers march in haste, exclaiming as they hurried towards Alton, Basing, and Winchester, "The kingdom's lost! the kingdom's lost!" and killing more than 200 horses in order to block up the narrow lanes with their bodies so as to impede pursuit. Lieutenant-Colonel Thorpe, who was shot through the stomach and the arm at Basing, says that "he commanded Grenville's regiment at Chiretton Fight, where he took Colonel Beard's (Bard) wagon, laden with horse and foot arms, and his other carriage with powder and bullet."

The slaughter was considerable, most of the Irish neither giving nor receiving quarter. The number of the killed and wounded is variously stated, but the most reliable estimate gives 900 as the loss on the side of the Parliament, and 1400 as that in Lord Hopton's army. Few men of note fell in Waller's army. Major Bosville, or Bovill, who had been one of the Commissioners to arrange the terms of surrender at Arundel, received a mortal wound in the stomach, and Colonel John Meldrum, who in 1642 had been Lieutenant of the 2nd Troop of Horse, was shot in the arm and wounded in the head. In his will he is described as being "very much wounded." Colonel Dolbeir, or Dalbier, hereafter to prove a foe to Basing House, was wounded, and Colonel Thompson lost his leg, as we have already seen, during the attack upon Cheriton Wood. Captain Fleming, of Stoneham Park was also wounded, but recovered. On April 17 two members of the House of Commons were sent to visit him, and to present him with thirty pieces of gold, promising him at the same time further supplies of money.

The losses on the King's side in killed, wounded, and prisoners were indeed grievous. The death of Lord John Stuart, second brother of the Duke of Richmond, who led Hopton's cavalry, was especially lamented. Lloyd tells us that "he not only led a vanguard of light horse, charging the enemy most gallantly, but also discreetly composed a difference arising in the command and service with these words, 'Let us dispute the main with the enemy, and we shall have time enough to dispute punctilios between ourselves.'" He was wounded in six places during the action, had two horses killed under him, and is thought to have received his death wound in the hollow way before referred to, from Colonel John Meldrum, who was, like himself, a gallant soldier.

Speaking of him and Sir John Smith, Clarendon says: "The death of these two eminent officers made the names of many who perished that day the less inquired into and mentioned." They both found soldiers' graves at Oxford. The number of Royalist gentlemen slain on this fatal day is said to have been four hundred and eighty-five, of whom two-fifths were Roman Catholics. It is noteworthy that Sir Richard Tichborne, the second baronet, probably took part in this battle, as did also

his brother, Sir Benjamin, and his son, Sir Henry. On the other side fought Robert Tichborne, a zealous adherent of Cromwell, who was afterwards Lord Mayor of London, and who was one of the regicides. He was at the Restoration arraigned, but was never brought to trial.

Alderman Jacob says (*Hampshire Notes and Queries*, ix. 108): "An old and intelligent Wintonian, now many years gone, met a gentleman in an eating-house in London, and, observing a similarity to the Tichborne family, enquired who he was, and he said he was a descendant of the regicide Tichborne, whose seal is on Charles' death-warrant."

Sir Benjamin Tichborne was M.P. for Petersfield, and after Cheriton Fight retired to the family mansion at West Tisted. Some troopers were sent to arrest him, but he escaped by concealing himself in a hollow oak in an adjacent field, known as "Sir Benjamin's Oak." Sir Henry Tichborne, the son of Sir Richard, who is represented in Tilbourg's celebrated picture of the Tichborne Dole, was a staunch Cavalier. He recovered his sequestered estates at the Restoration in 1660.

In "England's Black Tribunal" we read: "Colonels Sandys, Scott, and Manning, persons of great worth and eminency, whose valorous minds scorned danger, and hated no man so much as a coward, these gallant sons of Mars were all slain in the battle between my Lord Hopton and Waller, on Cheriton Down, March 29, 1644. Colonel Phillips, slain near Winchester (Gentlemen Volunteers). Mr. Sands, slain at Alresford." Lord Powlet, of Somersetshire, and Sir George Wilmot were erroneously said to have fallen. Sir John Powlet reached Basing with Lord Hopton. Colonel Sandys was father-in-law to Sir John Mill, then of Newton Bury, and representative of Sandys of Estwaite Furness and Sandys of the Vine. The son of Colonel H. Sandys of the Vine, himself a Cavalier, was obliged to sell the estates in 1653. Sir William Balfour says that Colonels Gray and Butler were also killed, but Colonel Butler, at any rate, escaped to Oxford, although he received a wound in the leg. Colonel Manning, a Roman Catholic, also fell. Of him the "Brief Chronicle" says that he "was father to the person who betrayed the King to Cromwell while he resided at Colen, in the design of Colonel Penruddock, for which he was shot to death in the Duke of Newburg's country." Colonel Phillips was probably one of the family that resided at Stoke Charity.

The Earl of Forth, who, it will be remembered, had come to the assistance of Lord Hopton, was confined to his quarters at Alresford by an attack of gout, probably brought on by his notorious intemperance. When word was brought to him that the London Brigade had been driven from Cheriton Wood with great slaughter, and with the loss of 1000 prisoners, he called for a pack of cards. At length a messenger came in haste to tell him that the Royal horse was routed, and that his presence was imperatively necessary, upon which he went at once to the scene of action. He was wounded, but in company with Lord Hopton and fourteen other officers reached Basing House in safety.

There were on the King's side "divers other persons of quality wounded, among whom was Sir Edward Stawell, eldest son to Sir John, and Sir Henry, now Lord Beard." They were both taken prisoners. The home of Sir Edward was at Hinton Ampner, near Kilmiston. He was "a Major-General of a brigade, a man of great estate," and is said by Sir William Balfour to have been dangerously wounded. Colonel Sir Henry Bard, whose disobedience caused the defeat, was "Colonel of a regiment of horse, and of a regiment of foot," and had been in the service of the Parliament in Ireland, which country he had only recently left. Four days after the fight, at which he lost his arm, he was brought up to London as a prisoner by Sir Arthur Haslerig, and was confined in Lord Petre's house in Aldersgate Street. He was soon afterwards exchanged for Captain Hacker, and Mr. Stanley, who had been captured by the Cavaliers. Colonel Bard afterwards became Viscount Bellamont, and was appointed Governor of Guernsey. He was either the first or second to scale the walls of Leicester in May 1645, and was choked with sand during a whirlwind in the Arabian Desert in 1660, leaving his widow in great poverty.

"Colonel Cary, a Renegado" from the service of the Parliament, was a prisoner with a severe wound, and Colonel Seymour shared his captivity. The prisoners taken during the fight and in the course of the next few days were said to be 120 officers and 560 soldiers. Much ammunition was also taken during the pursuit. The retreating Cavaliers were reported to have carried off several cartloads of dead, in addition to others interred at various places, including a corner of Cheriton churchyard. The neighbouring villages were, according to custom, warned to tend the wounded, and to bury the dead. There is a large mound in Lamborough Field, near Cheriton, probably pre-historic, but which was utilised as the last resting place of many of the slain. When it was opened a few years since, a layer of black earth alone remained of what had once been valiant soldiers. In Cheriton Wood also there are some mounds on the rising ground, wherein rustic tradition says that three generals were buried, and which probably cover the remains of the London Trained Bands and their opponents who fell during the struggle for the possession of the wood. These mounds are overgrown with brambles, but are easily recognisable.

Lord Hopton's army released fifty of their prisoners, one of whom, who was left behind in a wounded condition, reported that not more than twenty of his comrades were detained after the battle was at an end. Lieutenant-Colonel Kingston, Captains Price, Chidleigh, Jackson, Audley, and Seymour, Lieutenant Kite, Ensigns Cowper, Mellis, Marsh, and Midley, Cornets Constable and Ducket, Physician John Morsey, and a nameless priest, all fell into the hands of Sir William Waller, and "a captain left behind at Alresford sorely wounded, doth swear the devil is in the Roundheads they are such firemen." Lord Hopton's cornet for his troop of guard was a standard gules, bearing for device a cannon or; above, this motto, *Et sacris compescuit ignibus* (*"And quenched the flames with sacred fires"*).

Only one day did Lord Hopton remain at the friendly garrison of Basing House,

for on Sunday, March 31, leaving his wounded behind him, he continued his march to Reading, proceeding from thence to Oxford. The late Mr. Cooper, of Cheriton, had in his possession a cannon ball weighing about nine pounds, and the writer has another of smaller calibre. Such relics of the great fight are of late less frequently upturned by the plough than they formerly were, but not many years since some of the dwellers at now peaceful Cheriton utilised them for the game of bowls, and the late T. Lipscomb, Esq., of Alresford, exhibited at Winchester in 1845 a basket-hilted sword, which was found on the battlefield. Captain Wickham, of Tichborne Park, also had a 12-pounder shot, cast like a bullet.

A week before Cheriton Fight the King had issued a proclamation at Oxford that all holders of office under the Crown should repair to that city by April 20 at the latest, on pain of forfeiture of office, intending to commence the campaign early in the season. But these hopes were now blighted. Clarendon says: "This battle was fought on the 29th day of March, which was a very doleful entering into the beginning of the year 1644, and broke all the measures and altered the whole scheme of the King's counsels. For whereas before, he hoped to have entered the field early, and to have acted an offensive part, he now discerned he was wholly to be upon the defensive, and that was like to be a very hard part too!"

The London Brigade halted at Alresford, but some of Waller's men marched fourteen miles beyond that town in pursuit of the fugitives. Some of the prisoners gave information that detachments of the Queen's and Prince Maurice's regiments had taken part in the fight, and that a Council of War had decided upon the destruction by fire of the town and castle of Farnham, if Lord Hopton had gained the day. Sir William Waller himself marched towards Winchester, which he reached the day after the battle. A messenger whom he despatched to Major-General Browne, at Alresford, was "interviewed" by the "Eye-Witness," and informed him that there were not 200 of the Cavaliers left together, and that Sir William Waller would attack the city, from which he was only a mile and a half distant. Lord Hopton having retreated to Reading and Oxford, there was no longer any hope of defending the entrenchments constructed at Winchester with so much skill and labour, and Sir William Ogle was satisfied with keeping possession of the Castle itself for the King. Accordingly, leaving about 100 soldiers, most of whom were Irishmen, to hold that important fortress, most of the Cavaliers who had taken refuge in the city marched from thence to Andover. Sir William Waller, who claimed Winchester Castle as his own by right of inheritance, expected that his success at Cheriton would give him immediate possession of it, but on reaching the city he found the gates closed against him. Bishop Milner says that the inheritance of Winchester Castle certainly belonged to Sir Richard Tichborne, who had married Waller's sister. Waller's second wife was the daughter of the Marquis of Winchester. As soon, however, as he had summoned the garrison, the Mayor and Corporation came out and presented him with the keys of the city, declaring their adherence to the cause of the King and Parliament,

"and desiring to be preserved from violence, which they were accordingly." They doubtless shared the opinion that "the battle near Winchester is the greatest wonder that hath happened in our days."

Lord Ogle says that Hopton did not keep his promise of falling back upon Winchester if he were defeated, and that on the evening after the battle "a multitude of the scattered horse and foot came into Winchester," and that it was daylight next morning before he could get rid of them, which he did by assuring them that Waller would certainly come with his whole army, and that the city could not be defended; whereupon they hastened away westward. Having on Sunday morning concentrated his men in the castle, and received the very welcome stores which the party of horse sent out the evening before had found abandoned at Cheriton, Waller was sighted about 8 A.M. marching with his whole army from Waller's Ash towards Worthy. Ogle at once summoned the Corporation to meet him in the Market Place, and told them that if they resisted the city would certainly be plundered and burned, at the same time giving them the keys of the city gates. Waller entered, and "came into the lower parts of the city, and about the great church." He then sent three "officers of quality" to Lord Ogle, telling him that if he did not give up the Castle, Waller would "burn his house at Stoake Charitie, and fire the city." Ogle replied that Waller had already plundered the house at Stoke Charity, which was old, and, moreover, "none of his inheritance," and that if the city was burned the site would make a fair and spacious garden around the Castle. Waller finally quitted the city by Kingsgate, mustered his army "in the meadow about a half mile from the city" on the road to St. Cross, and marched away for Christchurch.

Colonel Norton was meanwhile scouring the country at the head of his troopers, and captured without resistance 160 horsemen, who had taken refuge in a wood the night after the battle. Sir William Balfour chased the retiring Royalists as far as Andover, for which town Waller himself was one of the members, and took post there. The officer in charge of the prison at Winchester was so terrified by the news of the disaster at Cheriton that he opened the prison doors and released the eighty prisoners who had been taken at Romsey a few days previously. The Royalist garrison of Romsey seems to have been withdrawn to swell the ranks at Cheriton.

Sir William Waller, not thinking it worth while to spend time in the reduction of Winchester Castle, merely halted to refresh his men, and then hastened towards Salisbury in pursuit of the Royalist cavalry. On his arrival there he found that he had again failed to meet with Lord Hopton, but he "made all the Cathedral men run for it." Sir William Balfour was at Wilton on April 4, and Waller sent out detachments on all sides, and thus captured numerous prisoners "in woods and by-houses every day," sometimes securing a whole troop at a time. Sir William Balfour whilst at Andover was informed that Lady Hopton had reached Newbury on her way to join her husband, who having received reinforcements from Oxford, was

now engaged in rallying his forces, and was at Marlborough on April 6. Sir William Balfour promptly despatched a party of horse to Newbury, who succeeded in surprising Lady Hopton, together with her escort of 200 men, two coaches, and twelve coach horses. "Order was given to treat the lady with the respect due to her quality, and she was quickly dismissed, and conveyed to Oxford, being permitted to take with her what plate and jewels properly belonged to her or her attendants, but the rest was made prize of."

Sir William Balfour's letter to the Earl of Essex, describing Cheriton Fight, was read in the House of Commons on Monday, April 1, 1644, and James Pitsome, or Pattison, and Ralph Norton, the two scouts, who brought the intelligence to London, received £10 each. On the following day Sir Arthur Haslerig gave a full account of the matter to the House of Commons. The Lord Mayor of London, John Wollaston, had already directed that Sunday, March 31, was to be observed as a day of solemn thanksgiving by "every minister within the City of London, liberties, lines of communication, and bills of mortality," and the House of Commons now ordered that Tuesday, April 9, should be a day of public thanksgiving for the victory in all churches and chapels in London and Westminster, and within the lines of communication. April 14 was to be the Day of Thanksgiving in all provincial churches and chapels on the south side of the Trent, whilst on account of the difficulty of communication, April 28 was to be the Thanksgiving Day in all parishes north of the Trent. "The printer to bring a convenient number of notices to the members of the House to be sent into the several counties." It was also ordered that on Tuesday, April 9, being the Day of Thanksgiving in the metropolis, every minister should publish the resolution of the Parliament "to draw all their forces together to pursue this victory, and to put it to a day, and to fight with the enemy," so as to put an end to the war. They were also "to exhort the people to contribute to their utmost for the sending forth what possible strength can be had." A collection was to be made on behalf of "poor maimed soldiers."

The Rev. Obadiah Sedgwick, B.D., Pastor of Coggeshall, in Essex, who was lord of the manor of Ashmansworth, Hants, and died at Marlborough in January 1659, preached the thanksgiving sermon before the House of Commons at St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, in the morning, choosing as the motto for his discourse 1 Sam. vii. 12: "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us;" and selecting as his text Psalm iii. 1: "Salvation belongeth unto the Lord. Thy blessing is upon thy people. Selah!"

"Master Thomas Case, Preacher at Milk Street, London, and one of the Assembly of Divines," who was Vicar of Boxley, near Maidstone, and was said to be keen for money and preferment, occupied the same pulpit in the afternoon. The motto chosen by him was Psalm ix. 10: "And they that know thy name will put their trust in thee; for thou, Lord, hast not forsaken them that seek thee!" and his text was Daniel xi. 32: "And such as do wickedly against the covenant shall be corrupt by

flatteries ; but the people that do know their God shall be strong, and do exploits." Mr. Case died on May 30, 1682, aged 84.

On the same day the preachers received the thanks of the House of Commons at the hands of Sir W. Brereton and Sir W. Massam, for their sermons, which were ordered to be printed, and are preserved amongst the King's Pamphlets in the British Museum. We learn from Rushworth that on the evening of this eventful April 9 there was a great meeting in the city, "to whom repaired a Committee of Lords and Commons." Speeches were made by the Earl of Warwick, Sir H. Vane, the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Pembroke, Colonel Hollis, and Mr. Recorder, who all concurred in urging the speedy raising of men and money for the service of the Parliament, in order that the advantages gained at Cheriton might be improved to the utmost. But Colonel Ludlow subsequently wrote as follows: "We were not yet so happy as to improve our advantages, by which negligence we got little more than the field and the reputation of the victory." "1644. Pade for ringinge the bells when Sir William Waller routed Sir Ralf Hopton at Winchester, 5s.," tells its own story.

Dr. Gardiner says ("Great Civil War," vol. i. p. 384): "In London the news of Waller's victory, coming as it did upon the heels of the ill tidings from Newark, was received with enthusiastic joy. At Oxford every effort was made to extenuate the defeat. Forth, it was alleged, had retreated in good order, and had lost no guns. It was quite true ; but for all that the defeat at Cheriton was no ordinary repulse. Not only had it put an end for ever to that scheme for the invasion of Kent and Sussex which, from the very beginning of the war, had played such a part in the Royalist strategy, but it set free the armies of Essex and Manchester for offensive operations. Morally, the effect of the battle was even more decisive. It now appeared that no strategical skill, no splendid chivalry, could compensate for the inherent indiscipline of the Royalist gentry. At Newbury it had been possible to throw the blame on the failure of ammunition. No such excuse could be pleaded at Cheriton."

CHAPTER XXI

AFTER CHERITON FIGHT—WALLER TAKES CHRISTCHURCH—WALTHAM PALACE DESTROYED—ESSEX AND WALLER

LORD HOPTON with some difficulty made good his retreat to Basing House, and on Saturday, March 30, 1644, the day after Cheriton Fight, the House of Commons ordered that 3000 foot, 1200 horse, and 500 dragoons should be raised and maintained for Sir William Waller in the four associated counties of Kent, Surrey, Hants, and Sussex. Hampshire, in which the Isle of Wight was on this occasion not included, was ordered to pay a weekly assessment of £680 16s. This payment was to begin from February 10, 1644, and to continue for four months at least. The ordinance states that a considerable portion of these troops had been already raised, "and whereas the said counties have bought many arms and ammunition, and must buy many more, and must be at great charge in raising, maintaining, and recruiting the said forces, making and erecting of fortifications, magazines, courts of guard, &c.," it was ordered that all monies levied in Hants and Sussex on the estates of Papists and delinquents, and two-thirds of all monies paid to the County Treasurer, were to be devoted to the discharge of these liabilities. The whole weekly amount to be raised in the four counties for the raising and maintenance of the Association forces was to be £2638 1s. 6d. Kent was to pay a weekly sum of £930 16s.; Surrey, with the exception of Southwark, and the lines of communication, as the defences of London were styled, paid £345 13s. 6d. per week, whilst the contribution of Sussex for each week was £680 16s. The Committee charged with the sequestration of the estates of delinquents was urged to be active and diligent in the good work of raising funds at the expense of the friends of the King. Sir William Waller was styled Sergeant-Major-General under the Earl of Essex. This weekly assessment was, in point of fact, continued for a much longer period than the four months during which it was originally imposed, and was renewed on Saturday, June 15, 1644. All officers and men belonging to the associated forces of the four counties were to subscribe the Solemn League and Covenant on enlistment. Officers were to make good any horses or arms which might be embezzled or lost in any way except in actual warfare. No free quarter

was to be permitted, and the Association regiments were not to march beyond the limits of the four counties without the consent of Sir William Waller and of a committee. A liberal scale of pay was laid down, but with the understanding that all officers whose pay amounted to 10s. per diem were only to receive half that amount until the close of the war, whilst those whose pay was 5s. per diem were likewise obliged to look upon 1s. 8d. of that amount as deferred pay. Husband's "Ordinances of Parliament" throws much light upon the legislation of these stormy times.

After the battle, Waller, accompanied by Sir William Balfour and his victorious 4000 horse and dragoons, and leaving Winchester Castle and its small Cavalier garrison in peace for the present, made a rapid march southward from Cheriton and Alresford, Balfour having previously pursued some flying Cavaliers as far as Andover. Reinforced from Poole, for which £300 was voted by Parliament on April 4, and for which special care was directed to be taken on April 17, all officers of its garrison being ordered to repair to their posts at once, and also by the garrison of Southampton, under the command of Colonel Norton, Waller, on his arrival at Salisbury, "made all the Cathedral men run for it." Steadily following up the pursuit, Waller and Balfour fell upon a regiment of Cavalier horse and 100 foot, who had attempted to rally near Whitchurch, some five miles from Lyme Regis, routed them, and chased them as far as Weymouth, with the loss of many killed, some of whom were men of note. Three hundred prisoners were taken, 70 of whom were officers and gentlemen, together with 500 arms. Kent was sending to Waller 200 horse and 300 foot. Other troops were to follow these, not only from Kent, but also from the other associated counties. Continuing his westward march, Sir William Waller despatched a body of 1000 horse and dragoons, with orders to relieve the towns of Poole and Lyme Regis, which were in danger of capture by the Cavaliers, to clear the county of any hostile force, and afterwards to march and occupy Weymouth. These orders were successfully executed by this force of cavalry, which, according to another account, was 2000 strong, and which also gained an important success at Christchurch, of which more hereafter.

On March 30 the London Trained Bands were promised a sum of £1000 as pay if they would continue their service with Waller. On the same day Mr. Secretary Nicholas had heard that Hopton had lost neither colours nor cannon, and that Waller entered Winchester late during the night after the battle. Nicholas did not know either Waller's plans or the whereabouts of Lord Hopton and his army. On April 3 a brigade was to march to reinforce Waller from London under Colonel Harvey with all speed, "lest the fruit of the victory should be lost." The Windsor garrison was to march to Waller, their place being supplied by the Committee of Militia, and Waller and Balfour are "to keep a vigilancy upon the enemy." Their money was ready, and only awaited convoy. The Aylesbury garrison and any troops that could be spared from Chichester were likewise to reinforce Sir William.

The gentlemen of Surrey were to secure the powder mills near Guildford, and to report upon their state and security. Kent was to send a regiment of horse to Waller with all speed. "We hope this service will not require the stay of this regiment above a month," for which time Kent was to supply pay, "expedition being as much as the thing itself, as the affairs are." Sir Walter Erle, Lieutenant of the Ordnance, was to supply 600 barrels of powder at £4 10s. per barrel. On April 4, an express was sent to Sir William Waller warning him that the King was busily concentrating. "Eye-witnesses assuring that the King is drawing his forces together, and the rendezvous is appointed at Marlborough on Saturday next. The garrison is all marched out of Reading, and the report is that they will presently face Sir William Waller, and do their best to recover their losses." Colonel Browne was adjured not to withdraw the London Brigade, as the enemy are concentrating and ready to surprise him, "for which purpose they take their men out of all their garrisons, and strip the country of all their horses where they come." In describing Cheriton Fight to Sir John Gell and others on April 6, the Committee of Both Kingdoms said that "They drew off their cannon and carriages undiscerned of our men, which marched away with some of their horse and could not be followed in the night, yet their horse were also mainly shaken, and especially the Queen's regiment. Amongst those that are slain it is reported by their prisoners that Lord John (Stuart), brother to the Duke of Richmond is one, besides some other of quality, and many wounded, among whom is the Earl of Forth, as their prisoners report. Of prisoners there are two Colonels, one Lieutenant-Colonel, seven Captains, twenty other officers, and 300 common soldiers. The enemy's forces were about 10,000; ours not so many. They have only one prisoner of ours, Captain Milton, one of the City captains. We trust . . . that the whole West may in a short time be reduced and delivered from their power. Waller's main body lies now at Rumsey. He hath taken Christchurch, a place of importance near Poole, with a regiment of foot in it, with their Colonel, Sir John Mills, and many other gentlemen of quality; from thence he is marched to take in Weymouth." The Kentish regiment of horse was to rendezvous at Kingston-on-Thames on the evening of April 10, with two or three London regiments and some horse, and then to march at once to Waller who is enjoined to be vigilant, and to send daily reports. He was to have the "Trained Bands of the Hamlets, the Auxiliaries of Westminster, and those of Southwark; the horses under Colonel Harvie, will not be ready so soon." Browne was strongly urged to remain with Waller, for "if at this time you should march away, it would not only prove very prejudicial to the public, by discouraging our own party, and encouraging the enemy, but dangerous to yourselves, to be cut off in their march, being without horse." "Reasonable fines" were to be imposed upon officers and soldiers who refused to march. The money collected in churches and chapels in London on April 9, the Thanksgiving Day for Cheriton Fight, was to be paid within three days to the Treasurers for Sick and Maimed Soldiers at Tallow Chandlers' Hall

near Dowgate. In Birch's Memoirs we read of a lack of surgeons both at Cheriton and at Newbury. For copious details as to the treatment of sick and wounded men see Dr. Firth's "Cromwell's Army."

Reference has already been made to the success of Waller's cavalry at Christchurch.

Sir John Mills, the Governor, had summoned several Royalist Commissioners of Array to meet in consultation as to the best means of recruiting Lord Hopton's army. Waller's cavalry arrived unexpectedly, and, as he himself stated, in his letter to the Parliament written from Ringwood on April 5, 1644, captured the whole of the assembled Cavaliers "without striking a stroke." One hundred horses, 400 infantry, and more than that number of arms rewarded the victors. The prisoners were sent under escort to the town of Poole. One hundred of them are said to be gentlemen of position, and "a valiant Lady Captain," who is elsewhere styled "the cornet or captain of the oyster women petitioners to Parliament," was detained in custody.

One writer says that "twenty-two Commissioners of Array for Hopton, and Royalist gentlemen of Hants and Wilts, as well as 280 brave horses," were captured. Amongst the officers were Colonel Sir John Mills, Sir John Stawell, Mr. Coventry, Lieutenant-Colonels Goddard and Paulet, Sergeant-Major (*i.e.*, Major) Turney, Captains Gogill, Mill, and Barrow; Captain-Lieutenant Sheiling; Lieutenants Willis, Hitchcocke, Jenkins, Philpott, Harvey, two Lewins, Cockeram, and Scullard; Cornets Lane, Johnson, Baily, and Thorneburgh; Quartermasters Complin, Crofts, Egerley, and Legate; Marshall Richard Michael; Dr. Thornbury; Mr. Todd, Capitaine; Gentlemen in ranks, Messrs. Worsleys (two), Thornburnes (two), Lovell, Jenkins, Fitch, Hencocke, and Cockes; also, "Mr. Imber, minister, who was plundered and imprisoned." Mr. Todd is, in another account, said to have been not a captain, but a chaplain. Two centuries ago the respective duties of captains and chaplains were often easily amalgamated. Lord Ogle says that Waller "took a small garrison at Christchurch at discretion, making the gentlemen and soldiers all prisoners."

Christchurch Castle, near the church on the N.E., close to the Avon, was probably built by Richard de Redvers. Some ruins of the keep, and also of a stone building about a hundred yards to the eastward still remain. The latter, the walls of which are of considerable thickness, was probably the hall of the Constable or Governor, whose yearly fee in 1559 was £8 os. 9d. The keep stood upon an artificial mound about 20ft. in height. Portions of its eastern and western walls remain. The walls of the castle are in some places 12ft. in thickness, but the whole structure was probably dismantled about the year 1666, when Sir Henry Wallop, second of the name, had been High Constable. The havoc wrought in the Priory, of which, as elsewhere, Cromwell bears the blame, may perchance have been the work of Waller and Balfour's troopers after this victory at Christchurch in 1644.

The Isle of Wight now gave proof of its devotion to the cause of the Parliament, sending abundance of corn, butter, cheese, and other provisions to Southampton for the supply of Waller's army, and refusing to receive any payment for them. A welcome reinforcement of 300 men was likewise sent to swell the Puritan ranks. Mr. Lisle, the well-known member for Winchester, was, on April 8, directed by the House of Commons "to bring in a letter of thanks to be written to the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight for their forwardness in sending provisions to Sir William Waller's army." On the same day the Lieutenant of the Ordnance was directed to forward to Waller "one hundred barrels of powder, match, and bullet proportionable."

Waller was certainly displaying great personal activity, but his victorious advance was checked "because his City regiments, whose daily toil was interrupted and whose means of livelihood were threatened by long service in the field, insisted on returning home. Finding himself with numbers too reduced to make head against the enemy on the borders of Dorsetshire, he drew back to his old quarters at Farnham, as if Cheriton had never been fought." So says Dr. Gardiner. Clarendon says of Cheriton Fight: "There could not be any other estimate of the loss Waller sustained, than by the not pursuing the visible advantage he had, and by the utter refusal of the Auxiliary Regiments of London and Kent to march further, who, within three or four days left him, and returned to their habitations, with great lamentations of their friends who were missing." Of these Kentish regiments we must speak further. Waller retired from Christchurch to Romsey, where he halted for three days.

It will be remembered that after Cheriton Fight the safe keeping of Winchester Castle had been entrusted to a slender garrison, who were for the most part Irishmen. Lord Hopton was reported to have reached Oxford, suffering from a bullet wound in the back, received either at Cheriton or during the subsequent retreat. But early in the month of April 1644, information reached the loyal Mayor of Winchester that the King in person was marching towards the city at the head of a large force, and that Lord Hopton's army had been largely recruited. The loyal citizens flew to arms, attacked, disarmed, and imprisoned the 100 men whom Waller had left to observe the movements of the Cavaliers, who occupied the Castle. News of these proceedings speedily reached Romsey, together with the intelligence that the Cavalier garrison of the Castle "were received into the town and billeted there." The Parliamentary General, who, in the opinion of his own party, had hitherto treated Winchester, of which he was a freeman, too leniently, at once marched thither from Romsey with a portion of his army on Monday, April 8. On his arrival he found the gates closed against him.

Lord Ogle graphically describes how he suspected that Waller would attack Winchester from Romsey. He therefore delighted the soldiers by distributing the coats and shirts which Lord Hopton had left behind him, and by setting a hogshead of strong beer a-broach. Having posted sentries and guards, he sat down without

undressing to await the result. He went to sleep, but was suddenly awakened by the explosion of a petard which Waller, after a fruitless march round the city, had fixed to the South Gate. In spite of heavy volleys of musketry, Waller "entered by force, which occasioned great damage to the inhabitants, by the unruly soldiers, who could not be restrained from plundering." Lord Ogle says that they plundered five or six of the richest Royalist houses. They also released their comrades who had been imprisoned by the citizens, took 1000 arms, as well as 100 Cavalier prisoners, both officers and men, and refreshed themselves at the expense of the city. On the following day Sir William Waller had reached Andover, from which place he marched by way of Bishop's Waltham, where on April 11 he urgently demanded stores from the Committee of the West, to Farnham.

On Friday, April 5, Colonel Jonas Van Druschke, "colonel over a regiment of horse under Sir William Waller," of whom we have heard before, near Farnham, presented a petition informing the House of "his long sickness by reason of his great wounds." He had, however, recovered, and was "desirous to go again to his charge if he had part of his arrears." His request was granted, and on April 17 it was also ordered that a sum of £30, belonging to a person named Brasier, which had been seized by the Committee for Examinations, as being intended to be conveyed together with other property to Oxford, should be paid by Sir Arthur Haslerig and Sir Philip Stapleton to Captain Fleming, who probably belonged to the family at North Stoneham, and who had been wounded at Cheriton Fight. From this grant being paid through Sir Arthur Haslerig and Sir Philip Stapleton, who were both distinguished cavalry officers, it is probable that the recipient was Christopher Fleming, Esq., afterwards captain and adjutant-general of horse, who fell during the siege of Oxford in 1644. Another Colonel Fleming was appointed Governor of Pembroke Castle in 1647, and Sir Oliver Fleming was on November 2, 1643, appointed by the Parliament as their Master of the Ceremonies. Mr. Brasier, however, stoutly denied the justice of the confiscation of his £30, and he was ordered to be compensated if he succeeded in proving his case. Sir William Waller about this time bought in London £300 worth of confiscated Royalist property, which he afterwards conveyed to Holland, and on which, as he in his "Vindication" takes great pains to prove, he paid all lawful tolls and excise duty.

On April 10 Colonel Stapley was to go to Chichester, "and recruit the garrison there to 800, and keep them together for the safety of that city." Sussex recruits were to be raised for Sir William Waller, and Colonel Thomson's regiment of horse was to be sent to him. "The regiment of horse of Colonel Thomson is coming home without order. Those horse to return back to Sir William Waller, for if such considerable forces do leave him, they do what lies in their power to enforce him to follow, and thereby bring the enemy home to our own doors." Meanwhile, at Oxford it was ordered on April 11 that Francis Walker, who had already received £300 from Lord Hopton, should be paid the balance of £282 12s. 4d. due for guns

and shot cast by him for service on Hampshire downs and walls, and for other services. Winchester city had furnished 400 men to guard the castle "while its garrison march out" to fight at Cheriton. On the same day the Committee of Both Kingdoms wrote to Waller and Balfour: "We are informed that your forces have retired to Waltham which we suppose is occasioned by the coming away of the City regiments." Two City infantry regiments and a regiment of Kentish horse are on their way to Waller, and further help is to follow. These were the Tower Hamlets and the Southwark Auxiliaries. "It is evident your coming back gives the enemy encouragement and opportunity to recruit, and we hear Rumsey is a place of security and great advantage, which the enemy is likely to be possessed of, if not prevented." Everything is left to the discretion of Waller, who is next day again charged to guard Rumsey carefully, and warned that for many reasons it would be dangerous for him to retreat to Farnham. "It would lose the country lately gained, which will presently declare again for the other side, the enemy will recruit there, the counties on this side will receive great discouragement," as will also the reinforcements, and his army will melt away being so near London. "Your resolution to march to Farnham, which we marvel at, as you have not informed us of the reasons, nor are we able to apprehend them. The King's forces will not draw near you, unless your retreat gives them courage." The neighbouring counties would not send recruits to the King at Marlborough, and the King will recover the evacuated ground. "Your quarters in Hampshire have the ports there open to you, and the Isle of Wight at your back to befriend you will be more plentifully accommodated in them than at Farnham." The Committee wished to know the real state of Waller's army. On April 14 Secretary Nicholas writes to Lord Forth recommending that Edmund Parker, late a lieutenant in Sir Jacob Astley's regiment, and taken at Alton, be allowed an exchange "with John Johnson, now prisoner in the Castle here (Oxford)," but that the King will sanction no exchange of prisoners until Sir Edward Stradling and Colonel Lunsford are released.

But before they returned home the Londoners did good service for the Parliament. Under the command of Major-General Browne they marched from Southampton through Botley to the village of Wickham, where they learned that Colonel Whitehead, M.P. for Southampton, with 200 men, was besieging an equal force of Cavaliers, under Colonel Bennet, at Bishop's Waltham, in the stately palace belonging to the Bishop of Winchester, then known as Waltham House, and of which the stately ivy-grown ruins now arrest the attention of even the most heedless passer-by. Bishop Robert Poynt, the successor of Bishop Gardiner in the see of Winchester, surrendered the palace and manor to John, first Marquis of Winchester, who in his turn was obliged in the reign of Queen Mary to restore the property to its former episcopal owner. Hearing of the proximity of the London Brigade, Colonel Whitehead asked for and readily obtained assistance from its commander. Major-General Browne marched from the village, wherein William of Wykeham was born,

to destroy the stately palace in which, in a good old age, that never-to-be-forgotten prelate gently breathed his last. On his arrival he placed his guns in position, and local tradition asserts that they fired many rounds before the besieged consented to treat for a surrender, which they at length did when they perceived that every preparation had been made for an assault.

The duration of Colonel Whitehead's operations against the garrison is unknown, but the London Brigade reached Bishop's Waltham on April 6, and the capitulation was signed on April 9. The conditions agreed to were "That the commanders and officers then in the house might pass away with their horses, and their swords by their sides, and the common soldiers only with a rod or staff in their hands." The garrison left all their arms and ammunition to the victors, who permitted their soldiers to treat the whole contents of the palace as common plunder. One writer says that one hundred of the garrison were detained in captivity. "*Mercurius Aulicus*" says that the rebels obtained only forty-two muskets, no pikes, powder-barrels, guns, or baggage, and not much besides soldiers' clothes, to secure which they stripped the garrison to their shirts in a field near the palace.

On the other hand, we have it on record that the articles of surrender were so strictly observed that a soldier who had taken a poleaxe from Colonel Bennet, who commanded the garrison, received orders from Major-General Browne to immediately restore it. Local tradition says that Bishop Curle was in the palace during the siege, and succeeded in escaping in a cart, a layer of manure being placed over him.

A folio black letter Bible and a stately bedstead which had "come out of the Place House" were formerly preserved at Bishop's Waltham. The victors found much bacon, and said that the place had been "a plundering garrison." After the division of the spoil, the London Brigade marched away, leaving "Colonel Whitehead to pull down the house if he chose." On Thursday, April 11, we read: "Waltham House in ashes. Poor England, the glory of the nations, now growing into a wilderness!" The Manor of Bishop's Waltham was sequestered, and sold in 1646 by the Parliament to Robert Reynolds, Esq., for £7999 14s. 10½d. Grose, the antiquary, gives a minute account of the ruins a century since.

On April 17 the Earl of Pembroke addressed a very strong remonstrance to Parliament, stating that the Isle of Wight was in great danger, the town of Wareham in Dorsetshire, ten miles from Poole, having surrendered to eleven troops of the King's cavalry through the treachery "of one, Captain Merton, being captain of the watch in a night, which town was yielded with little or no opposition, there being not above two men lost on both sides, and we are further certified from thence that when the enemy had entered the town they most barbarously put many to the sword, and amongst the rest the perfidious Captain." Thus speaks the *Perfect Diurnall*, No. 38, and adds that the Cavaliers of Devonshire and Cornwall were oppressing the citizens of Exeter and Salisbury, who refused to declare for the King, "so that many of them—in all above 100 families, have deserted their houses, and are come to London, who

certainly inform that at Salisbury many of the French Cavaliers quartered in that town do commit many insolencies upon the inhabitants when they are in their cups, which is usually every day; and sometimes in their drunken fits, in the middle of the night, they have cut holes in their hats, wherein they have set candles, and so have run roaring and dancing about the town; and I tremble to mention that which I have received from those who were both eye and ear witnesses thereof, that in some of their intoxicating humours they have drunk healths to the devil, and to their meeting in fire and brimstone, and committing many horrid and unheard of actions."

Lord Pembroke also complained that Colonel Carne, his Deputy-Governor, was detained in London as a suspected traitor to the Parliament, and asked that he might be either acquitted or sentenced, and that precautions might be taken for the defence of the island.

This remonstrance was followed by a numerously-signed petition from the inhabitants of the island, dated at Newport, on April 20, stating that Colonel Carne was wanted at his post at once. On April 24 the Colonel was acquitted on two charges by majorities of twenty-one and twenty votes. The petition further asked that money might not be collected in the island, "but by some of our own honest country gentlemen," that there should not be more than three companies of the Island Militia, and that "the present officers, who are much beloved, might retain their commands," that the island excise duties might be spent upon local troops and garrisons, as they feared an invasion by Spaniards and others, that they might have at least 200 barrels of powder and some warlike stores, especially swords, of which they had none, and they were also urgent that Lord-Lieutenant Pembroke should visit them "though it was but for one week, for the better establishing of peace and quietness!"

Kent had sent 400 additional horse and a regiment of foot to reinforce Waller, of whom Secretary Nicholas wrote to Lord Forth on April 16: "Waller himself is for certain at London, where he demands more horse and foot." Five days later it was ordered that he should have Colonel Harvey's regiment of horse (which was to receive a month's pay), the Mayden troop, and Colonel Turner, the former assailant of Basing. The train of artillery was likewise to receive a month's pay and to march, as were also Lord Grey of Wark's Regiment of Horse, and the Hertfordshire Regiment, which was 700 strong. The Earl of Manchester's horse had already set out for the rendezvous, which was ordered to take place at Aylesbury on April 19, so that Essex, Manchester, and Waller were all expected speedily to be in a position to act with vigour. A sum of £1700 was voted for powder for the army of the Earl of Essex. This force was to consist of 7500 infantry, besides officers, forming in all seven regiments. The General's own regiment was to be 1500 strong, and the other six 1000 each. Every regiment was to be composed of eight companies, and no more. Essex's cavalry was to muster 3000 men besides officers, arranged in six regiments of 500 each. Six troops made up a regiment. The Colonel's troop was to be 100 strong, and the remaining five were to be 80 in number. There was to be also "a

suitable train of artillery." The cost of maintaining this army was to be £35,504 per month, and was to be provided by means of Excise duties. Essex, whose headquarters were alternately at Windsor and St. Albans, was now recruiting diligently.

On Tuesday, April 16, an Ordinance of the House of Commons associated Wilts, Hants, Berks, and some of the western counties. "Mercurius Aulicus" had stated on April 14 that Mercer, a native of Dunkirk, and Le Gay, a Walloon, two of the Parliamentary Committee at Southampton, having seen some boys playing at being Hoptonians and Roundheads, had taken measures to have them soundly whipped and afterwards sent to the workhouse. It is remarkable that Messrs. Mercer and Le Gay, both active assistants of Governor Murford at Southampton, were foreigners, and that "the good old Mayor—a very ancient man," was a native of Jersey. Sir Arthur Haslerig was now Governor of Southampton, and Colonel Norton was acting as Major-General of Horse under Sir William Waller. On April 26, 1644, he was at the head of 800 cavalry raised by himself, but on May 15 he was "humbly desiring pay for his soldiers, who have received very little since their first entertainment." A sum of £2000 was voted out of the revenues of the Court of Wards to meet these arrears. On Thursday, April 25, money was sent by Parliament to Major (elsewhere Colonel) Beare (or Behre), who commanded 400 horse near Southampton, and had been lent by the Earl of Essex to Sir William Waller, who was certainly, in spite of reports to the contrary, at Farnham on April 17, together with Lady Waller, who seems to have sometimes preached to the soldiers. The day before a party of his cavalry attacked a Cavalier outpost at Sonning, near Reading, and captured two lieutenant-colonels, three captains, divers other officers, and twenty-one soldiers, together with their arms and forty horses. He was continually begging for stores, and on May 5 a Committee of Parliament assembled to devise means for the regular payment of his army, and to order Colonels Stroud, Pyne, and Popham to join him at once. On April 17 Waller said that the City Regiments were quartered in and about Farnham, and that he expected four troops of Kentish horse to effect a junction with him on the morrow. On April 20 a muster of his whole force near Farnham showed that he was at the head of 10,000 men.

Some of Prince Maurice's troops were said to be in the neighbourhood of Salisbury on April 20.

On Monday, April 22, Mr. Boate, one of the Master Shipwrights of Portsmouth, was, with certain others, placed on the list of "the Commissioners and Master Shipwrights for the Felling of the timber of Delinquents for the use of the Navy," and three days afterwards the House of Commons granted "£100 worth of books out of the particular and private study of the Archbishop of Canterbury" to Chaplain Hugh Peters, whom we shall hereafter meet at Winchester and Basing House.

About the middle of April, the King in person, believing that Waller meant to march westward, mustered an army of 6000 foot and more than 4000 horse at

Marlborough, and watched his adversary's every movement for some weeks till he found that neither Essex nor Waller could move till they received the recruits who were being diligently enlisted in London. The Royal army then moved to Newbury, where it again watched the enemy for nearly a month, ready to help either Reading or Wallingford, as required. On May Day Commissary Jones was impressing "thirty able teams with waggons or carts to convey hay to me at the Antelope in Farnham," and two days later Waller received a welcome supply of £3000. On May 7 the Isle of Wight is to send "provisions for supplying the great necessities of Lyme," which Prince Maurice was besieging, and troops were to go thither from Southampton and Portsmouth. On May 9 the Speaker wrote to the Sussex Committee, asking that the county regiment might reinforce Waller. At the last moment it was found that if Essex and Waller were to march "provision was wanted for roundshot, for demi-culverin, sacre, and minion, hand granadoes, and granadoes for mortar pieces." The General of the Ordnance was not unreasonably called upon to state his reasons in writing "why in all this time notice was not given to the Office of the Ordnance to make this provision." Waller was reported as ready to march on May 8, and we learn that in the West the King was wont to pay 21s. each for muskets.

On Friday, May 10, either two troops or 400 horse (so greatly do accounts vary) of Prince Maurice's men were known to be at Salisbury; 120 horsemen from Southampton, many of whom, being natives of the city, knew how the sentries were posted, arrived between two and three o'clock in the morning of that day. There were only thirty or forty Cavaliers in garrison, as the remainder were out foraging and levying forced contributions. A sentry raised the alarm and killed one of the assailants, but the attack was a complete success. A captain and fifteen of his comrades, some of whom were men of considerable position and influence, had a rude awaking as prisoners, and the remaining Cavaliers beat a hasty retreat from the city. The victors captured a good deal of valuable booty, and having lost only the one man who was killed by the sentry, retired unmolested with their prisoners to Southampton.

On May 15 Lord Forth told Secretary Nicholas that "Waller is still in London, and his army entrenches strongly at Farnham." Next day Colonel Jephson, M.P. for Stockbridge, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Portsmouth under Essex, and Colonel of the foot companies in garrison at Portsmouth and its forts. It was not till Wednesday, May 15, that Waller at last marched out of London towards Farnham with the Tower Hamlets, Westminster, and Southwark regiments, 4200 strong, with arms, guns, ammunition, and carriages. His army, previously stationed in detachments between Chichester and Farnham, was now concentrated at the latter place. Deserters from the City regiments were to be arrested and forwarded to their own corps for punishment, and careful watch and ward was to be kept in London after the departure of the regiments. Three others, "raised in London and the liberties," were



ROBERT DEVEREUX EARLE OF ESSEX HIS EXCEL
Lucy & Generall of y^e Army

placed under the orders of Essex, and a supply of knapsacks, or "snapsacks," shirts, shoes, and coats had been sent to the garrison of Gloucester.

The Royal army of 6000 foot and more than 4200 horse had been more than three weeks inactive in and about Newbury, and finding that Essex had marched from London to Windsor, and that Waller was about Hartford Bridge and Basing without any purpose of going further west, the King marched to Reading, "and, in three days, his Majesty being present, they slighted and demolished all the works of that garrison, and then, which was about the middle of May, with the addition of those soldiers, which increased the army 2500 old soldiers more, very well officered, the army retired to the quarters about Oxford, with an opinion that it would be in their power to fight with one of the enemy's armies, which they longed exceedingly to do." Thus speaks Clarendon. The friendly garrison of Reading being thus dismantled, and Waller, his old adversary, close at hand, there was indeed need for the Marquis of Winchester at Basing House to stand upon his guard. How well and gallantly he did so must, however, be told in another chapter.

The fortifications of Reading were demolished by the evening of Tuesday, May 14, and on the following day the Royal army retired to Caversham, the King proceeding to Oxford. On the following day, May 16, Lord Hopton had under his command at Newbury 5000 horse and foot, and other detachments of the King's troops were stationed at Witney. Either on this or the previous day Sir William Waller had reviewed his troops at Farnham. His army had been largely reinforced from London, Kent, and Sussex, and consisted of about 10,000 men. He had eight regiments of horse and eight of foot, sixty baggage and ammunition waggons, and twenty-four guns of various calibres. He had also a considerable number of guns made of leather, which had the advantage of lightness, and threw case-shot to a considerable distance.

The Earl of Essex, whose reputation as a general was inferior to that of Waller, his second in command, now marched to Windsor with 10,000 men. These were his former army, which had wintered at St. Albans and in Bedfordshire, and which had lately been reinforced by four regiments of the Trained Band and London Auxiliaries, 4200 strong. The day after the Royal army evacuated Reading, Essex sent troops from Windsor to occupy the town, and without difficulty persuaded the City of London to place a garrison there. Essex and Waller henceforth conducted their operations with a view to their mutual defence and support, though they never actually united their armies.

The King, at Oxford, was anxiously, but with indifferent success, striving to ascertain their probable plan of operations. His cavalry were posted at and about Wantage and Farringdon, whilst his infantry occupied Abingdon, as to the defence or evacuation of which town specific instructions were given to Lord Wilmot, who was in command of the garrison. Sir William Waller marched from Farnham in the direction of Wallingford, on Saturday, May 18, and had an interview with the Earl

of Essex on the following day at Henley-on-Thames, from whence he returned at the head of a body of cavalry to Basing House. He spent several days at Basingstoke, having at the same time posted a detachment at Andover with a view of checking the advance of any relieving army from the west, but the relation of his proceedings must be deferred for a while.

On May 21 Essex was still at Henley, but four days afterwards he had gained possession of Abingdon, which Lord Wilmot had disgracefully abandoned in a fit of ill-humour. Essex had marched from Henley by way of Reading, where he arrived on May 23, on which day Colonel Popham, with his regiment of horse, received orders from London to report himself to Waller for duty. Sir William, with his army, then occupied Wantage, so that the whole of Berkshire was now in the possession of the Parliament, and the King was almost besieged in Oxford.

Lord Hopton was despatched to Bristol, where Waller had many friends, and on Monday, June 3, the King, with all his effective cavalry and 2500 infantry, succeeded in escaping from Oxford.

Sir William Waller, "who had the lighter ordnance and the less carriages," was ordered to follow the Royal army, which he did in a most irate mood; whilst the Earl of Essex, "who had the greater ordnance and the heavier carriages," marched westwards to Blandford, made himself master of Weymouth, and proceeded to Exeter.

Clarendon says (bk. viii.): "The Earl of Essex, by slow and easy marches, and without any opposition or trouble, entered into Dorsetshire, and by his great civility and affability towards all men, and the very good discipline in his army, wrought very much upon the people. Insomuch that his forces rather increased than decreased. . . . It can hardly be imagin'd how great a difference there was in the humour, disposition, and manner of the army under Essex and the other under Waller in their behaviour and humanity towards the people; and, consequently, in the reception they found among them. The demeanour of those under Waller being much more ungentlemanly and barbarous than that of the other; besides that the people, in all places, were not without some affection, and even reverence, towards the Earl, who, as well upon his own account as the memory of his father, had been always universally popular."

Another writer says: "Essex's popularity was equally great with the common soldiers, who familiarly called him 'Old Robin,' and never saw him off duty without throwing up their caps and crying out, 'Hey for Robin!'"

CHAPTER XXII

DR. THOMAS FULLER—TREACHERY AT BASING—KENTISH HORSE—
NIGHT ATTACK AT ODIHAM—FIRST SIEGE OF BASING HOUSE

THE Battle of Cheriton would, of itself, have committed Sir William Waller irretrievably to the cause of the Parliament, but long before, in a proclamation of "grace, favour, and pardon to the inhabitants of his county of Southampton," published at Reading on November 28, 1642, the King had spoken thus: "Except Sir Thomas Jarvise, Sir William Waller, Knights, and Richard Norton, Esquire, against all which we shall proceed according to the Rules of the Law."

In this hour of their disaster and defeat, Basing House was of great service to the Cavaliers as a rallying point. The "Weekly Accompt," published on Wednesday, April 10, 1664, thus speaks of the retreat from Cheriton:

"We shall find that Sir William Waller, with as much courage as successe, hath pursued his advantages, and forced the Lord Hopton from Winchester to Basing, who cannot but lament his unhappinesse; our men still pressing on him and gaining ground as he fled back, until they had routed the army of his men, and sent out many of his men from the world."

Sir John Paulet retired with Lord Hopton to Basing House, where many of the wounded were left, together with Hopton's own chaplain, Dr. Thomas Fuller, the author of "The Worthies of England," who, as Chaplain to the Forces, had joined Hopton at Bristol about December 1643, and preached every Sunday to the troops. After Cheriton Fight he was left at Basing for garrison duty when the Royalist forces retreated to Reading and Oxford. He animated the garrison to repulse the assaults of a portion of Waller's army, and seems to have remained some five or six weeks, according to his biographer, Mr. Bailey, under the hospitable roof of Lord Winchester, writing of "the troutful streams" and "natural commodities" of Hampshire, and confessing to some slight interruptions from the noise of the cannon. He thus speaks of Basing House and Bramshill:

"As for civil structures, Basing, built by the first Marquess of Winchester, was the greatest of any subject's house in England, yea, larger than most (eagles have

not the biggest nests of all birds) of the King's Palaces. The motto 'Love Loyaltie' was often written in every window thereof, and was well practised in it when, for resistance on that account, it was lately levelled to the ground.

"Next Basing, Bramsell, built by the last Lord Zouch in a bleak and barren place, was a stately structure, especially before part thereof was defaced with a casual fire."

In Russell's memorials of Dr. Fuller we are told: "Lord Hopton came to Oxford in December 1643, having already distinguished himself, both in and out of the field, as one who could command not only others, but himself. Amongst his chaplains were Fuller and Richard Watson, of Caius College, also an author of several curious collections." Fuller's anonymous biographer observes of the Lord Hopton: "This noble Lord, though as courageous and expert a captain, and successful withal as any the King had, was never averse to an amicable closure of the war upon fair and honourable terms, and did therefore well approve of the Doctor, and his desires and pursuit after peace. The good Doctor was likewise infinitely contented in his attendance on such an excellent personage, whose conspicuous and noted loyalty could not but derive the same reputation to his retainers, especially one so near his conscience as his chaplain, and so wipe off the stain which the mistakes of those men (the zealots who, with Heylyn, were not satisfied with Fuller's measure of loyalty) had cast upon him."

Dr. Fuller went from Basing to Oxford, but afterwards rejoined Lord Hopton, and when that general was driven into Cornwall obtained permission to take refuge at Exeter, where he resumed his studies, and preached constantly to the citizens.

The army chaplain played no unimportant part in the Civil War.

John Vicars informs us ("Jehovah Jireh," p. 200) that at Edgehill "the reverend and renowned Master Marshall, Master Ask, Master Mourton, Masters Obadiah and John Sedgwick, and Master Wilkins, and divers others eminently pious and learned pastors rode up and down the army through the thickest dangers, and in much personal hazard, most faithfully and courageously exhorting and encouraging the soldiers to fight valiantly and not to fly, but now, if ever, to stand to it and fight for their religion and laws!" In 1639 chaplains attached to the Lord General's train, or as we should now say, to the Staff, received 6s. 8d. per diem, but the pay of the preacher to the train of Artillery was only 3s. per diem. Amongst the officers general of the horse we read of a preacher with a daily stipend of 4s. On Monday, May 6, 1644, the House of Commons increased the pay of all chaplains serving with the armies of the Parliament to 8s. per diem, but on February 27, 1659, we learn that "the preacher was one of the field and staff officers of a regiment of Foot," and was paid 6s. 8d. per diem. (See Dr. Firth's "Cromwell's Army.")

The defeat at Cheriton sorely discouraged the little garrison at Basing, some of whom grew weary of further resistance. A plot was formed within the walls to

surrender the fortress to Sir William Waller, with whom a correspondence was carried on by "the Lord Edward Pawlet, brother to the Marquis of Winchester, and then with him as unsuspected as a brother ought to be." Everything was arranged, and Sir Richard Granville, who had been, after Cheriton Fight, appointed by Waller to command his cavalry, "was sent before with a body of the horse, that all things might be well disposed and prepared against the time Waller himself should come to him. He appointed a rendezvous for the horse at Bagshot, and the same day marched out of London only with his equipage, which was very noble, a coach and six horses, a waggon and six horses, many led horses, and many servants. With those, when he came to Staines, he left the Bagshot road, and marched directly to Reading, where the King's garrison then was; and thence, without delay, to Oxford, where he was very graciously received by the King, and the more because he was not expected. (He was henceforth styled by his old friends 'Skellum' (rogue) Grenville.) He communicated then to the King the whole design of the surprise of Basing; upon which the King sent an express immediately to the Marquis with all the particular informations; who thereupon seized upon his brother and the other conspirators, who confessed all, with all the circumstances of the correspondence and combination. The Marquis prevailed with the King that he might only turn his brother out of the garrison, after justice was done upon his complices. This very happy and seasonable discovery preserved that important place, which without it had infallibly been lost within few days." So speaks Clarendon. Lord Edward paid dearly for his share in the plot, and the name of Edward has never since been borne by any of his family. The Marquis seems to have been stern enough in his punishment of his brother, having apparently compelled him to act as the executioner of his accomplices and of all criminals belonging to the garrison, for in the most complete list of the prisoners taken at Basing House, which has been preserved, we find this terrible entry, "Edward Pawlet, the hangman." The subject is a painful one, and nothing but stern duty as an impartial chronicler induces me to refer to it.

Mr. H. F. Abell in his exhaustive "Kent and the Great Civil War" (pp. 128-131), tells us: "The Kentish recruits gave great trouble. On April 15 the Committee of Both Kingdoms wrote to Colonel Ludlow: 'The soldiers recently pressed in Kent have broken out into rebellion, and intend, as we are informed, to take their course towards Surrey.' Four whole troops, dressed in red coats, faced with blue, deserted from Waller's army at Farnham, taking their arms and horses with them, and care was to be taken to punish Livesey's men, 'if any of them shall there (Kent), shew their mutinous humours.'" Waller justified his treatment of Sir Michael Livesey's "regiment consisting of 800 horse, which I am confident is the bravest regiment in England," but which complained that they were given the hardest duty and the worst quarters. Colonel Weldon, whom we shall meet with at Taunton, hated Colonel Livesey, who was spoken of in 1660 as "a most notorious coward, a penurious, sneaking person, and one that could act the hypocrite to the life in voice and humble

gesture." Waller says of these Kentish horse: "Those that are here are as gallant men and as well provided as any I ever saw in the field, but they have brought their mouths with them!" Were they ravenous or were they grumblers?

By the middle of April 1644, some of Waller's men were posted at Odiham, and others at Alton, to check the forays of the garrison of Basing House, and on the 20th ten troopers were towards evening sent to Odiham, whereupon a party of Cavaliers, whom a hostile scribe estimated at being 100 strong, fell back upon their main body, which had taken post nearer to Basing. The Roundheads pursued them, capturing "one who was the worst horsed." Only four days more, and Sir William, who had got word of a large convoy of provisions and many cattle going to Basing House, sent out a party of horse, who intercepted it, and took a master gunner, three sergeants, three corporals, forty soldiers, "1000 sheep and much fat cattle," and some contribution money intended as pay for the garrison. Waller was by no means inclined to leave Basing in peace. The Diary of the Siege says: "The ensuing spring (1644) the rebels, as well consulting the importance of the place as the injuries suffered by it both in their trade and force, resolve, having before assayed it by surprise and storm, to try by starving it, to which their armies' six weeks quartering at Farnham, Odiham, Grewell (Greywell), and Basingstoke, was a preparative, harrowing the country round about, until their march to Oxford." A similar plan was carried out in 1645. On May 7, Waller cut off some stragglers from Basing, recovering some contribution money, and capturing about twelve horses and their riders, most of whom were officers, one being "Captain Rosewell, sometime apothecary in the Old Bailey." Captain Rosewell was speedily locked up in Farnham Castle, where he fared but badly. "Mercurius Aulicus" says on July 6, 1644: "Tis true the rebels are most revengeful against Basing, as appears by their usage of Captain Rosewell; who (because he belonged to the garrison of Basing), was clapt up in prison at Farnham Castle; and there lodged in so noysome a hole (the rebels made it so), as 'tis not conceivable how a man should breathe in it above two houres." There was a skirmish with Basing foragers with an unrecorded result on May 10, and during the latter part of the month Waller hovered about it and Hartford Bridge in considerable force, marching towards Basing on the 21st in company with Colonel Norton, who was in command of the Hampshire contingent which consisted of a regiment of foot, and another of cavalry, in which were included troops from the garrison of Southampton.

We learn from "Mercurius Civicus" that on Sunday, May 19, 1644, Sir William Waller was at Henley-on-Thames in consultation with the Earl of Essex, and that he returned from thence with some troops to Basing House. "Whether he hath any intention to set upon the house we cannot say. The place is considerable, and worthy some pains in the taking, but the field service is now principally to be looked after." "The Parliament Scout" of the same date says: "It is affirmed with much confidence that Sir William Waller is before Basing House; we wish him good

success, but we fear the contrary." The proceedings of the detachment sent towards Basing are described as follows, in "A True Relation of the Progress of the London Auxiliaries since their joining with Sir William Waller until their return homewards":

"On Tuesday, the 21 (of May), we marched (from Bramley) to Basing House, where we came about 3 or 4 of the clock in the afternoon. They welcomed us with 2 or 3 pieces of Ordnance, and hung out 3 or 4 several Colours; the Ordnance did no hurt, only scared our under marshal; the blast blowing off his hat, our horse went round, faced the house; the enemy charged upon them, slew 2 horse and 1 man of ours, we saw 2 of their men fall on the breast work, but no more to our view. There we lay until evening, and it not being thought convenient to lay siege to the house, we marched round the park to Basingstoke. The enemy thinking we had an intention to beleaguer the house, burns all the houses, and 2 mills near adjacent, because we should have no shelter there. We lay at Basingstoke three nights, and had indifferent good quarter for our money, but the inhabitants were fearful they should be ill dealt withall after our departure for entertaining us; they pay £40 per week towards the maintenance of the house, and that morning before we came in they had payed that week's money. On Thursday, the 24th, we marched towards Abingdon, and making a halt two miles onward in our way, there were brought unto us 20 prisoners or thereabouts, horse and foot. That night we lay at Aldermaston."

The twenty prisoners were probably a party belonging to the garrison, sent out to observe the movements of the retiring Parliamentarians. Waller wrote to the Parliament from Basingstoke on May 23. There were faint hearts still among the Cavaliers, for Waller, as he marched away to join the Lord General (Essex), as above described, asked for "some power given him to receive such into mercy as would come in. It will add much to the service of the Parliament, and to the diminution of the King's forces, and that he had good grounds to make that motion." At the end of May Sir William Waller was in the neighbourhood of Abingdon. On Saturday, June 1, as we learn from a pamphlet entitled "A Victory obtained by Colonel Norton and Colonel Jones," "Colonel Norton's Watch of Horse faced Basing House." The Diary of the Siege says: "At what time Colonel Norton drawing some forces from the adjacent garrisons, by order of their pretended Parliament is to block up the house."

"Whereupon," continues the pamphlet and other accounts, "as it was certified by prisoners since taken, Colonel Royden, a decayed merchant of London, who lived at Clerkenwell and went to Basing to recruit, being the Governour of that garrison with the Lord Marquis of Winchester, a known Papist, called a Council of War in Basing House, by which Council of War it was thus agreed:

"I. That forces should be drawn out and sent forth to fall upon Colonel Norton and Colonel Jones, their quarters at Odyam.

"II. That they should give no quarter, but put all to the sword.

"III. That two men should go along with them, one with a dark lanthorn, and the other with torches to fire the town of Odyam.

"IV. That they should have all the plunder of the town for the same.

"V. That they should have each man five shillings before the march.

"By these and other proceedings of the enemy we may easily see the danger of their cruel and bloody counsels."

But there was a traitor within the walls of Basing. Scarcely had the Council broken up before the result of its deliberations was confided to the enemy. The Diary says: "(By the treachery of a soldier giving intelligence two days before)—Thus forewarned, Colonel Jones, the Governor of Farnham Castle, drew forth 200 men from that garrison on Thursday last (May 31st) to Odiam, within four miles of Basing House, where, it is said, Colonel Morley, the Governor of Arundel Castle, was to meet him, and so to have straightened that place, which exceedingly annoys the country thereabouts, but by reason of other emmergent occasions, Colonel Morley came not thither, whereupon the enemy thought to have taken Colonel Jones in a trap." Unaware that their opponents were upon the alert, "they drew out all their horse and most part of their foot which was able to march (80 horse and 200 foot), about eleven of the clock at night, none being left in the house, only those which were upon the guard or not able to march by reason of sickness. Prisoners say that for their better encouragement herein the Marquis of Winchester came part of the way with them, and at his return back gave the common soldiers five shillings a piece." They thought "before morning not to have left a man to have brought tidings, for the town was unfortified, and many ways into the same, and the street very broad." "About two of the clock on Sunday morning, a gentleman of Colonel Norton's troop, being sentry, hailed them at Walnborough (Warnborough) Mill, being about half a mile from Odiam, who giving an alarm to the town, the Watch of Horse drew out, who faced them, and fought with them in the lane above the mill. It pleased God to put such courage and resolution into the hearts of Colonel Jones and his men, that when the alarm was given they resolved to bandy with the enemy and to try whether they would fight without Basing walls." "They (the Watch of Horse) being forced to retreat, with the loss of one man only, who died valiantly; afterwards the enemy set upon the foot in their guards, who were all ready to give them an answer, and accordingly defended themselves very valiantly. Colonel Norton, in all this losing no time, had by this got most part of his horse and drew them into the field, leaving the rest for the town, and marching close to the enemy very furiously, fell upon them with great valour, which caused the enemy presently to retreat, so that when Colonel Jones fell on the front with his foot, the horse came in on the rear, at which the enemy's horse fled, and all the foot with their arms were taken, and the horse pursued almost to Basing House."

"Upon their retreat were taken as followeth :

"Major Langley, sometime a Mercer in Paternoster Row, was taken prisoner, wounded, but being in poor habit, more like a tinker than a gentleman, was let go again.

"Captain Rowlet (Rowland), a Scrivener, next door to the sign of the 'George' at Holborn Conduit, also is taken, and Lieutenant Rowlet, his brother, two superstitious cringing malignants. Lieutenant Ivory, sometime a citizen of London, Ensign (ancient) Coram, son of one Coram, a Papist in Winchester (Roger Coram was a gentleman residing at Abbot Barton, and was a parishioner of the Church of St. Thomas, in Winchester. He held Cranbury, and, dying in 1683, was buried in St. James' Cemetery, at Winchester), William Robinson, a Papist, surgeon to the Lord Marquis of Winchester, also three Gentlemen of the Arms, three sergeants, five drums, and three drummers, seventy-five (72) common soldiers, whereof some of them are such as have formerly run from the Parliament service, and are likely to receive their just reward. One quartermaster, five corporals, and one sutler to the Army."

"There were also taken 100 (150) foot arms beside horse and arms, every man keeping what horse he took himself.

"Four found dead upon the place, many wounded, some very dangerously.

"We lost on our side only one man (2 men) and about 7 or 8 shot, which was all the loss we had, one being a Lieutenant of those that were hurt of our men.

