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CLUN AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD IN THE FIRST CIVIL WAR.

BY THE REV. ALFRED M. AUDEN, M.A., VICAR OF CHURCH BROUGHTON, CO. DERBY; CURATE OF CLUN 1898—1904.

ON the outbreak of hostilities in 1642 the laity and clergy of Clun and its neighbourhood seem to have been pretty equally divided in opinion between the King and Parliament.

At this time Clun was owned, or at least held, by Sir Robert Howard, K.B., the fifth son of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk. It had been forfeited to the Crown in 1572 owing to the treason of Thomas, 4th Duke of Norfolk, who had married the only daughter and heiress of Henry Fitz-Alan, last Earl of Arundel of this line; and had been granted by James I. in 1603 to Henry, Earl of Northampton (the founder of Clun Hospital in 1614), brother of this traitor Duke, and by him entailed on the younger sons of his nephew, Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, second son of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk.

Though Thomas, the eldest son of Philip, Earl of Arundel, was restored by Act of Parliament (1 James I.) to all such rights, titles and honours as his father had lost by his attainder in 1590, the ancient barony of Clun, the inheritance of the Fitz-Alans, had been already granted to his great uncle, the Earl of Northampton.

Perhaps the following Pedigree will make the relationships clearer.

PEDIGREE OF HOWARD OF CLUN.

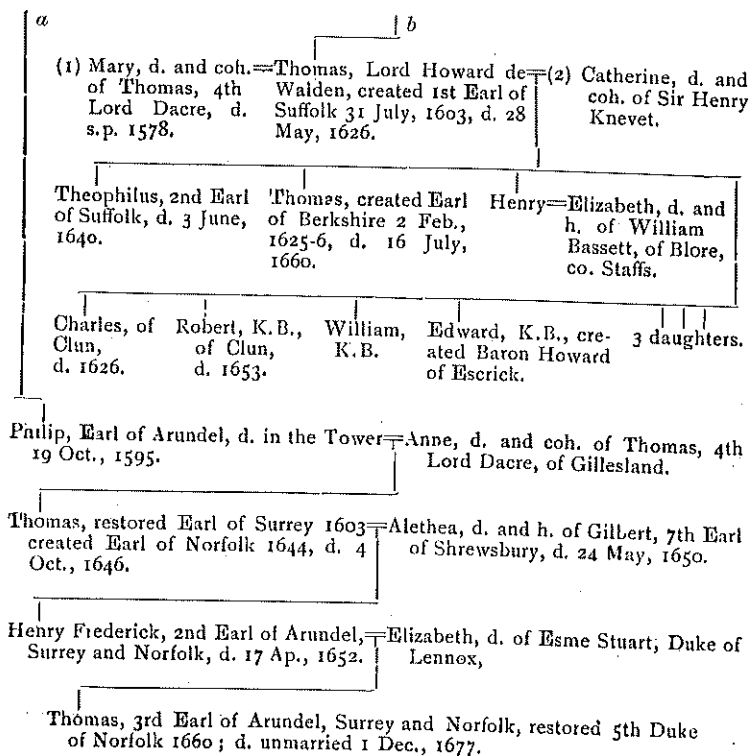
- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) Anne, 3rd d. of = Thomas Howard, 3rd Duke of Norfolk, K.G., b. 1473, died s.p. d. 25 Aug., 1534. | (2) Elizabeth, d. of Edward Stafford, 3rd Duke of Buckingham. |
|--|---|

Henry, Earl of Surrey, b. 1507, executed 21 Jan. 1547. The Poet.	= Frances, d. of John Vere, 15th Earl of Oxford.
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- | | | | |
|---|--|---|--|
| (1) Mary, d. and h. of Henry Fitz-Alan, 14th Earl of Arundel of Clun. | = Thomas, 4th Duke of Norfolk, b. 10 March, 1536, executed 2 June, 1572. | (2) Margaret, d. and h. of Thomas, Lord Audley of Walden. | Henry, created Earl of Northampton 1604, d. unmarried 15 June, 1614. Founder of Clun Hospital. |
|---|--|---|--|

a

b



Sir Robert Howard, Lord of the Manor and Honour of Clun and of the Lordship of Bishop's Castle, and patron of the living of Hopesay, was an ardent Royalist. With his younger brother, William, he had been created a Knight of the Bath on Nov. 4, 1616, when Prince Charles (afterwards Charles the 1st) was made Prince of Wales, and succeeded to the Clun property on the death of his brother Charles, on June 21, 1626, as heir of the entail under the settlement of his great uncle, the Earl of Northampton, in 1614. On January 23, 1623-4, he was elected M.P. for Bishop's Castle, and sat till he was disabled in 1644, because "he was a member of ye House of Commons, deserted ye Parliament, and sat in ye assembly at Oxford," i.e., among those Members who remained loyal to the King. His moral character was not all that it ought to have been, for in 1627 he was imprisoned and publicly excommunicated for an intrigue

with Frances, wife of Sir John Villiers, first Viscount Purbeck. But there is something to be said in excuse. This lady was the daughter of Sir Edward Coke, and, after much sordid haggling about marriage settlements between her father and her future husband, had married, on Sept. 29, 1616, the brother of George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham. After showing many signs of mental weakness, Lord Purbeck soon after 1620 entirely lost his reason, and became completely insane. Some short time subsequent to this, Sir Robert Howard, taking pity on her practical widowhood, persuaded Lady Frances to elope with him, and one of the charges against the guilty pair was that they lived together "at Sir Robert's house in Shropshire." Archbishop Laud was one of the chief prosecutors, but carried the case too far, and had to pay heavy damages to Howard as compensation for false imprisonment. The result of this attachment was the birth of a son in 1625, who was known both as Robert Wright and Robert Villiers, till, on his marriage with a daughter of Sir John Danvers, the Regicide, he took the name of Danvers, and became famous as a hot Republican, and a Fifth Monarchyman. Lady Purbeck died in 1645, and was buried at Oxford on June 14. In 1648 Sir Robert Howard married Catherine, daughter of Henry Neville, 7th Baron Abergavenny, by whom he had three sons according to his monument; two sons and a daughter, according to the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Dying in 1653, he was buried at Clun, where in the Church is a brass to his memory with this inscription:—"Here lieth the body of Sir Robert Howard, Knight of the Bath, fifth son of Thomas Earl of Suffolk, Lord High Treasurer of England, who deceased April 22, 1653. He married Katherine Neville, daughter of Henry, Lord Abergavenny, by whom he had issue Henry, Edward and Robert.¹ Ætat. suæ 63." His widow re-married John Berry of Ludlow.

When Civil War was inevitable, Sir Robert Howard was one of the Shropshire gentry who on Aug. 8, 1642, signed the

¹ In 1715, Mary Howard of Clun, co. Salop (widow of Henry Howard of Clun, Esquire, and daughter of Sir George Blount, Bart., of Sodington, co. Worcester), as a Roman Catholic non-juror, registered her jointure estates at Brampton Brian, Bucknell, and Aston; the heir of her husband being his brother Robert.

resolution that they were ready to "adventure their lives and fortunes in the defence of the Royal and Sacred Person of the King"; and in the December of that year, "the Engagement and Resolution for the raising and maintaining of forces at their own charges for the defence of his Majesty, their country and more particularly the Fortunes, Persons, and Estates of the Subscribers." Soon after the declaration of war, Sir Robert was made Colonel of a Royal Regiment of Dragoons, and later on was appointed Governor of Bridgnorth Castle, which he was compelled to surrender on April 26, 1646. At the close of hostilities his estates were sequestered by the Committee of Shropshire, and the fine was fixed at £942 6s. (or £952, according to the *Dict. of N.B.*)

The neighbouring estate of Walcot was owned by Humphrey Walcot, who was also patron of the living of Clun. He seems to have been a somewhat half-hearted Royalist, though he served on the King's side for a short time, and his third son, William, attended Charles on the scaffold and received half of the cloak the King then wore. His wavering loyalty may perhaps be accounted for by the Puritan tendencies of his religious opinions. Calamy gives him the praise of always appointing men of this way of thought. "That holy gentleman Mr. Walcot preferred none to his livings but the worthiest men," i.e., practical Nonconformists. Mr. Walcot must have been a wealthy man, for shortly after Charles I. reached Shrewsbury, he wrote to Walcot asking him to lend £5,000 to the Royal Cause—a sum which must be multiplied by 5 to make it of modern value. Walcot seems not to have lent the money asked for. A few days later, however, he sent as a present to Prince Rupert "a horse and furniture with a case of pistols, being the horse which hee entertaines in the traine troop of Saloppshire." In the December of 1643 he gave £20 "towards the payment of 300 horse," and in May, 1644, he lent £150 to the Royal Cause. In his sequestration he was accused of having signed as a commissioner three warrants for "the King's service against ye Parliament."

- (1) For ye discovery of ye estates of such as were friends to ye Parliament.

- (2) Ye approving of assessments of moneys & ye collecting thereof.
- (3) Ye warning of all gentlemen of quality within ye Hundred of Purslow to attend Prince Rupert at Shrewsbury.

He died in 1650, and the Vicar of Clun preached his funeral sermon, which was afterwards published, entitled "The Gale of Opportunity."

Stokesay was also owned and tenanted by Royalists. In 1620, Sir William Craven,² son of Sir William Craven, citizen and alderman of London, had purchased it together with other adjoining estates. It was not, however, occupied by him as a residence, but was let to Charles Baldwin of Elsich, and tenanted by Sir Samuel Baldwin, sergeant-at-law, a staunch Royalist. Both Craven and Baldwin were in consequence heavily fined by the Committee of Sequestrators. Samuel Baldwin died in 1683, and was buried in the Temple Church, London, where his monument styles him "of Stoke Castle." Charles Baldwin was M.P. for Ludlow, but was "disabled" from sitting Feb. 3, 1643-4. He had signed the Loyal Engagement of Dec., 1642.

At Bishop's Castle lived a Royalist, William Blunden, of Blunden Hall, a house still standing near the Church, who was among those signing the engagement of 1642, and subsequently held a captain's commission in one of the King's Dragoon Regiments. He had sat as M.P. for Bishop's Castle in the Parliaments elected on April 25, 1625, and Jan. 23, 1625-6, but did not seek election in that of March, 1627-8. Along with Humphrey Walcot and Richard Oakley³

¹ Cp. Sequestration Papers of Humphrey Walcot by the Rev. J. R. Burton, of Bitterley, *Transactions*, Part III., Vol. V, 3rd Series.

² William Craven having distinguished himself as a military officer in foreign service, received the honour of knighthood 4 March, 1626, and eight days afterwards was elevated to the peerage as Baron Craven, of Hamsted Marshall, Co. Berks. He is best known for his loyalty to the unfortunate Queen of Bohemia, daughter of James I. and mother of Princes Rupert and Maurice (see *Lord Craven and the Queen of Hearts*, by Norrey Connell). The *Mercurius Publicus*, of date July 5-12, 1660, contains the following:—"William, Lord Craven, is made Governor of Shrewsbury Castle, and his revenues restored to him with all arrears." He died at the age of 88 years 10 months on the 9th April, 1697.

³ Richard Oakley, of Oakley, sat as M.P. for Bishop's Castle from January, 1623-4, to April 25, 1625, and was fined by the Sequestrators in the sum of £460 for enlisting Dragoons in the County of Shropshire. He died in 1653.

he was a Commissioner for the County of Salop "for the taxation, assessing and collecting of the two first subsidies of four entire subsidies granted by Act of Parliament in the 16th year of the reign of King Charles."¹

Of those in this Subsidy Roll the following amongst the 81 "present at the first and second meetings" signed the Engagement and Resolution of December, 1642, to raise and maintain troops at their own charges:—William Blunden aforesaid, of Bishop's Castle; Walter Waring, of Broughton;² Francis Morris, of Beckjay; and Thomas Corbett, of Sibdon. At Broncroft was another stout supporter of the King in John Lutley, who had been a scholar of Shrewsbury School, entering Jan. 14, 1627-8.

On the Parliamentary side was Sir Robert Harley, K.B., Member for Herefordshire, who had inherited Brampton Brian in 1631. In September, 1626, he received a grant of the office of Master of the Mint in the Tower of London. Up to the execution of the King he was a strong Anti-royalist; but upon that Act of the Parliament, having refused to sign the Engagement of 1649, and also to coin any money except with the die of the late King, he fell out of favour, and in 1650 was refused permission to reside in Shrewsbury, though he pleaded that his losses were "little less than £20,000 for the cause of the Parliament," and "his house in Herefordshire had been burnt by the enemy."³

Sir Robert died 6 Nov., 1656, and was succeeded by his eldest son Edward, Colonel in the Parliamentary army, who also turned with his father on the death of Charles, and at the Restoration was appointed Governor of Dunkirk.⁴ Sir

¹ Subsidy Roll for the Hundreds of Purslow and Clun, 1641. *Transactions*, Series 3, Vol. IV. (1904), p. 129.

² Walter Waring was patron of the living of Bishop's Castle, and he appointed Gervas Needham on Dec. 29, 1629.

³ Historical MSS. Commission, Welbeck, vol. iii., pp. 172, 187, 188.

⁴ Colonel Edward Harley, born 1624, was Colonel of a Parliamentary Regiment. In this service he was wounded by a musket shot, the ball remaining in him till his death. He was Governor of Monmouth in 1644 [Whitelocke], and sat as M.P. for Herefordshire, being one of the excluded members. He was re-elected in the Convention Parliament of 1659. Made Governor of Dunkirk, May 25, 1660, he was re-called May 25, 1661, owing to his conduct displeasing the French Government, with whom Charles II. was secretly negotiating, and from whom he looked for subsidies. He was made a K.B., but declined a peerage, and died Dec. 8, 1700. He had been chosen by the Rev. Richard Baxter as one of his executors.

Robert Harley was married three times: (1) to Anne, daughter of Charles Barret of Belhouse, Essex; (2) to Mary, daughter of Sir Francis Newport of High Ercal; (3) to Brilliana, daughter of Edward, Lord Conway, by whom alone he had issue. His funeral sermon was preached by "his great friend and neighbour," the Vicar of Clun, and published under the title "The Beloved Disciple."

Hopton Castle was owned by Robert Wallop, one of the most rabid of Republicans;¹ Shipton by Richard More, M.P. for Bishop's Castle from March, 12, 1639-40, to his death on Sept. 6, 1643, and a member of the Parliamentary Committee of Twenty for the Association of the Counties of Warwick, Stafford and Salop, appointed April 10th, 1643; Linley was inhabited by Samuel More, Colonel for the Parliament, a member of the Association, and M.P. for the County of Salop in Cromwell's Parliament of 1656, and for Bishop's Castle 1658-60.

Jeremy Powell, a man of the same opinions, also owned property at Clun and Bucknell, and was patron of the living at the latter place. He had been a Shrewsbury School boy, entering as "*generosi filius et haeres*" Jan. 21, 1609-10. In the Subsidy Roll of 1641 he is described "*of Shadwell*," a hamlet in Clun parish.

As to the clerical body, Clun had been for a long time led ecclesiastically by pronounced Puritans. The late Vicar, Erasmus Powell, who had held the living 1596²-1637, and was made R.D. of Clun circa 1620, was the fourth son of Hugh Powell of Ednop, Clun, entered Shrewsbury School in 1580 as "*generosi filius*," and on Nov. 15, 1636, was married

¹ Robert Wallop, born 20 July, 1601, was only son of Sir Henry Wallop of Fairleigh Wallop, in Hampshire (who for a time resided at Poynton, in the parish of High Ercall), and Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Robert Corbet of Moreton Corbet, Co Salop, to whom Hopton had come by his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Thomas Hopton of Hopton. He was M.P. for Andover and Hampshire, being elected for the former place before he was of statutory age; succeeded his father in 1642, and married Anne, daughter of Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton. Chosen one of King Charles' Judges he only sat three times, and did not sign the death warrant. He was granted £10,000 out of the estate of the Marquis of Winchester in 1649 to cover his losses during the Civil War, among which was Hopton Castle. On the Restoration he was imprisoned in the Tower, where he died 7 Jan., 1667-8. In 1661 his estates had been confiscated to his brother-in-law, Thomas Wriothesley, 4th Earl of Southampton.

² Erasmus Powell was appointed to Clun, 19 June, 1596.

at Churchstoke to "Elinor Clearke, widow." He did not live long afterwards, for his successor, Thomas Froyssell, was appointed Sept. 27, 1637. The general trend of his teaching may be gathered from the following incident:—

On July 5, 1633, a young farmer "of 40, a mean freeholder's son dwelling in the parish of Bishop's Castle, in a lordship of Sir Robert Howard, called Clun," named Enoch ap Evan, who seems to have been a victim of religious mania, "did with a hatchet cut off the head of John ap Evan, his brother," because he had received the Sacrament kneeling. Then "on his mother, Joan ap Evan, rebuking him, he in like manner cut off her head," for screaming when she entered the room and saw the tragedy. "He wrapped both the heads in a linen cloth, and hid them in the lower meadow." He was arrested and taken to Shrewsbury Gaol. Here he was visited by the Rev. Peter Studley, Vicar of S. Chad's, and, on July 10, made a full confession of the crime to him. When on trial at the Shropshire Assize in August, he made a similar confession, adding that at one time he himself had been in the habit of kneeling at the Holy Communion, but had given up the practice in consequence of an inspired revelation. The Vicar of S. Chad's wrote on the subject to the Council of State on July 31, as did Mr. Justice Johnson on Aug. 15. (See *State Papers Domestic*, 1633-4). In this year the Rev. Peter Studley published a book, which he called "The Looking-glasse of Schisme," to illustrate the excesses to which Puritan fanaticism might go, and in which he animadverted severely on the religious teaching under which the young murderer had come.¹

The famous Vavasour Powell was nephew of Erasmus, and for a time his curate, and possibly imbibed some of his Republican opinions from his uncle and quondam vicar. He was born at Knucklas, near Knighton, in 1617, and after being employed as a groom at Bishop's Castle for a short time, was, at the age of 17, sent by his uncle Erasmus to Jesus College, Oxford. Leaving the University without

¹ Richard More, Esq., of More and Shipton, in 1641 published a refutation of the Rev. Peter Studley's book to prove that madness, not religion, was the cause. There is little doubt, however, that his religious views brought on his insanity.

taking a degree. he became schoolmaster at Clun and officiated as his uncle's curate there. On the death of Erasmus he became an itinerant preacher, but, soon after the war broke out,¹ accepted a commission in the army of the Parliament, and later on joined the Anabaptists. In 1653 and 1656 he was imprisoned by order of Oliver Cromwell, the Lord Protector, for conspiracy, and being a leader of the Fifth Monarchy men, the enemies of the Government.

Thomas Froyssell was also a strong Puritan, and on the outbreak of the war, rather than take the loyalty oath to the King, fled to London for refuge, where he was appointed to a city living,² St. Margaret's, New Fish Street, in March, 1642-3, and eight days later to the Thursday lectureship at S. Dunstan's in the West, and held these appointments till the cessation of hostilities, when he returned to Clun, but though episcopally ordained, refused to conform in Aug., 1662. Notwithstanding that he was not a member of the Westminster Assembly, he signed a certificate granted by it to Vavasour Powell. Among the neighbouring clergy, Samuel Berkeley, Vicar of Clungunford, was also of Parliamentary leanings, so much so that Lord Capel (the Royalist commander in Shropshire) in July, 1643, arrested him for disloyalty, on the information of some of his parishioners. But the nearness of the Parliament garrison of Brampton Bryan was pleaded as the excuse for his behaviour. He was a member of the Fifth Presbyterian Classis of 1647, and a Minister Assistant to the Independent Commissioners of 1654. Finally in the list of the divines who formed the Westminster Assembly, occurs the name of Mr. Stanley Gower, of Brampton Bryan.