"The enemy's word was 'Honour,' ours, 'God with us.'

"They that are taken prisoners report that they were encouraged to come forth of Basing House against Colonel Norton's forces, to take from them their buff coats and new shillings which Colonel Norton had newly paid the men, but they were disappointed of their hopes; we showed them half-crowns as well as shillings after they were taken prisoners."

"About 4 of the clock in the afternoon, Colonel Norton's horse marched again up to Basing, and four of his trumpeters sounded first a challenge, and afterwards 2 or 3 levets flourishing before the enemy, but the enemy appeared not." (A levitt or levite was a sound of mirth. H. Teonge says, in 1676, "Our trumpets sounding merry levitts all the way.")

The Diary speaks briefly thus of Colonel Norton: "By the treachery of a soldier giving intelligence two days before, defeating a party of the Garrison drawn out to Odiam, and taking divers prisoners, upon the fourth of June faced the House with a Regiment of Horse and Dragoones, and after some hours stand quartered in Basingstoake." Three troops of Colonel Norton's horse were present on this occasion.

Captivity at Basing House must have been somewhat unpleasant, for we read, "The same night 10 of our men, which they had formerly taken prisoners, and used them barbarously, and stripped naked to their very shirts from their backs, having an hop bag in their prison, with the same made means by cutting into slips to lengthen it, to let them down, and made an escape, and came to our forces to Odyam,

one of them being a Kentish Corporal, and most of the rest taken when Sir William Waller was before Basing, who tell us that there is but 7 of our men prisoners in Basing left." Colonel Jones sent a report of Odiham Fight to the House of Commons. This skirmish was fought near a spot whereon a gallant deed had been done four centuries before. Camden says, "Whose castle (Odiam) in the reign of John was gallantly defended for a fortnight by thirteen English soldiers against Louis, King of France, who had closely beleaguered it with his whole army, and surrendered at last (in the year 1216)."

Colonel Norton sent the prisoners taken at Odiham, who were estimated by their captors to be half of the whole garrison of Basing House, to Southampton, from whence they were a few days afterwards sent up to the Parliament in London. The closing days of May saw great preparations for an attack in force upon the Marquis of Winchester and his stronghold. Colonel Sir Richard Onslow, Colonel Jones, the Governor of Farnham Castle, and Colonel Norton, with their regiments, were all destined for this important service, and were to be further reinforced by some horse from Kent. On the 31st it was reported that the Basing horse were reinforcing the garrison of Greenland House near Henley, "and holding that country at plunder," Norton is to remain in Hampshire, but is "to send such horse as you can spare for that service." On June 8 a letter from Guildford says that "the country came in very freely and courageously. There met many gallant trooper men, stout soldiers; they were never known to go out before so heartily and freely, and they carried themselves so civilly in the town as ever any gentlemen did, and on Sunday morning, at five of the clock, Captain Cufly, an honest godly minister of Gilford, who goes out with them upon this design, preached unto them, and after sermon they marched towards Farnham, and so for Basing." The four associated counties of Hants, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent had raised 3000 men, most of whom were now on the march towards Basing. The same number were to be held in readiness as a reserve in the event of the Earl of Essex's ordering the besieging force to effect a junction with his own army, with which he was about to march to the relief of Lyme, in Dorsetshire, which Prince Maurice was unsuccessfully besieging.

Colonel Richard Onslow was to be in chief command of the Surrey forces at Basing House, and was ordered to march thither on June 11. He was one of the sequestrators for Surrey, advanced £400 to Waller's Lifeguard, compared the King to a hedgehog, and died in May 1664. His officers were Lieutenant-Colonel Jordan, High Sheriff of Surrey, and his son, Captain Jordan, Sergeant-Major (*i.e.*, Major) Hill, of Guildford, Captain Cufly, Captain Westbrook, of Godleman (Godalming), Captain Perham, Captain Warren, who had already commanded a forlorn hope during Sir William Waller's attack upon Basing, and others. Lieutenant-Colonel Dunscombe remained at Guildford to raise the 3000 men of the reserve, and Colonel Richard Norton commanded the men of Hants, who formed two regiments, one of foot and the other of horse. The Marquis of Winchester was levying contributions on the

neighbourhood, and we read of "those plunderers who have cessed the country at £800 or £1000, presently to be brought in unto them. "The Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer" exultingly says: "Hampshire hath showed a good example. They have agreed amongst themselves to maintain forces to keep in those thieves and robbers at Basing. This service will be of great advantage, for there is nothing to hinder the trade of the clothiers in Wiltshire to London except that garrison," which did often lay hands upon goodly bales of broadcloth. Colonel Morley had 500 foot at Farnham on June 10, and Colonel Norton was to be told that "the forces of Hampshire sent to his assistance shall not be called away but upon great necessity," as the county will support him with stores and men as long as he stays in Hants. Meanwhile, Major-General Browne was besieging Greenland House, the capture of which was thought to be more important even than that of Basing. It was surrendered after an heroic defence, together with all the arms and ammunition, on June 18, 1644, the garrison marching out with all the honours of war.

The Marquis of Winchester thus describes the week ending June 11: "Colonel Norton (his foot not yet come up), keeping his guards of horse upon our avenues to stop the fetching in provisions."

On June 15 Colonel Jones, the Governor of Farnham Castle, came up to London, accompanied by a gentleman who was the bearer of a letter, which duly appeared in the "Weekly Account" on June 25, and from which we glean much information concerning the commencement of the siege. After the disaster at Odiham, the garrison, which was thought to be either about 140 or 200 in number, pressed yoemen's sons and others as soldiers, and sent out parties of horse to levy contributions in the neighbourhood. The Parliamentarians at Basingstoke, hearing that a party of the garrison had marched towards Reading, sent out about 50 horse and 20 musketeers to cut off their retreat. Chased to a broken down bridge which probably spanned the Loddon, near the Grange, the Cavaliers dashed through the stream, but left in the hands of the enemy nine horses which had stuck fast in the mud. Colonel Norton himself was on June 15 daily expected to return to Basing, having gone with his regiment of horse a week previously to Andover, which was said to be occupied by the King's forces.

But his subordinates were nevertheless active, for we read: "Colonel Norton hath possessed himself of the town of Basing, and seized on many cattle and much corne, which the Marquis of Winchester, a grand Papist, but nevertheless one whom His Majesty employs for the good of the Protestant religion, had provided to be sent to him at the garrison of Basing House, but it will now be better employed." The town, or as we now call it, the village of Basing, is said to be "within half musket shot" of the House, the garrison of which was much harassed when in search of provisions or forage. Two companies of Roundheads had occupied "a great house on the east side" of Basing House. Colonel Jones was at Odiham with three companies, and Colonel Onslow held Basingstoke with four companies of his Surrey regiment.

On June 11, Colonel Norton received his expected reinforcements of infantry. Colonel Morley, who possessed great influence and many friends in Sussex, appeared at the head of "sixe Colours (or Companies) of Blew" from that county, Sir Richard Onslowe's Regiment of Surrey Red-coats was five companies strong, and Colonel Jones contributed two White companies from Farnham. Colonel Norton's regiment was also strengthened by the addition of three fresh troops of horse.

The whole force was "drawne up before the House upon the south of Basingstoake." At the approach of night the companies of white coats, with one troop of horse, marched to Sherfield, Sir Richard Onslowe, with his troop of horse, to Andwell House, "near the ruins of the Priory," whilst "Morleye's Foot and Norton's Horse quartered in Basingstoake."

This state of things lasted for the three following days. The Parliamentary troopers faced the house daily, challenging the Cavaliers to sally forth, and try the issue of battle. Nothing loth, as soon as the enemy showed signs of retiring to his quarters, the Royalist troopers dashed through the garrison gate, and harassed the rear guard to some purpose, with but little loss to themselves.

As a party of Roundhead troopers were patrolling the neighbourhood they received information from some countrymen that about 30 horse from Basing House had gone towards the Vyne. Pursuit was ordered, and the two parties met upon a heath. The Cavaliers halted, and formed up, but eventually, perceiving their opponents' preparations to charge, wheeled and galloped off, with the Roundheads close in their rear. One horseman suddenly rode back to the pursuers, saying that he was one of their own army, who had been captured that morning. His statement was at first doubted, "thinking that knowing himself to be badly horsed, and so in danger to be taken he used that policy to escape," and he was placed under arrest, until recognised as being an officer of the Parliament "who was carelessly out of his quarters." On June 14 it was reported in London that the besieged garrison was in great want of a mill to grind corn, the two mills having been burnt on the occasion of Sir William Waller's visit about three weeks before. Salt and other necessities were also in great request within the walls.

On June 15 there was a sharp skirmish. "To see the countenance of the enemy, fifty foot are sent towards Basingstoke under covert of a mill and hedge," (Was this Eastrop mill, or the mill nearer to Basing?) "whilst our horse forced theirs into the Town." The Roundheads are reinforced, and the Cavaliers retreat in good order, drawing on their pursuers until the infantry can pour a volley into their ranks from the mill and hedge. The Parliamentary foot soon come up, and several volleys are exchanged, until the Royalist infantry "are commanded in."

Two days after this skirmish, as two teams were fetching provisions for the house from Sherfield, the enemy's horse made a sudden dash and carried them off, making prizes likewise of three horses grazing in the park, at no great distance from the house. That night the two white companies from Farnham venture to quarter in the

village of Basing, attacking the garrison, doing good execution, and fortifying the church. They only admitted the loss of one man killed, and another wounded, and placed marksmen in the adjacent houses, from whence they on the following day picked off two of the garrison.

"Idle Dick Norton," who had returned to Basing by June 17, was evidently very much in earnest. A friendly journalist says: "Valiant Colonel Norton sits close upon Basing House, and hath possessed himself of the town, they of Hampshire have agreed to maintain a regiment of horse and foot for the service of the State under that Colonel; it is pity such spirits should want instruments to work with—it is pity such good workmen should not have good tools."

Meanwhile, the Earl of Essex on his successful westward march to relieve Lyme Regis, then besieged by Prince Maurice, sent out scouts, who, "having discovered the Queen's regiment, near their quarters, a party of horse was sent out towards them, which caused them to fly further westward, and so Hants is rid of those plunderers." This account is amplified by the following statement, which bears date June 17: "His Excellency is advanced in his march beyond Amesbury, leaving Salisbury on the left hand, and hearing that there were 300 of the King's horse in Salisbury, sent two regiments of horse thither, under the command of Sir William Balfour, but they were gone an hour before they arrived. They pursued them seven miles, but could not overtake them."

The Royal army having retreated towards the West, Basing was now indeed in danger, and, says the "Diary of the Siege," "We divide our men into two parts, leaving two thirds on duty, whilst the other rest, appointing to each Captain and his company a particular guard, dividing the quarters of the garrison to the Field Officers. The works adjoining to the park 'were entrusted to the charge of Major Cuffand. Major Langley, whom we have seen captured at Odiham looking like a tinker, was responsible for 'the works in the gardens. The dispose (or arrangement) of the guns' was superintended by Lieutenant-Colonel Peake, the printseller, before referred to, some of whose musketeers were to act as a reserve for supply of all places as any need required. The troopers were supplied with muskets, and no one was exempt from duty. 'The Lieutenant Colonels and Majors being Captains of the Watch, Colonel Rawdon only in this excused, by reason of his years.'"

Colonel Rawdon, the Governor of Basing House, had not long before received a visit from his son Marmaduke, whom he had at the commencement of the troubles in England sent with a cargo of valuable merchandise to the Canary Islands, and with a letter recommending him to the care of his own nephew, Marmaduke Rawdon, who was a thriving and prosperous merchant there, and who cared not to take part in the fierce fratricidal strife then raging in his native land. He, however, welcomed his young kinsman most warmly, and entertained him in a most hospitable manner until the end of the year 1643, when he sent him back to England, says an interesting volume published by the Camden Society, with a cargo of wine, "for both their

accounts, desiring him when he was in England to go and see his father, who was then Governor of Basing Castle, and to present him, as a token of his love and duty, with a curious gold hatband of goldsmith's work and a gold chain, and that of £500 he carried with him, he should show it to his father to take it all or part, as he should best please. He arrived safely at Mount's Bay, in Devonshire, I would say, Cornwall, and, according to his cousin's request, went straight to his father at Basing, having a convoy from my Lord Hopton. When he came to his father his father asked him how he left his nephew. He told him very well, in good health, and that he had sent him a small present of a gold hatband and a gold chain, with order likewise that of £500 he had there of Barbary gold he might take part of it or all, if he had occasion for it. He said, 'Let me see your gold,' so his son poured it out of a great silk network purse upon the table, which looking upon, he bid his son pick him out half-a-score of the best ducats of the finest gold, and told him, 'This I take to make the King's picture to wear with the chain of gold your cousin hath sent me; for the rest, put them up and carry them with you; it may be my nephew and you may have more occasion for them than I shall.' Here (at Basing) he stayed some few days with his father, and then went to Oxford, where he coined part of his gold (King Charles I. had his mint at Oxford for several years during the Civil War), and from thence went to London to meet the ship, where he disposed of his wines and gold in commodities proper for the main of Spain."

But troubles were in store. He was arrested, and on June 18 had reached London in custody. A contemporary journal says that "he makes himself a stranger in England, and pretends that he was a merchant or factor in foreign parts, yet when he came over he could find the next way to Basing House before he came to London, and, as he saith, was going now for Spain. So he was committed to custody, till further examination." He seems, however, to have been speedily released, and to have sailed for Seville, where he sold his merchandise, and, lading his vessel with oil and other things suitable for the Canary Islands, returned home about the middle of the year 1644, a considerable gainer by his expedition, and took no further part in the Civil War.

Thomas Rawdon, the eldest son of Sir Marmaduke, was a colonel in the Royal army, "fought in both the Fights of Newbury, and accepted many dangerous commissions for the service of the King. Having thus become a marked man, he fled from the persecution of the ruling powers, and took refuge with his kinsman and younger brother in the Canaries. By them he was cordially received and entertained for a considerable time with princely hospitality. In the 'Catalogue of lords, knights, and gentlemen who have compounded for their estates,' printed in London in 1655, are these names—'Rawdon, Thomas, of London, merchant, £400; Royden, Marmaduke, D.C.L., per Edmund Hardman and William Green, £559 3s. 2d.'"

On June 18, a day hereafter to be memorable for a fight at Waterloo as well as at Basing, the blue-coated regiment from Basingstoke relieved the white companies who

had occupied the church, which they converted into a stable, breaking open the vaults, and casting the coffins of Lord Winchester's ancestors into bullets, as was clearly proved a few years since by actual observation.

Just as the newcomers had "taken over" their quarters, and the church clock had struck the midnight hour, there was heard the clash of steel and a hurried rush, and then a jet of flame made the old tower stand out in bold relief. The Cavaliers had fired one of the neighbouring houses, from the windows of which their comrades had been shot. Next evening there was a terrible hurly-burly. The garrison set fire to all the buildings between Basing House and the church, and the blue-coats themselves fired some of those beyond. Half Basing was in a blaze, and the Roundheads abandoned their works in a panic to shelter in the hedges, others continuing their flight to a considerable distance. But now, above the din, rang out the church bells, and help came from all sides. The Cavaliers retreated, and their opponents spent the night and the whole of the next day under cover of the hedge and palings of the park. Firing continued. One sentry was killed and his comrade wounded. On June 20 the besiegers took heart, and, leaving the protection of the park palings, returned to their works.

But Colonel Norton was ill at ease. On Thursday, June 19, he wrote to the House of Commons, asking for money, and was granted £2000 from the Revenue of the Courts of Wards. He likewise asked for and obtained from the Committee of the four Associated Counties of Hants, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent, to whom his letter was referred, a much needed supply of saddles, pistols, swords, and muskets. He said that he expected reinforcements from Southampton, and at his request an ordinance was passed "to remove malignant priests and clergymen that do much infest the country thereabout." Colonel Norton also complained that "the gentry of that county did not second his expectations, and that to the great discouragement of his soldiers they received but little favour or assistance from them." Mr. Lisle, M.P. for Winchester, was directed to reply to this letter, and to give the thanks of the House to Sir Richard Onslow, Colonels Norton and Morley, and Lieut.-Colonel Jordan, the High Sheriff of Surrey, "for their good service at Basing."

On June 20 a strong guard of Colonel Norton's men was posted at the church, but Lord Winchester's cavalry was not idle. Some of Norton's officers were descried riding along the lower road from Basingstoke, which they thought perfectly secure. A dozen musketeers were posted behind the hedge at the corner of this road, which was then known as "the Lane," and greeted them with a well-directed volley. Some of them were wounded, and the whole party turned their horses' heads and galloped at their best speed towards Basingstoke, the Cavaliers in fierce pursuit meanwhile. Well was it for the fugitives that Colonel Norton had posted "a guard of horse on Cowdrey's Downe, who perceiving it, troop to the rescue," or none of the fugitives would have escaped that day. The Cavaliers drew rein, and wheeling to the right,

galloped up to the besiegers' works near The Grange, took them by a sudden dash, set them on fire, and carried off a prisoner to the House.

Colonel Carne, the Deputy-Governor of the Isle of Wight, Colonel Whitehead, M.P. for Southampton, Colonel Button, Captain Jervoise (the son of Mr. Jervoise, of Herriard), and "one Master Graves, a kinsman of Colonel Graves, now rode through the lane to the entrenchments, our men being then at the burial of one of our soldiers." The Royalist musketeers behind the hedge were still at their post, and felt sure of their prize. But one of them fired too soon, "and shot Master Graves' horse, which gave warning to the rest." Master Graves was captured, but the rest of the party escaped, and rode off towards the west. Two hours afterwards Colonel Norton sent in a trumpeter with a flag of truce "to demand his liberty, being a traveller," but the Marquis sent back the messenger with a proposal for an exchange of prisoners.

On the following day (June 21) there was a skirmish in the Park. Two of Sir Richard Onslow's Surrey redcoats were captured, and another was killed. Colonel Norton himself towards the end of June marched to join Sir William Waller. Let "Mercurius Aulicus" speak once more: "Norton himself is gone to Sir William, and left the work to others, thinking it ill manners to attempt that for which his general was so handsomely *basted*, who found it as difficult to enter Basing as to get into his Worship's own Castle at Winchester!" *Basting House* was a title often given by rejoicing Cavaliers to the brave little garrison. The two fortresses of Basing House and Donnington Castle, near Newbury, completely commanded the great road from London to the western counties, and on June 20 there were no less than 2000 horse and foot employed in besieging Basing House and keeping the roads open for traffic. A convoy of eighty waggon loads of cloth and other merchandise reached London in safety on Monday, June 17, but on the following Sunday the garrison of Donnington Castle, of which stout-hearted Sir John Boys was Governor, sallied forth, and made prize of two waggon loads of merchandise and six heavily laden packhorses, which were going from London to Marlborough, and carried them into the Castle. In spite of protestations that these goods were the property of Cavaliers residing in the neighbourhood, they were declared to be lawful prize, and were turned to good account by the garrison.

But during the evening of the day on which the waggons in question were seized, Colonel Norton, on his way from Basing to join Sir William Waller, at the head of two troops of horse and thirty dragoons, made a sudden attack upon Donnington Castle, killing a sentry and securing eight horses in an adjacent stable. Unable to effect anything further, owing to his having no infantry with him, he and his party continued their march without the loss of a man, and reached in safety the camp of Sir William Waller, with whom Sir Arthur Haslerig, at the head of his bluecoats, and Major-General Browne, with the London Brigade, were also expected to effect a junction.

The King and Sir William Waller had been manœuvring throughout the month

of June. His Majesty had been enabled to return to Oxford, and from thence to pass into Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire, and at length succeeded in forcing Waller to fight at Cropredy Bridge, which spans the Cherwell. Colonel Norton took part in this battle, in which Waller lost his leather guns, of which mention has been already made. The strength of his army was, on June 28, ordered to be 7000 foot, 3000 horse, with field and other officers, and "a train of artillery proportionable." Carlyle says ("Letters of Oliver Cromwell," vol. i. p. 172): "Waller's last action was an undecisive, rather unsuccessful fight, or day of skirmishing, with the King, at Cropredy Bridge, on the border of Oxford and Northamptonshires (29th June, 1644), three days before Marston Moor, after which both parties separated, the King to follow Essex, since there was now no hope in the north; Waller to wander Londonwards, and gradually lose his army by desertion, as the habit of him was." Henceforth the star of his glory grew dim, and he was no longer known by the proud title of "William the Conqueror." Colonel Norton, after the fight at Cropredy Bridge, returned to Basing.

On June 22 Secretary Nicholas writes from Oxford to Sir Gervase Lucas that "Browne the woodmonger" has been ordered to reduce Basing, Greenland House, Wallingford, Banbury, Oxford, "but we conceive the least of them able to hold him in play for a considerable time, and to make him pay dear for it." Two days later Colonel Norton is ordered to bring his regiment of horse and all the horse that are at Basing (to be at least 500) to St. Albans, except the horse of Sir Richard Onslowe, and the garrison of Farnham, which were to be left to protect the besieging infantry.

On or before June 24 two companies from Portsmouth had joined the white-coats from Farnham, and now the siege began in grim earnest. Colonel Morley's pikes and muskets were quartered in the park, while on his right was Colonel Onslow, who took charge of "the Lane and the Close towards Basingstoake, where, having forced their quarters, they presently breake ground, shutting us up on three sides with their foot, and on the other side their guards of horse keeping on Cowdreys Down (where the Basingstoke workhouse stands), at night, busying themselves with spade and pickaxe to secure their quarters." Colonel Norton repaired the dismantled works which had been thrown up by Sir William Waller, erected fresh batteries, and dug and delved until his men might well, in their love for Scripture parallels, compare themselves to the workmen of Nehemiah, who laboured with a tool in one hand and a sword in the other. There were still faint hearts in Basing House, and "three of ours runne to them."

On the 26th Royalist musketeers find full occupation. They wore iron pot helmets and swords with curiously curve-shaped hilts, many of which were forged in Holland, and were of the value of 7s. 6d. each. Every man's musket cost 18s. 6d. (the King gave 21s. in the West), while the rest for the somewhat unwieldy piece was valued at 10d. Bandoliers for powder could be purchased for 3s., gun-

powder was sold at 18*d.* per lb., match at £1 10*s.* per cwt., and bullets (called musket shot) at 18*s.* per cwt.

Thus equipped, the musketeers were sent forth "by the point of Basingstoake (a bulwarke) to view their lodging in the Lane, and to cut downe some Trees, climbing a ruined mill, from which they played on us, both which are done, and divers of them killed, with losse of two of ours." "The lane" is the lower road to Basingstoke, and the mill here spoken of stood nearly opposite to the conical tower in the garden, which is now a dove-cot. In the "True Relation of the Progresse of the London Auxiliaries" the garrison are said to have burnt "two mills neere adjacent." But darkness favoured the besiegers. "At night they run a Line (*i.e.*, a trench) towards the mill, where we had galled them the day before," and the defenders of "Basingstoake bulwarke" have to keep themselves under cover for the future. But with true English tenacity of purpose Colonel Norton still holds his own, trusting to the help of a powerful ally within the walls, to whom men give the dread name of—famine! No foraging parties are able to scour the country; the hay in the meadows is stacked not for the benefit of Royalist, but of Roundhead chargers; the stores in the cellars and vaults are sadly diminished, and the sentinels of the garrison fear that none of the corn which harvest-men will soon be busily reaping just beyond Colonel Norton's lines will find its way to the Basing House barns and granaries. A message must be sent to Oxford at all hazards, and on the night of June 27 "a Party of horse, Firing upon their Sentinells upon Cowdreys Downe, much amuse their guards, whilst others of them are sent by to Oxford," to ask that a relieving force may be despatched to Basing.

Clarendon thus graphically describes "a party of horse" (Book vi.): "Among the horse the officers had their full desire if they were able to procure old backs and breasts and pots (iron skull caps), with pistols and carabines for their two or three first ranks, and swords for the rest; themselves (and some soldiers by their example) having gotten, besides their pistols and swords, a short pole-axe."

Lacy the player says: "The honest country gentleman raises the troop at his own charge; then he gets a Low-Country Lieutenant (one who had served in the Low Countries) to fight his troop safely; then he sends for his son from school to be his cornet; and then he puts off his child's coat to put on a buff coat: and this is the constitution of our army." (Note to Scott's "Rokeby," Canto iv.)

"In the reign of King James I.," says Grose in his "Military Antiquities," "the buff coat or jerkin, which was originally worn under the cuirass, now became frequently a substitute for it, it having been found that a good buff leather coat would of itself resist the stroke of a sword; this, however, only occasionally took place among the light-armed cavalry and infantry, complete suits of armour being still used among the heavy horse."

These buff coats were usually lined with silk or linen, secured before with buttons or by a lace, and were often richly decorated with gold or silver embroidery. The

owner of one of these coats, just after the Restoration, says: "I would not have taken £10 for it." Cavalry corslets, consisting of back, breast, gorget, and head-piece, were valued at 22s. each. Some of Colonel Norton's men were probably armed only with Danish clubs, 1000 of these primitive weapons having been issued from store to Sir W. Waller's army in December 1643.

"Mercurius Aulicus" and other Cavalier journals were beginning to make merry at the expense of Colonel Norton's fruitless siege of Basing House, and the Parliament was determined to take the Hampshire fortress at all costs.

The "Weekly Account" has the following paragraph: "Two mortar pieces went this day (June 29th) also to Basing, and divers granadoes, which we hope will prove good instruments in gaining Basing House, for we are certified that the besiegers have intrenched themselves, and hope to render a good account of that service." These mortars were furnished by the Committee of Adventurers at Grocers' Hall.

The brass mortar pieces ranged in calibre from 18½ to 4¼ inches, those of iron being from 12½ to 41 inches in calibre. In 1620 it is ordered that "The twentie pieces of great ordnance before mentioned, two mortar pieces for fireworks must be all mounted upon field carriages with foure wheels, and lymmers (limbers) ready compleate, and to be furnished and attended with spare carriages and wheeles, blocke carriages, copper ladles, furnished with spunges and rammers, and with all other habilaments and utensells of warre, and with many other small provisions which are soe necessary for the trayne of artillery, that without them they cannot march nor be used." (Scott's "British Army," vol. i. p. 391.)

In the year 1639 an establishment of a train of thirty pieces of artillery consisted of one Master of the Ordnance, one Lieutenant of the Ordnance, one Comptroller, four Gentlemen of the Ordnance, one Master Gunner, thirty Gunners, and forty Matrosses. These last (then first mentioned) seem to have been of lower rank than the Gunners. In 1618 we read of "One General of Artillery, 25 Conductors of Artillery, one Petardier, one Captain of Miners, 25 Miners, one Captain of Pioneers, one Surgeon, and one Surgeon's Mate;" and in 1620 mention is made of "Three Master Gunner's Mates and three Constables, or Quarter Gunners." (Duncan's "Hist. of R. Artillery," vol. i.)

These "mortar pieces" thus forwarded to Basing were intended to fire shell "gernadoes." Some of these were 80 lbs. in weight, as we learn from the Diary of the Siege, the accuracy of which is attested by numerous fragments recently discovered. They were also styled Granada shells.

"The first shells were cast in 1543 (in which year iron guns were made by three foreigners at Buckstead in Sussex), for mortars of 11 inch calibre, described as 'certain hollow shot of cast iron, to be stuffed with fireworks, whereof the bigger sort had screws of iron to receive a match, and carry fire to break in small pieces the same hollow shot, whereof the smallest piece hitting a man would kill or spoil him.'" (Duncan's "Hist. of Royal Artillery," vol. i.)

Hand grenades have also been found during the progress of the excavations. These are small iron shells, about three inches in diameter, filled with powder, fitted with a time fuse, and either thrown by hand, or projected from a hand-gun or "musketoone" fired from a rest. These missiles are said to have been first used in the year 1594. The grenadier was originally armed with these deadly missiles, hence his name.

On June 29, hereafter to be famous for grenadier bravery in the West Indies, whilst the ponderous mortars were slowly making their way towards Basing, Colonel Morley, who was now in command of the besiegers, had brought a sence or detached fort in the park "to some perfection," and by noon the watchers on the walls can see that "cannon baskets" (*i.e.*, gabions, or hollow cylinders of basket-work, varying in size from a diameter of 20 inches to 6 ft., with a height of from 2 ft. 9 in. to 6 feet) have been ranged in order, indicating that a culverin has been placed in position. The culverin weighed nearly 36 cwt., had a bore of $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, threw an 18 lb. shot, and required a charge of 18 lbs. of powder. They are not mistaken, and during the afternoon six 18 lb. shot came crashing into the House and works. "Next day being Sunday (their Cause allows not now for Sabbath), doubling their diligence throughout the Leaguer (or siege works), the besiegers are busy all day in completing the Redoubt at Morley's Quarters in the Park, and on the Towne (Basing) side towards a Mill, drawing a Line from the Church." This latter operation seems to have been designed to prevent the garrison from communicating with Pyat's Hill and Sherfield. Nor was Colonel Onslowe idle in the lower road from Basingstoke, his red-coats "raising a platforme in the Lane with so much speed that the next morning a Demy Culverin plays from it." The demi-culverin weighed about 27 cwt., with a bore of $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and threw a 9 lb. shot with a charge of 9 lbs. of powder.

There was not much sleep on the following night. A messenger from loyal Oxford makes his way through the besiegers' lines under cover of the darkness. He is the bearer of glad tidings, "informing us of His Majestie's success against Waller at Cropredy" (only two days before). "We Ecchoe it to our neighbours with Volleys both of small and great, they answering with their Guns, battering our Kitchen and Gatehouse, till a shot from our platforme spoyling the Carriage silenced their Demi Culverin" (in the lane).

It will be remembered that some of the guns were mounted on the House *en barbette*. The Gatehouse stood at the entrance of the circular citadel, and this nocturnal artillery duel seems to have been principally fought on the northern side of the garrison.

In Sir Sibbald Scott's "British Army" (vol. i. p. 464) there is an amusing description of artillery practice in 1642. "A man upon his tower, with a flag in his hand, cryed them aime whilst they discharged their cannon, saying, 'Wide, my lord, on the right hand; now wide two yards on the left; two yards over, my lord,' &c."

Some few events of importance took place during this month of June 1644, in other parts of the county, which claim brief notice at our hands.

On the last day of May the Speaker issued his warrant "for pressing a bark at Portsmouth to go upon special service" to Lyme Regis, then besieged by Prince Maurice. This naval reinforcement probably contributed to the subsequent raising of the siege.

The Earl of Warwick, Lord Admiral of the Parliamentary fleet, having captured 2000 stand of arms at sea, 200 of them were sent forthwith to the Isle of Wight, in return for an equal number given to Waller and the garrison of Wareham, as 10,000 had been ordered to be distributed "about Hants and those parts."

On June 3 it was ordered by the House of Commons that Sir Thomas Jervoise, knight, Robert Wallop, Richard Whitehead, Esq., should be directed to take steps within one month for the sequestration of the estates of Papists and delinquents of a less value than £12,000, within the cities of London and Westminster, and to apply the proceeds to the liquidation of the £8000 due as arrears to the garrisons of Portsmouth, and of Hurst, Southsea, and Calshot Castles. On Saturday, June 22, an ordinance was brought forward for the appointment of John Lisle, Esq., M.P. for Winchester, as Master of the Hospital of St. Cross, in the place of William Lewis, who had shown himself a staunch adherent of the King. Two days previously Captain Baxter, Mr. Matthews, of Newport, Mr. William Maynard, and Sir Gregory Norton, were added to the Parliamentary Committee for the Isle of Wight, five members of which were to form a quorum. The weekly assessment of the Island was not to exceed £50, and Mr. Lisle was directed to write to the Committee requesting them "to give countenance and encouragement to the godly ministers sent into that island." On Saturday, June 22, it was known in London that the Rev. Aaron Crosfield had been brought before the Committee of the Isle of Wight for saying that "he that would not join with Prince Rupert against the Parliament was a traitor and a rebel." Parson Crosfield had been shut out of his own church by some of his parishioners "who desired to hear an honest godly man sent to them by the Parliament, but this Crosfield was cross indeed," and, sending for his surplice, he preached to a small congregation in the church porch, whilst the "honest godly man" addressed a numerous audience in the school house. Lady Norton, the wife of Sir Gregory Norton, "had repetition of sermons in her house," which so greatly enraged the adherents of the Rev. Aaron Crosfield that they were ready to demolish the knight's mansion. Sir Gregory Norton, Mr. Edwards, and Mr. Lisle were firm friends to the cause of the Parliament in the island, "countenancing good ministers there, such as Bellars, &c.," and also sending 300 bushels of corn to supply the wants of some scantily supplied troops.

On Thursday, June 27, Hugh Peters, whom we shall meet again as a chaplain at the sack of Basing House, and who had already received a grant of books to the value of £100 from Archbishop Laud's "particular private study," was presented by

Parliament with the volumes still remaining there, which were valued at £40 more. It would be interesting to know the nature of the £140 worth of books which filled the shelves of Laud's "particular private study."

On Sunday, June 30, a party of Cavaliers in the neighbourhood of Andover took possession of sixteen waggons laden with cloth, valued at £10,000, and only useful for trade abroad, on their way from Wiltshire to London. The same detachment on another occasion seized 40 pack-horses which were going to the west from London, and only released them on payment of £40. Colonel Massey, at Malmsbury, was ordered to watch the Bristol road so as to hinder the exportation of this cloth.

CHAPTER XXIII

BASING SIEGE CONTINUES

ON Monday, July 1, 1644, the House of Commons ordered "500 musquets to be lent with their equipage to the Basing House forces, and 200 musquets with their equipage, borrowed of the gentlemen of the Isle of Wight, to be returned to them." A man-of-war equipped by certain London merchants had lately brought into Cowes a ship having on board 3000 stand of arms and much ammunition, all of which were supposed to be "going to Exeter." The aforesaid 700 muskets were now ordered "to be taken out of the prize ship at Cowes," and if the ship should not prove to be lawful prize, the merchants who claimed to be the owners of her cargo were to receive compensation "out of the Segovia wools brought from Weymouth."

The Committee for Hants asked for 500 stand of these arms for service at Basing, and the Isle of Wight wanted 200 in return for an equal number given to Waller and to the garrison of Wareham.

The Cavalier garrison of Winchester Castle still held out, and "Mercurius Aulicus" says on July 2, "Since Alresford Fight (March 29), the rebels have often faced Winchester Castle, but have still been repulsed, and never went off without their errand." But on the following day a journal of opposite politics asserts that the Cavaliers were plundering the neighbourhood of Winchester, had cut the throat of a miller, had outraged women, and were carrying about a petticoat upon the point of a sword, exclaiming, "This is the Parliament's colours!" On Wednesday, July 10, Lord Hopton was said to be raiding in Hampshire at the head of 1000 horse, Colonels Popham and Ludlow, the latter of whom is described as "that faithful patriot, Colonel Ludlow, High Sheriff of Wiltshire," being unable to keep him in check as Colonel Norton had done, more especially as the mass of the people were but ill-affected towards the Parliament. On July 4 Waller received orders to send Colonel Norton back to Hampshire, at the urgent request of the county. He was, however, allowed to retain the troops of Captains Potts and Draper. On the 10th the Committee for Hants, three of whom formed a quorum, were ordered to be diligent in raising both men and money, so that a force of 600 infantry, 100 horse

and 100 dragoons might be ready to march on July 20 for service near Oxford, and at the discretion of Parliament, for two months from their rendezvous. Sussex and Surrey were simultaneously to furnish 1000 foot, 100 horse, and 100 dragoons, and the whole force from several counties was to consist of 10,000 foot, 1700 horse, and 1350 dragoons. During this month the House of Commons ordered £250 to be paid from Lord Capel's woods at Abbot's Worthy and elsewhere "to the widow of Colonel Meldrum, slain in their service (at Cheriton) and £50 to another like widow." Although Colonel Norton was the besieger of Basing House, Sir Richard Norton, of Rotherfield, who had been created a baronet on May 23, 1642, was a staunch Cavalier, and one of the Commissioners of Array for Hampshire. He was now ordered to appear before a Committee of Parliament, and on July 15, 1644, a letter, written by the Committee at Basingstoke four days previously, was read in the House. It stated that Sir Richard had been sent up to London under arrest, whereupon he was "committed to Lord Petre's house during the pleasure of the House." This loyal and persecuted baronet paid a fine of £1000 for his estate on March 6, 1645, and died in 1652.

On Thursday, July 18, a hostile newspaper tells us that Sir William Ogle, the Governor of Winchester Castle, "a great plunderer," had some fourteen days previously sent out a force consisting of 50 horse, 60 musketeers, and 40 pikemen. The cavalry entered the town of Andover, the infantry having meanwhile halted at a distance of some three miles. A convoy was intercepted, and sixteen waggons laden with cloth, cheese, oil, &c., 60 (or 94) oxen, and 36 horses, coming from the western counties, were captured. With this plunder, which was valued at more than £6000, the Cavaliers retired unmolested to Winchester. Sir William Ogle had taken from "the Master of Winchester College fifteen oxen and three hogsheads of beer, upon suspicion that he was a Roundhead." The College authorities sent a complaint to Oxford, whereupon Sir William Ogle compensated them with fifteen oxen which he had taken in a foray, thus robbing Peter to pay Paul.

On July 22 "Mercurius Aulicus" says: "Winchester Castle is made fit by Sir William Ogle for entertaining Sir William the Conqueror (Waller), and the enemy often face Winchester Castle, and are still repulsed." "Mercurius Britannicus" also admits "by the same token they about Winchester Castle have not yet recovered it." The ever active Colonel Norton was on July 20 reported to be attacking Donnington Castle, near Newbury, and five days afterwards to be watching with his cavalry to hinder the garrison of Winchester Castle from plundering. On Wednesday, July 24, we hear that the garrison of Portsmouth had been largely reinforced, and was in future to be maintained at a cost of £500 per month from the excise duties levied throughout Hampshire, with the exception of the town of Southampton and the Isle of Wight.

A ship belonging to the King of Denmark, named the *Golden Sun*, and under the command of Captain Nicolas Ruter, had been detained at Portsmouth on suspicion of

having been chartered by the Cavaliers. On Saturday, October 5, 1644, it was ordered that "Lieut.-Colonel Roe do deliver from store to the Committee of the West 500 Danish Forks, Clubs, or Roundheads taken on board the Danish ship." On December 4 the ship was reported to be leaking, and the House of Commons authorised the caretakers to break open the hatches and to remove the cargo to a place of safety, to be appointed by the Committee of the Navy. The ship and cargo were, after long delay, eventually released by order of Parliament. After the battle of Cropredy Bridge, which was fought on June 29, Sir William Waller lost half his army by desertion, and "had been roaming about Oxford with his rapidly decreasing forces in a very unoffensive manner." Writing from Farnham he asks for supplies, and "expresseth his forwardness to assist the Lord General (Essex), and calls the God of heaven to witness it is not his fault, and wisheth the blood and infamy may rest on the heads of them that lay obstructions in the way, averring that if money cannot be had he will march without it. That he desires nothing more under God than to be able to march, and that no fault shall be found in him."

But let us return to Basing House. On Wednesday, July 3, the garrison was said to be well supplied, especially with corn and bacon, although malt and beer were somewhat less plentiful. The besiegers had captured ten foragers from the House, and from the "Weekly Account" of the same date we learn that the siege works were already within pistol-shot, or, according to the "Diary of the Siege," "within half musket-shot." The enemy kept up a continuous fire, and two or three of the garrison were killed or wounded daily whilst on duty within the House. "They shoot the Marquisse himself through his cloathes. The carriage of their piece being now repaired, they now renew their battery on the House, unto the detriment and topping of our towers and chimnies."

On Thursday, July 4, there was "stinking beer thrown over Basing Walls," owing to a deficiency of salt. The "Weekly Account" contains a letter written about this time in the besiegers' lines: "Sir,—I doubt not but you would gladly heere how things stand with us, for this House hath not onely been a great annoyance to all the country round about it, but hath been a meanes to stop up the trading out of the West to London by robbing and pillaging the carriers and clotheers that came from them. It standing near unto the direct road, and therefore, both for the subduing of those that are in it in arms against the Parliament (which are Papists and Arch-Malignants), and for the prevention of the foresaid mischiefs hereafter, we have closely besieged the same, and are intrenched within Pistol shot of the House, so that none can enter in or out. Since our throwing up a trench against them the Enemy are very still, which before were lavish in their Powder, though to little purpose. Captain Warn came lately from Plimmouth unto us, and we hope they cannot long hold out.

"From before Basing, July 5, 1644."

Force having hitherto failed, the besiegers try the effect of stratagem, and on the

morning of July 8 "they assay to draw us forth by making an alarme to themselves (leaving their piece neglected without a guard), but," says the Diary, "faile." In the evening a Cavalier prisoner makes a bold dash for freedom, and escapes to the house under fire of a hundred muskets. This "so chafed them that they continue firing until midnight, and shot two of our men." Next morning Colonel Onslowe's Surrey redcoats are reinforced by four companies of their comrades. The newcomers advance somewhat heedlessly. At once there is a flash and a sharp report, followed by two others in quick succession as they "have three shot placed amongst them from our minion, making them change their march to troop at further distance." A minion was a gun weighing nearly 10 cwt., with a $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. bore, throwing a $4\frac{1}{2}$ lb. shot with a $4\frac{1}{2}$ lb. charge of powder.

On July 11 a company from Southampton, seven score strong, marched up from Southampton to join Colonel Morley, by way of Hackwood, "unto Hollowaye's Mill" (the site of which is not easily to be fixed with certainty). Having been thus strongly reinforced, Colonel Morley thought fit to summon the Marquis to surrender the stoutly defended fortress. Colonel Norton being absent, he would, if successful, obtain much credit by gaining possession of the house.

The besieged were keeping a fast on July 12, when he "sends by a drum this harsh demand, written with his left hand, for which he was afterwards marked in the shoulder, which spoiled his Clearkship ever since : "

"MY LORD,—To avoid the effusion of Christian blood, I have thought fit to send your Lordship this summons to demand Basing House to be delivered to me for the use of (the) King and Parliament; if this be refused the ensuing inconvenience will rest upon you (yourselfe). I desire your speedy answer, and Rest, My Lord.

"Your humble servant,

"HERBERT MORLEY."

The messenger had not long to wait. "The Marquise upon small deliberation returned Mr. Morley this answer." ("And had this sodain answer"). To this my Lord Marquis sent a speedy answer, which not long after he sealed with a bullet, which seemed to relate to these his Lordship's words sent to Master Morley :

"SIR,—It is a crooked Demand, and shall receive its answer suitable. I keep this House in the Right of my Sovereigne, and will do it in despite of your Forces. Your letter I will preserve (reserve) in testimony of your Rebellion.

"WINCHESTER."

"This is returned by a drum, with directions, 'Hast, hast, hast, post hast,' upon the letter. Morley speaks his choller from his gunns, which now and some daies following played on our Waterhouse."

Things were getting serious in Basing House.

The "True Informer" states on July 13 that the besiegers numbered some 3000

horse and foot, who "have planted two pieces of battery against it, which hath beat down divers of the chimneys and made some breaches in the house. They are in some distress for want of salt and wood, without which they cannot long subsist, so that they are in great expectations that the house will be surrendered, or otherwise they are resolved to batter and storm it." Colonel Browne wrote from Henley to the Committee of Both Kingdoms on July 13 that "the enemy are drawing into a great body at Newbury to relieve both Greenland House and Basing. Captain Baxter, the Governor of Hurst Castle, is to provide a deputy, and himself to remain on service at Basing."

The "Scottish Dove" of July 12 is jubilant: "Greenland House is taken, and it will not be long before Basing House be in the same case to beg for a Parliamentary passe."

Greenland House was surrendered on June 12 after a brave resistance of six months. Clarendon says (Bk. viii.): "Greenland House could not possibly be longer defended, the whole structure being beaten down by the cannon." With playful sarcasm it is recorded on July 12: "Colonell Onslow's men courteously permitting eight of our foot to fetch six beasts grazing before their workes. At night Coronet (Cornet) Bryan and some troopers passing a messenger by Cowdreye's Downe (to Oxford) bring in two prisoners." This capture was of great service to the besieged, for it was announced in London on July 15 that an assault would have been made upon Basing House had not "two men through negligence taken prisoners," given information to the garrison. Browne was on the eve of marching to Reading "that I may be nearer the forces before Basing House," as Hopton was planning a visit to either Reading or Basing. Colonel Sydenham reported a success at Wareham, in Dorsetshire. He took many prisoners and "hoped to have distressed that garrison, had he not been prevented by a party of 800 horse of Sir Ralph Hopton's." A letter written at Basing on the same day alluding to the construction of mines, says that Colonel Norton was then quartered in Basingstoke, and that Colonel Jones, the Governor of Farnham Castle, occupied Basing Church, whilst Colonels Onslow, Morley, and Whitehead were entrenched round the House. The besiegers were 3000 in number. Some of the chimneys of the house had been battered down, and a few small breaches had been made. The garrison was very quiet, and a prisoner reported a scarcity of meat, and that there was "only puddly and bad water to drink." Waller was ordered on the 17th "to send a great party towards Dorchester (or other place at his discretion), for better securing those parts, to infest the enemy, hinder his recruits, and secure the parts about Basing," and Colonel Stapeley of Sussex was thanked by Parliament for his "readiness to send some supply for assistance of the forces before Basing."

On July 18 a flaring bonfire in the park and two volleys along the whole line proclaimed a welcome to the Parliamentary Committee sent to Basingstoke to urge forward matters at stubborn Basing.

Clarendon says that the weather at the end of June was very warm, and heat now

began to increase the distress of the defenders. The "Court Mercurie" of July 20 has the following: "The Seidge at Basing House still continues, as wee are credibly informed (however the Malignants may pretend the contrary), the besiegers have planted some pieces of battery against it, and made divers breaches through the house, and are resolved in case they refuse to surrender it speedily to storne it, the besieged say that they have plenty of meat, but so tainted by reason of the weather and for want of salt and seasoning, that it is very infectious, and many of them have dyed lately through the extremity of the disease it has bred among them." The water supply seems at all times to have been abundant, though not always of good quality.

Foreign engineers have done their best to strengthen Basing, for in "A Looking Glass for the Popish Garrisons" we read: "Could those tall walls, bulwarkes, and forts that were cast up by the subtile art of the forraign engineers be scaled without a fall?" Having, however, been thrown up in haste they were "in many places slender, and nowhere finished."

On July 20 a party of musketeers sally out, and do some execution in the lane before they are ordered to retire, and at the same time a captain of Colonel Morley's regiment is killed by a shot from the works. Two hours afterwards a drum is sent into the garrison with letters for the exchange of prisoners, but really to inform the Cavaliers that Colonel Norton had returned in safety from the defeat of Sir William Waller at Cropredy Bridge, and to gain time to draw one if not two mortar pieces secretly to the trenches, from which as soon as the drum had returned, a shell of 80 lb. is fired during the evening into the house, "concluding their devotion and the day with thundering from their culverins, two (shot) passed through the quarters where our sick men lay, but without hurt."

At Donnington Castle, the friend and ally of Basing House, there were fired "a 500 and odd bullets, most of them 36 lb., some six, some 12."

Mr. Boutell says ("Arms and Armour," p. 231): "Until about the middle of the seventeenth century mortars were invariably discharged by double firing. The process of loading, while this system of firing prevailed, was very slow and tedious. After the powder had been placed in the chamber of the mortar it was closed in by a wooden board or shutter made to fit the bore of the piece; then this board was covered with turf, and, over the turf, again, earth was placed; and, finally, on the earth the shell with its live or lighted fusee was made to rest in such a manner that it was only partially enclosed within the mortar. All this required time. The gunner lighted the fusee of the shell with one hand, while with the other hand he fired the mortar from which it would be discharged."

The morning of the 22nd, says the "Diary of the Siege," saw the enemy's lines much advanced, and a sconce or redoubt finished, which was intended to prevent their battery in the Park from being attacked on the flank. The Marquis himself is wounded by a bullet, and two men are killed by chance shot. Another account says,

"The hurt within is not much, the Marquis hurt, two men killed by chain shot." A small gun called a cabonet had its carriage broken by a shot from one of the besiegers' culverins. The cabonet fired projectiles of not more than 2 lb. in weight. The following night being dark and stormy, tried and trusty Edward Jeffrey, whose name is still continued in Basingstoke, is despatched to Oxford. But the same night that favoured the muffled-up trooper with his load of despatches close to his heart, favoured also the stealthy flight of eight Roundhead prisoners, who got back to their leaguer with reports that made "our allowance of great shot to be next day doubled, and at night more granadoes."

Honest Edward Jeffrey was, no doubt, in disguise, for we are told that the Royalists were constantly passing through the country for Parliament men, with orange tawny scarfs and ribbons. He carried news of successful resistance, which was, of course, speedily exaggerated, for to the Royal army near Crediton in Devonshire came "Newes this day (Satterday, 27th July, 1644) that Basing House had slayne many of the besiegers, and had raised the siege which had layne before to it long." On July 22 likewise Portsmouth was ordered to supply "20 barrels of powder, one tun of match, and bullets proportionable" to Colonel Sydenham at Poole, as the King was marching towards him.

Wednesday, July 24, must have been a very wet day, and on the following day the low grounds were flooded, and "the trenches on the towne (Basing) side in the Meads flote with the quantity of rain that fell, thereby forcing them to lye more open to our towers, from whence our Markes men spoyled divers."

Nor did the enemy fare better elsewhere. On the other side towards the Basingstoke Bulwark, the garrison had constructed "a Blind," or a structure of timber, covered with earth and loopholed, from which sped forth a deadly leaden hail.

Under cover of the darkness a strong Puritan working party is sent into the trenches near the lane, but "two pieces charged with case (shot) so luckily are placed upon them that they were heard complain their suffering."

Early next morning, the musketeers are again at their loop-holes in "the Blind," and pick off an officer and several men. A cow is seen grazing, and the grunt of poor piggy is heard near the Blind and the Basingstoke Bulwark. A trooper gallops forth in search of milk and bacon, and piggy and the cow are led away captive, under cover of volleys from both sides, Colonel Norton's men getting the worst of it. All the evening long is heard the cannon's roar, and six shells in addition hurtle through the air. One falls in the granary and spoils some corn, and two others fail to explode. Shell practice and half rations combined are too much for weak nerves, and "at night two souldiers run to them."

The morning of July 27 shows a traverse or mound of earth, about the height of a man, across the meadow from the burnt mill (nearly opposite the present dove-cot) commanding the way to the Blind, which had proved so disastrous to the enemy on

the previous day. Nor had Colonel Morley been idle. He had made his quarter more secure by enclosing the nearer side of an old orchard.

Stone shot can do good service sometimes. During the night six stones of the same size as the 36 lb. shells are hurled from one of the mortars. "Each day continuing like allowance, these and the granades for a while seemed troublesome, but afterwards became by custom so familiar to the souldier, that they were called as they counted them, Bables (*i.e.*, Baubles), their mischiefs only lighting on the house, and that the lesse, our courts being large and many."

"Mercurius Aulicus" tells us that Sunday, July 28, was an eventful day. Lieutenant Cuffand, of the Marquis' regiment, and Cornet Bryan, of Lieutenant-Colonel Peake's troop, sallied forth at the head of forty horse, charged the rebels in their works, killing between twenty and thirty of them, and capturing ten prisoners. They also "took an Orange Colour of Horse, and one Trumpet, and pursued the rebels to Basingstoke's towne's end, slashing and doing execution all the way." On July 30 a jet of flame from Basing Church tells that a culverin has been planted there, for the purpose of breaching a tower from which Cavalier marksmen had caused much annoyance to the enemy in that direction. Firing continued from the other guns already in position. So "ends the yeare of the place's being garrisoned, and the second month of the Leaguer" (*i.e.*, siege). The Cathedral clergy at Salisbury now shared once more in the troubles of the Civil War. On August 3, Lieut.-General Middleton wrote to the House of Commons, saying that certain plate, hangings, copes, cushions, and a pulpit cloth had been "seized on by the common soldiers in Salisbury Church," and five days afterwards the articles in question were "all brought in to the view of the House." It was thereupon ordered that the plate and pulpit cloth should be restored to the Cathedral, the superstitious representations upon them having been first defaced. The copes, hangings, and cushions, having first been similarly defaced, were to be sent back to Sir William Waller to be sold, and the proceeds were then to be shared "among the soldiers that took them, and brought them up!" The cope chest is still to be seen in the Cathedral.

Amongst the earliest Laws and Ordinances of War, established for the army under the Earl of Essex in 1643, it was ordered "all such who shall violate places of public worship to undergo severe censure." But if the proceeds of such violation were thus shared amongst the plunderers, few would hesitate to incur the censure!

On August 4, it was reported from Southampton that 100 infantry from that town, together with four troops of horse, under Captain Braxtone, brother to the Mayor of Winchester, and Captains Fielder, Santbrook, and Thomas Bettworth, jun. (Bettesworth, whose home was in the Cathedral Close), were facing Winchester, as the gates of both the city and castle had been, at the instigation of the clergy, shut against the forces of the Parliament. Captain Thomas Beesworth (Bettesworth) with some fourteen horse had ridden forth from the head-quarters, which had been established within two miles of Winchester, in order to transact business with some other officers. He returned

about midnight, and found his watch of horse not set, which made him suspect the presence of a hostile force. None such, however, appeared. Captain Bettsworth approached the city wall unseen, and entered an unguarded breach over a heap of rubbish. Two men were left in charge of the horses, and the rest hurried through the silent streets, hoping to secure the sleeping Mayor and certain Royalist clergymen. They were soon discovered. There was a hasty call to arms, and they retreated in haste, carrying off four prisoners, who were at once sent under escort to Southampton.

A letter written in the Isle of Wight on August 8 states that "persecuted godly ministers" were taking refuge there, and gaining numerous adherents for the Parliament. Sir Gregory Norton was a staunch Parliamentarian. Many of the inhabitants thought a large defensive force unnecessary, as they already had 100 militiamen and thirty guns. £3000 per annum was allowed for defence, and the local committee might spend more if necessary. The Earl of Pembroke had been settling matters, and was said to be "much affected with honest godly preachers; he hears their sermons frequently; and is in converse with them ordinarily, and hath much improved his own and the public's good." On August 21, the Committee "for placing well affected ministers in Hants" was ordered to assemble at three o'clock in the afternoon at the Exchequer, and also at whatever other times they might think fit, six members forming a quorum. The Earl of Pembroke found that "all the companies they had there except Bondman's were disbanded, and three of them gone out of the island, whereof Sir Gregory Norton's was one," but he nevertheless persuaded the Commissioners and gentlemen of the island "to send 500 able and expert soldiers" to the army of the Earl of Essex, who was then in Cornwall. On Monday the Lieutenant of the Ordnance was ordered to send "a ton of bullet, with proportion of match, to the Isle of Wight." The Committee of the West were also to send thither 500 swords and 300 bandoliers, which were to be paid for from the fine of one-twentieth part of his estate assessed upon Mr. Palmer, then a prisoner in the Fleet.

On August 1 a Kentish regiment under the command of Sir Michael Livesay was quartered at Chobham, in Surrey, in readiness to aid the besiegers of Basing House. Sir William Waller was himself in London, but his army, consisting of 3500 horse, and 1500 foot, was at Abingdon, Newbridge, and other places near Oxford, with the garrison of which city there were continuous skirmishes. The siege of Basing House was meanwhile in active progress, and on July 31 it is evident that the enemy mean to come to close quarters. One of the defences of the house is known as "Basing Bulwarke," and within half musket shot of this by the woodside, "towards Basing towne a little wood" another platform is commenced. "Towards evening praying, the shot (it having been their fast) they spared all day." At night they ran a trench from the church to their work at the woodside. Four of the garrison deserted, and exaggerated the damage done by stones and grenades, whereupon they "send us

store, one whereof firing our hay, falling into the barne, had done much hurt, had not our diligence soon quenched it."

Hitherto the soldiers had been on guard for forty-eight hours at a time, but this being found too harassing, the garrison was divided into two parts, who relieved each other every twenty-four hours. Gentlemen and troopers also did their part, and the Marquis highly commends them for having throughout the siege performed the duties of both cavalry and infantry (with the exception of standing sentry). They took part in all sallies, sometimes on horseback and at other times on foot, armed with muskets or brown bills. For seven weeks did they maintain their horses with grass and sedge, which they cut at night, at the risk of their lives, close to the enemy's works.

A letter sent from Basingstoke to London on Thursday, August 1, stated that the besieged had suffered considerable loss from the shells which had been hurled into the garrison. Nine prisoners had escaped from the house, which they said was still well provisioned, but was held only by "250 men very weary of the fort. They were very still in the house, and answer neither by drum, trumpet, nor cannon."

There was good reason for this ominous quietness, for on Saturday, August 3, the terrible malady of small-pox was reported to be raging in the garrison, so that many officers were endeavouring to escape, either through fear of infection or on account of private quarrels. Some writers have concluded from an expression in the "Diary of the Siege" that the garrison were suffering from the effects of their own licentiousness, but a hostile writer distinctly states that small-pox was the malady which was working havoc within the walls. It was said that the King had counselled a surrender, but that Lord Winchester had made reply "that, under His Majesty's favour, the place was his, and that he was resolved to keep it as long as he could." The besiegers about this time received thirty more shells and some additional mortar-pieces.

On August 3 an unsuccessful attack was made upon the house, but one shell damaged the building, as did also another "beating down part of the mill wall." There was now a rumour in the besiegers' line that provisions were diminishing, and that a surrender might be expected ere long. Colonel Norton preferred starving out the garrison to taking the place by storm. The Cavaliers had hitherto been careful of their men, expecting that the besiegers would be strongly reinforced, but seeing that their number did not increase, bolder counsels were adopted. "Our" men were few in number, much spent with labour, discouraged by divers wants, and the prevalence of disease. The rebels could be annoyed, and their works retarded, whilst prisoners could be compelled to give useful information. An able writer in "All the Year Round" (April 4, 1874), says: "Almost at that moment an opportunity set fire to the powder. A party of Puritan foot can be seen from the tower lying loosely like stray sheep in Waller's Work, on the green slope of Cowdry Down. There the knaves are, the lazy loons, sprinkled about like so much black pepper on a green cloth. Out dash twenty Cavalier horse (commanded by Lieutenant

Cuffand, a relative doubtless of Major Cuffand) while Cornet Bryan, with twenty more wild fellows, slips in between the other rogues and the hedge. Their guard of horse stand in somewhat too loose order. Hark, forward! Hey there! spur all together; away run the louts flying like mad dogs to Basingstoke; every moment one is sabred or shot down, or torn off his horse, with a shake and a curse and a slash and a stab; and here comes Cornet Bryan, with eyes only for one fair face blushing at him from the battlements, with a trumpet in one hand and their colours red and wet over his dusty shoulder. Seven horses and three sour trooper prisoners follow at his heels. Eleven of their foot were left stretched out dead, and four bound and dragged in prisoners—a pretty good haul for one throw of the net, our men returning under command of their cannon without the loss of a man." At the commencement of this skirmish the besiegers thought that the long-expected relief had arrived, and began to fly in confusion from their works in the Park, but speedily discovering their mistake, they returned, and kept up a hot fire of shot and shell. Meanwhile the prisoners who had been captured by Cornet Bryan stated that the deserter from the garrison had given information to the enemy that Basing Bulwark was especially weak (as was indeed the case), and that the next attack would be made in that quarter. All hands to work! and Basing Bulwark and other weak points are strengthened with hastily-constructed defences. The assailants said that this sortie was made "to the Grange Field about evening sermon time," and admitted the capture of an ensign and a trumpeter. On August 5, which "*Mercurius Aulicus*" notes as being the anniversary of the celebrated Gowrie Conspiracy, Lords Saye and Maitland reached the Hampshire Committee at Basingstoke with instructions from the Parliament. Colonel Norton was not to be caught napping a second time, and it was now easy to see that the guard at Waller's Work on Cowdrey Down had been doubled, and pikes, evidently intended to repel a cavalry charge, could be seen glinting in the sun-light. The besiegers' cavalry were also much more on the alert. In the Park the siege works were now very close to the defenders' batteries, especially near the wood on the side of the village. Cannonading went on incessantly, great shot, stones, and three kinds of shell being literally rained upon the House. The assailants were now close enough to throw in hand-grenades as well. The Committee of Both Kingdoms now told the Committee for Hants that "Basing in great want of match; if you keep them in continual alarms they will not be able to hold out for the want thereof." Colonel Morley's troop now belonged to Lieutenant-General Middleton's regiment.

Such is the daily programme until August 10, when Colonel Whitehead brings up his regiment, five companies strong, through Basingstoke to Cowdrey Down, and occupies the Delve, a still existing chalk pit, which is now known as Oliver Cromwell's Delve. This regiment had scarcely been a month raised before it thus marched to Basing, but it fought bravely nevertheless. Special mention is made of Cornet Doven, who "being a mighty proper man flew out so desperately" that he

took two helmets. He is also said to have distinguished himself in some unrecorded manner at Romsey Abbey Church.

To give welcome and amusement to the new comers, and to show what their guns can do to "proud, stubborn, and malignant Basing," a heavy fire is concentrated on "a round tower in the old castle," which at length falls with a heavy crash. In the etching ascribed to Hollar we see "The Tower that is Halfe Battered Downe." As the siege guns were placed in the Park, this statement throws some light on the disputed question of the position of the old and new houses.

But the Marquis paid them back next morning in their own coin. Major Cuffand, in command of six files of musketeers and twenty troopers, armed with brown bills, sallied forth into the Park and attacked their outward lines, killing some of them, burning their "blinds" and baskets, and bringing off a mortar with store of arms and tools, with a loss of only two men wounded. During "the amazement" caused by this bold sortie, Lieutenant Snow (who, from his name, seems to have been Hampshire born), with twenty musketeers and twelve men armed with bills, attacked the works in the lane (or lower road) and did considerable execution, breaking their demi-culverin, setting fire to their guard-house and baskets, and capturing, besides arms and tools, a welcome supply of ammunition, which proved most serviceable. The enemy were so chafed by their misfortunes that Captain Oram (who commanded the guard that day) was tried by a court-martial for neglect and cowardice, and cashiered, narrowly escaping with life. The "Diary of the Siege" is poor Captain Oram's best witness: "For neglect and cowardice (running as others then and after did), holding correspondence with the place (where no man knew him), and sending in ammunition (which was never received) with the hazard of life is cashiered their service. A sentence much like that against the Earl of Strafford made with caution not to be brought to president (precedent) for after times, least it too nearly might concern themselves."

Captain Oram's family lived in the lower part of the city of Winchester, and a token issued in 1664 by William Oram, who dwelt near the Eastgate, and was the founder of the Winchester Free School, is still in existence.

On Saturday, August 10, Colonel Francis Thompson, who had lost his leg at Cheriton Fight, presented a petition, which was referred from the Upper to the Lower House, to the effect that he was "very infirm through the many wounds he has received, and was in great want for supply of monies which are due unto him for his pay." Nine days afterwards Sir William Waller was ordered to march westward forthwith from Farnham, to which place he had retreated from the neighbourhood of Oxford, with his horse and dragoons. He was empowered to seize horses for his expedition in the five western Associated Counties, upon the security of the public faith, and his infantry were when mounted to "have the pay, officers and soldiers, as dragooneers." Waller writes from Farnham on August 28, and also on September 1,

saying that he is willing to march on receipt of £500, and of horses for his mounted infantry. But he was in a sorry plight.

Forage was scarce in Basing House, and, during the night of August 11, the encouraged Cavaliers constructed an earthwork near the Grange, near the foot of Cowdrey's Down, in order to secure the meadows for the troopers, who were obliged whenever the nights were dark to sally forth to cut grass and sedge for their horses.

During the next few days the besiegers continued to fire their culverins, but were chiefly busied in the preparation of gabions, brushwood, and turf, with a view to future operations, and in filling gabions with grass, so that they might the less readily be set on fire.

During this partial lull, let us see what measures were being taken for the relief of "Loyalty House." Clarendon says (Bk. viii.), of Basing: "It was so closely begirt before the King's march into the West, and was looked upon as a place of such importance, that when the King sent notice to Oxford of his resolution to march into the West (he set out on Monday, July 1) the Council humbly desired His Majesty that he would make Basing his way, and thereby relieve it, which His Majesty found would have retarded his march too much, and might have invited Waller to follow him, and therefore declined it. From that time the Marquis, by frequent expresses, importuned the Lords of the Council to provide in some manner for his relief, and not to suffer his Person, and a place from whence the Rebels received so much prejudice, to fall into their hands. The Lady Marchioness, his wife, was then in Oxford (in Murray's Handbook for Hampshire she is credited with the authorship of the Diary of the Siege), and solicited very diligently the timely preservation of her husband; which made everybody desire to gratify her, being a Lady of great honour and alliance, as sister to the Earl of Essex, and to the Lady Marchioness of Hertford; who was likewise in the town, and engaged her husband to take this business to heart, and all the Roman Catholics, who were numerous in the town, looked upon themselves as concerned to contribute all they could to the good work, and so offered to list themselves and their servants in the Service."

"The Council, both on publick and private motives, was very heartily disposed to effect it; and had several conferences together, and with the officers; in all of which the Governour too reasonably opposed the design as full of more difficulties, and liable to greater damages than any soldier who understood command would expose himself and the King's Service to; and protested that he would not suffer any of the small garrison that was under his charge to be hazarded in the attempt." (The Governor of Oxford was Sir Arthur Aston, who was afterwards killed at the storming of Drogheda.) "It was very true, Basing was near 40 miles from Oxford, and in the way between them, the enemy had a strong garrison of Horse and Foot at Abingdon, and as strong at Reading, whose horse every day visited all the highways near, besides a body of Horse and Dragoons quartered at Newbury; so that it appeared

to most men hardly possible to send a party to Basing, and impossible for that party to return to Oxford, if they should be able to get to Basing."