¹ Many ministers of religion accepted commissions and commanded soldiers in the Civil War. "One Mr. Palmer, a minister, had a commission to be Captain" of a troop of Nottingham Horse. "One Mr. Coates, a minister, an honest goodly man," was commander of a Nottingham Regiment of 400 Foot. (See Mrs. Hutchinson's *Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson*). The famous Rev. Hugh Peters, too, was a Cavalry officer. "The saints" claimed that if they had "the praises of God in their mouths" they had a right to have also "a two-edged sword in their hands."

² 22 Dec., 1642, Resolution of the House. The Ministers in London who have been plundered by the King's army or forced to leave their livings for their safety may supply the livings of such ministers as are in the King's army and receive the profits by virtue of the sequestration until the peace of the kingdom shall be settled.

On the other side were Richard Aunsham of Hopesay,¹ John Aumbler of Lydham and Lydbury, Thomas Atkinson of Wistanstow, Gervas Needham of Bishop's Castle, Peter Mease of Culmington, and Thomas Habberley of Diddlebury, all of whom were ejected from their livings for their loyalty. Richard Edwards, Vicar of Bucknell, had already been in trouble for malignancy, i.e., loyalty, and was probably also ejected, for on Sept. 28, 1647, a Puritan named John Gough was nominated to the parish, the patron being Jeremiah Powell.

The district within a radius of 20 miles of Clun was plentifully supplied with Castles and fortified manor-houses, including, of course, the famous Castle of Clun. But this was in too ruinous a state to be made use of by Sir Robert Howard, otherwise, we may be sure, he would have put it into a state of defence at once. In saying this I am quite aware that I am running counter to the expressed opinion of the late Rev. Charles Warner, Vicar of Clun 1868—1898. In a paper read before the members of the Royal Archaeological Institute and the Shropshire Archaeological Society on Aug. 1, 1894, he said: "The castle was finally demolished in the Civil War by General Watts, who commanded a section of the Parliamentary forces. The Church was also partly destroyed in the Civil War by the same." But no General Watts can be found on the Parliamentarian side. The only General of the name mentioned in these times was the Royalist John Watts, Governor of Chirk Castle, who, when retreating thence to Ludlow, was taken prisoner at Churchstoke, having been compelled to take refuge with his men in the church there.² Clun Castle is never mentioned among the Shropshire garrisons by any writer or news letter of the period; and we may therefore safely conclude that Mr.

¹ Richard Aunsham was appointed by Sir Robert Howard, patron, Dec. 9 1623.

² "The Montgomery forces began to fortify Llangollen Church for the strengthening and keeping of the Chirk Castle men, where Sir John Watts was Governor: Who shortly after, deserting the Castle and marching towards the King's Army with all his garrison, was taken by the men of Montgomery Castle, after a hotte bickering in Church Stoke Church, the 1st day of March, 1645-6." For two hours he held the church bravely till the burning of the doors compelled him to surrender with 100 foot, 50 horse and several officers. General Watts, as far as records go, was never at Clun, all his service being in North Wales.

Warner was mistaken in his statement about the garrisoning of the Castle as well as about the destroyers of the church—for these were Royalist soldiers. But though Clun Castle was not in a fit state for defence,¹ the parish was to its undoing surrounded by garrisons filled with soldiers more or less (generally less) disciplined.

The Royalists fortified Stokesay, Broncroft, Holgate, Upper Lea Manor House, Walcot, and, most important of all, Ludlow. Their opponents Brampton Bryan and Hopton Castle, and for a time at least used the churches of Clun and Bishop's Castle for military purposes. Unfortunately we have no evidence as to the actual dates on which the soldiers were first stationed in any of these places. Between 31 Jan. 1642-3, and 17 April, 1643, while a treaty was ineffectually carried on between the King and Parliament, there was probably not much fighting. It was on its expiration that garrisons were placed in the Manor Houses; and it was about the time when Lord Capel became Commander-in-chief of Shropshire that the system of block-houses, subduing the immediate area of their influence, became general. The common mode by which either side secured a hold on a district was to quarter a number of troops in a fortified house or garrison, who could be sent wherever they were wanted in the district, and who in the intervals of ease gave themselves up to robbing their neighbours. They lived practically at free quarters. The country around a garrison of either side suffered immensely. The soldiers were not regularly paid, and had to look out for food and forage. They were left very

¹ Leland states that in his time (1539) the Castle was "sumewhat ruinus," and the late Mr. William Phillips, who was no mean authority, and had made a very careful study of the subject, was strongly of opinion that it was never repaired afterwards. Lord Tennyson's words fairly describe its appearance now:

"All was ruinous."

Here stood a shattered archway plumed with fern;
And here had fallen a great part of a tower,
Whole, like a crag that tumbles from the cliff,
And like a crag was gay with wilding flowers:
And high above a piece of turret stair,
Worn by the feet that now were silent, wound
Bare to the sun, and monstrous ivy stems
Claspt the gray walls with hairy-fibred arms
And suck'd the joining of the stones, and looked
A knot, beneath, of snakes, aloft, a grove."

(*Geraint and Enid*).

often to help themselves, which they did by indiscriminate sacking of houses, indifferent whether those houses belonged to friends or foes, and resorting to violence, wherever their exaggerated demands were not complied with. Some of these garrisons were formed by the owners for protection; some against the will of the owners by the predominant party in the district; some on the main roads to keep open the lines of communication. "As for the propensity to plunder, both sides were equally bad, only the Royalists justified themselves by recognised laws of war, the Republicans by the laws of Moses."¹

Of the garrison at Walcot all we know is, that on Oct. 12, 1643, it was reported that its owner, Humphrey Walcot, had shown himself "very dutiful and forward in furthering and assisting his Majesty and his affaires, and had willingly received divers of his Majesty's soldiers to be billeted in his house, and had sent forth men, horses and armes at several times for ye King's service against the Parliament." Probably it was only an outpost to Stokesay, and not held for long.

At Upper Lea, near Bishop's Castle, are some very interesting remains of an early fortress, and the present house bears the date 1560. This was a Royal garrison as late as October, 1645.

In the *Mercurius Britannicus* of Jan. 6-10, 1644-5, mention is made of the "two kings' garrisons at Hopesay House and Lay [Lea] House." Possibly the former is a mistake for Stokesay. Though indeed it is quite credible that some house at Hopesay was treated in the same manner as Walcot, and soldiers billeted in it for a short time.²

¹ *Civil War in Worcestershire*, by J. W. Willis Band. Mrs. Hutchinson in the *Memoirs* of her husband, Colonel John Hutchinson, the Parliamentary Governor of Nottingham, writes of the Roundhead soldiers of Sir John Gell, General in Derbyshire:—"His regiment of foot were good stout fighting men, but the most licentious, ungovernable wretches. Without any remorse he suffered his men indifferently to plunder both honest men and cavaliers." In other places she speaks of them as "being as dexterous at plunder as at fight," and says that "Gell's men were nimble youths at the work of plunder." What was true, according to a writer of their own side, of the Roundhead soldiers of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, was no doubt true also of those of Shropshire. But since the greater part of the information we possess about the war in this latter county comes from Roundhead sources, the excesses of their own troops are glossed over, those of the Royalists exaggerated.

² Possibly Sir R. Howard was living at Hopesay, Clun Castle being uninhabitable. We know that he had a house in Shropshire, and in 1623 he appointed to the living of Hopesay as patron. If so, we can easily see the

Of Broncroft and Holgate all we know is, that they had been Royal fortresses, and were dismantled by the King's party after the taking of Shrewsbury in February, 1644-5, Broncroft being re-fortified by the Parliament in the June following.¹

Clun Church was destroyed "by an officer of the King's party" at some unknown date, "lest it should be made a garrison for the Parliament or a future defence and shelter for the soldiers as it formerly had been."

Bishop's Castle Church was also greatly injured in the autumn of 1645 while serving as a place of defence for the same side. In the August of that year Parliamentary "forces consisting of 80 horse and 80 foot, under the command of Major Fenwick, were quartered in Bishop's Castle for securing that town and parts adjacent."

Of Stokesay, Hopton, and Brampton Bryan the stories will be told in the more detailed account which follows.

Further off, but no doubt able to send men to plunder, were Red, Caus, and Croft Castles, and later Montgomery.²

It is difficult to put together a connected story of the various incidents happening in Clun and its neighbourhood, for the allusions are scattered about here and there in various news letters, and the letters confine themselves almost exclusively to military operations. But of course this must have been a time of general pressure and suffering among all classes.

Of Clun itself our only records consist in a few scattered notices in the Trinity Hospital accounts.

Charles I. reached Shrewsbury on Sept. 20, 1642. The first thing to do was to collect an army to defend the standard he had raised at Nottingham on Aug. 22,³ and

likelihood of his having some of his dragoons posted in his residence for the protection of his property.

¹ Cheney Longville also, a moated house in the parish of Wistanstow, is traditionally said to have been a Royal garrison, and to have been dismantled by the Parliament's troops. It was crenellated in 1394. The lower portion of the work of this date still remains; the buildings rise out of the moat, and surround a courtyard entered by an arched gateway.

² Of these Red, or Powis Castle was taken from the King in Oct., 1644; Caus in June, 1645. Croft dismantled by his party in July, 1645, Montgomery fortified against him Sept. 1644.

³ Clarendon says Aug. 25, but Whitelock and Rushworth Aug. 22, which is, no doubt, the correct date. The Register of All Saints', Derby, has the entry: 1642. The 22 of this August erectum fuit Nottinghamiæ Vexillum Regale.

money to pay his soldiers when they were enlisted, and to buy arms and ammunition. The former proved the easier of the two. "Multitudes came to him daily," wrote Richard Gough in his *History of Middle* (p. 59). To obtain the latter, the King wrote letters to all the richer gentry of Shropshire and the adjacent counties, asking for pecuniary help. Among those to whom he appealed was, as we have already mentioned, Humphrey Walcot; his letter asking for a loan of £5,000 being dated Sept. 23, 1642. No doubt all in the neighbourhood who sympathised with the Royal cause lent such contributions of money as they could afford, and many men from the district would join the army, though unfortunately no records have been preserved, such as are to be found in Gough's quaint history of his parish.

The King's army marched from Shrewsbury on Oct. 12th for Bridgnorth, and from Bridgnorth on Oct. 15th, for London; his progress thither being arrested by the indecisive battle of Edghill, on Oct. 23rd.

After the King and his forces had left Shropshire, things seem to have been more or less quiet in the county. But towards the close of the year the principal gentlemen of the county entered upon an engagement and resolution "for the Raising and Maintayning of Forces at their own charge for the defence of His Majesty, their country and more particularly the Fortunes, Persons and estates of the Subscribers." The last addition is naive, and perhaps gives the keynote to the signatures of some, who were but half-hearted Royalists in reality, yet did not care to go against public opinion. It also shows that the country was in an unsettled state even after the army had gone; there being left behind men

Gleaned from both factions; Roundheads freed
 From cant of sermon and of creed;
 And Cavaliers whose souls, like mine,
 Spurn at the bonds of discipline.
 Wiser, we judge, by dale or wold
 A warfare of our own to hold,
 Than breathe our last on battle down
 For cloak or surplice, mace or crown.¹

¹ Sir Walter Scott, *Rokeby*, iii., xii.

This seems to have been especially the case in the neighbourhood of Clun, in those days a very wild, thickly wooded and thinly populated country. For the following resolutions are to be found in the books of the Corporation of Bishop's Castle.

1642. Dec. 2. Orders made in consideration of the imminent dangers wherein the town and the adjacent parts stand by reason of the soldiers remaining, that all householders or other able men of their own providing shall upon due notice keep the King's watch during the whole night; that upon the town's charge all persons who keep horses or mares shall be ready upon due notice to ride to such places as the Bailiffs shall appoint: and that all householders shall at their own cost provide a good and sufficient weapon for the safeguard of their own persons.

1642. Dec. 24. Order that whereas an association has been formed throughout the county of Salop for the preservation of every particular person from plundering, of late too much exercised: and whereas it has been concluded by the several Justices of the Peace for the allotments of Clun and Purslow and most of the inhabitants, gentry and freeholders of the same, that Eight horses with able riders completely furnished shall be instantly provided within every allotment. William Blunden, Esqre., shall have power to nominate four able and sufficient inhabitants of the Town of Bishop's Castle to provide four horses with riders, etc., at the general charge of the Town.

The Resolution and Engagement soon bore fruit. Among the Shropshire Regiments one of Dragoons was raised apparently in the neighbourhood of Clun, of which Sir Robert Howard was appointed Colonel, with William Blunden as a Captain under him.

But though the men were enlisted, arms were scarce, and on March 19, 1642-3, Captain Blunden, in the absence of Sir R. Howard engaged in Parliamentary duties at Oxford, wrote complaining that his Dragoons had not yet received their Regimental colours. He also says that he had received a warrant to summon all in the Hundred of Slepe, between the ages of 16 and 60 to assemble at

Bridgnorth: but he was altogether destitute of powder, bullets and match, and was therefore in doubt what to do.

This lack of weapons was an old cry. According to Clarendon (vol. ii., pt. 1, p. 62) "of the army which marched under Charles to Edghill, the noblemen and gentlemen of quality sent the King such supplies of arms out of their own armouries (which were very mean) so that with these and the arms borrowed from the Trained Bands the foot (all but three or four hundred who marched without any weapon but a cudgel) were armed with muskets and bags for their powder, and pikes: but in the whole body there was not a pikeman had a corset and very few musketeers who had swords. Among the horse the officers had their full desire if they were able to procure old backs and breasts and pots, with pistols or carabines for their two or three first ranks, and swords for the rest; themselves having gotten (and some soldiers by their examples) besides pistols and swords a short pole axe." And an historian of Edghill Fight puts it on record that "some hundreds of Welshmen were so brave that though they had no arms but Pitchforks and such like tools, and many only with good cudgels, yet they went down the hill as eagerly to fight as the best armed among them."

Various letters of this period among the Ottley Papers show the straits to which, as the war went on, Commanders were put to furnish the men under them with arms; e.g., on Dec. 26, 1642, thirty or forty "Spanish pikes" are offered to the Governor of Shrewsbury from Bristol; on Jan. 6th following, requests are sent to him for "ammunition of guns, clubbs or bills": and about the same time Thomas Spencer of Westbury suggests to him the manufacture of "a competent number of staves with fower crosse pickes towards the upper end, the chardg of which will be little, though the use maie be greate and necessarie."

If this was the case with the regular army, it was accentuated naturally in the calling up of such a general levy as Capt. Blunden was requested to make.

It is not known what service Sir Robert Howard's Regiment performed, as he played no important military part himself until towards the end of the war.

Probably the fact which caused Blunden's complaints was that there were too many independent actors in Shropshire with no master mind to direct, or collect into one point their scattered energies. To meet this want, the King at the end of March, 1642-3, sent down Lord Capel into Shropshire to "rayse horse and foot and command them in chief."

He reached the county town about the first of April, and lost no time in issuing a manifesto against "any spoil, robbery, plunder or pillage," for it bears the date "at Shrewsbury April 3, 1643," with Capel's signature.

Measures were also taken to repair the fortifications of the larger towns of Ludlow, Bridgnorth and Shrewsbury, while soldiers were sent to occupy various manor houses over the country, with or without the owners' permission; and, as said above, it was probably about this date that Stokesay, Broncroft, Holgate, etc., were fortified for the King, and Mr. Walcot "willingly received divers soldiers of His Majesty to be billeted in his house."

To counteract Lord Capel's activity, the Parliament, by an ordinance of April 10, appointed a "Committee of Twenty¹ for the Association of the Counties of Warwick, Stafford and Salop." Among them were Richard More of Shipton, M.P., and Samuel More of Linley. Absence in London no doubt prevented the inclusion of Sir Robert Harley of Brampton Bryan, and Robert Wallop of Hopton, though this did not prevent their garrisoning those castles against the King. Neither of them, however, took any active part in the struggle, preferring to sleep with safe skins far away from any strife except that of tongues.

The first incident of importance to the neighbourhood was the siege of Brampton Bryan, within half-a-mile of the Shropshire border, by Royalist troops under Sir William Vavasour. The investment began on July 26, but the castle was bravely defended by Lady Brilliana Harley for seven weeks, till the siege was raised on Sept. 9²: her husband

¹ Of these 20, Sir Gilbert Cornwall was M.P. for Bishop's Castle 1620-24; Richard More, 1639-43; John Corbett, of Auson, 1643-54; Samuel More, 1658-60. (*Transactions*, Pt. 1, 2nd Series, Vol. X., 1898, pp. 43-49).

² Though we read of many ladies who took the lead in defending their houses in this war, Lady Harley is the only one on the Parliament side. The Countess

meanwhile remaining safe in London, leaving her to bear the dangers of the siege and her very weak state of health. Scarcely had the investment been withdrawn, than she died in the October following.

The circumstances of this siege are well known, and are told at length in the MSS. of the Marquis of Bath (i., 1-7 Harley Papers), in the form of a diary, from which the following notes have been extracted :—

- 1643, July 26, Monday. A trumpeter from Henry Lingen, Esq., High Sheriff of Hereford, demanded the surrender of the castle.
- „ „ 27, Tuesday. Many of foot possessed the town and church, and we played all that day and night with small shot upon each other. Some of the enemy slain, none of us.
- „ Aug. 1. The enemy approached unto our quarters and began to raise breastworks.
- „ „ 3. The enemy planted a saker against our Castle in the stable window. They fired three shots out of the steeple in the evening.
- „ „ 4. } Bombardment.
- „ „ 5. }
- „ „ 6. }
- „ „ 7. Lady Coleburn hurt by a demi-culverin shot, which struck out one of her eyes. M^{rs} Wright, Dr W's wife, also hurt.
- „ „ 17. The Lord was pleased to sadden us with the breaking of an iron gun, which was our greatest, whereby an honest and active gentleman of our garrison was sore hurt.
- „ „ 18. Our honest cook received a shot through his left arm.
- „ „ 22. A small party of our men sallied out upon the enemy and slew some of them, and fired a

of Derby at Latham House, the Countess of Portland at Carisbrooke Castle, Lady Lister at Rowton Castle, Lady Arundel at Wardour, Lady Banks at Corfe Castle, and Lady Wintour at Lydney House were all Cavaliers,

house where they kept their wildfire, very much to our advantage.

- „ „ 24—Sep. 6. Hostilities suspended for negotiations.
 „ „ 25, Thursday. Sir John Scudamore came up into the castle by a ladder and a rope, had a conference with our noble lady, demanded her castle, etc. Our cook died.
 „ Sep. 8. The Cavaliers stole away our bells, and as they were carrying them out of the town, we sent some of his Majesty's good subjects to old Nick for their sacrilege.
 „ „ 9, Saturday. This evening the siege raised. The King's forces concentrating for a great battle against the Lord General.¹

On Jan. 6, 1643-4, Prince Rupert was appointed Captain General of all the forces in Shropshire and the adjacent counties.

Soon after his arrival in Shrewsbury, in order to rouse the county to keener loyalty, in conjunction with the members of the King's Commission of Array he summoned the gentry of Shropshire to meet him. One of the sequestration charges against Mr. Humphrey Walcot was that as Commissioner for the King's service against the Parliament he signed a warrant "for ye summoning of all gentlemen of quality within ye Hundred of Purslow to attend Prince Rupert at Shrewsbury."

It was, no doubt, by the Prince Rupert's orders that Hopton Castle was invested. As for the story of this siege we cannot do better than give it more or less in the words of Colonel Samuel More, who commanded there during the time. It is to be found in Blakeway's *Sheriffs of Shropshire*.

"I went to Hopton Castle on the 18th of February, 1643-4, which was the Sabbath day, at night. The senight the enemy came before it, who facing us with a body of horse first, within an hour sent a body of foot, who approached the outer walls (we not being able to hinder them because the work did not flank, being an old wall made round) and burnt the lodging where R. Steward lay. They brought ladders to

¹ I.e., Newbury fought Sept. 20, 1643.

scale the wall, but upon our killing three of them, of which one was on the place, they sent Mr. Sutton to tell me the Prince desired the delivery of the Castle of Hopton. I sent word that I understood no message that comes without drum or trumpet; and on the Friday following they retreated and went out of the town, but kept Court of Guard near to us with horse and foot. At this time we were but 26 men in all, myself and Mr. Phillips, who came Tuesday the 20th, being of the number, and we set to make some works, in which we were as industrious as any men could be. Major Phillips advised to send for more men to Brampton Castle, and they lovingly sent us twelve, who meeting with the enemy, six of them at that time went back, but afterwards we had about eight men, in all 31 men. The Friday after the first assault, they marched, as we guessed, about 500 horse and foot, and entered the town.