Stout "Loyalty House" was therefore left for the present to shift for itself, which it was very well able to do. Messengers still contrived to make their way to the King, for about this time "a party of horse broke out by night and rode away for Wallingford or Oxford." At the dead of night on August 12, Colonel Norton's drums beat to arms and the Cavaliers expect an assault, but do not cease their labour at their new works on the side towards the village. Between three and four o'clock in the morning a trumpet sounds clear and shrill from out the Delve or chalk pit on Cowdrey's Down, and at once fifty musketeers make a fierce attack upon Lord Winchester's working parties, but are speedily repulsed. Simultaneously sixty other musketeers, under cover of the little wood which proved such an annoyance to the besieged, succeed in reaching the moat close to the royalist batteries, but are received with well-directed volleys by the guard stationed at the park bulwark which flanked the ditch, whereupon they retire in haste, some of them flinging away their arms in their flight. Three guns loaded with case shot open fire upon the fugitives, whose retreat is covered by a heavy cannonade from their own works. Thinking it necessary to connect the large fort in the park with the works in and about the lower road or lane, Colonel Norton's engineers commence a trench for that purpose. The cannon are silent all the next day, but after dark there is another false alarm.

Towards the evening of Wednesday, August 14, Lieutenant Cuffand and that wild horseman Cornet Bryan pull on their big buff boots, toss off a sufficient dose of sack, and ride forth each at the head of twenty horse and forty musketeers to Cowdrey's Down, where they drive the foot from Wallers' Work, rout the guard of horse, and chase them as far as Basingstoke. Reinforced, the Roundheads roll back the tide of victory. Brave Cornet Bryan and a trooper are knocked down and hemmed in, three others being wounded meanwhile, and Ensign Amory, a London vintner, killed. The sortie is, nevertheless, successful. The loss of the enemy is heavy, and there are captured, Lieut. Cooper, a corporal of horse, and seven others, who say that four days previously Colonel Morley had been wounded by a bullet in the shoulder, whilst inspecting the works in the park. The accounts published in London of this affair stated that about fifty horsemen rode out of the house on the Basingstoke side, intending to break through Colonel Morley's quarters in the park, but they marched up to Colonel Onslowe's quarters in the lower road and close towards Basingstoke, because "upon the borders of these two Colonels' quarters they intended to break through." The enemy were, however, on the alert, and gave them a warm reception, killing seven of them, capturing five, and cutting off the retreat to the house of either ten or seventeen others, who fled, "among which one is supposed to be a very eminent commander," either Lord Winchester, Sir Marmaduke Rawdon, or some person of distinction, but who was, in reality, brave Cornet Bryan. The rest of the party were beaten into the house with loss, and some of them were wounded.

The captive Cavaliers, on being questioned, said that "the garrison holds out because the king's party will show them no favour if they surrender, and were they out, they know not how to live or where, most of them being broken citizens and notorious Papists."

The capture of Cornet Bryan was duly reported to the House of Commons on August 21, by Colonel Jones, who reached London on that day. He also stated that Farnham Castle was in a good state of defence, being threatened by no enemy, and that as the besiegers of Basing House had three infantry regiments before it, he had withdrawn his two White Companies from Basing to Farnham. The besiegers had made a large breach on the east side of the house near the park. Two days, August 15 and 16, were spent in negotiations for an exchange of prisoners. One wounded Cavalier was exchanged for three of the enemy in like condition. The garrison "offering Lieutenant Cooper and the Corporal (both stout men, wounded, and taken fighting) for our Coronet (Cornet Bryan), but would not be accepted, so much they valued him!"

The parley being at an end, hostilities recommenced, three shells being thrown in during the night, one of which did not explode.

From Sir Edward Walker, Secretary of His Majesty's Council of War, we learn that preparations were now actively making for the relief of the gallant little garrison. In "His Majesty's Happy Progress and Success from the 30th of March to the 23rd of November, 1644," we read: "August 14th. Now in this time of expectation we had leisure to enquire after the actions of those rebels we had left behind us, and in what conditions His Majesty's Garrisons stood, whereof Basing we left besieged, and Banbury and Donnington Castles were since surrounded by the Rebels."

On the night of August 16, a deserter from the garrison gives information of an intended sortie in the direction of Waller's Work and the Delve on Cowdrey Downe, to protect which latter point a battery has been for some days in process of construction. Thus forewarned, they strengthen Waller's Work with gabions. The sortie is, however, at first most successful. The 300 men of Colonel Whitehead's regiment, who were quartered in the Delve, fly from it for their lives, carrying their colours with them. The Royalist troopers are over keen in pursuit, and the enemy are speedily reinforced. It is now indeed time to draw rein, for, see, the musketeers from Holloway's Mill are lining the hedges of the meadows in force. Only the coming up of the infantry from the house saves those bold riders from destruction. During the evening a culverin is placed in the newly-raised battery at the Delve, which, together with the culverin near the church, keeps up a fire upon the house. During the night three more of the garrison desert.

The 19th of August is a full noisy day. A demi-cannon, throwing a 30 lb. shot, with a charge of 28 lbs. of powder, is got up to the battery near the wood, and the enemy fire forty-eight shot. On the two following days they expended eight score more rounds, the least shot discharged weighing 18 lbs., besides shells. Two men are killed and two others "mischieved." Lord Winchester's best iron gun is "broken,"

and a breach made in one of the square towers, besides damage to the battery in front of it. This last injury officers and soldiers alike take spade in hand to repair, with the result of making it able to resist 60 lb. shot, whereas before field pieces had left evident traces upon it.

A hostile letter from Basing, which was published in the "Weekly Account" on Friday, August 23, speaks of the capture of Cornet Bryan, of the great breach which had been made in the house, and of considerable damage done to Lord Winchester's private apartments by cannon shot. The writer continues, "and that a bullet came through in his own bedchamber, himself being at that very instant time in bed, which had like to have put him into the very same deportment as his father the old Marquis was in . . . for he was so struck with fear that he leaped out of his bed, and ran into another room without his breeches, crying out that he wondered how the Roundheads could find him out, for he thought he had been safe in his bed!" During the week ending August 27, ten Roundhead prisoners "in the New prison at Basing" had made a rope ladder, and endeavoured to escape, but were caught in the act, and only one got clear off. This seems to show that the garrison prison was situated in the New House.

The fire slackens on Thursday, August 22, and they "permit the night enjoy its proper silence, disturbed only by such whose baseness prompted them with hope to gaine by craft what by their force they could not, shooting Notes fixed to arrowes with proffers of preferment to the souldier perswading mutinies, and labouring divisions 'twixt the regiments, leaving no stone unturned, but all in vaine, except the gaining some faint-hearted knaves."

We may judge of the character of these missives from what occurred at the siege of Gloucester, as related in John Vicar's Parliamentary Chronicle (p. 405), "Sunday, September 3rd, 1643 :

"In which said dayes afternoone a paper was shot upon an arrow into the towne wherein were these words :

" 'These are to let you understand that your God Waller hath forsaken you, and hath retired himself to the Tower of London. Essex is beaten like a dog. Yield to the King's mercie in time, otherwise if we enter perforce no quarter for such obstinate traiterly rogues.

From a WEL-WISHER.'

"To which presently upon another arrow was returned this answer :

" 'Waller's no god of ours, base rogues yee lye
Our God survives from all eternity.
Though Essex beaten be, as you do say,
Rome's yoke we purpose never to obey.
But for our cabages which ye have eaten,
Be sure, ere long, ye shall be soundly beaten.
Quarter wee'l aske ye none ; if we fall downe
King Charles will lose true subjects with the towne.'

"So sayes your best friend, if you make timely use of him

Nicholas cudgell you well."

"Roundheads," "carrett beards," and "Essex calves" were some of the pleasant names applied by the Cavalier to his opponents in this fratricidal war.

The 23rd and 24th of August are signalised in Basing House by the unwelcome arrival of cross bar shot, logs of wood bound with iron hoops, and shells, "whereof two miss firing. Two more run to them."

The heavy battery near the wood with its 30-pounder having greatly torn the tower, the besiegers on August 25 commence a battery within pistol shot on the side of Basing village, in order to complete its demolition. Two men of the garrison are killed, and a third maimed by artillery fire in another quarter. "In the park they shew a Sow made for their musquetiers, thrusting before them for to play behind." The Sow was "made with boards lined with wool to dead the shot." There is a sketch of this very curious machine in Grose's "Military Antiquities." At Corfe Castle, in the preceding year, boards, hair, and wool for making a sow against the Castle cost £2 3s. 4d. The machine had three truckle wheels, and its failure at Corfe Castle is thus described:

"The first that moved forward was the sow, but not being musket proof she cast nine out of eleven of her farrow; for the musketeers from the castle were so good marksmen at their legs, the only part of all their bodies left without defence, that nine ran away as well as their broken and battered legs would give them leave, and of the two which knew neither how to run away nor well to stay for fear, one was slain."

Two desertions from Basing House on this, and four more on the following night! This will never do. One would-be deserter has been caught in the act, and is at once hanged, whereupon "for a long time not one man that stirred, though our necessities grew fast upon us, now drinking water, and for some weeks making our bread with pease and oats, our stock of wheat being spent." Hard times, truly!

The besiegers now extend their lines almost completely round the house, forming the line of circumvallation which, according to Hugh Peters, was more than a mile in circumference. A hostile redoubt is also constructed opposite to the Basingstoke Bulwark. Its site is perhaps marked by a still existing mound. The garrison are reluctantly compelled to abandon the work on Cowdrey Down, which secured to them the command of the meadows, as it is too much exposed, and they have not sufficient men to hold it. The enemy's culverin in the battery at The Delve having been broken, another is substituted, which opens fire on August 28. The next night five horses grazing in the meadows are carried off to Norton's lines, and twenty-four hours afterwards two troopers cutting grass are also captured.

The ever-active foe now divert the course of the river Loddon, hoping thus to be able to get possession of The Grange, but the construction of a dam, which increases the depth of water, frustrates their hopes.

So ends the month of August 1644, the events of which are thus summarised by another author:

"For a fortnight the besiegers fell a-battering. Having torn the Tower, they fall upon the House side next the Town, making a work within pistol-shot, and, because of short commons within, some of cowardice get out to the enemy. Whilst necessities increased, no beverage but water, no bread but of pease and oats, other corn all spent."

Two of the besiegers' cannon had been rendered useless during the recent bombardment, either through being overloaded or from too rapid firing, but other heavy guns had recently been sent from Portsmouth, and others were expected to arrive from thence ere long.

The Earl of Essex agreed, at the instigation of Lord Roberts (or Robartes), a man of impetuous disposition and full of contradictions, to invade loyal Cornwall, whither he was quickly followed by the King in person, and speedily reduced to extremities. The Parliament were extremely anxious that Waller, who on August 29 was at Farnham with no large force, should at once march to the relief of Essex. This he professed his readiness to do, on being joined by some Kentish regiments numbering 1500 horse and foot, by Colonel Stapley, who was on the march from Chichester with 500 old soldiers, and by 500 additional troops from the Isle of Wight. Various reinforcements, including some three or four pounder "drakes," had, on September 10, raised the strength of his army to 4000 men. But on August 31, "the slow-going, inarticulate, indignant, somewhat elephantine man," as Carlyle styles the Earl of Essex, was forced by the King to surrender at Fowey, in Cornwall.

After the surrender it was agreed that Essex's infantry (his cavalry had escaped through the misconduct of Goring), should be secured from plunder, by the protection of a convoy to either Poole or Southampton.

Clarendon (Bk. viii.) continues: "Of the 6000, for so many marched out of Foy, there did not a third part come as far as Southampton, where the King's convoy left them; to which Skippon gave a large testimony under his hand 'that they had carried themselves with great civility towards them, and fully complied with their obligation.'"

We shall meet with Essex and his army again ere long.

CHAPTER XXIV

WALLER'S DIFFICULTIES—BASING SIEGE—RELIEF BY COLONEL GAGE

ON Sunday, September 1, Sir William Waller had received a reinforcement of 1200 or more infantry at Farnham, and on the same day the House of Commons voted a weekly assessment, to continue for twelve months, by which £125 per week was to be raised in Hampshire, in which county Winchester, Southampton, and the Isle of Wight were by name included. On September 1 likewise it was ordered that 6000 foot arms, 6000 coats, breeches, shirts, stockings, shoes, and caps should be sent to Portsmouth for distribution to the infantry of Essex's army, "and 500 pairs of pistols for recruiting the Lord General's horse." The arms were "to be put to the proof." Many of these arms and stores, together with much powder and ammunition, were sent to Portsmouth on Sunday and Monday, September 8 and 9, Essex having appointed that fortress as a place of rendezvous for his army. He himself was at Portsmouth on September 14. The following Chronogram was circulated amongst Cavaliers after the defeat of Essex in Cornwall:

"VIVat Rex CoMes EsseXIV's DIssIpatVr."

For the large Roman capital letters substitute the equivalent Arabic numerals, add them up, and the result gives the correct date, 1644.

The Earl of Pembroke received the thanks of the House of Commons on September 2, for raising 500 infantry in the Isle of Wight. The Parliamentary Committee for the Island were ordered to send these men by sea to Weymouth, so as to meet Sir William Waller, who on September 6 wrote from Farnham, saying that he was starting westward with all diligence, that he was short of horses, but that his infantry had advanced two miles beyond Basingstoke. Next day he was supplied with 118 barrels of powder at a cost of £490 7s. 6d. He on the same day granted a commission to Colonel Popham, Major Ludlow (who gave up his former commission), and others to raise a regiment of horse from the western counties, in which Ludlow was to command a troop. Essex had shamefully left his army in Cornwall to its fate, but on September 7, within a week of his disgraceful flight, he was informed by the Speakers of the two Houses "that his fidelity and merit in the

public service is not lessened; and they are resolved not to be wanting in their best endeavours for the repairing of this loss."

Prince Rupert was expected to march into the southern counties, and orders were accordingly issued on September 7 to Sir William Waller and the Earl of Manchester to advance with all speed towards Dorchester, so as to check the advance of the King's army. The Earl of Manchester reached Huntingdon with his army on September 8, and was directed to march westward towards Abingdon with all possible expedition, and to send advertisement of his progress as he advanced. The town of Wareham, in Dorsetshire, had been held for the King by some 500 Irishmen, under the command of Lord Inchiquin, who about this time surrendered their trust to the Parliament, and on September 7 Colonel Jephson was ordered to billet these 500 soldiers at Hayling Island. They were to receive the sum of £1200 and 300 old muskets, which were then in the public magazine, under the charge of Lieut.-Colonel Roe. Ships were also to be employed or chartered at a cost of £200 to carry them back to Ireland.

Ludlow's men were ordered to stand fast at Salisbury. Of them more anon. On the same day Waller, who was at Wootton St. Lawrence, heard of the surrender of Essex in Cornwall from Captain Guillaume, his men being quartered at "Maindown" (Manydown), near Overton. He was short of horses for his guns, and proposed to leave his infantry to help the besiegers of Basing. On the 9th Essex, who was asking for 6000 arms and as many suits of clothes for his "poor naked foot" at Portsmouth, is told by the Committee of Both Kingdoms that Waller and the Earl of Manchester have been ordered to march with all speed to Dorchester "in order to hold the ground till his own troops could be re-equipped" (Gardiner). £1000 was to be spent in the Isle of Wight on meal, corn, bread, and cheese for the garrison of Plymouth, and 400 men from the Island were to be sent thither. The Lieut.-Governor of Portsmouth is "to deal with the officers and soldiers at Portsmouth intended for Ireland to assist in the storming of Basing House, and if they be willing to send them thither." Waller is to march to Dorchester "and not to stay on any design for Basing House." These shifty Irishmen duly expressed themselves as "willing to assist in the taking of Basing. We shall take it for a very good service." Waller had reached Salisbury with his horse on the 10th, but "the new Kentish regiment of foot were so tired that they have taken up their quarters at Wallop." The Isle of Wight and Sussex men were safely at Weymouth and Lyme Regis. He was trying to mount the few men from Abingdon, but 200 of the Farnham regiment were detained at Basing, and he had no news either of Colonel Ludlow, or of Colonel Massey's horse from Malmsbury. He had "only 700 or 800 horse, 150 dragoons, and about 900 musketeers if I can mount them." There was nothing, he said, to stop the enemy from marching to London. Pass two days, and 100 barrels of powder and ten tons of match were sent to Portsmouth for Essex and Waller, together with £5000 for the latter. Waller was at Blandford on the 20th, and on

the day before Essex wrote from Portsmouth saying that it was "a place of very great conscience, but very ill-provided of all things, there being great want of men and no money to pay them, no magazine of corn, the works go to decay, and few carriages able to endure a shot."

Twelve waggon loads of arms speedily reached him under convoy from Farnham. Waller wrote from Shaftesbury on the 21st, waiting to attack the King, who was now on his return from Cornwall to Oxford. He wanted the 300 men from the Isle of Wight, as Colonel Norton was still detaining the two Farnham companies at Basing. £5000 was needed if his army was not to disband, and four days afterwards Colonel Dalbier was quartered at Wallop.

A portion of Essex's army was on September 21 at Southampton, daily receiving much-needed supplies, and four days afterwards he wrote to the Parliament saying that he had received 30 cartloads of clothing for his infantry. On September 24 it was decided that the old establishment of Hurst Castle, which was costing £50 per month, should be defrayed by the Committee of the Revenue, but that all extra expenses were to be charged upon the Hundred of Christchurch.

On September 27, Waller was authorised to impress 500 horses for his cavalry, and 600 for his train of artillery. £9000 was also voted for artillery for the Earl of Essex. £3000 was to be paid at once, £3000 after three months, and the remainder at the end of six months. Essex was also empowered to impress horses in Berks, Hants, Wilts, Dorset, Oxford, Somerset, and Devon, to be paid for by the Committee of the County. Not more than two were to be taken from one team, and they were to be marked by the markmaster and his assistants, who were to be both cashiered and punished if they spared the horses of any one except members and assistants to Parliament.

On September 28, Colonel Oliver Cromwell, with many of the Earl of Manchester's horse, together with 500 horse sent by Essex to Marlborough, were between Andover and Salisbury, ready to join Waller if the King should march that way. On the same day it was ordered that Captains Scutt and Harding should receive eight cannon, four of which were to defend Brownsea Castle, and the rest were to protect Poole, the garrison of which was now, under Governor Bingham, again unsuccessfully besieging Corfe Castle. Waller was still at Shaftesbury on September 30, styling his army "a gallant forlorn hope," and still constantly begging for help.

The last day of September saw 500 saddles and furniture voted for the army of Essex, and also £240 for the supply of the chests of sixteen surgeons attached to this force. The money was paid to the Master and Wardens of the Barber Surgeons' Company, and the Master and Wardens of the Apothecaries' Company were directed to examine the chests and drugs.

Mrs. Jane Fane, the daughter of Colonel Anthony Fane, who fell during Waller's attack on Farnham Castle in 1642, now presented a petition saying that she had been granted, but had never received, a sum of £1500 out of the profits of the

Court of Wards. This money was ordered to be paid. William Kingsmill, Esq., late Sheriff of Hants, was with others directed to collect the arrears of the weekly assessment of £125.

Colonel Norton, at Basing, was hopeful that famine and bombardment had at length broken the spirit of the little garrison, and accordingly, on Monday, September 2, after keeping up a hot fire all the morning, he sent, together with proposals for an exchange of prisoners, the following summons:—

"MY LORD,—These are in the name and by the authority of the Parliament of England, the highest Court of Justice in this kingdome, to demand the House and Garrison of Basing to be delivered to me, to be disposed of according to Order of Parliament. And hereof I expect your answer by this Drum, within one hower after the receipt hereof. In the mean time I rest,

"Your's to serve you,

"From the quarters before Basing,
"the 2 of Sept., in the afternoone,"—
("forenoone" says "Mer. Aulicus.")

"RICH. NORTON.

It does not take long to write an answer, and "the noble Marquis sufficiently understood the language of these three last yeares, and therefore instantly returning the Rebel this answer":

"SIR,—Whereas (your demands pretend authority of Parliament) you demand the House and Garrison of Basing by a pretended authority of Parliament, I (make this) answer, that without the King there can be no Parliament, but by His Majesties Commission I keep this (the) place, and without his absolute command shall not deliver it to any pretenders whatsoever.

"I am, your's to serve you,

"Basing, 2 Sept."

"WINCHESTER.

No sooner has Colonel Norton read this reply than his new battery on the Basing side of the house fires within six hours 120 shot of 18 and 60 lbs. weight, small shot likewise coming thick and fast, with the result of foundering one of the great brick towers, probably that of which the foundations are still distinctly visible on the slope above the canal, and which seems to have been situated at one of the corners of the house, as well as killing three men, and wounding a woman. The *débris* of the tower completely blocked up one end of an adjacent curtain (a line of wall connecting two bastions), necessitating the construction of a traverse or mound of earth, from seven to ten feet in height, to prevent the other end of the curtain from being enfiladed by shot, which would speedily have dismounted the guns and proved altogether ruinous. A traverse being a defensible parapet, is a formidable obstacle to a storming party. Its thickness varies according to the fire to which it is exposed. All hands are busy in strengthening

the neighbouring bulwark, which had been damaged by the heavy cannonade. Next day only twenty great shot are fired, and the enemy's guns having been damaged by too rapid firing, are drawn off to Farnham, and new ones substituted, which had been sent from Portsmouth. During the night the line of circumvallation is brought nearer to The Grange from the side of Basingstoke, thus almost completely encircling the garrison. No more sorties can now be made to Cowdrey's Down, and the earthwork there which the Cavaliers have not occupied for some days, on account of its exposed position and their own paucity of numbers, is "slighted" or destroyed.

The Marquis has all this time been sending messengers to Oxford with new importunities and a positive declaration "that he could not defend it above ten days, and must then submit to the worst conditions the rebels were like to grant to his person and to his religion"; and new instances from his Lady prevailed with the Lords to enter upon a new consultation, in which the Governour (Sir Arthur Aston) persisted in his old resolution "that he would not suffer any of the small garrison that was under his charge to be hazarded in the attempt 'as seeing no cause to change it!'"

"In this debate Colonel Gage (of whom more hereafter), declared 'that though he thought the service full of hazard, especially for the return, yet if the Lords would, by listing their own servants, perswade the gentlemen in the town to do the like, and engage their own persons, whereby a good troop or two of horse might be raised (upon which the principal dependence must be), he would willingly, if there were nobody else thought fitter for it, undertake the conduct of them himself, and hoped he should give a good account of it; which being offer'd with great chearefulness by a person of whose prudence, as well as courage, they had a full confidence, they all resolved to do the utmost that was in their power to make it effectual" (Clarendon, Bk. viii.).

The garrison at Basing is told to expect relief on Wednesday, September 4. The anxiously expected day finds every man on the alert, but noon strikes, and no signs of relief appear. To raise the spirits of the disappointed soldiers, Lieutenants Snow and Byfield, and Ensign Outram are ordered to command a sortie in force. Lieutenant Byfield seems to have been related to the Rev. Adoniram Byfield, rector of Collingbourne Ducis, and one of the few persons who have been by name stigmatised by Butler in *Hudibras*. Adoniram Byfield was a Parliamentary, chaplain to Colonel Cholmondeley's regiment, and the father of Dr. Byfield the celebrated "Sal Volatile Doctor," who in his epitaph is said to be "*Diu volatilis, tandem fixus*"—"Long volatile, fixed at last!"

The three officers above named are each in command of twelve troopers armed with brown bills, and eighteen musketeers, and without delay are sent to attack Colonel Onslowe's quarters in the park, in three several places. They succeed beyond expectation, capturing the enemy's redoubts, and a demi-culverin or 9-

pounder. This gun they draw nearer to the house, but are obliged to retreat, with a loss of three men killed and one wounded, some guns having opened fire upon them with case shot. They bring in three prisoners, in order to obtain useful information, but make no effort to secure more, "our gaole being full." There is plenty of cannonading on both sides, and a successful sortie is made to The Delve on Cowdrey's Down. Sir William Waller, at the head of two troops of horse, has reached Basingstoke, probably from Wootton St. Lawrence, two hours before the commencement of the skirmish, and "came forth to see the sport, and with his horse facing the House, too near on Cowdrey's Down, they had their Captaine killed with round shot from our works." The enemy acknowledge a loss this day of sixty privates, two gunners, and two lieutenants killed, and twelve dangerously wounded. One of the lieutenants belonging to Sir William, and brought by curiosity to see the Leaguer, is there slain. Three others of the garrison are slightly wounded by earth and stones thrown up by an 18 lb. shot. At night an attempt is made to bring in the culverin captured in the park, but it proves too heavy a task. The enemy's guards are doubled, and twelve royalist musketeers keep a strict watch over the gun.

"Mercurius Aulicus," on Wednesday, September 4, says that Sir William Waller arrived "with his pretty portable army and his wonderful lady." Lady Waller had considerable reputation as a preacher, and the journalist adds that the sortie was successful, through the soldiers running "out of the trench to see, or rather to hear her," their comrades keeping but careless watch meanwhile. The captured gun is said to have been one of the largest of those in position against the House, and was brought within pistol shot of the defences, when it was unfortunately overturned. The Cavaliers at Oxford hoped that during the following week Basing would be relieved, and that they would hear that "Colonels Onslow, Norton, Whitehead, Jones, and horrible Herbert Morley, are all grinning mad!" Burton's "Wars in England" says (p. 93): "And now comes Sir William Waller again, and with some troops faces the House, on whom the besieged played from their works."

On December 5, however, it was reported in London that a Puritan prisoner who had escaped from the House had brought word to the besiegers that various officers of the garrison had sewn up money and plate in their clothes, hoping to be able to escape, which they often attempted to do, but to no purpose, all sorties being repulsed with loss, so that a speedy surrender was expected "upon reasonable composition."

The Parliamentarians, in their account of the night attempt to carry off the overturned gun to the House, said that their watch was asleep, admitted a loss of eight men killed and twelve others taken prisoners, and added that the besieged made a second sortie, in the hope of securing a dray laden with beer, but were repulsed with the loss of some prisoners.

During this and the following day (September 5), the assailants fire fifty shot from their new battery near the wood, in the direction of the village, battering down a

stack of chimneys, and making a wide breach in the New House. Towards evening Sir William Waller's army comes in sight, marching westward to Salisbury and Dorchester. Two companies of infantry go by way of Hackwood, and are followed next evening by two other companies, two waggons, and twelve troops of horse. On the next day (September 7) the fire from the enemy's batteries ceases at noon, and the garrison have leisure to watch two strong regiments of twenty companies marching in the same direction as the cavalry. Two companies of white-coats turn in to Basingstoke, together with ten guns of various sizes, which are guarded by a yellow company. For the last four nights all the men have been kept at their posts, as they are also to-night, as an attack is by no means improbable. But the only disturbance is that of tongues, some of Colonel Norton's men asserting that Sir William Waller will storm the place next morning, and disputing with the new comers as to the distribution of the expected plunder. But Waller is under strict orders to move westward, and has learnt already by bitter experience the strength of Basing, so that he is by no means eager to try conclusions with it again. So he marches away, and "We againe with our old guests are left to try it out, grown now so mute upon this parting as in 48 houres we heare but of two Culverin (18 lb.) shot, next day recovering heart, they tell us 22, and resting some daies past now find their worke again." But the long-looked-for relief was now near at hand. Although the King had been fighting the Earl of Essex in the west, he was by no means unmindful of the necessities of Lord Winchester, for on Wednesday, September 11, Sir Edw. Walker, Secretary of His Majesty's Council of War, thus writes: "Having many difficulties to pass before he (the King) made his winter quarters, likewise remembering that Basing and Banbury were then closely besieged, &c." He had with this view summoned Rupert to join him, with troops drawn from South Wales.

Preparations had for some time, as we have already seen, been making at Oxford to despatch a party to the relief of the Hampshire fortress, and the garrison had been led to expect aid on September 4, but a week's delay was unavoidable, and eventually proved the safety of the expedition. For had Sir William Waller been still hovering with his forces about Farnham, as he had been the week before, it would have been "in probability a hazard, whether they had releived us, or preserved themselves."

But all things being now prepared, action was at once taken. Several somewhat varying accounts of this gallant enterprise are found in "Clarendon" (Bk. viii.), Colonel Gage's "Official Report," the "Life of Sir Henry Gage," published at Oxford in 1645, the "Diary of the Siege," "Woodward's History of Hampshire," "Mercurius Aulicus," "Whitelocke's Memorials," &c.

In the last chapter we have seen Colonel Gage offering himself as the leader of the relieving expedition. Let us now learn what manner of man he was. He had been in command of the English regiment in Flanders, and at the commencement of

the war had unsuccessfully tried to procure for the King from the Spanish Government of Flanders 6000 infantry and 400 cavalry. He afterwards obtained leave to make offer of his services to the King, and had not long reached Oxford, where he was appointed to the command of one portion of the town, and to assist the very unpopular governor, Sir Arthur Ashton. Colonel Gage "was in truth a very extraordinary Man, of a large and very graceful Person, of an Honourable extraction, his Grandfather (Sir John Gage) having been Knight of the Garter; besides his great experience and abilities as a Soldier, which were very eminent, he had very great parts of breeding, being a very good scholar in the polite parts of Learning, a great Master in the Spanish and Italian Tongues, besides the French and Dutch, which he spoke in great perfection; having scarce been in England in 20 years before. He was likewise very conversant in Courts; having for many years been much esteemed in that of the Arch-Duke and Duchess, Albert and Isabella, at Brussels; which was a very great and regular Court at that time; so that he deserved to be looked upon as a very wise and accomplished Person. Of this Gentleman, the Lords of the Council had a singular esteem, and consulted frequently with him, whilst they looked to be besieged; and thought Oxford to be the more secure for his being in it, which rendered him so ungrateful (unpopular) to the Governor, Sir Arthur, that he crossed him in anything he proposed, and hated him perfectly, as they were of Natures and Manners as different as men can be."

Colonel Gage and Sir Arthur Aston were both Roman Catholics. Such a gallant deliverer had Loyalty House.

Clarendon says, moreover (Bk. viii.), "There was about this time, by the surrender of Greenland House, near Henley, on June 12th (which could not possibly be longer defended, the whole structure having been beaten down by the cannon) the regiment of Colonel Hawkins marched into Oxford, amounting to near 300, to which as many joined as made it up 400 men." Colonel Gage says: "With somewhat more than 400 musquetiers of Her Majesty's and Colonel Hawkin's regiment, and 250 horse of my Lord Treasurer's Regiment, commanded by Colonel Webb of Sir Arthur Aston's regiment (or "the Governour's Troops") commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Buncle." According to "Mercurius Aulicus" Major Windebank, who in the following year was shot for surrendering Bletchington House to Cromwell (April 13, 1645), commanded the foot. The cavalry, or "Horse Gentlemen Volunteers," are thus described by Clarendon: "The Lords mounted their servants upon their own horses, and they with the Volunteers, who frankly listed themselves, amounted to a body of 250 very good horse, all put under the command of Colonel William Webb, an excellent officer, bred up in Flanders in some emulation with Colonel Gage, and who, upon the Catholic interest, was at this time contented to serve under him." Colonel Gage was therefore in supreme command, Colonel Webb acting as Brigadier, whilst Lieutenant-Colonel Buncle commanded the 250 horse of my Lord Treasurer's regiment. There was also another body of horse under the command of Lieutenant-

Colonel Sir William Campion, who was Governor of Boarstall House, a stronghold on the western verge of Buckinghamshire, two miles from Brill, and half way between Oxford and Aylesbury, which Colonel Gage had not long before retaken and garrisoned for the King. Sir William Campion in this time of need ventured to bring his cavalry force to the relief of Basing. The enemy estimated Gage's strength at 1400. Twelve barrels of powder and 1200 lb. weight of match were taken for the supply of the besieged garrison. Sir S. D. Scott says ("British Army," vol. ii. p. 311): "Match was made of cotton or hemp, spun slack, and boiled in a strong solution of saltpetre, or in the lees of wine. It was generally hung in reserve at the girdle, or tied to the bandoliers; it was sometimes coiled round the arm or hat." By the 15th of Charles II., cap. 4, every musketeer was bound to attend every muster with "half a pound of powder, half a pound of bullets, and three yards of match."

With this "regiment of bold blades," a small party for so great an action, Colonel Gage marched out of Oxford about ten o'clock on the night of Monday, the 9th of September, with orders "to relieve Basing House (long besieged by the Rebels), and to put in such provision of victuals as the country there affords." As the object of the expedition was the relief of Basing House, it was important that the enemy should not receive notice of the approach of the Cavaliers. They therefore "passed through the country for Parliament men, with orange tawney scarfs, and ribbands on our hats." Colonel Hawkins' regiment wore white uniforms.

The march lasted all night, and early on Tuesday morning the force, which passed within two miles of Colonel Browne's garrison at Abingdon, reached Cholsey Wood, near Wallingford, where it was joined by Captain Walters with about fifty horse of his troop, and as many foot of that garrison, which was the last in Berkshire to hold out for the King, only surrendering to Fairfax in 1646.

The wearied soldiers here rested for three hours, and says Colonel Gage: "I despatched an express to Sir William Ogle, Governor of Winchester Castle, who had promised Mr. Secretary Nichols 100 horse and 300 foot of that garrison to help to raise the siege of Basing whensoever the Lords should have any such design. I sent by this express a letter of credit of Mr. Secretary's to Sir William Ogle, desiring him with his men to fall into Basing park, in the rear of the Rebels' quarters there, betwixt 4 and 5 of the clock in the morning, being Wednesday, the 11th of September" (a presumption upon this aid was the principal motive for the undertaking, says Clarendon), "whilst I, with the troops of Oxford, fell on upon the other side (by The Grange), and my Lord Marquess from within the House plyed them with sallies."

In the "Life of Colonel Gage" the reinforcement from Wallingford is said to have numbered eighty horse and the same number of foot.

"Having despatched this express, and refreshed my men, I marched forward with as much speed as the foot soldiers could manage (through by lanes) to Aldermaston (a village out of any great road, seven miles distant from Reading), where I intended to repose and refresh again. Thither I sent Captain Walters before with

his Troop, and the Quartermasters of each Regiment to have provisions in a readiness against the soldiers arrived, intending only to refresh and rest two or three hours. But Captain Walters finding some Parliament scouts in that town, forgot his orange tawny colours, and fell foul with the enemy, taking six or seven of them prisoners, by which he unmasked and discovered us to be Royalists."

"Mercurius" says that the Roundheads had come from Reading, and admitted that their object in visiting Aldermaston was to burn the prayer book and surplice. One of them was killed, and six were captured, together with their horses and pistols. The Royalist infantry were already so much fatigued that Colonel Gage set the example, which was followed by the officers and troopers, of dismounting and marching on foot for three miles, placing the foot soldiers in the saddle meanwhile.

Notice was quickly sent to Basing of the approaching danger, which accident made their stay shorter at that village than was intended, and than the weariness of the soldiers required. Whilst Colonel Gage was on his march from Wallingford to Aldermaston, the besiegers of Basing House were, strange to say, quiet all day, but fired ten shots from their cannon during the evening. After dark they received warning of the rapid advance of Colonel Gage, and prepared to give him a warm reception. But trusty and tried Edward Jeffery, who had carried so many messages to Oxford, was also on the alert, and made his way into the garrison with news of the doings at Aldermaston. Quickly were beacon fires made ready upon the roof of the lofty gatehouse looking northward, in sign of welcome and of readiness to aid. There was, unfortunately, a thick fog rising from the meadows, and scarcely could those welcoming lights be seen, even on Cowdrey Down. Leaving willing hands to tend the midnight fires, let us return to Colonel Gage, whose main body reached Aldermaston about eight o'clock on Tuesday night, and halted for three hours. "Aulicus" says that the halt was between 9 P.M. and 1 A.M. The almost exhausted soldiers "then set forwards again, and marched all night, arriving within a mile of Basing, betwixt four and five of the clock on Wednesday morning." The Diary of the Siege says: "By seven next morne, the noble Colonell Gage with horse and foot past through so many hazards, had obtained Chinham Downe (Chinham lies between Basing and Sherborn St. John), where Colonell Norton with his strength, having intelligence, did stand in readiness." To quote Colonel Gage once more: "Our foot being extreemly surbated and weary, though I had endeavoured to ease them what I could in the whole journey, either by setting them up behind the horsemen, or making the horsemen alight and the foot ride, or by encouraging them with hopes of great pillage, or with promises of money when they returned to Oxford." "Aulicus" says that the infantry were not only rested, but also much gratified by Colonel Gage's consideration in mounting them behind the troopers, and were now again ready to fight vigorously, whereas when they first came within two miles of the enemy they were falling out and lying down on the road through sheer exhaustion. Burton says ("Wars in England," p. 93), that Colonel Norton being in readiness on

Chinham Down, "Gage makes his approach, appearing first on an hill near the highway which leads to Andover." To quote Colonel Gage once more: "I was no sooner arrived there (at Chinham Down), but Lieutenant Swainely met me, sent by Sir William Ogle from Winchester, to tell me that he durst not send his troops to assist me, in regard some of the enemy's horse lay betwixt Winchester and Basing, so that I was forced to enter into new councils, and call the officers together to take new resolutions." It was indeed time to take counsel, for both horse and foot were already almost worn out with fatigue, whilst Norton's men were fresh and unwearied, with the advantages of a strong and previously selected position, and of "a fog so thick as made the day still night, helping the shrouding of his (Norton's) ambuscades, and clouding passes unto such who neither knew nor could discern a way, more than their valour and the sword did cut," whilst Gage had now no hope of aid from Winchester. The force which kept Lord Ogle and his garrison in check at Winchester was probably the cavalry, commanded by Major Ludlow, which was principally raised in the western counties. Ludlow had a few days previously been attacked upon Warminster Heath, from whence he made a skilful retreat to Salisbury. With thirty horse he entered the city, "where divers persons, ill affected to the Parliament, made a great shout at our coming into the town, rejoicing at our defeat." Ludlow continued his retreat over Mutton Bridge, where he succeeded in checking pursuit by showing a bold front upon a causeway only three feet in breadth, and through White Parish to Southampton. Only two days after his arrival at the latter place, he, at the request of Colonel Norton, marched with his wearied horsemen to face Winchester Castle.

Sir William Ogle, anxious if possible to assist Colonel Gage's expedition, sent out some men, amongst whom Ludlow recognised his old acquaintance and schoolfellow, Mr. William Neale (probably of the Warnford family). "I called to him," says Ludlow, "telling him that I was sorry to see him there," and offering to exchange shots with him. Neale retreated, at the same time shouting "Come on," and another Cavalier greeted Ludlow with a brace of bullets, one of which wounded his horse in the belly so severely that it died that night, whilst the other struck the rider within half an inch of the bottom of his breastplate. Not long afterwards Ludlow retired with his command into Wiltshire, having effectually hindered Sir William Ogle from co-operating in the relief of Basing House. Colonel Gage says in his report of the relief of Basing: "And because we were disappointed of so considerable a party as that of Winchester, and foreseeing the enemy might draw to a head, having notice of our coming, we resolved not to dismember our forces and fall on in several places, as we would have done if either the Winchester forces had arrived, or we would have surprised and taken the enemy at unawares, but to fall on jointly at one place.

"In order to which I commanded the men to be ranged into battalions, and riding up to every squadron gave them what good words and encouragement I was able, though I confess it needed not (most of them being so well resolved of themselves),

and delivered them the word ('St. George'), commanding every man to tie a white tape, ribband, or handkerchief upon their right arm above the elbow, which was the sign and word I had formerly sent to my Lord Marquis (lest by his sallying and our falling on we might for want of a distinctive sign fall foul upon each other). We marched on, Colonel Webb leading the right wing, Lieut.-Colonel Buncle the left wing of the Horse, and myself the Foot"—(the "Life of Colonel Gage" says that he dismounted, and led the infantry on foot with his sword drawn)—"till at the upper end of a large champion field (Chinham Down) upon a little rising or ascent of a hill, near certain hedges lined by the enemy's musqueteers, we discovered a body of five cornets (or troops) of horse (very full) standing in very good order to receive us. But before we could come up with them we were saluted from the hedges with a smart volley of musquet shot, more terrible than damageable, for Colonel Webb, notwithstanding, with the right wing of my Lord Treasurer's Horse, charged the enemy"—(Colonel Gage's biographer says that their strength was six troops, not five)—"so gallantly that in a moment they all turned head and ran away. Lieut.-Colonel Buncle with our left wing falling in likewise after them, and following the chase with the right till the Rebels' horse were gotten into a place of safety. In this pursuit what men or horse of the enemies' were lost I cannot learn certainly; but certain I am we took a colour or cornet of theirs, which I understand was Colonel Morley's, the motto of which was *Non ab Aequo sed in Aequo* ('Victory is not by Right but in Right'), a motto not so proper to theirs, as our cause, the equity of which gave us the victory with the true and genuine signification of the motto." The "Description of the Siege" says that Norton was forced to retreat, "the fogge befriending him, serving as covert to his safer flight through Basingstoke." Clarendon thus speaks: "After a shorter resistance than was expected, from the known courage of Norton, though many of his men fell, the enemies' horse gave ground, and at last plainly ran to a safe place, beyond which they could not be pursued." "Aulicus" says that the wind was also unfavourable to the operations of Colonel Gage, who as soon as he approached the enemy ordered his drums and trumpets to sound, thinking to take the besiegers by surprise. They were, however, on the alert, within musket shot, and their drums and trumpets at once made reply. The cavalry fight lasted not long, but was fiercely contested. The rebel horse fled ere long, and two troops of the Lord Treasurer's regiment then chased five troops of Norton's horse without even firing a pistol. The rebel foot fought better, more especially Colonel Morley's regiment, but the musqueteers of the Queen's Life Guard, and of Colonel Hawkins' regiment beat them from hedge to hedge, until, abandoned by their mounted comrades, they retreated, aided by the fog "and a lane of which they had possessed themselves."

Burton, on the other hand, says that when Colonel Gage's force was first descried "Norton charges with courage, and breaks through the other's horse, who, having a rescue of musqueteers, with more than ordinary valour forced Norton to retreat as far as the church and through Basingstoke, the same time the besieged, sallying out at

several places, brought in many prisoners." Whitelocke says that Colonel Gage had "about 1500 of the King's foot out of several garrisons mounted for dragoons." He adds that when the fight began Norton charged and broke them, "but they with great courage wheeled about, and charged Norton's whole body, who retired unto Colonel Morley's quarters" in the Park.

At all events the Cavaliers remained masters of the field, and Colonel Gage now advanced with his infantry, sounding his trumpets, to give notice to the garrison of his approach. The fog began to clear away, and the besieged soon found that friends were close at hand. Says Clarendon: "The foot disputed the business much better, and, being beaten from hedge to hedge, retired into their quarters and works, which they did not abandon in less than two hours." The garrison also sent forth some musketeers, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Johnson (the botanist), by way of The Grange, who beat the enemy from their works, pursuing them to Cowdrey Down, and from thence "unto The Delve, clearing that quarter, with so small defence as is incredible. The passe (by The Grange) thus cleared, meeting our welcome friends, our joyes are echoed, whilst the sad prisoners are led in to see the House they lay so long about, their number sixty-four common soldiers, two sergeants, one lieutenant, whereof the wounded were next day sent forth unto the care of their own chirurgeons, and," grimly adds the Diary, "two that ran from us had execution!"

Army physicians and surgeons received 6s. 8d., apothecaries 3s. 4d., barber surgeons 2s., and under barber surgeons 6d. per diem. "Such surgeons must wear their baldricke, whereby they may be knowen in the tyme of slaughter; it is their charter in the field." For gunshot wounds it was recommended "to cauterise them with the oil of elders, mixed with a little treacle."

"Aulicus" says that in the first encounter and sortie fully 120 rebels were killed, and more than 100 captured, seventeen of whom were dangerously wounded. The latter "were dressed in the house, and sent out to the leaguer" (*i.e.*, siege works). A writer on the other side says: "Norton had a slight hurt in the hand, and lost but one man, but the House was relieved." A loss of nine Cavaliers slain, two of whom were officers, is admitted by "Aulicus." Captain Sturges was killed, whom Colonel Gage calls "a gallant young man of the Queen's Life Guard," and whom "Aulicus" describes as "a gallant daring young man, who, with Colonel Gage, both at the taking of Boarstall House, at Abingdon, and here also shewed exemplary courage."

"Young Mr. Stonor (of Stonor Park), Cornet of the Troop of Wallingford, who gallantly kept his colours, though he lost his life," also died like a gallant soldier. The seven others who fell were common soldiers. Four Cavaliers were taken prisoners, "whereof one was Master Stanhope, Gentleman of the Horse to the Lord Marquis of Hartford, who, engaging himself to gain a standard of the rebels, for want of seconds was hemmed in, after he had run a Captain Lieutenant of their's through the body."

Colonel Gage at once placed in Basing House the twelve barrels of powder, which

Burton says formed many a horse-load, and the 12 cwt. of match brought from Oxford, "paid my Lord Marquess the respects due to a person of his merit and quality," and Colonel Hawkins told off 100 of his white-coated musketeers to strengthen the little garrison. "That lovers met that day, and blushed, and kissed, and old grey-bearded friends embraced each other, and aye marry pledged each other too; that good Catholic comrades exchanged prayers at Basing altar, that brave fathers kissed the wives and children they had left shut up in brave old 'Loyalty,' needs no telling. But not alone in kissing and quaffing did Gage and his troops spend those two merry days."

A speedy return was made to Cowdrey Down, and the cavalry from Oxford retreated to Chinham, under fire of Norton's guns. From thence, leaving a force to observe the enemy's works, marching to Basingstoke, they took possession of it with small resistance (for the Parliament Committees who lodged in that town, having notice of our coming, quitted the town the night before, and drew most of their forces into one head, which we broke). "From thence all that day I continued sending to Basing House as much wheat, malt, salt, oats, bacon, cheese, and butter as I could get horses and carts to transport. There I found a little magazine of 14 (whole) barrels of powder, with some (100) musquets, which I likewise sent into Basing House, and thence I sent also 40 or 50 head of cattle, with 100 sheep." "Aulicus" says that it was the market day at Basingstoke, and that Colonel Gage "brought in 100 cattle, whereof divers were excellent fat oxen, as many or more sheep, and 40 and odd hogs.

"Whilst these things were doing at Basingstoke my Lord was not wanting in himself in Basing House, but from thence with the 100 white coats I left him, commanded by Captain Hull, and 100 musquetiers under command of Major Cuffand, he sallied out into Basing Town, from whence he chased and utterly beat the enemy." The siege works were captured, and the church, which had been fortified, was carried by assault.

In Basing Church were captured and sent into the House young Captain Jarvis (Jarvas) and Captain John Jephson, whom Gage calls "sons of the two most active rebels of that country," and whom Clarendon speaks of as being "the two eldest sons of two of the greatest rebels of that country, and both heirs to good fortunes." These two officers are said to have been "both kinsmen to Colonel Norton." Satirical "Aulicus" is very hard upon Captain Jarvis, styling him "Captain Jarvas, son to Sir Thomas (who is so famous in Hampshire that when any man speaks an untruth big enough to be noted, they call it Jarvasing").

Captain Jarvis (Jervoise) had previously distinguished himself at the siege of Corfe Castle. Captain Jephson afterwards changed sides, and was governor for the King at Bandon-bridge in Ireland. One lieutenant, two sergeants, and about thirty (thirty-three) soldiers were captured in Basing Church, the rest by several ways escaping, but forty-six rebels were killed either in the church or in the village of Basing.

During the eighteen weeks' siege the Puritans claimed to have expended 1500 barrels of powder against Basing House. They stripped the lead from the roof of Basing Church, "and gave it out that the Cavaliers in Basing House had attempted it before." So says "Aulicus," adding, "Some conceive the chief receivers took two parts in powder and one-third in money, which is the usual method of their reckoning. For the rebels' soldiers are cozened by their officers; the members cheat them both; the devil cozens all three; and the Scots tug hard to deal with all four!"

During the struggle in the morning, the guns mounted upon Sir Richard Onslowe's batteries on the Basingstoke side of the House had been removed to the works in the park, and, taking advantage of this circumstance, Lieut.-Colonel Peake led out some musketeers, who captured the works, destroyed the redoubts, and fired the tents and huts near Holloway's Mill, "the enemy so hastening from these works as scarcely 3 could be made stay the killing. Thus might we see at once three of their quarters (in Basing, at Holloway's Mill, and on the side of Basingstoke) blaze." The rest of the enemy were obliged to retire into the strong fort which they had constructed in the park. Lieut.-Colonel Peake and his musketeers also brought in "a goodly demi-cannon (30 pr.) from Sir Richard Onslowe's works."

By the time all this was done, says Colonel Gage, "the day began well near to be spent, and the enemy having received some fresh supplies of horse, appeared much more numerous and gay than in the morning, and made a show of a desire to fight with us again, advancing for that purpose over a large champion almost within musquet shot of our horse, which stood ranged in a field without Basingstoke, betwixt large hedges lined by me with musqueteers. There we stood facing each other, till at last I perceived our squadron of horse to grow thin, many men stealing privately out of their ranks, and both our horse and men extremely tired and fasting, I gave orders to the horse to retire by degrees and pass through the town (Basing) towards Basing House, whilst I, with the foot, made good the avenues or passages on this side the town, where the enemy appeared. And when I understood the horse were all passed through the town, and put again into their squadrons on the other side towards Basing House, I myself, with most of the foot, retired likewise through the town to our horse, leaving Captain Poore with 60 or 70 musqueteers to make good that avenue, and being come to our horse, I sent orders to Captain Poore (of an old Wiltshire family) to retreat likewise with most of his men, leaving only a sergeant at the avenue with 20 musqueteers, to dispute till we were all entered Basing House. From thence I sent afterwards for the sergeant and his men, who all came off safe, the enemy not once attempting to enter into the town, but retiring to their quarters not long after they had perceived our horse retire."

Continues the Colonel, "I durst not lodge that night in the town, as well because I saw the enemy grow strong, and our men and horse extreme weary and fasting, as because there were many avenues which must have been maintained; and I feared

our men would quit their guards and betake themselves to the houses, drinking and committing disorders in the night. But the next day early I sent Lieut.-Colonel Buncle thither (to Basing and Basingstoke) again with all the horse and foot, as well to refresh the soldiers as to be sending continually all that day provisions into the House."

The garrison also made a sally into the park, and brought off a culverin, "a faire brass gun," which the enemy in their flight had abandoned near the wood between the House and the village, the enemy making no resistance. Emboldened by this, the Cavaliers attacked the fort in the park, but were recalled, as most of the infantry were busied elsewhere. A sergeant and five men were mortally wounded in this affair, and the surgeons of the garrison had their hands full, many of the troops from Oxford having been wounded on the previous day. Towards evening intelligence was received of the enemy's mustering in force near Silchester, and advancing towards Kingsclere.

"Meanwhile," says Colonel Gage, "I spent the day in contriving our retreat to Oxford, and, sending out several spies to observe the motions of another enemy drawing to a head from Abingdon, Newbury, and Reading to hinder our retreat homeward.

"And I found by the unanimous relation of all my several spies that they of Abingdon (500 horse and dragoons under Major-General Browne) were lodged at Aldermaston, they of Newbury (300 strong) at Thatcham, they of Reading (and all the horses which the country could rake together) at Padsworth, places upon the river Kennet, over which I was to pass in my retreat; and that Norton with his horse and foot was to follow me in the rear whensoever I began to march, which he conceived I could not do but he should have notice of it. I resolved, therefore, in my own breast, without acquainting any man, to make my retreat that very night, having during the short time I had been at Basing House, partly out of Basingstoke, partly out of Basing Town, put at least a month's provisions into the House"—(the country people are said to have driven away their cattle, and to have hidden provisions on hearing of Gage's approach)—"and drawn in two pieces of artillery of the enemy's (the one a demi-cannon, which lay engaged betwixt the House and the enemy's trenches, neither of them daring adventure to draw them off)." An iron cannon was at least 9½ ft. long, weighing about three tons. The culverin and demi-culverin were each 10 ft. long. One averaged 43 cwt., the other 35 cwt.

"But the more to amuse the enemy and give him cause to think that I thought of nothing less than of so sudden a retreat, I sent out certain warrants that afternoon, which I knew would fall into the enemy's hands, to the towns of Sherborne and Sherfield, to bring speedily a certain quantity of corn into Basing House, upon pain (if they refused) of sending them 1000 horse and dragoons to set their towns on fire before next day at noon.

"Having thus disposed of all things, and being unable to serve my Lord Marquess

much more than I had done by any longer stay there (though by staying any longer I might have endangered the loss of the Oxford troops), somewhat before night I sent orders to Lieut.-Colonel Buncke to retire with the men from Basingstoke and march to Basing House, as the night before, but not to permit his men to enter into the House until further orders. Whither, when the men were arrived, I told my Lord Marquess of my resolution to depart that night, and of the necessity of it, and begging of him two or three good guides, which he readily gave (was Edward Jeffrey one of them?), I took leave of his Lordship and began to march away without sound of drum or trumpet, about 11 o'clock on Thursday night, and gave order to all my scouts, in case they met with any Parliament scouts in the night, they should likewise give themselves out to be Parliament troops marching from before Basing House to the River Kennet, to lie in wait for the Oxford forces that were to come that way. And thus we passed the Kennet undiscovered, by a ford near Burghfield Bridge (the bridge itself having been broken by the enemy), our horse taking up the musketeers en croup; and afterwards the Thames, by another ford at Pangbourne, within six miles of Reading, about eight or nine o'clock on Friday morning (the bridges at Henley and Reading had been also broken down), and from thence marched into the town of Wallingford, where we rested and refreshed our wearied men and horse that night, and the next day (Saturday, Sep. 14th) arrived safe at Oxford, having in this expedition lost Captain Sturges, a gallant young man of the Queen's Life Guards, young Mr. Stonor (of Stonor Park), cornet of the troop of Wallingford, a servant of Sir W. Hide's, with some others, to the number of eleven in all, and 40 or 50 hurt, but not dangerously." On Thursday, September 12, a Colonel, a Lieutenant-Colonel, and two Lieutenants of Foot of Gage's force seem to have been captured, but again rescued by their comrades. Another account says that Gage lost a Colonel, a Major, 100 killed, and many prisoners. Some of his scouts were captured during his masterly retreat. Colonel Gage continues: "What loss the enemy had we cannot yet learn"—(his biographer estimates the Puritan loss at six score slain, and from 100 to 150 taken prisoners)—"but we took about 100 prisoners of them. And thus, my Lord, to comply with the order I received, I have troubled your Lordship with a tedious relation, for which I humbly beg your pardon, and the honour to be esteemed,

"My Lord, your Lordship's

"Most humble Servant,

"HENRY GAGE.

"Oxford, this 16th of September, 1644."

All Oxford turned out to greet the returning deliverers of Loyalty House, and many were the eyes that looked eagerly for noble Colonel Gage. But they looked in vain. Wishing not for the applause of the multitude, and satisfied with having done his

duty, he turned his horse's head into a back street, and rode quietly away unnoticed to his quarters. Wherever we meet with Colonel Gage we always find cause to admire him, and in concluding this account of the relief of Basing House we fully endorse these words, penned full two centuries since: "I say you must needs grant the whole action to have been, for wise conduct, gallant and skilful manage, the most souldier-like piece these Warres have ever yet afforded!"

CHAPTER XXV

DEATH OF LIEUT.-COLONEL JOHNSON—ANDOVER FIGHT— BASING SIEGE RAISED

IN order to still further conceal his retreat Colonel Gage had given orders that the next morning a letter should be sent to Colonel Norton, offering to exchange Captain Jephson for Captain Love, which was accordingly done. The exchange was effected by noon, and the enemy then discovered too late that the relieving force was beyond their reach. Captain Love's family resided at Basing (Woodward's "History of Hampshire"). As we here see, he was a Royalist, but his relative Nicholas Love was a member of the Committee of Parliament for Hampshire. Verily, houses were divided in those days!

Numerous Hampshire recruits were now joining the forces of the Parliament, but Colonel Ludlow, having first duly notified his intention to Colonel Norton, withdrew his command from Winchester to Salisbury. On reaching the latter city he called for a list of the principal adherents of the King residing there, whom he ordered to pay the sum of £500. The citizens made many excuses, but Ludlow secured £200 and quarters for his men, after which he himself went to London to recruit and procure arms.

On Friday, September 14, Colonel Norton did not venture to re-occupy the village of Basing, but kept his men shut up in their strong fort in the park. All the carts belonging to the garrison were busily employed in carrying corn and provisions from the village to Basing House, under the protection of 100 musketeers, commanded by Captain Fletcher. Towards evening, when, as "Aulicus" confesses, the Cavaliers "were drinking in the town, and in no good order," Colonel Norton in person headed an unexpected attack. Making a circuit, he fell upon Captain Fletcher's party in the churchyard "before the horse centinells could give timely notice to the officers to draw all the soldiers into a body," and drove the Cavaliers from the church. Reinforcements speedily arrived from the house under the command of the field officers, and "one hour's very sharp fight followed," at the end of which time the besiegers were driven from the church and retreated "to their onely work in Basing

Park," with a loss of either 16 or 32 men killed on the spot and in the pursuit, very many wounded, and eleven prisoners.

Captain John Jephson, who had been exchanged on the previous day for Captain Love, "led on the rebels' van, where Captain Love made haste to meet him, but Jephson, though wounded, retreated too fast towards Colonel Norton, who valiantly brought up their rear, and came, good gentleman, almost to the churchyard, where, being minded of his grave, he was the first man that ran away." ("Mer. Aul.," September 14.) Clarendon, however, as we have seen, speaks of "the known courage of Norton." Some arms were picked up by the victors, who lost one ensign and two (4) common soldiers killed, six (7) wounded, four mortally, and eight prisoners. "Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson, Doctor of Physique (the best herbalist in England), was here shot in the shoulder, whereby contracting a fever he died a fortnight after, his worth challenging funerall tears, being no less eminent in the garrison for his valour and conduct as a soldier than famous through the kingdom for his excellency as an herbarist and physician." He was, there is reason to believe, in the meridian of life. Woodward says, "Thomas Johnson, of Hull, a London apothecary, May 9, 1643, made an honorary M.D. of Oxford. His itinerary through Bristol, Southampton, the Isle of Wight and Guildford, was published under the title of 'Mercurius Botanicus.' At Basing he served as Lieutenant-Colonel to Sir Marmaduke Rawdon, the Governor.

In the 1662 edition of the "Worthies of England," p. 204, we are told: "Thomas Johnson was born in this county of Yorkshire, not far from Hull, bred an apothecary in London, where he attained to be the best herbalist of his age in England, making additions to the edition of Gerard. A man of such modesty that knowing so much he would own the knowledge of nothing. The University of Oxford bestowed on him the honorary degree of doctor in physic, and his loyalty engaged him on the King's side in our late civil warre. When in Basing House a dangerous piece of service was to be done, this doctor, who publickly pretended not to valour, undertook and performed it. Yet afterwards he lost his life in the siege of the same House, and was, to my knowledge, generally lamented of those who were of an opposite judgment. But let us bestow this epitaph upon him:

"Hic Johnsonsone jacet, sed si mors cederet herbis,
Arte fugata tua cederet illa suis."

"Here Johnson lies, could physicke fence death's dart,
Sure death had been declined by his art."—FULLER.

"Jacet" would seem to be an error for "jaces."

During the whole of the following week the garrison maintained their hold upon Basing, fetched in provisions, and destroyed hostile batteries and fortifications, without the least resistance. The Earl of Manchester, "in whom," says Dr. Gardiner, "was no leadership either for politics or war," was marching his cavalry towards

Basing, and on the same day twenty barrels of powder were ordered to be sent from Weybridge to Colonel Onslowe at Basing.

On Friday, September 19, it was ordered "that the horse which are now under the command of Colonel Norton shall advance into some other places of the kingdom for the service of the State, as it shall please the Committee of Both Kingdoms to give directions."

The gallant defence of "Loyalty" or "Basting" House was widely known, and Sir Edward Walker writes as follows from Exeter on September 20: "And now it will be fit to observe the gallant behaviour of His Majesty's garrisons of Banbury, Basing, &c."

Things now went on much as before, except that no bombardment took place, and the siege assumed rather the character of a blockade.

By September 23 some weeks' provisions had been brought in. The enemy on this day attacked the guard at Basing, which, being few in number, was obliged to retire. The enemy having re-occupied the church, once more confined the garrison within the house, and exchanged two gentlemen belonging to Colonel Gage's force who had been captured near Reading for three of their own comrades.

Next day (September 24) a score of fat hogs are seen on Cowdrey Down, and are fetched in by the infantry, a party of cavalry which had been sent out by way of the Grange protecting the foot meanwhile. The enemy's picquets were driven in, and fell back on the guard posted near Basingstoke. Five troops of cavalry quickly issued from the town, and the Cavaliers retired in good order until a body of Royalist musketeers, who had previously lined a hedge, checked the pursuit by a well-directed volley. Much ado about a few pigs.

On the following day there was a similar skirmish, and the garrison succeeded in destroying the hostile battery at the Delve on Cowdrey Down, and took possession of the planks and timber. The same day a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to settle a controversy which had arisen, Sir John Maynard and Colonel Jones, Governor of Farnham Castle, being vehemently accused by the Parliamentary Committee for Surrey. Colonel Jones seems to have been generally successful in quarrelling with some one. Sir Richard Onslowe was thanked for raising men for the defence of Surrey and to besiege Basing House, and the county of Surrey was ordered to continue to maintain his forces. Two hostile accounts state that on Thursday, September 26, the besiegers "took an outwork with a captain and twenty-eight (30) soldiers who defended it," but no mention is made of this disaster in the "Diary of the Siege," from which we learn that on Friday, September 27, the Royalist horse were once more on Cowdrey Down engaging the attention of the enemy, whilst others carried off six of the Puritan infantry close to the works in "the park lane towards Basingstoke," together with a water leveller employed to draw off the waters of the Loddon. Colonel Morley himself narrowly escaped capture. The Roundhead foot tried to cut off the retreat of the Cavalier horse, but

were driven back by some musketeers previously placed in ambush. An hour afterwards Colonel Norton sent in a message by a drum, asking that a day might be fixed for the exchange of prisoners, which was accordingly done. The diary continues: "The stage of Cowdrey furnished again with actors, a coronet (cornet), and three more of theirs are killed, and one of ours. At night, the morrow being a fair at Basingstoke, six foot with pistol and brown bill are sent to try the market, and four miles off at a Committee-house finding to serve their turn, from thence bring in 23 head of cattle by the Delve, which pass our daily skirmishing kept free."

On the last day of September the garrison received information that the enemy's working parties, who were engaged in fortifying the church, sometimes kept but a careless guard, whereupon Major Cuffand, with a hundred musketeers, was sent to take possession of the church. The storming party captured a battery close by, but had no means wherewith to force an entrance. The enemy rallied in force, and Major Cuffand was beaten back, with the loss of a sergeant and six men wounded, most of them mortally. The defenders had an ensign and some others slain.

The first days of October saw the Earl of Manchester still lingering at Reading. "Most of my horse are quartered between Newbury and Basing," whilst Sir William Waller's army, which was looking for the arrival of Sir William Balfour and his cavalry, was at Salisbury, Dorchester, Shaftesbury, and Weymouth, with a view of checking the march towards Oxford of the King, who, on October 2, had reached Sherborne on his return from Cornwall, marching very fast to Oxford through Newbury and Abingdon. The infantry, under the Earl of Essex, were quartered in Portsea Isle, at Southampton, and in the Isle of Wight. Six thousand arms and thirty waggon loads of cloth had reached Portsmouth, and the Earl was asking for further supplies of necessities, to be sent him with all speed. He himself was constantly journeying to and fro between Southampton and Portsmouth as necessity required, and was exceedingly anxious to force the King's army to fight if he could procure money and arms. On October 1 it was reported that the breaches already made in Basing House were becoming larger, that the besieged had plenty of ammunition, but that provisions were by no means abundant.

The 2nd of October saw Captain Rosewell, who had been released from his loathsome prison at Farnham, and Captain Rigby sent to treat for an exchange of prisoners, hostages having been given for their safe return. The same night M. Greaves, the brother of Colonel Greaves, whose capture we have already described, and Captain Jarvis were released, and the next day two lieutenants and divers more in exchange for Captain Rowlett (the scrivener who lived next door to the sign of the George at Holborn Conduit, a near neighbour of Lieutenant-Colonel Peake, a superstitious, cringing malignant), a lieutenant, and two of the three sergeants lost at Odiham. The lieutenant was Lieutenant Ivory, "sometime a citizen of

London." Some days afterwards Cornet Bryan received glad welcome back again, together with three gentlemen of Colonel Gage's force who had been captured, and with Cornet Bryan had been released to Oxford.

Pass two days more, and the cavalry on both sides exchanged pistol shots on Cowdrey Down, the enemy having the advantage of numbers, and the garrison that of a hedge lined with musketeers. The odds were on the side of the Cavaliers, "and three or four of theirs were daily carried off, we all the while (this and the eight days following) losing one horse and two foot soldiers. At night (October 4) send forth our chapmen well furnished, and good market folks; in five hours' time return again with 25 beasts, under the noses of their sentinels, some musketeers of ours lying abroad for their protection."

On October 4 the foes of Basing reported the garrison to be losing heart on account of the delay in the King's advance out of the West to their relief, and "Mercurius Aulicus" tells us that on the next day the Derby House Committee had sent orders to the Committee at Basing to give continual alarms, as the garrison was in great want of match. Mr. Money says: "The Derby House Committee consisted for the English Parliament of seven selected Peers and fourteen selected Commoners. Essex, Manchester, Waller, and Cromwell were of the English part of this Committee. Derby House, Cannon-row, Westminster, being the meeting place of the Committee, it received the name of the 'Derby House Committee.'"

The Earl of Manchester wrote from Reading on October 3, saying that he had sent four troops of horse to Basing at the earnest request of the Committee for Hampshire, and from the 4th until the 9th of the month he was without success endeavouring to compel the surrender of stoutly defended Donnington Castle, near Newbury. Failing in this object, he returned to Reading. Waller reported that the nights were cold, and that constant facing the enemy and being kept in continual motion was very hard for the cavalry. Dalbier, with the horse of Essex, was quartered about Blandford.

On October 4 Lieut.-General Cromwell obtained for his regiment 300 pairs of pistols with holsters, 140 heads, 140 backs, and 140 breasts, at a cost of £580 10s. and on the same day the Earl of Essex was ordered to receive "from the Tower Wharf two brass demi-culverins, four brass sacres, and two 6 lb. bullet drakes." In contrast to this, it was ordered on October 5 that "Lieut.-Colonel Roe do deliver to the Committee of the West 500 Danish forks, clubs, or roundheads taken on board the Danish ship," of whose detention at Portsmouth previous mention has been made. On the same day a month's advance of pay was made to the Waggon-Master-General for 200 horses and 64 drivers for the train of artillery. Each horse was to cost 1s. 3d. per diem, each man 1s. 6d., and the total cost was to be £17 6s. per diem.

On October 4 Mr. Lisle, M.P. for Winchester, was ordered to bring in an ordinance for the felling of £2000 worth of wood belonging to various Royalist

delinquents in Hants and Sussex. No timber trees were to be felled, except at a reasonable time. Two tons of match were to be sent to Southampton, and the Governor of Portsmouth was directed to raise the strength of his garrison by recruiting to 1000 infantry, arranged in seven companies. The Earl of Essex having received 6000 stand of arms, was ordered to deliver to the Garrison of Portsmouth 300 snaphance (flintlock) muskets, 200 muskets, 100 pikes, 500 bandoliers, 600 swords, 12 drums, 12 halberts, and some partizans, the Parliament undertaking to make good these weapons to him, if necessary. The Committees for Sussex and Hants were ordered to raise and pay a troop of 100 well armed horse, who were to aid the garrison of Portsmouth and to defend these two counties.

The Earl of Manchester's army was meanwhile waiting for orders at Reading. Major-General Laurence Crawford, who held a command under the Earl of Manchester, and who charged Cromwell with cowardice, had made a survey of Basing House, and was expressing his hope of speedily reducing it, if he were but reinforced by a thousand men. There was no good feeling between Cromwell and Crawford, for "the regiments of Colonels Pickering and Montague are mentioned in chief among those that on Cromwell's instigation absolutely refused orders from Major-General Crawford." On October 8, the King was only five miles distant from Shaftesbury, marching eastward with 12,000 horse and foot, according to his opponents, or with 5500 foot and 4000 horse, according to Clarendon, causing Waller to fall back from Shaftesbury to Salisbury. Colonel Dalbier, the future besieger of Basing House, was at Blandford with his command, and was "of great use for his judgment, and especially for quartering the horse." The Earl of Manchester was daily expected to march from Reading to effect a junction with Sir William Waller, and was intending to send his cavalry to the pleasant Woodford villages, near Salisbury. Lieut.-General Cromwell was near Marlborough with Manchester's cavalry. These troopers were on the left of the Parliamentary army at Marston Moor. "They were raised out of the associated counties of Bedford, Cambridge, Suffolk, Buckingham, &c., commonly called the Eastern Associates, and both for arms, men, and horses the completest regiments in England. They were more completely at the command of Colonel Cromwell, then Lieutenant-General, an indefatigable commander, and of great courage and conduct."

In a "Statement by an Opponent of Cromwell" we read:

"Colonel Fleetwood's regiment, with his Major Harrison, what a cluster of preaching officers and troopers there is. Other regiments 'most of them Independents, whom they call godly, precious men, indeed, to say the truth, almost all our horse be made of that faction.' Colonels Montague, Russell, Pickering, and Rainsborough's regiments, all of them professed Independants, entire."

The 4000 infantry commanded by Essex, at Portsmouth, were already mostly re-clothed and armed, but in the army of the King, who was at Blandford on October 11,

and who was said by Waller to contemplate marching through Winchester or Newbury, to Oxford, there was much sickness, and desertions were numerous, especially amongst the Cornishmen, who did not care to fight at so great a distance from their homes.

On October 9 the Committee at Basing wrote to the House of Commons asking that reinforcements of infantry might be sent thither, either by Manchester or Essex. The letter was referred to the Committee of Both Kingdoms, and Waller, Essex, and Manchester were, on October 15, ordered to unite their forces, a plan previously suggested by Essex, and Basing was named as the rendezvous of the armies.

Clarendon says that the King "was now most intent to return into his winter quarters at Oxford, which was all he could propose to himself; in which he expected to meet with all the obstructions and difficulties his enraged enemies could lay in his way. He knew well that Waller was even then ready to come out of London, and that Middleton (an old foe to Basing) was retired from Tiverton to join him; that they had sent to the Earl of Manchester to march towards the West with his victorious army. So that if he long deferred his march he must look to fight another battle before he could reach Oxford. His Majesty had a great desire in his march to Oxford to relieve Donnington Castle and Basing, which was again besieged by almost the whole army of the enemy."

Such was the posture of affairs, according to Clarendon (Bk. viii.), at the end of September 1644.

It was time to help Basing once more, as we see from the following letter from the King to Prince Rupert:

"NEPHEW,—I am advertised by a despatch from Secretary Nicholas that the Governors of Banbury, Basing, and Donnington Castle must accommodate, in case they be not relieved within a few days. The importance of which places, and consequently (illegible) hath made me resolve to begin my march on Tuesday towards Salisbury, where Prince Rupert may rely upon it the King of England shall be, God willing, on Wednesday next, where I will desire Prince Rupert to come with what strength of horse and foot you can, and the two demi-cannon (32 pounders), many of my men being unarmed. I have sent to Bristol for muskets, which I desire Rupert to speed to me. I desire to hear daily from you, and particularly when you will be with me, and which way you will march, and how strong you can come to

"Your loving uncle and most faithful friend,

"Blandford, 11th Oct., 1644.

"CHARLES R."

Prince Rupert had, on October 5, left the King for Bristol, and the latter had promised not to engage until the Prince returned to him with reinforcements of

Gerrard's and Langdale's troops. Desertions, sickness, want of pay, food, shoes, and stockings thinned the ranks of the Royal army, which was obliged to make frequent halts in order to secure the payment of forced contributions, so that the King did not reach Salisbury until October 15, on which day his rendezvous was at Black Warren, six miles from the city; 500 horse quartered at Salisbury that night, but the foot were delayed by the wet weather. He here received information that Waller and Haslerig lay at Andover with their troops, saying that "they would keep good understanding" with Essex and Manchester, and asking that 500 breasts, backs, and pots may be sent by horse, in panniers "by way of Farnham to Alresford, for thereabouts we conceive our foot will join." They had no news of Colonel Ludlow and his 400 horse, also that Manchester was advanced as far as Reading with 5000 horse and foot and twenty-four pieces of ordnance, that the London Trained Bands, consisting of the red and blue regiments of the City of London, the red regiment of Westminster, the yellow regiments of Southwark and the Tower Hamlets, making in all about 5000 men, commanded by Sir James Harrington, were beginning their march to him, and that 3000 of the horse and foot of the Earl of Essex's army were near Portsmouth, expecting orders to march on the 16th. Prince Rupert was unable to meet the King at Salisbury, and, after a halt of three days, the Royal army was again on the march. Instead of proceeding directly to Oxford and relieving Basing House and Donnington Castle on his way thither, the King, over-persuaded by Lord Goring, determined to attack Waller, who, with 3000 horse and dragoons, had occupied Andover, at a considerable distance in advance of the supporting army of the Earl of Manchester. He had marched thither from Salisbury, through Winterbourne Stoke, from which village he wrote a letter on October 14, stating that the King was advancing towards him. Essex, Waller, and Manchester held a Council of War on October 12, at Basingstoke. Waller returned to his troops at Winterbourne Stoke, near Amesbury, at which place he still was on October 15, and from whence he fell back upon Andover. He, together with Lieut.-General Middleton, hoped by thus retreating to gain time, so that Essex's recruited, re-clothed, and re-armed three or four thousand troops might be able to effect a junction with the army of Manchester. Sir Arthur Haslerig was still serving under his old commander (Waller), and Lord Hopton was near Bristol. A critic unfriendly to the King observes, "when haste is in the saddle, repentance is in the crupper." Daily skirmishes took place between the King's forces and Waller's rearguard, but on October 14 Lieut.-General Cromwell reached Reading from the siege of Banbury with a detachment of horse, and two days afterwards Manchester, leaving one London regiment to garrison Reading, at length marched in bad weather with his infantry and thirty-two guns towards Newbury and Basingstoke, which he reached on the following day, his intention being "to have our foot to be betwixt Newbury and Basingstoke, and there to meet with our Lord General (Essex)." He sent on most of his horse, under Cromwell, to reinforce Waller, but it was afterwards made a

matter of accusation against him that he had not joined Waller with his whole force instead of marching to Basing, "which is a service of very great concernment." At Basing he met "Sir Archibald Johnston, of Warriston, and Mr. John Crewe, sent by the Committee of Derby House to attend the movements of the Generals and to stimulate them."

The Parliamentary Committee at Basingstoke made on October 14 an earnest appeal for reinforcements, and two days afterwards Mr. Boyce, the Lord General's messenger, carried orders to the Earl of Manchester to send forces to Basing "for the reducing of that garrison, which is a service of very great concernment." Manchester answered this letter on October 19, reporting his arrival with his army at Basingstoke. He was now so anxious to fight that the Commissioners, in company with Sir W. Balfour, Major-General Skippon, and other officers, selected the positions to be taken up by the several regiments in the event of a battle.

The Earl of Essex at Portsmouth was now again ready to take the field. Some of his men were "sea and weatherbound" in the Isle of Wight, where Sir Gregory Norton and other good people were doing them much kindness, and boats were sent to fetch them on Tuesday, October 15. The Earl of Pembroke had two days previously been thanked by Parliament for his care of the Isle of Wight, and had been empowered to seize any boats "upon the continent" of Hants for its security. He was also ordered, in consequence of a letter written on October 14, by the Mayor and inhabitants of Newport, to direct Colonel Carne, the Deputy-Governor, to repair to the island forthwith.

On landing on the shores of Hampshire, Essex's men marched at once to Titchfield, which had been appointed as a rendezvous on October 16 for the various detachments of their comrades quartered in Portsea Isle, Southampton, and elsewhere. Essex finding that the King was advancing with some 10,000 horse and foot, sent on his cavalry under Sir William Balfour to Basingstoke, whilst he himself followed with between three and four thousand infantry. Both armies were eager to fight, weather permitting. The King's rendezvous was "about Andover, and in a heath near Whitchurch between Andover and Basing." Some of the Royal horse had on Sunday, October 13, appeared on a hill not far from Basing, but on their scouts giving timely warning of the advance of some Roundhead troopers, they fell back in good order. The garrison or force to which this adventurous party of bold riders belonged is not stated.

The Earl of Manchester was in charge of the train of artillery destined for Essex's army. The guns had previously been sent by water from London to Reading. Essex marched on October 18 from his rendezvous on Portsdown Hill to Petersfield, "this being the direct way to Basing," and on the following night quartered his men at Alresford. The Parliament had now therefore troops posted from Abingdon to Basingstoke as well as at Alresford, Midhurst, and Petworth, and

could easily hinder the King from invading Sussex, in which county Colonel Temple was also raising forces on behalf of the Parliament.

Essex wished Colonel Dalbier to be sent to him, and more saddles and pistols to be sent to Farnham. He reported that Portsmouth and Southampton were in a very sad condition, being very weakly manned. Portsmouth had no money, and Southampton either could not or would not send any to Essex, who was now ordered to supply these two towns, together with Chichester and Arundel, with provisions: forty loads of cheese and proportionable biscuits, and five or six tons of match, and as many of musket bullet, were needed at Farnham with all speed.

On Friday, October 18, Sir William Waller was granted 300 backs, breasts, and pots, 300 pairs of pistols, and 300 saddles for the cavalry under his command, and was also to be reinforced by Colonel Ludlow and Major Dewett, with their horse. But disaster now befell "Sir William the Conqueror," which made him less eager "to go a king-catching" than he had previously been.

The King "had left all the cannon that he had taken from the Earl of Essex at Exeter; and now he sent all his great cannon to a garrison he had within two miles of Salisbury, at Langford, a house of the Lord Gorges, where was a garrison of 100 men, commanded by a good officer. The rest of the cannon and carriages were left at Wilton, the house of the Earl of Pembroke, with a regiment of foot to guard them, and the King appointed a rendezvous for the army to be the next morning (October 18), by seven of the clock, near Clarendon Park, and good guards were set at all the avenues of the city, to keep all people from going out, that Waller might not have any notice of his purpose, and if the hour of the rendezvous had been observed, as it rarely was (though His Majesty was himself the most punctual, and never absent at the precise time), that design had succeeded to wish. For though the foot under Prince Maurice came not up till eleven of the clock, so that the army did not begin its march till twelve, yet they came within four miles of Andover before Waller had any notice of their motions, when he drew out his whole body towards them as if he meant to fight, but upon view of their strength, and the good order they were in, he changed his mind, and drew back into the town, leaving a strong party of horse and dragoons to make good his retreat. But the King's van charged and routed them with good execution, and pursued them through the town, and slew many of them in the rear, until the darkness of the night secured them, and hindered the others from following farther. But they were all scattered, and came not quickly together again, and the King quartered that night at Andover. The scattering of this great body under Waller in this manner, and the little resistance they made, so raised the spirits of the King's army, that they desired nothing more than to have a battle with the whole army of the enemy, which the King meant not to seek out, nor to decline fighting with them if they put themselves in his way. And so he resolv'd to raise the siege of Donnington Castle, which was little

out of his way to Oxford. To that purpose, he sent orders for the cannon which had been left at Langford and Wilton to make all haste to a place appointed between Andover and Newbury, where he staid with his army, till they came up to him, and then marched together to Newbury, within a mile of Donnington." (Clarendon, Bk. viii.)

We learn from Symonds' Diary that this battle was fought on October 18, 1644, and that the King slept that night at the "White Hart" Inn, at Andover. This writer says: "Friday, 18th October, 1644, His Majesty, &c., left Sarum and marched towards Andover. Gen. Goring raised a forlorn of horse, consisting of about 200 gentlemen, who were spare commanders of horse, beat them out of Andover, took Carr, a Scot colonel, and another captain, a Scot, that died, who a little before his death rose from under the table, saying he would not die like a dog under a table, but sat down on a chair and immediately died of his wounds. Took about 80 prisoners, followed the chase of them two miles, who all ran in great confusion. Had not night come so soon it might have been made an end of Waller's army, for our intention was to engage them, but they disappointed our hopes by their heels."

Waller's men are said to have been routed in a lane leading into Andover, and to have been afterwards chased through the town. This affair was styled "a fierce alarm." The fighting continued for two hours. Some accounts say that Waller lost about thirty men, others that the King and Waller each lost twenty or thirty men, whilst another chronicler states ten men as the loss on either side, describing the affair as being only a skirmish with Waller's rearguard.

It was, however, considered much more serious, for Waller at once retreated towards Basingstoke, sending at the same time to the Earl of Manchester to ask for assistance. The latter general thus writes from Basingstoke on October 19: "Yesternight late I received a very hot alarm from Sir William Waller's quarters, that the King with all his army was come to Andover, and that he was upon his retreat towards me, whereupon I drew out my foot and those horse that were with me in order to help Sir W. Waller, who reached Basingstoke with little or no loss."

On October 20, Waller and others wrote to the Committee of Both Kingdoms, speaking of "our orderly retreat, bringing a brave body of horse safe to Basing, but we are not well armed. Last night the King with his train (*i.e.*, artillery) went to Winchester." Essex was reported to be at Alton. "We hope there will be a battle shortly; to our understanding it cannot be avoided; we desire the prayers of all our friends; we trust more in that than in our army. Eight hundred suits of clothes will serve us for the present." Waller wishes to, and actually did borrow, spare clothes from the army of Essex; "it would be very seasonable and comfortable to the poor dragoons, who are so pitiful an object that the like is not to be seen in England. Now your forces are joined, we have cause to fear the want of provisions.

We entreat you that ten loads of cheese and bread proportionable may be forthwith sent to Farnham. (Dr. Firth is of opinion that the soldier's daily ration consisted of 1 lb. of biscuit and a $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. of cheese.) If we keep the fields, and want victuals, we shall be undone. It is no little grief to us that our poor dragoons go naked this weather. Oh, that they might be thought upon for clothes. We can but inform you of their wants; it is not in our power to help them!" The sum of £200 was voted for the defences of Hurst Castle; the next day (October 21) in answer to Waller's pathetic appeal 800 suits of clothes and 200 carbines with some pistols were voted for his starving dragoons, and Essex was directed to lend Waller a supply of much-needed clothing. Kent, Surrey, and Hants were ordered to send in provisions for the army, "to be issued for money, and we desire such encouragement may be given to them, that they may continue to bring in supplies." Six tons of match and as many of bullet were to be sent to Farnham Castle, where the chapel was about this time converted into a servants' hall. Royalist prisoners occupied the dungeons, and leave was given to the people of Farnham to have as many stones as each man required from the tower, which was pulled down, to mend the road in front of the houses. Manchester was evidently frightened, and prepared to retreat from Basing. He was afterwards charged with having "retreated to Odiham, out of the way, though he had 7000 horse and 7000 foot, enough to face the King's whole army." Cromwell stated that Manchester at this time would have retreated to Odiham, leaving the besiegers at Basing House exposed to the whole army of the King, if Sir W. Waller and Sir A. Haslerig had not arrived just in time to hinder him from so doing. Cromwell indignantly adds: "We being at Basing with 11,000 foot, and about 8000 horse and dragoons, and the King with not above 10,000 horse and foot!"

The Earl of Essex at Alresford was promptly informed of Waller's disastrous retreat, and, says Manchester, on October 19, "notwithstanding some difficulties, is marched this night to Alton." The "difficulties" referred to seem to have been some Cavalier horse, who were said to be under the leadership of the gallant Hopton. A party of Sir Arthur Haslerig's regiment of horse, 120 strong, commanded by the celebrated Major (afterwards Colonel) Okey, met the King's cavalry near Alresford. The Cavaliers charged boldly, but ere long fell back upon their reserve, leaving a lieutenant, a quartermaster, and four troopers in the hands of the enemy. Essex then proceeded without molestation to Basing, arriving there on October 21.

On October 17, being Thursday, a little after mid-day, the watchers on the towers of Loyalty House descried the vanguard of Manchester's army marching to Basingstoke and Sherfield. Next day some of his cavalry rode up to the siege works, two of them being picked off by the marksmen of the garrison. The following day (October 19) eight regiments of infantry and some of cavalry, with all the baggage and artillery (twenty-four guns), halted and faced the house for some hours, drawn up on the south of Basingstoke. Towards night the infantry retired and quartered

in Basingstoke, most of the cavalry, which all day long had been drawn up near Rook's Down, two miles distant, riding at speed to their quarters near Farnham.

On October 19 Manchester wrote to London that the King had halted, "only I hear that some of his horse were drawn up about White Church."

On Saturday, October 19, the King advanced from Andover to Whitchurch, where he was to remain until his General, Lord Brentford, who was in the rear, and the Earl of Portland, who had been detained with the siege of Portland, should come up with the remainder of his forces. Some of the Royal cavalry were only five miles distant from the enemy, and the Earl of Northampton, with his brigade of 1500 horse, was sent to unite with Colonel Gage, who led a regiment of horse and some foot from Oxford for the relief of Banbury, which had been besieged for thirteen weeks by Colonel John Fiennes with all the forces of Northampton, Warwick, and Coventry. Sir William Compton had bravely defended the town and castle, and the garrison, "though they had but two horses left uneaten, had never suffered a summons to be sent to them." Reduced, however, to great distress, these gallant soldiers gladly hailed the arrival of the relieving force, which completely routed the besiegers. Colonel Webb, who had accompanied Colonel Gage on this expedition, as he had formerly done to Basing, was here seriously wounded.

Mr. Walter Money, F.S.A., says: "On Sunday (October 20) a party of horse was dispatched to relieve Donnington Castle, and returned the next morning. On Monday night, October 21, 1644, a spy in the service of the Parliament returned to camp with the following intelligence: His Majesty's army was in Whitchurch all Sunday night, and that town was full of soldiers, both horse and foot, but their train of artillery was not there, only a few waggons belonging to officers. That their train stood on Andover Downes, within two miles of Whitchurch, or thereabouts. The King was last night (Sunday) at Whitchurch, but by some reported to be at Winchester, and by others at Andover. The last night, about eight of the clock, went out about 4000 horse out of Whitchurch to give an alarm, and returned this morning about break of day. (This was the party which was sent to relieve Donnington Castle.) Yesterday it was ordered that the train should be drawn up to Whitchurch Downes, but was hindered by the wet weather, and so staid two miles short. And that this day (Monday) the rendezvous was to be kept upon Sevenborough (Seven Barrows), the drums beat up at Whitchurch at break of day. This day, about eight o'clock, there stood at Whitclear (? Whitway or Highclere), a great body of horse, as he conceiveth to be 2000, on this side Sevenborough. That about twelve o'clock there were going to Kingsclere some empty carts, accompanied by some troops of horse, which carts he supposeth were to carry provisions that were summoned to be brought to Donnington Castle. (These apparently were the empty carts returning from the Castle.) That it is generally reported the King quarters at Donnington the next night. Carriages were warned at Bawgus (Baughurst), and the parishes adjacent, to appear this morning at Whitchurch. From Newbury that great

provisions of victuals are made, and all towns adjoining, for the army which is expected there this night. That a great party from Oxford and Wallingford is to be there to meet the King's forces this night." ("Parliamentary Scout," October 24 to 31, 1644.)

On Saturday, October 20, the sum of £200 was voted for the defences of Hurst Castle, and on the next day 800 suits of clothes and 200 carbines were ordered for Waller's dragoons.

Sir Archibald Johnston, of Warriston, and Mr. John Crewe, Commissioners in the Parliament's army, reported from Basingstoke on October 21 the arrival of the Lord General Essex with his army. These Commissioners were to receive £25 on going to the army, which was to be refunded from their pay. They were allowed a tent and a close waggon between them, and each of them had a clerk, who was paid 2s. 6d. per diem.

The combined forces of Essex, Waller, and Manchester, together with the London Brigade, at least 5000 strong, under Sir James Harrington, amounted to 11,000 foot and 8000 horse and dragoons, whilst the King had not more than 10,000 horse and foot. Nine days previously the House of Commons had voted £20,000 for the maintenance of the London Brigade.

Essex on reaching Basing approved Manchester's determination to fight, and at once sent orders to Reading for the destruction of all the bridges over the Thames and Kennet, in order to cut off the King's retreat to Oxford.

On October 21 the Parliament Commissioners stated the King was at Overton. Waller, who was now at Basingstoke, had captured two captains and divers common soldiers, and had lost thirty men (or ten each side). One estimate reckoned the strength of the Royal army to be from 16,000 to 20,000, composing three brigades. One of these was said to be with Hopton at Winchester, the second with the King at Andover, and the third marching towards Marlborough, intending either to reach Oxford or to relieve Banbury. Captain Symonds, in his "Marches of the Royal Army," says: "Munday, Oct. 21st. His Majesty lay at King Cleer (at Mr. Tower's) at Frobury, a moated house, seven miles from Basing, the troop (*i.e.*, of Life Guards) at Newton (between Kingsclere and Newbury), the headquarters of the horse at Newbury. This day the enemy with Essex, Manchester, Waller went with all their forces, and made assault upon Basing."

On the other hand we are told "near that house they gathered into one body, but attempted not the place. Here joined the Earls of Essex, Manchester, Sir William Waller, with some Trained Regiments of London," and according to "Aulicus," of October 28, "They durst not adventure the bruising of their army upon Basing Garrison, but left it on Tuesday last, after their outguards within half a mile of Basing had been beaten up by Captain Markham, with a party of horse of the Queen's regiment. His Majesty's army being then at Kingsclear."

A battle being now imminent, several surgeons were sent down on October 21 to

Basingstoke by Parliament, and the following day was set apart in London as a day of humiliation and prayer. Cromwell and some other commanders wished to fight at once, but the Earl of Manchester decided to march back to Reading, with the object of making the attack from the north or left bank of the Kennet. The King had marched to Kingsclere, which lies midway between Basing and Newbury (and where a 2 lb. falconet shot was dug up in 1887, upon Blissett's Farm, in the occupation, strange to say, of Mr. Manchester), with the intention of attempting the relief of Basing. But finding this position indefensible against an enemy so greatly superior in cavalry, he, after one night's halt, continued his march towards Newbury with his infantry and a party of horse. Sir William Waller, eager to avenge his defeat at Andover, skirmished with the Cavaliers, "but His Majesty facing the Parliamentarians with a party of horse, drew off his infantry from King's Cleer and marched to Newbury." Waller was, however, not to be denied, and Captain Fincher was ordered to push home a charge upon the retiring Cavaliers, which resulted in the capture of several officers and sixty men.

Mr. Money says: "In the year 1839, in digging a grave in the nave of Ewhurst Church, on the Basingstoke-road, near Kingsclere, the remains of two soldiers, with portions of military ornaments, were found at a shallow depth. These interments had the appearance of having been hastily conducted, and were supposed to have been the bodies of officers slain in a skirmish in the neighbourhood during the operations before Basing." May they not have fallen during Captain Fincher's cavalry charge?

The King having thus departed, Essex and Manchester marched on October 22 from Basingstoke through Swallowfield to Reading, where Essex was left on a sick bed. The Commissioners wrote to the Committee of Both Kingdoms on October 23, "The greater part of our horse and all the dragoons quartered at Aldermaston, and our foot came very late in foul ways to Swallowfield, within four miles of Reading, and two other villages." On October 27 was fought the second Battle of Newbury, which has been so graphically described by Mr. Money, to whose admirable work the writer is greatly indebted for many important facts.

On October 29 the House of Commons sanctioned the following scale of daily pay for the garrison of Windsor Castle: A colonel, £2 5s.; one captain, 15s.; two lieutenants, 4s.; two ensigns, 3s.; five sergeants, 1s. 6d.; five corporals, 1s.; five drummers, 1s.; twelve gunners, 2s.; twelve matrosses, 1s.; one minister, 8s.; his man, 8d.; one marshal, 5s.; one gun-smith, 1s. 6d.; one armourer, 1s. 6d.; one surgeon, 4s.; his man, 8d. The knapsack was then called a "snapsack." "Aulicus" speaks on Monday, October 28, 1644, of "three days' provisions prepared in their snapsack."

But to return to Basing House. The "Diary of the Siege" says: "On October 20 three foot soldiers coming too near to see the House receive the curtesy of fetching in, and next day by our foot in ambush in the lane a cornet of Sir William's (Waller) regiment, and two dragoons were taken; our horse from off the hill fetch in two

straggling foot, at noon some regiments of horse and foot belonging to the Earl of Essex join to the Leaguer; their army toward evening drawn in Battalia that night keep the field, the van near Rooke's Downe, the battle (*i.e.*, main body) at Basingstoake, and rear by Hackwood; next day marching the army towards Reading, the foot by Sherborne, and the horse keeping along their left (to repel any attack from the King's cavalry)." The following day (October 23) three more troopers were brought in, Lord Winchester's cavalry venturing forth to harass the enemy on their march. At night a storm brought down a tower, which had been almost destroyed by the artillery, upon the heads of five of the garrison, killing one, and somewhat bruising the rest.

Skirmishes marked the closing days of October. Lieut. (Captain) Cuffand, with some forty horse, checked the besiegers on Cowdrey Down, wounding five horses and as many men, and capturing a prisoner, losing only one man himself. Next day he faced their horse again, whilst Cornet Bryan, ever in the saddle, with some few horse, carried off a load of corn driving near to their guard, "and riding through the garrison from off the other side, bring in a cart and team passing to Basingstoke." These carts were sent out on each of the three following nights, with a strong guard, and brought in fivequarters of threshed corn from Piat's (*i.e.*, Magpie's) Hill, on the other side of the River Loddon, together with twelve loads in the sheaf. Fourteen beasts were also brought in from the same place. To stop these proceedings, the enemy posted a guard of horse and foot at the barns on Piat's Hill, the said guard being relieved daily at 9 P.M. We hear a faint, sad echo of these skirmishes as we read in the Sherfield-on-Loddon Burial Register: "1644. John Worlye, a souldjer of ye Kentish Regimt. Buried October 26."

After the second Battle of Newbury, which was fought on October 27, 1644, it was reported that Prince Rupert would do his best to raise the siege of Basing House. A Council of War ordered the three armies of horse to prevent any such attempt. The King, having left Marlborough, was expected to head a relieving force in person. Manchester accordingly marched to Aldermaston, where he encamped in the fields, in order to intercept him. At a Council of War, "no man speaking so much against fighting as Cromwell," it was unanimously decided to concentrate the Parliamentary infantry at Reading and Henley, and the horse at Farnham, Okingham, Windsor, Maidenhead, and Staines, in preference to adopting more vigorous measures. The Commissioners wrote on October 30 that "Basing sends often for help," and on November 6 the Committee of Both Kingdoms sent Messenger Bulmer to the Earl of Manchester with orders to send the City Regiment from Reading to Basing siege, relieving it either by one of Manchester's own, or by some other suitable regiment. Colonel Ludlow's regiment, which had been cut up at Newbury, "being that day on the guard," was ordered to be sent at once into Wiltshire.

The month of November opened with gloomy prospects at Basing House. All the beer barrels were empty, and the stock of bread and corn but slender. Lieut.-Colonel



Peake was therefore despatched with a party of horse and foot to Piat's Hill, which was reached about 8 P.M. The enemy's fires were still burning, but the guard was nowhere to be seen. Two prisoners only were made, and the loading and sending of carts to the House went on without interruption until midnight. Then some cavalry from Sherfield came down the hill, and together with some infantry from Basing attacked the Royalists, who lined the hedges, according to their usual practice, with musketeers. A fierce and protracted cavalry skirmish ensued, but volleys of musketry from the hedges turned the scale in favour of the Cavaliers. Norton's foot, who knew every inch of the ground, fought desperately to dislodge the musketeers, but being charged by the Royalist horse, and a diversion being made by an attack upon Basing Church by a party from the House, they were put to the rout, and driven through the River Loddon in confusion. Lieut.-Colonel Peake and his foragers then fell to work again, "and before morning carry in 16 cart loads in sheaf; our drovers at same time passed through our guards eight beasts, and at noon next day some soldiers skipping out seize on twelve sides of mutton and some pork loaded upon a horse as contribution food going unto the church." Short allowance at church that day.

Listen again to Chronicler Symonds: "His Majesty, when he came to Oxford (Satterday, 2 Novembris, 1644) knighted Colonel Gage for his good service of relieving Banbury and Basing." An honour well and worthily won! Four days afterwards Colonel Sir Henry Gage commanded the Queen's Regiment of Foot, 150 strong, out of Oxford at the rendezvous on Shotover Green.

For ten days before November 5 the officers at Basing House had been reduced to one meal per diem, the soldiers being allowed two. Beer now failed completely, and every one was obliged to drink water. The soldiers were persuaded by their officers to follow their example, and content themselves with one meal a day. This was more than one hungry man could bear, and at night he deserted to the enemy, who were almost inclined to raise the siege in despair, and disclosed the necessities of the garrison. The deserter's information caused the besiegers to persevere a little longer, especially as they had been reinforced from Newbury by Colonels Strode and Ludlow, with a good strength of horse and some dragoons. Colonel Strode was "one of the Deputy Lieutenants of the Militia for Somerset, a man much relied on in those parts, and of a good fortune. No man wished the King's army worse success." Clarendon speaks, Bk. vii., of his dread of the King's soldiers.

Colonel Ludlow, whom Carlyle describes as "solid Ludlow," was afterwards one of the King's Judges, and succeeded to the command of the Army in Ireland, after the death of Ireton, on November 26, 1651. He came to Basing with his regiment at the special request of Colonel Norton. By way of welcome to Colonel Strode's regiment, Cornet Bryan rode forth on November 6, under cover of a fog, with a party of horse, down the valley nearly to Basingstoke, and carried off three sentries. Posting his own men in their stead, he soon afterwards took prisoners, without even firing a

pistol, a corporal and two troopers, who came to relieve the three luckless sentries. The same night Major Cuffand made a sortie with some horse and foot, killed a sentry, beat off the enemy's horse, and cleared the road to Piat's Hill, sending out foragers, who, however, returned empty-handed, on account of the vigilance and numbers of the opposing cavalry. Two desertions from the garrison, one of the runaways taking his horse with him. A messenger was sent to Oxford, but was unfortunately captured by the watchful foe. The weather was "fair for that season."

Major Rosewell led out the same party on the night of November 9, and having lined the hedges with musketeers, was able to keep the enemy's horse at a distance. He stormed the works at the Delve on Cowdrey Down, and again despatched a foraging party to Piat's Hill, who within four hours afterwards brought in eighteen beasts and six loads of corn in sheaf, besides sending two messengers safely on their way to Oxford. The long nights were now favourable to raise the siege. A letter from the King, in which he declared his intention to relieve the garrison "in spite of heaven and earth," was about this time intercepted by the besiegers, and certain Cavaliers, who sallied forth to obtain some hop-poles for firewood, "were so pelted by some of our City forces that they left 18 behind, besides that went halting in." Five regiments from Newbury were ordered to check any effort on the part of Prince Rupert to succour Basing, "which, if not prevented, would exceedingly encourage the enemy, and be very prejudicial to the public affairs."

Warburton says: "Rupert appeared before the stout old walls on the 11th November, and exchanged compliments with the garrison," and on the same day Waller wrote to the Committee of Both Kingdoms: "My horse have been in constant service ever since the first battle of Newbury both summer and winter. After the business of Alton and Arundel in the winter, and the battle of Cheriton in the spring, the House of Commons was pleased to promise £10,000 towards the recruiting of my horse, but I never received one penny. I have at the least 500 men on foot, and as many unserviceable horse." It may be to this period that the following paragraph in "Mercurius Aulicus" (p. 101-2), which gives a not over pleasant picture of the condition of Royalist prisoners, refers:

"There was a poor man living near Moor Park, whom, when Prince Rupert was in those parts, he commanded to show him where the pipes lay which conveyed water to the Castle. For this crime they apprehend him, and commit him prisoner to the Castle, where they fed him with so slender diet that they even starved him, and when upon his wife's tears and lamentable cries that she and her children were like to starve at home while her husband starved at Windsor, they having no subsistence but what he got by the sweat of his brows, he was released. He was not able to stand on his legs, and whether dead since we have no information."

Prince Rupert's stay in the neighbourhood, both on this and other occasions, was not of long duration, for on the 21st he attempted to surprise Abingdon, and on the 23rd entered Oxford with the King.

Upon Cowdrey Down Colonel Ludlow's trumpeter, or "music," was captured on November 13, and on the following day a regiment of foot was seen at Chinham, marching to Basingstoke.

The 15th brought a trumpet from Sir William Waller to arrange terms for the exchange of his cornet, who had been taken prisoner in the lower road to Basingstoke on October 20. Another trumpet brought in two officers of the garrison that had long been prisoners at Farnham. Were these officers "Ensigns (Ancient) Coram, son of one Coram, a Papist, in Winchester, and William Robinson, a Papist, surgeon to the Lord Marquesse of Winchester," the only two officers captured at Odiham on June 2, of whose release by exchange we have not already heard? For these two officers the trumpet took out "seven of theirs, we taking care to fill their roomes again within two hours after, fetch in one, and kill two more abroad." Dates are now somewhat obscure. The "Diary of the Siege" seems to imply that the besiegers finally struck tents and departed about November 15, whilst from Symonds we gather that the siege was raised on the 20th. Clarendon says: "The enemy was in the meantime marched from thence to Basing, which, they thought, would, upon the sight of their whole army, presently have yielded, but, finding the Marquis still obstinate to defend it, they were weary of the winter war, and so retired all their force from thence, and quitted the siege the very day before Gage came thither, so that he easily delivered his provisions, and retired to the King without any inconvenience." Symonds tells us: "Monday, 18th November.—The enemy left Newbery and marched near Basing. This day, Tuesday, 19th November, Colonel Gage was sent towards Basing to relieve it with 1000 horse." The Diary says that the siege lasted twenty-four weeks. It commenced on June 4, and according to this computation ended about November 18. Symonds states that Colonel Gage was sent to the relief of Basing on November 19, and Clarendon says that his force was to "march so as to be at Basing House the next morning after they parted from the army." "Aulicus" gives the date as November 13, the anniversary of Waller's repulse in 1643. The question is a difficult one. The sight of the whole army of his foes did not in the least dismay the "Loyal" Marquis. The Diary says "their army now again hovering about, afford us sport, each day killing or taking some of their curious ones, and seize two carts, one with a load of hay, passing too near our works."

But help was at hand. In Clarendon (Book viii.) we read: "The King had not yet done all he meant to do before he took up his winter quarters, and since he heard the enemy lay still at Newbury, he marched to Marlborough, where he found all things to his wish. His heart was set upon the relief of Basing, which was now again distress'd; the enemy, as is said before, begirt it closely from the time that Gage relieved it. He had a great mind to do it with his whole army, that thereby he might draw the enemy to a battle; but upon full debate, it was concluded that the safest way would be to do it by a strong party, that 1000 horse should be drawn out,

every one of which should carry before him a bag of corn, or other provisions, and march so as to be at Basing House the next morning after they parted from the army, and then every trooper was to cast down his bag to make their retreat as well as they might, and Colonel Gage, who had so good success before, was appointed to command this party, which he cheerfully undertook to do. The better to effect it, Hungerford was thought the fitter place to quarter with the army, and from thence to despatch that party. So His Majesty marched back to Hungerford, which was half way to Newbury."

Colonel Sir Henry Gage led his 1000 horse to Basing, but found that there was no need of sudden withdrawal from thence. Let the Diary speak: "The enemy wearied with lying 24 weeks, diseases, with the winter seizing them, his army wasted from 2000 to 700, fearing the forces of His Majesty now moving about Hungerford, raiseth his leaguer, and at eight this morn drew off his waggons and two gunns, three days before brought in. The foot at noon march towards Odgiham, the huts being fired, and some troops of horse left to secure their rear. On whom a party of our horse with Coronet Bryan waiting their opportunities disorder their retreat."

"Next night honoured Sir Henry Gage (the enemies' remove not knowne), sent by his Majesty with 1000 horse, brings in supplies of ammunition and provision, each trooper in a bag bearing his part, having a skein of match swaddled about his waist, besides what was brought in carts, and staying here three days most amply victualled the garrison, drawn down by length of seige almost unto the worst of all necessities, provision low, the soldiers spent and naked, and the numbers few, having besides our hurt and maimed, and such as ran from us lost near 100 men by sickness, and the siege, whereof a Lieutenant-Colonel (Johnson), two ensigns (one of whom was Amory), three sergeants, and seven corporals." It was said in London on November 26, that "Basing garrison had neither stockings nor shoes, drank water, and looked all as if they had been rather the prisoners of the grave than the keepers of a castle."

Some of the warrants issued by Colonel Gage, at Basing, on November, 23, appeared in print shortly afterwards.

One of them thus addressed: "To the Tythingman of Lysturney (Liss or Less Turney, near Petersfield) haste, post haste, horse post, see these conveyed as aforesaid with speed," orders £300 to be sent at sight from Odiham Hundred in part payment of contribution money. "Your part is £29 2s. 6d. William Gregorie, Constable." Two thousand horse and dragoons were to pay an unwelcome visit in case of refusal, but in the event of compliance, kind treatment was promised, and an allowance for any cattle previously taken. By a similar warrant the Constable of the Hundred of Odiham was ordered to send in by eleven o'clock on the following morning 100 qrs. of oats, 60 qrs. of barley or malt, 60 qrs. of wheat, 1000 lb. weight of cheese, 1000 lb. weight of bacon, and 20 loads of hay. "Your part is 10 qrs. of malt, 5 qrs. of wheat, cheese 100, and bacon 100 lb." The same terms were offered as in the former case.

It is said that on account of the numerous desertions from Manchester's army the siege was raised by the unanimous decision of a Council of War, Lieut.-General Cromwell being specially in favour of this measure. Of Basing it was said "many brave sallies were made, and a multitude of men they slew, so that it was afterwards called Basting House. It was reported that during the 24 weeks' siege the besiegers lost not less than 1000 men." "Mercurius Britannicus" is satirical on November 25: "But by this time Basing House is relieved, and the Winchester Goose proud in conceit that his feathers shall not be pluckt this winter." Suspicions now arose in Parliament of the Earl of Essex "as careless or discontent," and on Friday, November 22, the Committee of Both Kingdoms were asked to give an account to the House of the operations at Donnington, Newbury, and Basing House. A letter was read from the Local Committee at Basing, with two warrants annexed concerning the remove of the forces, one under the hand of the Earl of Manchester only; the other under the hand of the Earl of Manchester, Sir W. Balfour, and Sir W. Waller. "For Colonel Norton had writ a letter to them that he had received a warrant from a chief commander in the army, to withdraw from Basing, which was to him a thing unexpected, but yet he obeyed." On November 23 Colonel Whitehead, the foe of Basing, was recruiting his regiment for the defence of the county, and Colonel Morley's regiment "being much weakened by reason of the late service at Basing House," was to be "made up to 800 out of the trained bands till its recruits can be sent up to replace them."

Colonels Norton and Jones "dispersed their forces into winter quarters at Farnham, Reading, Henley, and Abingdon, whilst the Cavaliers occupied Basing, Odiham, Blewbury, and Marlborough." Judging by the following paragraph, Lady Onslowe must have regretted the raising of the siege quite as much, if not more, than her husband:

"And Basing House now at liberty, when at London it was confidently reported it was lost. And the Lady Onslow reported that the Parliament had considered their good service in the cause, and therefore had given Basing House to her husband, and hoped the world should then see them in a better condition. But it proved otherwise, he being forced out of his Lines of Communication."

The King, having been rejoined by Colonel Gage, reached Oxford on November 23, and placed his troops in winter quarters.

No better words can conclude this chapter than those which end the "Diary of the Siege":

"I shall end all with these observations, viz., that seldome hath been a seige wherein the preservation of the place more imediatly might be imputed to the hand of God! That the souldiers in so long a Seige with all the sufferings incident thereto should never Mutiny. Nor that the customary Liberty at all our Parlyes for to meet and talke wrought any treachery, Wants of Provisions alwayes so supplied as if by miracle, during the Leaguer; wee not having lesse then seavenscore uselesse mouths,

that had reliefe come at the time appointed, Waller then hovering with his force at Farnham, in probability a hazard whether they had releived us, or preserved themselves. Or had Norton (able to bring three times their numbers forth), when the next weeke they came, drawne out his strength, or had we not got Powder from them, that, by our Releife scarce serving till the Seige was raised ; or, when we were releived, had they not suffered us to possesse the Towne a weeke, thereout supplying ourselves for horse and man, before not having for above three weekes. Or had they when we first fetcht corn from Piats-Hill, or fired or removed it.

“ But God that holdeth all things in His hand, appointing times and seasons ; ordereth all that tends unto those ends he wils ; in vain it therefore were to villify the enemy ; blaming his valor or discretion, or yet to say the care and diligence of the Lord Marquisse Governour, the skill and valour of the officers, the courage and obedience of the Souldiers (though all these did their parts) had thus preserved the place, in vain we watch and ward, except God keepe the House. Let no man therefore speake himself an instrument, onley in giving thanks that God had made him so, for here was evidently seen, *He chose the weak to confound the strong. Non Nobis Domine.* Not unto us, not unto us O Lord, but to thine owne name be all Glory for ever. Amen ! ”

CHAPTER XXVI

DR. LEWIS—DESIGNS UPON READING—SALISBURY FIGHTS—DEATH OF
COLONEL GAGE—CHRISTCHURCH AND ALDERSHOT—TOBIAS
BEASLEY—"WINCHESTER ALARM"—COLONEL JONES

ON Friday, November 1, 1644, newspaper readers learned that a foraging party from Winchester Castle had appeared at Petersfield, and under cover of a fog plundered a Portsmouth road waggon, carrying off the eight horses which drew it. On November 14 an ordinance of Parliament was passed for displacing the Rev. William Lewis, D.D., Master of St. Cross Hospital, at Winchester, because "he hath neglected the government of the said house, and adhered to those that have levied war against the Parliament, and are enemies to the King and kingdom." Dr. Lewis was a Welshman, born in Merionethshire, who was at an early age elected Provost of Oriel College. He was obliged to resign his post and to retire to the Continent on account of certain amours, but afterwards became Chaplain to the Duke of Buckingham, was created D.D., and was appointed to the Mastership of St. Cross. He accompanied the expedition for the relief of Rochelle, and on his return published "An Account of a Voyage to the Isle of Rhé." He was a staunch Cavalier, and a prebendary of Winchester Cathedral. Deprived of his office as Master of St. Cross, poverty and exile were his lot, until the Restoration sent him back again to St. Cross, where he died, and was buried in 1667. (*Fasti Oxon.*) Mr. John Lisle, M.P. for Winchester, remained Master of St. Cross until the year 1657, when he was called by Cromwell to a seat in the Upper House.

On Thursday, November 21, 1644, both Houses of Parliament ordered 500 tons of timber and 6000 cords of wood to be cut on the estates of Papists and delinquents in Hants and Sussex, for the repairing of the defences of Portsmouth. The 500 tons of timber were to be employed in planking and fortifying the defensive works, and the 6000 cords of wood were to be sold by the Governor, Colonel Jephson, to provide money for the expenses of the garrison. The local Committees were ordered to see that the wood was cut equally in the two counties, and on the estates of the proper persons. No waste or spoil was to be permitted, and the work was to be

done at seasonable times. No young trees or any fit for navy use were to be sold, and no timber was to be cut in the New Forest.

Early in November Sir William Waller had been ordered to send troops to Taunton, in Somersetshire, where the Parliament had many friends, the maintenance of which, isolated though it was, was of vital importance, and where Colonel (afterwards Admiral) Blake was in command. Waller himself intended to go thither with the nucleus of an army to be raised for the purpose of reducing to submission the loyal western counties. Clarendon says that the Parliament sent Waller out with such troops as they cared not for, and resolved to use their service no more. "But," says Dr. Gardiner, "Waller was too fully employed to allow him to carry out these orders, and the promised help was long delayed. It was not till December that Major-General Holborn was directed to push westward through Dorset towards Taunton."

Lord Goring now persuaded the King to send him with 3000 horse and dragoons (he having superseded Lord Wilmot in the command of the cavalry), 1500 foot, and a train of artillery through Hampshire to Salisbury, saying that he also intended to advance into Sussex, where he said that many were ready to declare for the King, who had also many friends in Kent. He therefore received a royal commission as Lieutenant-General of Hampshire, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent. He allowed Major-General Holborn, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and Colonel Jonas Vandruske, a German officer, who held a command under Sir William Waller, to relieve Taunton, an unfortified town, defended only by wooden palings and hastily constructed earthworks, but with a lion-hearted Governor and garrison, on December 14 (D'Ewes Diary, quoted by Dr. Gardiner).

Warburton says: "I am tempted to insert here, as apposite, a very characteristic anecdote of this time, told by Sir Richard Bulstrode. It shows the sprightly nature of the subordinate part of the war, and proves that even the Puritan general could enter into the spirit of his former associates.

"This winter (1644-5) General Goring was quartered at Bruton, in Somersetshire, at Sir Charles Berkeley's, an enclosed country, where the villages were thick, and great store of forage for horse. Sir William Waller was then quartered at Salisbury, in Wiltshire, where the villages are thin, standing only in the valleys, some distance from each other. General Goring, taking his advantage, sent out parties almost every night, to beat up the enemies quarters in Wiltshire, which was done with such good success that in a short time we took many prisoners and colours, which occasioned Waller to write this ensuing letter to General Goring:

"'NOBLE LORD,—God's blessing be on your heart. You are the jolliest neighbour I have ever met with. I wish for nothing more but an opportunity to let you know I would not be behind in this kind of courtesy. In the meantime, if your Lordship please to release such prisoners as you have of mine,

for the like number and quality which I have of yours, I shall esteem it as a great civility, being

“Your lordship's most humble and obedient servant,

“WILLIAM WALLER.”

“A trumpeter (a humble sort of herald who transacted such messages between the hostile camps), arrived with this letter while Goring and Sir Richard were at dinner. ‘He had been often with us,’ says the worthy knight, ‘and was a pleasant droll, this trumpeter,’ so they told him to wait and he should have his answer after dinner. Meanwhile, a party of horse returned from a foray on the enemy, bringing back ‘five colours and some prisoners of Colonel Popham's regiment.’ Whereupon Sir William Waller's trumpeter pressed that he might be sent back to the general, else probably he might find his general ‘a prisoner too.’ This transaction was followed by a general exchange of prisoners.”

Colonel Bennett, whom Colonel Norton had a year previously driven out of Romsey, was, with his regiment of horse, obliged “to bear off in some confusion” by Essex's cavalry at the second battle of Newbury, which was fought on October 27, 1644.

On November 22 Colonel Jones, the Governor of Farnham Castle, asked for and obtained reinforcements from Waller, as he said that 7000 Royalist horse and dragoons, under Goring, had reached Odiham. Kent “now raised 3000 men to oppose the King's march into Sussex and Surrey, which was feared.” Colonel Bennet was, on November 24, at Odiham with 4000 men, and four days later the armed Cavaliers in Hants were said to be 9000 strong, 1800 being cavalry. The horse were quartered at Basing, Basingstoke, Odiham, and other neighbouring places. Their raids were constant, and they threatened extremities if £40,000 was not paid at once. Basingstoke suffered severely, and Waller sent a detachment to Crondall, which, finding the Cavaliers in strong force, exchanged shots and retired on Farnham. Many thousands were now said to be taking up arms in Sussex for the Parliament, and Mr. W. Cawley, the regicide brewer of Chichester, was doing his best to check the Royalists. Towards the close of 1644 it was thought advisable “to demolish many strong houses in Sussex” where there was no garrison, allowing the Cavalier owners to compound.

After the second Battle of Newbury (October 27, 1644), in which his regiment suffered severely, and in which his cousin, Cornet Gabriel Ludlow, was killed, Colonel Ludlow, at the express desire of Colonel Norton, took part in the siege of Basing House. After the raising of the siege he withdrew with the larger portion of his regiment into Wiltshire, as the Parliamentary Committee of Both Kingdoms had ordered special care to be taken for that county. A party of Cavaliers under Colonel Sir Francis Cooke had meanwhile reached Salisbury, and were busily fortifying the

Cathedral Close. Early in December, they sent out a detachment towards Southampton, which was repulsed near that town with a loss of ten men and twelve horses. The victorious Roundheads followed up their success, and on December 5 sent 200 horse and dragoons to Salisbury under the command of Sergeant-Major, *i.e.*, Major Duet (Dewitt), who belonged to Colonel Ludlow's regiment, who afterwards deserted to the king, and was placed in garrison at Devizes, and of Major Wansey (Weimsford), who commanded Colonel Norton's horse and some other cavalry. The Cavaliers, driven out of the city, shut the Close gates, and hastily occupied the "Angel" Inn at the Close-gate with the troop of Captain Sturges, and the "George" Inn at the Sand-gate (St. Anne's-gate) with Sir John Pollard's troop. The Puritan infantry fired upon St. Anne's-gate, as the horse did at the Close-gate. The "George" and the "Angel" were both set on fire until the defenders surrendered, whereupon the assailants extinguished the flames. The prisoners taken here were Colonel Francis Cooke, Lieutenant-Colonel Cooke, Lieutenant Kelsall, Cornets Bame (Game) and Martin, Quartermasters Bower, Hollywell, Berry (Derry), Master, Alexander, a gentleman volunteer, and forty soldiers. Major Bower escaped, although wounded, as did also many others, in the darkness. All the horses, 163 in number, some match and powder, 200 arms, and other plunder were taken. A captain and about twenty royalists were killed, but only two of the assailants were slain, though several of them, including Captain Feiler (Fielder), were wounded. Some prisoners were released, and others, both officers and men, took the covenant, and promised to serve the Parliament. Elated with success, the victors retired with eighty prisoners to Southampton. Major Wansey was placed in charge of the Parliamentary garrison established in Sir John Evelyn's house at Wootton Bassett, and declined to accompany Colonel Ludlow and his 200 troopers to the relief of Taunton. Taunton having been relieved by Holborn and Vandruske, the volunteers raised by the Parliament in Wilts and Dorset were at once dismissed to their homes.

On December 5 a detachment of Ludlow's horse was quartered at Petersfield, Other Parliamentary troops were posted at Arundel, Abingdon, Reading, Henley, and Farnham, and active preparations were on foot for the relief of beleaguered Taunton (relieved December 14). Next day complaints were made in Parliament "that Surrey, Sussex, and Hants pay not the money due to Colonel Middleton," and on December 30 the Committees for the West, and for Surrey and Hants, were ordered to meet that afternoon "about preparing and furnishing the dragoons ordered from these counties, and to send money to Lieutenant-General Middleton," who was afterwards M.P. for Horsham. He did the Parliament good service against Basing House and Donnington Castle, but in June 1648 he was sent to London under arrest, charged with being concerned in a Royalist rising in Sussex. He was "a person of a good bigness."

On December 6 the Marquis of Winchester sent a warrant to the Tythingman of Chert (Chart, 5 miles from Farnham), which is described as being a hamlet of not

more than 40 houses, ordering him to pay up 11 months' assessment levied upon the neighbourhood by Basing House, viz., £85 2s. 6d., together with an additional £60 per month for eight months. The whole sum of £565 2s. 6d. was to be paid within 30 days, "which if you fail to do, you must not expect any favour, but to be left to the mercy of the soldiers, which will take your goods and destroy your horses." On Thursday, December 12, Colonel Jones, Governor of Farnham Castle, came to London, and reported his garrison to be in a good state of defence, but he asked for a few horsemen to keep in check the Cavaliers from Basing House, who were constantly plundering, and carrying into the house much money and great store of provisions. There was no Royalist garrison nearer to Farnham than Basing, and he (Colonel Jones) had a few days before sent out scouts, who rode through Odiham, to within a couple of miles of Basing, without meeting an enemy.

At 8 P.M. on December 17 Harie Barclay wrote to the Earl of Essex from Reading that a King's spy, arrested the day before, had confessed that he had been a Royalist soldier, but was now living at Strattfield Sea (Strathfieldsaye). On Friday, December 13, he was sent for by some of the Commanders of Basing House, "and ordered to go to Reading to find out what guns, and how large a garrison were in the town, and what horse lay near." He was told to ask for a brewer's house near St. Mary's Church, and that the owner thereof would send to four or five other friends of the King in the town to tell them that the messenger had arrived from Basing. A townsman promised "to be as good as their words." A large Cavalier force of horse and foot was to arrive at 2 A.M. on December 15 in the hope of surprising Reading. Several townsmen had been arrested and all guards had been strengthened. Barclay asks for cavalry, as scouts are urgently needed. "One Mr. Bedford" had hitherto supplied intelligence, "who will be forced to put away his men for want of money!"

On December 31, cavalry from Farnham were asked for, in order to check Cavalier foragers from Winchester and Basing House. Thus ended the year 1644.

On New Year's Day 1645, Speaker Lenthall was urging the Parliamentary Committees of Hants, Surrey, and Sussex to more energetic action, and on the following day it was ordered that Lieutenant-General Middleton should have power "to raise the arrears due to the troop under his command raised by the county of Hants out of the quarters of the enemy in the said county, and that care be taken for the protecting of the people of that county, when the forces now there shall be drawn away from thence." The local Committees of Sussex, Surrey, and Hants were likewise ordered to raise £925 1s. 6d., in order to repay certain advances of money made by Waller to the troops of horse under his command which had been raised in those counties. From some of these loans we can ascertain the strength of various commands. In Sussex Major Ker, as captain, his commissioned officers, inferior officers, and 72 soldiers received £192 3s. as 14 days' full pay. "Paid to

Mr. John Crookshanks to send to him in prison at Bridgwater, £20." "Paid Nicholas Roberts, a wounded soldier of Captain Draper's, 17s. 6d."

In Hampshire Captain-Lieut. Robert Parham, who was in command of the troop originally raised for Sir Richard Granville, received £117 10s. Lieut.-General Middleton, as captain, his commissioned officers, one trumpet, three corporals, and 80 soldiers received £214 11s. Captain Jervoise's troop had in it 107 troopers on July 6, 1644, but on December 12 of the same year he drew seven days' full pay for himself and other commissioned officers, and 14 days' full pay for two corporals, one trumpet, and 40 troopers, the total amount being £114 12s. 6d. In Surrey Captain Pavell received for his troop £37 10s.

Essex was to send cavalry to be quartered at Swallowfield and Strathfieldsaye. Sir Arthur Haslerig's regiment of horse and the Kentish regiment of horse were at Petersfield, with detachments at Midhurst, Petworth, and Tangmere, near Chichester. They were in great need of rest, as their horses had marched hard and far to check the atrocities of "Goring's crew," but were ordered to advance to Alton, Alresford, and Bishop's Waltham. On January 2 the House of Commons ordered that the burden of billeting soldiers in Hants should be lessened, and that the county forces, under Waller's command, should receive regular pay. Some of the King's forces "are at Basing, whereby Windsor Castle may be in some danger," and Colonel Venn, the Governor, was ordered to go thither at once.

On January 2 Major Philip Lower, the Parliamentarian Governor of Christchurch, heard that a large force of Goring's Cavaliers from Winchester was only four miles from the town. A council of war at once resolved that, as the garrison was but small, and the town open and unfortified, a retreat must be made to Hurst Castle and the Isle of Wight. All the ammunition was sent away in boats belonging to Christchurch, and the Puritans made good their retreat with some loss, being harassed by the Cavaliers, who, however, soon left Christchurch, and fell back towards their main body.

On January 3 Colonel Ludlow was defeated at Salisbury. On his return from aiding Holborn and Vandruske to relieve Taunton, he heard at Salisbury that a Cavalier garrison had been established at Lord Coleraine's "at Lanford (Langford) House, two miles from thence." It consisted of a troop of horse and two or three hundred foot, who often visited the city to impress men for the King's service, and to take beds, &c. Ludlow prepared to fortify the belfry, which then stood in the Cathedral Close, but hearing that some of the enemy were at Amesbury, he sent out Captain Sadleir, the only captain of the regiment then present at headquarters, to reconnoitre. Captain Sadleir, contrary to orders, fiercely attacked the enemy at Netheravon, and on the arrival of Colonel Ludlow the Puritans retreated to Salisbury with several prisoners, whom they secured in the belfry. Several men were killed and taken on both sides. Ludlow had between three and four hundred men, 100 of whom were quartered in the Close. The whole force committed the error of

"thinking themselves too secure in their quarters." As Ludlow was reading a letter from Colonel Norton, asking to be reinforced by cavalry, a sentry gave the alarm, saying that some Cavaliers were entering the city. Mounting in haste, Colonel Ludlow rode up the street past the "Three Swans," but hearing a great noise of horses in Castle Street, he returned to the Market Place, which he at once perceived to be thronged with mounted Cavaliers. Whereupon, says Ludlow, "I went by the back side of the Town House (Council Chamber), through a street called the Ditch," to the guard in the Close. He there found that some of his men were in bed, whilst others had quitted their posts during the hours of darkness. Only about 30 horsemen could be collected, ten of whom were sent with a cornet to charge the enemy, Ludlow following with ten others, with a trumpet sounding in the rear, as if another body of cavalry was close at hand. Marching past the Butter Cross in single file, the colonel, with his men, entered the Market Place, where he found his cornet fighting desperately. Major Dewett was absent in London. The new-comers charged the Cavaliers on the left flank and routed them. Ludlow, who escaped unhurt, checked his horse, which fell backwards, but he was speedily again in the saddle, and captured in Endless Street by Lieutenant-Colonel Middleton (a Roman Catholic), who said he was in command of 300 men, that 300 would soon arrive, and that a reserve of 300 additional troopers, under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who was in supreme command, had halted in the outskirts of the city. There was now no alternative but to retreat, and Ludlow, at the head of sixteen men, cut his way through the enemy, killing and wounding many of the Cavaliers. Captain Sadleir fired both his pistols, and then proved himself a skilful swordsman, as did also Major Dewett's lieutenant. Both these officers escaped, as did also rather more than 100 men on horseback and about the same number on foot. About 100 horse and eighty men were taken by the enemy. Lieutenant-Colonel Read, Captain Jones, three or four "under officers," and a few troopers still resisted in the belfry tower, but the Cavaliers brought a cart laden with charcoal up to the door. Those within shot the driver, but surrendered on seeing preparations made for roasting them alive with burning straw and charcoal.

Colonel Ludlow retreated over Harnham Hill, through Odstock, losing his way in the snow on the descent beyond that village. Narrowly escaping capture in a lane, he retired unmolested through Fordingbridge to Southampton, taking with him Colonel Fielding and certain other prisoners. His captured troopers were soon afterwards exchanged for Colonel Cooke and the sixty other Cavalier prisoners at Southampton, taken at Salisbury on December 5, 1644. Ludlow sent his best men to Portsmouth, and remained with the rest near Lymington and Hurst Castle. He foiled an attempted surprise, and then went to the Isle of Wight, where the Parliament had many friends. On January 7, 1645, Goring's headquarters were at or near Romsey, and on the following day the House of Commons had heard that from 3000 to 5000 Cavalier horse were at Petersfield and Petworth, threatening to

invade Surrey. To keep Goring in check, Waller, in chief command, Cromwell and Massie were successfully sent westward with 6000 horse.

Colonel Weldon, who during the next summer relieved Taunton, was to remain with his regiment at Weymouth. "For removing the King's forces from Winchester, and securing the Association," 1000 of the horse belonging to Essex and Manchester were to be sent into Hampshire, and Colonel Norton's regiment of horse was to join them. Three weeks' pay over and above the old established rate was to be provided for Hurst Castle and Portsmouth. One thousand dragoons were to be added for service in the West, and Surrey, Sussex, and Kent were to provide speedily 500 horses so as to mount 500 of Waller's dragoons.

The Kentish regiment of horse and Sir A. Haslerig's cavalry had marched westward from Petersfield, and on January 8 Colonel Norton was voted fourteen days' pay for his regiment, and Sir Walter Erle and Mr. Lisle were to decide on the best means of raising the money. Colonel Norton and all commanders then in London were ordered to go to their respective commands at once.

Goring occupied Farnham on January 9 (Gardiner's "Civil War," ii. 57), but speedily retreated because his men were exhausted, and he was left without means to pay them. It was reported that Goring had 6000 or 7000 horse and foot near Winchester, which was his base of operations, and the Earl of Manchester was officially asked "why their forces lay quartered on their friends near London, and did not remove nearer to the enemy, according to former directions."

"Mercurius Britannicus" said, on January 10: "The enemy are very busy about Winchester, quartering within four miles of Portsmouth," intending to take Portbridge. Some foragers from Winchester Castle had been charged by Colonel Morley's troop, and routed with the loss of the cattle which they had seized, and of several prisoners. Goring's horse had now left Petersfield, and his army, consisting of 4000 horse, 2000 dragoons, and 1500 infantry, which had formerly been commanded by Prince Maurice, were marching towards Portsmouth, where Colonel Jephson and his garrison were thoroughly on the alert.

"Aulicus," on February 5, said that Goring had taken numerous prisoners at Alton, Petersfield, and elsewhere, and amongst them Lieutenant Langley, an engineer belonging to the garrison of Portsmouth. Having an iron substitute for a lost hand his comrades styled him "Vulcan" and the "God of War," saying that he had made his own hand, but the Cavaliers called him "Bunny," because a namesake of his had been executed at Tyburn. He was released on parole, but broke it, whilst others observed it, and escaped, but was retaken in a house near Portsmouth. "A zealous woman," mistaking the Cavaliers for Roundheads, told them that the King's forces would certainly have surprised Portsmouth if honest Lieutenant Langley had not made his escape, and given information to the Governor. Extremely inclement weather and *other reasons* made Goring retire ere long. Some of these *other reasons* were that on January 10 Colonel Whitehead's regiment was ordered to Portsmouth,

whither the Isle of Wight was to send 200 men, and to supply provisions on payment. £1000 was to be raised, and Sir Walter Erle was to send to the Island two tons of lead, sixty barrels of powder, one ton of match, and certain specified shot.

The Parliamentary forces in Sussex were now reinforced by 1500 horse from Kent, and a strong force was also on the march from Reading to curb Goring's excesses. His headquarters were at Winchester, but some of his cavalry were quartered at Andover. About January 11 he retreated from Portbridge. The Governor of Portsmouth, with 140 horse, at once went in search of stragglers. They killed several, and returned to Portsmouth with ten wounded prisoners and about twenty horses.

The "Life of Sir William Penn" (vol. i. p. 104) gives us a specimen of Goring's usual method of procedure. Penn was then in command of a Parliament's ship named the *Fellowship*, which had been, whilst laden with the plunder of Bristol, captured by the *Swallow* at Milford Haven in the preceding year. The *Fellowship* was of 400 tons burden, had twenty-eight guns as armament, and a crew of 110 men. Captain (afterwards Admiral) Penn writes thus: "1644-5, January 6th, Colonel Goring, his forces came down and plundered the town of Gosport; and about six o'clock at night fired some twenty-four (twenty-one) houses, and we, and the *Swiftsure* and the *Mary Rose*, shot divers pieces of ordnance to them." The *Swiftsure* was of 260 tons burden, mounting forty-eight guns, whilst the *Mary Rose*, Captain Phineas Pett, was of 320 tons burden, with 27 guns and 100 men.

Lord Winchester, on January 11, lost a valued and trusty friend by the death of Sir Henry Gage, who had succeeded Sir Arthur Aston as Governor of Oxford. The town of Abingdon was strongly held for the Parliament, and a cruel custom prevailed in it of hanging every Irishman and some Englishmen as well without trial, which was known as "Abingdon law." Waller's men destroyed its beautiful market cross, rich with carving and statues, after their defeat at New Bridge, near Oxford, which was replaced by the present Town Hall, the noble work of Inigo Jones. Essex left here in command Major-General Browne, whom we have often mentioned. After taking charge of the King at Holmby House, Browne, whom, he having been formerly a timber merchant, the Cavaliers styled "the woodmonger," became a devoted Royalist. He was a brave soldier, and died at his house near Saffron Walden in 1669. At Abingdon he was "a continual thorn in the eyes, and goad in the sides of Oxford and the adjacent Royal garrisons," having 2000 foot and 600 horse in his garrison, and "the Abingdon horse were never less than a regiment." Lord Digby intrigued for the betrayal of Abingdon with Browne, who thought himself neglected by the Parliament, but who merely negotiated to save time, and then defied Digby to do his worst. On January 10, the day on which Archbishop Laud suffered, Sir Henry Gage led a party of horse and foot out of Oxford, intending to build a fort at Culham Bridge within half a mile of Abingdon, "to prevent this perfect annoyance, no man daring to travel upon any of the roads towards Oxford, with provisions or other

business, more especially hindering the intercourse betwixt London and Oxford." A traitor had given warning to the enemy, and Browne was on the alert. "A short, sharp fight with the Royalists, with little hope of prevailing, till an unfortunate shot wounded Colonel Gage in the head, of which he died as soon as he came to Oxford, and so that project was laid aside" ("Heath's Chronicle"). Clarendon says that he was shot through the heart with a musket bullet. Another account puts his death "within two hours," and with him Lieut.-Colonel Lower, the Deputy Governor of Wallingford, and Major Green of that garrison, with "several others of great courage and reputation." The King lost seven soldiers, and the Parliament Major Bradbury and at least thirty others. Gage found a soldier's grave and a public funeral at Oxford.