Thereupon they sent a summons by a drum, subscribed by Sir Michael Woodhouse, who demanded the Castle in the name of Prince Rupert. My answer was that I kept it by authority of Parliament and by consent of the owner, Mr. Wallop, for King and Parliament. That night they approached part of the wall, and at the back of a chimney where they had burnt R. Steward's chamber, about two hours before day, and with pioneers made a breach: which our sentinels discovering gave the alarm. And there we fought with the enemy at push of pike, throwing stones and shooting. Some of them, reported 200, got into the breach, but not within our works, but as in a pinfold in the circumference of their burnt lodging, where we killed many, among the rest Captain Vaughan.¹ Then we repulsed them and took six muskets, ten pikes and clubs which they call roundheads, boards many, and six or eight ladders. After this repulse, the next day save one they marched away in a full body. But it seems they went but to Clungunford, and kept scouts and courts of guard something more than a musket shot from us for more than a week. . . . Next day

¹ On May 26, 1660, Thomas Vaughan petitioned Charles II. for a place as Groom of the Privy Chamber, because "his father Henry Vaughan kept a company at his own cost in the late King's service, and was slain in scaling Hopton Castle, co. Salop."

Francis Herbert and Charles Baldwin desired to speak with me, which upon mutual assurance of safety I yielded, but took one faithful man with me, Richard Brecknoke, who was within hearing, as were many of their side, including Captain Pindar. Captain Pindar said Secretary Nicholas had told him of the Scots' defeat.¹ I said I knew Secretary Nicholas well, which was the saving of my life . . . About a week after they returned again. Next day came in carriage of cannon, baskets and such things, and in the night three pieces of ordnance. By Monday, eight of the clock, there came a drum and summoned the delivery of the Castle, which if we did not yield before the shooting one piece of ordnance we must not expect quarter. We returned the same answer as before, and as soon as it came they shot at us, and continued shooting with culverin and demi-culverin from 9 till 5. They shot 96 shot at our outer wall, and made a breach, which we defended for the space of two hours at least. So we gave them a repulse with the loss of one man that was killed with a common shot, and three or four that were hurt, but they lost, as they said afterwards, 150 of theirs. Quiet all Tuesday. On Tuesday night they came again to the Brick Tower and set it on fire, which we had made in the first week we came hither as a work to front the outer wall, and so the Castle on the other side from the Castle to the outer wall, another to keep the water to us, which when we saw and could not prevent we set Gregory's house on fire, which burning took hold on the new brick wall and burnt it. Then we set to make up the door of the Castle which the enemy perceiving shot their ordnance and killed one man and hurt two more. We made up the door, but they brought broom faggots to fire the porch. Our men weary of working all night and not out of their clothes for a fortnight's time, and the enemy having gotten at us through an house of office on the South side, it was moved we should desire a parley, which being done, they bade us send our conditions, which Mr. Phillips and I contrived to this effect, that we should march away with our arms and

¹ On Jan. 19, 1643-4, a Scottish army of 40,000 men entered England under the veteran Lesley, Earl of Leven. But their defeat was imaginary.

ammunition, which they denied. We should have no conditions but yield to the Colonel's mercy. Mr. Phillips and I myself and six men did plainly hear them working under us, and as the enemy told me when I was in prison, they had blown us up in two hours. We agreed to propose to the enemy we should yield the Castle, upon quarter for our lives. Answer was brought that no other conditions could be yielded to, but to be referred to Colonel Woodhouse's mercy. Being brought into this condition it was thought better to yield than be blown up. But indeed we all thought we should only be made prisoners, and did not think of such a death as hereafter appears. So we came out and stood in order. I was committed to Lieutenant Aldersea and Major Phillips to Ensign Phillips. Whilst the soldiers and Harry Gregory and the rest were tied, we all stayed, and then we were bid march. I was brought to Sir Michael Woodhouse, who asked me what men and arms we had. I told him, and 22 muskets, carbines and fowling pieces and three pistols. Then I was sent to one Glassbrook's house in the upper end of the town.

About three hours after the delivery of the Castle, Lieut. Aldersea asked me how many soldiers were sent to Shrewsbury? I said all. Then he told me none: all were killed. Next morning I was sent to Ludlow. Then two days before Brampton Castle was taken, Captain Deane asked me to advise the garrison to surrender, which I did, and assured them that Sir Michael Woodhouse did not break the conditions at the surrender of Hopton. Thereupon they surrendered."

Colonel More, in a letter to the sister of Major Phillips, added a few more particulars:—"He, as all the rest, was unmercifully killed. Your brother offered £20 to save his life. They took him and brought him into the Castle to receive the money. He told them if they would suffer him to send to Brampton Brian Castle they should have it. They swore at him and stabbed him. Presently all the rest, being 28 in number, were killed with clubs and such things after they were stripped naked. Two maids they stripped and cut, but some helped them to escape."

Comment on this sad story is hardly necessary except perhaps to point out that this execution was strictly in accordance with the rules of war. As the Rev. J. B. Blakeway remarks:—"Mr. More does not venture to deny that the surrender was wholly unconditional, and it is a known provision of military law instituted to prevent the unnecessary effusion of human blood that the defence of a fortified place with numbers so entirely disproportionate as in the present instance entitles the captors to punish the garrison with death."

If the besiegers were Anglo-Irish, they were naturally incensed at the savage treatment of their countrymen by such officers of the Parliament as Captain Swanley, who drowned hundreds of men and women whom he had taken on their passage to England, joking meanwhile on "making them water rats." It may also be pointed out that the Parliamentary troops "put to the sword" as they reported (i.e., killed in cold blood) seventy of the Royal Garrison of Canon Frome, Herefordshire, for presuming to hold an indefensible position; and at the storming of Sheltord House, Co. Notts, the Parliamentary Commander, Major-General Poyntz, "when he came in . . . ordered that no quarter should be given . . . so that not a man of them escaped."¹

Sir William Brereton, the Parliamentary General, writing on Jan. 27, 1645-6, to Lord Byron, whom he was besieging in Chester, said "I shall offer to your consideration the example of Liverpool, Basing, and Latham, who by their refusal of honourable terms when they were propounded, were not long after subjected to captivity and the sword. You may therefore in pity to all those innocents under your command tender their safety. For which end I have sent you fair and honourable terms, which being rejected, you may expect worse."

Liverpool was taken by the Royalists, Latham and Basing by the Roundheads; Middleton is therefore referring to the general usage of war accepted and practised by both sides.

Lastly, Vicars in his *Burning Bush* glories in the mutilation and massacre of hundreds of defenceless Royalist women

¹ Mrs. Hutchinson's *Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson*, pp. 286, 288).

after all resistance was over at Naseby. In one passage he speaks of about 100 slain in cold blood, and many others "cut and slashed." In another passage he corrects his first account and says:—"The number of women killed was between 300 and 400."

In the Hopton Parish Register is the entry:—

1643-4. March 3. Occisi fuere 29 in castro Hoptoniensi inter quos Henricus Gregorye, senex et comerarius meus. And Webb in his *History of the Civil War in Herefordshire* quotes a tradition that Gregory, Mr. Wallop's steward, being an old man of about 80, and weak and not able to stand, was put into a chair to be executed more easily.

Gough gives these two names of Royalists who fell in the assaults: "Reece Vaughan, of Myddle, was killed at Hopton Castle in this county, where the garrison soldiers refusing fair quarter when they might have had it, were afterwards cut in pieces when the castle was taken by storm. John Arthurs, a servant of my father's, was killed at the same castle."

Colonel More did not long remain a prisoner, being exchanged in the following May for Edward Cressett, of Upton Cressett, afterwards killed at Bridgnorth.

Sir Michael Woodhouse, to completely safeguard Ludlow, and punish Wallop, practically destroyed the Castle.

The Corporation of Bishop's Castle by another of their orders, show that the condition of the neighbourhood was still far from secure, no doubt owing to the plunderers of both parties:—

"1643-4. March 7. Order that all inhabitants of the town, upon hearing of a musket or other public notice, shall repair to the aid of any particular house or village with their best arms for defence of the same from plundering or any other violent or wilful breach of His Majesty's place."

Emboldened by his success at Hopton, Sir Michael Woodhouse, Governor of Ludlow, again besieged Brampton Bryan. Lady Brilliana had died in the preceding Autumn, but her physician, Dr. Nathaniel Wright, of Hereford, commanded the Castle during the second siege. After a resistance of three weeks, however, Sir Michael's heavy ordnance rendered the fortress untenable. Then Colonel

Samuel More advised them to surrender. This they did on April 17th, and in the Castle were taken 67 prisoners. Among these were three of Sir Robert Harley's youngest children. One of the garrison, describing his fate, wrote: "They carried us all away prisoners to Ludlow Castle, from thence to Shrewsbury, some of us to Chester Castle. The inhabitants of Ludlow baited us like bears and demanded where our God was."¹ This sort of treatment was by no means confined to the Royalists. Speaking of some Round-head officers at Nottingham, Mrs. Hutchinson writes:—"Captain Palmer and another walked up and down the castle yard (at Nottingham) insulting and beating the poor [Royalist] prisoners as they were brought in."²

Apparently the Parliamentarians were in difficulties at this time, and would have sent troops to the relief of the besieged had they been able to do so; for on April 10, 1644, Commissary General Behre, who commanded a regiment of 600 horse and 13 colours, composed mostly of Dutch, and including a troop of Walloons, who were Roman Catholics, was ordered to march from Huntley Heath, Gloucestershire, where his forces were mustered, to the relief of Brampton Brian, but they refused to go. This fact throws some light on the composition of the Parliamentary forces, and the way they obeyed orders. For, while the Parliament was never tired of blaming the King for admitting Roman Catholics into his army, it did not scruple to employ men of this religion in its own. And seemingly these foreign mercenaries and free lances were not very amenable to discipline.

There was great joy among the Royalists on gaining these two castles. The Ludlow Churchwardens' Accounts, 1642-4, contain the entries:—

ffor drinke to ye Ringers at the takeinge of Hopton	
Castle	1 6
ffor beare at ye takinge of Brompton Castle to ye	
ringers	1 0

There are some entries in the accounts of the Trinity Hospital about this time which point to the insecurity of life

¹ Marquis of Bath's MSS. i. 26, 33 (Harley Papers).

² *Memoirs*, p. 182.

and property in the district. What with Parliamentary garrisons in the neighbourhood and Royalists attempting to curtail their proceedings, and freebooters from both sides roving here and there, the country was in a very dangerous state. A letter describing the state of Shropshire in 1645 says:—"None of the inhabitants dare lye in their houses within 10 miles of ye garrisons: some of them having been killed in their beds, and many having great sums assessed upon them which not being able to pay are forced to fly to other places where they live in great want and misery."

There was also the Parliamentary Committee of Sequestration to be reckoned with. For some reason or other, whether suspected disaffection, or want of money, the property of the Clun Hospital had been seized. In the accounts of that institution are a couple of entries testifying to the unsettled condition of the neighbourhood and the distress to which the inmates of the Almshouse had been reduced. For Thomas Brome, who was warden 1642-8, writes:—

"1645. Paid for my own charges and one with me in regard to the danger of the times to speak with M^r Moore and som others aboute the sequestrating of the teanthes of Knighton, with my horse-hire 0 1 0.

"Paid to George Browne for going to Montgomery to M^r Esy Thomas to intreate with him to speke with M^r Whittingham and apoint a day of meating when we may come to a rekning that we may have some money or else we shall perish with want 0 1 0

The Warden dared not go alone to Colonel Samuel More, late Governor of Hopton Castle, and now of Montgomery, one of the Shropshire sequestrators, so he took a companion, no doubt "in regard to the danger of the times," some tried and well-armed soldier. The result of his visit was apparently not altogether successful, so another attempt for relief had shortly afterwards to be made. This time the Warden did not go himself, perhaps afraid of falling among thieves if he went in person amongst the Parliament's soldiers in garrison at Montgomery, but sent a certain George Browne: and the message was not now to Colonel More, but to Mr. Esy [Esaías] Thomas, an acquaintance, no doubt, of old days;

for Mr. Thomas' home was at Bishop's Castle. What his present post at Montgomery was, I have not discovered, but he was most likely an assistant to the Sequestrators in Chief, who for Shropshire were Sir John Corbet, Bart., Col. Thomas Mytton, Col. Humphrey Mackworth, Col. Samuel More, Col. Arthur Lloyd, Col. Thomas Hunt, Capt. Richard Clive, and Messrs. Leighton Owen, Robert Charlton, and Thomas Nicolls. Esaias Thomas, of Bishop's Castle, Esq., had succeeded his father as Town Clerk of Bishop's Castle in 1632; was Bailiff of that town in 1629, 1649, and 1657; was Chamberlain of it in 1655; was a Justice of the Peace; in 1647 was a member of the Sixth Presbyterian Classis; and was elected M.P. for his native place on Feb. 20, 1645-6. He, however, did not enjoy this latter honour for long, since he was one of the victims of "Pride's purge," on Dec. 6, 1648. He was therefore a man of considerable importance and influence at this time.

For a short time afterwards the King's supporters were in the ascendancy in the neighbourhood since their garrison at Stokesay was the only garrison of importance, the Parliamentary having lost both theirs.

On the arrival of Prince Rupert as Commander-in-chief, he and his Commissioners of Array at once set to work to raise men and money to refit his army. Large arrears of expenses already incurred had to be met, and men enlisted for the force with which he intended to sweep the North. Money was obtained by the seizure of the lands and property of those who had joined the Parliament, and by assessments on and forced loans from the Royalists. The total sum demanded from Shropshire was £9,000; but the people were very slow in paying it. They felt they had at the outbreak of the war voluntarily done as much as they could be expected to do. But money was absolutely necessary, and the fiery Prince was not a man to brook opposition. So he went at once to the fountain head. Thinking Sir Thomas Edwards, the High Sheriff of the County, and a member of his Commission of Array, was remiss in collecting his contributions, he demanded his reasons. Edwards complained that it had been impossible to get the money assessed on his own neighbourhood, for nine troops of Royalist horse were

quartered within a little distance and had to be supplied. The Prince in answer sent a peremptory warrant for the bringing in of £500, and all the provisions he could get, to headquarters the very next day. If he failed he ran the risk of displeasure and plunder. All the Sheriff's endeavours failed to make up this amount; accordingly 100 musketeers were sent to carry the threat into execution.¹ If this was the case with a gentleman of such importance as the Sheriff of the County, no mercy was to be expected by those in lower positions. The list of Clun names in the loan of 1641 gives, no doubt, the more important inhabitants of the parish in 1644; and of these none would be spared. Those who had joined the Parliament would have their entire property confiscated, those who tried to be neutral would have to choose between payment or plunder. We see from the Hospital accounts that its tenants were heavily charged, though the Warden did his best for them at the cost of the Hospital funds.

1644. "When Robarte Cutlor, James Davise and Richard Williams did pay me the Lady Day rent, they were very earnest with me to give them 20^s towards ther great taxacions of loanes, so that I did give them

0 4 0."

"Paid to Robert Cutlor and Richard Williams towards ther great taxacions

2 10 0."

As for the raising of men, the Maurice MS. says:—

"May 16, 1644, Prince Rupert advanced out of Shrewsbury towards ye North with all the forces that lay in those parts. The whole army met at Whitchurch and marched towards Lancashire, being 14,000 strong."

No doubt Shropshire would be glad to see them depart, for such a large army must have been a great burden to the country, even though there would be in it many Shropshire men, who would leave sorrowing relations and friends behind, never to meet again. The Prince relieved the Countess of Derby besieged at Latham House, on May 29th, but met with his disastrous defeat at Marston Moor on July 2nd, when his army was practically annihilated.

¹ See *Weekly Account*, Aug. 16-23, 1644.

Again in September the Royalists suffered a total defeat, this time at Montgomery, and the enemy was a second time able to enlarge the borders of their territory in Shropshire.

In the beginning of that month powder, match and brimstone intended for Shrewsbury, Chester and Liverpool was conveyed from Bristol up the Severn as far as Newtown in Montgomeryshire. Sir Thomas Middleton, the Roundhead general, on September 3rd despatched by night from Oswestry an officer who captured the whole of it and took it to Montgomery. There Lord Herbert of Chirbury, hitherto supposed to be on the King's side, was prevailed upon to admit the Parliamentary forces and the captured stores within his castle. To recover the latter, Lord Byron, Governor of Chester, collected a force from Shrewsbury, Ludlow, Chester, and other garrisons, which met at Caus Castle, and advancing thence, came upon General Middleton endeavouring to provision Montgomery. He managed to make good his retreat with his cavalry, and Byron laid siege to the infantry left behind in the castle. Middleton on reaching Oswestry sent post haste for aid to Sir John Meldrum, a Scotch officer, then commanding in Lancashire, and to Sir William Brereton holding the same rank in Cheshire. They came with all their available forces and leaguered the day before the battle on Wattlesborough Heath. Marching towards Montgomery on September 18, 1644, they found the Royalists had left their trenches before the Castle and had taken up a strong position on the hills behind it. This vantage ground they abandoned when they found Middleton would not attack them, and marched down to fight him on the level ground. At first the advantage rested with them, but a sally being made from the Castle in their rear, they were caught between two fires. "Ein Schlachten war's, nicht eine Schlacht zu nennen." The day ended in the Royalists being totally defeated with a loss of nearly 500 killed and 1,200 prisoners. The opposing forces published a casualty list of only 40 killed (including Sir William Fairfax, commandant of their cavalry, and Major Fitz-Simmons), and 60 wounded.¹

¹ The great death-roll of the battle gave rise to legends of the dead warriors haunting the last scene of their exploits, which remind us of the Indian tale told

As a result of this defeat Colonel Edward Massey from Tewkesbury extended the area of his operations northwards through Herefordshire and Shropshire into North Wales, to scour out the scattered horse and fugitives after the battle at Montgomery; and it is very probable that some of his forces would penetrate into the neighbourhood of Clun.

These alternate risings and fallings of the scales, first the Royalists having power in the district, the opposing garrisons being expelled, then, after the Royalist defeat, the Roundheads in turn scouring the neighbourhood, must have been very unfortunate for those who wanted "to face both ways," and so be always on the winning side. And no doubt the victories at Hopton and Brampton Bryan, and the defeat of the victors at Montgomery, which weakened every Royal garrison in Shropshire—so great was the loss in men and arms—following so closely afterwards, was the cause of the attempt to be neutral. The people of Clun found it awkward to have to change sides so quickly when success and misfortune alternated so quickly. *Fortuna belli semper ancipiti in loco est* remarked Seneca, and they felt the truth of the words of the old Roman.

In January, 1644-5, the symptoms of popular feelings became accentuated in Shropshire, while in Herefordshire there was an actual rising. Farmers and peasants joined themselves into bands under the name of "Clubmen." For this name two derivations have been given—(1) They were armed with clubs; or (2) they were members of a club or association. The latter appears more likely. In some instances they displayed a banner on which was inscribed:

"If you offer to plunder or take our cattle

Rest assured we will give you battle."¹

The *Mercurius Britannicus* from Monday, January 6, to Friday, January 10, 1644-5, contains the following paragraph:

"Out of Shropshire we hear that there are above a thousand in armes about Clun and Bishop's Castle, standing

by Rudyard Kipling in his vivid story *The Lost Legion*; and of the ghostly appearances of soldiers recorded by Mrs. Crowe in chapter xvii. of her *Night Side of Nature*.