ELEGY

On the Never-Enough-Lamented Death of Sir HENRY GAGE, the
Most Desired Governour of Oxford.

So Titus called was, "The world's delight,"
And straightway dyd; The envious Sisters' spight,
Still the great favourite: The darling head
Unto the Fates is always forfeited.
Our Life's a Chase, where (tho' the whole Herd fly),
The goodlyest Deer is singled out to dye.
And as in Beasts, the fattest ever bleeds,
So amongst men, he that doth bravest deeds.
He might have lived, had but a Coward fear
Kept him securely sculking in the rear,
Or like some sucking Colonel, whose edge
Durst not advance a foot from a thick hedge.
Or like the wary SKIPPON had so sure
A suit of Arms, he might (besieged) endure.
Or like the politick Lords, of different skill,
Who thought a Saw-pit safer, or a Hill:
Whose valour in two organs too did lye,
Distinct: the one's in's ear, th' other's in his eye.
Puppets of War! Thy name shall be divine,
And happily augment the number nine,
But that the Heroes, and the Muses strive,
To own thee dead, who wert them all, alive,
Such an exact composure was in thee,
Neither exceeding MARS nor MERCURY.
'Twas just tho' hard, though shouldst dye Governour
Of th' King's chief Fort of Learning, and of War.
Thy death was truly for thy Garrison
Thou dy'dst projecting her Redemption.
What unto Basing twice (successful spirit)
Was done, thou hast effected here in merit.
The Bridge was broken down: The Fort alone
GAGE was himself, the first and the last stone.
Go, burn thy faggots, BROWN, and grieve thy Rage
Let's thee outlive the grasp of GAGE.

And when thou read'st in thy Brittanicus
The boasted story of his death, say thus :
The Valour I have shewn in this was Crime,
And GAGE'S Death will brand me to all time.

Various changes seem to have taken place in the garrison at Basing. Cornet Bryan we shall see no more at Loyalty House, but methinks he is identical with Major Bryan, Governor of Wem, in Shropshire. A gallant soldier ever !

The New Model Army, of 21,000 men with regular pay, of which much more hereafter, was taking shape, and was destined to shape the destinies of the war in stern and grim fashion. Sir Thomas Fairfax was to be Commander-in-Chief, and Skippon Major-General. January 11 saw the arrest at Oxford of the Lords Percy, Andover, and Sussex, on a charge of holding intelligence with the rebels, and of speaking disrespectfully of the King, but really for urging the King to treat in person in London (Gardiner, ii. p. 58). We shall meet with them again.

On January 15, 1645, the Parliament had 6000 horse and dragoons quartered in and about Petersfield, in addition to a reserve of 1100 dragoons. A false report was prevalent on January 17 that Goring had surprised Christchurch, capturing eighty men and arms, together with two guns, but the truth was speedily known. After burning about twenty-five houses at Gosport, he marched westward, driving off all the cattle, horses, sheep, swine, and carrying away many men out of the hundreds of Titchfield, Alverstoke, and Fareham. Colonel Jephson arrested a miller and certain others who had been heavily bribed by Goring to put him in possession of Portbridge, and of one of the defences of Portsmouth. Goring having plundered Romsey, "not leaving a sheep or a hog," marched into the New Forest, and on January 15 attacked Christchurch, which was again occupied by Major Philip Lower, and a garrison of 200 men, storming it on all sides, with about 1000 men. The town was "meanly fortified," and Clarendon calls it "a little unfortified fisher town." A townsman, who was the first man killed, guided the assailants to an open place, the town was quickly entered, and the garrison driven into the church, the castle, and Mr. Hasting's house. Such a bold stand was now made that a major who led the stormers fell, together with many of his men. Bullets were flying thick and fast, when all at once a bright light as of a beacon fire was seen in the direction of Poole. This was hailed by the hard-pressed garrison as a token of approaching relief, and a panic seized the Cavaliers, who were quickly driven out of the town with heavy loss. It was afterwards discovered that the fire which did such good service was not in any way intended to announce the coming of relief from Poole. Colonel Ludlow had already embarked his men in the Isle of Wight to relieve Christchurch, when he heard of the defeat of Goring, who retreated towards Lymington, taking as he went all the farmers' corn, and not leaving any for seed, so that the wretched peasants were obliged either to forsake their dwellings or to starve. Lieut.-General Middleton pursued the Cavaliers as far as Lymington, where he almost succeeded in hemming them in, but

Goring at length eluded him, and on January 17 was at Whiteparish and the neighbouring villages, having lost at Christchurch a major, two captains, and many men. Clarendon says that he "was forced to retire to Salisbury, where his horse committed the same horrid outrages and barbarities as they had done in Hampshire, without distinction of friends or foes; so that those parts, which before were well devoted to the King's, worried with oppression, wished for the access of any forces to deliver them." On January 17 the Isle of Wight was asked to send 200 or 300 men with provisions to help Christchurch, and just a week later General Middleton was bidden to assist the little town. On February 24 Christchurch was ordered a supply of timber (not any oak, elm, or ash) from Royalist woodlands.

On January 21, 1645, Goring was still at and near Salisbury, and Lord Essex, with his cavalry, was at Alton, about to march to meet Sir William Waller, who was to advance against Goring with 6000 horse and dragoons, "and 1100 dragoons are to attend them as a reserve." Waller's infantry were about to march from Farnham, from which place a week afterwards Colonel Fortescue laments the "want of money and other provisions."

The House of Commons received complaints "of many great outrages and insolencies committed by divers Walloons and strangers of Colonel Behr's regiment (Waller's Commissary-General), and the Committee of Both Kingdoms was ordered "at once to secure the arms and horses of those Walloons and strangers, and to discharge them of the service." It having been said by "Aulicus" that the Roundheads had stripped the lead from the roof of Basing Church and had then blamed the Cavaliers for it, "Britannicus," on January 27, 1645, retorts that Lord Winchester, whom the journalist in very coarse terms charges with having taken shelter from bombardment for many months in a cellar, "gave order to have the church unleaded to make consecrated bullets to shoot away the Protestant religion." On the same day that this statement appeared in print 120 of Goring's horse sallied from Basing House and attacked two small troops at Crondall and Addershot (Aldershot), many of whom escaped, either by means of back doors, or by being quartered at scattered farmhouses. Either four or six men who asked quarter were killed, and fifty men and forty horses were captured. Amongst the prisoners were a lieutenant, two cornets or colours, and a quartermaster. Some plunder was also obtained, but the alarm having been given at Farnham Castle the assailants retired, after setting the village of Crondall on fire in several places. The flames were extinguished after four houses and a barn full of corn had been destroyed. Another account says that only a few escaped of three companies of Roundheads, and that only thirty were taken prisoners out of 160, the rest being refused quarter. The leader in this bold enterprise was an Irish gentleman. A great panic prevailed in Farnham, of which several Cavalier prisoners took advantage to escape from captivity. Goring had been roused to action by hearing that Waller's infantry had marched from Farnham. Sir Marmaduke Langdale had therefore marched from Salisbury to Bishop's Waltham, whilst

Goring, on the other side of Winchester, beat up the enemy's quarters. Goring and Langdale were said to be in command of 3000 horse. Passengers arriving at Portsmouth informed the Governor that recruits raised in Normandy for Goring were at Brest, intending to disembark near Portsmouth. The House of Commons ordered reinforcements to be immediately sent to Farnham Castle, and that Waller, who left London on January 30, should "go west towards the enemy presently." Colonel Jephson at Portsmouth was to have 200 snaphance (flint-lock) muskets, and fifty backs, breasts, and pistols. About this time Captain Charles Price (not Capt. Rayden) was mortally stabbed at Basing (one account says Oxford) in a private quarrel. Colonel Ludlow was now posted at Odiham to check foragers from Basing House, and was frequently ordered to Godliman (Godalming) and other places. Colonel Devereux attacked near Marlborough a party of Cavaliers, who, on their march to join Lord Hopton from Donnington and Basing, were plundering road waggons. He captured Sir Anthony Sellenger, who commanded the party, Major Hyde, a captain, a lieutenant, and some other officers, thirty troopers, fifty horses, and about forty stand of arms, retaking also the carriers' carts and waggons.

During the first week in February, 1645, Waller, at Farnham, asked for and obtained £6000 from the excise duties, 3000 pairs of shoes, one week's biscuits and cheese, 200 backs, breasts, and pots, and 400 pairs of pistols. His men were to pay for their shoes, and his "surgeons were to be provided with medicaments that he may go into action." He asked also (February 2) for 600 pikes, 1000 swords, as many bandoliers, 2000 knapsacks, and the same number of stockings. On February 2 he was waiting for artillery before marching against Goring. On this day, which was Sunday, some troopers from Basing House rode up to Tilehurst Church during divine service, threatening to carry off the minister and the leading parishioners, unless £300 was at once paid to them, which was accordingly done. Three more regiments of horse and foot were now being raised in Kent for the service of the Parliament. On February 4 Waller marched from Farnham to Alton, and was still demanding indispensable supplies. Some of his troops were skirmishing with and advancing against Goring's forces, who were retreating in a north-westerly direction beyond Salisbury. Goring himself, whose army, by the junction of Sir Thomas Aston's command, now consisted of 5000 horse and foot, was still at Salisbury. Sir Thomas Aston has been created a baronet on July 25, 1628. A steadfast Cavalier, he died at Stafford on May 24, 1645, from wounds received in the King's service.

Goring's army was thus described: "Such profane and blasphemous, villainous Irish, French, Walloons, and divers other nations as the world affords not the like." There followed the camp "a thousand women of bad character, many of them Irish, who carry much plunder upon horses!"

"Britannicus" says, on February 24, 1645: "'Aulicus' tells of Goring scouring Hants, but Hants will never be scoured clean as long as that blaspheming wretch

remains there, with collected filth of several countries, which the earth sure would vomit out, or take in, but that she is merciful to her native inhabitants."

The Cavaliers were, on February 4, watching Southampton so closely that it was not safe to go a mile from the town. On February 12 Waller reported the loss of the outworks at Weymouth to a Cavalier force under Sir Lewis Dives, and was ordered to march into the west with all his available horse and foot. If the infantry were as yet unprepared to march a strong body of horse and dragoons was to go to the support of the garrisons in the west, leaving the infantry to follow with all speed. Some of Waller's officers refused to march with him from Petersfield, but the officers of Cromwell's regiments, of whose general conduct and lack of plundering, "Perfect Passages" speaks highly, and of some others, were willing to do so. To check such disorders in future, the Parliament on February 13 gave Waller full powers to enforce military obedience from all ranks, at the same time thanking him for so readily executing their orders and advancing against Goring, who was attacking Weymouth. Waller, who now had 3400 horse, 700 dragoons, and a large infantry force, found that twenty-eight troops, numbering some 700 men, formerly belonging to Essex, were in a mutinous frame of mind. They marched from Leatherhead as far as Croydon, and the dwellers in Surrey and Kent expected to be plundered by them, but the House of Commons stood firm. They implored pardon, and, promising better behaviour for the future, and receiving necessities, returned to their duty.

Waller fully intended to capture Winchester Castle before marching against Goring; but the desertion of a trumpeter on the night previous to the intended assault warned the garrison, and the scheme was abandoned.

He reported on February 12 that, hearing that three regiments of Goring's horse were quartered at Andover, he sent a party thither to beat up their quarters. But warning had been sent from Alresford, and the Royalists retreated in safety to Newton Toney, near Amesbury. Goring, intending to march westward, was requisitioning transport to assemble at Salisbury under pain of death. Waller himself was mustering at Petersfield to go westward on February 17 or 18; Goring pretended that his friends in Sussex and Kent were not yet ready to help him, and succeeded in getting orders from Oxford to march into the western counties, where Lord Hopton was in command as Field-Marshal and General of the Ordnance. Goring was General of the Horse, and, to prevent disputes, Hopton was, by special order, recalled to Bristol. Goring reached Weymouth with his whole force of more than 3000 horse and 1500 foot, besides local contingents, but by February 20 Captain Batten from Portsmouth was lying off the town with two or three ships, and aided the garrison of Melcombe Regis to save the town for the Parliament before the 28th, Goring assisting "by most supine negligence at least." He retired on Exeter, and all the western counties were now practically lost to the King, "whilst the Lord Goring's forces equally infested the borders of Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, by unheard-of rapine, without applying themselves to any enterprise upon the enemy."

About this time the Marquis of Winchester sent a spy to London, in quest of information. His name was Tobias Beasley, and he had formerly been a pewterer by trade, then a porter at the "Ram" Inn, Smithfield, to the Nottingham carriers, where he learned a good deal about the traffic on various roads, and, lastly, a corporal in Prince Rupert's regiment. Rupert left him at Basing, where "he was employed at 5s. a weeke with meate and drinke in Basinge House to make bullets," and was said to be skilled in poisons. "Mercurius Civicus" says that he had formerly served the Parliament. He was a useful scout at Basing, and "betrayed divers carriers with their waggons too and carriages to the Cavaliers," receiving a share of all captures. He went to London as a spy, "and to buy military commodities, and by these gradations he is likely to go three steps higher. He was taken by man-catchers, as he called them," and paid dearly for his visit to town.

"A Covncil of War" assembled at Essex House on Thursday, February 6, 1644, and Tobias was condemned to die. On Tuesday, February 18, he was taken to Smithfield, "guarded by Mr. Quarterman, the Marshall, and divers others of the City Officers, and a company of the Trained Bands." Arrived at the place of execution the Marshal appeared in a second capacity, viz., that of Chaplain, and catechised the prisoner at length as to his religious belief. "Whether he was a Papist or no I know not, but he refused to pray with the Minister (died railing, full of imprecations). He was an Oxford Protestant at the best, and died as desperately as MacMahon, the Irish Rebel" ("Perfect Passages"). This done, "and thereupon the people being satisfied, the executioner, Brandon (who is said to have afterwards beheaded the King and was buried in old Whitechapel Church), was commanded to doe his office, whiche he did, though the porter shewed much unwillingnesse to go off the ladder." All things considered, the reluctance of poor Tobias is not greatly to be wondered at.

The Borough of Newport, I.W., had been made a separate parish on January 25, and on February 18 the Lieutenant of the Ordnance was directed to send to the island forty barrels of powder, a ton of match, 300 culverin shot, 1000 demi-culverin shot, 2000 saker shot, and a ton of lead. The Portsmouth garrison was to have 200 snaphance (flint-lock) muskets, and "arms and furniture" for fifty horsemen.

Waller was still loth to march. On February 21 Parliament had voted him £2000, but on the following day none of his men had advanced beyond Winchester, to which city it was reported that Goring paid a visit with a strong brigade on February 25. On February 27 Cromwell and his men were ordered to join Waller, who had "given an alarm" to the "garrison of Winchester Castle, taking some horsemen prisoners," and who writes on the 27th from Wickham that he was watching Goring's movements. On March 1 he writes from Owslebury, near Twyford, two days later from Farnham, and on March 2 he and Colonel Cromwell had, at or near Southampton, four or five thousand horse and dragoons and 2000

foot. Two days later they were ordered to march at once into the west against Goring, "all excuses set aside, with all available horse and dragoons." Despite the wet weather, Waller reviewed 3000 horse and dragoons near Winchester on March 5; whilst Colonels Cromwell and Fiennes were not far off with their respective regiments. Waller was at Andover on March 9, and his troops were said to be "a well-disciplined and orderly army, that they behave themselves with all civility to the people, and gain much love." On the same day Waller reported from Andover the capture near that town of Lord Percy (Mr. Henry Percy) and thirty companions, "divers of quality," who had been released by the King, on promising to retire to France. They had an old pass for France, which was, however, allowed, and the prisoners were released. The Earl of Sussex (Lord Savile) now went over to the Parliamentarians, who, nevertheless, declined to trust him.

The Winchester "alarm" above referred to was as follows: A newsletter says that about March 2 a party of Cavaliers had "a great drinking day at Winchester, and being elevated in their minds," rode out 200 strong to engage a troop of sixty belonging to Waller at Marwell Hall, the residence of Sir Henry Mildmay, who bore the nickname of Sir Whimsey Mildmay, and who was in 1649 one of the regicides, sitting as a judge for one day only, but he did not sign the death-warrant. He had bought the Twyford estate, and, by settling it upon his wife, saved it from confiscation at the Restoration. He "did good service" for the Parliament at the trial at Winchester of Captain John Burley, who tried to rescue the King from Carisbrook Castle. "As a regicide he was brought to the bar of the House of Commons on July 12, 1661, together with Lord Monson and Mr. Robert Wallop. Their estates were confiscated, and they were sentenced to be drawn in sledges with ropes about their necks from the Tower of London to Tyburn and back" (*Hants N. and Q.* ii. p. 79). He was afterward banished, and died in exile at Antwerp. At Dogmersfield Park, the home of the Mildmay family, there is a very striking picture of him, painted after death, as a proof, it is said, that it was possible for a regicide to die peacefully in his bed. The Cavaliers marched so furiously, "divers being in their cups," that several of the party were left behind on the road. On reaching Marwell there was a flourish of trumpets, and a trooper riding forth from the house was slain by one of the King's soldiers. Challenges and defiances were freely exchanged, and several single combats took place, in one of which the Cavalier Sir Thomas Philips, of Stoke Charity, was shot through the head by one of Waller's troopers. The Cavaliers at length fled in confusion towards Winchester, losing a Lieut.-Colonel and some men killed, and Colonel Gardiner captured together with several others, as well as some horses and arms.

On April 8 Lieut.-Colonel Thorpe informed the House of Commons that at Winchester, on the last march westward, he had the guard when a sortie took place from the castle. He and his men killed a lieutenant-colonel and six troopers, capturing another lieutenant-colonel and eight troopers, with the loss of one man

killed and two wounded. This account seems to refer to the fight at Marwell Hall.

Nehemiah Wallington says: "There is a very little parish, not far from Winchester, and all the land that was in it when times were good, was not worth £400, yet this parish was seized (assessed) by Colonel Goring as he passed by at £300, which they were commanded presently to bring in, without fail, of which that little parish could not raise any considerable proportion. Whereupon one of the chiefs of the town was committed, yet a man of small estate as they are all, and carried to Winchester, since which two of the town have been at Winchester, to certify the King's party that the town can hardly raise £80, and to raise that all must suffer extremely, and could not probably raise any more. Whereupon the two countrymen that came to offer the £80 were both committed, and remained prisoners in Winchester with the other man, and a party was sent out from thence to plunder the town" (vol. ii. p. 247).

When some of Goring's men were drinking at the Catherine Wheel, at Salisbury, one of them proposed the health of the devil. A comrade denied the existence of Satan, unless convinced by ocular demonstration, whereupon he was at once "mysteriously fetcht away." About this time the devil was said to have made a great disturbance and spilt much good liquor at an inn at St. Albans. Sceptics said that the disturber of the peace was nothing but an old ram, but the enterprising journalist who made "good copy" out of the affair knew better.

Christopher Love, M.A., was about this time appointed as "Preacher to the Garrison at Windsor Castle." He belonged to an old Hampshire family, and his mother was probably before her marriage Margaret Pinke, perhaps of Alton. Some of his relations dwelt at Basing, and he had made himself hated by the Royalists by having said six weeks previously, when preaching before the Commissioners at the Treaty of Uxbridge, that "there was as great distance between this treaty and peace as between heaven and hell." A speech which was not forgotten. Another of the family was Nicholas Love, born in Winchester in 1608, whose father had been head-master of Winchester College. From 1643 till 1647 he was steward and recorder of Basingstoke, and one of the Committee for Hants. He was M.P. for Winchester in 1659, described as "Nicholas Love, of Wolvesey on the Soake," and died at Vevey, in Switzerland, on November 5, 1682, aged 74.

On March 13 Waller informed Parliament of the defeat and capture near the Lavingtons, and not far from Devizes, of Colonel Long, High Sheriff of Wilts, together with 300 men and 340 horses. "Of 400 horse there escaped not thirty." Sir Arthur Haslerig was directed to write to Waller requesting him to exchange Colonel Long, who, according to Clarendon, was defeated "by his great defect of courage and conduct," for Colonel Stephens, who had been taken by the Royalists. About 4000 Dorsetshire clubmen, of whom more hereafter, were ready to join Waller and Cromwell, and threatened to plunder any who did not aid them "to

extirpate the Cavaliers." The Puritan Governor of Wareham was already aiding them with his troopers.

The garrison of Poole had not been idle of late. In October 1644 it attacked the Queen's regiment on its return march from Cornwall to Oxford, between Poole and Blandford, killing 16 men and capturing 60 prisoners and two colours. On November 11 the sum of £800 was paid to Governor Bingham by the Treasurer of Dorset for the defence of Poole. A portion of the Poole garrison had taken post at Blandford, and had been reinforced from Weymouth and Wareham, and on November 21 Sir Lewis Dives, the King's general of the county, marched from Sherborne, and sent forward a strong advance guard under Major Strangways and Captain Walcot, who captured a troop of horse with their officers and arms, and drove the rest of the garrison to Wimborne and Poole. Despite this success, Sir Lewis Dives failed to take possession of Blandford. Nine days afterwards Sir Lewis Dives, with 300 horse and dragoons, marched from Dorchester against Poole, but was obliged to retreat the same night. Captain Sydenham pursued him from Poole, and killed Major Williams, who had previously killed Sydenham's mother, together with many others, capturing many prisoners, wounding Sir Lewis Dives, and chasing his men through Dorchester. Sydenham then marched back to Poole. On February 12, 1645, Parliament ordered special care to be taken for Poole and Wareham, and thirteen days later the Poole garrison, under Governor Bingham, compelled the heroic Lady Bankes to surrender Corfe Castle after a noble defence of 48 days on February 25. On the following day the garrison of Poole was ordered to consist of 100 men, and Captain William Scutt was appointed Governor of Poole on March 13, 1645-6. But to return to our story.

Captain Baxter, Governor of Hurst Castle, seized two of the King's ships, bound from Dartmouth to France, which had been driven into the Solent by stress of weather. The larger vessel, the *Spirit of Dartmouth*, mounted six guns, and had on board 17 men, some letters, provisions, and a pack of hounds. The smaller ship carried 23 men, four guns, 300 barrels of herrings, and 11 pieces of cloth. This capture was known in London on March 15.

On March 14 Colonel Ludlow was to be allowed to quarter the horse of the Earl of Essex at Odiham, Alton, and in the neighbourhood as he pleased. Captains Stevens, Ramsay, and Bruce were to join with their troops of horse. The foot at and about Farnham were to help him, and he was to check the garrisons of Winchester and Basing, whilst Waller marched westward. On April 12 we read Bruce and Stevens' "broken troops" in Surrey, both unarmed, and ordered to join the New Model Army under Fairfax. Three hundred men were to be raised for the defence of the Isle of Wight.

Six days later the Earl of Manchester's treasury was to advance fourteen days' pay to Colonel Wogan's regiment "for good services, being quartered about Farnham." Edward Wogan was a captain of Colonel Okey's dragoons, and deserted with his

troop of 200 men to Sir Marmaduke Langdale and the Scots in 1648, having been threatened with disbandment by Fairfax. It was now ordered that every pressed man should receive from the Committee of his county a coat, breeches, shirt, stockings, shoes, and snapsack. "The cost of these articles was not to exceed 24s. for each man, besides the conduct money."

Captain Symonds thus writes in his Diary: "Upon the King's coronation day, March 27, 1645, Sir Robert Peake, sometime picture-seller at Holborn Bridge, and Lieut.-Colonel to the Marquis of Winchester, was then knighted in Christ Church, Oxon." A well-deserved honour.

A letter written at Salisbury on March 28 complained that "the Winchester Horse do much mischief not only in Somborne and Thorngate Hundreds, in Hants, but even as far as Alderbury, near Salisbury, carrying off to Winchester divers honest godly men." During the previous week they had reached Winterslow, near Salisbury, where they met with a mounted carrier, "a goodly, honest countryman," who had "also a baggage horse and two men rid with him." They rode up to the amazed travellers, and seized the carrier's horses as well as his two companions, but he himself, "for he hath formerly tasted of their cruelty," escaped into Buckholt Forest.

On March 29, the "Granada shells, remaining at present in the custody of Mr. Browne, gun founder," fragments of which have been found during the excavations at Basing, were ordered to be delivered to Sir Walter Erle, Lieutenant of the Ordnance. The gentlemen of Surrey and Hants were allowed by Parliament to select and appoint a Governor of Farnham Castle. Colonel Jones, who was then in command, complained that his own pay and that of his garrison was in arrear, and did not think they had been fairly treated. He asked that General Fairfax might appoint his successor, and that he might not be superseded by his own Lieutenant-Colonel.

He was on bad terms with the Committee for Surrey, who wished to replace him by Colonel Jeremy Baines. If this were done the Committee undertook to garrison the Castle with two or three hundred men, to maintain 1000 men for the defence of the county, and also to have a troop of horse in readiness to defend the borders of the county, or to garrison the Castle, as need might require. The House of Commons appointed a Committee to induce Colonel Jones to resign honourably, and on April 5 the Committee of Both Kingdoms appointed Mr. John Fielder as his successor, and Lieut.-Colonel Whitehead, who had been his Lieut.-Colonel, was appointed Governor of Windsor Castle. Mr. Baynton and Mr. Robert Harley were directed "to prepare a declaration in approbation of Colonel Jones his carriage, late Governor of Farnham Castle."

CHAPTER XXVII

COLONEL CROMWELL—DUCHESS DE CHEVEREUX—HURSLEY SKIRMISH—
RELIGIOUS STRIFE—NEW MODEL ARMY—CAVALRY
CAMP AT ROMSEY—CLUBMEN

THOUGH Sir William Waller was in chief command, yet Colonel Cromwell was most prominent in the expedition against Goring. He captured Lord Percy and his friends near Andover, and since he and Waller were now at the head of 10,000 horse, "Britannicus" hoped that they would "in time expel or bring up the Cornish ferret Grenvill with a halter about his neck."

On April 1 Cromwell had reached Ringwood, where he was joined by Colonels Norton and Unton Croke, with their regiments of horse. Further reinforcements had raised his numbers to 4000 foot and 500 horse. Goring's army was not far distant, Waller was marching to join him, and his own advance guard was already twelve miles beyond Dorchester.

"Britannicus" added: "Sir William Waller and Colonel Cromwell are sure joined ere this unto Col. Holborne or not far off. These gallants united will command at least 10,000 horse, which will stand us in pretty stead in the west." Dr. Gardiner says ("Great Civil War," ii. 137): "On March 11th, Goring appeared before Taunton, where Blake had made every preparation to stand a second siege. As his supplies were inadequate for the maintenance of a large garrison, he dismissed Holborn and the force which had relieved him in December. Holborn contrived to make his way safely through the open country, and finally succeeded in joining Cromwell, who was now serving under Waller, and was watching for an opportunity to succour Taunton." Hence the allusion of "Britannicus" to Colonel Holborn. Also on April 1, the estate of Sir Richard Norton, of Rotherfield, was released from sequestration, as he had for his loyalty paid a fine of £500, and found security for an equal sum. Captain Blagrove, who had fought at Basing, was, on April 3, retained in the Reading garrison, at the special request of the local committee. He was afterwards M.P. for Reading, treasurer of Berkshire, a vexatious persecutor of the clergy, a regicide, and died in poverty at Aachen in Germany in 1668.

On April 4 a man was arrested in Cheapside, and remanded on a charge of conveying strong waters to Farnham, and information to Basing House. A ship had been taken near the Isle of Wight by "Captain Hodges, that haughty and courageous man, in which were some of the worser sort of female stuff not worth the owning, many French ladies of eminent quality, said to be bound for Ireland." They were the Duchesse de Chevereux and her attendants. It was from the hands of the Duc de Chevereux that Charles received his bride, Henrietta Maria, at Canterbury, on June 23, 1625. The Rev. Hugh Peters, the army chaplain, who has been the subject of much satire and invective, but of whom Dr. Gardiner has a much higher opinion, spent divers hours with the Duchesse, and gained her confidence. She said that, belonging as she did to the Spanish faction, she had quarrelled with the Queen of France and Cardinal Mazarin, both of whom she hated, and had been imprisoned at Tours. She escaped and tried to reach Dunkirk; but finally left France in a small vessel bound for Dartmouth, taking her daughter, who had been falsely reported to be Queen Henrietta Maria in disguise, and two servants, but only 80 pistoles in money, having asked the Spanish ambassador for a further supply. All things considered, Mr. Peters thought that the lady would be far better at Dunkirk than in the Isle of Wight, especially as she was likely to prove a burden to the State, and the whole party was ordered to be sent to London. The Duchesse was, however, still in the Island on May 24, very sick, "her 80 pistoles almost spent, as well as other monies received by her in England," and requesting a pass for either Denmark or Spain. The ladies eventually reached the Continent. Some guns and infantry for Waller's army reached Portsmouth by sea on April 4, and the next day the House of Lords passed the Ordinance for felling £1000 worth of timber on sequestrated Hampshire estates, the proceeds of which were to be used for the fortifications and garrison of Christchurch. No oak, elm, or ash timber was to be felled, with the exception of 30 tons of oak required for the defences of Christchurch.

The Self Denying Ordinance was passed on April 3, by which Manchester, Essex and Waller lost their commands, Fairfax being empowered to take from them any or all their soldiers, but a loophole was left for retaining the services of Cromwell. Essex and Waller were, however, in no hurry to resign. Some of Essex's infantry mutinied at Farnham, and, demanding their arrears of pay, marched to Reading against orders. Skippon, the Major-General of the New Model Army, by his presence and rough but effective eloquence and promise that all claims should be duly paid, persuaded these regiments to once more submit to discipline on April 5. Waller's officers had only received six weeks' pay during two years' service (Gardiner, ii. 147).

On April 9, Waller and Cromwell were writing in considerable alarm, as Prince Rupert was expected to attack them at Salisbury. The Prince, however, withdrew without fighting, and on April 16 letters reached London from Waller and Cromwell at Salisbury, and from Colonel Norton at Southampton, stating that they were

anxious to divide their forces, so as to engage the enemy on all sides at once, but that their men's pay was sadly in arrears, and that in consequence a mutinous spirit prevailed, and that desertions were frequent. Colonel FitzJames and Quartermaster-General Fincher, who had led the successful charge near Kingsclere, presented a modestly-worded petition to Parliament from the officers of Waller's army, and obtained 14 days' pay and a promise of arrears of all ranks. Goring had now retreated to Wells and Glastonbury, and Waller and Norton stated that "the garrisons of Winchester and Basing range and rage about the country."

From a very interesting letter written at Southampton on April 15, 1645, by John Eyres "to his loving uncle in London," and from other sources we learn that Colonel Norton, having left Sir William Waller and returned to Hampshire, marched to Romsey with six troops of horse on April 14, intending to fortify the town "to stop the insolencies of the garrison of Winchester." Early in the morning Major Stewart was sent out with three troops of horse to face Winchester, occupy the enemy's attention, and to bring them to action on equal terms at some distance from Romsey, where the other three troops of Norton's horse were hard at work. Meanwhile, Major Stewart having "otherwise dared them," the Governor of Winchester, Sir William Ogle, rode out of the Castle with a superior force of horsemen. Major Stewart "retired soberly" to a strong position, his few men charging boldly as occasion served, and fell back upon Romsey, hoping to be reinforced and cut off the retreat of the enemy. Norton's men did not arrive from Romsey, and Major Stewart thrice charged the enemy and threw them into disorder. He was himself wounded, though not dangerously, in the thigh, four or five of his men were captured, and seven or eight of the Winchester garrison were killed. Norton's horse came up from Romsey during the afternoon, and the advance guard "of 10 or 12 men between Hursley and Winchester discovered the enemies' body, who sent out a forlorn hope to engage them, but were at first salute sent back faster than they came. After this they drew out 40, and sent them against this small party of ours, led by my cousin Leon Green, the Reformado (an officer whose troop had been reduced), who routed them so that they fled, and disordered their main body." In the keen pursuit Lieut. Coward, of whom Woodward says, "few names recur more in the annals of Winchester than those of Coward and Simmonds," was killed, together with seven or eight others. Captain Heath, Lieutenant Barnes, four or five other officers, and 30 troopers with their horses (40 horses and 27 men) were made prisoners ere the 130 Roundheads drew rein before the walls of Winchester, which gave welcome shelter to their 250 opponents. On the evening of the following day the prisoners were brought "to the gaol at Southampton to sing another tune. Here's a gentleman (Norton) that will protect the country as well as the town in which he has quarters, or of which he is governor. Store of these would do well."

On April 17, the £500 per month, first levied in August 1644, on excise duties in Hants, was ordered to be continued for the pay of the Portsmouth garrison as

long as need should require. Colonel Norton was appointed Governor of Portsmouth on May 10, 1645, and on the same day the celebrated Algernon Sydney became Governor of Chichester, and Colonel Morley of the town and castle of Arundel.

Colonel Behre's and Colonel Dalbier's regiments were sending horse on April 17 to reinforce Colonel Massie at Hereford. One hundred and fifty pairs of pistols with holsters, 40 carbines, 100 saddles with furniture, were to be issued to them. In the Hambledon burial register we read, "William Till, a sojer, the 20 of April, 1645." The rest is silence.

Sir William Waller, who had been beating up Goring's headquarters at Bruton, in Somersetshire, with almost all his horse and dragoons, fell back to Andover, about the end of April, as the Self-Denying Ordinance passed on April 3 obliged him to resign his command. He was at Windsor on April 25, and went from thence to London. On April 19 Cromwell was besieging Langford House, near Salisbury, and the garrison burned their barns, stables, and out-houses in order to strengthen their position. Cromwell joined Sir Thomas Fairfax at Windsor on April 22 with 1500 horse, "having been within four miles of the King whom he pursues," and on the next day all deserters from the armies of the Parliament were ordered to be executed without mercy.

At the end of April Goring was recalled with his horse and dragoons towards Oxford by the King, who was anxious to join Prince Rupert near Worcester, but was hindered from so doing by Cromwell, who was at the head of a strong cavalry force, and who had already thrice defeated the Royalists. On April 24, 'merely by dragoons and fierce countenances, he took Bletchington' from Colonel Windebank, who was, for thus surrendering, shot on May 3 at Merton College, Oxford. Islip Bridge, on April 24, Witney on the 26th, and Bampton Bush on the 27th, were scenes of Cromwell's victories, causing the King to exclaim, "Who will bring me this Cromwell, dead or alive?"

Goring was unwilling to march to Oxford, "but, says Clarendon, "however unwelcome soever these orders were to the Lord Goring, yet there was no remedy but he must obey them; and it was now hoped that the west should be hereafter freed from him, where he was, at that time, very ungracious (unpopular)." He therefore commenced his march, plundering as he went, and making Beverstone Castle, in Gloucestershire, a centre of devastation. On May 1 Surrey and Hants were ordered to unite their forces "for the better preserving of yourselves from the excursions of the garrisons of Winchester and Basing." Mr. Secretary Nicholas, writing from Oxford on April 30, said: "Cromwell is now lying at Stamford and other places next to Farringdon with six regiments of horse and four troops of dragoons, expecting the coming of Colonel Royden's (Rawdon's) regiment thither."

Religious dissensions had, alas! arisen at Basing House, with the usual sad results. Comrades who had fought shoulder to shoulder against Waller and Norton could not dwell together when all for the time seemed peaceful. "Mercurius

Veridicus" says on May 16, "that Colonel Royden (Sir Marmaduke Rawdon) is cast out from being Governor of Basing House, to some is already known, though the place of his new government and the manner of his being put out of the old will be true news to all that will be pleased to read it."

"Since the removing of the last siege against Basing (the garrison being mixt Protestants and Papists), the Papists became jealous of the Protestants, especially of Colonel Royden, which by commission had the command of the house. This jealousy broke forth into a complaint against the Junto of Oxford that the Catholics of the garrison were afraid to trust themselves any longer there amongst the Protestants, and for their better security presented a petition thus :

"To the Right Honourable the Lords of His Majestie's Most Honourable Privy Council :

"The humble petition of His Majesty's Catholic subjects of the Garrison of Basing House.

"Sheweth : that your petitioners, both during the time of the siege, which for some months was continued against this place, and since the raising thereof, hath (*sic*) had just cause to suspect divers persons of this garrison, for by reason of their different opinions from us, we do generally hold it more safe that this Garrison, which hath been very serviceable to His Majestie, may consist of persons (both officers and soldiers), of one religion.

"Therefore, to prevent such inconveniences as may arise, the petitioners humbly pray that the premises may be taken into consideration, to the end it may be declared whether it be not requisite that your petitioners, who are most deeply engaged in this present war, may not be thought the fittest defendants and maintainers of a place of that strength and concernment.

"And your petitioners shall pray, &c.

"WINCHESTER."

Upon which petition it was thought fit and so ordered that the garrison of Basing House should consist only of Roman Catholics, and that the Commander-in-Chief should be of that religion. "This being declared a Popish garrison, Colonel Royden was ordered to depart thence with his troop of horse, since which he is made Governor of Farringdon." The Governor thus dismissed must have been a resolute soldier, for we learn from Lady Willoughby, "Sir Marmaduke Rawdon declared to the Marquis, who proposed to surrender, that he would not so long as a dog or cat or rat did remain." He successfully defended Farringdon, and was buried in the parish church. The places of Colonel Rawdon and his veteran soldiers were but ill supplied. On May 15, the "Moderate Intelligencer" is informed "that they have forced into Basing House, instead of those that are gone abroad with Col. Royden, almost as many out of the counties, and of them the most 18 years old, some not 12."

Truly these were "boys," but in the hour of danger they proved themselves, like

Napoleon's levies at Waterloo, "small but biting." The most reliable estimate gives 300 fighting men as the strength of the garrison during the final siege.

Colonel Rawdon was ordered to proceed from Basing to join Goring, and to march with him to Oxford, in company with Colonel Bennet and Major Smith, as Cromwell was near Farringdon, to intercept the Basing party. On May Day, some 500 horse and foot Cavaliers marched out of "Loyalty House." As they were crossing the Kennet, between Thatcham and Newbury, they were attacked by Colonel Butler's Puritan regiment of horse, but succeeded in reaching Donnington Castle, where they were prudently refused admission by brave Sir John Boys, who was apprehensive of a siege. Fortunately for Sir Marmaduke Rawdon and his men, Fairfax's large army and about thirty-two guns did not reach Newbury until the following evening, so that they were able to pursue their march next morning, but were chased throughout the day by Colonel Butler until, about five o'clock in the afternoon, they joined Goring's army near Lambourne. Colonel Butler captured some prisoners, amongst whom was a Commissioner of Excise, who had about £25 in his pocket. Goring was on May Day at or near Marlborough, "at dinner with his officers, roaring and drinking healths, and making themselves merry," and he mustered his army at Marlborough on May 2. Some of his men had penetrated as far as Farnham, but were obliged to beat a hasty retreat towards Oxford, abandoning three guns and some ammunition. Goring having been thus reinforced by the party from Basing, marched about 11 P.M. on Sunday to attack Cromwell at Farringdon, "but by the vigilancy and care of the scout-master, they had such timely notice that they escaped him, Colonel Cromwell at that time being with Sir Thomas Fairfax and sent for by him, but hasted to his quarters, and brought off his men without any loss, very little action, neither having at that time much mind to engage" ("Moderate Intelligence"). Information of this intended attack was obtained from Lieutenant-Colonel Hacket and six other prisoners taken at Newbury. Cromwell was, early in May, near Blewbury, effecting a junction with the infantry, intending either to await the enemy or to advance. Prince Rupert was marching to join the King and Goring.

General Sir Thomas Lord Fairfax, "the rebels' new brutish general," as Charles contemptuously styled him (Gardiner), had been at Windsor during the closing days of April 1645, preparing to take the field with the famous New Model Army, which was to consist of 21,000 effectives; 6600 horse besides officers, made up eleven regiments divided into six troops of 100 men each, and there were 1000 dragoons, divided into ten companies, commanded by Colonel Okey, "who were always counted the best men"; 14,400 foot formed twelve regiments of 1200 men each besides officers. Waller's army supplied about 600 foot, that of Essex about 3000, and that of Manchester about 3500. Impressment provided the 8500 deficient men (Dr. Firth's "Cromwell's Army," which is exhaustive on the subject of the New Model). This large army was kept up by a monthly assessment upon the whole kingdom of £44,955, towards which Surrey and Southwark paid £2000, and Sussex

£3927 15s. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. There were thus in all, including Rossiter's horse and Colonel Okey's dragoons, twelve horse and dragoon regiments, commanded by General Fairfax, the Commissary-General, Colonels Graves, Sir Robert Pye, Whalley, Rich, Rossiter, Bouchier, Sheffield, Fleetwood, Okey, and Hollis. Colonel Hollis' regiment was, after Naseby Fight, given to Lieutenant-General Cromwell. The infantry commanders were General Fairfax, Major-General Shippon, Colonels Sir Hardress Waller, Pickering, Herbert, Ingoldsby, Fortescue, Montague, Welden, Hammond, Lambert, and Rainsborough. The pioneers were 400 strong. "Each trooper shall receive 2s. per diem for his entertainments," out of which he had to keep his horse. Horses were allowed to captains and other officers at the rate of 2s. each per diem. The pay of the infantry was 8d. per diem, that of the dragoon 1s. 6d. Colonel Rossiter's regiment of horse, 600 strong, was to be extra to the New Model.

The authorship of "*Anglia Rediviva*," which graphically describes the proceedings of Fairfax, has been ascribed to Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes, but it was most probably written by the Rev. Joshua Sprigge, one of Fairfax's chaplains. It tells us that in April 1645, the King had Wiltshire garrisons at Devizes, Lacock, and Langford Houses, and at Highworth, while the Parliament occupied Malmesbury. In Dorsetshire, Portland Castle and Island, with Corfe and Sherborne Castles, were held by the King, whilst Poole, Lyme, and Weymouth had Parliamentary garrisons. In Hants the King had Basing and Winchester, and the Parliament Portsmouth, Southampton, and Christchurch. The King had between Oxford and St. Michael's Mount about 14,000 men under arms, and the Clubmen favoured his cause. The Parliament had in the same district, under the command of Sir William Waller, Waller's own regiment, the Plymouth regiment, and those of Colonels Popham, Fitzjames, and Cooke. There were also the two weak cavalry regiments of Colonels Behr and Dalbier, which had formerly served under the Earl of Essex, but which were now commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Buller, and detailed for the cavalry force of Major-General Massie. They were brigaded just before Naseby fight. But General Fairfax's New Model Army soon turned the scale in favour of the Parliament. On May 3 Fairfax, who had left Windsor on April 30, marched between noon and six o'clock from Newbury towards Andover, where his seven infantry regiments, 11,000 strong, "no horse come as yet," were quartered in the town and the neighbouring villages. On May 4 a general muster of the army, and a halt of two or three hours, took place, a mile out of Andover, on the Salisbury road. A council of war here condemned five men to death. One was a renegado or deserter, and "four more authors of the mutinie in Kent were cast; one of whom, whose lot it was, with the renegado, was executed upon a tree at Wallop in the way of the army's march *in terrorem*." The deserter "was a parson's son," and was a native of Wallop. "Both of them died, as they had lived, like sots. But how the Great Judge passed his sentence I have not to say." Summary justice having been thus inflicted, the army marched forward to Salisbury.

On the following day "was proclamation made throughout the army that it should



Ralph, Lord Hopton.

be death for any man to plunder, at which our old Horse Dragoons, somewhat guilty, made answer, 'If the Parliament would pay truly let them hang duly.' All ranks had received four months' pay, and nothing was permitted to be taken without payment. "No, not so much as grass for our horses." Not an ox, sheep, lamb, or even an egg was stolen, "save in our hard march hot days, vacancy of towns or houses over the Plain made them inordinately desire drink or covet for water in the villages we past." The soldiers mostly slept in barns or under hedges for eight days. On May 6 the bivouac was at Sixpenny Handley, on the 7th at Blandford, and on the 8th at Wichampton, seven miles beyond, from whence a party under Colonels Weldon and Graves was sent to relieve Taunton, which was hard pressed by besieging Cavaliers. The army had now advanced seventy-nine miles, "marching the whole seven days, and some of them very long marches, without any intermission, so willing were the soldiers to come to the relief of distressed Taunton, to Salisbury were they come before the enemy was aware, as was discovered by letters of Sir Ralph Hopton to the Governors of Winchester and Basing, wherein he desired them to send him word when he thought Fairfax would be able to take the field." General Fairfax had intended to relieve Taunton with his whole force, but two expresses from Westminster overtook him at Blandford with orders to retrace his steps towards Oxford. The King having marched northwards to join Rupert, the friends of the Parliament in Oxford promised to overpower the small garrison left in the city, if Fairfax appeared before the fortifications. Five or six thousand men were at once sent towards Taunton under the command of Colonels Weldon and Graves. How successfully these officers performed their task is admirably told in Mr. Hepworth Dixon's "Life of Admiral Blake." Fairfax being very weak in cavalry, avoided highways and marched through an enclosed country, as Goring's horse were now returning westward from Oxford to commit the same excesses as before. He reached Ringwood on March 9, and a trooper was sentenced to death for burglary and murder. He was executed at Romsey on the following day.

In the Romsey Abbey register are the following entries: "1645, John Hunback, sonne of Edward slaine." "May 10, a soldier, name unknowne, hanged for murther when Sir Thomas Fairfax was throwe." "May 23, Frances Nash, daughter of Ffrancis, mortally wounded by a soldier per infortuniam" (by accident). Religious changes had already taken effect in Romsey, as the following entry shows: "1645, March 8, Moses Grandig (Gradidge?) son of Westwood, the first child that was baptised according to the New Directory, by Dr. Faithful, he gave thanks for his wife's safe delivery in the pulpit, shee not present, and . . . only was all the churching service.

A fourteen-mile march then brought the army past Winchester to Alresford, and we read: "I need not acquaint you with our hard march, hot weather and hard quarter, but in all our march we have not yet seen an enemy. We faced Winchester Castle as we came by, but no enemy appeared, nor any gun shot off against us." On May 14 the relief of Taunton was known in London, and Fairfax, who halted for one

night at Whitchurch, had reached Newbury. At this place a foot soldier was sentenced "to have his tongue bored through with a red hot iron, for notorious swearing and blaspheming, all which was done as well for example and terror to others as for justice sake." But Fairfax, though severe, was a prudent general. Some regiments complained that constant rear-guard duty was exceedingly irksome. The General's own regiment refused to waive its privilege of being always in advance, but, "instead of severe discipline, the General alighted himself and marched on foot in the head of his own regiment about two miles, and so brought up the rear, and to this day his own regiment takes the turn upon all duties."

On March 16, 1645, Prince Maurice wrote to Sir John Owen: "You are likewise to give strict order that every officer under the degree of a major march afoot with his company; and that no officer or soldier presume to straggle or be found pistol-shot from his colours, upon pain of death. Hereof you may not fail."

On Saturday, May 17, Fairfax marched to Blewbury, and from thence proceeded to the siege of Oxford and Naseby Fight.

The "Weekly Account" stated on May 16 that Basing House being now declared a Popish garrison, the gentlemen of Hants and Sussex, grown wiser by experience, were about to besiege it again. Some were suggesting that instead of blockading the approaches, it would be more economical to spend from £500 to £1000 in building redoubts, making shelter trenches, and employing a skilful engineer, who would speedily compel a surrender. The same newspaper said on May 18, that three companies from Farnham Castle were quartered at Odiham to check foragers in that direction, and that on May 12 one hundred men had marched from Odiham to Hackwood Park, within a mile of Basing, capturing two loads of hay and provisions which were going to the House. No large force of Cavaliers was met with, but four Parliament scouts met an equal number from the garrison, one of whom they secured, but the others fled. Colonel Ludlow, whose Major Dewett had some time previously deserted to the King, taking some troopers with him, was about this time stationed at Odiham. His standard bore the device of an open Bible, with the motto "Verbum Dei" placed above a mitre, crozier, and rosary.

On May 12 "the gentlemen of the Life-Guard to Sir William Waller, now quartered in Surrey," were ordered to receive fourteen days' pay from "Sir Richard Onslowe, and the rest of the gentlemen of Surrey, and were then to be disbanded." The physicians, chaplains, surgeons, and scoutmaster-general of the army, late under the command of Sir William Waller, obtained by petition part of their arrears of pay. The Committee of the Army were "to consult and consider with the Assembly of Divines upon the speedy sending down and supplying the army under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax with a convenient number and proportion of godly, learned, and able ministers." A humble petition was read from the officers and soldiers of the Portsmouth garrison, and from the poor inhabitants of the town. Colonels Jephson and Norton were authorised to borrow money to be repaid before Midsummer by the

Committee of the Revenue, in order to clear off the arrears of the old establishment. The gentlemen of Hants were to bring in an ordinance for selling the estates of Lord Worcester, and some other delinquents in Hants, to raise £2000 of the garrison arrears of the new establishment. "It is but reason those incendiaries should have no wood left who strive to burn down the kingdom." The Committee of Both Kingdoms soon afterwards decided that 600 men was a sufficient garrison for Portsmouth, and Colonel Jones, late of Farnham Castle, obtained command at the end of June of Sir W. Brereton's regiment of horse. On May 13 "£1000 was provided as a fortnight's pay for Colonel Fienis his regiment." A week previously Colonel Thompson, who had lost a leg at Cheriton Fight, asked for his arrears of pay, with either the command of a garrison or some civil employment, stating that he had, with the help of friends, raised a troop of horse for the service of Parliament, but that nearly £400 was owing to his men. It was recommended by the Upper to the Lower House "that he may have relief and respect shewed him."

Driven to desperation by Goring's excesses, the counties of Sussex, Surrey, Hants, and Berks were preparing to raise troops for the Parliament, and on May 27 it was ordered that the Sussex forces for the siege of Basing should be taken out of Sussex garrisons. On May 21, 1645, Major Peter Baxter, Governor of Hurst Castle, was to receive £100 in part payment of his arrears, and £100 from the next sequestration of a delinquent's estate. Three days afterwards, in reply to a petition presented by 200 wounded and maimed soldiers in the Savoy Hospital, and by 1500 other soldiers and widows, £250 per week was voted for the relief of maimed soldiers and widows, together with the collections at the three next monthly fasts, except one-half of the collection at St. Margaret's, Westminster, and at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. About May 23, Colonel Norton, with a force of Southampton men, attacked Langford House, near Salisbury. His horse were commanded by Captains St. Barbe, Bettesworth, and Gertin, and his foot by the son of Captain Murford. Norton placed an ambush near the house. Then a small party of his men approached the garrison as if levying contribution money. The Cavaliers sallied forth, led by the Governor, Colonel Griffith, who came out wearing linen stockings, without either horse or boots, and were all captured by the ambuscade. Captain Ludlow, who was probably a relative of the celebrated Colonel of that name, did the Parliament good service. The prisoners were Colonel Griffith, his captain, lieutenant, his own cornet, and eight other officers, besides soldiers, the total number being 74, together with their arms. Ten Cavaliers were killed, but Norton's loss was inconsiderable. The captives were sent to Southampton, and on May 29 were ordered to be sent up to London, exchange being prohibited without the consent of Parliament. Colonel Griffith was sent to Newgate, but his escape was announced on June 4, and all officers of forts and courts of guard were ordered to arrest him, and to send him up to the Parliament in very safe custody. On May 29, 600 foot were ordered to form the garrison of Portsmouth, and the officers of Waller's artillery train were granted their

arrears of pay, and were to be recommended to Fairfax for employment. On June 5 Mr. Edward Hooper, who had been appointed Governor of Southampton, obtained exemption on the ground of infirmity, and on July 5 Captain St. Barbe obtained the vacant post. The St. Barbes lived at Ashlington in Somersetshire, and at Broadlands, near Romsey. One of them was killed at Newbury Fight, on September 20, 1643.

"Goring's crew" were now ravaging Somersetshire, and besieging Colonels Weldon and Blake in Taunton. Great anxiety was felt in London for the fate of the town, and a deputation from the House of Commons went to the Committee of Militia to ask for 500 mounted musketeers. They were granted, and volunteers offered themselves on all sides. On June 7 the Committees for Hants and Surrey were ordered to send respectively 100 horse and 100 dragoons; Sussex was to "send forth with a troop of horse, consisting of four score, and one hundred mounted musketeers"; Middlesex 100 dragoons; Wilts was to provide 150 horse, and Kent was "to send what force they can of horse mounted musketeers for the relief of Colonel Weldon and the brigade at Taunton." The rendezvous was to be at Romsey on June 13. Thirty pair of pistols, with holsters, and a like number of saddles with their furniture, were to be at once delivered to Colonel Norton for his Hampshire horse by Lieut.-Colonel Owen Roe, who was in charge of the public stores. Colonel Whitehead acquainted the House of Commons that the Committee for Hants and Colonel Norton "had conferred together, and that they had resolved to furnish 100 commanded horse, under the command of Captain Thos. Bettesworth, to go upon this present expedition into the west for the relief of the brigade at Taunton." Fairfax wrote from Sherrington, and obtained permission for Cromwell to take command of all his horse. Fairfax was now empowered for one month to impress men on his march, and to seize horses in the enemy's quarters. An ordinance was passed to collect the revenues of the sequestered estates of Hampshire Royalist delinquents. One-fifth and one-twentieth part of the proceeds were to be expended upon the county fortresses and defences and in the impressment of soldiers therein, the Isle of Wight being specially excepted. Another ordinance, passed through the influence of Colonel Norton on June 12, appointed "John Dove, gentleman, treasurer and keeper of the stores of ammunition for the town of Portsmouth." Two days later "600 soldiers and 40 gunners, comprehending the old establishment," were to be the garrison of Portsmouth, fifty soldiers being assigned to Southsea Castle. "£200 per week over and above the old establishment" was voted for the troops of Portsmouth and Southsea Castle. The Committee for Hants was to advance for this purpose £5000, which was to be repaid from the Excise duties. Moor Fauntleroy of Michaelmarsh was a member of the Committee for Hants, and the names of Robert Dillington and John Worsley, Esqs., and of Richard Ringwood, of Newport, and Thomas Legg, gentlemen, were ordered to be added to the Committee for the Isle of Wight.

Colonel Massie, the well-known Governor of Gloucester, was to come into Hampshire from the west, in order to unite with the forces from Kent, Surrey, and

Sussex, which were intended for the relief of Taunton. Clarendon says that Massie was a soldier of fortune, who had formerly served the King in Scotland. When the troubles began he was at York, "with inclination to serve the King, but finding himself not enough known there, and that there would be little gotten but the comfort of a good conscience, he went to London, where there was more money and fewer officers, and was easily made Lieutenant-Colonel to the Earl of Stamford, and being quickly found to be a diligent and stout officer, and of no ill parts of conversation, to render himself acceptable among the common people, was, by his Lordship, when he went into the west, left Governor of the City of Gloucester, where he had behaved himself actively and successfully." He eventually became a Royalist, and died in Ireland about 1675. Massie was, on June 13, at Romsey; he had from 1000 to 1200 horse, and was expecting reinforcements.

On June 20 Colonel Webb was with the City Dragoons at Southampton, from which town the local contingent of horse was to march on June 23 to Romsey; at which place a general muster was to take place on the 24th. Colonel Popham commanded the horse at Romsey during Massie's temporary absence. Clarendon calls him "Col. Edward Popham, a principal officer of the Parliament in their fleets at sea, and of a passionate and virulent temper, of the Independent party." His brother Alexander was under his orders at Romsey. Colonel Popham afterward became an admiral and general at sea. He died on board his flagship on August 19, 1657, and was buried by the State in Westminster Abbey. In Waller's army Colonel Popham marked all horses, and was in charge of the hired teams. Captain Pittman had, on or about June 9, repulsed a sortie from Winchester Castle, and carried off fifty horses. The Pittman family owned land at Maplederwell, and John Pittman, Esq., was one of the Commissioners appointed on November 6, 1643, for making the weekly collection in Hampshire. Colonel Massie, on or about June 19, marched to Winchester and carried off the sheep which Lord Ogle had collected in anticipation of a siege, but which he made no effort to defend. "Some 60 or more of the King's scattered horse" from Naseby Fight reached Winchester about this time. Colonel Massie was present on June 24 at the Romsey muster. He had been reinforced from Kent by 80 horse and 166 dragoons; from Hants by 100 horse, and Sussex, Surrey, Middlesex, and London had each sent him 100 dragoons. Captain Jervoise of Herriard joined him with 340 horse, and 340 Reformadoes were a welcome accession of strength. These reinforcements together numbered 567 horse and 966 dragoons, and on June 26 he had at Romsey 2200 horse and dragoons ready to join at Blandford the army of Fairfax, which, after the decisive battle of Naseby, "turned westward to raise the siege of Taunton, crush Goring's crew, and recover the great strongholds of Somerset and Devon for Parliament."

From "The Jervoises of Herriard and Britford" (*The Ancestor*, vol. iii.) we learn that Captain Thomas Jervoise returned home to Herriard Park on his troop being disbanded on December 24, 1646. In August 1643 he held a commission as

cornet in Sir Arthur Haslerig's regiment, and in December as Captain of Horse in Lieut.-General Middleton's regiment under Sir William Waller's command till April 1645. Several of his appointments and certificates of having been in "actual service" are in good preservation, two of which are signed by Waller, one testifying to his "having demeaned himself well in actual Service under him in Captain William Cross' Troop from 29th August to November 1643"; another that he was "Captain of a troop of horse from 29th December 1643, to 30th April 1645, in Sir R. Grenville's regiment." On the final disbanding of his troop he was given the following certificate by General Fairfax:

"Captain Jervoise, in the said Brigade (Major-General Massie's) hath demeaned himself with fidelity and courage in the Service wherein he hath bin employed, and with fair and civill carriage in the Disbanding of the said Brigade is freely dismissed and discharged from his urgent service, and is at liberty to repair to his owne home or friends.

"Given under my hand and seal the 24th day of October, 1646.

"T. FAIRFAX."

An interesting sequel to the Civil Wars is the claim of Sir Thomas Jervoise for damage done to his properties in different counties, mainly to Herriard, which, owing to its proximity to Basing House, suffered to the extent of about £6000 for corn, cattle, and other provisions "commandeered" out of a total claim of £15,000. An Act was passed in 1649 granting him the estates of John, Marquis of Winchester, until he should be able to recoup the sum of £9000. In 1651, however, another Act of Parliament appointed the estates to be sold by the trustees of the Council at Drury House as lands forfeited for treason. Sir Thomas now seems to have done the Marquis a neighbourly turn by agreeing to accept a sum of £6000, remitting £1000 of the debt, and using his good offices to obtain the repeal of the Act, thus saving the estates from being dispersed. After the "Restoration" a Bill was brought into the House of Lords for the repayment of the £9000 by Thomas Jervoise, the son, and Robert Wallop, but this was allowed to drop. (Hist. MSS. Comm. House of Lords.) Captain Thomas Jervoise was buried at Herriard on May 13, 1693.

The excesses of troops like those of Goring naturally brought about a reaction in the country, and on June 26 Mr. Secretary Nicholas, writing from Oxford, says: "The Clubmen in Hampshire and Wiltshire grow numerous, and, I hear, very stout. They have above 300 arms in Hampshire. The rebels have given orders for suppressing of them." It seems probable that the Royalist generals might have turned the movement to good account, but the opportunity was lost, as Goring issued a severe order against them from Exeter. These Clubmen wore white ribbons as a badge, and derived their name from being armed with clubs, flails, scythes, and sickles fastened to long poles. The county gentlemen and clergy headed the movement, which according to Locke, was originated by Shaftesbury when a young man. The design

was to form a third party, which should neither be Royalist nor Parliamentary, an army without soldiers, for they were neither to wear swords nor to carry firearms. The Clubmen were about 14,000 strong, and were already ready when necessary to assemble in force in defence of their homes and granaries. They wished for peace, punished plunderers, and protected pressed men who deserted from either army. Refusing to allow any armies to quarter within their districts, their banner, a white sheet, bore this motto:

If you offer to plunder or take our cattle,
You may be sure we'll give you battle.

The word "plunder," which had been introduced by soldiers of fortune from Germany, here first appears in our language. The Clubmen refused to submit to the Parliament, saying, "Our intentions are to go in a middle way; to preserve our persons and estates from violence and plunder; to join with neither; and not to oppose either side, until by the answer to our petition we see who are the enemies of that happy peace which we really desire." Fairfax negotiated with them, attended some of their meetings, and employed some of them as pioneers, but finally suppressed them.

On June 30, 1645, Fairfax, returning from Naseby Fight to relieve Taunton (now besieged by Goring for the third time: the siege was finally raised on July 4), marched from Marlborough to Amesbury. It was the day of Marlborough Fair, and some stragglers were in consequence left behind, who were speedily surprised and captured by Major Dewett, or Duet, who, being Colonel Ludlow's major, had changed sides, and was now in garrison at Devizes. On July 1 there was a twelve miles' march to Broad Chalke, "and being drawn up that morning to a rendezvous to a place called Stonage (Stonehenge), marched in battalia upon Salisbury Plain." Chaplain Hugh Peters urged the destruction of Stonehenge, as being one of "the monuments of heathenism," but fortunately more pressing matters demanded attention. Some officers and others riding through Salisbury found the Clubmen there very confident, "wearing white ribands in their hats, as it were in affront of the army, not sparing to declare themselves absolute neuters, or rather friends to the enemy."

On Wednesday, July 2, Fairfax reached Blandford, where he was joined by Massie at the head of 3000 horse and foot. A soldier who had robbed a gentleman near Marlborough was here executed in a narrow lane. Mr. Penruddock and Mr. Fussell, two leaders of the Clubmen, were arrested, but, having acknowledged their error, were released. Five days afterwards Goring was beaten at Langport Fight, and the Royal cause soon became hopeless in the west.

Goring left England for ever. "His habits of intoxication continued to the end of his life, and he died at Madrid in 1662, very poor, having become a Roman Catholic, and according to some writers a Dominican friar." Sir Richard Bulstrode calls him "as good an officer as ever served the King, and the most dexterous in any sudden emergency I have ever seen."

CHAPTER XXVIII

ROAD WAGGONS IN DANGER—CLUBMEN ROUTED—WAYS AND MEANS—LORD
OGLE'S REQUISITIONS—COLONEL DALBIER—BASING AGAIN BESIEGED—
MINING OPERATIONS—HAMPSHIRE CLUBMEN—CHURCH PARADE—A
SHATTERED TOWER—A GALLANT STRATAGEM—RELIEF FAILS

ON Saturday, July 12, 1645, some scouts reported at Farnham Castle that a party of horse from Basing House were returning to that garrison with a Chichester road waggon, which they had captured near Hindhead. All the horse and dragoons in the Castle were at once sent out, and Cornet Stokam was despatched with a small party to bring up a detachment, commanded by Captain Joyner, from Alton to Tunworth Downs. Both parties arrived at the same time, and charged the Cavaliers both in front and rear, at a place two miles from Alton, routed them, retook the waggon, and pursued them to within half a mile of Basing, killing and wounding most of them, and taking nine prisoners and fifteen horses. The retiring Parliamentarians had reached Bentley Green, when they were faced by 120 cavalry, belonging to the garrisons of Winchester, Basing, and Faringdon (Sir M. Rawdon's command). The new-comers prepared to charge, and took "Trooper Reeves, but received such a salute from our dragoons" that they fled. A Parliamentarian Major, whose name is unrecorded, was at the same time posted with 100 foot at Upton Gray, near Weston Patrick. He intercepted the Cavaliers as they retreated towards Basing, taking six men and four horses. Captain Joyner (Joynet), who was shot in the arm; Cornet Stokam, whose head received a sword cut; James Mansurgh (Mansargh), who was shot in the leg, "were they who did most execution." One Puritan dragoon was killed.

On July 22 measures were taken to provide maintenance for 1500 horse and dragoons, to be employed in the blockade of Basing, Winchester, Oxford, Wallingford, Banbury, &c. Surrey, Sussex, and Kent were to furnish 395 horse and dragoons for service against Basing and Winchester. Surrey and Sussex were to furnish 119 horse and 62 dragoons, Kent 143 horse and 71 dragoons. On the 24th money, provisions, and recruits were to be sent by sea to Portsmouth, and the Militia

of London were to send 105 horse and dragoons out of their proportion, for the services against Basing House and Winchester. Sir Samuel Luke, the commandant of Newport Pagnell, who is satirised in *Hudibras*, was to be requested to spare his engineer, Captain Vanderboone, for some time to be employed in the service against Basing House and Winchester, for which he was to be paid by the counties of Surrey, Sussex, and Hants, and not to be hurt or prejudiced in the service by his absence from Newport Pagnell. £5000 was, by an ordinance brought in by Mr. Lisle, voted upon Excise receipts "to be employed for the reducing of Winchester, Donnington, and Basing." The Committee of the Admiralty were "to take a speedy course for the reduction of the island of Jersey, and report the same to the House," as a petition had been presented from thence, to the effect that "many inhabitants, well affected, were remaining there in want and misery, ever since the revolt of the islanders, upon the forcible entrance which Captain Carteret made there against the Parliament."

On July 26, 1645, it was ordered "Mr. Morris Jephson to be Lieut.-Colonel, and Mr. John Lobb to be Major of Colonel Norton's regiment of foot, now at Portsmouth." The Lobb family lived at Southampton, and one of them afterwards owned The Vyne, near Basingstoke. On July 31 the Committee of the Navy were "to take care to bring about those prisoners that are on board the ships now at Portsmouth."

On August 1 our old acquaintance Major-General Browne was granted 2000 foot and 600 horse as the strength of his Abingdon garrison, and on the next day Colonel Fleetwood surrounded and dispersed 1000 clubmen at Shaftesbury. Cromwell attacked about 2000 others in an old Roman camp on Hambledon Hill. His men were at first repulsed, but were, after an hour's fighting, victorious, and brought 600 arms, 400 prisoners, 200 of whom were wounded, to Shrewton, where they were imprisoned in the church. Sixty clubmen were killed. They were said to have been stirred up by "malignant priests," and four vicars and curates were among the captives. Some were afterwards sent up to London, and others released, on taking the Covenant, and promising future quietness. Twelve colours were also taken.

On July 25 Sir Robert Pye with his own 40 horse, Colonel Butler with 20 horse, Colonel Ireton with 130, Major Harrison with 60, and Major Huntingdon with 90 were ordered "to convoy money and ammunition now in town to Portsmouth, from whence they are to be shipped to the army." These officers and men were then to proceed to join the army by the nearest and safest way. On the same day the Committee of Both Kingdoms informed the Committee of the West that the "Reformadoes who were employed in the west are returned into Hants and Surrey where they lie idle, and do no service, but are a burden to the country. To be so disposed of that the country may not be burdened, and further disaffected by their quartering upon it, nor the Clubmen have that for a pretence of their assembling together which may produce worse effects." One hundred Surrey dragoons were to muster at Guildford on July 29 to go thence to Portsmouth with the convoy, which was "26

waggons lading," and that "those dragoons be paid £40 for that service." Four hundred prisoners, among whom were many Royalist clergy, had already been sent to Portsmouth, "where they lie in ships, there being no place in the town to receive them, nor any provision for them." Colonel Norton, Governor of Farnham Castle, who, with his horse, had been watching Winchester Castle on July 25, to check Lord Ogle's plundering, and the Committees of Surrey and Sussex were to aid the passage of the convoy by every means in their power. The Earl of Southampton was High Steward of Winchester, but was on account of his loyalty disabled from holding office, and on November 27 Robert Wallop, Esq., was elected in his stead. The Earl was now serving the King, and on August 4 a pass was granted by both Houses of Parliament to the Countess of Southampton with her two young children for thirty days to go from Oxford to Titchfield House. The reason assigned is a touching one, "It being the desire of the old Countess of Southampton to see them, which yet she never did." The Countess was permitted to take with her a coach, and a waggon, with ten ordinary servants and horses, but none of the party were to enter or remain in any of the Parliament's forts, castles, or garrisons. Six troops of light horse 670 in number, and three troops of dragoons, numbering 330, had been raised in several counties for General Fairfax. The sum of £9924 2s. was now voted for three months' maintenance of this regiment, "in all 1000, besides commissary officers." The Kentish horse were on August 6 ordered "to be employed for the service of reducing the county of Southampton to the obedience of the Parliament," receiving pay meanwhile from the Committee for Hants. Colonel Jephson, M.P. for Stockbridge, was ordered to embark for Munster with his regiment of horse. His men were to have quarters everywhere, paying for necessities at reasonable rates. Not more than twelve pence per man and horse was to be paid for each twenty-four hours. Fairfax received some ammunition and battering pieces from Portsmouth, which aided in the capture of Sherborne Castle on August 15, after a siege of sixteen days.

On August 9 the Governors of Portsmouth, Farnham, and Southampton were to send "not exceeding 12 guns, battering pieces, with their carriages," and warrants were issued for powder for the reduction of Winchester and Basing. At the same time care was to be taken for the safety of these garrisons.

About the middle of August much discussion took place as to the payment of some sixty poor waggoners who had been employed in several expeditions to Basing, Newport, Petworth, and the western counties. Their claim of nearly £3000 was at last paid. Colonel Weare, who had been sent up from Portsmouth by the Earl of Essex under arrest in September 1644, was still confined in the Compter at Southwark. He was now removed to another prison, and was granted subsistence money from his arrears of pay. "Captain Bettesworth, having done very good service to the Parliament, to be enjoined not to go out of the Kingdom" on August 20, and, nine days afterwards, mention is made of the "Masters and Governors of the Mystery and Commonalty of

Barber Surgeons, London." A Common Assembly was held in the Guildhall, Winchester, on a certain Monday of this month to consider a warrant issued by the Governor, Lord Ogle. "It generally agreed by the whole assembly that Mr. Mayor (Longland) and whom of the rest of the Corporation he shall think fit, shall go, and to-morrow morning shall go to my Lord Ogle to inform him what things are here to be gotten, and what not concerning his warrant for necessaries for the Castle, and so to consider how they may be provided." Before this time only four constables had been annually elected at Winchester. But since the city had been garrisoned two others had been added, "to make up the number six during the tyme of these troubles."

Vigorous preparations for the final siege of Basing were now being made. The senior commanding officer was Colonel Dalbier, who was empowered to impress teams to carry ammunition to Farnham.

Dol Beere, Dalbyer, &c. (his name is spelt in every possible way). He was a Dutchman by birth, and from him, according to Heath, Cromwell first of all learned the mechanical part of soldiering, and received help in the drilling of his Ironsides. At the outbreak of the war we find him in command of a troop of horse under Lord Bedford. He was also Quartermaster-General to the Earl of Essex, as well as an engineer. A most invaluable officer. He had drilled recruits for both sides, and had been engaged some years previously, together with Sir William Balfour, in raising German horse. After the battle of Edgehill he urged the adoption of vigorous measures. In the same year the Lords desired the Commons that he being under accusation and restraint might be either tried or discharged. He took part in the burning of the village of Chinnor, in Oxfordshire, in June 1643. The strength of his troop is given by Woodward as being sixty troopers, with two trumpeters, three corporals, a saddler, and a farrier. The officers were Lieutenant William Frampton, Cornet H. Vanbraham, and Quartermaster John Downe.

In 1644 Colonel Dalbier was in command of a regiment of horse, composed as follows:

	Officers	Troopers
Colonel Dalbier	12	67
Captain Salkield	11	72
„ Pymm	11	80
„ Lukeman	9	48
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	43	267
Total		310

"Aulicus" and "Britannicus" are as usual mutually satirical about the commencement of the siege. The former said that Dalbier complained of his design being "very much damp't by the alarms given to London, when His Majesty's horse was at Dunstable," whereupon the latter retorts that "the house is very much damp't, and the wise Marquis has taken up his damp lodging once more," adding that Lord

Winchester spent his time in bed at the bottom of a cellar "out of reach of gunshot, for you know generals and governors should not be too venturous." "Aulicus" asserted that Dalbier had bargained not to receive any pay until Basing was taken, except £150 to be paid at once to his wife, and that all Dalbier's projected mines were only plans to obtain money. "Britannicus" replies: "Upon such terms we will employ two or three colonels more, if they please to be in action, and to leave murmuring for arrears." "The engineer fell to his pretence, the work itself is money, August 20th" ("Aulicus"). On August 4 Dalbier brought in proposals to the House of Commons that the forces of Sussex and Surrey should block up Basing House, and that those of Hants, Middlesex, and the City of London should blockade Oxford, and on the 19th the Parliament ordered 400 bandoliers, 400 swords, 300 muskets, 200 pikes, and 10 drums to be issued from store to the forces from Portsmouth garrison employed for the reducing of Basing House. Two hundred foot were to be sent against Basing from the garrisons of Portsmouth and Southampton. "Colonel Dalbier reached Basingstoke with 800 horse and foot on August 20, but made no attack, and the provisioning of Basing House was not interfered with. Which being completed, the Garrison resolved to visit the rebels, which it did on Thursday and Friday, and took an officer and nine troopers, since which time Sir John Boys went from Dennington Castle (of which he was Governor) to alarm them, and brought away a colour, two officers, and seven other prisoners to Dennington. Basing daily beats up their quarters." Whereupon "Britannicus" retorts on September 22: "Are not these bare victories, think you? But such they are glad to live upon."

On August 23 it was ordered "Out of Reading, Captain Blaggrave's company to be drawn for Basing." Dalbier was now in possession of Basing village, and "hath with him many good engineers and pioneers, such as use to dig in cole pits." Heavy rains favoured the besiegers, "the place thereabouts being hard and rocky." Alderman Avery and Sir Daniel Watkins were ordered on August 26 to deliver "200 Granado shells, 9 or 10 inches in diameter, now in the custody of Mr. Persen, servant to Mr. John Browne, the gunfounder," to the Hants Committee, "for to be employed against Basing House." On August 28 more troops and materials for a siege were urgently required, and seven days afterwards 100 Southwark musketeers were ordered to Basing, those refusing to march being fined by the Committee of Militia and punished as usual.

On September 1 it was settled that the horse and arms of a dragoon were not to cost more than £6. On September 3 the Committee of the Militia of London were to "deliver to Daniel Judd 60 of those scaling ladders, now in the custody of Wm. Mollins, Comptroller of the Ordnance of the City, to be used in the service against Basing House." Dalbier had been promised 1700 foot and 300 horse, "but Hants and Sussex have failed of their men, and the business is like to fall to naught." Winchester was "to be blocked up as well as Basing House." Norton's horse were

to secure Sussex whilst the Sussex men were in Hants. Colonel Algernon Sydney, Governor of Chichester, was "to send out" 300 more men if possible. On September 6 Waller received arrears of pay for 820 days as a Major-General, at the rate of £10 per diem. By September 17 Dalbier had been reinforced, and hoped "to give a satisfactory account within a few days of that business," having commenced a bombardment and destroyed a great tower in the Old House. "That part of Basing House on the south called the New House is thought most seizable; if we could gain that the other could not long hold out. There is a design to show the enemy there a gallant stratagem of war, but I had rather let them study to find it than let my pen tell tales out of school." The Clubmen were now rising for the King in Hants and Sussex, and vain hopes were formed of their coming to the relief of Basing House. Mr. W. Cawley and the Committee for Sussex on September 18 and 19 reported "divers outrageous proceedings" of 1000 Clubmen at Rowkeshill, near Chichester, enclosing the warrant issued by the Sussex Clubmen, and the declaration published by the men of Hants, Wilts, and Dorset. Colonel Norton was ordered to shift the quarters of the horse and foot under his command from Portsmouth to Bishop's Waltham and Petersfield, and to await orders from the Committee of Both Kingdoms. He was to arrest the leaders of the Clubmen, but was not to call out the Trained Bands unless he could rely on their fidelity. He was to be helped by infantry from Chichester and by the Committees of Kent and Surrey. The Committee for Hants, Sussex, and Surrey were directed to consult "how to prevent any inconvenience that may happen by reason of the Clubmen," and to sequester the estates of all recusants. Mr. Cawley again complained on October 13 of hindrances to the recruiting of Fairfax's army in Sussex. On September 25 we hear of Colonels Anthony Stapley, Morley, Norton and others trying to disperse the Clubmen at Rowkeshill without bloodshed. Three days previously we read, "The Clubmen in Sussex and Hampshire are now numerous. A party is assigned to pacify them; sure they have not so much to complain of as the more westerly parts, but if by this they draw troubles upon themselves, let them thank themselves" ("Mod. Intelligencer").

The Hampshire Clubmen, although professedly neutral, were much more inclined to favour the King than the Parliament. "Idle Dick" Norton, otherwise Colonel Norton, took the field against them from Bishop's Waltham, with his cavalry and infantry, and on Wednesday, September 17, Cromwell, who was now on his march from Devizes, sent him a strong reinforcement. On the 20th Cromwell and his brigade were at Andover. The reinforcement sent to the aid of Colonel Norton was the regiment commanded by Major Harrison, as will be seen by the following letter which appeared in the "City Scout" of October 7: "The other news I hear of is, that of Wednesday last, the malignant (*i.e.*, Royalist) Clubmen rose and met at Loomer's Ash, within three miles of Winchester (was Loomer or Lomer's Ash near Twyford or Fisher's Pond?), countenanced by all the malignant gentry of Hampshire, to

whom the Committee of Parliament for Hampshire, with noble Col. Norton, came, assisted by godly Major Harrison, with Colonel Fleetwood's regiment, where Colonel Norton used all means to send them home again; but the malignant towns of Bishop's Waltham and Petersfield would needs fight, who were soon surrounded by the horse. Then those Clubmen shot at them, which caused the horse to fall upon them, and killed four or five, wounded some others, and alarmed most of them. This day I hear worthy and religious Colonel Norton, with the Committee of Parliament, have given warrant to apprehend all the principall gentlemen of the Clubmen, to prevent further mischief. Winchester, the 29th of September, 1645."

The "Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer" says that the horse "cut and hackt many of them, took all their chiefs, ringleaders, and about 1000 arms, which made their neighbours in Sussex to shrink in their heads, and we hear most of them are departed to their own homes."

On September 19 Colonel Carne was appointed to command the forces against Langford House, and was to issue the needful muskets, with bandoliers and bullets. Hurst Castle was to lend a culverin (16½ pr.), Southampton a whole culverin (19 pr.), and the Isle of Wight four field-pieces (5 or 6 prs.). All these guns were to be afterwards returned. The Committee of Surrey were willing to send 200 extra foot against Basing House. They were to come from Farnham Castle, where their places were to be supplied by others. The Hants Committee were warned to guard against the besiegers of Basing being surprised, as Prince Rupert was asking Royalist commanders near Oxford what horse they had available.

An Ordinance passed the Commons on September 30 to appoint Commissioners of Martial Law in Hants. Sir Henry Tichborne, who had been captured at sea after proving himself a loyal, skilful, and intrepid soldier in Ireland, was, together with Colonel Weare, on this day released from the Tower on exchange.

Sir Robert Peake, the Lieutenant-Governor at Basing, lost both his horse and groom at once.

"The Diary or Exact Journal" says, on September 20, "Colonel Dalbeere is now intrenching himself before Basing House," and describes the Governor as "Robert Peek, who sold the pictures by Holborn Conduit," adding, "Sir Robert's groom is come in unto Dalbeir, and to make himself more welcome he hath brought with him his master's horse, on which he chargeth in the field, and another horse of good price."

The 21st of September, being Sunday, the besiegers assembled to listen to a sermon from their chaplain, who was then styled the Minister of the Army. The sermon was so much appreciated that it was sent next day to London, and was printed for John Wright, at the "King's Head," in the Old Bailey, on October 6, 1645. A copy of it, with the imprimatur of James Crauford, September 26, 1645, is now in the British Museum. Think not, oh most patient of readers, that I am about to inflict upon you 32 small qto. pages of small type. Far be it from me. The

title is, "More Sulphur for Basing, or God will fearfully annoy and make quick riddance of His implacable enemies, surely, sorely, suddenly. Shewed in a Sermon at the Siege of Basing on the last Lord's Day. September 21, 1645. Together with a word of advice full of love and affection to the Clubmen of Hampshire. By William Beech, Minister of the Army there, Elect Minister of O., in the County of Suffolk." The motto of the sermon is Rev. xiv. 11, "And the smoke of their torment shall ascend evermore, and they shall have no rest day or night which worship the beast and his image"; the text being Psalm lxxxiii. 9, "Doe unto them as unto the Midianites, as to Sisera, as to Jabin at the Brooke of Kison." William Beech belonged to a Hampshire family, and had been a scholar under Dr. Love, at Winchester, to whose son, the Worshipful Mr. Nicholas Love, a Member of the Committee of Parliament for Hampshire, he dedicates his sermon in most fulsome language. Dr. Love is described as "the Learned and Most Orthodox Warden." Imploring the patronage of Mr. Nicholas Love, he says, "Malice hath dogged me these two years (the Lord knowes causelessly), by sea and land, and hath bespattered me exceedingly, and many are taken up and affected with Halifax Law."

These somewhat obscure concluding words seem to be synonymous with summary execution, as an old local law at Halifax in Yorkshire enacted that clothstealers to the amount of 13½*d.* were to be executed on the next market-day.

The preacher speaks of "the roaring of our cannon, or the terrible bursting asunder of the granado," no doubt alluding to the events of the week before, for on September 22, "By letters from Bazing, we were again advertised that Dalbier hath made divers shot against the Castle, and hath planted some batteries, and shot in some granadoes, some of which are believed to have done execution," as they in fact did, for "one granado burnt two hours before they could quench it."

The Rev. W. Beech "affirms that his county will be famous and sounding unto posterity for two things, viz., for sending burgesses and renowned champions that stood altogether, save one strange one that was lost, to defend it, and secondly, for two faithless garrisons (Winchester and Basing) and unworthy Catalines that laboured so much to destroy it."

"And ah! poore Hampshire, deceived people, deluded countrymen; for whom my spirit is in bitterness, and my bowels yerne (for the first breathing of ayre I had among you), and once happy Hampshire, *Bona si sua norint Agricola* (If farmers only knew when they were well off), if they knew their happinesse, and how cans't thou endure a snake in thy bowels, a limbe of that cruell beast of Rome (Basing), and be silent and sleepe? Nay, two garrisons of countrey destroyers, and not resolve against them, and not contribute your clubs towards the rooting of them out?"

This pulpit eloquence somewhat failed of its desired effect, for on October 3, the "Scottish Dove" thus makes moan: "The countrey people are base, and add nothing to Dalbier's assistance for their own freedome."

But a more famous soldier than Dalbier was at hand. I listen to the "Exact

Journall" on September 22: "Colonel Dalbere hath raised a battery very near Basing House. He plays fiercely upon them, hath beat down one of the towers; he wanted men and more great guns. It may be that Lieut.-General Cromwell may come or send him help."

The same day the commanders of the City horse and dragoons were ordered to convoy provisions from Andover, and then to march into Sussex to quell the Clubmen. Twenty-two of his Majesty's ships and pinnaces and twelve merchant ships and pinnaces were appointed as the winter guard of the English seas on September 23.

Cromwell was even then ready to help surely and effectually. Prince Rupert had ridden forth from Bristol after its surrender on September 11, and soon afterwards Fairfax detached from Bath three columns, under Cromwell, Pickering, and Rainsborough, to take Devizes (September 23), Lacock House (September 24), and Berkeley Castle (September 25), all of which were successful. A fourth column reduced Farley Castle, near Trowbridge (September 15). Cromwell was despatched with a brigade of three regiments of foot and three of horse on September 26 for the taking of certain Royalist garrisons, which, says Master Joshua Sprigge, "like vipers in the bowels, infested the midland parts. Of these Basing was the chief."

The tower above referred to as being destroyed formed part of the Old House, and was one of the largest belonging to the building. The "City Scout" of September 30 says that "the great tower in the Old House was destroyed on Monday, September 22, at which time he might have taken the House had he had a considerable party to fall on. Deserters and one of our troopers, which was then a prisoner in the House, and since released by his wife, for a month's pay, say that in the top of this tower was hid a bushel of Scots twopences, which flew about their ears. The Marquis of Winchester swears that Dalbier is a greater trouble to him than ever any was that ever came against the House." The ally of Basing, Langford House, near Salisbury, was reported as besieged on September 25.

The "Weekly Account" gives further details on Saturday, the 27th: "From Basing it was certified that on Monday and Tuesday last Colonel Dalbier played with the cannon very fierce upon the New House, and after many shots against the midst of the House, which loosened the bricks and made a long crack in the wall, he made another shot or two at the top of the House which brought down the high turret, the fall whereof so shook that part of the house, which before was weakened, that the outmost wall fell down all at once, insomuch that our men could see bedding and other goods fall out of the House into the court."

"The enemy in the house are extremely vexed, yet at this time were they blockt up but on one side, and for want of horse they had often sallied out as far as Basingstoke and returned again, but by this they are confined to a less compass." According to the "City Scout," Dalbier had, on Friday, September 26, not more than 1000 foot and some four troops of horse. He was unable to compass the house, the garrison of which was estimated to be half as numerous as were the besiegers, and could only

besiege it on one side. On Tuesday, the 23rd, there was heavy firing, the result being "a very great breach," which was kept open by a vigorous cannonade. Colonel Dalbier now asked for further additions to his strength.

The "True Informer" hints at further destruction: "Wednesday, September 24. This day we understood by a messenger from Basing that Colonel D'Albere had made several batteries against Basing House, or, as Aulicus calls it, Basing Castle. He hath beaten down one of the Towers of the Old House, and taken one of the works of the New House by storm. And we doubt not but that the House will, within ten days, be in the Parliament's possession!"

"Mercurius Veridicus" of Saturday, September 20, adds: "Those that come from the siege at Basing tell us that at the entering of one of the enemy's works in the New House, destroyed together with the Tower on September 22, they blew it up, but Colonell Dalbier made good the breach." The same newspaper somewhat prematurely reports the capture of the New House. "Mercurius Civicus" on the following day writes more cautiously: "This evening we understand from Basing that Colonel Dalbier hath made several batteries upon Basing House, and hath beaten down one of the greatest Towers, and some say he hath taken the New House, but of that there is no certainty." The storming of the above-mentioned defence of the New House sufficiently accounts for these rumours. "The gallant stratagem of war," before referred to, was disclosed by the "True Informer" on September 24: "He hath a design to smoke them out, good store of straw being brought in from the country for that purpose."

The "Scottish Dove" two days later has the following: "Colonel Dol Beer is in good action at Basing; he hath beaten down a Tower, and whilst he makes his works for the effecting his design he smokes them with the sulphur of brimstone, an emblem of their future vengeance!"

"Mercurius Veridicus" on Saturday, the 27th, is jubilant, yet cautious: "But what? Will all the King's chiefest holds go to wrack together? Must they part with Basing House? All Papists? No treachery feared there? Yes, we are bidding fair for that, too, if the house will not burn the straw and other combustible matter will smoke, which, with advantage of wind, may seeme another element, and make the enemy scarce find their port-hole, but no more of this till we hear of the success. Dalbier sends into the house a compounded stifling smoake." Pass yet two days more, and "Mercurius Britannicus" adds insult to injury, "yet we must not call all yielding cowardice, because Winchester, the man of Basing, would needs be thought valiant, though he love not the smell of gunpowder, and therefore, in commiseration, Colonel D'Albier hath this last week tried to smoke him out with straw, just as they use to serve eeles in old walls; and if this trick will not take, there is another nameless stratagem in acting, for the gallant Colonel is resolved to have his pay."

The "Parliament Scout" thus describes the siege on September 30:

"They are all Papists in that garrison, and if there were purgatory upon earth, the

Papists do find it and feel it there, for, besides the thick and perpetual darkness which the wet and smoaking straw doth make, the burning of brimstone and arsenic and other dismal ingredients doth infinitely annoy the besieged, which makes them to gnash their teeth for indignation ; in the meantime the cannons do perpetually thunder one against another. On every side desolation dwells about them, and to subdue the place there are those things are put in execution which the nature of man doth tremble at."

The editor of "Perfect Passages" on October 1 seems quite satisfied with the state of affairs :

"Eight hundred are ordered by the Committee to be sent to strengthen D'Albere against Basing. Good reason he should have them, he goes on so hopefully."

On Friday, October 3, the "Moderate Intelligencer" alludes to the siege: "We hear the business before Bazing goes well! A battery upon one side, a breach made, if he had men to enter and storm, but they are wanting, that is a few more than they have!"

The "Exact Journal" says, on October 4: "From Bazing we are informed that Dalbier expecteth more supplies, without which he cannot so easily go through the task he hath undertaken."

From "Mercurius Veridicus" (Mercury the Truthteller) of October 4 we learn that a heavy and effectual fire was maintained by the besiegers, and that the garrison were losing heart: "I thought not at this time to have mentioned Bazing, for the defendants have been so used to the strong breath of old priests and Jesuits that straw and sulphur will not stifle them out of the house, therefore Dalbier daily sends pellets amongst them, and hath beat down part of the house, and so terrified some that they have stolen out of the house and got quite away. Others have come from Wallingford to us, and protest that they will never fight against the Parliament. No less than eight came in thus with their horse one morning, and say that more will come, and many are gone to other garrisons of ours."

The "Scottish Dove" of the same date says: "Basing House is still besieged, not yet stormed, but continual battery, so that they have certainly made some breaches, and were it not that the besieged have good hopes to be relieved they would quickly yield it. Provisions are scarce with them, and want will make them do anything, but all is in God's hand, who guides all things by His own will." Things were looking badly for the Marquis. Rupert's conference of Royalist commanders attempted relief, of which details are wanting, without success. On October 6 Cromwell was to be notified of the probability of the reduction of Basing House, and was to be requested to send 200 musketeers, "with a good commander," to Dalbier, if possible.

CHAPTER XXIX

CROMWELL AND HIS BRIGADE—COLONELS HAMMOND, FLEETWOOD, AND HARRISON—HUGH PETERS—CROMWELL SUMMONS WINCHESTER—THE CASTLE BESIEGED—BISHOP CURLE—SIEGE OPERATIONS—BOMBARDMENT—PARLEY AND SURRENDER—BOOTY AND SPOIL—HUGH PETERS AT WESTMINSTER—TROUBLES AT WINCHESTER

WE have before referred to the surrender of Bristol on September 11, 1645, and noted the despatch of Cromwell at the head of his brigade of three regiments of foot and 2000 horse, with a view to the reduction of certain Royalist garrisons, of which Basing, if not the chief, was by no means the least important.

The character of Cromwell we need not discuss. Leave we Carlyle and others to that task. A portrait of "Old Noll" hangs at Hackwood House, not far from that of his gallant foe the Marquis, wherefrom all beholders may see what manner of man he was. Sir Philip Warwick thus describes his personal appearance in November 1640, some five years before this time: "I came into the House one morning well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking whom I knew not, very ordinarily apparelled, for it was a plain cloth suit that seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor. His linen was very plain, and not very clean, and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band (a linen tippet, properly the shirt-collar of those days), which was not much larger than his collar; his hat was without a hat band, his stature was of a good size, his sword stuck close to his side, his countenance swoln and reddish, his voice sharp and untuneable, and his eloquence full of fervour." Mr. Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, when Chairman of a Committee of the House saw another phase of his character: "His whole carriage was so tempestuous, and his behaviour so insolent, that the Chairman found himself obliged to reprehend him, and to tell him that if he (Mr. Cromwell) proceeded in the same manner he (Mr. Hyde) would presently adjourn the Committee and the next morning complain to the House of him."

A stern man, unyielding, and cast in iron mould, as the "merciless assault of Basing" and the storming of Drogheda give proof; yet, as we would fain believe, a

man of personal piety, and courteous to an enemy in defeat, as the following anecdote clearly shows: "As the garrison of Hillesdon House, near Newport Pagnell, were evacuating it after the surrender, one of the soldiers snatched off Sir William Smyth's hat. He immediately complained to Cromwell of the man's insolence and breach of the capitulation. 'Sir,' said Cromwell, 'if you can point out the man or I can discover him, I promise you he shall not go unpunished. In the meantime,' taking off a new beaver which he had on his own head, 'be pleased to accept of this hat instead of your own.'"

"The tears of Cromwell appear to have been very constitutional, and must have produced a marvellous contrast on his rough-featured and heavy countenance!"

"This brave commander, by reason of his resolution and gallantry in his charges, is called by the King's soldiers Ironsides." So Winstanley, in his "Worthies," says. "One thing that made his brigade so invincible was his arming them so well, as whilst they assured themselves they could not be overcome, it assured them to overcome their enemies. He himself, as they called him Ironsides, needed not to be ashamed of a nickname that so often saved his life. Heath also calls *him* by that name, and not his troop."

"In the beginning of November 1642, the regiment had reached the number of 1000 picked men. Whitelocke thus describes them: 'He had a brave regiment of horse of his countrymen, most of them freeholders and freeholders' sons, and who upon matter of conscience engaged in this quarrel and under Cromwell, and thus, being well armed within by the satisfaction of their own consciences, and without by good iron arms, they would as one man charge firmly and fight desperately.' In May 1643 a newspaper writer says, 'As for Colonel Cromwell, he hath 2000 more brave men, well disciplined. No man swears but he pays his 12*d.*; if he be drunk, he is set in the stocks or worse; if one calls the other "Roundhead," he is cashiered; insomuch that the countries where they come leap for joy of them, and come in and join with them. How happy would it be if all the forces were thus disciplined!'"

"A colonel of foot received £1 10*s.* the day; a lieutenant-colonel, 15*s.* the day; a sergeant-major (the present Major), 9*s.* the day; a captain, 15*s.* the day; a colonel of horse, £1 10*s.* the day, and for six horses £1 1*s.* the day; a captain of horse, £1 4*s.* the day, and for six horses £1 1*s.* the day." Field officers drew the pay of a captain in addition to their own, besides other perquisites.

Cromwell's own regiment was steel-clad, back and breast, with headpieces. Each man had a brace of pistols, the officers more, and each troop was 100 strong. Its officers were, Lieutenant-General Cromwell, Major Huntingdon, Captains Jenkins, Middleton, John Reynolds, and Blackwell. The three regiments of foot under Cromwell's command were those of Colonels Pickering, Montagu, and Sir Hardress Waller. These regiments had been long together, and had seen much service in company. At Marston Moor "on the left was drawn up the Earl of Manchester's army from the Associated Counties under the general command of Lieut.-General Cromwell, con-

sisting of three brigades of foot commanded severally by Colonels Montagu, Russell, and Pickering."

In a fiery charge by Rupert both on front and flank "the brigades of Colonels Montagu, Russell, and Pickering especially distinguished themselves, standing when charged like a wall of brass, and letting fly small shot like hail upon the Royalists, and yet, as an old account assures us, not a man of their brigades was slain."

This brigade sustained a severe check at the second battle of Newbury on October 27, 1644, but on Naseby Field the Lord General's, Montagu's, and Pickering's regiments formed the right centre. Skippon's, Sir Hardress Waller's, and Pride's regiments formed the left centre. During the fight Sir H. Waller's regiment was broken by Prince Rupert. At the siege of Bridgewater, in July 1645, the regiments of Cromwell, Pickering, Montagu, Waller, Hammond and others attacked on the Somersetshire side, Lieut.-Colonel Hewson, of Pickering's, leading a forlorn hope. At Bristol, in the following September, the same regiments were to storm on both sides of Lawford Gate, and during the rest of the month they had simply marched from victory to victory. Colonel Montagu had raised his own regiment in 1643, took part in the storming of Lincoln, and distinguished himself at Marston Moor and Naseby. He is better known as the Earl of Sandwich, who brought over King Charles to England, and perished at the battle of Solebay in 1672. The officers of his regiment in 1647 were Lieut.-Colonel Grimes, Major Kelsey (since Major Rogers), Captains Blethen, Munney, Biscoe, Rogers, Wilks (slain at Basing, now Captain Cadwell), Thomas Disney, and Sanders. He was much influenced by Colonel Pickering in favour of the numerous lay preachers of his day, but changed his opinion on this point after Colonel Pickering's death. He disapproved of the King's execution, but held several important offices under the Commonwealth. In "A Narrative of the late Parliament (so-called)" we read as follows of Colonel Montagu and several others who played a prominent part at Basing :

"Colonel Montagu, as one of the Council, £1000 per annum; Commissioner of the Treasury, £1000; as General-at-Sea, £1095; in all, £3095 per annum.

"Sir Gilbert Pickering, as one of the Council, £1000 per annum: Chamberlain at Court, and Steward at Westminster.

Lord Lisle, as one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, £1000 per annum.

Sir Hardress Waller, as Major-General of the Army, £365; Colonel of Foot, £365; in all, £730 per annum, besides other advantages."

In a list of "Persons not thought meet to be in command, though they much desire it, and are of such poor principles and so unfit to make rulers of that they would not have been set with the dogs of the flock, as Job speaks in another case (Job xxx. 1), if the Army and others who pretended to be honest had kept close to their former good and honest principles," mention is made of "Colonel Jephson, a man of better principles than the former, but for his good service in voting for a King (Cromwell), is lately sent Ambassador to Sweden."

Colonel John Pickering was a man of small stature, "but of a great courage." The celebrated Hewson was his Lieut.-Colonel. The other officers of this regiment were, in 1647, Major Jubbs, Captains Axtel, Husbands (now Captain Grimes), Toppington, Carter, Silverwood, and Price. Of Colonel Pickering, Sir Samuel Luke, so satirised in *Hudibras*, thus writes to the Earl of Essex after the storming of Hillesdon House: "We had no officer killed or hurt, save only Colonel Pickering, and that only a little struck under the chin with a musket ball. But, thanks be to God, he was dressed before I came away, and was very merry and cheerful."

Sprigge has an anagram—"In God I reckon happines—Johannes Pickering," together with some bad verses on the death of Colonel Pickering, which was caused by an epidemic which scourged Fairfax's army at the close of the year 1645. Colonel Pickering was reckoned one of the bravest and best officers in the army, and his death was very generally deplored. Sir Hardress Waller, a cousin of Sir William, was concerned in the publication of the Army Manifesto in 1647, and two years later was one of the Regicides. At the Restoration he was brought to trial, and received sentence of death, but was not executed, and died in prison at Mont Orgueil Castle, Jersey, in 1666. The officers of his regiment were Lieut.-Colonel Cottesworth, Major Smith, Captains Howard, Wade, Ashe, Gorges, Clark, Thomas and Hodden. The three cavalry regiments were those of Colonels Hammond, Fleetwood, and Sheffield. Colonel Robert Hammond was the second son of Robert Hammond, Esq., of Chertsey, in Surrey, and was born in 1621. He spent three years at Oxford, but left without a degree. He has been well described as being "the nephew of two uncles," one of whom, Dr. Henry Hammond, was the favourite chaplain of the King, while the other, Thomas Hammond, had formerly commanded the 40th troop of horse, was now in 1645 Lieut.-General of the Ordnance in the service of the Parliament, and was afterwards one of the Regicides. Influenced by these two relatives, and by his wife, who was a daughter of John Hampden, Hammond's views were somewhat undecided. His uncle, Thomas Hammond, induced him to serve the Parliament in 1642, and obtained for him commissions, first as captain, and afterwards as major, under Colonel Edward Massie at the siege of Gloucester. He here killed Major Gray for giving him the lie, but was acquitted by a Council of War in the Lord General's army. He was wounded at the first battle of Newbury, and was "shot with a brace of bullets in the arm" at Bristol, in September 1645. He also took part in the second battle of Newbury, and greatly distinguished himself at Bristol. We shall hear more of him at Basing. Cromwell used to write to him as "Dear Robin." The officers of his regiment were, in 1647, Lieut.-Colonel Thomas Eure, Major Sanders, Captains Disney, Charn, Smith, John Boyce, Puckle, Stratton, and Rolfe.

Colonel Charles Fleetwood was the son of Sir William Fleetwood, cupbearer to Charles I., and comptroller of Woodstock Park. He was appointed Governor of Bristol after its surrender to Fairfax, in 1645, did good service as Lieut.-General of horse at Worcester fight, on September 3, 1651, commanded in Ireland, and married

Ireton's widow. He aided the Restoration, and died in 1692. When he became Governor of Bristol, Major Harrison succeeded him in command of his regiment, every trooper in which was armed with pistols. The other officers were, in 1647, Captains Coleman, Laughton, Zanchy, and Howard.

Here is a picture of Harrison and his troop in 1648: "Another troop of horse was in good order drawn up between Alresford and Farnham, by which His Majesty passed. It was to bring up the rear. In the head of it was the captain gallantly mounted and armed; a velvet monteir (cap) was on his head, a new buff coat upon his back, and a crimson silk scarf about his waist, richly fringed, who, as the King passed him by an easy pace as delighted to see men well horsed and armed, the captain gave the King a bow with his head all à soldade, which His Majesty requited." Asking who the officer was, and being informed that he was Major Harrison, "the King immediately turned round, and looked at him so long, and so attentively, that the major, confused, retired behind the troops to avoid his scrutiny. 'That man, said Charles, 'looks like a true soldier, I have some judgment on faces, and feel I have harboured wrong thoughts of him.'" Harrison escorted the King through Farnham and Bagshot to Windsor. He was afterwards one of the Regicides, and on April 20, 1653, said to Speaker Lenthall:

"Sir, I will lend you a hand" to leave the chair at the dissolution of the Rump Parliament, being as he was in command of "twenty or thirty" grim musketeers. A member of the Council of State, on November 1 of the same year, he was the leader of the Anabaptists and Fifth Monarchy men. Imprisoned by Cromwell, he was put to death at the Restoration. "Several times he cried out, as he was drawn along, that he suffered in the most glorious cause in the world;" and when a low wretch asked him "Where's your good old cause now?" he replied "Here it is!" clapping his hand on his heart, "and I am going to seal it with my blood!" He was cut down alive, his bowels torn out whilst he was alive, and then his quivering heart held up to the people! An heroic man in truth!

Colonel Thomas Sheffield was a younger son of the Earl of Mulgrave. His regiment was in 1644 composed as follows: Colonel Sheffield's troop, 11 officers and 84 troopers; Captain Sheffield's, 10 officers and 70 troopers; Captain Hagle's, 10 officers and 70 troopers; Captain Fynne's troop, 11 officers and 71 troopers; Captain Robotham's, 9 officers and 63 troopers; Captain Wogone's troop, 10 officers and 53 troopers. In all, 61 officers and 414 troopers. The officers of this regiment in 1647 were Colonel Thomas Sheffield, Major Findler, and Captains Robotham, Rainsborough, Martin, and Evelyn. Colonel Sheffield's standard bore the device of an armed horseman, with the motto "Deo Duce, Nil Desperandum." Colonel Sheffield died in October 1646.

Captain Richard Deane, who was afterwards killed in a naval engagement against the Dutch, was Comptroller of the Ordnance. (See his "Life," Longmans & Co., 1870). "Master Hugh Peters, Chaplain to the Train of Artillery," must not be

forgotten. He was "a man concerning whom," says Carlyle, "the reader has heard so many falsehoods." Born at Fowey, in Cornwall, he was publicly whipped and expelled from the University of Cambridge, and was obliged to leave England, having been prosecuted by a butcher in St. Sepulchre's parish for supplanting him in the affections of his wife. After some years spent in Holland and America, he returned to London in 1641, and became chaplain to Lord Brooke's regiment. He was the very pontiff of burlesque pulpiteers, and was indefatigable in stirring up the hatred of the soldiers against the King, whom he styled "Barabbas," comparing the army to Christ! In Ireland "he led a brigade against the rebels, and came off with honour and victory." He counselled the destruction of Stonehenge, said that the sword contained all the laws of England, and at Naseby rode from rank to rank "with a Bible in one hand and a pistol in the other," exhorting the men to do their duty. At the siege of Bridgewater he "improved the Sunday as much by Mars as Mercury." Clarendon calls him "the ungodly confessor," who contrived "the woeful tragedy" of the two Hothams. He was constantly employed to carry despatches announcing various victories. The Royalists called him "the ecclesiastical newsmonger." He had a few days before received £50 for bringing "the good news" of the surrender of Winchester. Here is a specimen of one of his sermons: "He took for his text, 'Bind your Kings with chains, and your nobles in fetters of iron.' Beloved, said he, this is the last Psalm but one, and the next Psalm hath six verses and twelve Hallelujahs—praise ye the Lord. And for what? Look into my text! There you have the reason for it. Because the Kings were bound in chains!" Such were the pulpit utterances of an Army Chaplain of the first class two centuries ago! Peters was one of the chief instigators of the execution of the King, which afterwards cost him his head on October 16, 1660. Some have said that he was one of the masked executioners of Charles I. The following epigram shows what the Cavaliers thought of him. Dunn was the public executioner.

Behold, the last and best edition
Of Hugh, the author of sedition,
So full of errors, 'twas not fit
To read, till Dunn corrected it,
And now 'tis perfect—ay, and more,
'Tis better bound than 'twas before.
Now loyalty may gladly sing,
Exit rebellion in a string;
And if you say, you say amiss,
Hugh now an Independent is!

But Dr. Gardiner speaks highly of Master Hugh. After suppressing the Clubmen near Winchester, Colonels Norton and Harrison joined Cromwell's brigade, and now let "Perfect Passages" of October 1 speak:

"Lieutenant-General Cromwell came before Winchester on the last Lord's Day

at night, and with him a party of horse and foot, viz., of horse his own regiment, Colonel Sheffield's regiment, Colonel Fleetwood's, and Colonel Norton's regiments, with some horse taken out of several other regiments to make them complete, 2000 horse; and of foot, Colonel Montague's regiment, Colonel Pickering's, and Colonel Waller's. Three regiments of foot."

Some of Colonel Okey's Dragoons were amongst the horse taken from other regiments. They had done the Parliament good service by lining Lantford hedges at Naseby Fight. Their officers were Colonel Okey, Major Moore, Captains Mercer, Abbotts, Farre, Bridge, Woggan, Shirmager, Captain Turpin (since Captain Neale). Colonel Okey was afterwards surrendered to the English Government, and executed in a most barbarous manner, the principal witness against him being a former chaplain to his regiment, named Downing.

Cromwell writes as follows "To the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Fairfax, General of the Parliament's Army, these:

"Winchester, 6th October, 1645.

"Sr,—I came to Winchester on the Lord's Day, the 28th of September, with Colonel Pickering, commanding his own, Colonel Montague's, and Sir Hardress Waller's regiments. After some dispute with the Governor, we entered the town."

As soon as he arrived, Cromwell wrote to Mr. William Longland, the Mayor, demanding admission into the city, and received a speedy answer:

"Sir,—I come not to this city but with a full resolution to save it and the Inhabitants thereof from ruine. I have comaunded the Souldyers upon payne of death that noe wrong bee done, wch I shall strictly observe, only I expect you give me entrance into the City, without necessitateing mee to force my way, wich yf I doe, then it will not be in my power to save you or it. I expect yor answeare wth in halfe an houre, and rest

"Your servant,

"Sept. 28th, 1645.

"OLIVER CROMWELL.

"Five o'clock at night. To the Mayor of the City of Winchester."

The answer to the said letter: "Sr,—I have received yor Letter by yor Trumpett, and in the behalf of the Citizens and Inhabitants return you hearty thanks for yor favourable expression therein. But wth all I am to signifie unto you that the delivry up of the City is not in my power, it being under the comand of the right hoble. the Lord Ogle, who hath the military Govermt. thereof. In the mean tyme I shall use my best endeavour with the Lord Ogle to perform the contents of yor letter concerning the City, and rest

"Your most humble servant,

"Winton, Sept. 28, 1645.

"WM. LONGLAND, Mayor."

The garrison was prepared for vigorous resistance. The "True Informer" stated on October 4, 1645, "The enemy disputed, the city being fortified as well as the Castle, but the gate being fired our men entered." The "Exact Journal" wrote on

October 7, "The city made some opposition, contrary to his expectation, but having fired the bridge he quickly found a means to enter and subdue it." Another writer says, "Wee'l now come to Winchester. When Lieut.-General Cromwell came before it he found the town fortified, and the enemy upon their works. Here was found short dispute before entred, yet not long, but the enemy was driven off, and fled to the Castle, which our men close begirt, and have sunk two mines, and began their batteries." The besiegers entered the city on the morning of Monday, September 29, "with the townsmen's consent we have cooped up in the Castle 120 horse and 400 foot, and all the malignant gentry and clergy of this Hampshire and Sussex, with many Papists and Jesuits. It is hoped the Parliament will give order these great delinquents shall trouble them no more!"

On Wednesday, October 1, 1645, we read, "This day by letters from Winchester we understand that at General Cromwell's first coming against Winchester, having notice that Doctor Kirl, Bishop of that diocese, was in the city, sent to him, and proffered that in respect to his cloth (if he pleased) he should have liberty to come out of the town, and he would protect him from violence; which the Bishop not accepting of, our men soon after forced their passage into the city, and the Bishop fled into the Castle, with the souldiers. The next day, when our battery was placed, the Bishop was so far awakened in his judgment by the thundering of the cannon that he sent a message to Lieut.-General Cromwell to this effect, 'That the Bishop was sorry that he had not accepted of Lieut.-General Cromwell's former proffer, and being better advised, did now desire the benefit thereof, &c.' Unto which answer was returned that he had refused the former proffer, and was gone with the soldiers into the Castle; he was not capable of that favour, and in case he were taken in the Castle he was to be esteemed a prisoner of war, and just now (the batteries being raised) be liable to such conditions as the rest of those that were in the Castle should be brought unto!"

The "Parliament's Post" thus moralises on Tuesday, October 7: "The Bishop, who had before a guard to secure his person (with certain conditions), is now like to partake amongst them in the common distress. There is but little happiness to be expected from late repentance!"

Hugh Peters, Cromwell's chaplain, reports that amongst the prisoners taken at Winchester were "also Dr. Curle, the Bishop of Winchester . . . and his chaplain, who were in their long gowns and cassocks." The Bishop and his clergy were referred to the mercy of the Parliament. Dr. Milner tells us that Bishop Curle retired unmolested, though he lost his whole income. He lived on the charity of friends, more especially that of his sister, at whose house at Soberton he died in 1650. "A reverend prelate, who resided amidst his flock, even in these days of danger and trouble, and quitted not his charge, until he was suffered no longer to continue in it."

Winchester Castle stood upon the site of the present barracks, and the County Hall, the pride of the shire, was formerly a portion of it. In the County Hall hangs

what is called "Arthur's Round Table," made of stout oak planks and perforated by many bullets, which are said to have been fired by Cromwell's soldiers. The picturesque West Gate is now the principal remnant of the ancient defences of the city, but until 1824 the picturesque ruins of the city wall, intermingled with shrubs and ash trees, claimed the attention of every stranger. Running directly north from the West Gate, it retained in many places its original height, the ruins of several turrets, and its copings of freestone. Beneath this wall was the ditch or fosse, which extended as far as the North Gate, under the palace of Henry II., and was originally a stew for the King's fish. The entire site is now covered with houses.

The weather as we shall presently see, favoured the besiegers, being unusually fine for the time of year. Cromwell writes: "I summoned the Castle; was denied, whereupon we fell to prepare batteries—which we could not perfect (some of our guns being out of order) until Friday following. Our battery was six guns, which being finished—after firing one round I sent in a second summons for a treaty, which was refused." Lord Ogle says that Cromwell had the best guns in Portsmouth, and that 60-pounder mortars threw sixty granadoes, doing much damage to the Castle.

"On Saturday last, October 4, Lieutenant-General Cromwell was in a posture of parlying with Colonel Ogle, for surrender of Winchester Castle, Lieutenant-General Cromwell having planted his mortar-piece and great cannon against the Castle, and one party at St. Thomas's going to the Minster and another at St. Lawrence, as also good strength on both the battle sides."

Hugh Peters says that "at the first Sir William Ogle, Governor of the Castle (lately made a Lord by his Majesty), refused upon summons to accept of any parly at all."

The following reply was returned to Cromwell's second summons to surrender:

"Sir,—I have received a sad summons, and desire that this enclosed may be conveyed from

"Your servant,

"Winston Castle, 4th October, 1645.

"OGLE."

"Sir,—Upon the opening of your sad message by your drum, there was a mistake between your men and mine, for there was a man making an escape from the Castle, at whom your men and mine did shoot, not knowing in the dark who he was, and the man is killed.

"OGLE."

The besiegers' batteries opened fire on the morning of Saturday, October 4, and ere long Sir Edward Ogle hauled down the red flag which had been hoisted as a token of defiance, "and a treaty was going on for surrender, but just in the nick of time came the convoy into Lieutenant-General Cromwell, from Reading, which the enemy seeing (having had a promise of reliefs) hung out the flag again and would not treat,

whereupon Lieut.-General Cromwell prepared to storm. Sir William Waller came to Winchester with the convoy, and was that night with the General."

Sunday, October 5, must have been an exciting day in Winchester. Says Hugh Peters: "The Lord's Day we spent in preaching and prayer, whilst our guns were battering." Other accounts say: "Thereupon our forces began to play with the cannon, and played six continually, one after another, as fast as they could charge and discharge, and made 200 cannon shot in one day against the Castle." The garrison were not idle, for, according to Hugh Peters, "The chiefest street of the town the enemy played upon, whereby divers passengers were wounded and some killed; in which street my quarters being, I have that cause to bless God for my preservation." Either upon the Saturday or the Sunday "a breach was made, the enemy sallied out, and beat us off from our guns, which were soon recovered again." Shell practice was evidently very effective on this eventful Sunday.

"The flag was hanged out on Sunday, 5th October instant, the enemy being confident that a party was come to relieve them; we threw granadoes into the House, which broke down the mansion house in many places, cutt off a Commissary of theirs by the thighs, the most austere and wretched instrument in that country, and at last blew up their flag of defiance into the air, and tore the pinnacle in pieces upon which it stood."

Hugh Peters' account is: "They threw in granadoes which did very much good execution; one of them broke into the great hall and killed three men, and another beate the red flag of defiance which the enemy had hung out all to pieces, so that none could discern what became of it."

"Summons was refused. . . . And another summons God sent them in the middle of our battery; his (Lord Ogle's) Lady (to whom our Lord General had given leave to come forth, and had gone some miles out of the town), died (going to Stoke Charity or Michelmersh probably); by whom the Governor had during her life one thousand pounds a year with her, lost by her death."

The end of all this artillery practice was that Lieutenant-General Cromwell "played hard against them with his great ordnance, and battered the House in many places, amongst the rest one breach (near the Black Tower) was so wide that thirty men might go in abreast, and then the enemy cried out, 'A parley, a parley, for the Lord's sake. O for God's sake grant a parley; articles, articles, O let us have articles, for God's sake; we will yield to any reasonable articles; will you not hear us for a parley?' Indeed, the guns played so fast, and the business was so well followed, that we could not well hear them, and they, perceiving what a strait they were in, and how the house began to tumble upon their heads, thought that we should presently enter, and that they should be all killed."

One account says that this request for a parley was made on Monday night, but Cromwell himself says: "We went on with our work, and made a breach in the wall near the Black Tower; which, after about 200 shot, we thought stormable; and

purposed on Monday morning to attempt it. On Sunday night, about ten of the clock, the Governor beat a parley, desiring to treat."

Mr. Francis Baigent, of Winchester, says: "The position of the tower designated the Black Tower is unknown. It could not have been the one at the back of the County Hall, as in an old lease I have seen it mentioned by another name. The Black Tower was probably one near the old drawbridge, or south of it." Mr. W. H. Jacob says that the Black Tower is "presumed to be the great round fort, the foundation of which lies under the earth near the old Friendly Society's offices," and that "the real artillery process was from some trenches at the north-west corner of the Arbour, where for years they were a noteworthy feature."

Lord Ogle thus requested a parley:

"SIR,—I have received formerly a letter from you, wherein you desire to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, to which you received my answer that I was as willing as yourself. But having received no reply (to advance) your desires, I have thought fit to desire a treaty whereby we might pitch up some means, both for the effecting of that, and the preservation of this place. And that I may receive your letter with all convenience, I desire that neither officer or soldier of your party may come off their guards, and I shall take the like course with mine.—Sir, I am,

"Your humble servant,

"Winton Castle, at eight at night,
October 5, 1645."

"OGLE.

"Mercurius Britannicus," September 29 to October 6, 1645, speaks thus:

"The two famous names of Fairfax and Massie united are a sure charm for victory. Put Cromwell in too, and then 'tis infallible. The people of Winchester know it well enough, and therefore they in the Castle cried a parley, and if that end not the difference, the next cry must be quarter."

Cromwell hereupon despatched Colonel Hammond and Major Harrison to draw up Articles of Surrender, with Sir Edward Ford, the Royalist High Sheriff of Sussex, Colonel Bennet, and a Major of the garrison (Sir John Paulet says Ogle). The whole night was spent in negotiations, the victors wishing to secure these three negotiators, styling Sir Edward Ford "a great plunderer." The following terms were agreed upon: Lord Ogle was to deliver the Castle with all the ordnance, arms, and ammunition therein to the appointed officers, "without any embezzlement, waste, or spoil," at 3 P.M. on Monday, October 6. That the Governor and other officers should march forth with their arms only. That Lord Ogle should have his own company "with colers flying and drums beating," 100 fixed arms for his own guard, and 100 men to guard them as far as Woodstock. Hostages were to be given for the safe return of this convoy. That all the common soldiers should depart without their arms. Lord Ogle and all commissioned officers to have safe conveyance with horses,

arms, and goods as far as Woodstock, six carriages being allowed them. There was to be an escort as far as "Tichburne," and a trumpet and pass afterwards. Dr. Curle, the Bishop of Winchester, and all the Cantory to be referred to the mercy of Parliament. All officers, gentlemen, clergymen, and inhabitants of the city of Winchester, and all officers within the guards, desiring it, may be, at their own time, free from all violence and injury of the Parliament's forces. And the Castle being Sir William Waller's, the Lieutenant-General delivered it into his possession by the Articles of Surrender, bearing date October 5.

"What remained of the Castle," says a modern writer, "was conferred by the Parliament upon Sir William Waller, one of their partisans and generals. He was also brother-in-law to Sir Henry Tichborne, its real owner, who was in it during the siege, whose other property as well as this they had previously confiscated. Either this Sir William, or his son of the same name, sold the hall to certain feoffees for the purpose of a public hall for the county of Hants, and the rest of the Castle to the Corporation of Winchester."

On one point both Puritans and Cavaliers quite agreed, viz., that the defence was not as vigorous as it might have been. The Castle was "very well garrisoned," says Guthrie. "It surrendered on easy conditions," according to Clarendon. Wood thinks that it "was treacherously given up," and it was "likewise delivered on composition" says "Rusticus."

Cromwell writes thus to General Fairfax :

"SIR,—This is the addition of another mercy. You see God is not weary in doing you good. I confess, Sir, His favour to you is as visible when He comes by His power upon the hearts of your enemies, making them quit places of strength to you, as when He gives courage to your soldiers to attempt hard things. His goodness in this is much to be acknowledged ; for the Castle was well manned with 680 horse and foot, there being near 200 gentlemen, officers, and their servants, well victualled with 15 cwt. of cheese, very great store of wheat and beer, near 20 barrels of powder, seven pieces of cannon ; the works were exceeding good and strong. It's very likely it would have cost much blood to have gained it by storm. We have not lost 10 men. This is repeated to you that God may have all the praise, for it's all His due. Sir, I rest your most humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL.

"Winchester, 6th October, 1645."

Lord Ogle (Add. MS. 27,402) says that the soldiers and some officers wanted a treaty, and told him that if he would not treat, they would treat without him. Sir John Pawlet told the officers that now news was brought that his lady was dead, Ogle was desperate, and with his unwillingness would sacrifice all their lives. "Thirty City soldiers did run away over the works in one night." Major Robert

Clark was sent with fifty soldiers to guard a breach (probably near the Black Tower) : "before day above 40 of them ran away." Sir Humphrey Bennett, and all the other officers, except the two Majors Clark, demanded a council, whereat they all, except the two Majors, Robert and Henry Clark, desired a treaty. A request for a treaty was drawn up, which Lord Ogle put in his pocket, on which Sir John Pawlet said, "My Lord, you are too hard for us"; to which Ogle made reply, "I am in sadness both for the treaty and for my lady's death!" John Jackman wrote to the Earl of Bath on October 21: "We have had a strong plot to procure all the garrisons in the King's possession to be betrayed, as diverse are, viz., the Devizes and Winchester, without even a bloody nose. I say nothing of Bristol and the rest." Ogle was exonerated from blame by a court-martial held at the Governor's Lodgings at Oxford on November 12, 1645.

Hugh Peters took mental notes of all that passed. He says: "I was forthwith sent into the Castle to take a view of it. . . . Where I found a piece of ground improved to the best advantage, for when we had entered by our battery (or breach) we had six distinct works and a drawbridge to pass through, so that it was doubtless a very strong piece, very well victualled. The Castle was manned with near 700 men, divers of them Reformadoes (officers whose regiments had been disbanded); the chief men I saw there were Viscount Ogle . . . Sir John Pawlet, an old souldier; Sir William Courtney, and Colonel Bennett, also Dr. Curle, the Bishop of Winchester, . . . and his chaplain, who were in their long gowns and cassocks."

"There were in the Castle 700 men, officers and common soldiers. There was a great wall where the breach was made, which our forces must have entered, and three works, each higher than the other, before they could have taken the Castle; and by the judgment of knowing and experienced soldiers, they had made it the strongest architect (*i.e.*, building) for that purpose, that the like is not in England; we lost not above two men in all the time of the playing so fiercely that day, nor about 12 or 14 in all the siege before it, which is to be lookt upon a great mercy." Cromwell promised 5s. to each foot soldier who was at the taking of the Castle.

The victors found plenty of ammunition and provisions. They secured "four great pieces of ordnance, three less pieces (eight or nine pieces of cannon), 17 barrels of powder, 2000 lb. weight of musket bullets, 800 cwt. of match, 700 muskets (500 fire-arms), 200 pikes, halberds, and other weapons, 200 pairs of bandoliers, 100 horses, 15,000 lb. weight of cheese, 800 lbs. of butter, either 40 or 148 quarters of wheat and meal, 7000 lbs. of biskets, 30 loads of wood, 40 quarters of charcoal, 30 bushels of sea-coal for the smith, four quarters of beef, ready killed, and much powdered, 38 hogsheads of beef and pork, 14 sheep, great store of (20 bushels) oatmeal, 10 tun (qrs.) of salt, three or four hogsheads of French wines, 112 hogsheads of strong beer, 70 dozen candles, with divers crucifixes and Popish pictures." The surrender was delayed by the revelry of the vanquished Cavaliers. "Our men were to enter at eight of the clock the next morning, but they could not take possession till two in

the afternoon, by reason the Governor and some of the officers, being unwilling to leave any wine behind them, had made themselves drunk." "700 men marched out of the Castle, and Viscount Ogle as drunk as a beggar." Hugh Peters said in the House of Commons: "Mr. Speaker, I cam from Winchester the last night late, but I had come sooner had not my Lord Ogle and his company been so unwilling to part with their sack and strong beer, of which they drank so liberally at their farewell that few of them, as it is their manner, could get up their horses without help, for the agreement was for their marching out at three o'clock, but it proved late through their debauchery."

Amongst the "700 men, divers of them Reformadoes," who marched out of the Castle, were Viscount Ogle, the Governor, Sir John Pawlet, an old soldier, Sir William Courtney, Colonel Bennet, and Dr. Curle, Bishop of Winchester, "who came forth to our quarters in the morning," and with whom Hugh Peters "spent an hour or two, who with tears and much importunity desired the Lieut.-General's favour to excuse his not accepting the offer which he made unto him at his first entering the town; he desired of me a guard to his lodgings, lest the soldiers should use violence to him and his Chaplain, who were in their long gowns and cassocks, and he was accordingly safely conveyed home." Some of the departing Cavaliers both at Winchester and at Longford House complained of having been plundered by the soldiers, contrary to the articles of surrender. Lord Ogle says that Captain Robotham, of Colonel Sheffield's regiment, commanded the 14 horse who formed the escort, but that all the carriages were "plundered near Worthy village by a strong party of Cromwell's horse, and the Major (Henry Clark, in command of the guard of 100 men) stript of his cloaths." The stolen property was restored to its owners, and six troopers were convicted of the robbery at Blandford. One to whose lot it fell was executed next morning at the head of the army. He died very penitently, and his execution made a deep impression on his comrades. The five others were marched under escort to Oxford, and there handed over to the Governor, Sir Thomas Glemham, who sent them back, "with an acknowledgment of the Lieut.-General's nobleness."

As the prisoners taken at Alton took service under Waller, and fought desperately against their former comrades at Arundel, so Cromwell gained recruits at Winchester. "There went forth of the Castle, besides officers, 600 common soldiers, most of whom either went to their own homes or took up arms for the Parliament, so that it is thought the Governor will not have above one hundred (200) with him by the time he comes to his place of rendezvous (Woodstock). It did much affect us to see what an enemy we had to deal with, who, themselves being judges, could not choose but say that their God is not as our God."

Cromwell at once despatched Mr. Spavin, the Lieut.-General's Secretary, and Hugh Peters, Minister to the Army, with despatches to London. Mr. Spavin, "the messenger that brought the good news, had £50 given him by the Commons. A very good work to reward all men that do service." Intelligence of the surrender

reached Fairfax at Lyme Regis in Dorsetshire. On his arrival at Westminster the Commons "forthwith called Mr. Peters into the House, who went in attended with the Serjeant-at-Arms with the mace before him, when the Speaker (Lenthall), giving him thanks for his unwearied labours in the preservation of this kingdom, and assuring him that the House took care for him who had so often brought them good tidings and hazarded himself so much, told him that he had liberty to speak freely what he had in command from the Lieut.-General. Mr. Peters spake in the House," and from his report many of the foregoing details have been gathered. He added: "The fruit of what is already done, amongst the rest what I saw upon the way: all sorts travelling freely upon their occasions to their own homes with carriages and wains, many inns filled with guests. The former face of things returning upon us in several kinds; yea, now we may ride with safety from Dover to the middle of Devonshire." Cromwell had ordered Peters to state certain facts, so "that you should be truly informed concerning the payment of the army, it being generally reported they are completely paid, and that army constantly enjoined to pay their quarters, in which there hath been much care taken, and by which much hath been gained upon the countries. It is most certain that of 21 weeks the horse are 12 weeks behind, and the foot have likewise their proportion of sorrow through want of pay. I know three score in one company lying sick by eating of raw roots and green apples through want of money to buy proper food." Peters wished a committee of each county to attend the army, in order to pay the soldiers from the assessment levied on the several shires.

Winchester being the 19th garrison taken that summer by the troops of Fairfax, "The Ecclesiastical Newsmonger" next asked for recruits, complaining that "when we have been promised and expected 4000, we have received but 900, and upon Friday last, when we were promised 3000, and did not expect less, we received but 1500." This latter reinforcement was before mentioned as the convoy brought from Reading to Winchester by Waller. "It may be easily conceived that such an active army needs be a great spender of men by sickness or otherwise, though blessed be God it appears at every siege the enemy's swords cut not off many. At this of Winchester, I know not of above two or three soldiers lost. Your recruits are so chargeable in the bringing to the army, that with half the money the officers would recruit themselves." Peters wished the strength of the army to be raised to 21,000, and spiritual provision to be made for the captured towns. "In this I am the bolder, because of the cries to me of the people in the places where I have been, and some of Winchester at my departure crying for help with them of Macedonia."

On October 14 Lieutenant-Colonel Philip Lower, who had so bravely repulsed Goring at Christchurch, was appointed Governor of Winchester while it remained a garrison for the Parliament. Terrible was the havoc committed in Winchester after the surrender. Large portions of the Castle and of the fortifications were blown up, and, according to local tradition, horses were stabled in the Cathedral, whilst soldiers

and others completed the destruction begun when Waller and Browne held sway in ancient Winton (pp. 46-50). The Regicide, Nicholas Love, son of Warden Love, and one of the six clerks in Chancery, is said to have done good service to the College during these troublous times, as well as Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes, erewhile Captain of the 40th Troop of Horse for the Parliament. Walcott records the gift to the soldiers of Colonel Fiennes, in 1643, of £29 5s. 6d., and he is also said to have placed a guard at the College gate. Warden Harris, who built the Infirmary, and who died on August 11, 1658, was described as being an orthodox divine and a fit person to be consulted by the Parliament about the reformation of Church government and the Liturgy. Having been ordered to preach before the House of Commons at St. Margaret's, Westminster, he excused himself on the ground of having a weak voice.

On October 18, 1645, the House of Commons ordered Waller and the Committee for Hants to consider "of the garrison and Castle of Winchester, and also of Woolsey House, and of Salisbury." They were also to decide upon the best place for a garrison in Hants, and to choose a Governor. The result of their deliberations is unrecorded, but Wolvesey Palace, which Leland describes as being "a castelle or Palace well tow'rd," speedily became the picturesque ruin which it has ever since remained.

Who that dwells by Itchen side knows not the great redoubt constructed by Lord Hopton (p. 174), but which bears for evermore the name of the great soldier who made himself master of Winton, "Oliver's Battery."

There is a record of the excluded Royalists of the Winchester Corporation in 1648, and amongst them as delinquents and in arms against the Parliament, Ferdinando Rye, John Harfield, Richard Dennett, John Colson, John Sevier, Alderman Longland, senr., Richard Brenton, Thos. South, Roger Corehame. Also in the Soke, John Brown, Wm. Fisher, and Bartholomew Smith were scheduled as Recusants or Roman Catholics (W. H. Jacob). Mr. Jacob also mentions the burial recorded in the St. Maurice register in 1691 of "Captain Wolfran, a trooper," and adds the following interesting particulars from and concerning this register: "Colonel Norton, old 'Noll's' friend, plundered Winchester, around which were thrown up fortifications, especially on the western and eastern sides, now obliterated, but which were traceable not many years ago in Oram's Arbour and St. Giles's Hill. The victory at Cheriton (March 29, 1644), disheartened the Royalists, and the works round Winchester were, save the Castle, not carefully watched, so that plundering and incursions of Round-heads were not infrequent, and in one such 'war's alarms' the following tragic incident occurred. It is written in the register of deaths, and become very faint, but is legible; moreover, some one has attached a transcript, so that the memory of the event may not be lost. The entry reads thus: 'Chas. Eburne was shot Decr. ye 9th, 1644, and dyed ye same night at Christopher Hussey's, Alderman of Winton, and also Mr. James Minjam and Richard Shoveler—all three were wounded in ye

Soake, near ye East Gate, and were buried ye next daye out of St. Maurice parishe by me, William Clun, ye rector, 1644.' Then follows an ejaculation not traceable in the original entry, 'væ malum belli civilis,' and well might they bewail the evil of civil war. Of Christopher Hussey there is a memento of his being a parishioner in the baptism of his daughter, Margery, on Sept. 23, 1610, five days after her birth, and in the entry he is described as 'then Major.' He was also Mayor in 1618 and 1631, and Chamberlain, 1657. Mr. Minjam, or Minjim, was a St. Maurice man, for there is a Jane Minjam in 1607. The year 1644 has also records of the deaths of Robert Wold, soldier; John Barber, a trooper; Henry Donnes, a trooper (horse soldier); William Okeley, a trooper; and in 1645 Richard Probert, private soldier, all doubtless of Sir W. Ogle's (Lord Ogle) garrison, with which he surrendered, in Sept. 1645, the Castle to Cromwell in the Mayoralty or Wm. Longland, and, to use Old Noll's expression, 'the addition of another mercy,' and a proof that 'God was not weary of doing good.'"

A tombstone in Compton churchyard bears the following inscription:

To the memory of Elizabeth and her child, the wife of Barnard Goldfinch, who died 15th September, 1683.

The Goldfinch family lived at Compton in the old Manor House for centuries. It is said that after the capture of Winchester in October 1645, some Roundhead troopers were quartered upon them. The visitors consented to spare a cask of ale which had been brewed for a christening, on condition that the expected child should, if a boy, be named Barnard, after the captain of the troop. Barnard Goldfinch might well be a family man in 1683. His initials may be seen in his old home.