¹ Cromwell showed no mercy to the Clubmen, e.g., Whitelock writes: "Sept. 28, 1645, Lieut.-General Cromwell disarmed and dispersed the Hampshire Clubmen near Winchester."

cut against both sides, neither for the King nor for the Parliament, but standing only upon their own guard for the preservation of their lives and fortunes. The occasion of it was the friendly usage which they received from His Majesty's officers in these parts, and particularly from one, Colonel Van-Gore, a Dutchman. They are absolutely resolved (notwithstanding all the entreaties used by Commissioners of Array) not to lay down their armes unless His Majesty grant them their own conditions, which are these:—

- (1) To have restitutions of all wrongs done by Van-Gore.
- (2) That the King's two garrisons at Hopesay House and Lay [Lea] House shall be removed and demolished.
- (3) That they may have commanders of their own."

This is from a Parliamentary source, and is therefore probably much exaggerated.¹ They were, no doubt, really smarting under punishment for having joined the Roundheads more openly and speedily than was safe. Prince Maurice, the newly appointed general for Shropshire, Herefordshire and Worcestershire, failed to pacify them. As another Roundhead newsletter (*The Exact Journal* from Feb. 13 to 20, 1644-5), says:—"We understand this day from Shrewsbury that Prince Maurice is making daily musters in

¹ There were many like complaints of the excesses of the Parliamentary troops. In Derbyshire, as we have seen above, they plundered right and left. The second in command of Sir John Gell's regiment, of which such complaints were made, was Major Molanus, a Dutch officer. He was, no doubt, quite as bad as Col. Van-Gore, but he was a Parliamentary, and was therefore excused from blame. The employment of foreign soldiers is always a dangerous experiment. Of their use in later times the Rev. James Gordon writes on p. 197 of his *Irish Rebellion of 1798*:—"The Hessians exceeded the other troops in the business of depredation: and many loyalists who had escaped from the rebels were put to death by these foreigners." And on p. 72 of his appendix, Mr. Gordon gives "the names of a few of the loyalists who were killed by the Hessians," mentioning seven, one of whom was murdered "for the plunder of his watch." In the Civil War of the 17th century foreigners were employed by both sides, without question as to their religion; and it is sheer hypocrisy on the part of the Parliamentarians to express horror at what they did themselves whenever they had the opportunity, when it was done by their opponents.

On Nov. 17, 1645, nine Dutch officers petitioned for the payment of the arrears due to them for their service in the Army of the Parliament. [*Journal of House of Commons*, iv. 370.] On Feb. 13, 1644-5: "The Committee of the Parliament reported several murders, rapes and other cruelties committed by some of the Parliament's Souldiers. Some of the officers grew insufferably dissolute and insolent; and their souldiers followed the example of their Commanders." [Whitelock, *Memorials*]. The Parliament therefore not only employed Dutch officers themselves; but also had in their ranks men as bad as any among the King's troops.

his association to compleat his forces into any army. He hath issued out his warrants into Shropshire and hath endeavoured to pacify the mal-contents in that county. To vex them into a new coyle and to raise the tumult greater he hath enjoyned them to send him 600 out of the 1600 who stand upon their guard at Clun and Bishop's Castle. But they have returned him a resolute answer that they have taken up armes for the defence of their lives, their liberties and estates, and that they will sacrifice their blood for the preservation of their country." They had, no doubt, suffered from the depredations of both sides. The Roundheads were by no means immaculate; for on April 21st, 1645, the Parliamentary Committee at Shrewsbury wrote to Sir William Brereton complaining of the excesses of the cavalry he had sent to help them. "They have slain men, plundered houses, and used all the violence that may be."

Thus Prince Maurice, while trying to raise a fresh army, not only found it difficult to get men from around Clun, but also money to pay the few he had raised. He therefore began to imitate a practice in use with the other side, which was this. In case any parish or district failed to pay its contributions, the chief persons in the place, the parson for choice, were arrested and kept in custody in the nearest fortress.¹ At Clun the Vicar had long ago retired to safety in London, so the next man in importance was seized in his stead, and he was Thomas Brome, the Hospital Warden. He was carried off to Ludlow, and with him all the Hospital deeds were also removed, no doubt in order to see where its property lay and whether it was possible to wring anything more out of the tenants. He makes the following notes:—

1645. There was taken from me by the Kyng's souldiers,
when they did take me away for Ludlow o 7 o

¹ "The Governor (Colonel Hutchinson) sent out some parties to some near towns to execute some of the Committee's warrants in fetching in delinquents" (p. 234 Mrs. Hutchinson's *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson* of 1644).

On Aug. 2, 1645, Robert Charlton, Humphrey Mackworth, Robert Clive and other members of the Parliamentary Committee, wrote from Shrewsbury to the Speaker of the House of Commons:—"This county hath lain long under the burden of contributions on both sides and so much suffered by plundering and other hindrances, it is so impoverished that we fail much of the weekly subsistence we expect for ourselves." Therefore they proposed, as the natural and suitable thing in such circumstances, to put to ransom a rich Royalist they had taken prisoner, in order to get their pay.

1646. Paid for my own charges and my horse to Ludlow, and from there to Mr Actons of Adnam to inqueare after the deeds of the Hospitall, which were taken from us by the King's Soldiers, and being out two daies and one night it cost me O 2 1

Paid for my owne charge and Mr Robarte Bowen and Margery Birry to Wigmor, and from thence to Ludlow to fetch hom the deedes, for Margery Birry had them in keaping: and being forth all nighte and two daies, we and our horses, it cost me O 5 0

In spite, however, of all his measures of persuasion, either violent or peaceful, Prince Maurice does not seem to have been very successful in raising men or money. In January, 1644-5, the inhabitants of Newport and Wenlock refused to pay their assessments to the Prince, and very probably Clun Hundred acted likewise.

On Feb. 1, 1644-5, 300 men were demanded from the Hundred of Munslow for the Royal Army; but they were probably never raised, since before the Prince had time to try other measures, his cause suffered a most severe blow. For the enemy, through the aid of traitors, captured the town of Shrewsbury on Feb. 22, 1644-5. This heavy loss so crippled him that he was compelled to withdraw the garrison soldiers from most of the smaller fortresses. Among them were Holgate and Broncroft Castles, which he dismantled and abandoned.

On March 14, 1644-5, Prince Rupert came to Ludlow and joined Prince Maurice. The latter had just marched through Shropshire collecting all the troops he could muster from the garrisons under him and dismantling their works. The two brothers then went together to the relief of Beeston Castle, Cheshire, which they achieved March 19.

The possession of the County Town enabled the Parliament's Shropshire Committee to turn its attention to the more distant parts of the county, which it had been unable to do whilst Wem was its head-quarters, and Shrewsbury blocked the way. But its forces did not come Clun-wards for some months yet. About this time, however, the patron of Clun was in trouble with his own side. For from his sequestration papers we learn that "since Shrewsbury was

reduced, Humphrey Walcot was taken from his house prisoner to Ludlow [a Royal garrison] and there detain'd until he ransomed himself, with a good sum of money." His offence had probably been the not sending enough money for the Royalist army exchequer.

A "List of Garrisons Com. Salop May 1645," given by Richard Symonds, a Royalist officer, who kept a Diary of the events of the war, includes "Stoake Castle, Capt. Danet commands it under Woodhouse (lost in June following)." Captain Dannet was of Westhope, Diddlebury.

The following account of the short siege and capture of Stokesay by the Roundheads is in the words of John Vicars' *Burning Bush not consumed* of June 24 to July 1, 1645:— "There were drawn out of the garrison of Shrewsbury by order of the [Parliamentary] Committee 500 foot and 300 horse, being part of Colonel Mackworth's regiment and part of Colonel Lloyd's regiment. Both of them marched along in the service. Our forces marched within v miles of Ludlow, the design being to reduce that part of the country and to secure it by placing some garrisons there to block up Ludlow. With a party of horse they viewed Holgate and Braincroft [Broncroft] Castles, both of which the enemy had much demolished. Notwithstanding they placed the Lord Calvine¹ in Braincroft Castle and fell to repaire and fortifie it. In the interim we sent Lieut. Col. Riveling² to view Stokesay Castle, a garrison of the enemy. The place was conceived considerable. Therefore the next morning wee drew up to it and summoned it. But the governor Captain Daurett³ refused. Thereupon we prepared for a storme, and being ready to fall on, wee gave a second summons which was hearkened unto, a parley admitted and the castle given up, and now it is garrisoned by us. One of these Castles commands Corve Dale, a rich and varied country; the other secures Stretton Dale, so that Ludlow is now blockt up on this side and hath only Hereford to rainge it in."

¹ Lord Calvin had been Governor of Stoke-on-Tern, and had taken a leading part in the taking of Moreton Corbett on Sept. 10, 1644.

² Lieut.-Col. Riveling. He is generally called Reinkling or Reinking, and was probably a foreign soldier of fortune. We first hear of him in Shropshire in Sept., 1644, and, till taken prisoner at High Ercall on July 4, 1645, he was the moving spirit of the Roundheads.

³ Captain Daurett, in other accounts Danet.

This loss of Stokesay must have been of great moment to the Ludlow troops, and of much consequence to their ability to hold out. For not a moment was lost in attempting to regain it. Continuing to quote from Vicars, we learn that "Sir Michael Woodhouse, one that cometh out of Ireland,¹ procured all the King's garrisons for about 20 miles compass to draw out for his reliefe. Thereupon a body of nere 2000 horse and foot was drawn out by himself from Ludlow and from Sir Thomas Lunsford from Monmouth, Col. Sandys from Worcester, Col. Scudamore from Hereford, and from Hartlebury and other garrisons. The enemy's forces being joyned marched up near Braincroft Castle. And being too weak to encounter with them we marched to Wistanstow, within a mile of Stoak, the better to enforce ourselves from Shrewsbury and Montgomery, whither we sent for forces (but they came not in time enough). The enemy contrary to our expectations judging Stoak of more consequence being conscious of their great loss, made haste thither to besiege it and endeavour the retaking it. Of whose approach the Colonel having intelligence [and] with the advice of the Field Officers resolving to fight, our horse made what haste they could to fight in. Capt. Ffowkes' troop, to which were joined some reformadoes, fell upon a body of the enemy's horse being 200, and routed them; after whom the foot marched on with gallant resolution, beat up all their ambuscades in the hedges for a mile together, untill they came to the main body, which after an hour's fight was routed and dispersed. In this business Col. Riveling deserves much honour, as much as a man could do, and also, the other Colonels did very gallantly. We slew near to 100 on the place, took above 300 common soldiers, about 6 officers and gentlemen and all their Ordnance, bag and baggage, 4 barrels of powder, a good quantity of match and bullet, 100 horse. Some gentlemen of quality were slain, these being most of the gallantry of Herefordshire. In the action Sir William Croft, the best head-piece and activest man in that county was slain on the place, the Governors of

¹ Sir Michael Woodhouse had been appointed Sergeant Major General to Lord Capel, March 15, 1642-3. Symonds says he was "quondam page of the Marquis of Hamilton."

Monmouth and Ludlow hardly escaped, Sir Michael Woodhouse his horse being taken. Major Fenwick¹ who behaved himself gallantly is wounded but we hope not mortally. There were taken in the fight Col. Thomas Broughton, Capt. Walter Neale, Capt. George Wright, Capt. Thos. Stot, Capt. Leinton Synge, 2 Cornets, 3 Ensigns, 2 Lieutenants, 3 Sergeants, 9 Quarter-Masters, 7 Corporals, 5 Waggon²s, 3 Matrosses,³ 1 physician, Mr Richardson chirurgion, and many gentlemen of Herefordshire." Other newsletters report differently. The *Parliament Post* says "2 drakes 300 armes and 400 prisoners"; the *Exact Journal*, "2 drakes 400 armes and 300 prisoners"; the *Mercurius Civicus*, "4 pieces of Ordnance, 400 arms and 300 prisoners," were the spoil of the victors.

This battle, according to the late Rev. J. D. La Touche, Vicar of Stokesay, was fought at Norton. For when the foundations of some farm buildings were being laid here a few years ago, the workmen came upon a number of human skeletons. These, in his opinion, were those of the soldiers killed in the encounter of June 19, 1645.

The Royalists probably lost this fight owing to disagreements among their many commanders—the cause, according to Whitelock, of the Parliament's losing Newark on March 21st, 1644. He says in his *Memorials*: "The occasion of this defeat was the want of a good agreement amongst the officers, who took upon them more power than belonged to them, several of them striving to be chief-in-command, and

¹ "Major Fenwick in the Parliament Army was brother-in-law of Mr. Thomas Baker of Sweeney, near Oswestry. He was a comely proper gentleman. He was some while governor of a small garrison in the Castle at Moreton Corbett which hee fortified with a mude wall and there manfully withstood a sharpe assault of his enemyes." [Gough, *History of Myddle*, p. 98.] He ceased to be governor when the Parliamentary Committee burnt Moreton Corbett as of no use to them after the taking of Shrewsbury. He soon recovered from his wound, for at the end of August we find him in command at Bishop's Castle.

² Waggon²s, probably for waggoners. Till comparatively recently, i.e., in the Peninsular War, there was a branch of the service called The Royal Waggon Train, commanded by commissioned officers, now merged into the Army Service Corps.

³ Matrosses. James' Military Dictionary explains this word as "artillery soldiers next to the gunner. They assist in loading, firing, and spunging the great guns. They carry firelocks and march along with the guns and store waggon²s both as a guard and to give assistance on every emergency." The term is now obsolete.

all thereby were the more careless and unprepared to resist the enemy."

Major Hungerford was appointed Governor of Stokesay for the Parliament.

Stokesay being lost, an attempt was made to curtail the Roundhead power at their new garrison at Broncroft. On July 4th, 1645, Sir William Vaughan headed 300 or 400 horse to beat up the Parliamentarians near Broncroft Castle, where he gained a complete success, taking 50 men and 80 horses. But he was not able to capture the fortress, having no time to spend in a siege, and having a more pressing object in view, the relief of High Ercall, then closely invested. In this he was thoroughly successful a couple of days later.

It was, no doubt, as a result of the loss of Stokesay that before the middle of July, 1645, Woodhouse for his own security destroyed or rendered untenable the Royal garrisons of Croft (now bereft of its owner and commander by the death of Sir William Croft), Stapleton Castle, near Presteign,¹ Burford House, near Tenbury, and Mr. Littleton's House, lest they too should be wrested from the King in the same way, and become thorns in the side of Ludlow. Of the result of these proceedings Symonds enters in his diary:—"1645, Aug. 8. Three garrisons of ye enemy lately erected in Com. Salop since Shrewsbury was lost, Stoke Castle; Broncroft, the house of Mr. Lutley in Dilbury Parish; Benthall"; and the *Perfect Occurrences* of the date, Friday, Aug. 22-29, 1645, in a "lyst of the garrisons taken by the Shropshire Committee since they first took the field," mentions "Stoaksay and Broncroft."

A short time afterwards, Bishop's Castle suffered somewhat. Three contemporary accounts are as follows:—

Ye fair at Bishop's Castle was on Monday Aug. 25th, and for that ye town and ye parts thereabouts have been assisting to ye Committee of Shrewsbury, ye enemy from Ludlow, Bridgnorth, and other of ye king's garrisons made a party of 400 horse and dragoons with which they intended to plunder

¹ "Ludlow's Governor pulled down Stapleton Castle because there was no water near, and lest the enemy should make use of it." (Symond's Diary).

ye fair. Of which ye Committee having intelligence sent out a party (though not so great as ye enemy) commanded by Major Kenrick [a mistake for Fenwick]. By whose diligence our forces came for timely relief and encountered with ye enemy: killed divers of them, took 200 prisoners, 220 arms, and as many horses, putting ye rest to flight. Among ye prisoners taken was 1 captain, and 6 other persons of quality.

1645, September 3. Salop.—“Since our late success before Lillshall and Dudley . . . it hath pleased God to give us a further evidence of his goodness by delivering into our hands 140 of the enemies forces belonging unto Ludlow, who amongst others to the number of 300 were sent under the command of Colonel Davelier towards Bishop’s Castle to plunder the country and to apprehend all such as stood affected to the Parliament. After some hurt done, our forces consisting of 80 horse and 80 foot, under the command of Major Fenwick, which quartered in Bishop’s Castle for securing that town and parts adjacent, drew forth, and within a mile of that place, with the assistance of some countrymen that were got into a body, charged the enemy, Our forlorn retreated disorderly, but our horse did second them so gallantly that, after a hot charge, they wholly routed the enemy, brought off all the prisoners to the number above specified, whereof almost 20 were Commission officers: and we are credibly informed that there came not above 40 back to Ludlow, besides those which were brought wounded in carts. [Report of Humphry Mackworth and others of the Parliamentary Committee of Shropshire to William Lenthall.]

Sept. 5, 1645. A party from Shrewsbury fell upon a party of the King’s at Bishop’s Castle as they were plundering on a fair day, routed them, rescued all the Plunder, took 200 horse and many Prisoners. [Whitelock, *Memorials*.]

Probably the second, being the official report to Parliament, is the truest account of the affair. The first is a News Letter report, the last an entry in a Diary from hearsay.

A few days later Sir William Vaughan came down upon the now disloyal town, and for the assistance it had given to his opponents, he set some part of it on fire, and damaged the Church because it had been a place of defence for the

Parliamentary troops, and the resort of preachers of sedition and treason. He also appears to have left soldiers behind to overawe the district. For Vicars in his *Burning Bush* of Oct. 18, 1645, enters:—"Sir Thomas Middleton hath performed much gallant service: and in particular he sent forth [from Montgomery] a party of foot to Leigh, about a mile from Bishop's Castle, where the enemy had left a garrison, which fled away before his forces came neare them."

Symonds in his diary gives again a list of garrisons, all the following being "Pro-Rebells."

Garrisons in Com. Salop 15 Oct. 1645.

Broncroft Castle. Mr. Lutley ownes it, the Lord Calvyn, Scotus, is governor.

Benthall. Mr. Benthall's house, 5 myle from B. north. Thomas Brereton is governor.

Stokesay. A house of Lord Cravens. 4 myle from Ludlow.

Garrisons in Com. Montgomery.

Montgomery Castle. This castle was built to prevent ye rising of ye Welchmen.

Red Castle. Hugh Price is governor.

Welchpole. Sir Thos. Middleton is governor: Mason is in his absence Tho. Farrer's house, Red Castle, and Welchpole are within halfe a mile.

Before long a flying column of Roundhead troops was again passing through the district.

The *Mercurius Veredicus* of Oct. 18-23, 1645, announces:—The Committee of Shrewsbury sent a party towards Ludlow about the time that all the strength the enemy could make were drawn against Canon Froome. They marched to Stoke, and through some parts of Mochtree, then came to Bremill [Bromfield] 2 miles from Ludlow but being now amongst enemy's garrisons, the scouts durst not make long stay.

But though Ludlow still held out, the King's cause was now growing hopeless. He was himself in the neighbourhood in September, 1645, on his way to attempt the relief of Chester, now in great straits from the siege by Sir William Brereton.

The following account is taken from Symonds' Diary.

1645, Aug 6, Wednesday. The King on his march from Hereford towards North Wales with 3000 horse and dragoons reached Wigmore from Presteign. "Some of the party went to Brampton Brian (the ruined Castle of Sir Robert Harley) but the rest to Wigmore, 3 miles distant.

"Aug. 7. To Ludlowe."

Here he tried to raise fresh troops, but in vain, the country was growing tired of the war. And a few weeks later,

"Sep. 17, Wednesday. Marched from Hereford. The rendez-vous was at Atherstone, there dined, 10 miles: to Ham Lacy, supper 26 miles.

"Sep. 18, Thursday. To rendez-vous 5 miles from Lacy, to Leominster, then to Webley, thence to Prestine: there halted at Mr Andrew: this march lasted from six in the morning until midnight, 28 miles.

"Sep. 19, Friday. This day we marched from Presteigne, and except in the first three miles we saw never a house or church over the mountains. They call it ten miles, but it was over twenty before we came to Newtown. King Charles was att Newtowne in Kedewen in Mountgomeryshire upon ye 19th and ye 20th days of September 1645.