CHAPTER XXX

BASING AND LANGFORD IN DANGER—SEVERITY RECOMMENDED—CROMWELL'S
ARRIVAL—TERRIBLE ODDS—A RECONNAISSANCE—BASING SUMMONED—
SUNDAY BOMBARDMENT—COLONEL HAMMOND TAKEN—THE FALL OF
BASING—KILLED, WOUNDED AND PRISONERS—A GOOD ENCOURAGEMENT
—PUBLIC THANKSGIVING

WHILST Cromwell was constructing batteries at Winchester Colonel Dalbier was vigorously attacking the New House at Basing, but we learn on October 4 that "Colonel D'Albere hath made a great breach in Basing House, and when forces come up as was promised, that he may block them up round, he will storm, the want whereof makes him think the task too hard." The "Parliament's Post" stated on October 7 that the besiegers were "within half musket shot of the breach which he hath made in the New House. His cannon play with restless importunity upon it, and he hath beaten down a great part of the house." The writer believed that the garrison would have surrendered before if they had not dreaded hard usage, being Roman Catholics. "Many of them, fearing the sad effect of a sudden storm, are stolen away, and are got into Wallingford Castle," then held by Sir Marmaduke Rawdon, "but it is not the stubbornness of them that stay, nor the fear of those that fly that can long preserve them." The journalist adds that having no hope of relief, the King's garrisons hoped that severe weather would "prove their best friend for the raising of the sieges, but the fairness of the weather conducing to the designs of the Parliament, the besieged do begin to apprehend that the war they manage is unrighteous, and that Heaven doth, therefore, fight against them as well as men." On October 7 it was reported to Parliament that Surrey had only furnished 155 men out of a promised contingent of 250; and that of 400 men from Sussex only 269 had joined Fairfax's army. £200 per week was now voted for the garrisons of Portsmouth and Southsea Castle.

The surrender of Winchester sealed the fate of Basing. From "Mercurius Civicus" we learn on October 8 that Cromwell had sent 800 men to reinforce

Dalbier, and that with the rest of his brigade he intended to march against Langford House, near Salisbury, and from thence to rejoin the army under Fairfax. Langford House had been already reported in London as besieged on September 25, and was falsely said on October 3 to have been taken. The "Moderate Intelligencer" said on October 7, "They say there will be wagers laid that Basing is taken before Langford. When both are taken then the way is open, and passage for trade clear, which is worth a little more than thanks." On October 9 the "True Informer" writes: "This day we understand the valiant little Colonel Pickering is set down before Langford House, belonging to the Earl of Coleraine, within four miles of Salisbury," and the next day brought another false report of the capture of this steadfast ally of Basing. The "Weekly Account," on October 8, confirms the expectation of reinforcements from Winchester at Basing. On October 9 it was ordered that there should be sent from Windsor Castle, to Chertsey Bridge, for service against Basing, "100 whole cannon shot of 63 lbs., 300 demicannon shot (English) of 32 lbs., 300 whole culverin shot of 18 lbs., 200 granado shells of 13 inches, 200 demiculverin shot of 9 lbs., 50 granado shells of 10 inches, and one great mortar piece," and on the same day "there went several carriages of ammunition and bullets, some of 63 pounds weight, for the supply of the forces that besiege that house." The "Kingdom's Weekly Post" knew on October 15 that there are "some great bullets gone unto Cromwell that are six and thirty pounds in weight." The garrison had either nine or ten guns of various sizes, two of them being the culverin (18 pr.) and the demiculverin (9 pr.) taken from Colonel Norton during the former siege. After the house was stormed "20 barrels of powder and match proportionable" remained unexpended.

The "City Scout" makes merry on October 9: "Bazing is now close blocked up, and the country hope to come no more to petition Dalbier to keep their sheep for them. Whilst he makes his approaches, Lieutenant-General Cromwell makes his batteries, and hopes to put the Lord Marquesse into the same posture that Bishop Curle was in at Winchester, and within a few days you will hear that the House is as broken as the citizens that are in it."

The courage of the besieged supported them under all difficulties, for we are told by the "Weekly Intelligencer" on October 14: "A day or two before Lieutenant-General Cromwell's setting down before Basing House, the enemy, being blockt only of one side, sallied out a good distance from the House, and fetcht in 45 cows out of a gentleman's grounds adjacent to the garrison. It is believed that the Roysters (Cavaliers) therein are well supplied with provisions, but the Lieutenant-General's intentions being to storm, it is hoped they will imitate their neighbours at Winchester Castle, and accept of fair termes in due time before it be too late, for that otherwise, many of that garrison being Papists, they are like to receive little favour from the besiegers."

The "Moderate Intelligencer," on October 9, recommends severity: "Several forces are going and gone to assist the siege of Basing, near 1000. If we get that, there is

good store of wealth in it. It were not amiss to hold that to hard meat ; it hath done so much mischief. One garrison dealt roundly with would fright the rest into a more sudden compliance. But to say truth, to begin and take a place, and all in a week, is not long work. They have one as skilfull at granadoes, who will make them fall at a near place according as desired." The "City Scout" wrote on October 11: "Lieut.-General Cromwell goes on hopefully and truly against Basing, and they within as resolute to stand it out to the last man; they are notable marksmen, and with their long pieces can take a man at half head, as one would kill a sparrow." The besieged stripped the lead from the roofs and turrets, and the Marchioness and her ladies cast it into bullets.

The "Scottish Dove," on October 10, was of opinion that Cromwell had not sent more than 100 men to reinforce Dalbier.

But now Cromwell himself came upon the scene. The manner of his arrival is thus described by "Mercurius Veridicus," on October 11: "The enemy being marcht away from Winchester, and Sir William Waller put into possession of his own Castle, it was agreed upon that we should march on Tuesday (October 7th) towards Basing, which we did accordingly, and came to Alford that night. (Alresford, six miles from Winchester. Colonel Norton's home was at the Old Manor House, where he was frequently visited by Cromwell.) The next morning, about eight, our forlorne hope came into Basingstoke (11 miles distance), and drawing all our forces into a body in the field betwixt Hackwood Park and Basingstoke, three regiments of foot and two of horse were sent through the town, and drew up on the hill by the highway that leadeth to Andover. The rest of our forces kept on the other side of the river, and drew up towards the House by the Park, and Dalbier remained on the other side, where he had placed his battery next to Bazing Town." It is said that Cromwell made use of the old camp of Winklebury Circle, between the South-Western Railway and Rook's Down, as a surveying station from whence to determine his best method of approach to the stubbornly defended fortress. Captain Richard Deane, Comptroller of the Ordnance, directed the artillery. "The great guns which Lieut.-General Cromwell brought with him were drawn up on the south-east side of the house."

The "Moderate Intelligencer" thus estimates the opposing forces on Monday, October 13: "They that write from Bazing say that Lieut.-General Cromwell makes the number now before it between six and seven thousand horse and foot; he brought with him five great guns, two of them demi-cannons (32-pounders), one whole cannon (63-pounder). The enemy within is counted 800 foot and 200 horse. Colonel Dalbiere is much gladdened at the Lieut.-General's coming, he wanting men and guns." The number of the garrison was in reality much nearer 300 than 1000! Only 300 against nearly 7000! Terrible odds, indeed. As we shall presently see, the defences required a force of from 800 to 1000 men. Many of the gallant 300 were only 18, and some scarcely 12 years of age; priests, clergymen, women, sick,

wounded, and helpless men were not wanting. It is marvellous that the place held out so long!

An attempt to relieve the garrison resulted in failure. Alas! gallant Colonel Gage was taking his rest in a soldier's grave, and Basing was left to her fate. Hear the "Weekly Intelligencer" on October 14: "They having now no hope of relief, either from His Majesty nor from Oxford. The Oxford Roysters lately drew forth a party, intended to attempt their relief, but upon second thoughts they considered the difficulties of the service, and went back again."

Things now began to look uncommonly serious, and to make matters worse, shells from Dalbier's batteries were far too plentiful. Colonel Ludlow says that Cromwell's batteries were placed on the eastern side of Basing House. One of his guns threw shot of 63 lbs. weight, and "whole cannons make wide breaches." As soon as Captain Deane had placed his mortars in position on the south-east side of the house he opened fire. One shell "brake in the Countesse of Winchester's lodgings, killed her waighting woman and her chamber-maid and some others, the Countess herself very narrowly escaping." To save her life, the Marchioness tried to escape before the besiegers had finally closed round the house on that eventful Wednesday, October 8. One account given by some deserters was to the effect that "she escaped quite out before the siege was close laid." Another version is that she was captured, duly exchanged, and then released. The "City Scout" says: "On Saturday, October 11th, they dealt ill with Cromwell to keep one of our men back, when the Marquise's Lady was released, but the lady was stayed till all was properly performed." Another account expressly states that she escaped on Wednesday, October 8.

"The name of Lieut.-General Cromwell was a terror to them; how much more will this unexpected presence be? This is a profest Popish garrison, wherein is good store of riches, and if the Marquis surrender not quickly, and we are put to storm, there is no doubt but our souldiers will venture well for it."

As soon as Cromwell had arrived he and Colonel Dalbier and the staff "rode round to view the house, to see how to plant the ordnance. A Cavalier of the garrison well mounted must needs peep out to see, and bid welcome our new supplies, which one of Cromwell's seeing, and not enduring to be star'd upon, rides up to him, pistols him in the neck, and brings off my gentleman and his horse. His body was buried, but not his clothes, for they were very good ones" ("Mod. Intelligr." Oct. 13th).

From the "City Scout" of October 11 and other sources we learn that Dalbier had made as good approaches, almost under their works, as the strength of his force permitted. The besiegers thought that the siege was protracted on religious grounds, as indeed it probably was. The "City Scout" on October 11 said: "I remember Winchester Castle was as strong a place as any in England, yet these being Papists, it may be will stand out longer," and the "Kingdom's Weekly Post" four days later, said: "We are certainly informed that there are many priests in Basing House, who

knowing how ill it would go with them if that place were taken, do persuade the defendants to persevere in their obstinacy, telling them that it is meritorious, and that if they die in the defence of that place they shall be numbered in the catalogue of martyrs." It did indeed fare ill with Roman Catholic priests when Cromwell and Hugh Peters held sway in ruined Basing.

The reconnoitring party reported that the enterprise was feasible, and forthwith Lieut.-General Cromwell began his preparations to open fire from his siege guns, which were planted against the S.E. portion of the house, raising several new forts and redoubts. "Colonel Dalbier continuing the battery which he had first begun on that side of the New House next the church. Our cannoneers showed some excellent skill, and lost few shot, and in the interim our horse and foot stood entire, only some few, without command, rode down to the very walls and gave fire upon the enemy." (Messengers' report to Parliament, October 14.) The cannon baskets or gabions were filling and the guns planting on Thursday and Friday, and by Saturday night everything was ready. The lines of circumvallation were, according to Hugh Peters, above a mile in compass, but another account says that their length was a mile and a half in circumference. The area held by the besieged was $14\frac{1}{2}$ acres. The garrison suffered daily losses by casualties and desertions, and on October 11 some deserters falsely reported that "Sir Robert Peake, the Governor thereof, sometime a stationer near Holborn Conduit," had been killed by a shot from Dalbier's guns. William Lilly, the celebrated astrologer, erroneously predicted that Basing House would be taken at 2.45 P.M. on September 11, 1645. His curious horoscope is still extant.

The "Moderate Intelligencer" stated, on October 13: "The house was summoned that (Saturday, Oct. 11) night, the Lieut.-Gen. sending them a sharp summons, telling them they had been evil neighbours; used the country people hardly; they were a nest of Romanists, and so of all others could worst make good their arms against Parliament, and therefore they must look for no mercy if they stood out to the utmost period, but all the severity that in a just way of arms might be made good." Hard words these, and met by a firm refusal to surrender.

The church parade on Sunday, October 12, must have been a remarkable sight. Hugh Peters was the preacher, but alas! we have lost his sermon! But there was other work done on that October Sunday. "The guns placed Sunday; we must have a breach or two before they will parley, and that's but reason, for other way they may stretch for it (*i.e.*, be hanged for cowardice). We had from Bazing that Cromwell's cannon had beaten down the drawbridge, and killed in one afternoon 15 men with our granadoes; they are resolved to storm this night (Oct. 13) if the former resolution hold."

Was this drawbridge situated on the opposite side of the Old House to the present entrance to the Citadel? Cromwell's guns were directed against the S.E. portion of the house, and traces of what may have been a drawbridge are still to be seen nearly opposite to the well on the outer edge of the moat. Let others decide this question.

The "Scottish Dove," on Friday, October 17, speaks strongly: "The taking of the late habitation of devilish men, the sinke of English abomination, called Bazing House."

"Being got very near the enemy's works, they made many shot all day on the Lord's Day. The battle is not to the strong always, for then that house had been invincible. They that have seen and viewed it say that it was a piece made as strong and defensible as nature and art could imagine." Men could no longer be spared to guard prisoners, and on the morning of Monday, October 13, a very dark and misty day, about 20 prisoners, all who were in the House, were duly exchanged. The besieged determined to make yet one more sortie. Without sound of trumpet, a party of horse rode quietly forth, possibly with a design to escape by cutting their way through the hostile ranks, and unexpectedly captured Colonel Hammond and Major King, who were riding from Basing village to inspect the cavalry posted on the opposite side of the House, and to visit Cromwell. Colonel Ludlow says: "It was suspected that Colonel Hammond, being related to the Earl of Essex, whose half-sister was married to the Marquis of Winchester, had suffered himself to be taken prisoner on design to serve the said Marquis." Let the "City Scout" finish the story: "Coming to one of our sentries on the back side towards the highway, Col. Hammond asked if all was well? He answered 'Yes,' so they rid on, but immediately there appeared a party of horse, who, it seems, had come out of Basing, but by reason of the fog they could not be discovered from whence they came, yet the careful centrey bade them stand. Colonel Hammond and Major King being gone by, with only two boys to wait upon them, and the sentry having asked who they were for, they answered 'For the Parliament,' but when they came near he knew them not to be friends, but of the House, and discharged upon them, and they made shot at him, and unhappily shot him in the back; yet still he made good the pass, but the enemy sending out some to wheel about, surprised Colonel Hammond and Major King, who knew them not, nor scarce saw them till they were within pistol shot, and rode towards them, conceiving them to be some of their own soldiers. They carried them as prisoners into Basing House." Proposals for exchange were at once made, but were as promptly refused by the Governor, "as is conceived thereby to make better terms in case he be constrained to parley, of which there's a probability, for the Castle is judged feasible upon viewing."

Without loss of time Cromwell wrote to the Governor, saying that "if any wrong or violence were offered to these men, the best in the house should not obtain quarter."

The "Kingdom's Weekly Post," October 15, says with truth: "You see what desperate fellows they are that will adventure forth upon a sally, when our forces have besieged it round, and no less a soldier than Lieut.-General Cromwell before it."

Some say that Colonel Hammond and Major King had no cause to complain of

their treatment at Basing. The newspaper just quoted says: "They are both well, there are some it is like may fare the better for the good respect which they did find in their short captivity." The "City Scout" (October 15) somewhat ungenerously remarks: "But, to speak truth, they used them well, for they have not neither stript nor plundered them, no not so much as took their rings from their fingers. But fear, not good will or modesty, kept them from it, and within few days they will be exchanged."

On the other hand, Cromwell's official report to Speaker Lenthall says that Colonel Hammond "was taken by a mistake whilst we lay before this garrison, whom God safely delivered to us, to our great joy, but to the loss of almost all he had, which the enemy took from him." The House of Commons on October 15 awarded him £200 as compensation for his loss at Basing.

All through that day of mist the cannonade continued, and "by Monday night our ordnance had done such execution, both on the part of the house, where Col. Dalbier placed his battery (his fire had been principally directed against the New House), and likewise where Lieut.-General Cromwell had placed his (on the S.E. side of the house), that our men might enter." One of Cromwell's largest guns broke, and became useless. And so the daylight faded, and the last day of the glories of Basing House came to an end.

Said Mr. Peters afterwards: "The old House had stood (as it is reported) two or three hundred years. A nest of idolatry, the New House, surpassing that in beauty and stateliness, and either of them fit to make an Emperor's Court. In truth the House stood in its full pride; and the enemy was persuaded that it would be the last piece of ground taken by the Parliament, because they had so often foiled our forces, which had formerly appeared before it." Peace to the ashes of what Heath's Chronicle styles "'this fortress of loyalty,' the place being called by that name, 'Love Loyalty' being written in every window of that spacious house. It was commonly called 'Basting House,' and that truly enough."

The tragedy is at last nearly played out. During the hours of darkness, Hugh Peters, quoted by Carlyle, draws aside the curtain, and gives us a glimpse of Cromwell's quarters. "The Commander of this brigade had spent much time with God in prayer the night before the storm; and seldom fights without some text of Scripture to support him. This time he rested upon that blessed word of God written in the 115th Psalm, 8th verse: 'They that make them are like unto them, so is every one that trusteth in them,' which, with some verses going before was now accomplished. 'Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy Name give glory; for thy mercy and for thy truth's sake. Wherefore should the Heathen say, Where is now their God? Our God is in the Heavens: He hath done whatsoever he hath pleased! Their idols are silver and gold; the work of men's hands. They have mouths, but they speak not; eyes have they, but they see not; they have ears, but they hear not; noses have they, but they smell not; they have hands, but they

handle not ; feet have they, but they walk not ; neither speak they through their throat ! They that make them are like unto them ; so is every one that trusteth in them ! ”

“ These words, awful as the words of very God, were in Oliver Cromwell’s heart that night ! ”

And yet, most strange to tell, above the west door of Basing Church may be seen by all passers by figures of the Virgin Mary and the Infant Jesus. We also note an inscription to the effect that the church was built “ to the praise of Christ and of Mary His Mother, by John Paulet, Knt., in the year of Our Lord 1519 ! ” Were these figures taken down during the troubles and afterwards replaced ? We wonder whether the house afterwards the “ Fleur de Lys,” at Basingstoke, was the scene of Cromwell’s stern midnight musings. Tradition has it that his head-quarters were there, but we know not of a certainty ! Another account says that the final council of war was held in a cottage on the left of the London road near Mapledurwell. Not much sleep was there for Parliament soldiers that night. “ Tuesday morning, about two o’clock, our forces, having agreed upon a storm before, prepared for the work. The great silence for some hours before and the great duty they within had been put upon caused them to fall to some repose, which was to us advantageous ! ” The last sleep in this world of many a brave Cavalier. Rumour tells us that whilst some of the guard were slumbering on “ the swet banckes,” as guard beds were called, others were deep in the mysteries of cards. “ Clubs are trumps as when Basing House was taken,” is a well-known Hampshire phrase. If such were the case, the push of pike and shot of pistol speedily ended both the game and the players !

The several posts of the various storming parties had been previously settled. Colonel Dalbier, who was styled “ the long besieger,” was to be on the north side of the House next the Grange, little Colonel Pickering, with his regiment of blue coats, on his left hand. Woodward places Hartopp’s regiment next in order, but Cromwell’s official letter makes no mention of this corps. Sir Hardress Waller’s regiment of black coats came next, whilst Colonel Montagu’s blue regiment was on the extreme left. The appointed signal for falling on was the firing of four cannon, which boomed suddenly out on the October air just at daybreak, as the church clock struck six. The stormers advanced “ with great resolution and cheerfulness, and with undaunted courage got over the enemy’s works, entered the breaches, and possessed part of the new house and the court betwixt that and the old house. It is affirmed we lost but one man e’er we got within their works.”

The stormers are also said to have entered by two great breaches, one made by Dalbier being on the side towards Basing, the other on the side towards the Park.

“ Mercurius Civicus ” says : “ Tuesday morning, about five of the clock, our forces began to storm the new house adjoining to Basing House, which they took after a hot dispute between them and the enemy, to whom upon the gaining of it no quarter was given.” “ Who first entered is uncertain, and to name were to disparage as

worthy ; all parts were entered, both by the Lord General's party and Colonel Dalbier's. One letter saith that some of those who had been longest before the place (Dalbier's men) gave back upon a hot charge, yet the other parties getting further ground, they came on again " (*"Moderate Intelligencer,"* October 15).

Cromwell says that Colonel Pickering stormed the New House. The scene is thus graphically described : "Immediately the dreadful battery began the great guns discharged their cholerick errand with great execution ; many wide breaches were made in an instant, and the besieged immediately marshalled themselves, and stood like a new wall to defend those breaches ; our men in full bodies and with great resolution came on. The dispute was long and sharp, the enemy, for aught I can learn, desired no quarter, and I believe that they had but little offered them. You must remember what they were. They were most of them Papists, therefore our musquets and our swords did show but little compassion, and the House being at length subdued did now satisfy for her treason and rebellion by the blood of the offenders " (*The "Kingdome's Weekly Post,"* October 15).

But as yet only a portion of the New House had been taken, together with "the court betwixt that and the Old House, where the enemy had lain a train of powder, which they blew up ; the quantity was thought to be about three barrels, but, blessed be God, it did not much annoy us." Colonel Hammond, however, stated in the House of Commons that "the enemy blew up no mine, as was at first reported, only one of our men was killed by a barrel of powder which accidentally blew up."

"This being done, our men slid in at the windows, and encompassed the New House round, for the enemy were fled thither ; then they in the House threw hand grenades at our men in the court, but we made our passage into the House among them, and by force of arms quenched their rage." Hand grenades have been discovered during the progress of the excavations. Cromwell says that it was Colonel Pickering who "passed through and got the gates of the Old House." Another account said "first we took the New House, the Old House being then all of a flame."

After gaining possession of the New House, Colonel Pickering attacked the Old House, or citadel. Here again he met with a desperate resistance. "They in the Old House hung out some black ensigns of defiance, and set fire on a bridge over which our men were to pass, disputing the passage at sword's point, and the rest in the house threw out grenades amongst our men, whereby many of them were killed " (*"Mer. Civicus"*).

Hugh Peters informs us that these ensigns of defiance were four in number. The bridge on which this fierce struggle took place seems to have been the archway brought to light some time since in front of the entrance to the citadel, for it was in gaining "the gate of the Old House" that this burning bridge had to be crossed.

"This great work (the storming of the New House) being done, the batteries were forthwith made against the Old House, and our men, flushed with taking of the

New House, were more eager and resolute to subdue the Old. The great ordnance having torn down all before them, and made many breaches, our men did enter them. There the besieged showed incredible boldness, for although they knew that it was impossible for them to subsist, yet they fought it out to the last, and disputed every entry and pass with the edge of the sword, being all resolved to die, and as any of them fell their seconds, with infinite boldness, adventured to revenge their fellows' death. This made our men far more resolute, who, not minding their desperate fury, cried out 'Down with the Papists,' and by this means there were few of them left who were not put to the sword" ("Kingdome's Weekly Post," Oct. 15).

Cromwell makes no mention of the success of Dalbier's attack, which makes it the more probable that, as already mentioned, he was unable to force an entrance until the other storming parties had gained at any rate a partial success, although one account says that his men and Cromwell's entered simultaneously.

The Gatehouse of the Old House being taken, Colonel Pickering "put those within to a parley, but the fight was hot, and the noise great; the souldiers could not hear!" Cromwell says plainly, "whereupon they summoned a parley, which our men *would* not hear!"

In the meantime Colonel Montagu and Sir Hardress Waller, to whom Dugdale (Short View) gives the credit of the capture, with their respective parties were busily engaged. They attacked "the strongest work, where the enemy kept his Court of Guard" or main guard. Court of Guard is probably a corruption of the French "Corps de Garde," and about this time mention is made of a "Corps du Gard" near Heddington Hill in Oxfordshire. Judging from the position assigned to the regiments of Sir H. Waller and Colonel Montagu this work must have been situated on the side near the park. The attack was made in force, and proved completely successful. The defenders were, after a desperate resistance, obliged to retire from that important post, leaving behind them a whole culverin, or 18-pounder, perhaps that formerly taken from Colonel Norton. Emboldened by success the assailants drew up their scaling ladders after them, and having previously captured another portion of the defences, tried to enter the Old House or citadel. This was no easy task, since the moat was at least 36 feet deep, and on the inner side there was a parapet four feet in height, in addition to other defences. In spite of all the efforts of the garrison, the Old House was entered as the New House had been shortly before. "At last our men came on with such courage that they entered the Old House too, crying 'Fall on, fall on; all is our own.'" ("Mercurius Civicus.") "In this Sir Hardress Waller performing his duty with honour and diligence, was shot in the arm, but not dangerously." (Cromwell's letter.) A newspaper writer says that the Cavaliers intended the wound to be *mortal*, but that it would render him *immortal*. Cromwell and Dalbier's guns meanwhile kept up a heavy fire. Here is an honourable testimony from an enemy. Colonel Montagu and Sir H. Waller "take all, with the gallant Marquess, honourable, and an honest, faithful subject to the

interest and cause he always undertook, and showed himself a noble enemy, and, therefore, Cromwell treats him kindly."

One account says that "the whole storm from beginning to end was not above three-quarters of an hour," and "Mercurius Civicus" states that "the Old House was taken at 7.30 A.M., the attack having commenced about 5.0 A.M." Colonel Hammond informed the House of Commons that "the storm was violent for two hours."

Thus was Cromwell enabled to thank God that he could "give a good account of Basing," and the Cavaliers, surrounded and hemmed in on all sides, found that further resistance would be but vain. Many refused or could not obtain quarter, some succeeded in escaping, whilst other fugitives less fortunate were overtaken and cut down. Cromwell says, "We have had little loss; many of the enemy our men put to the sword, and some officers of quality." Some accounts say that all in the garrison were either killed or taken, and one writer states, "The number of slain and taken are yet doubtful; some say we have lost but 40 men, some say we have killed 300 of the enemy, some say more." On the side of the Parliament Captain Wilks was killed during the assault.

"The number slain on our side and theirs is variously reported; those we most credit say some 10 of ours and 100 of theirs." ("Moderate Intelligencer," October 15.)

"October the 14th Basing House was taken by storm, the defendants not having a sufficient number within to man the works. Their noble Marquess of Winchester, that had so long and gallantly defended that his own house, was here taken prisoner with about 200 others, and at least 100 of the defendants slain, many whereof in cold blood, not without some loss to the assailants." ("Mercurius Rusticus.")

Colonel Hammond reported that "We lost not above 40 in the first storm, and not many more afterwards, nor any officers of note."

The number of the garrison was variously estimated at 600 common soldiers, besides many officers, at 800 and 300.

Hugh Peters spoke as follows: "We know not how to give a just account of the persons that were within. The works many, though not finished, and of too great a compass for so few men to keep, Sir Robert Peake swearing that they had but 300 fighting men in all."

Those slain on the side of the garrison were "Lieut.-Colonel Wiborn, Major Robinson, Major Cuffle, and in view about 74 others." Hugh Peters said: "It may be, we have found 100 slain—whose bodies, some being covered with rubbish, came not at once to our view. Among those that we saw slain, one of their officers lying on the ground, seeming so exceeding tall, was measured; and from his great toe to his crown was *nine feet* in length." *Est il possible?*

"Some soldiers were eager to plunder, otherwise there had hardly any in the place scapt with life. The soldiers or others that were in the house, seeing our men come, to save their lives would bring them to chambers where there was a good

store of riches; others minded not booty, but fell upon them and killed many." ("Moderate Intelligencer," Oct. 15.)

Hugh Peters further remarked, "In the several rooms and about the house there were slain 74, and only one woman." Sprigge says that only 40 men were killed.

The "Moderate Intelligencer" adds, "The two prisoners of ours, Colonel Hammond and Major King, were courted in this sad condition of the enemy more than a great Court favourite: one crying 'Sir, save me,' another 'Me.' The Marquis kept close to the Colonel; it's thought all had bin put to the sword but for these men's sakes of ours."

Colonel Hammond stated that divers Jesuits were amongst the slain, and six Roman Catholic priests were also put to the sword. The Sherfield-on-Loddon burial register has the following entry: "1645. Mr. Amias Preston, slaine att Basinge Siege. Buried Octob. 16."

Major Robinson "was in Drury Lane a comedian, but here he acted his own tragedy." Colonel Hammond styles him, "one Robinson, son to the Clowne at Blackfriars Playhouse, and the Marquesse's Major." "The Marquesse's Major Robinson, the Player's son, who a little before the storm was known to be mocking and scorning the Parliament and our army." He was shot by fanatical Major Harrison "as he was getting over the works," or, according to another account, "in cold blood, after he had laid down his arms, with the words, 'Cursed is he that doeth the Lord's work negligently.'" Yet another writer says, "Robinson the Fool slain as he was turning and acting like a player."

Player Robinson was probably a relation of "William Robinson, a Papist, Surgeon to the Lord Marquisse of Winchester," who was taken prisoner at Odiham in the preceding year.

Major Cuffand (called also Cuffle, Cuff, and Cuffles) had in the previous siege been in charge of the works facing the Park. "Divers that laboured to escape were slain, among others one Major Cuff," says the "Moderate Intelligencer," and "there lay dead upon the ground, Major Cuffle, a man of great account amongst them, and a notorious Papist; slain by the hands of Major Harrison, that godly and gallant gentleman," according to Hugh Peters.

The prisoners were numerous. "Most of the rest we have prisoners, amongst whom the Marquis of Winchester himself, and Sir Robert Peake, with divers other officers, whom I have ordered to be sent up to you," are the words of Cromwell. "About 200 other prisoners, some of note," says a journalist, 400 says Heath, and "we have not quite 300 prisoners" reports Hugh Peters. The Marquis of Winchester, Sir Robert Peake, Inigo Jones, Wenceslaus Hollar, and Faithorne, Dr. Griffith, and four Roman Catholic priests were all taken. One statement makes the number of prisoners 180 men and 20 gentlewomen. The Marquis kept close to Colonel Hammond, who at length disarmed him, taking away his sword, "yet spared his life by reason he had before been used civilly. He (the Marquis) was afterwards

stripped by our soldiers." "Yea, a soldier would needs change clokes with the Marquis of Winchester!"

A satirical pamphlet, published ten days after the house was taken, speaks thus: "What served the religious and mighty Lord and Master for? Could he invoke none of the saints? It is wonder, for the man was very serious at his devotion, no Pharisee, I'll assure you, for he was found numbering his beads very privately in an oven!"

That "reverend Dragoon," Hugh Peters, was always equally ready either for sword exercise or religious controversy, and, according to his custom, he began "a large dispute" with the Marquis, but the brave old soldier "broke out and said 'That if the King had no more ground in England but Basing House, he would adventure as he did, and so maintain it to the uttermost, comforting himself in this disaster that Basing House was called Loyalty.'" Mr. Peters wished also to discuss the question as to whether the King or the Parliament had right on their side. He seems to have considered that he gained an easy victory in this argument, the Marquis probably having no particular inclination for debate at such a time. But neither threats nor persuasion could shake his loyalty to his King.

"He was soon silenced in the question concerning the King and Parliament, and could only hope 'That the King might have a day again.'" What a glorious picture of

A steadfast English Cavalier
All of the olden time.

"And thus," says Peters, "the Lord was pleased in a few hours to show us what mortal seed all earthly glory grows upon, and how just and righteous the ways of God are, who takes sinners in their own snares, and lifteth up the hands of His despised people. This is now the twentieth garrison that hath been taken in this summer by this army, and I believe most of them the answers of the prayers, and trophies of the faith, of some of God's servants."

Journalists and pamphleteers made merry at the expense of Sir Robert Peake, who had formerly lived as a neighbour to Hugh Peters in the parish of St. Sepulchre's. "The Governour, now a poor Knight, scarce so rich as when he sold picture babies for children, neer Holbern Conduit" (*Moderate Intelligencer*). "The Wise Marquis of Winchester, Robert Peake, a new Knight, but an old ballad seller, of Snow Hill, London." Though he is styled "a poor Knight," he had plate to the value of £500 at Basing. To save his life he gave to Colonel Hammond, or, according to another statement, threw to a soldier, the key of his chamber, saying that they would there find riches enough. But other plunderers had already broken open the door and taken all. One of them "first laid his hands on a bag of £300 in gold, a good purchase for one." Sir R. Peake lost his "box of jewels, rings, and bracelets, and a box of graven brass plates," he being a skilful engraver (p. 94).

Wenceslaus Hollar was captured, but escaped, and Faithorne, his artist friend and comrade, was also in safe keeping.

"Inigo Jones, the famous surveyor and great enemy to St. Gregory, the great builder, the King's surveyor and contriver of scenes for the Queen's dancing barn," was amongst the prisoners. "He was gotten thither for help to the House. He was an excellent architector to build, but no engineer to pull down." The west door of Basing Church is said to have been designed by him. He "was carried away in a blanket, having lost his clothes," which had probably been "borrowed" by one of Cromwell's troopers. Poor Inigo was 72 years of age.

The Rev. Dr. Griffith, or Griffin, was also taken. On October 24, 1642, mention is made of "Master Griffith, a minister, parson of St. Mary Magdalinn, Ould Fish-street, London, has been a long time very malignant against the Parliament, and preached of late divers seditious sermons full of invective and bitter language against the Parliament." Prince Rupert's Declaration in 1643 says: "Have they not by imprisonment or threats muzzled the mouths of the most grave and learned preachers of London, witness Dr. Featley, Dr. Hayward, Dr. Holdsworth, Master Shute, Master Squire, Master Griffith, for so I am informed these men are, because they preach that which their conscience tells them is the known truth."

Dr. Griffith had his share of troubles during these warlike days. He is thus spoken of in "A General Bill of Mortality of the Clergy of London, printed against St. Bartholomew's Day, 1661 (*"Harleian Miscellany,"* vol. vii. p. 183): "St. Maudlin's, Old Fish-street, Dr. Griffith, sequestered, plundered, and imprisoned in Newgate, whence being let out, he was forced to fly, and since imprisoned again in Peterhouse." Dr. Griffith was said to be the author of this list of persecuted clergy. The Journals of the House of Lords supply further details on March 3, 1643: "Whereas Matthew Griffith, Rector of St. Mary Magdalin's, Old Fish-street, London, doth usually in his sermons endeavour to corrupt and pervert his parishioners and auditory by inveighing against the taking up arms in the present cause, in aid and defence of the Parliament, and against the bringing in of plate, horses, and money for that purpose, with great vehemency affirming them to be idolaters, rebels, and bewitched, and set on work by the Devil; and that they who should be our law-givers (land-givers) and preservers have taken the King's crown from his head. That we have now no King in Israel, and that they have crowned him with thorns and rendered him contemptible to his people. And in his pulpit likewise usually scoffs at the public faith of the kingdom, and under the name of sectaries declaring against the Parliament for taking away episcopacy, which he affirms to be an ordinance of God, and the lands and revenues belonging to the prelates as a devouring of things consecrated to holy use. To the stirring and fomenting of seditious divisions and mutinies in the said City of London, hindering of the public defence of the kingdom, scandal of religion and of his profession, and dishonour of God." Sequestrators of the living were therefore appointed, and

"Ithiell Smart, M.A., a godly, learned, and orthodox divine," was appointed "to preach every Lord's Day, and to officiate as parson, &c." Dr. Griffith was classed with "four other Popish priests," but was also spoken of as "a Godly divine, Protestant, for protection mixed with some Popish priests' profession." He was likewise "that Dr. Griffin or Griffith, that was for divers years the Diana of Dunstan's in the West," and "Dr. Griffin, some time of St. Dunstan's in the West, late of Old Fish-street."

His "three handsome daughters" accompanied him to Basing. The "Moderate Intelligencer" tells us that during the assault "divers women were wounded, who hung upon the soldiers to keep them from killing their friends. Of these women it's two of Dr. Griffin's daughters adventured very far without any hurt. Only their old father, was dangerously wounded, if not mortal." Small wonder was it that one of "the handsome daughters, a gallant gentlewoman, fell a railing upon our soldiers at their entrance, calling them Roundheads and rebels to the King." This "provoked our soldiers, then in heat, into a further passion, whereupon one of our soldiers cut her on the head" and slew her, the only woman among so many men! Heath calls her "a virgin, Dr. Griffith's daughter, whom the enemy shamefully left naked." Her father had been made a D.D. of Oxford, and a Royal chaplain on June 16, 1643. He was four times imprisoned, but continued to minister by stealth to Cavaliers. He was much excited and joyful at the Restoration, and died in the pulpit at his church of Bladon, Oxfordshire, on October 14, 1665, exactly twenty years to a day after the sack of Basing, which he doubtless never forgot. He was in his sixty-eighth year.

Hugh Peters says that there were in the house hiding-places for priests, but "there were four Roman Catholic priests beside, who were plundered of their vestments, and themselves reserved for the gallows" ("Moderate Intelligencer"). Hugh Peters stated that there were taken "four Popish clergy priests," whom "Mercurius Veridicus" calls "four more old Reformation priests." The "History of the Stuarts" (vol. i.), published in 1730, says that among the slain at Basing were "one Major Castle, a notorious Papist, killed by Harrison. Major Cufand, Captain Wyburn, Captain Rigby, Popish officers, were slain, as also their Popish volunteers—Mr. Salvine, Mr. Bowles, Mr. Stonor."

The ladies in the house received but scant courtesy. Hugh Peters admits that "eight or nine gentlewomen of rank, running forth together, were entertained by the common soldiers somewhat coarsely; yet not uncivilly, considering the action in hand," adding, "They left them with some clothes upon them," whilst "Mercurius Veridicus" makes mention of "the ladies' wardrobe, which furnished many of the soldiers' wives with gowns and petticoats." A hundred gentlewomen's rich gowns and petticoats were among the spoil.

Sorry treatment this from English soldiers for ladies, some of whom had just seen their nearest and dearest slain before their eyes!

Some of the garrison escaped, as we learn from the "Scottish Dove," October 17.

"There were some soldiers that made escape out of Basing, and many that hid themselves in holes not found till afterward." There were also about 100 horse taken. The "Perfect Diurnall," on October 20, asserts that 200 steeds were here secured, whilst Sprigge says that their number was but 80. Some of the garrison who were in hiding, finding that smoke and flames were invading their retreat, came forth and surrendered themselves; but terrible indeed was the doom of their comrades. Hugh Peters says: "Riding to the house to Tuesday night we heard divers crying in vaults for quarter, but our men could neither come to them nor they to us." A truly hard fate for such valiant soldiers. The number of those slain and burnt is said to have been 300.

Having overpowered all resistance, Cromwell and his men began to estimate the value of the rich prize which they had secured, and speedily found that it was fully equal to their highest expectations. Oliver's letter to Speaker Lenthall says: "We have taken about ten pieces of ordnance, with much ammunition, and our soldiers a good encouragement."

This "encouragement" consisted of provisions, rich furniture, jewels, and plate, estimated to be worth at least £200,000, and which, considering the difference in the value of money, would be worth far more at the present time.

The number of the captured guns is variously given as seven, nine, 10, and 11. The much ammunition consisted of "20 barrels of powder, with match proportionable, and good store of bullets." Colonel Hammond said that "600 firearms, 100 pikes, and 100 halberds were taken." Sprigge says 500 arms, and the "Perfect Diurnall," on October 2, gave "2000 arms as the number secured. Nine colours, and either 400 or 500 bandoliers were likewise taken." Hugh Peters found abundance, both in cellar and storehouse. He said "the rooms before the storm in both houses were all completely furnished; provisions for some years, rather than months, 400 quarters of wheat, bacon, divers rooms full containing hundreds of fitches, cheese proportionable; with oatmeal, beef, pork, beer—divers cellars full—and that very good. There was a bed in one room furnished, which cost £1300. There were Popish books many, with copes and such utensils." Much wine, and many hogsheads of beer filled the cellars. The aforesaid fitches of bacon were 300 in number, the cheese weighed 40,000 lbs., and there were 200 barrels of beef. All this "afforded the soldiers gallant pillage." One hundred bags of malt, many firkins of butter, numerous crucifixes, Popish pictures and books, together with six copes and many friars' coats and girdles, formed part of the spoil. The beds, clothes, and goods, which filled 1000 chests, trunks, and boxes, were estimated to be worth £8000, the Marquis's cabinet and jewels £50,000, and that belonging to Sir Robert Peake £500. "One soldier found £300 in a hole, and another had 120 pieces of gold for his share. The finder of the £300 profited but little. Not able to keep his own counsel, it grew to be common pillage amongst the rest, and to make sport with this raw soldier, his comrades pillaged him by piecemeal to an half-crown coin." Some had plate, others

jewels, for "the wealth of Basing House was of greater value than any single garrison could be imagined, in money, plate, jewels, household stuff, and riches. One bed valued at £1400, and so orderly under rate of others." There was taken "£4000 in money, as was judged," and four cabinets of jewels were burnt. All that sad Tuesday (October 14) the plunder of the soldiers continued.

The news of the capture soon spread, and a crowd speedily assembled from Basingstoke and the neighbouring villages. The Parliamentary troopers were anxious to turn their booty into money, and offered to sell the 400 quarters of wheat which they had found in the granaries. The farmers began to chaffer with them, hoping to obtain good bargains. But they soon found that they had to deal with men who knew how to take care of their own interests. No wheat could be purchased except at high prices, and it was not until the soldiers knew that they must march towards the west on the 16th that they consented to lower their demands. "The soldiers sold the wheat to country people, which they held up at good rates awhile, but afterwards the market fell, and there were some abatements for haste. After that they sold the household stuff, whereof there was a good store, and the country loaded away many carts; and they continued a great while fetching out all manner of household stuff, till they had fetched out all the stools, chairs, and other lumber, all of which they sold to the country people by piecemeal."

"Mercurius Veridicus" tells us "Plunder in abundance, both plate, hangings, and other goods sold exceedingly cheap; the noise whereof caused one hundred hackney horse this morning to be hired in London for brokers to go purchase upon if the fair be not past. This frustrates the last hope of the Royalists, and will break their heart."

All this plunder and spoliation went on in Christian England under the name of Religion! But, as if the cup of misery and desolation was not already full to overflowing, a cry arose amongst these busy plunderers and bargainers of "Fire, fire, fire!"

During the assault some fire-balls had been thrown by the besiegers, and one of them had been only partially extinguished by the garrison. It continued to smoulder, and towards evening clouds of smoke and red tongues of flame proclaimed that the hours of stately Basing House were numbered. The great beams were burnt through one by one, and dropped with a crash into the fiery gulf below, bringing down oaken floors and panelled ceilings with them in their fall. The beautiful windows, each bearing the motto "Ayez Loyauté" ("Love Loyalty") were cracked and melted by the intense heat, whilst the roofs rained molten lead in showers.

Oliver's men thought only of saving all they could for their own advantage, and the result was, "In all these great buildings there was not one iron bar left in all the windows (save only what were on fire) before night. And the last work of all was the lead; and by Wednesday morning they had hardly left one gutter about the house, and what the soldiers left the fire took hold on, which made more than

ordinary haste, leaving nothing but bare walls and chimneys in less than twenty hours—being occasioned by the neglect of the enemy in not quenching a fire-ball at first." (Hugh Peters' report.)

And, sickening to relate, many of the garrison were being slowly suffocated or burnt to death meanwhile in the vaults below, into which the flames penetrated, as the charred oaken kerbs of the cellar steps gave proof!

"Of the fate of the plunder, said to have exceeded £200,000 in value, little is known. Mrs. Cromwell, the Protector's wife, is said to have had a voracious appetite for such 'pretty things,' as well as for Westphalia hams and similar articles with which 'the middle sort' presented her; and many of the Marquis's treasures are reported to have found their way to her hands." (Murray's "Handbook for Hampshire.")

During the Civil War more than 2000 men are said to have fallen in and around Loyalty House. Whilst the spoilers were plundering the burning mansion "the Marquis of Winchester and Sir Robert Peake were carried to the Bell at Basingstoke." Until a few years ago this was the place of detention for prisoners awaiting trial. It contained a strong room, diagonally planked, with a massive door and ponderous lock. The fact that such important prisoners were in custody almost immediately opposite adds probability to the tradition that Cromwell lodged at the Fleur de Lys, on the site of which now stands the Falcon House.

On Tuesday, October 14, Phineas Pain and W. Parker, both messengers to Lieutenant-Colonel Roe, scoutmaster of the City of London, reached Westminster in succession, with information for the House that Basing had been taken at about six or seven o'clock that morning by storm. The messengers were both called into the House, and related certain particulars of the assault, saying "that at their coming away the storm was ended, and our men possessed of all." The three messengers, two from Basing, and one from General Fairfax, were granted £20 to divide between them.

On Wednesday, October 15, arrived Hugh Peters and Colonel Hammond, the latter of whom was the bearer of Cromwell's letter to Speaker Lenthall. "Colonel Hammond, who was taken prisoner, came this day unto the House of Commons, and made a more full relation of the taking of Basing House." He was promised £200 towards his losses. Hugh Peters was also called in, was requested "to make a relation to the House of Commons," and presented to the House the Marquis's own colours, which he brought from Basing, the motto of which was "Donec pax redeat terris," ("Until peace return to the earth"), the same as King Charles gave upon his Coronation money when he came to the Crown.

The bringing of these despatches from Basing was soon afterwards worth £200 per annum to Mr. Peters!

A contemporary writer thus describes another mission of the "soldier's parson" of the same nature. "That Spiritual Newesmonger, Master Peters, the Lecturer, is

come to Westminster from the Earl of Essex with such a stock of newes that on Thursday last it cost the Lower Members two full hours to hear it once over, though his fingers, eyes, and nostrils helped his tongue to dispatch." A man of action, evidently! In "The Sale of Rebellion's Household Stuff," he is thus referred to:

Here's Dick Cromwell's protectorship,
And here are Lambert's commissions;
And here is Hugh Peters his scrip,
Crammed full of tumultuous petitions!

He was one of those preachers whom Bishop Corbet, in his ballad of "The Distracted Puritan," describes as saying:

In the holy tongue of Canaan,
I placed my chiefest pleasure,
"Till I pricked my foot,
With an Hebrew root,
That I bled beyond all measure.

The thanks of the House of Commons were voted to Lieutenant-General Cromwell on October 15, the day after the final assault, and his letter to the Speaker was ordered to be read in all pulpits. It was further ordered "that on the next Lord's Day (October 19) public thanks be given to Almighty God for His great mercies and blessings upon the Parliament's forces under Lieutenant-General Cromwell and Colonel Dalbeere in taking Winchester Castle and Basing House, in all churches and chapels of London and Westminster, and within the lines of communication." The capture of Chepstow was likewise remembered on this day of thanksgiving. But whilst London was jubilant, Oxford mourned the fate of Basing House, as we learn from "Mercurius Veridicus" "when he (the post) told them (in Oxford) that Basing was taken there was presently almost as bad a cry as when they heard of the loss of Bristol. And thus the poor ignorant people bemoaned the matter as if they had lost their gods, in which doleful condition we leave them." Such was the "sack of Basing House." It soon became the picturesque ruin which it has ever since remained, but it still bears the proud title of Loyalty House, and as long as any feeling of chivalry and of respect for the mighty heroes of the past who jeopardized their lives in the high places of the field "for God, for the cause, for the Church, for the laws, for Charles, King of England, and for Rupert of the Rhine," aye, and for the Parliament as well—for there were good, gallant, and noble men engaged on both sides of that most mighty struggle—as long as any such feeling dwells in English hearts, so long

With weeping and with laughter,
Still shall the tale be told

of those who quitted themselves like men when "Rupert's call" rang cheerily out, and when

Spur and sword " was the battle word,
And we made their helmets ring !
Shouting like madmen all the while
For God and for the King!

but who frankly admitted of " the foemen worthy of their steel " that

When the roaring shot poured thick and fast
They were steadfast men and true !

Basing House was never rebuilt, although Sir Balthazar Gerbier, the architect, was anxious to revive its glories, the Marquises of Winchester preferring their stately homes at Hackwood and Abbotstone. Small wonder that after all its vicissitudes, Basing Church was left to desolation and ruin when the war-storm at last rolled away from our county, and that on April 28, 1664, a certificate was sent up " To the Right Hon. Edward, Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of England." This document stated that the Hampshire Justices, being assembled in Quarter Sessions in the Castle at Winchester, upon the date aforesaid, had found " that at the time of the seidge of Basing House and other times during the late unhappy warres, the church of Basing was demolished, the seates and pulpit burned, the bells and other ornaments thereof plundered and taken away, and the parishioners thereof, to the utmost of their abilities, have contributed to the repaire thereof, to the expense of £300 and upwards, but the charges of what is left undone, we are informed, doth amount unto £1500, and the parishioners there, having at the present no place to assemble together, for divine worship, and are not able of themselves without the aid of charitable and well disposed persons further to rebuild the same. And wee doe also hereby certify unto your Lordship that Henry Knight, of Reading, in the county of Berks, bellfounder; John Ackland, of Elsfield; Matthew Upton, of Basing, carpenter; John Vidler and Richard Barnard, of Basingstoke, bricklayers; and Samuel Ventris, of Reading, plumber, able men, have herein set before us, taken their oaths, that the damage amounts to £1500, besides the £300 raised and expended by the parishioners." A Brief was accordingly sent throughout England and read in all parish churches, for the relief and restoration of desolate Basing Church. Many of our Hampshire parishes possess fine collections of Briefs. I am sure that the Vicar of Basing would gladly welcome an account of any Briefs about his church. How successful were the efforts of the true-hearted parishioners of Basing, when aided by the open-handed charity of their countrymen, who looked upon Basing church as having been a gallant sufferer in the Royal cause, every visitor can see for himself. We are grateful alike for their self-denial, and to that genial antiquary, who is known to, and is equally respected by all men, Mr. W. H. Jacob, who unearthed this interesting certificate.

The following additional extracts from " The History of Basingstoke " are interesting. In the churchwardens' accounts for St. Michael's Church, Basingstoke,

we have particulars with respect to materials brought from Basing House for the repairs of the church, as the House of Commons had, on October 15, 1645, issued an order for the demolition of Basing House, "and that whoever fetches away the materials shall have them for their pains."

"Paid Thomas Arnold for taking down 4000 tiles at Bazing 10s., and for two days' work for his man to help load tiles at Bazing, 20d."

"1647. Received for one of the Lord Marquess's groom's knell, 1s."

In 1648 we read "Paid to Barnard Hawtrell for his fee in gaining of our money (i.e., £100) given by the Committee, £5."

In the inventory of church goods made in April, 1650, we find this entry: "Church goods taken by force away. One silver chalice with a cover by the Parliamentary forces, and robbed by thieves in the night of one green velvet pulpit cloth given by Mrs. Hatfield, one green velvet cushion given by Robert Walker, a satin cloth for the pulpit, a cloth of chamlet, two carpets for the communion table, one of silk and the other of tustaffety, a case of silk taffety, and a surplice."

"1659. Paid the ringers when Richard, Lord Protector, was proclaimed, 2s. 6d."

CHAPTER XXXI

BASING HOUSE DEMOLISHED—CROMWELL'S DEPARTURE—THE CAPTIVE MARQUIS—LANGFORD HOUSE SURRENDERS—SATIRICAL PAMPHLETS—CONFISCATED ESTATES—SUBSEQUENT EVENTS—THE KING AT CARISBROOKE—ROYALIST RISINGS—THE CAPTIVE MONARCH—ARCHIVES OF WINCHESTER—SOUTHAMPTON AND PORTSMOUTH AFFAIRS—THE RESTORATION—DEATH OF THE "LOYAL MARQUIS"

CROMWELL strongly urged the demolition of all that had escaped the fury of the spoilers and the flames, saying, "I humbly offer unto you (the Speaker) to have this place utterly slighted (*i.e.*, pulled down) for these following reasons: It will ask about 800 men to manage it; it is no frontier; the country is poor about it; the place exceedingly ruined by our batteries of mortar pieces, and by a fire which fell upon the place since our taking it."

Another writer wonders that the defence was so long protracted, as not less than 1000 men were necessary to hold the position. The neighbourhood is "not worth the defence, nor able to support a garrison." All honour to the brave little garrison who fought so long and well.

Cromwell added: "If you please to take the garrison at Farnham, some out of Chichester, and a good part of the foot which were here under Dalbier, and to make a strong quarter at Newbury with three or four troops of horse, I dare be confident it would not only be a curb to Dennington (Donnington Castle, near Newbury), but a security and a frontier to all these parts; inasmuch as Newbury lies upon the river (Kennet), and will prevent any incursion from Dennington, Wallingford, and Farringdon into these parts, and by lying there will make the trade most secure between London and Bristol for all carriages. And I believe the gentlemen of Sussex and Hampshire will with more cheerfulness contribute to maintain a garrison on the frontier than in their bowels, which will have less safety in it." Chichester was, in fact, disgarrisoned on March 2, 1646.

Donnington Castle had long been the stout ally of Basing. Sir Marmaduke

Rawdon, sometime Lieutenant-Governor of Basing House, was in command at Farringdon, and Wallingford was the last Royalist garrison that surrendered in Berkshire. Cromwell states that he is about to march westward with all speed on the morrow, and asks for recruits, and pay for his army. He concludes his tale of bloodshed and ruin with these words: "The Lord grant that these mercies may be acknowledged with all thankfulness. God exceedingly abounds in his goodness to us, and will not be weary until righteousness and peace meet; and until He hath brought forth a glorious work for the happiness of this poor kingdom. Wherein desires to serve God and you, with a faithful hand, your most humble servant, OLIVER CROMWELL." What he asked was done.

In the Journals of the House of Commons we find the following entries:

"15th October, 1645.—Resolved, that the house, garrison, and walls at Basing be forthwith slighted and demolished."

"Resolved, that this House doth declare that whosoever will fetch away any stone, brick, or other materials of Basing House shall have the same for his or their pains."

Of course, when permission had been thus authoritatively given, the ruins were not long in being carted away. The fortifications at Farnham Castle were on October 16 ordered to be "slighted." The Committee of Surrey was on the same day ordered to convoy £20,000 from Kingston-on-Thames to Portsmouth, whence it was to be shipped to the army of Fairfax. The forty horse employed were to receive £50 for their services.

It was also decided that orders should be at once sent to Cromwell to attack Donnington Castle. The despatch reached him late that evening at Basing, when all preparations had been made for the morrow's westward march, and he altered not his purpose. The Committee for Hants and Dalbier were directed to co-operate with Cromwell against Donnington, and to decide what portion of Cromwell and Dalbier's forces should be left to protect Hampshire. On October 18 a letter was read in the House from the Committee for Hants, recommending the placing of a garrison at Newbury, as a check upon Donnington Castle, and on the same day it was ordered "That the Marquis of Winchester be forthwith sent a prisoner to the Tower." Action was forthwith taken, and the Marquis, in company with Sir Robert Peake and about sixty other prisoners, was sent up from Basingstoke to London under guard, in the custody of "Captain Terry, who is a person reported to have done many good services," and who on reporting his arrival in London was ordered to receive from the Sheriff of Hants £50, wherewith to buy two good horses. Captain Terry probably belonged to a family long resident at Dummer. On the 25th of April, 1646, he is described as "Captain Terry, of Surrey." The prisoners reached London in the evening hours of Sunday, October 19. The Marquis and Sir Robert Peake, were lodged at the "Swan" inn in the Strand ("Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer"), and on the following day the House of Lords gave order:

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long columns of the Ironsides marched away from ruined Basing to join General Fairfax at Tiverton. A march of twenty miles brought them to Wallop, where the infantry halted for the night, but Cromwell, having sent off a despatch to Fairfax, made a forced march with the cavalry to Langford House, near Salisbury, where Lieut.-General Pell still held out for the King. On the 17th a summons to surrender was sent to the garrison, and "fair and equal conditions" were speedily agreed upon, Lieut.-Colonel Hewson and Major Kelsey being deputed to act for Cromwell. The garrison marched forth at noon on October 18, delivering up all arms and ammunition uninjured. The "Weekly Account" and the "Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer" both describe the surrender. The former says that the garrison consisted of 100 men with "good store of ammunition and victuall, but they had no Ordnance mounted." 300 arms, four barrels of powder, bullet, match, and much provision were found in the house, of which Major Ludlow was now appointed Governor. The commanders-in-chief were to march out with horses and arms, other gentlemen, not more than fourteen in number, might march out with swords, pistols, and horses, if they should lawfully possess them, but the soldiers were to march out without arms. The commanders-in-chief were to be allowed a cart or waggon to convey their property to Oxford, ten days being allowed for the march thither under convoy for the first day's march of a troop of horse, and afterwards of a trumpet and pass. Any gentlemen might have passes for other Royal garrisons besides Oxford. Property left in the garrison was to be restored to its owners if demanded within two days. Lieutenant-Colonel Bowles and Major Fry were to remain as hostages for the execution of this agreement. Lieut.-Colonel Hewson (Colonel Pickering, according to the "Weekly Account"), who reported the surrender in London, got £50 to buy two good horses. Basing and Langford had fallen, but Donnington Castle was not surrendered until April 1, 1646. For details of the siege see Mr. Money's "Two Battles of Newbury."

On October 18, 1645, the House of Commons appointed Thos. Bettesworth, jun., as High Sheriff of Hants, and to command the horse raised in the county, and four days afterwards a letter was read from Mr. William Cawley, of Chichester, complaining of the difficulty of raising local funds and recruits for the army of Fairfax. On October 24 Sussex was ordered to provide men for the garrison with the county, and to send 200 foot to Donnington Castle as previously ordered. Hants was to furnish 500 foot and 200 horse, Surrey 100 foot and 80 horse, and the force was to muster at Basingstoke on October 28. On November 7 the same county was ordered to lend a troop of horse and 200 foot to Major-General Browne, at Abingdon, the Parliament undertaking to pay them. Hampshire was also ordered to at once pay the arrears due for service in Hants to the Kentish Dragoons, who were ordered to march to Abingdon. Sir Henry Wallop, M.P. for Hants, died in October 1645, and most of the members of Royalist sympathies within the county were about this time disabled from sitting in Parliament. Richard Jervoise, Esq., M.P. for Whitechurch, died during this month. The Committees for Hants and Wilts were ordered, on

December 23, 1645, to arrest and return to their regiments all soldiers coming from the army without licence. Fairfax's army, when marching to besiege Oxford, came from Salisbury to Andover on April 25, 1646, and proceeded to Newbury after a halt of two days. On March 2, 1646, an order was given "that the ordnance at Chichester be brought to Arundel Castle, that Chichester be disgarrisoned, and the fortifications made since the troubles demolished."

A pamphlet was published in London on October 24, 1645, entitled "A Looking Glass for the Popish Garrisons, as held forth in the life and death of Basing House, &c." It speaks of "the tall walls, bulwarks, and ports that were cast up by the foreign engineer," says that the garrison could make the devil afraid, but could not make Cromwell bow, and that Lord Winchester was taken whilst "numbering his beads very privately in an oven." It taunts the garrison with the loss of all their contribution money and plunder, and says "the nest is now pulled down, the den is committed to the mercy of the fire; there is scarce one stone left upon another." A satirical writer drew up pretended articles of impeachment for high treason against Sir Robert Peake, in the name of the Attorney-General.

The first charge was that he had wilfully betrayed Basing House, "having the fear of nobody but General Cromwell before his eyes." The second charge was that he "with an intention to weaken the King's most excellent irreligious army, did betray into the hands of the rebellious enemy the lives of many of His Catholic subjects, who very like hath neither been at prayer nor confession these seven years." The third charge was that he traitorously surrendered many of the King's "serviceable soldiers, and the best affected men in all his garrisons, who have faithfully served his Majesty this long time without pay, and carried themselves very honestly towards the country. They never plundered any man of more than he had, robbed nobody but friends and foes; were never drunk but when they could get strong liquor; scarce one word in three was an oath with them, though they were in extream passion, or upon any extraordinary occasion whatsoever; they were ever ready to sally upon the least occasion, when the enemy was the farthest off; and, to speak the truth, I think they would never have yielded had they been sure that the garrison would never have been stormed; these men being so serviceable, loyal, and valiant, have been betrayed and delivered up into the hands of the enemy by the said Sir Robert Peake, as aforesaid." Lastly, that he had given up money, plate, arms, &c., "necessarily raised for the deluding of His Majesty, defence of his Catholic Council, maintenance of Popery, and subversion and ruin of the ancient laws and liberties of this kingdom." On these grounds the writer ironically prays that the accused may be sent to Oxford for trial. Sir Robert Peake was after a time released, and was succeeded in his business as an engraver and printseller by his younger brother. In the year 1662 William Faithorne dedicated to him "The Art of Graving and Etching, wherein is expressed the way of Graving on Copper," &c. Mr. Money says that his name "is attached to many prints and other engravings now rare. He

died in July 1667, and was buried with great military pomp in St. Sepulchre's Church, Holborn." He had long been a resident in the parish of St. Sepulchre.

The Marchioness of Winchester, who, by her presence and earnest solicitations at Oxford, had brought about the relief of Basing by Colonel Gage, and who had herself helped to cast the lead from the turrets into bullets, could not expect to escape, sister to the Earl of Essex though she was, and accordingly we find the following entry: "Friday, 9th Jan., 1646. To let them (the House of Commons) understand that the Lady Marquess of Winchester is restrained by the Committee of Examinations, and that this House (besides she being a Peeress of this Realm) gave her a pass to come to this town; and this House have now thought fit to commit her to the Gentleman Usher of the House, and desires that she may be delivered unto him accordingly." The pass referred to had been asked for by Lord Winchester on November 11, 1645. He stated that he was in want of many comforts in the Tower, it being winter, and he being "for the present somewhat infirm," and asked that his wife may come to town, bringing with her some servants and certain necessaries. The pass was granted, as above mentioned.

The 15th of January discloses a sad state of things. The Marquis in the Tower, "having nothing to feed him but what his keeper voluntarily gives him," is by the Lords recommended to the House of Commons for an allowance out of his own estate, "that he may not starve." All his broad lands had lain under a sentence of confiscation ever since October 18, 1643, since which date a charge of high treason had also been hanging over him. It was further ordered on January 31, 1646, "that Mr. Lisle do bring in an ordinance for the full granting unto and settling upon Lieutenant-General Cromwell and his heirs the manors of Abberston and Itchell, with the rights, members, and appurtenances thereof, in the county of Southampton, being the lands of John, Marquis of Winchester, a delinquent that hath been in arms against the Parliament, and a Papist." In the lands round Basing House it was gradually found that the Marquis had only a life interest. Abberston and Itchell are respectively Abbotstone and Itchen Stoke. These only could be realised towards the £2500 per annum promised to be settled on Lieutenant-General Cromwell. "On January 7, 1646-7, the remainder of the £2500 was ordered to be provided from the Marquis of Winchester's lands in general, which in a fortnight more was found to be impossible." Cromwell and Lieutenant-Colonel Joyce quarrelled about Fawley Park.

For Cromwell's management of these lands see Carlyle's "Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell."

On September 25, 1646, the estates of the Marquis of Winchester were ordered by the House of Commons to be sold for the purpose just mentioned.

On April 3, 1649, a Sessional order was passed to stop damage from being done by unlicensed persons in the woods of the Marquis near Basingstoke.

On September 14, 1649, Sir Thomas Jervoise, Kt., was awarded by Parliament

£9000 out of the Marquis of Winchester's estate, Sir Thomas having lost £15,000 principally through the Marquis during the war. Peter Weaver, gentleman, got £1500 as compensation for losses and imprisonment by the Marquis. Robert Wallopp, Esq., had £10,000 from the estate of the Marquis, he having lost £50,000.

On November 9, 1646, it is a satisfaction to find that Edward Lord Pawlett, brother of the Marquis "who designed to betray Basing House to Sir William Waller, is in such great want that he prays relief out of his brother's estate."

Released from the Tower, the "loyal" Marquis retired to the Continent to wait for better days.

William Faithorne, the father of the English school of engraving, and the pupil of Sir Robert Peake, with whom he worked for three or four years, and under whom he served at Basing, seems from his portrait, engraved by himself, to have worn long hair after the most approved Cavalier fashion. After the destruction of Basing House he was imprisoned in Aldersgate, where he was soon busy with his graver. Released by the interest of friends, he went to France until 1650, when he returned to England, married, and opened a shop without Temple Bar. He sold engravings, worked for the booksellers, especially for Mr. William Peake, a brother of his old master, became wealthy, and died in May 1691. ("Chalmers' Biograph. Dict.")

Hollar escaped to Antwerp, but on the death of his patron the Earl of Arundel returned to England. The Restoration benefited him not, and a mission to Tangier only earned for him £100 and the barren title of the King's Iconographer. A conscientious, painstaking artist was he, for more than fifty years, engraving not less than 24,000 plates. He was a good man, but his life was one long struggle for bread, and he died beseeching the bailiffs not to remove him to any other prison than the grave. ("Book of Days," vol. i. p. 432.)

Inigo Jones continued to design buildings and to theorise on the origin of Stonehenge until June 21, 1653, when he died at the age of eighty.

"Solid" Colonel Ludlow was afterwards Deputy of Ireland, and married Ireton's widow, but strongly opposed the Protectorate of Cromwell. At the Restoration he owed his escape to the Continent to his old friend Colonel Morley, and reached Lausanne, where he narrowly escaped assassination by Cavalier emissaries. Mr. William Cawley, of Chichester, died abroad, and the Duke of York seized his estates. Dr. Fuller, sometime Chaplain to the Forces at Basing House, remained at Exeter until the city surrendered in April 1646. He had his share of the troubles of the time, and was silenced in 1647, but became Rector of Waltham Abbey in the following year. Dying on August 15, 1661, he was followed to the grave by more than 200 clergymen. Colonel Richard Norton, "Idle Dick," lived to receive many a letter and visit at Alresford from his old friend Oliver. He was Governor of Portsmouth, and on April 13, 1647, it was "Resolved that there shall be no officer within any garrison above the rank of captain, but only the Governor." The Governor of Portsmouth was to receive 12s. per diem as Governor and 8s. as Captain, making in all £1. From

another entry it seems that the 8s. was drawn by the Governor of Portsmouth as "Captain of Southsea Castle." The Governors of Carisbrooke and Calshot Castles received 12s. and 5s. per diem respectively. Colonel Norton sat in the Little, or Barebones' Parliament, and was elected a member of the Council of State in the same year. He "dwindled ultimately into Royalism." Colonel Harvey, his comrade and ally in the first attacks upon Basing (if he be identical with "the poore silk man, now Colonel"), got the Bishop of London's house and manor at Fulham. For a time only!