"Sep. 21, Sunday. Over ye mountaynes, less barren than the day before, by Sir Arthur Blayns howse to Llanvyllyn, a borough towne in Mountgomeryshire.

"Sep. 22. The King marched from Llanvyllyn . . . through Mochnant and so along ye tops of ye mountaynes to Chirk Castle."

One account says that the King marched via Knighton, Clun and Kerry to Newtown on the 19th. But this is hardly consistent with the above account, which seems to imply that no towns or villages were passed. No doubt the existence of the garrison at Montgomery made it necessary to take to the mountain roads. The route may well have been over Clun Forest, by the old track still traceable across the Black Mountain to Kerry, without passing by the town of Clun, which seems to be excluded by the fact of not seeing "a house or church."

This expedition reached Rowton Heath, near Chester, on September 24, 1645, where Charles suffered a severe defeat

and was compelled to retreat to Lichfield and on to Newark. He gave orders to Sir William Vaughan, General of horse in Shropshire, to do his best in making another attempt to succour the besieged. This Vaughan did, and in a few days after the last occurrence, the Cavaliers were near Clun. "Col. Hungerford, Governor of Stokesay, sent a party of 6 firelocks to alarm them at Bishop's Castle," and was informed by the five prisoners they took, that Sir William Vaughan's levies for the relief of Chester were not more than 3,000. "They lay at Bishop's Castle Oct. 24, the foot sore weary with the long march from Weobley." Vaughan pressed on with his forces towards the beleaguered city, but met with a total defeat on Saturday, Nov. 1, at the hands of Col. Mitton in command of an overwhelming force.

Retreating from the scene of conflict near Denbigh, Symonds writes :—

Satterday, Nov. 8, Marched to Lansanfraid.

Munday, Nov. 10, to Newtowne.

Tuesday, to Knighton, a pretty towne; Com. Radnor.

Here Mr. Crowder, ye sheriff of ye shire, lives.

Hungerford seems to have been an energetic officer: for on Nov. 23rd he commanded a force from his own garrison, Montgomery and New Radnor, which defeated the two Royal regiments quartered at Pembridge. And Lord Calvin, the Scotch nobleman, who was Governor of Broncroft, did not spare those of the other side when his men were short of provisions. Sir Thomas Edwards, Bart., the Royalist ex-High Sheriff of Shropshire, wrote on Jan. 22, 1645-6, in a letter to Sir Francis Otley at Ludlow :—"I lately suffered from Broncroft Castle: the Lord deliver me from the hands of these oppressors."

The Civil War was now dragging its weary length to a close. The King's cause was desperate. More than half of the men now remaining under his colours with Sir William Vaughan in Shropshire were reformado officers, officers of regiments that had ceased to exist, from being cut up, disbanded, or so reduced in numbers, that there was no need of officers. A band of broken men and desperate who had all to gain and nothing to lose by war. Their routes were

marked by plundering, for it was only by plunder that they could live.

One such expedition came to Clun, an account of which is given in the *True Informer* of Feb. 14; and the *Citties Weekly Post* of Feb. 10-17, 1645-6. The following are the words of the latter:—

“ Sir William Vaughan expecting to be besieged at High Ercall by some of Sir William Brereton’s forces who were lately before Chester,¹ sent out a strong party of horse to bring in provisions to maintain them if the place were besieged, and to levy contributions and to take what prisoners they could, intending if they were persons of estate, that they should purchase their deliverance either by ransom or exchange. Having received these orders, they march through a great part of Shropshire plundering as they went. They went from Clun to Knighton and Presteign, thence, by Brampton Bryan and over Leintwardine Bridge, were proceeding towards Ludlow. The Governor of Stokesay receiving the alarm sallied out against them with considerable strength, and having followed them seven miles overtook them and set on their party, which immediately did fly towards their main body, where they grew so bold as to stand still awhile and look our forces in the face. But finding we were resolute to encounter them and came up in good equipage to perfect that resolution, they obeyed again the ignominious counsel of their fears and fled from the field. But being closely pursued by Capt. Marvin, they were forced to take refuge in a church², into which they got and some of their horses and stood upon their guard. But before they got into the church we had a sharp conflict with them which put them to the rout. We killed 3 or 4 of their men, a Captain and Lieutenant, and others, and took some prisoners among whom were some of note and quality. They had no sooner entered the church, but the alarm was

¹ Chester surrendered Feb. 5, 1645-6. Lord Byron had held out to the last, and had to yield to want of food and fuel. The horses, dogs and cats had been eaten, and he could do no more. He had held the place for 16 weeks.

² The *True Informer* says “Stoak Church,” a highly improbable place if we take it for Stokesay, when we consider this was the very spot whence their pursuers had come. Perhaps Stoke S. Milborough was meant, which is 6½ miles from Ludlow.

brought to Ludlow, and notice was given in what danger they were in, if sudden relief were not sent. A strong party of horse was immediately drawn out for their rescue. But our men understanding of their coming and being wearied before with their long march and the ill ways made heavy by the thaw,¹ which more deeply did corrupt them, retreated back, not having one man slain or wounded in this service."

In consequence, no doubt, of complaints of Vaughan's expedition, the Parliamentary Committee felt they must do something, and on Feb. 22, 1645-6 Thomas Kettleby and Miles Ashton wrote to the Bailiffs and inhabitants of Bishop's Castle, stating they had received orders from the Committee to protect the town from the violence and wrongs of the common enemy (to wit the Royalists.) They would not be sent alone, but be amply supplied with troops under their command. These officers were carefully chosen. Captain Kettleby had a month or so before been mentioned in despatches (*Weekly Account*, Dec. 10, 1645) for his gallantry and skill at Benthall. Ashton also was, no doubt, an experienced soldier.

But the war was by this practically over as far as Shropshire was concerned. On March 22, 1645-6, Sir William Vaughan, with the last army remaining to the king, suffered total defeat at Stow, in Gloucestershire, and on March 27th High Ercall surrendered. There were now left only two loyal garrisons, Ludlow (which held out till June 1st) and Bridgnorth. But on April 26, Sir Robert Howard, governor of the latter, agreed to surrender his charge to the commissioners of the Parliament, and the fifth article of the treaty was:—"Sir Robert Howard, Sir Vincent Corbett, Sir Edward Acton, and Sir Francis Ottley, each with horses and arms, and two men a piece with their swords and wearing apparel, shall have liberty to go home, and in two months to make peace with the Parliament, or go beyond the seas, or to a garrison, on engaging themselves to do nothing prejudicial to the Parliament in the meantime."

¹ In Dec., 1645, and Jan., 1645-6, there was a very severe frost, the River Severn being frozen over. When the frost broke up at the end of January there were great floods all over the country, rendering traffic almost impossible. This would increase the hardships of the plundered districts.

Sir Robert had defended his charge bravely during a three weeks' rigorous investment and bombardment, but the mines of the enemy compelled him to choose between yielding or being blown up.

When the first civil war was at last at an end, the victors had an opportunity to punish the vanquished. This they did by heavy fines on, or sequestration of their property.

The supporters of the defeated King had to pay for their loyalty, and heavily too, as the sequestration accounts of Sir R. Howard, Mr. Walcot, and others of the neighbouring gentry, show. Sir R. Howard was fined £952; Mr. Walcot £947; Mr. W. Waring £737.¹

The castles and manorhouses hitherto undestroyed were dismantled or slighted, and in 1647 Stokesay was condemned to suffer this doom, but escaped with the destruction of the north tower. The splendid castle of Montgomery was reduced to the condition we see to-day, and Caus met with a like fate. Traces of the struggle were left no doubt in many, if not most of the villages around Clun. At Clun itself the church was partially in ruins. An entry in the Trinity Hospital Accounts seems to refer to this—"1646 paid for timber to make siles² for the seates in the church that were broken up and carried out of the church when the church was burnt 3^s 8^d." And a couple of years later the following petition (preserved amongst the *State Papers*) was made :—

To the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons
assembled in High Court of Parliament.

¹ In the *Calendar of the Committee of Compounding* are these notices :—
Humph. Walcott, Walcott, Salop, begs to compound, and says he was imprisoned at Ludlow, but escaped (vol. ii., p. 1060.)

9 March, 1646. Fine passed by House £500, provided petitioner allows £40 a year to each of four ministers in the parish of Clun.

23 May, 1646. Sir Robert Howard, K.B., Clun, Salop, submits on articles of Bridgenorth, of which he was Governor, having been a member of Parliament, and deserted.

Had liberty on its surrender for two months to go to his own habitation and compound.

19 April, 1646. Walter Waring begs to compound. On 7 August his fine was fixed at £737, but it was reduced on 10 March, 1648, to £517.

² Siles [sills] were the floor timbers into which the seats were fixed.

The humble Petition of Jeremy Powell, Esquire, on behalf of himself and the Parishioners of Clunne in the County of Salopp, sheweth. That whereas a great Part of our Church and Steeple, which was covered with lead, and furnished with Four Bells, were during these late Troubles burnt by an officer of the King's Party (lest it should be made a garrison for the Parliament, or a future defence and shelter for the souldiers, as formerly it had been); the loss thereof amounting to Eight Hundred Pounds at the least. And for as much as your Petitioners are now detitute both of church and chapel wherein to hear the Word of God and receive the Sacraments, to the Spiritual Prejudice of your Petitioners and their Families. And forasmuch also as your Petitioners, by reason of their great sufferings from the King's Party for their good affections to the Parliament in these late wars, are made unable to re-edify the same:

They humbly pray (the Truth of all this appeareth by the Attestation of the Parish to the Committee of Salopp, under their several hands, as also by the certificate of the said Committee to your Lordships hereunto annexed) that your Lordships will be pleased to order that Eight Hundred Pounds may be assigned to the Parish out of the composition of Sir Robert Howard, Lord of the Honour and Manor aforesaid: And that your Petitioner who is intrusted by the Parish herein may have Power to raise the said sum of Eight Hundred Pounds out of the Rents and Profits of the said Sir Robert Howard in the said county of Salopp, for the Re-edifying of the said church. And your Petitioners will ever pray, etc.

30th March, 1647.

Jeremy Powell.

Apparently the above petition fell on deaf years, for in 1664 a brief was issued throughout England to collect money for the "reparation of Clun Church."¹

¹ The petition for the Brief was presented to the July Quarter Sessions for Shropshire in 1664, and was entitled "for the Repair of Clun Church, sworn at £5,000." Nearly a hundred years later the Church was again in need of treatment, and at the Sessions of July, 1755, a request was made for a Brief for "Rebuilding Clun Parish Church." In 1877 the Church was a third time restored, when the balance of the money collected by the Brief of Charles II. was used, this having, with interest, increased to £2221 12s. 1d."

On Dec. 23, 1645, Mr. Humphrey Walcot had been ordered to settle £160 on Clun Parish as part of the fine for his loyalty to the King, "viz., £40 per ann. apiece for the maintenance of four ministers in the severall chappels in the parish of Clun in the said co.:"

Perhaps we may see Froyssell's hand in this as well as in the petition. He was a friend and client of Mr. Walcot and Sir Robert Howard; and, since his friends had to be fined, he no doubt thought that the fines should be made to do as much good as possible to Clun, and so the money would be "kept in the place."

When the Royalist soldiers destroyed Clun Church, they did not forget to pay attention to the Hospital. Failing the church, this would be the next best building in the town to turn into a place of refuge and defence. So the wall around the garden was levelled lest it should be loopholed for musketeers, and perhaps serve the defenders as nobly as the famous loopholed orchard wall at Hougoumont did on that long Sunday afternoon of Waterloo. But not satisfied with this almost necessary precaution they committed much wanton and useless damage. The latter of the following entries refers to this:—

1645. Paid for trouse¹ & carage, to set on the wall that the souldiers had cased to be pooled downe, to save our gardens 0 2 8

1646. Paid the glasier for mending the windows which the souldiers did brake the second time .. 0 15 0

Bishop's Castle Church had to be partly rebuilt, the earlier one having been damaged by fire when serving as a military post for the Parliamentarians in 1645. And at the Court of Quarter Sessions for Shropshire in April, 1662, a petition for a Brief was presented "for the Repairs of Bishop's Castle Church, sworn at £1,200."

At Lydbury North there are bullet marks on the South door, possibly the scene of a military execution in this war.

¹ The word *trouse* commonly means rough brushwood, such as hedge topplings, but its special meaning is the material used for making pleached or plashed hedges, i.e., the long branches that are interwoven between stakes to make a temporary fence, as distinct from a growing hedge, which is notched at the bottom and then laid down and pleached between stakes.

For there is evidence that churchyards were often used for this purpose in those days. At many churches in Warwickshire, as at Wootton Wawen, at Stratford-on-Avon, and at Kenilworth, marks of shot are still to be found on the church walls.¹ In Burghall's diary is this entry:—"1644-5. Jan. 24, Colonel Hughes was shot at the chancel end at Nantwich for having taken the covenant and afterwards returning to the enemy."

Stokesay Church had to be rebuilt in 1654, having been badly injured while the Castle was garrisoned in the War. There is an inscription on the chancel arch: "An. Dom. 1654. The church was rebuilt by the pious oversight of George Powell, gent, and George Lambe, Churchwardens. This arch was given by John Cheshire, Joyner."

If time and space permitted it might be possible in most parishes around Clun to discover and note traces left by the struggle, or traditions of incidents which took place in its course, but this would entail minute and careful inquiries on the spot, and search in the parish registers and church account books still surviving.

Unfortunately the Clun Registers only begin in 1653, after the appointment of official Registrars by Parliament. Probably the earlier ones had never been handed over to the Clun official by Thomas Froysell, or if so, were not thought by the Registrar worth preserving. The legend that the previous records were lost in the confusion of the fire during the Civil War is probably baseless. For then the present registers would begin in 1645 or 1646, as is the case of Shrawardine, where the earlier one was so destroyed, but a new one was begun at once.² This absence of a Parish Register during the war

¹ See *Popular Customs and Superstitions in Warwickshire*, a Lecture given by Sir Benjamin Stone, M.P., in the Birmingham Institute, Nov. 1, 1901.

² A large number of Shropshire Registers do not go back beyond 1653, e.g., Ashford Carbonel, Lilleshall, Loppington, Prees, Stoke S. Milborough and Upton Magna.

At Cheswardine, Chetwynd, High Ercall, and Whittington, the earlier book is preserved, but a new one is begun in 1653. At West Felton the one up to that date is preserved, but the one begun then is lost.

In Shrawardine Register is a note saying that "the old Regyster Book was burnt on June 22, 1645," but the present one begins Oct. 10th, 1645, so that very little time was lost in getting a new one, in obedience to the order of the Directory of Aug. 23, 1645.

doubtless deprives us of many interesting notes which would go far to fill up the numerous gaps in our knowledge of what took place during that time at Clun.

There is, however, a happier relic of the war than the marks of injuries to buildings and legends of cruelties, which most parishes possess. The now famous and distinctive breed of white-faced Hereford cattle originated in a Flemish herd imported from Dunkirk by Lord Scudamore of Holme Lacy, possibly through assistance of his neighbour, Colonel Edward Harley, Governor there, to replace his stock, all of which had been lost in the Civil War. Lucan wrote—*"Alta sedent civilis vulnera dextrae."* But here is some alleviation for the deep wounds inflicted on the district 260 years ago.

Unfortunately the data are insufficient to argue from with any certainty as to the effects of the opinions of the clergy on their Parishioners in the struggle between King and Parliament. But it seems legitimate to conclude that owing to the teaching of their spiritual pastors and masters the inhabitants of Clun were from the very first disposed to side with the Parliament rather than with the King. The Puritan ideas, which they had heard for over 40 years from the lips of Erasmus Powell and Thomas Froyssell, not to mention Vavasour Powell, must have taken root; and we may safely conclude that, despite having Cavaliers as Landlord and Patron, Clun was a Roundhead town at the beginning of the war. But its unprotected situation, with no strong fortress in its midst for defence, made it the happy hunting ground of foraging parties from both sides; so its parishioners joined the ranks of the Club-men. Then as time went on, and the King's cause became desperate, they again openly adopted their old principles, and posed as Parliamentarians.

With Clun we may compare its neighbour, Bishop's Castle. Here the teaching had for long been the very opposite to that delivered by Powell and Froyssell. Gervas Needham, appointed in 1629, was an ardent Royalist, who at the first outbreak of the war stood forth bravely for his Monarch, and suffered accordingly from the hands of his

opponents, who burnt "his house and his goods also"¹ and sequestered his living. So at first the inclinations of the town were for the King, judging at least from the entries in the Corporation Books quoted above. But since Bishop's Castle, like Clun, lay open and undefended to marauders, its inhabitants also enlisted with the Clubmen, and by the road of attempted neutrality passed over to the support of principles they had at first abjured, and to the assistance of the Parliamentary Committee of the county. They found it impossible to be neutral, for neutrality meant being treated as hostile by both sides, instead of by only one. So as the Royalist was the losing cause they joined the winning and became Roundheads.

Though we cannot be exactly certain of all this, owing to our insufficient knowledge of what took place, we must feel sincere pity and sympathy with the people of Clun, surrounded as they were by garrisons, whose soldiers, of whichever side they might be, had to live, and did not care whence their provisions came, but plundered indiscriminately friend and foe alike. "Nulla fides pietasque viris qui castra sequuntur." And of one thing we may be quite sure, that Clun was not a very pleasant place to live in during the first Civil War, and that its inhabitants must have often wished that they too, like their Vicar, could retire from the town and find a safe and comfortable home in distant London.

In the compilation of this paper I have been very materially helped by the notes and hints of the Rev. J. E. Auden, M.A., Vicar of Tong, who has made a special, and very careful and complete study of the Civil War period in Shropshire.

A. M. A.

CLUN CASTLE THE GARDE DOLOUREUSE.

The late Mr. R. Jasper More, M.P., was a very strong supporter of the idea that Clun was the original of the Castle in Sir Walter Scott's *Betrothed*. There are many things which point to the probability of this theory, or at least to the fact that Sir Walter had studied carefully the history of Clun. "The Castle of Garde Doloureuse upon the Marches of Wales

¹ Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, ii., p. 319.

was one of those formidable castles on the frontiers of the Ancient British, on the ruins of which the traveller gazes with wonder." The patron saint of its custodian was St. Mary Magdalene of Quatford, and the church there still bears this dedication. His Chaplain and Secretary was "a black monk of the house of Wenlock," and the advowson of Clun formerly belonged to this Benedictine Abbey. The present bridge at Clun may be still described in the words of the story as "an ancient bridge, a high, narrow combination of arches of unequal size." The "Red Pool," some three miles from the Castle, is reminiscent of the Red Lake River which still flows through the parish at the same distance. In Clun Church are two monuments to persons named Fleming, and their descendant, the Rev. H. Fleming Baxter, Vicar of Sibdon, used to say he was sprung from Flemish ancestors who made their way into the Marches of Wales in the 12th century.¹ Lastly, the mention of the buttery, "where each March and October the butler brewed mighty ale from the best barley in Shropshire," and of Red, or Powis, Castle not far away, also hints that Sir Walter was thinking of Clun. The suggestion that Garde Doloureuse is but "a playful translation" of Pains Castle, Breconshire, may be dismissed at once when we remember that in Sir Thomas Mallory's *Morte d'Arthur*, Sir Lancelot's Castle is "the Dolorous Gard," and that Sir Walter Scott was a lover of romance, not of plays upon words.

The late Miss Lane, landlady of the Buffalo Inn, was wont to point out the room which Sir Walter occupied, the bedstead on which he slept, the chair on which he sat, and the table at which he wrote the first three chapters of the *Betrothed*. But I do not know if she had anything more than tradition to support her information, nor whether the statement often made by Mr. Jasper More, that Sir Walter brought his family to stay at Clun was founded on fact. If the famous novelist ever was in the neighbourhood, I should think it was more likely as a visitor to Lord Powis at Walcot. At all events, he knew Powis Castle well.

A. M. A.

¹ See *Giraldus Cambrensis, Itin., lib. xi.*

THE SEQUESTRATION PAPERS
OF SIR THOMAS EYTON, KNIGHT, OF
EYTON-ON-THE-WEALDMOORS.

EDITED BY THE REV. W. G. D. FLETCHER, M.A., F.S.A.

SIR THOMAS EYTON was in March, 1646-7, fined in the sum of £818, and in November, 1650, in the further sum of £158 2s., making a total fine of £976 2s., for his "delinquency." His offence was "that he lived in the enemy's quarters, and adhered to his Majesty against the Parliament, and was in Conway Castle at the time of its surrender." He certainly took a more prominent part in the Civil War than did some of the other royalists, still his fine was a very heavy one; and, as Gardiner has pointed out,¹ it was exceedingly unjust, in the case of Civil War, to mark off one portion of the population as being specially guilty, and to exasperate it by laying special burdens upon its shoulders.

A MS. preserved at Eyton Hall, entitled "A Genealogical Account of the Family of Eyton, of Eyton-super-Wildmore, in the County of Salop," by George Morris, 1831, gives the following account of Sir Thomas:—

Sir Thomas Eyton (1642; 18 Chas. I.) was an active and zealous supporter of the monarchy during the unfortunate differences between King Charles and the Parliament; and stands ninth in the List of the "Engagement and Resolution of the principal gentlemen of the Countie of Salop for raising and maintaining of forces at their own charge for the defence of his Majestie, their Countrey &c." He was also a gentleman in whom confidence might be placed in those troublesome and suspicious times; for in a letter² from Sir John Weld to Francis Oatley, Esq., dated Aug. 29, 1642, Sir John says, "I pray peruse this enclosed copy of a letter sent to Sir

¹ See Gardiner's *History of the Great Civil War*, III., 196—199.

² This letter is given in the *Transactions*, 2 S. VI., pp. 37-38.

Francis Kinarston and shew it to Sir Vincent Corbet and Mr. Eiton. I doubt not of their care seeing the dangers are so apparent." It appears from the following entry in the Wellington Register, that in 1644 Mr. Eyton was surprized by the enemy and taken prisoner: "1644 Feb. 22, a party of Horse of y^e Rebels from Wemme Co: Salop past Buildwas bridge under pretence of being y^e King's forces; surprized Sir Thomas Eyton at his own house, and on their return tooke away y^e guard at y^e same bridge." There appears some confusion in this account, for if he were surprized (as from the entry in the register there can be little doubt) it is evident either that the party which surprized him could not be from Wem, or that some other bridge instead of Buildwas was passed; because Eyton lies between Wem and Buildwas, and is several miles distant from the latter place: more probably the party came from Wenlock. On account of his loyal and active exertions on behalf of the unfortunate Charles I., the Parliament compelled Sir Thomas to compound for his estate by the payment of no less than £976, a very large sum in those days. Only fifteen gentlemen in the county had to pay so much. (Geo. Morris' MS., pp. 43, 44).¹

"The Eytons of Eyton super Wildmoor (i.e., Weald or Woody Moor) in the County of Salop, rank amongst the most ancient of the Shropshire Families; there being very few that can deduce their genealogy in an unbroken strain of lineal descent from so early a period of our history, and still fewer that remain in possession of property which has accompanied that lineal descent from nearly if not quite seven hundred² years." (Geo. Morris' MS., p. 19). In the reign of Henry II. Robert de Eyton held the three manors of Eyton on the Wealdmoors, Bratton and Horton, all of which were held at *Domesday* by Warin, who held them of William Pantulf under Earl Roger de Montgomery. It is therefore probably a fact that Robert de Eyton was the lineal descendant and heir of Warin; and moreover, Warin was probably a blood relation of William Pantulf, since the descendants of Robert de Eyton have uniformly quartered

¹ I am indebted to Mrs. Eyton of Eyton for kindly permitting me to make extracts from this and other MSS. preserved at Eyton.

² This was written in 1831. It is now 1908 (nearly 800 years).

the Arms of Pantulf without any difference.¹ At the rebellion of Earl Robert de Belesme the Eytons must have been loyal to the King, as they were among the very few Shropshire gentry who were not dispossessed of their estates at that time. Shortly after the year 1170 Robert de Eyton gave the Manor of Buttery to Shrewsbury Abbey, with the consent of his overlord Ivo Pantulf. In 1394 John de Eyton served the office of Sheriff; and in 1440 his great-nephew Nicholas Eyton was Sheriff.² This Nicholas married a daughter of John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, and was the lineal ancestor of the Royalist officer, and of the family residing at Walford and Eyton at the present day.

Sir Thomas Eyton, the royalist, was the second son of Sir Philip Eyton of Eyton on the Wealdmoors,—who had been knighted at Tamworth on 20 August, 1619, and who served the office of Sheriff of Shropshire in 1633,—by his wife Mary, daughter of Dr. David Yale, Chancellor of Chester. He was born about the year 1605, and matriculated at Oriel College, Oxford, on 9 April, 1624, being then aged 18, but does not seem to have taken his degree. His elder brother Robert Eyton, who was six years his senior, went to Oxford in 1616, but seems to have died at an early age, unmarried. Sir Philip Eyton died in April, 1636, and was buried at Wellington, when his son Thomas succeeded to his property, which consisted of the manor of Eyton, and lands and tenements in Horton, Preston, Newport, Wellington, Watling-street, Leaton, Wrockwardine, Bratton, Bridgnorth, Stafford, Ingwardine, Lawley, and Malinslee.

On the 8th of August, 1642, fourteen days before the King raised his standard at Nottingham, about one hundred of the loyal gentlemen of Shropshire signed a Declaration and Protestation, expressing their confidence in the King's government and their resolve to adventure their lives and fortunes in his defence. Amongst these signatories was Thomas Eyton, Esquire, then on the Grand Jury.³

Francis Newport (afterwards Earl of Bradford) wrote a letter on August 23rd to Francis Ottley, offering to meet

¹ Eyton's *Antiquities of Shropshire*, VIII. 26, &c.

² Blakeway's *Sheriffs of Shropshire*, pp. 56, 70.

³ *Transactions*, 2nd Series, VII. 243.

him that afternoon "eyther at Tom Eyton's, or at a little blind alehouse in the longe-wood."¹ Shortly after this Eyton must have gone to Nottingham, where he evidently had an interview with the King, who gave him a despatch for Ottley, for Eyton wrote the following letter on 4th September:—

"Cosen Franke, Though you failed me at Morton Corbett in my way, I hope better of you now I am returned from Nottingham. I hear you are going yourself to-morrow from whence I came, lett me by all means speak with you, for I have a dispatch to you from the King, and must impart unto you what I have already done, and how you must apply yourself at Court, if you expect any good issue. For never had Prince more Traytors about his Person, and good intentions injured by misinterpretations. I pray, fail not to meet me at Atcham bridge, or Jack Dawes's house an ale house over the way, by seven o'clock to-morrow morning. This 4th. I rest. Sr Your Kinsman.²

To my much honoured Kinsman

Francis Ottley, esqr. at his house in Salop, present these."

On September 19th, the King was at Wellington, where he harangued his army, and knighted the Sheriff, Sir John Weld of Willey. On the 20th, he entered Shrewsbury, and took up his abode at the Council House. During his stay in Shrewsbury, the King knighted a number of gentlemen: on Sept. 21st, Francis Ottley; on the 22nd, John Weld, junior, of Willey, and Walter Wrottesley; on the 27th, Colonel Thomas Biron; on the 29th, Arnold de Lisle, a Frenchman, and Thomas Scriven of Frodesley. On October 1st, Richard Wyllis, of Fen Ditton, Thomas Lyster of Rowton, and Richard Biron; on the 9th, Gerard Eaton of co. Denbigh, and on October 11th, Thomas Eyton of Eyton.³ Owen and Blakeway suggest that, as Lyster brought the King "a purse of gold," and was rewarded with the honour of knighthood, it is not improbable that Thomas Scriven and

¹ *Ibid.*, VI. 36.

² The kinship was somewhat distant. Thomas Eyton's great-great-uncle, Richard Eyton, married Mary Ottley, who was great-great-aunt to Francis Ottley. I do not know of any nearer relationship.

³ These names and dates are taken from Shaw's *Knights of England*, II. 214.

Thomas Eyton evinced their gratitude for knighthood by similar contributions.¹ There is, however, not the slightest proof that this was the case. The gentlemen of Shropshire voluntarily brought their plate and money to Charles, but not with a view of being knighted. Richard Gibbons, the Mayor of Shrewsbury, was offered knighthood, but declined the honour. Sir Richard Newport, it is true, had to pay £6,000 for his patent of peerage.

Sir Thomas Eyton was one of the signatories to the "Engagement and Resolution" of the gentlemen of Salop, issued later in the year 1642, whereby they undertook to raise a regiment of Dragoneers for the defence of the King, under the command of Sir Vincent Corbet, by the 20th of December.²

There are extant amongst the Ottley Papers two more letters from Sir Thomas Eyton to Sir Francis Ottley, dated in February, 1642-3, which it would be well here to reproduce. The first was written from Whitchurch; the second, a week later, from Stafford.³

"Frank, Here we are ready for any work we shall be set on, for our own countrymen will give us no wages. Yesterday the neighbouring people gave us an alarm, betwixte 40 and 50 issued out of Nampw^{ch} [Nantwich], did some harm: by plundering and took away an honest sick Gent, and 2 of his servants, and lighted on 2 or 3 of Ned Owen's men and returned. I know you have been told the discourse before this. I pray be a means to send in unto me all my Soldiers of the Town, Dick Williams and the rest. Well, Adieu till I see [you]. I rest in hast Thy TOM: EYTON.

Whitch[urch], Sunday 11th Feb. [1642-3.]

To Sir Francis Ottley at Shrewsbury give these."

"Honest Francisco. Having so fitt oppertunity I thought good to give you account of what we do here, and such occurrences as have happened in these parts. This morning about 10 a clock, Coll. Hastings marched out of Town with about 700 Horse; I speak with the least, I am sure, for they

¹ *History of Shrewsbury*, I. 423.

² *Transactions*, 2nd series, VII. 255.

³ *Ibid.*, VI. 73, 74.

have 15 Colours. I suppose they walk toward where Sir Wm. Brereton was last night; whether he will stay for them or not I know not; which way he wheeles his long face is not yet known here; last night he sent out betwixt 2 and 300 Horse, it was conjectured here either to plunder Sr. John Persall's or Mr Willm. Fitzherbert's House; but the more learned think he removed further off from Mr Hastings, as not willing to endure the breath of the Malignant. This night we expect some news, what happens at any time worthy your Cognizance [I] shall studye to acquaint you with. In the mean time I remain
Thy T: EYTON.

Stafford 18th Febr. 1642[-3.]

To ye Worthy Governor of Shrewsbury Sr Francis Ottley these present."

From these letters we may gather that at this time Sir Thomas Eyton was watching the movements of the enemy's troops in the north and west of the county, and keeping Sir Francis Ottley informed of all that was taking place. Thomas Bushell, the superintendent of the Shrewsbury mint, writing to Ottley a little before this, after he had left the town, says: "present my love and servis to Sr. Thomas Eton, &c."

In the middle of 1644, the town of Shrewsbury was in a state of great exhaustion, owing to the decay of trade, and the heavy contributions which the inhabitants were called upon to provide; and on October 12th, the Corporation made a forcible representation to Sir Francis Ottley, the Governor, pointing out the impoverished state of the town, and their inability to provide a troop of horse.¹ In consequence of this representation, the Corporation of Shrewsbury and the Royalist Commissioners for the County sent a letter to his highness Prince Rupert, supplicating him "to take a present tax off, and remedie the many defects of this place," &c. This letter is dated at Shrewsbury, 21 October, 1644, and bears the Seal of the town, and is signed by Thomas Edwards, High Sheriff, Sir Francis Otley, governor, Sir Richard Lee, Sir Thomas Eyton, Francis Sandforde, Thomas Owen, James Lacon, Richard Treves, and Francis Smyth.² Prince

¹ See Owen and Blakeway's *History*, I. 443.

² This letter is offered for sale in J. Tregaskis's Catalogue, no. 426.

Rupert and the County Commissioners accordingly held a sitting on November 1st, and ordered that the Lord of Bridgewater's rents should be responsible for the payment of the officers and soldiers; but as these proved inadequate, the Corporation were compelled to levy an assessment of £200 "upon the abler sorte of people."¹

In February, 1644-5, a party of the Parliamentary horse seem to have "surprized Sir Thomas Eyton at his own house," and made him prisoner. The same month the King appointed a Commission of Association, under the Great Seal, for the counties of Worcester, Hereford, Salop and Stafford, "for preserving our rights, our people's liberties and properties, resettling the peace of our Kingdoms," &c., and nominated certain persons to associate themselves for certain ends therein expressed. This Commission was dated 5 February, 1644-5; and on 25 August, 1645, the King, who was then at Huntingdon, appointed Sir Vincent Corbet, Sir Edward Acton, and Sir Thomas Edwards, Barts., Sir Thomas Eyton, Knight, Timothy Littleton, serjeant-at-law, and Thomas Littleton, and Charles Baldwin, Esquires, additional Commissioners for the county of Salop, to be added to the former Commission.² On 18 September, Robert Howard writes from Bridgnorth to Lord Digby:—"I find gentlemen very willing to embrace the Association; but the county is so far under the command of the rebels, that there is no safe place of meeting, but in the garrisons of Bridgnorth and Ludlow, where, from what I observe, we may expect rather opposition than furtherance. Send a Privy Seal directed to the gentlemen under-named [the above seven, including Sir Thomas Eyton], as resolved at Lichfield."³

We next find Sir Thomas fighting in Wales, and besieged in Conway Castle. Conway was one of the last royal fortresses to hold out: it was besieged by General Mytton, and defended for a time by Archbishop Williams of York, and afterwards by Sir John Owen, the Governor; but it was summoned on 9 August, but held out three months longer,

¹ See Owen and Blakeway, I: 443-4.

² Cal. State Papers, Dom., 1645-7, page 80.

³ Ibid, pages 143-4

and was finally compelled to surrender in November, 1646.¹ It was at Conway that Mytton most cruelly caused the Irish defenders to be tied back to back, and thrown into the river, and "sent by water to their own country"! On the surrender of Conway Castle, Sir Thomas Eyton had a pass, signed by Mytton, permitting him with his horses, servants and with swords to pass to his dwelling house. On 27 February, 1646-7, he petitioned to compound for his delinquency, and sent in a particular of his estate. His estates seem to have been heavily incumbered, and were charged with annuities payable to his brother William Eyton, his uncle Thomas Eyton, and his sister Frances Charlton; and he estimated that he had lost, by reason of the wars, at least £2,000,—a large sum in those days. The same day he took the Covenant and the Negative Oath, by which he bound himself never again to bear arms against the Parliament. His Petition to compound was considered, and on 18 March, 1646-7, his fine was fixed at £818; but it appearing to the Commissioners that his estate was undervalued, he sent in some additional particulars in November, 1650, showing that his estate was worth £79 1s. per annum more than his first estimate, and on the 20th November he was fined in the further sum of £158 2s. od., making (as already stated) his total fine for his "delinquency" £976 2s. The first fine was paid on 20 March, 1646, and the further fine on 26 December, 1650.

Besides his composition and fine as a delinquent, it must not be overlooked that Sir Thomas was also assessed by the Committee for the Advance of Money for war purposes. This assessment was first ordained by Parliament in 1643, the ratio of the assessment being one-twentieth of the real and one-fifth of the personal estate of all owners of property alike. A summons was served, and in default of payment within a month, the lands and houses were seized and the goods sold. The estimates of the estates were often assessed much too high, and royalists were especially dealt with.

¹ Gardiner says December 18th, quoting the *Perfect Diurnal*. (See *Hist. Civil War*, III., 139.) But Eyton's pass is dated 13th November, and it had then surrendered. The Articles of Surrender are dated 9th November. Holt Castle held out till Jan. 19th, Chirk till Feb. 28th, and Harlech 'the last to surrender) till March 13th, 1646-7.

On 6 August, 1646, an Order was made that the officers of the Committee for compounding should certify the names of those who acknowledged delinquency, and that all these delinquents should be assessed for the one-twentieth. Sir Thomas Eyton was assessed at £500; and on 26 October, 1647, his estate was ordered to be sequestered for non-payment of his assessment. On 13 December, 1650, it was ordered that as, on calculating his estate, his assessment was found to be £254, he should pay £100, and should then be heard as to his debts contracted before 1642, and what money he has lent in the country, towards his one-fifth and one-twentieth; and also that his sequestration be taken off, on his giving good security to pay the remainder of his fine, if ordered. On 10 January, 1651, it appearing on his statement, that the £100 he has paid in was his full proportion for his one-twentieth, his assessment of £500 was discharged.¹

It also appears, from the proceedings of this Commission, that Sir Thomas Eyton, "a Commissioner of Array, and in arms for the King," owed £1,300 to one Leake, of Staffordshire, late Baron of the Exchequer and a delinquent, which sum was "secured on his demesnes in Eyton."²

Sir Thomas did not live to see the Restoration, but died in the month of March, 1658-9, and was buried at Wellington on March 24th. He married about 1631, Margaret, daughter of Richard Thornes of Shelvock, Sheriff of Shropshire in 1610, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Mytton. Lady Eyton was therefore first cousin to the Parliamentary General, Thomas Mytton; whilst her brother Francis Thornes was a royalist officer, and was captured at Shrewsbury 22 Febr., 1644-5, and was fined £720 for his delinquency.³ Lady Eyton survived her husband, and was buried at Wellington 29 November, 1679. By her, Sir Thomas Eyton had fourteen children:—

(1) Phillip, bapt. at Wellington 20 Febr., 1632-3, matric. at St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, 5 Dec., 1651, admitted of Gray's Inn, 1653, married Lucy, daughter of Sowdley Wedgwood

¹ See the Calendar of the Committee for the Advance of Money, II., 108.

² *Ibid.*, III., 1184.

³ See *Transactions*, 2nd Series, VI., 332.

of Ellerton, and had issue four sons and 3 daughters, buried at Wellington, 20 March, 1671-2.

(2) Thomas, bapt. 1 Jan., 1633-4. B.A. of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, 1655, admitted of Gray's Inn, 1653, buried at Wellington, 3 August, 1703.

(3) Robert, bapt. 1 Jan., 1634-5, living in 1645, and in 1688.

(4) William, of Sandford, bapt. 1 Jan., 1635-6, admitted of Gray's Inn, 1652, living in 1688.

(5) Anne, mar. to Rev. Roger Hayward, D.D., Prebendary of Lichfield, and Chaplain to Charles II. He died 14 Nov., 1680.

(6) Mary, bapt. 20 Febr., 1637-8, mar. to Thomas Pigott of Chetwynd (3rd son of Thomas Pigott, the royalist.)¹

(7) Margaret, bapt. 6 May, 1639, and buried 3 May, 1645.

(8) Frances, bapt. 16 Dec., 1640, and buried 10 May, 1645.

(9) Lettice, bapt. 24 Feb., 1641-2, and buried 4 October, 1651.

(10) Elizabeth, mar. 1663 to Richard Lyster (son and heir of Thomas Lyster of Rowton.) He died 1697.

(11) Margaret, bur. 1 March, 1653-4.

(12) Eleanor, buried 18 Sept., 1662.

(13) Rev. John, born circa 1649, M.A. of Christ Church, Oxford, Rector of Eyton 1676, Vicar of Wellington 1689, died 22 February, 1708-9, and buried 25th at Wellington. He married Rachel, daughter of Thomas Acton of Gatacre Park (second son of Sir Edward Acton of Aldenham, 1st Bart.), and had issue 3 sons and 2 daughters. From him the family of Eyton of Walford and Eyton are lineally descended.

(14) Charles, born circa 1650, M.A. of Christ Church, Oxford, buried 21 August, 1720.