Sir Marmaduke Rawdon defended Faringdon as successfully as he had done Basing House. Murray's handbook for Berkshire says that his tomb is in the nave of the church, but the Rev. H. Barne, Vicar of Faringdon, said, "there is no extant monument of Sir Marmaduke Rawdon in Faringdon church as far as I can ascertain. There is a tradition that there was one; but I apprehend that when the church was restored in 1854 it was effaced!" Sir William Waller was one of the forty-one Presbyterian members "purged out by Colonel Pride, and was imprisoned by the Independent party. He survived the Restoration, and died at Osterley Park, Middlesex, on Sept. 19, 1668." Sir Richard Onslowe, Kt., "of the old stamp, a gentleman of Surrey, of good parts and a considerable revenue," successfully weathered the tempests of the period. Purged out by Pride, he afterwards raised and led a Surrey regiment to Worcester fight in 1653. He spoke strongly in favour of Cromwell's becoming King, but was afterwards a member of the Convention Parliament which restored Charles II. to the throne. The history of Cromwell all men know. Colonel Dalbier took Donnington Castle, friendly to Basing, on April 1, 1646, and in the following year was ordered to bring in a list of persons willing to serve the Parliament, but in 1648 he joined the Royalist insurgents under Lord Holland, wishing to be revenged on the army, which some officers "despised for their ill-breeding and much preaching." The insurrection was speedily crushed, and at an inn at St. Neot's, in Huntingdonshire, Dalbier was hacked in pieces, "so angry were the soldiers at him." There was a Berkshire tradition in 1759 that Dalbier was invulnerable, and that cannon balls were seen to rebound from his body! His head was struck off and exposed to public view. Sir Balthazar Gerbier, in 1663, congratulated Lord Winchester "that Dalbier is no more (nor a prince of the air, save the carcase of his head on a pole), drawing lines of circumvallation about your seats."

Lord Goring was brought to trial before the High Court of Justice in 1648-1649, and was found guilty of treason. In the House of Commons the numbers for and against his execution were equal, but Speaker Lenthall's casting vote saved the prisoner's life.

The Cuffand (Cufford) family were long famous for their attachment to the House of Stuart, and one of the family refused in 1715 to take the oath of allegiance to George I.

Into the story of the residence in Hampshire of Richard Cromwell, who married Miss Dorothy Major, of Hursley, we have not space to enter, nor does it come within our province. For full details see Carlyle's "Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell," "Duthy's Sketches of Hampshire," &c. One who knew him says, "He was a very good neighbourly man while he lived with us at Hursley." He rode hunting in a tie-wig, and in 1654 took part in the marriage of two of the parishioners of Eling.

The loyal High Sheriff of Sussex, Sir Edward Ford, had married the sister of the Parliamentary General Ireton. Dying in Ireland in 1670, his body was brought over to his native parish of Harting, in Sussex, for burial.

Sir Robert Wallop, of Hurstbourne, was one of the King's Judges. He was at the Restoration attainted of high treason, and sentenced to be deprived of his gentility and imprisoned for life. This sentence was put in force in January 1662. His lands were forfeited by Act of Parliament, and placed in trust to the Earl of Southampton, for Sir Robert Wallop, his wife, and children. Old Sir Robert begged for freedom more than once, being old and diseased, but Hearst, the physician, certified that exposure to the air would hasten his death, he being weak with long illness. He was therefore not released until his death, in November 1667. His sentence was reversed during the reign of William and Mary, and he was succeeded by his son Henry, who represented Whitchurch in Parliament.

Colonel Herbert Morley was one of the King's judges, but did not sign the death-warrant. He met Charles II. when that monarch was a fugitive from Worcester fight, but did not recognise him. The King, on being told who it was, replied merrily, "I did not like his starched mouchates." He, with others, secured Portsmouth in 1659 for the Parliament, and made "incursions into Hampshire and Sussex, where he had many friends," and soon afterwards, marching to Hounslow with some horse, restored it to the Parliament on December 26, 1659. At the Restoration he hesitated long, but at length purchased his pardon for £1000, and died in peace at Glynde, in Sussex, on September 29, 1667, in the fifty-second year of his age.

In July 1647 Hants was ordered to pay each month £62 8s. 8d., the Isle of Wight being assessed at £208 2s. 6½d.

On November 29, 1647, a sum of money was at Winchester taken out of the coffers and delivered to Mr. Mayor to pay the soldiers, and 40s. was "expended about the city business in a journey to London concerning the removing of the said soldiers."

On June 2, 1648: "Taken out of the coffers five pounds, which was delivered to Mr. Mayor to go to London about the city business, for which he is to give an account." On November 24, "money was taken out of the coffers to pay Mr. Moggeridge in full of his bill for dressing of maimed soldiers and for ointment."

When the King resolved to escape from Hampton Court in company with Berkeley, Ashburnham, and Legge, on November 11, 1647, a relay of horses was sent on the day before to Bishop's Sutton. The three fugitives rode south-west

through Windsor Forest, and "in the dark, cloudy, rainy night" lost their way for more than ten miles, according to Sir Richard Bulstrode, who adds that they found themselves at Farnham next morning. When they reached the inn at Bishop's Sutton (was it the present "Ship"?), they found that the Hants Parliamentary Committee was holding a meeting within. There was nothing for it but to push on, and then followed the memorable council. "Walking down the next hill, and holding our horses in our hands," it was decided that Berkeley and Ashburnham should make their way to Lymington and Carisbrooke to sound Colonel Hammond, while the King and Legge made their way to Titchfield, probably through Warnford and Corhampton, if indeed they did not skirt the hills, being horsemen and riding light, more especially as the King's wish had been "to avoid highways." Which way did Hammond and his boatload of soldiers come from Carisbrooke to Titchfield? Did they come up the Meon River to Banner's Bridge, or did they land at Bursledon? and from which of these places did Charles embark for the Island? The subject of his imprisonment at Carisbrooke falls not within our scope. At first the hapless monarch evidently endeavoured to persuade himself that he was there because he liked it, as indeed might have been the case under other circumstances, and even when restraint and restriction became pretty obvious, he still kept up a brave outward show of unconcern. "His Majesty is as merry as formerly," runs one account; a walk of "some six or eight circuits round the Castle wall" followed his attendance at Morning Prayer, and this walk was repeated after the mid-day dinner. He spent much time daily in private, and his conversation was mostly at meals. "Then," says the writer of "Intelligence from the Isle of Wight," he asks news, "particularly concerning Ireland, Scotland, the City of London, and the Army. . . . When messengers come from London he asks how his children do, and seems to desire to know what Parliament will do." The allowance for the maintenance of the King, his servants, and guards, was £30 a day, "for," says Lord Wharton, writing to the Governor of the Castle, "it is conceived that £10 a day will furnish the charge of the King's table;" the pay of 200 men with their officers would come to £9 more; 30s. a day was allowed for the Governor's own table, whilst it was considered that £9 10s. a day would certainly be sufficient "for extraordinary occasions."

Colonel Hammond, whom we have already met at Basing, was the King's gaoler at Carisbrooke, having been appointed Governor of the Isle of Wight, of which his grandmother was a native, on September 6, 1647. He was subordinate to Fairfax in military matters, and to the Parliament in civil affairs.

But the longer Charles stayed at Carisbrooke the more impossible it became to blind himself to the fact that the Garden of England was not an Eden but a prison, and that the doings of Parliament boded no good to their nominal head. The Earl of Kent tells Hammond that Charles is in receipt of private intelligence of a dangerous character conveyed to him "by the woman that brings his clean linen," and accordingly four gentlemen are appointed "to watch, in their courses, at the King's

chamber door." But in spite of this and of a vote of £1000 for strengthening and repairing the Castle, the King is supposed to have planned his escape, and the Governor receives from London the following details of the project: "The King's escape is designed, the manner thus—By one Napier and a servant of David Murray, whom we take to be the King's tailor, the King is to be drawn up out of his bed-chamber into the room over it, the ceiling whereof is to be broken for that purpose, and then conveyed from one room to another till he be passed all the rooms where any guards are at any doors or windows." When Colonel Hammond dismissed the King's servants at Carisbrooke, Captain Burleigh, who had formerly commanded the King's ship *Antelope*, of 512 tons burden and 160 men, and had been dismissed when the fleet rebelled against the King, a man of good family in the Island, and who had been Governor of Pendennis Castle, Falmouth, tried to rescue his royal master. He was "a man of more courage than of prudence or circumspection," and causing a drum to be beaten in the streets of Newport, cried, "For God, the King, and the people," and said "he would lead them to the Castle and rescue the King from his captivity." This rash attempt was at once crushed by the Mayor of Newport and Captain Basket, even the King's servants urging the people to return home, but poor Captain Burleigh was tried at Winchester on January 22, 1648, before Judge Wild, on a charge of high treason, and sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered on February 1, 1648. He died nobly, and, to the credit of the county, Brandon, whose nickname was "Gregory," the executioner, was of necessity brought down from London, as no Hampshire man would carry out the sentence. The same Judge, and almost the same jury, which Cavaliers said had been carefully packed, tried Rolph, Osborne, and Doucet, at Winchester, for attempting to withdraw the King from Carisbrooke Castle. Osborne and Doucet wished to set the royal prisoner free, but Rolph is said to have intended to pistol the King. This statement, made by Osborne, is disbelieved by Dr. Gardiner ("Great Civil War," iii. 380). The Grand Jury "found an ignoramus upon the Bill," in consequence of the Judge's direction. (Clarendon, book 11). But it was not so easy to escape from the Island as it had been to fly thither. Carisbrooke was only to be exchanged for Hurst Castle, Hurst for St. James's, and St. James's for the scaffold.

Not only was Charles I. a prisoner at Carisbrooke, but his daughter Princess Elizabeth died there in captivity on September 8, 1650. She was buried in St. Thomas's Church, Newport, where a beautiful monument by Baron Marochetti was erected by Queen Victoria to commemorate her hapless fate. On November 30, 1648, Colonel Cobbett conducted King Charles under escort to Hurst Castle (p. 6), which is thus described: "This castle stands a mile and a half in the sea, upon a beach full of mud and stinking ooze upon low tides, having no fresh water within two or three miles of it, so cold, foggy, and noisome that the guards cannot endure it without shifting quarters." Colonel Eyre (Ayres), who had seen service in Wiltshire, and had formerly been Lieutenant-Colonel under Colonel Hammond, of whom Fire-

brace gives a vivid description, here guarded the Royal captive, who was, on December 19, 1648, removed by Colonel Cobbett by way of Lyndhurst, Ringwood, Romsey, Winchester, Alresford, Farnham, and Bagshot to Windsor. The King on horseback "came through the narrow passage, three long miles well-nigh from Hurst to Milford," where an escort of cavalry, then quartered at Lyndhurst, awaited him. "Three miles from Hurst he found a body of horse charged to escort him to Winchester. Everywhere on his road a crowd of gentlemen, citizens, and peasants came round him. Some of them were sightseekers, who retired after they had seen him pass, without any particular observation. Others deeply interested, and praying aloud for his liberty. As he approached Winchester the Mayor and Aldermen came to meet him, and presenting him, according to custom, the keys and mace of the city, addressed to him a speech full of affection. But Cobbett, rudely pushing his way towards them, asked if they had forgotten that the House had declared all who should address the King traitors. Whereupon, seized with terror, the functionaries poured forth humble excuses, protesting they were ignorant of the will of the House, and conjuring Cobbett to obtain their pardon." The King slept in the Castle, and the next day resumed his journey. Mr. Joseph Butler was the loyal Mayor of Winchester, and the then recent and barbarous execution of Captain Burleigh in that city was amply sufficient to terrify even the bravest of Cavaliers. In the Corporation Records of Winchester we read: "7th day of March, 1650. Taken out of the coffers and paid to ye Clarke of Lawrance Church for toling ye bell for ye prisoners, 3s. 4d. More to Mr. Holloway for instructing the seven prisoners, 6s. 8d." The Corporation of Winchester had sent the city plate, valued at £58 6s. 3d., and other plate belonging to various citizens, of the value of £300 more, to Oxford for the service of the King. They also lent his Majesty £1000, and had been several times plundered by the Parliament party, and the Castle and divers houses of great value by them demolished. After the city had surrendered to Cromwell a forced contribution of £1400 was exacted by the victors, so that the city could not maintain the 200 poor families within the walls. On November 5, 1652, the sum of £5 was paid to Mr. Richard Purdue in full of all monies lent by him to Sir William Waller for the service of the State. On December 19, 1651, payment was made to Mr. Thomas Muspratt, the ex-Mayor, of 20s., "which was laid out by him in the business between the city and Sir Richard Tichbourne," and on December 3, 1652, a similar repayment was made to Mr. Hussey. In March 1652, "Edmond Riggs had a lease of Kalendar Church for ninety-nine years at a yearly rent of 3s. 4d.," and in June 1653, Guy Badcock got a lease of Coldbrook Church for forty years, at a yearly rent of 20s., he "to repayre the same, not to breake ye ground or pavement except ye belfrye, nor to carrye awaye ye stone." In 1655 Alexander Woodson had a lease of St. Clement's parsonage for forty years, "in respect of his paines as a Psalmist in Trinitie (Cathedral) Church." Next year "the sweet psalmist Alexander," as Mr. Jacob styles him, was granted a lease of St. Clement's Church, "paying

yearlye 12*d.* for the two first years," and St. Mary Kalendar's parsonage was leased to Richard Lawrence for 30*s.* annually. Major Henry Clerke Esq., who had so stoutly opposed the surrender of Winchester Castle to Cromwell, was with Edmond Clerke, Esq., of South Stoneham, admitted to the freedom of Winchester in the year 1660. (*Hants Notes and Queries*, vol. v. p. 37). In 1654 a very partial restoration took place of the cathedral, which is described as being "a very emenent and usefull place for preaching and hearing God's Word," and in the same year Fordingbridge church received a new bell, with the inscription, "Prayse ye the Lord. F. F., 1654."

On February 18, 1653. "Taken out and sent to Mr. Humbridge, solicitor to the Committee of Plundered Ministers, the sum of £35 for service done for the city at the Committee aforesaid, £1 15*s.*" On December 23, 1653, repayment was made to the Mayor of £12 14*s.* spent "for payment of the Dutch prisoners." On May 2, 1656, "Taken then out of the coffers to pay Sir William Waller for the purchase of the Castle, with the appurtenances and other material therein belonging, the sum of two hundred and three sovereigns," and on September 9, 1656, "deeds and several copies of the value of £3." Some of the purchase money was borrowed from Mr. John Complin, and repaid on October 30, 1657.

On April 3, 1657, mention is made of £30 paid to Captain Palmer, and of "an agreement with the Lord Richard Cromwell, in the behalf of the country." October 23, 1667. "To six several messengers for bringing proclamations, 15*s.*" A lawsuit had been pending against Sir William Waller, the cost of which was £3 1*s.* 4*d.* Of this sum £1 11*s.* 3*d.* was paid to Mr. Champion, on July 9, 1658, in part payment of his account, which was finally settled on December 23, 1658. On October 22, 1658, "For building the walls going to the Castle, £8 6*s.* 6*d.*," and on December 23 of the same year, £1 18*s.* was expended on the Dutch prisoners, and 14*s.* 6*d.* for "addresses to the Lord Protector," Richard Cromwell. But Colonel John Cloberry, whose home was Cloberry House, in Parchment Street, on the site of which the hospital was afterwards built, and who commanded a regiment in Scotland, was already planning the Restoration, with his friends Generals Fairfax and Monk. Charles II. was proclaimed King in Winchester on May 12, 1660, and the cost of the civic rejoicings was no less a sum than £34 2*s.* 6*d.*

In July 1648 there was great alarm at the prospect of a Scotch invasion of England, coupled with a Royalist rising, and a certain Alexander Cotton informed the Derby House Committee of a design to surprise the Castles of Winchester and Farnham. Precautions were at once taken, and the ill-judged scheme miscarried (Gardiner, iii. 407). The Castle was not too shattered to receive King Charles for one night during his last fatal journey through Hampshire to Windsor, but, after his execution, to quote Mr. W. H. Jacob, "the Council of State were hurriedly anxious to demolish, destroy, and slight the Castle for politic reasons, for they knew that their tenure of the national authority was in the highest degree precarious and vanishing, as it eventually proved. The many entries in the 'State' journals show

how earnest was the desire for destruction, their frequent repetition that the citizens were opposed to it show they put off the evil day." On April 14, 1649, all Papists and delinquents were to be forthwith disarmed, and great watchfulness was enjoined upon the Hants Committee. The entries extend over the period from June 11, 1649, to March 26, 1651, and the absence from the National Records of later Council Letter Books leaves us in doubt of the exact date of demolition, which certainly was forced on the civic and county people. The first entry is as under:

"June 11, 1649.—Order in Parliament that the Council of State consider how Winchester Castle may be made untenable, so that no damage may arise thereby, and how satisfaction may be made to Sir William Waller for such damage as he shall sustain by reason thereof."

All through the year 1649 the Council of State were importunate, witness their weekly entries:

"June 19th, 1649.—Council of State. Days proceedings. Winchester Castle to be viewed before being demolished."

"July 21st, 1649.—The business of Winchester Castle to be considered next Monday, when Mr. Wallop is to attend."

"July 23rd, 1649.—The business of Winchester Castle and the Isle of Wight to be considered to-morrow."

"July 24th, 1649.—The business of Winchester Castle to be considered to-morrow, and Colonel Fleetwood to be here."

"August 10th, 1649.—Mr. Frost to pay the engineer who is to go to Winchester to view the Castle."

"August 28th, 1649.—Council of State to the Committee of Hants. To prevent inconvenience Winchester Castle was ordered to be made untenable, and we sent an engineer to view it, who made the return enclosed. As we approve thereof we desire you to see its demolition."

"September 10th, 1649.—Mr. Frost to issue a copy of the order to County of Hants for making Winchester Castle untenable."

"September 11th, 1649.—An engineer to be sent to Winchester to see the Castle there demolished according to a survey returned."

The engineer's report, which is extant in the Record Office, would be well worth publication, and doubtless he earned his money.

It is curious and worthy to note how the simple Puritan Republican kept his eye on "mammon." Thus, Walter Frost, Secretary to the Council, had a salary of 40s. a day, and 2s. 6d. daily for his servant, and his son 20s. a day, and if our readers will multiply these sums in gross by $3\frac{1}{2}$ the salaries will not be found small. The entry which is below mentions the names of three Commissioners who are required to compel people to the work of destruction, and alludes to the engineer's report and remuneration:

"September 29, 1649.—Council of State to Messrs. Betsworth, Moore, and

Wither (was this the poet?). We formerly ordered Winchester Castle to be made untenable. We now authorise you to see the same put in execution, and to summon the country to do the work which we conceive they will be willing to do to provide for their future quiet. We enclose a copy of the engineer's opinion of what was necessary to be done."

"September 29, 1649.—£5 to be paid to the engineer who is to go to view Winchester Castle."

Even in May 1650 the work remained uncommenced:

"May 29.—The Committee which meets with the army officers to consider what is to be done for the present slighting of Winchester and Christchurch Castles."

At the close of 1650 the authorities seem to have been far from free as to Royalist opposition, as is evident from the call on the Hampshire Horse Militia:

"December 16, 1650.—To write to Mr. Wallop and the rest of the Commissioners for Hampshire to cause one troop of their horse militia to be in readiness for preserving the peace of the county, which is conceived to be endangered, and to desire them to take care that the riders are well affected to this government, and that they receive orders from the Governor of Portsmouth for the services to which they shall be directed."

Mr. Wallop had displaced the Earl of Southampton as High Steward and was also a freeman of Winchester in Cromwell's interest. He sat at the King's trial, but did not sign the warrant for the execution. He died in the Tower 1667 (W. D. Pink).

At the close of 1650 the Council were evidently very anxious for the demolition of the Castle, and obliged to have soldiers to enforce the peace while it was attempted, and the supply of 40 honest men to replace the same number of garrison soldiers from Southampton is a curious picture of the times.

"Dec. 16, 1650.—To write to the governor of Southampton to summon the County to go to Winchester to demolish the Castle and wall about it, so that it may not be used by the disaffected, and likewise to send 40 of his garrison soldiers thither to keep the peace there while the work is going on, and to let him know that the Militia Commissioners for the County have been ordered to supply him with 40 honest men during their employment on that service."

"The next extracts close the year 1650, and disclose the anxiety of the Protector's party:

"Dec. 23, 1650.—To write to the Militia Commissioners for the county of Hants to send 40 men to (South) Hampton for securing that place, while the governor there sends 40 men to Winchester to attend the demolition of Winchester Castle, and to summon the county to assist in such demolition."

"Dec. 30, 1650.—Another letter to be written to the Militia Commissioners for the county of Hants to proceed without further delay to the demolition of Winchester Castle."

"Jan. 13, 1651.—To write to the Commissioners of county of Hants to proceed to the demolishing of Winchester Castle according to former order, Council not thinking fit to move Parliament to defray the charge of work which it is so proper for the county to do."

In February 1651 the Council were still pressing the matter, and insisting on its completion in 14 days after the Spring Assizes:

"February 21, 1651.—Council of State to the Militia Commissioners, County Hants. We have before written you concerning the making of Winchester Castle untenable, *but it is not yet done*. We have intimated the danger that may come of it, which if it should happen, would first have its ill effects upon that county. We therefore desire it may be done within fourteen days after the Assizes, when you will have occasion to meet, and can take order for its being done, of which you are to certify us, that we may be satisfied that the danger feared by that place is prevented."

Towards the end of March the work seems to have commenced, and the annexed extract shows how the local authorities had put off the Puritanical pressure:

"March 28, 1651.—Council of State to the Militia Commissioners, County of Hants. In yours of the 21st you state that you have begun to make Winchester Castle untenable. We hope that by this time it has been effectually done, *as it might have been long since* if the orders of the Council had been pursued."

There are no further allusions because, as we have said, the letter books of the Council are missing, doubtless during the confusion of Charles' appearance and gallant but unsuccessful stand at Worcester, and the subsequent futile attempt to catch, kill, and murder him; but that 1651 saw the old walls and towers fall by pickaxe, powder, and other methods of the engineer cannot be doubted. There are two entries, however, in 1652 of interest, although they do not refer to the Castle. The first, dated August 25, shows that instead of a substantial pension, a poor fellow who had lost his eyes in Ireland in the service of the Commonwealth was palmed off as a pauper on the Master of St. Cross Hospital for the next vacancy:

"August 25th.—Council of State to Master of St. Cross Hospital, near Winchester. We commend George Hawkins, who has lost his eyes in the service in Ireland, for the next brother's place that shall fall void, which being a work of so great charity we doubt not of your readiness." Hawkins had a gift of £5 for loss of his eyes.

In September we come across the injudicious and intruded Hooker, who had for his Roundhead reward the Recordership for life. He is spoken of in the civic MSS. as the "pretended Recorder," and he was excluded at the Restoration by Mr. Goddard. The following is the Hookerian entry:

"September 28, 1652.—Patent of John Champion, Mayor, Thomas Tarleton and Nicholas Newbolt, bailiffs of Winchester, appointing Cornelius Hooker Recorder of the said city for life, with an annuity of £4."

Champion was an "intruded freeman."

A writer in *Hampshire Notes and Queries* says: "The old Norman and Gothic castle and palace slighted and destroyed, remained a ruin till Charles the Second's time, when its grey ivy-clad ruins of walls and towers vanished before Wren's commenced palace (afterwards used as a barrack). All that remains of the castle are a ruined turret behind the County Hall, the foundations of the keep and some walls, the subterranean passage and the superb hall of Henry III. with its additions and older walls, and in its roof some beams of Edward the IV.'s time. The use of this hall for the purposes of the Assizes no doubt preserved it to our time, and now in its magnificent windows we see the arms of those who played prominent parts in the Commonwealth times, the Wallops, Challoners, Tichbornes, Paulets, and even the "Lord Protector's" son, Richard Cromwell, who, a quiet country gentleman and suspected of royalist sentiments, abandoned the position his father left him, and dying at Cheshunt in 1712, was buried in the chancel of Hursley Church, in which he had, as "squire" of Hursley Park, a right to rest, and where, with others of his family, his remains are undisturbed."

Mr. Major, whose family came originally from Jersey, was the mainstay of the Puritan cause in this neighbourhood. He was witty, thrifty, and very hard upon his tenants, threatening them oftentimes with transportation. He was Privy Councillor to Oliver Cromwell, who considered him unscrupulous, and he died in 1660, nominally of gout, but not without some suspicion of poison, as certain execution awaited him at the Restoration. Richard Cromwell and his relative by marriage, S. Dunch, Esq., sheltered at Hursley and gave an annuity of £10 a year to the Rev. Robert Webb, the ejected Puritan minister of Droxford, who is said to have been a good scholar and an eminent preacher.

Sir Henry Wallop, M.P. for Hants, died in October 1645, and most of the members of royalist sympathies were about this time disabled from sitting in Parliament. Richard Jervoise, M.P. for Whitchurch, died during this month. Fairfax's army, when marching from Salisbury to the siege of Oxford, halted at Andover for two days, and proceeded to Newbury on April 25, 1646.

The Itchen Abbas register contains an ominous gap from 1646 till 1650. It was then irregularly kept until 1656, when a gap follows till we read of christenings in the time when Mr. Robert Kercher was Rector of Itchen Abbas, 1661.

In the Micheldever register we read: "Mary, daughter of William ffry. baptised Oct. 12th, 1642." Then, except in 1650 and in 1656, there are no entries until March 26, 1662. There are no entries of burials from 1650 until "John Cagor, buried Oct. 10th, 1662," but these words appear and are perhaps the far-off echo of some Puritan sermon: "But death will tarry no man's leisure." "It is appointed for all men once to die, and after death, judgment."

In 1647 the Platform at Southampton took shape.

It was proposed to send the King as a present on January 6, 1648, he being then

at Carisbrooke Castle, certain provisions for his household, but the cautious burgesses resolved that their Mayor should first write to their member (Mr. Exton) to ask his opinion of this.

In 1649 the Rev. Nathaniel Robinson, chaptain to Governor Murford, and a friend of Oliver Cromwell, who employed him in marriage negotiations with Mr. Major, of Hursley (Carlyle's "Life and Letters of Oliver Cromwell"), was settled in the Rectory of All Saints. He was ejected in 1662, and became the first minister of Above-Bar Chapel.

Mr. Davies says: "About October 9, 1651, the town garrison (of Southampton) had been disbanded by order of the Parliament, when Murford was apparently dismissed. Three companies of Colonel Pride's regiment, however, came the next week, and remained for a month, under the command of Captain Andrews. In the following June, 1652, the guns and ammunition were removed, and the guard-house, which had been built by the town near the Bargate for the garrison, was pulled down, Murford, who was again in authority, and at this time or soon after a justice of the peace, doing with the timber-work as he pleased."

When Cromwell had schemed the government into his own hands, Southampton refused to give admission to his troops until Captain Jubbs from Portsmouth obtained an entrance into the town by means of a ruse. He surprised the Mayor and Council in their Council House, which he surrounded with troops, obliging them to surrender the keys of the town gates. William Higgins, the Mayor, and Edward Downer were hereupon deposed (in 1654) by order of Cromwell for disaffection to his Government. On March 11, 1655, Robert Mason, of Southampton, of whom mention has already been made, was at Salisbury, taking a leading part in the rising in Wiltshire and Dorsetshire, under Penruddock, against the Parliament. On May 5, 1656, Major-General Goffe wrote to Thurloe, Cromwell's secretary, complaining of the wicked spirit of the Southampton magistrates.

Goffe was Major-General of Hampshire and Sussex, for which he received £1141 3s. 3d. per annum, besides his Major-Generalship. At the Restoration he escaped to America, and in his old age, by his sudden appearance and military skill, saved the village of Hadleigh in New England from being destroyed by Indians. Thus closed a stirring and eventful career.

The following entries from the Romsey Abbey register are interesting: "Jane Grace, the first child which I baptised according to the new Directory enjoined by the ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, March 13, 1647"; "1649, George Baverstock, unfortunately slayne"; "Roger Spearing, titulo doctor, sed re pauper medicus, buried"—"A doctor by title, but in fact a poor surgeon."

There was a tumult at Portsmouth at the end of July, 1648, as we learn from the "Weekly Intelligencer" and the "Declaration of the Sea Royalists for God and King Charles." There was much discontent amongst the soldiers at Portsmouth, and still more amongst the seamen, and the latter were strongly influenced by various

Cavaliers. About 300 of them came ashore, "entered the Towne, and came up to the Market place, where they declared their resolution to hazard their lives and fortunes for the defence and preservation of the King of England, and of the Prince of Wales, against any opposition whatsoever." This puts the Governor and the other of Southsea Castle to a stand, "Money had been ordered for the old soldiers of the garrison of Portsmouth, and certain persons well affected to His Majesty placed two hogsheads of beer in the Market place," whereof the seamen partook. "The allarm is given to the souldiers, they advance, the seamen maintain their ground, some action happened, and the quarrel was resolutely disputed by both parties, till at the last, the seamen retreat, the souldiers pursue, and in the pursuit took some prisoners, and forced the rest out of the gates, which being shut all was pacified. The plot took not with the discontented souldiers, as was presupposed, but the seamen threaten a revenge." Mention is made of the ort at Portbridge on June 1, 1649, and aboutt his time "His Majestie's Shippes, the *Constant Reformation*, the *Convertine*, the *Swallow*, the *Antelope*, the *Satisfaction*, the *Hynd*, the *Roebuck*, the *Crescent*, the *Pellican*, and the *Blackmore Lady* went over to the Prince of Wales, who took command of them at Yarmouth, I.W. The Prince had with him the Duke of York, the Princes Rupert and Maurice, the Lords Gerard, Culpepper, Jermyn, and Ruthen, Sir John Berkeley, Colonel Bamfield, and several other commanders, together with 2000 men, 19 ships, and great store of ordnance."

The seamen declared that the Scots and most people wanted peace, but that the Independent party had seized the fortresses, "over-running, disarming and plundering the country, as if it were a conquered nation, because men wanted peace," that the King's name was omitted from naval commissions, which "mentioned only the Parliament and the army," that "we had no settled form of divine worship, no communion, little or no preaching on board but by illiterate and mechanic persons, that there was a design of introducing land soldiers into every ship, to master and overawe the seamen, things so contrary to the antient customs and order of the sea." They had removed "Colonel Rainsborough from the command of the fleet, a man of most destructive principles both in religion and policy." Seamen and landmen join us under the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York. Come in and join with us, and you shall want nothing; we have good ships, good hearts, good handes, and, which is worth all, God and the law on our side!

A newsletter said on July 25: "The Prince and the Duke of York are come to Yarmouth with 19 sail of ships, in which are thought to be about 2000 men; some of them landing near the town were set upon by a few of our horse which were there, and after a little fight with them, we took seven prisoners, the rest getting into the town, from whence a party of townsmen issued out, and rescued the prisoners from us, and placed a guard at the turnpike gate." Colonel Scroop, with eight troops of dragoons from Colchester Leaguer (siege), and 1000 foot from Norfolk, were ordered to march to Yarmouth. The Prince hoped that the gentlemen of Norfolk would

rise and attack Fairfax, and so raise the siege of Colchester. But the local authorities opposed him with troops, and having no soldiers he was obliged to sail away to the Downs. On the other hand, Lymington supplied provisions freely to the Prince's ships, and if he had gained any footing in the island Barnard Knapton, the mayor, was prepared to take an inferior command in his army. The Mayor of Lymington a few years later raised 100 men for "King Monmouth."

In December 1659, Portsmouth openly declared for the Parliament, and the leaders of the army at once despatched troops thither. The following extracts from a letter quoted in "Slight's History of Portsmouth" give some interesting details. Colonel Whetham was Governor of Portsmouth, and under his command were Sir A. Haslerig and Colonels Morley and Walton :

"Chichester, December 9th, 1659.

"Upon the arrive of this sudden change and alteration in so considerable a garrison as Portsmouth, it was ordered that a considerable body of horse and foot should be sent down forthwith into the western parts to reduce that garrison or to block it up, and accordingly the Lord Disbrow was made choice of, as Commander-in-Chief, for that expedition, who advanced with several troops of horse from Westminster, and on Tuesday night last Colonel Hewson's regiment of foot began their march from the City of London, and five companies of Colonel Gibbon's regiment from the borough of Southwark. . . . Also all possible care is taken for the waylaying, stopping, and guarding the several avenues and passes fronting and leading to the town, that so the reducing of it may prove the more facile, and the work expedited. By these sudden and unexpected commotions, a translate of some forces are expected from the northern parts, and 'tis said that three regiments of horse and dragoons are already on their march. From whence it is affirmed that Lord Lambert's infantry consists of above 7000 foot, and that he hath a very considerable body of horse. And it is the expectations of many that there will be a mutual concurrence and happy accommodation. . . . By the last express from Portsmouth, on Saturday last, it is certified that a party of horse came as far as Gosport and faced the town, but afterwards wheeled off at a further distance. Seven troops are also marched from Petersfield towards Chichester, and some commotions are feared about Exeter. The foot that marched from London was met on Saturday last between Lockhup (Liphook) and Petersfield, and intend to arrive before Portsmouth the 12th inst., which place is said to be supplied with great store of provision and ammunition, having above three-score pieces of ordnance."

"Baker's Chronicle" (pp. 591-2) says: "All the foot that were sent to besiege that town seized on their officers and carried them prisoners into it, and five troops of Col. Rich's regiment and two of Col. Berry's were come in unto them, that those of Berry were commanded by Col. Croke, who was lately their major, and is sent into the Isle of Wight, where the forces are increased to 700."

Dissensions ran high in Portsmouth, but Colonel Whetham promptly arrested Captains Smith, Peacock, and Brown, with about six of the townsmen. He also secured the fifteen men-of-war then in harbour, which were the *Diamond*, *Ruby*, *Sapphire*, *Pelican*, *Dragon*, and ten others. Seven hundred landmen and 140 horse formed the garrison, for whose supply many of the neighbouring gentlemen furnished provisions, whilst others came to assist personally in the defence with horses and arms. "Major Cadwell having notice thereof, immediately advanced with his own troop and two others towards Petersfield, to whose assistance some few withdrew from Farnham and those parts, with a resolution to block up the garrison if they can." Colonel Morley and his friends endeavoured to persuade the Governors of Portland Isle and Castle, and of Cowes, Hurst, and Carisbrooke Castles to join them. Their headquarters were at the "Red Lion" Inn, which stood on the site of No. 91, High Street. The siege was speedily raised, as nine troops of Colonel Ferry's (Terry's ?) horse and five companies of Colonel Lago's foot joined the besieged garrison. On the Wednesday before December 23, 1659, Sir Arthur Haslerig and Colonel Morley marched at 10 A.M. with 5000 men to the assistance of the Parliament, leaving only 400 in garrison. They halted that night at Petersfield, and proceeded next day to Guildford, and so to London, where we must leave them. (Woodward).

But the Restoration was ere long a great reality, and rejoicing Cavaliers could sing with impunity of "The Sale of Rebellion's Household Stuff":

And here are old Noll's brewing vessels,
And here are his dray and his slings :
Here are Hewson's awl and his bristles
And diverse other odd things ;
And what is the price doth belong
To all these matters before ye ?
I'll sell them all for an old song,
And so do I end my story !

On April 25, 1600, the House of Lords thanked God for deliverance "from Thralldom, Confusion, and Misery," and in 1661 a writ was issued amongst others to the Marquis of Winchester, summoning him to the House of Lords.

His brother, Lord Charles Pawlet, occupied the family residence at Abbotstone after the Restoration, whilst he himself found a home at Englefield House, which had come to him through the Marchioness, from the family of Sir F. Walsingham, and which, according to Camden, he rebuilt and greatly improved. Captain Symonds, in 1643, calls Englefield "now the house of the Lord Marquis of Winchester," and Sir Balthazar Gerbier praises it highly in the dedication of his "Council and Advice to all Builders, qto. 1663." The Marchioness died here in her ancestral home on March 10, 1661, aged 51 years, 6 months, 19 days. John Milton wrote her epitaph :

CIVIL WAR IN HAMPSHIRE

This rich marble doth inter
 The honoured wife of Winchester;
 A viscount's daughter, and earl's heir,
 Besides what her virtues fair,
 Added to her noble birth
 More than she could own from earth.

On March 5, 1674, the Marquis died in his 77th year, and was buried in the little church in the park, as was also the heroic Marchioness, who shared with him the dangers of the siege at Basing. His tomb is described as being a neat monument of black and white marble, and in a compartment this inscription in gold Roman letters:

He who in impious times undaunted stood,
 And midst rebellion durst be just and good,
 Whose arms asserted, and whose sufferings more
 Confirmed the cause for which he fought before,
 Rests here, rewarded by an heavenly prince
 For what his earthly could not recompense.
 Pray, reader, that such times no more appear,
 Or, if they happen, learn true honour here.
 Ask of this age's faith and loyalty.
 Which to preserve them Heaven confined in thee.
 Few subjects could a King like thine deserve,
 And fewer such a King so well could serve.
 Blest King, blest subject, whose exalted state
 By sufferings rose, and gave the law to fate!
 Such souls are rare, but might patterns given
 To earth, and meant for ornaments to heaven.
 By JOHN DRYDEN, Poet Laureat.

"The Lady Marchioness Dowager (in testimony of her love and sorrow) gave this monument to the memory of a most affectionate, tender husband."

And on a marble stone on the ground at the foot of the said monument is this inscription, in Roman capitals:

"Here lieth interred the body of the most Noble and Mighty Prince John Powlet, Marquis of Winchester, Earl of Wiltshire, Baron of St. John, of Basing, first Marquis of England; a man of exemplary piety towards God, and of inviolable fidelity towards his Sovereign; in whose cause he fortified his house of Basing, and defended it against the rebels to the last extremity. He married three wives," &c. (here follow various family particulars).

"He died in the 77th year of his age, on the 5th of March, in the year of our Lord 1674.

"By Edward Walker, Garter King at Arms."

Woodward and Wilkes say "Loyalty House was never rebuilt. The Dukes of Bolton preferred their fine new place at Hackwood, to say nothing of Abbotstone, to the ancient mansion of their stock. And then afterwards Basing passed away from the Paulets. But yet of the grand old mansion house and its former magnificence

there are plenty of vestiges all around, and in local names some memory of the great siege still survives."

Now the grass grows green over the crumbling ramparts, but still may the lover of the past pace along the works which so often echoed to the tread of Cavalier sentinels. Still may he see the walks trodden by Queen Bess, Thomas Fuller, Inigo Jones, and by the noblest and loveliest of the land. The Basingstoke Canal runs through the ruins of the New House, but much is still left of the moats, whose sloping sides were often reddened with English blood. The green ivy twines gracefully around the curtain and the ruined shells of the flanking towers. The Garrison Gate, through which rode many a Royalist troop of horse, still stands erect, bearing the family arms, warning all passers by to "Love Loyalty."

But we may well be thankful that civil war has long been unknown in England, and that, as Mr. Cosham sweetly sings,

Long years of peace have stilled the battle-thunder,
Wild grasses quiver where the fight was won,
Masses of blossom, lightly blown asunder,
Drop down white petals on the silent gun ;
For life is kind, and sweet things grow unbidden,
Turning the scenes of strife to bloomy bowers ;
One only knows what secrets may be hidden
Beneath His cloud of flowers.
Poor heart, above thy field of sorrow sighing
For smitten faith, and hope untimely slain,
Leave thou the soil whereon thy dead are lying
To the soft sunlight and the cleansing rain ;
Love works in silence, hiding all the traces
Of bitter conflict on the trampled sod,
And time shall show thee all earth's battle-places
Veiled by the hand of God.

With thanks to numerous friends and helpers for much valuable information most readily and kindly given, here ends this imperfect account of "The Civil War in Hampshire, and the Story of Basing House."

APPENDIX I

BASING HOUSE

WHILE this edition has been in the Press all students of history have been placed under a deep debt of gratitude to Lord Bolton, who is most generously and systematically excavating the site of Basing House, throwing a flood of light upon the stirring story of the past, and settling many points which have hitherto been mysteries. Our warmest thanks are likewise due to Dr. Andrews of Basingstoke, who has devoted much time and skilful research to the elucidation of the many problems presented by ruined Basing.

It seems evident that the steep rise from the level of the "common road" which separated the Grange from the rest of the House (p. 81) was felt to be a difficulty. Consequently the roadway, just within the Garrison Gate, divided into two parts. That to the right wound up the slope till it reached a gateway near the present garden, which gave entrance to the yards and offices. This gateway is a recent-discovery. The road to the left likewise climbed a slope, and is thought by Dr. Andrews to have followed the present line of the canal. This being so, it appears probable that the cutting of the canal did not greatly interfere with the ruins of the House, as it chose the line of least resistance. On reaching the top of the incline, the road entered the New House, on the side facing the Church. Through one of the "two faire courts" of which the New House could boast, and which did much to render shell fire harmless, the roadway crossed a fine bridge (either of brick, or a draw-bridge), the piers of which have recently been brought to light. Above this bridge was a noble Gatehouse, on the roof of which may well have blazed the beacon fires which were lighted as a guide to the long-expected relieving force of Colonel Gage (p. 252). There was also a second Gatehouse leading into the Citadel, which also had a bridge in front of it. On one or both of these bridges brave men on both sides "fought it out at sword's point when Basing House was taken" (p. 82). Another important discovery is that the moats surrounding the central platform, which is oblong in shape, and which is often styled the Bowling Green (p. 84), were very

carefully lined with brickwork. This central platform must have been of paramount importance to the defence, and a general centre of the ordinary life of the stately mansion. Yet another bridge connecting it with the road leading to the yard and offices has been recently unearthed, and it was evidently "the court betwixt the Old and the New House." But let us enter the Citadel. The excavations have brought to light defences protecting the gateway, which is shown to have had a returning angle and two flanking towers. Much paving has been uncovered, and the old Norman well. It is clear that when the first Marquis practically rebuilt Basing House a second well was sunk, the old one being no longer used for drinking purposes, but becoming simply a drain for the courtyard. Several fresh cellars and vaults have been found. On the plaster covering some of the walls are drawings of ships, of a kite, a Cavalier's head, &c. Foundations of several towers prove that both the Old House and the New must have been a veritable "forest of towers," as Dr. Andrews says. The New House was evidently built on one side close against the great earthen mound. The Sallyport (p. 85) is noticeable from its concealed position. Visitors to Basing may well have been unaware of its existence. The great hall above the cellar (p. 85) was apparently enlarged by the first Marquis; two large projecting windows give it both light and beauty. Norman foundations have been traced, and ere long the site of the home of Adam de Portu will, let us hope, be laid bare. Leaving the Citadel, we enter the orchard (p. 83), which is full of pathetic interest, for it was the garrison cemetery. Many a soldier of the King was laid to rest here, and skulls from this "God's Acre" may be seen in the museum. The interments vary considerably in depth, some being much more shallow than others. Some soldiers were evidently interred with much more care and decorum than fell to the lot of their comrades. Burial without clothing or coffins seems to have been the rule. *Requiescant in pace!* A visit should certainly be paid to the museum, which is admirably housed in the "Cottage" (p. 83), to which many additional "finds" have lately been added, and which has an admirable custodian in Mr. Moss, who lovingly superintends the excavations. Hugh Raynbird, Esq., Lord Bolton's agent, also takes keen interest in this truly national work.

The following extracts from the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library are of interest. On February 2, 1643, King Charles orders "our trusty and well-beloved Henry Lord Percy, Genneral of our Artillery," to deliver "out of our Magazine tenn barrells of powder with match proportionable, and the same to send away to Basing Castle for the use of our garrison there. Given at our Court at Oxford." (395.21.) Again (395.52), on the "12fth day of December 1643 tenn barrells of powder with match and bullet proportionable to ye Marquess of Winchester's House of Basing for ye present expedition." On May 13, 1644 (395.70) there went to Basing "one hundred waight of Match and forty Musquets." The Marquis wrote to Lord Percy (395.147) as "Your most affectionate Kinsman and humble Servant—Winchester," from Basing Castle, on the 12fth of Nov: 1643. He wants ten barrells of powder and

match proportionable. "I therefore desire your Lordship to demand haste for the sending of the said powder from Oxford to this garrison, standing not only in great want of the same, but also dayly expecting the enemy's approach, which being now at Farnham with a considerable force of horse and foot, I can dispatch this messenger, who will attend the expedition." He also wants if possible 100 muskets. Tried and trusty Edward Jeffrey (p. 231) seems to have been the son of John Jeffreys or Jeffrey, of Acton, near Wrexham, who was High Sheriff of Denbigh in 1655. Edward Jeffrey was living in 1622, and served as a captain in the King's army. He was buried at Wrexham in 1680, leaving no children; but he was the uncle of the celebrated and infamous Judge George Jeffreys.

APPENDIX II

LORD HOPTON

IN the Rawlinson MSS. the following references to Lord Hopton occur (395.9). Oxford, January 18, 1643. Lord Hopton to have 1000 musquets with Bandoliers from Weymouth or Dartmouth "for his recruits altogether destitute of Armes." These arms were on January 21 directed to be furnished by Weymouth. (395.13.) Thirty barrels of gunpowder were delivered to Lord Hopton at Winchester on February 18, 1643 (395.23); and on October 1 of the same year Weymouth was ordered to supply "what musquets Lord Hopton may need." (395.47.)

The confidential account given by Lord Hopton of the Battle of Alsford (Alresford), and of his proceedings for some little time previously, is preserved in the Bodleian Library. (Clarendon MS. 1738.6.)

He describes his coming to Winchester with great detail (p. 123), saying that he was summoned before the Committee of Lords sitting at Oriel College, Oxford, and given the command in Hampshire and the West. His account is written in the third person. "And to make the body of the Army the Earl of Craforde with his regiment of horse and dragoons and divers new regiments of horse were assigned to him, but for foot there was no means to help him, but that he was to drawe what he could out of his own quarters, and so for ordnance and ammunition." He was promised £6000 to be paid him at Bristol within fourteen days, but he only received £1500, and was obliged to pawn his contribution-money from Bristol city for twenty weeks for £3000. His officers were but poor. "His own regiment of horse and dragoons, and Sir Edward Stowell with his regiment, and the Lord Marquis of Hertford's and Sir George Vaughan's regiments being still in Wiltshire, besides the other regiments added to his command, and some beginnings of regiments in Dorsetshire and Somersetshire, which in all might make about 1600 horse, and for a Trayne he had some small field pieces and ammunition: There came to Bristol (p. 106), from Ireland, two regiments commanded by Sir Charles Vavasor and Sir John Paulet. They both might make between four and five hundred foot; bold, hardy men, and excellently well officered; but the common men were mutinous, and shrewdly infected with the rebellious humour

of England, being brought over merely by the virtue and loyalty of their officers, and large promises which there was then but small means to perform. But the Lord Hopton struggling through all exigents as he could prepared speedily to draw forth, and designed to have fallen first upon Warder Castle, being a business (as he supposed) would not have cost him many days (notwithstanding the obstinate courage of Mr. Ludlow who defended it). And to that purpose he sent orders to fetch four great iron guns from Weymouth, with pretence for the works at Bristol, and gave those Irish regiments quarters about Bath; with private directions to their officers to draw them upon pretence of bettering their quarters on towards Warminster and Hindon. Resolving with them and the rest to have fallen suddenly upon Warder, and with reasonable success there to have fallen upon Lyme and to block up Poole, all which he conceived was very feasible. And by this means to have left no enemy at his back. Though afterwards he was enforced against his own judgment and to the future great prejudice of the service to alter that counsell by reason that Sir William Ogle without his knowledge, and very untimely for his design surprised the Castle of Winchester, and procured commission for the command of it from Oxford, with Colonel Gerard (now the Lord Gerard), his brigade of horse, and Colonel Innis with Prince Rupert's regiment of dragoons and Lieut.-Colonel Morley with the Lord Wentworth's dragoons to come to him to support him till the Lord Hopton was able to advance to his relief, which he forthwith most earnestly importuned, procuring letters likewise from Oxford signifying His Majestie's command to the same effect." Sir Charles Vavasor was ordered by Lord Hopton to march to Henden (*sic*), and to join the two Boyers who had been holding Wardour Castle in check with two troops of dragoons. The four iron guns from Weymouth reached Hopton at Fonthill, and were promptly sent to the siege of Wardour Castle. Hopton left a force to "maintain the block of Poole," Dorset paying weekly to the King £1000 as contribution-money. But his subordinates "yet proving unsuccessful in their proceedings, the King's affairs impaired apace in that county." Sir William Ogle was still begging for infantry, and Hopton sent him Colonel Allen Apsley with about 600 foot, and Major Day with a party of dragoons and a proportion of ammunition, appointing a rendezvous for the rest of his forces at Amesbury. "Where on the day assigned he came, and found the horse in good numbers, and the ordnance and ammunition come safe thither. But the foot which he expected, saving about 300 of his own regiment, which he brought out of Bristol, utterly fayle, which cast him into a very great difficulty. But he resolved to advance with what he had to Andover, where Colonel Gerard with his brigade was then quartered. Depending upon his intelligence for the state of the enemy in that country, he came, as he had designed, into Andover three or four hours within night, and there kept his men in guard (*sic*), till he had consulted with Colonel Gerard, who came immediately to him at his lodging, and the Earle of Craforde with him. The Lord Gerard presently assured him that Sir William Waller was that night come into Alsford (six little miles from Winchester,) with a formidable army,

reputed to be about 5000 foot, and between 2000 and 3000 horse, and a good Trayne of Artillery, and that he resolved to advance to Winchester the next day. In this exigent, there being but little hope but in the reputation that he had there rather than in his strength, the Lord Hopton presently gave out his orders for all to be ready to march an hour or two before day, but gave secret orders to the Trayne to appoint onely two field pieces with ammunition on horseback to march with him, and the rest of the Trayne to turn off back to Amesbury. Himself with the horse and dragoons and those two little pieces advanced to Winchester. It pleased God that this resolution succeeded very well, for Sir William Waller having intelligence of his speedy advance, and believing his power to be greater, retired with his army from Alsford, and sat down before Basing House, which proved very convenient for the Lord Hopton, who hereby gained 10 or 12 days to forward his business at Winchester, whither he with ease and safely drew his Trayne and those few foot from Amesbury. But finding his great want of foot, and the necessity that there would be within few days to advance towards the relief of Basing House, he cast every way to supply himself."

No news came to Hopton of his Irish regiments at Wardour Castle, "and, doubting that nothing but money would make them tractable, he went himself thither from Winchester and carried £300 with him. Where coming to ffuntill (Fonthill), he was presently entertained by Sir Charles Vavasor and Lord Arundell of Wardour, who was then there, with a complaint that the regiment being at Henden, was in a high mutiny against their officers, insomuch that they durst not adventure to come amongst them. Whereupon the Lord Hopton that night appointed a rendezvous of Sir George Vaughan's regiment of horse, and of the two troops of dragoons near Henden, and with them the next morning early fell into the town upon the mutineers, took some of the principals, and commanded the rest of the regiment to draw out. And upon that terror, and the execution of two or three of the principal offenders he drew the regiment quietly to Winchester."

Hopton detailed for the siege of Wardour Castle Colonel Barnes with a regiment which he had raised some months before in Dorset by a commission from Hopton himself, and on the return journey to Winchester my lord met Sir Thomas Biron, with the Prince's regiment of horse, sent by the King, "and by the excellent conduct of that honest gentleman was afterwards of great use to him." Sir John Paulet, his Majesty's Major-General of Foot, came with his regiment from Bristol, and Hopton speedily raised at Winchester 2000 foot fit for any service. The Marquis of Winchester, being hard pressed at Basing by Sir William Waller, sent out a letter by a woman, saying that he could not resist Waller longer than six days. Lord Hopton promised help in due time, and wrote to Oxford, requesting a reinforcement from the garrison at Reading, "which was granted and very well executed by Sir Jacob Ashley (now Lord Ashley)," who met Hopton at Kingsclere with 900 excellent foot, Lord Percy's regiment of horse, and two field pieces, and Colonel Bellasis' regiment of

horse, commanded by Major Bovill. (The third wife of Colonel Lord Belasyse was Lady Anne Paulet, daughter of the Marquis of Winchester.) Early next morning the force marched to Basing, "being now a very handsome little army, of near 3000 foot and dragoons, about 2000 horse, and a good Trayne of Artillery (pp. 120, 124). When they came near Basing they found Sir William Waller risen. Lord Hopton rested and refreshed his troops that night at Basing, and with the advice of his Counsell of War resolved to advance towards the enemy and quarter in and about Odiam. At Basing Colonel Gerard desired leave for himself to return to Oxford upon some special occasion he then had, which the Lord Hopton granted, but with regret to lose the assistance of so gallant a person." Daily skirmishes took place (p. 124).

The fight of November 28 (p. 131) is thus described by Hopton. "Van Drust a principal commander of horse in Sir William Waller's army, taking notice that Sir Edward Stowell with his regiment and a troop or two more were quartered at Sutton, a quarter very untenable, and therefore the Lord Hopton had given Sir Edward Stowell an officer of his own, with 30 dragoons to help to strengthen it. The said Van Drust with a strong party of horse and dragoons attempted that quarter about two hours before day, but he was at the entrance so well entertained by the dragoons, and so handsomely charged by Sir Edward Stowell himself in the midst of that quarter as he was broken, routed, and chased some miles homewards, having left behind him several of his men dead in the quarter. Sir Edward Stowell's Major was there unfortunately taken. Vandress carried nothing away with him, but a bullet shot in his shoulder, and divers of his men hurt. At Odiam, Sir John Berkeley (p. 124) came up to the army with a reasonable good party of horse and dragoons, and about 1000 of his foot came up a day or two after him."

On either November 20 or 28 (pp. 127, 131), by advice of a Council of War, "about an hour before day, all men, saving reasonable guards which he left upon his quarters, and upon the Trayne, for he carried but two small pieces with him," were formed up in close order "upon the nearest part of the heath towards Farnham, and drew out 1000 musqueteers and some party of horse to advance towards their quarter and to draw them out." Waller declined to fight. "He drew out his forces into the little Park close under the Castle and kept his horse close, playing only with his cannon out of the Castle, resolving as he did afterwards very souldier like to take his advantage upon our retreat." Lord Hopton "advanced his foot and two little pieces to the end of the heath there, to make a stand towards Odiam on the edge of the inclosures, and made his retreat as orderly as he could, over the hill with his horse, his rear being all the way very smartly entertained by the enemy. And so he retreated without disorder or any considerable loss to his quarter."

Consultation with his officers followed, and on the grounds that "the quarters were bare, and the enemy being so sheltered under the Castle of Farnham," Lord Hopton sent "his own Tertio (Cornish brigade) to Alsford, Sir John Berkeley with

his horse and foot to Petersfield (p. 124), and the Lord Craford's horse and dragoons to Alton." He meant to move the latter party to Midhurst and Cowdray House. He then sent Sir Edward Ford to Lord Craford and Sir Jacob Ashley, and another officer to Sir John Berkeley, with orders to at once send dragoons to rendezvous at Cowdray House and take it. The plan was discovered, and Cowdray House was that night garrisoned by the enemy. Lord Hopton considered this the beginning of his misfortunes, and speaks of "the great misfortune that befell him afterwards at Alton." From Arundel (p. 138) Hopton "retired to Petersfield, and, having the dangerous quarter of Alton continually in his care, went thither the next day to visit it, and there to confer with the Earl of Craforde and Colonel Bolles." Sir Jacob Ashley had gone back to Reading a few days before. "Observing the large extent and insecurity of that quarter," Hopton ordered good guard to be kept, and careful scouting, and told Lord Crawford and Colonel Bolles to fall back at once upon Winchester if any advance was made from Farnham.

Of the disaster at Romsey (p. 140), Lord Hopton tells us that he posted Colonel William Courtney and Sir Humphrey Bennet in that town "that they might be always in action against the garrison of Southampton." Sir Humphrey Bennet was absent on duty as Sheriff, "and there falling out in his absence disorder and discontent amongst his officers, which caused likewise disorder and disobedience and carelessness in their guards; and Sir William Courtney observing the inconveniences that were likely to grow by it, coming over himself to Winchester to speak with Sir Humphrey Bennet about it, it happened that Colonel Norton, out of Hampton, fell suddenly upon that quarter in the absence of both of the chief officers, and beat it up, and, in effect, ruined both those regiments."

The greater disaster of Alton (pp. 140-151) followed. On the night of Romsey Fight Lord Hopton returned to Alresford from Sussex, got early news next morning, and at once went to Winchester to see what could be done. That night Sir H. Bennet showed him a letter just received from a friend saying that Waller had been reinforced, and that he had some very light leather guns (p. 139), "which gave cause to suspect that he had some present design that required a nimble execution." Lord Hopton suspected an imminent attack upon Alton, and sent a horseman to Lord Crawford with a copy of the news, bidding him send out scouts and parties in every direction, and to retire upon Winchester on the least suspicion of any advance of Waller from Farnham. Lord Crawford acknowledged that he received the warning before 11 P.M. and sent out his scouts. "But Sir William Waller had politiquely and souldier-like taken advantage of the woodiness of that country, and drawn his men and his light leather guns into the woods, and with Pyoneers made his way through them, without coming into any of the high waies." The surprise was complete. Warning went to Winchester, and Hopton mustered his men. Lord Crawford and the cavalry "finding horse to be of little use in that case, brake through the enemy," and told Hopton, who was advancing to their help. Word was "shortly after brought to him by divers

Job's messengers with certain notice that Colonel Bolle, behaving himself as gallantly as ever man did, was slain with many of his men, and the remainder, with that quarter, taken by the enemy!"

Treachery had been at work. "Sir William Waller was principally guided in the business by one Mottham, who had bin an officer in the Earl of Craforde's regiment of horse, and was not long before at Odiam saved from hanging by the earnest mediation of the Earl of Craford. Mottham had remained there a long time an intelligencer for Sir William Waller." A double-dyed scoundrel! Alton was indeed the beginning of sorrows! Lord Hopton wrote an account of the Alton disaster to Oxford, and said that he could turn the tables if 800 or 900 foot were sent to him. The hardly-pressed King returned a gracious answer, "but the desired supply came not!"

Colonel Bamfield at Arundel was disobedient. He returned to Hopton the regiments of Colonel Butler and Colonel Clarke, "but none of his foot, and kept Colonel Bellasis' his regiment contrary to orders!" To aid Hopton in raising the siege of Arundel Castle (pp. 150-1), Lord Wilmot was sent to him "with a 1000 of the King's horse, which, although it was a gallant body, was not proper for that service." Hopton says that he went to Arundel with about 2000 horse, but not above 1200 foot. As he retired he sent dragoons to invest Warblington House (p. 157), where Norton's garrison was doing much damage to the country. Warblington House was stoutly defended by one of Colonel Norton's officers, but surrendered in a few days upon composition. Hopton did his best to surround Colonel Norton, but says that his failure was due to Colonel Horatio Cary. Of the Havant Fight (p. 158) he says: "And thereby gave Norton the opportunity to charge, and routed him where he had the execution of many of his men, the officers hardly escaping. But in the very heat of this execution, Major Maxwell with his little party fell in upon Norton so sharply as he recovered all that was alive of the dragoons, and brought in 24 prisoners of Norton's men, himself hardly escaping!"

On the night Lord Hopton returned to Winchester Lord Wilmot was ordered away with his horse, and with the Prince's regiment (p. 164), "which being a regiment very well officered, and being of the number of 200, very good horsemen, had bin a great strength." Hopton had now only about 1100 horse and as many infantry left with him. "Sir William Waller being then at least treble as strong in the field, and the hearts of his men much elated with their success." Hopton and Wilmot parted with mutual regret; and the latter carried word to the King that Hopton meant fighting if opportunity offered. He now sent recruiting officers into the west, and orders for cloth and other necessities to Salisbury and other towns, for which he pledged his own credit: Waller's return from Arundel was happily delayed by "a great season of frost and snow." The King ordered Hopton to retreat from Winchester to Marlborough. He agreed, under protest, but said that his preparations would take four or five days; "and according to his hopes, the snows continued and increased daily, and

stayed the enemy in his quarters about Arundel." Recruits came in, and there were soon 2000 well-clad foot and as many horse at Winchester:

Romsey was recovered on March 13 (p. 169), "where about 80 of the enemy's foot, with their Colonel and officers, were taken prisoners, besides some few of them slain, and others dissipated." The Earl of Forth brought with him (p. 195) 1200 foot and 800 horse. Lord Hopton met him at Newbury, and returned with him to Winchester, where forage and full loads of hay were now being fetched from the neighbourhood of Southampton, under strong convoys by Hopton's own transport, and by 100 carts which he had commandeered from the Sheriff of Wilts. The cavalry were well contented, in spite of a report that Sir William Balfour had 18,000 horse and dragoons at Warnford and West Meon, 4000 being nearer the truth (p. 174). The Earl of Forth (or Brentford) ordered Hopton to march (p. 175) about 3 P.M. with his whole army and the guns, and to camp three miles out of Winchester. Several parties of horse were sent out with orders to guard the army, but not to fight. Next morning the army was ready to march towards Warnford, when the Earl of Brentford joined it, suffering agonies from gout. Waller's men had met a Cavalier party the night before (p. 176) at West Meon, and "were drawn out and embattailed upon a hill about two English miles behind their quarter in a woodland country." Sir John Smith (p. 180), Major-General of Horse, was to no purpose sent with a good party of horse "to draw him from his advantage to engage from the wood and nearer the plain. Lord Hopton knowing that country very well, and that there was a close way through woods and lands from the place where the enemy stood in battell (close order), nearer to Alsford than the place where the army then stood," suspected a design upon that town, which was "five miles from Winchester, and a reasonable strong quarter." A scouting party of horse found some of the enemy on the march, and there was at once a forced march to Alresford of the whole of Hopton's army (p. 177). Lord Hopton was in front with Sir Edward Stowell's brigade of horse, and his own two regiments, one of horse and the other of dragoons, and, being at the head of the brigade with Sir Edward Stowell a mile and a half from Alresford he plainly saw Balfour's cavalry "marching in the lane level with them, and they were not a mile asunder!" He at once ordered his own regiments to ride their very hardest into Alresford. The dragoons were to dismount and make good the barricades and entrances of the town, "the horse to stand together in a body in the market-place to second them as they should see occasion." A galloper was sent to the Earl of Brentford begging him to bring up every possible man at speed. Lord Hopton and Sir Edward Stowell's brigade, "in two or three divisions, for they were 100 horse," rode like madmen to help the cavalry at Alresford. The enemy "made a halt, and took their quarter about Cheriton. The army came late to Alsford; they drew not into the town, but stood in arms that night on a rising ground joyning to the town, fronting towards the enemy." The Earl of Brentford was with difficulty persuaded to lodge in the town, on account of his gout. Lord Hopton always speaks most highly of him.

Next day there were cavalry skirmishes with the enemy, "who had taken their quarter in a low field (p. 179), joyning to the Lady Stukely's house, not a mile and a half from our quarter, so as there was but a little hill and a little vale between us. The hill they endeavoured to keep because it covered them from us, and gave them the advantage of looking into us."

Cheriton Wood (p. 179) is described as "a little wood upon the top of the hill with a fence about it." That night every horseman was ordered to rest by his horse, every footman by his arms, and every officer in his place. Lord Brentford went to Alresford by special request, thanks to the gout. Lord Hopton slept "at the head of the army in his cloaths." The Earl came out of Alresford again in the morning. His reinforcements were posted on the right, while Hopton's own horse and foot were on the left facing Cheriton Wood. The cover was thick, and "the enemy lined the hedges next to us with store of musqueteers." Colonel Appleyard (p. 181) had 1000 musketeers drawn up in four divisions, and was at first overmatched in the wood. Thereupon Lord Hopton drew off one division of the commanded musketeers under Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Hopton, and ordered them "to run with all possible speed into the wood, upon the enemy's flank, where there was likewise a cross hedge to cover them." They poured in one flanking volley: the enemy began to run, and were chased through the wood. Colonel Appleyard took their strong position, also a Horse Colonel and some prisoners, but no artillery: "they being light guns were drawn off." Lord Hopton secured this new position, and prepared for a flank attack, sending Sir John Paulet and Colonel Hayes to the Earl of Brentford to say that he was willing to charge the enemy's flank with 1000 horse and 1000 musketeers. The Earl said that enough had been done, since the enemy must now either charge at a disadvantage or retire. Hopton was satisfied. He secured his left wing, and went towards the right wing to confer with the Earl. "And being near the midway upon the brow of the hill he saw troops of the right wing too far advanced, and hotly engaged with the enemy." Sir Edward Stowell's brigade was 1000 strong. He "charging home upon their cannon, was left a prisoner with five wounds upon him." Sir H. Bennet's regiment stood in reserve upon the top of the hill. As to the conduct of the cavalry, "300 horse with much ado, stood with Lord Hopton at the entrance into the Common, where all the enemy's horse stood in bodies before him." Most of them belonged to the Queen's regiment. Mons. de Pluvie, their Colonel, had his leg taken off to the ankle by a cannon-shot. Lord Hopton's own charger received a musket-shot in the shoulder. Slingsby's account (Clarendon MS. 1738.7) says that there were six days' skirmishing before the battle, and that the Parliamentarians lost some eighty men killed in the wood. He thus describes the King's infantry. "The foot keeping their ground in a close body, nor firing till within two pikes' length, and then three ranks at a time, after turning up the bottoms of their muskets; charging their pikes, and standing close, preserved themselves, and slew many of the enemy."

The cavalry covered the retreat. Hopton says, "With great difficulty we got off all our cannon (p. 184). We recovered our first ground upon the ridge of the hill by Alsford towne, with all our army, cannon, and carriages." Truly accounts vary. Slingsby says that no guns or colours were lost during the retreat. The Royalists kept a fierce front, and "the enemy gave us some respite." Colonel Fielding was now ordered to march with the guns and carriages a mile towards Winchester, and then to turn off to the right towards Basing. The foot, covered by 100 horse, were "to take the lower way through Alsford for Basing," as a mile would bring them amongst enclosures and woods. The horse were to retreat over the downs. Lord Hopton, in command of the foot, remained in Alresford with 1000 musketeers to cover the retreat of the cavalry. The Earl of Brentford with his page stayed to the last, and then rode off, hotly pursued. He halted at each narrow pass for the next two or three miles to see his men get through safely, and, having done all that a soldier could, though "many of his horse brake from him," reached Basing House in safety at one o'clock on the following morning.

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Page 12, l. 14, *after* "Park, insert "and."
" 60, l. 37, *for* "Wells" *read* "Wilts."
" 62, l. 2, *for* "Waller" *read* "Walker."
" 123, l. 25, *for* "Baron Stratton" *read* "Lord Crawford."
" 174, l. 39, *for* "North" *read* "Forth."
" 332, l. 17, *delete* "had"; *for* "before" *read* "later."
" 335, l. 35, *for* "Sir Edward" *read* "Lord."
" 343, l. 12, *for* "or" *read* "of."
" 367, l. 41, *for* "15" *read* "16."