The following is an abstract of Sir Thomas Eyton's Will:—

Will of Sir Thomas Eyton, of Eyton upon Wildmore, co. Salop, Knight. Dated 23 March, 1651.

My Will and desire is that there be no pressing charges or expenses at my funerall, in regard of the greatness of my debts. My goods and chattells both moveable and unmove-

¹ Ibid, 3rd Series, VI., 79.

able, to my wife Margaret, towards the discharge of my debts. I doe require and charge my son and heir Phillip Eyton, upon my blessinge that he will be ruled and advised by his mother, and Francis Thornis of Shelvake, and Richard Ottley of Pitchford, esquires, both in his marriage, and disposing and managinge of his estate, and freeinge and cleringe of the same from incumbrances. My son Phillip is to receive from his mother £14 per annum for his maintenance until his marriage, at which time (if he marry with the consent above specified) the whole estate is to be settled upon him his issue and his brethren, at the discretion of Dame Margaret, Francis Thornis and Richard Ottley. If however he marry without their consent, the whole estate is to go to Dame Margaret for ten years, for raising money to pay my debts, and then for raising portions for the younger children. But if she marry within that period, then the whole estate, excepting the manors of Horton and Malenslee, is to go to Francis Thornes and Richard Ottley, upon trust to raise money for the aforesaid purposes. And if my son Phillip marry without consent, he is to receive £40 per annum, and no more, until all my debts are discharged. I appoint my wife Dame Margaret sole executrix of my Will, and Francis Thornes and Richard Ottley overseers. Witnesses:—Francis Thornes, Lawrence Seddon, George Hosier, William Cheshire, and Walter Howgrange.

Will proved P.C.C. 2 May 1659 by
 Dame Margaret Eyton, widow and
 executrix. (249 Pell.)

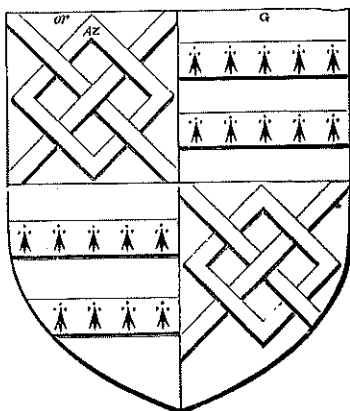
In 1701 Sowdley Eyton, the last surviving of Philip Eyton's sons, died without issue, when the estates passed to his uncle, the Rev. John Eyton, Rector of Eyton and Vicar of Wellington.

An uncle of Sir Thomas, Sir Robert Eyton, also took part in the Civil War, and is named fifth in the List of the Principal Gentlemen of Shropshire who signed the Engagement and Resolution of 1642; but he was slain during the War.

Amongst the living descendants of Sir Thomas Eyton, the royalist officer, are Mrs. Isabel Margaret Hay Morris-Eyton

of Wood Eaton, Archibald Cumberland Eyton, of Eyton, Esq., Prebendary Robert Eyton, Francis William Dayrell, Esq., Henry John Beckwith, Esq., of Silksworth House, Durham, and the Rev. Richard Lewis Irvine Neave.

EYTON ARMS.



The Arms of Eyton are,—Quarterly, 1 and 4, Or a fret azure (for *Eyton*); 2 and 3, Gules two bars ermine (for *Pantulf*).

Eyton Hall lies about 2½ miles north of Wellington. The ancient mansion at Eyton stood beyond the present house, north of the Church, and is said to have been destroyed during the Civil War. No part of it now remains, and even the site can scarcely be traced. The present house is quite modern; and some account of it is given in Leach's "County Seats of Shropshire."

It remains only to add that the Sequestration Papers¹ which follow were copied from the originals in the Public Record Office, and were purchased from the transcriber by the Society. For the loan of the block of Arms we are indebted to the Editors of the *Montgomeryshire Collections*.

SEQUESTRATION PAPERS.

SIR THOMAS EYTON, OF EYTON, SALOP.

I.

PASS FOR SIR THOMAS EYTON TO TRAVEL FROM CONWAY
TO HIS DWELLING HOUSE, 13 NOV., 1646.

(G. 199, No. 19).

Conwaie 13th Nov. 1646.

The bearer hereof Sr Thomas Eyton Knight is to be protected in his person and goodes according to the Articles

¹ See a summary of them in the "Calendar of the Committee for Compounding," Vol. III., page 1674.

made upon the surrender of Conwaie Castle which hee is to have the benefitt of you are therefore to suffer the said Sir Thomas Eyton his horses servants wth swords to pas to his dwelling house or travell vpon his necessary occasions during the space of six months without molestac'on they doing nothing preiudiciall to the parliament or breach of the saide Articles.

THO. MYTTON.

To all to whom this
may concerne.

II.

CERTIFICATE BY GENERAL MYTTON THAT SIR THOMAS EYTON IS TO HAVE THE BENEFIT OF THE ARTICLES AGREED ON AT THE SURRENDER OF CONWAY CASTLE. 1 FEBRUARY 1646-7.

(G. 199, No. 15).

Salop first of februarie 1646.

These are to certifie all whom it may concerne that Sr Tho. Eyton was a member of the garrison of Conwaie and is to have the benefit of the articles agreed vpon at the surrender thereof.



III.

SIR THOMAS EYTON BEGS TO COMPOUND FOR HIS
DELINQUENCY. 27 FEBRUARY, 1646-7.

(G. 199, No. 14).

To the Right Hon^{ble} the Comissioners ffor Compositions
with Delinquency.

The humble Petition of S^r Thomas Eyton Knt.
Sheweth

That yo^r Petitioners Estate being wholly in the Kings Quarters hee did adhere to his Maiestie in this warre against the Parliament for w^{ch} his delinquency his Estate is vnder Sequestration. Hee is comprised within the Articles at the surrender of Conway Castle.

Hee prayes hee may be admitted to a ffaourable Composition for his said estate and delinquency according to the said Articles.

receiued this 27 februe.

1646

Referred to 'ye Sub
Committee

JO. LEECH.

Tho. Eyton
—
—

IV.

A PARTICULAR OF HIS ESTATE.

(G. 199, No. 23).

A perticuler of the reall and personall estate of Sir Thomas Eyton of Eyton in the Countie of Salop.

Hee is seized of an estate in fee of and in the manner of Eyton the demeasnes whereof weare	£	s.	d.
worth yearly before these times of	160	0	0
Hee is seized the like estate of other small tene- ment ^{ts} in the said worth before these times ...	38	6	11
Hee is seized of the like estate of severall tenem ^{ts} in Harton worth before these times yearly ...	66	18	11
Hee is seized of the like estate in severall other tenem ^{ts} in Preston of the yearly value before these times of	21	16	8
Hee is seized of the like estate of seuerall tenem ^{ts} in Newport of the yearly vallue before these times off	8	19	0
Hee is seized of the like estate in severall tene- ments in Wellington and Watlingstreete of the yearly vallue before these times of	19	9	2
Hee is seized of a like estate of severall tenem ^{ts} in Leaton and Wrockkurdine of the yearly vallue before these times of	10	13	11
Hee is seized of the like estate in Breatton of seuerall tenem ^{ts} of the yearly vallue before these times of	34	19	0
Hee is seized of the like estate of and in one tene- ment in Bridgnorth worth yearly before these times	1	10	0

Hee is seized of and in one meese place in Stafford the house being burnt worth yearly	0	13	0
Hee is seized of the like estate in Certaine Cheefe rents or quitt rents in Ingardine and Lawley worth yearly	1	4	6
Hee hath the patronage of the vicarage of Wel- lington and parsonage of Eyton.			
Hee hath had Cole Mynes and Iron stones that are now drowned worth yearly	5	0	0

Hee prayes to be allowed as followeth vizt.:

The chiefe rents to his Maiestie	8	5	8
One Annuittie to William Eyton his brother as appeares by order of the Comittee	60	0	0
One Annuity to Thomas Eyton per an.	20	0	0
One Annuity to ffrances Charlton his sister as appeares by affidavit	40	0	0

Hee was seized of an estate in ffee in Certaine
Lands in Malinsley in the said County of the
yearly vallue of ffourescore and fve poundes
part of the said lands are in Mortgage to
Thomas Brookes and William ffitzharbert for
the payment of six hundred poundes upon the
ffeast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary
fforty seaven as appeares by deed bearing date
the first of May 14 Caroli.

The other lands in Malinsley are in mortgage to
ffulke Crumpton for the sum of Two hundred
and fifty poundes w^{ch} Lands are fforfeited aboue
ffouer yeares since as appeares by deed Bearing
date the 13 Martii 17 Caroli.

Hee hath lost in his estate by reason of these
warres at least to the value of 2000 0 0

The Lands in Bretton aforesaid are past ouer to
Edward Mitton Esq^r of Lincolns Inne and
William Whitefield for a security of fve hun-
dred poundes the deeds cannot as yet be pro-
duced but apeares by affidaut to bee soe and
that the money is yet due which he prayes may
be considered.

Owing by him.

Hee is indepted to seuerall persons by special-

ities 3000 0 0

There is an extent for two hundred pounds dept.

now in Charge vpon his lands at the suite of

Hatton Barners w^{ch} hee prayes may be allowed

There is owing to him.

ffrom Richard Dutton by bondi 400 0 0

ffrom M^r Simon Weston 215 0 0

His personall estate and some arreares of rent he

vallues to bee worth 100 0 0

ffrom Thomas Pearson 20 0 0

This is a true perticuler of his estate w^{ch} hee

desires to compound for and hee doth submitt

himselfe to the fine to imposed by this hono^{ble}

Comittee according to his articles &c.

THOMAS EYTON.

V.

CERTIFICATE THAT HE TOOK THE NATIONAL COVENANT
AND NEGATIVE OATH. 27 FEBRUARY, 1646-7.

(G. 199, No. 17).

These are to certify that S^r Thomas Eyton of Eyton in
the County of Salop Knight did freely and fully take the
Nationall Covenant and subscribe the same vpon the Seven
and twentieth day of ffebruary 1646. The said Covenant
being administered unto him according to order by me.

WILL^{'M} BARTON

Minister of John Macharies London

Probat. est.

(No. 18).

S^r Thomas Eyton of Eyton in the County of Salop knight
took the negative oath this 27th of ffebruary 1646.

THO. AMCOUT.

VI.

HIS PETITION IS REFERRED. 27 FEBRUARY, 1646-7.

(G. 4, p. 31). [See also under III.]

27 February 1646.

S^r Thomas Eyton of Eyton

VII.

HIS DEPOSITION AS TO HIS LIABILITIES. 18 MARCH, 1646-7.

(G. 199, No. 27).

S^r Thomas Eyton Knt. maketh oath that ye Lands in Bratton in his particular expresd to be in Mortgage of Edward Mytton of Lincolns Inn Esq. and William Whittfield of Holborne for the securing of fivie hundred poundes are really soe and the money yet wholly vnsatisfyed and that the deeds whereby this appeares he cannot at present produce nor doth he know where the same are. And he also deposeth that ye seuerall annuities to his brother William of threescore poundes yeerly to his sister ffrancis Chorleton of fforty poundes and to his Vncle Thomas Eyton of twenty poundes in his particular mentioned are really in charge vpon his estate in his particular expressed And that all the three parties his Vncle, brother and sister for ought this deponent knoweth to ye contrary are now liuinge and that their seuerall annuities are still due and in charge vpon his estate duringe their seuerall liues and that ye seuerall sums in Mortgage vpon Malinislie are yet wholly vnsatisfied.

THO. EYTON

jur. 6^o die Martii 1646.

JOHN PAGE.

Thomas Eyton

18 Marcii 1646.

Rept. 7 Marcii 49

ffyne £818.

20 Novemb. 1650.

ffine at 10th £158.

VIII.

DEPOSITION OF EDWARD EYTON, OF LONDON.

13 MARCH, 1646-7.

(G. 199, No. 21).

March 13, 1646.

Edward Eyton of London gent. maketh oath that about seuen yeares since Sir Thomas Eyton of Eyton in the county of Salop did by a deed bearing date aboute ye same time passe away his intrest in ye towneshipp of Bratton in ye county aforesaid to Edward Mitten of Salope gent. and to William W^m Whitfield for saue them harmless of ye

Ingagmt of £1000 w^{ch} they then became bound wth ye s^d S^r Thomas for w^{ch} dept ye s^d parteyes are now sued (and haue been long since) there beinge of late yeares no interest paid nor anney parte of ye dept satisfied.

EDW. EYTON.

jurat. 13^o Martij 1646.

ROBT. AYLETT.

IX.

REPORT AS TO HIS DELINQUENCY AND ESTATE,
MARCH, 1646-7.

(G. 199, No. 1).

Thomas Eyton of Eyton in the County of Salop Esq.

His delinquency that he lived in the enemys Quarters and adhered to his Ma^{tie} against the Parliament in this vnnaturall warre and was in Conwey Castle at the tyme of the surrender and is to haue the benefit of those Articles as by Coll. Myttons certificate of the first of ffebruary 1646 doth appeare, the ninth article of which is that the Governor and others in the said Castle at the surrenderinge thereof shall haue the liberty to compound for their delinquencies at such Rates as if they had come in before the first of December last, before the date of the Articles which beares date the 9th of Nouember 1646, and that this liberty shall extend unto all but such as beinge under the first and second exceptions are exempted from pardon provided they compound within six months and he petic'oned here the 27th of ffebruary 1646.

He hath taken the National Covenant before Wm. Barton Minister of John Macharye's the 27th of ffeb. 1646 and the negative oath heere the same day.

He compounds upon a particular deluired in under his hand by which he doth submitt to such ffine &c. and by which it doth appeare

That he is seized in ffee to him and his heires in possession of and in the Mannor of Eyton in the County of Salop and of and in the demeasne of the said Mannor and of other small ten'ts lyinge and beinge there, and of seuerall Ten'ts in Harton in the said County and of seuerall other Ten'ts in Preston, Newport, Wellington, Watling-streete and Leaton, Worockkurdine, Breatton, Bridgnorth, Stafford and of

certaine cheife rents in Ingardine and Lawley, all seuerally menc'oned in the perticuler of his estate with the seuerall values and respective rents w^{ch} were yeerly together before theis troubles £364 7s. 4d.

That he is seized of a like estate of and in certaine Cole mynes and Iron stone which are now drowned and vnder water of the yeerly value of £5.

That he was seized of certaine lands and Ten'ts in Malingsley in the said County of the yearly value before theis troubles £85.

Parte of theis lands last menc'oned the Compounder by a deed of demise and lease dated the 30th day of March in the 17 yeere of his Ma^{ties} reigne hath demised and to farme let vnto one ffulke Crompton of greate Dawley in the County of Salop gent. to hold for 99 years under a pepper Corne rent with a proviso and condic'on that if the Compounder his Executors Administrators and Assignes or any of them should pay to the said Crompton his Executors Administrators or Assignes the som'e of £270 upon the 14th day of April 1642 at the Castle of greate Dawley, then the said lease to be void and he hath deposed that the said money was not paid and that it is still owinge and the lease in fforce.

It is also deposed that he hath mortgaged the other parte of the said lands of Malinsley aforesaid vnto Thomas Brookes and Wm: ffitzherbert for the payeing of £600 upon the feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, which shall be in the yeare of o^r Lord 1647 which he did by deed of Mortgage dated the first of May in the 14th yeere of King Charles and is vnsatisfyed.

It is alsoe deposed that his lands in Bretton aforesaid are past over to Edward Mitton Esq. of Lincolns Inn and to Wm. Whitfield for securinge them of a debt of £500 and that the deeds cannot be produced, and doth depose that the said money is still due and oweinge.

That he owes to seuerall persons £3000.

That there is oweing to him from seuerall persons named in his particular the som'e of £735.

Out of which he craues to be allowed £8 5s. 8d. a ffee farme rent paid to the Crowne for his Mannor of Eyton and lands in Eyton Bretton and as by the Receiuo^{rs} acquittances

£60 per ann. an annuity payable to Wm. Eyton his brother issueinge out of the said Mannors and lands to hold duringe tearme of his life as by affidaut, and that he is livinge and still receiues the same.

£20 per an. Annuity payable vnto Thomas Eyton his vnclē issueinge out of the said Mannors and lands to hold duringe tearme of his life, as by affidaut and that he is livinge and still receues the Annuitye.

£40 per an. an Annuity payable to ffrancies Charlton his sister duringe tearme of her life and is likewise issueinge out of the said Mannors as by affidaut and that the Grauntee is liueinge and still receiues her Annuitye.

He prayes it may be considered that he hath lost by theis warrs in reason of goods and Chattels £2000.

D. WATKINS.

18 March 1646
fyn at xth £818.

RICHARD VINNAR.

X.

HE IS FINED AT ONE-TENTH, 18 MARCH, 1646-7.

(G. 4, p. 42).

18 March 1646.

Thomas Eyton of Eyton in Com. Salop Esq. ffine at a tenth £818.

XI.

HE BEGS TO COMPOUND FOR UNDERVALUATIONS OF HIS ESTATE, 6 MARCH, 1650.

(G. 199, No. 8).

To the honourable the Comission^{rs} for Compounding &c.

The humble petition of S^r Thomas Eyton
Sheweth

That yo^r Petitioner is informed of certain Resolutions of Parliament whereby Liberty is given to any that have undervalued their estates vpon their Compositions who may Compound for the same.

But soe it is that yo^r Petitioner is not att present able to expresse his vndervalue by reason his papers whereby he formerly compounded are above 100 miles from him, which he hath sent for and shall speedily receive and will then

exhibit a Note of the undervalues to yo^r Hon^{rs} and shall at present Name the estate soe undervalued viz. Preston super Wildmore and something in Eyton and Horton Wood, which though it may not bee att present soe satisfactory to yo^r Hono^{rs} as yo^r Petitioner desires

Hee humbly prayes you will be pleased to receive this his petition that he may enjoy the benefitt of the said resolves, which give time only till the 24 of this instant November (as he is informed) and that you will give such further Order or directions herein as to yo^r Hono^{rs} shall be thought most.

For which he shall
pray &c.

6 November 1650

Tho. Eyton
—
3

Referred to M^t Reading
JO. LEECH.

XII.

ADDITIONAL PARTICULAR OF HIS ESTATE.

(G. 199, No. 9).

A perticuler of ye reall and persónall estate of S^r Thomas Eyton of Eyton in the County of Salop.

In his former particuler he inserted an estate of certeine small Tenem^{ts} in Eyton worth before these tymes £ s. d.
38 6 4

ffor w^{ch} Tenem^{ts} in Eyton there may be added the sum'e of 20 1 0

He is seized of the like estate of seuerall Tenem^{ts} in Horton worth before these tymes yearly 66 18 11

Whereas there was given in £66 18^s 11^d for Horton, Horton's Wood was therein comprehended as belonging to Horton for the rents of Horton itself came but to fifteyn pounds the rest was put in for Horton's Wood, yet I desire there may be added thereunto the sume of 28 0 0

He is seized of ye like estate in seuerall other Tenem^{ts} in Preston of the yearly value before these tymes of 21 16 8

I desire there may be added to ye lands in Preston	20	0	0
Hee is seized of ye like estate of seuerall Tenem ^{ts}			
in Newport of ye yearly value before these			
tymes of	8	19	c
I desire there may be added to the Lands in			
Newport	11	0	0
[¹ Hee is alsoe seized of the like estate of and in			
one Tenem ^t in Bridgnorth worth yearly before			
theise tymes	1	10	0]
Hee is reized of and in Meeseplace in Stafford			
the hous being burnt worth yearly	0	13	0
[² Hee is seized of the like estate in certaine cheife			
rents or quit rents in Inguardine and Lawley			
worth yearly	1	4	6
Hee hath the patronage of ye vicaridge of Wel-			
lington and parsonage of Eyton.			
Hee hath had Cole Mynes and Iron and Stone			
y ^t are now drowned worth yearly	5	0	0]
Hee was seized of an estate in ffee in certaine			
Lands in Malensley in ye said County of the			
yearly value of fflower score and ffive younds.			
Part of w ^{ch} said Lands are in Mortgage to			
Thomas Brookes and William ffitzharbert for			
the paym ^t of Six hundred pounds vpon ye			
ffeast of ye Purification of the Virgin Mary			
fforty Seaven as appears by deed bearing date			
the ffirt of May 14 ^o Carol.			
Other Lands in Malinsley are in Mortgage to			
ffulke Crompton for the sum of Two hundred			
and ffifty pounds w ^{ch} Lands are fforfeited aboue			
4 yeares since as appeares by deed bearing			
date the 13 Martii 17 ^o Carol.			
ffor what was ouer and aboue the Lands in			
Mortgage in Mallinsley, I desire may be added			
the sume of	40	0	0
Charges vpon ye Lands.			
One Annutie to W ^m Eyton his brother as ap-			
peares by order of the Com ^{tee}	60	0	0

¹ Crossed out in original.² Crossed out in original.

One Annuitie to Thomas Eyton his vncle	...	20	0	0
One Annuitie to ffrancis Charlton his sister as appears by affidavit	... ..	40	0	0
Hee hath lost in his estate by reason of theis warres at least ye value of	... ..	2000	0	0

Oweing by him.

Hee is Indebted to seuerall persons by specialties 3000 0 0
There was an extent for two hundred pounds
debt then in Charge upon his Land at ye suite
of Hatton Barnes wth he prayed might be
allowed.

This is a true perticuler and I desire to bee admitted to
compound according to the Articles Conwey w^{ch}
were formerly allowed mee

THO. EYTON.

XIII.

REPORT AS TO HIS FURTHER ESTATE. NOVEMBER, 1650.

(G. 199, No. 5).

According to yo^r Order of the 6 of November 1650 vpon
the petic'on of S^r Thomas Eyton of Eyton in the County of
Salop Knt. desireing to add to his former Composic'on of
his owne discovery I finde

That hee Compounded here the 11 March 1646 at a tenth,
amongst other things, for lands in fee in Eyton aforesaid of
the yearly value of £38 6^s 4^d. To which vallue he desires
to add of his owne discovery £20 1^s per ann. more.

Hee also compounded in fee for lands in Horton of the
yearly valleu of £66 18^s 11^d. To which valleu he desires to
add to the valleu of the lands and woods in Horton in his
new perticuler menc'oned £28 per ann. more of his owne
discovery.

Hee also compounded for seuerall tenements in Preston in
the said County of the yearly vallue of £21 16^s. To which
vallue he now desires to add of his own discovery £20 per
an. more.

Hee also Compounded for seuerall tenements in Newport
in the said county of the yearly vallue of £8 19^s. To which
vallue he now desires to add of his own discovery £11 more.

ffor all which vndervallues he desires to compound of his
owne discovery. 20 Novemb. 1650

20 Nov. 1650

ffine at 10th, £158 2^s.

JO. READINGE.

XIV.

HE IS FINED FURTHER AT ONE-TENTH, £158 2S. OD.

20 NOVEMBER, 1650.

(G. 12, p. 22).

20 November 1650.

Sir Thomas Eyton of Eyton in ye County of Salop knt.
vpon an addic'onall particular for an estate.

In fee per Ann: £20 1 ^s 0 ^d	...	...	..	40	2	0
More in fee per An. £28 0 ^s 0 ^d	...	...	...	56	0	0
More in fee per An. £20 0 ^s 0 ^d	40	0	0
More in fee per An. £11 0 ^s 0 ^d	22	0	0

Fine at $\frac{1}{10}$	£158	2	0
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XV.

CERTIFICATE OF PAYMENT OF HIS FINE.

(G. 199, No. 3).

Vpon perusall of the Bookes and papers lately belonging
to the late Com^{tee} and Com^{rs} for Compounding and Manag-
ing estates then under sequestration &c.

I find that S^r Thomas Eyton of Eyton in the County of
Salop Knt. had 2 ffines set by the Comittee and Com^{rs} for
his delinquency. The first the 18 of March 46 £818 and ye
second the 20th of November 1650 vpon his own discovery
at £150 2^s 0^d and ye aforesaid ffines were paid into the then
Treasury as followeth vizt. 20th of March 1646, £409 and ye
26 December 50, £567 2^s 0^d w^{ch} at the request of
is certified by me.

XVI.

RECEIPT AND NOTE OF HIS PAYMENTS, TOTAL £976 2S. OD

26 DECEMBER, 1650.

(G. 199, No. 14).

S^r Thomas Eyton of Eyton in the County of Salop what
hee compounded for and when and at what times payed.
Eyton S^r Tho. of Eyton in Com. Salop £818 2^s and £158 2^s
additional is £976 2^s p'd as foll' 20 March 1646 and 26
Dec. 1650 £567 2^s.

EXTENT OF THE MANOR OF CHESWARDINE,
AND A MOIETY OF THE MANOR OF CHILDS
ERCALL, 24 OCTOBER, 1280.

THE Extent or Survey of the Manor of Cheswardine, dated 24 October, 1280, and of a Moiety of the Manor of Child's Ercall, which follow, were extracted and translated by Mr. W. K. Boyd, for the Society, from the original Surveys in the Public Record Office. That for the Manor of Ellesmere, dated four days later, and for the Manor of Welch Hampton, dated 4 November, 1280, are printed in the *Transactions*, 2nd Series, XI., 252, &c. These Extents show the exact conditions of the manors, with their acreage and value, the names of the tenants and their rentals, &c.

Roger Lestrangle was the Lord of all these four manors. The value of the Manor of Cheswardine was £6 14s. 8½d. The moiety of Child's Ercall was worth £2 7s. 4½d. At Child's Ercall were some *nativi*, or tenants in villeinage, and *coterelli*, or inferior tenants of the soil. It is not clear why only a moiety of the manor was valued to the lord. (See Eyton's *Antiquities*, viii., 14.)

Roger le Strange was the third son of John le Strange and Lucia, daughter of Robert de Tregoz. He married Maud de Beauchamp, but died 31 July, 1311, without issue by her. On 24 July, 1304, the King granted him a weekly market at Cheswardine on Mondays, and a yearly fair of three days' duration, on the eve, day, and morrow of the Translation of St. Swythyn, July 14, 15, and 16. The Inquest taken on his death does not relate to his Shropshire estates, which were all probably settled. (See Eyton X., 32, and 262 for pedigree.)

W.G.D.F.

WW

EXTENT OF THE MANOR OF CHESWARDINE.

RENTALS AND SURVEYS. PORTF. 14, NO. 23. P.R.O.

[24th Oct., A.D., 1280.]

Extent of the Manor of Chesewardin made on Thursday next after the Feast of St. Luke the Evangelist in the 8th year of the reign of King Edward; before Thomas Bosse, Thomas de Thorp, and Philip de Say, Clerk; by William de Chippeknolle, Richard Forester, Richard Wodeclerk, Richard del Hull, Hugh le Paumer, Alexander du Clay, John de Huntebeche, William, son of William, son of Hugh, Hugh, son of Henry, and other Jurors.

Who say on oath that the lord holds in demesne 44 acres of land, the worth of an acre 8^d, sum whereof 29^s 4^d, and that the lord holds two water-mills which render 30 quarters of ripe corn the worth of a quarter 3^s. The sum whereof 4^{li} 10^s. For which mills he pays to William de Chippeknolle half a mark; and to the lord of Tireleye 6^d; and to the lord of Golstan 6^d.

And that the lord holds 2½ vivaries, which are worth 26^s 8^d by the year.

And that the herbage of the park is worth 6^s 8^d.

Sum 8^{li} 15^d.

Free Tenants.

Richard Forester (Forestarius) holds one virgate of land and a half by charter, and renders 9^s 4^d by the year and 4 cocks at two terms of the year or 4^d.

And Hugh at the head of the vill (ad capud ville) holds one oxgang of land, and renders 20^d at two terms; and he holds by charter.

And Richard, son of Philip, and Gilbert, son of Gilbert, holds one oxgang of land by charter, and render 20^d by the year.

And William, son of William, holds one virgate and a half and half an oxgang of land, and renders 12^s by the year.

And Henry, son of Anian, holds one virgate and a half and renders 10^s.

And William, son of Walter, holds one assart and renders 6^d by the year.

And William de Cestreshire holds one messuage at the will of the lord and renders 2^s by the year.

And William de Chippeknolle holds 2 virgates and a half of land, and an assart, and a meadow pertaining to the said land, with a small vivary, and renders 10^s 10^d by the year.

And Richard Wodeclerk holds one oxgang of land with an assart, by ancient tenure, and renders 2^s 6^d by the year.

And William Davy holds one oxgang of land in the same form and renders 2^s by the year.

And Thomas de Okeley & Robert son of Robert hold half a virgate of land, and render 4^s 5^d by the year.

And Hugh de Golstan holds one oxgang of land and two assarts by charter, and renders 2^s 10^d by the year.

And William Randolf holds one oxgang of land by charter, and renders 2^s.

And the same William holds a meadow at the will of the lord, and renders 4^d.

And Henry Brun holds for a term land which renders 2^s by the year.

And John de Esseleye holds 2½ acres for the term of his wife's life and renders 12^d by the year.

And Richard Kubboc holds for a term 2½ acres, and renders 12^d by the year.

And Richard del Hull holds one assart by charter, and renders 2^d by the year.

And the same Richard holds a meadow at the will of the lord, and renders 6^d.

And John del Hull holds 3 acres of land by charter, and renders 12^d by the year.

And Richard Le Forester holds one virgate of land, and renders 2^s at the Feast of St. Michael.

And the same Richard holds a meadow at the will of the lord, and renders 2^d.

And John de Huntebeche and Hugh, son of Henry, hold by charter half a virgate of land with assarts and meadows, and render 8^s 2^d by the year.

And Hugh Karles holds one virgate of land by charter, and renders 4^s 1^d at the Feast of St. Michael.

And Alexander del Clay holds half a virgate of land by charter, and renders 8^d at the term aforesaid.

And John Bosse holds half a virgate of land, and renders 3^s 2^d by the year.

And Hughe le Paumer holds 3 oxgangs of land by charter, and renders 8^s 1^d by the year.

And Thomas Hody holds by charter half a virgate of land, and renders 2^s.

And Stephen le Parker and John de Esseleye hold half a virgate of land for term of life, and render 8^s 2^d by the year.

And Henry de Huntebeche and William Le Rous hold half a virgate of land for a term, and render 8^s 2^d by the year.

And Richard, son of Adam Keys, holds half a virgate of land, and renders 3^s 5^d by the year.

And Richard Le Parker holds one oxgang of land for a term, and renders 4^s 1^d by the year.

And Nicholas de Soudleye and Sibyl the widow hold one oxgang and a half of land for a term, and render 2^s 10^d by the year.

And Adam Keys and John de Asseleye and Sibyl the widow hold assarts for a term, and render 18½^d by the year.

And Thomas Tanny holds one acre and a half for a term, and renders 6^d by the year.

And the Prior of Rompton holds an assart and renders 6^d.

And Thomas Bosse holds Westaneskote and renders 1^d by the year for all service.

Sum 6^{li} 14^s 8½^d.

EXTENT OF A MOIETY OF THE MANOR OF CHILDS ERCALL.

Extent of a moiety of the Vill of Erkalewe of the part of the lord Roger Lestrangle, by 12 sworn men.

Who say upon oath that the lord holds in demesne¹ ———
And that the pannage is worth 6^d by the year. And that the fines and amercements of the Courts are worth 6^s 8^d. And that the herbage is worth 2^s 6^d with the turbary and heath. And that the lord holds 5 acres of meadow for 20^s, the worth of an acre 4^s. And that the garden is worth 3^s.

Free Tenants.

Thomas Bosse holds half a virgate of land and renders 3^s by the year.

¹ Blank in the Record.

And William de la Leye holds one virgate of land in Leye by ancient tenure and renders 4^s by the year.

And Simon de Erkalewe holds for term of life half an oxgang of land and renders 3^s by the year.

And Richard Topping and Richard le Rous hold an assart by charter and render 2^s by the year.

And the Prior of Wombrugge hold an assart and a certain meadow by charter and render 12^d by the year.

And Robert Payn holds a meadow at the will of the lord and renders 3^d.

And William Bernard holds a meadow at the will of the lord and renders 1^d.

And Michael de Morton for digging turves—3^d.

And William de Kaington for the same—3^d.

And Hugh son of James holds an assart and a croft and renders 18^d by the year, by charter.

Sum 15^s 8^d.

Coterelli.

Lonekyn Karles for a house and curtilage 2^s by the year.

And Henry Le Wilde for a house and curtilage 12^d by the year.

And Juliana the widow for a house and curtilage 12^d by the year.

And Thomas Russel for a house and curtilage, 12^d.

And Roger Cygou for a house and curtilage 7^d; and for a house and curtilage 6^d.

And Juliana the Weaver (Textrix) renders for a house and curtilage 12^d.

And Tileman renders for a house and 3 acres of land 12^d.

And Simon de Erkalewe holds at the will of the lord half an oxgang of land and renders 2^s 6^d.

Sum 10^s 7^d.

Bondmen (*Nativi*).

Elias the Reeve holds one oxgang of land and renders 2^s 2^d of farm (*firma*) and he owes two ploughings (*aruræ*) or 1^d. And he [ought] to wash the sheep or [give] ½^d, and he shall give of "gilde" 18^d. And he shall mow four days in the autumn, or shall give 6^d.

And Robert the Reeve holds one oxgang of land and a half and renders 2^s by the year, and he shall give 2^s 6^d of geld (Gilda) and he shall mow in the autumn with two men for four days or shall give 12^d. And he owes two ploughings (aruræ) or 2^d. And [he ought] to wash the sheep or [give] 1^d; and he shall mow the lord's meadow for two days.

And William, son of Sampson, holds 2 oxgangs of land and renders 3^s of farm, and of geld 3^s; and he owes two ploughings (aruræ) or 2^d. And he shall mow for one day with seven men in the autumn or [give] 10½^d. And he shall mow the lord's meadow for one day, and he ought to wash the sheep or he shall give ½^d.

And James de Ercalewe holds half an oxgang of land and renders 12^d by the year, and of geld 12^d. And he shall mow in the autumn for one day with four men or shall give 6^d. And he owes two ploughings or 1^d, and he ought to wash the sheep or [give] ½^d.

And Edusa the widow holds one oxgang of land, and renders 18^d of farm (firma) and of geld 18^d; and she ought to plough or give 1^d, and to wash the sheep or [give] ½^d. And she ought to mow with seven men for one day or [give] 6^d.

And Thomas de Algh' holds one oxgang of land, and renders of geld 18^d and of farm (firma) 18^d, and he ought to do the service aforesaid.

And Elias de Hull holds one oxgang of land and two assarts and renders 2^s 8^d by the year, and of geld 18^d; and he shall do the whole service aforesaid.

And William son of Margaret holds 2 oxgangs of land, and renders 3^s 8^d of farm by the year, and of geld 3^s.

And he ought to plough or [give] 2^d and wash the sheep or [give] ½^d. And he ought to mow in the autumn with seven men for one day or [give] 10½^d.

And Henry Fraunceys holds one oxgang of land, and renders 18^d of farm, and of geld 18^d, and he ought to plough or give 1^d, and he shall wash the sheep or [give] ½^d. And he shall mow for one day in the autumn with four men or [give] 6^d.

Coterelli.

And Simon de Ercalewe and Tileman shall give for geld

AND A MOIETY OF THE MANOR OF CHILDS ERCALL. 367

12^d and they ought to mow for one day in the autumn with six men or [give] 9^d and to wash or [give] 1^d.

And the whole Community ought to pay 22^d for tax (vola) and for "Shepeleye" 6^d.

Sum 47^s 4½^d.

FOUR SHROPSHIRE INQUISITIONS POST MORTEM.

[ELIZABETH, DAUGHTER OF JOHN LESTRAUNGE OF BLACK-
MERE, 1383; SIR THOMAS DE ROOS OF HAMELAK, 1384;
JOHN WAREYN, OF IGHFIELD, 1413; AND SIR ROGER
TRUMPINGTON, OF ALDEMER, 1415-16.]

The following Inquisitions post mortem have been extracted and translated by Mr. W. K. Boyd, for the Society, from the originals preserved in the Public Record Office. These Inquisitions are of the highest value both to topographers and genealogists. Some account of their contents will be found in the *Transactions*, Second Series, XI. 262-3. Suffice it to say here that they give us full information as to all lands held in chief under the Crown, on the death of any tenant in capite; and that they tell us (1) of what lands the deceased person died seised, (2) of whom and by what rents and services the same were held, (3) the date of his death, and (4) the name and age of his heir-at-law.

The Inquisition taken after the death of Elizabeth Lestraunge is of considerable genealogical value. It tells us that she was the only daughter and heiress of John Lestraunge (son of Sir John Lestraunge, of Blackmere, knight), who died during his minority in 1375, and that she was the wife of Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, but died without issue 23 August, 1383. Her heir was her aunt Ankeretta, her father's sister, the wife of Sir Richard Talbot, the 4th Lord Talbot. Ankeretta was then aged 22 and more, and had two daughters, Elizabeth and Mary. Ankeretta's son John Talbot was the celebrated Earl of Shrewsbury.

Sir Thomas de Roos of Hamelak was the 5th Lord Roos. He married Beatrix, daughter of Ralph, 1st Earl of Stafford, and was ancestor of the Earls and Dukes of Rutland. He died 8 June, 1384, seised of the manor of Adderley, no doubt jure uxoris.

W. G. D. F.

INQUISITION P.M. ELIZABETH, DAUGHTER OF SIR JOHN LESTRAUNGE, AND WIDOW OF THOMAS, EARL OF NOTTINGHAM, 1383. THE MANORS OF WROCKWARDINE, DODINGTON, WHITCHURCH, FRANKTON, LINEAL, &c.

Chancery Inquisition Post Mortem 7 Richard II.,
No. 60, m. 8.

[16th Sept. A.D. 1383.]

Inquisition taken on Friday next after the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross in the 7th year of the reign of King Richard II.; by the oath of James de Hethe &c. Who say upon their oath that after the death of John Lestraunge, of Blakemere, chivaler, and by reason of the minority of John Lestraunge, son and heir of the aforesaid John Lestraunge, chivaler, [who] whilst under age and in the custody of the Lord King Edward, grandfather of the now King, closed his last day, and he held of the Lord King Edward, in chief, divers manors in the County and Marches aforesaid, in his demesne as of fee, on the day he died; namely, the manor of Wrokwardyn, in the County of Salop aforesaid, which is held of the Lord the King in chief by the service of 8^{li} for all service by the year to the Lord the King by the hands of the Sheriff of the County aforesaid who for the time shall be. The manor of Dodynton, in the same County. The manor of Whitchurch, with the appurtenances, in the County aforesaid, which, together with the advowsons of the churches of Whitchurch and Itfeld, is held of the heirs of the Earl of Waren and Surrey by the service of taking the said Earl's venison at the proper costs of the said Earl, when he shall be requested. A toft with a carucate of land, with the appurtenances, at Zeye, in the County aforesaid, which is held of Hugh Burnel, Lord of Wotton, chivaler, by the service of a pound of cummin by the year for all services. The moiety of a carucate of land at Hilton, in the same County, which is held of the lord of Corfham by the service of 14^s by the year. The fourth part of the manors of Frankton and Luniall, in the Marches aforesaid, which are held of the lord of Ellesmere in chief. Also they say that all the abovesaid manors &c. after the death of the said John, son and heir of the said John Lestraunge, of Blakemere

chivaler, descended by hereditary right to Elizabeth late the wife of Thomas, Earl of Nottingham, daughter of the same John Lestraunge, the son and heir of John, in the time of the same King Edward, grandfather of the now Lord the King, And so they say that all the abovesaid manors &c. as yet are in the hand of the now Lord the King by reason of the minority of the aforesaid Elizabeth. The manor of Wrocardyn is worth 12^{li} 16^s 1^d by the year beyond reprises, and the manor of Dodynton is worth 14^{li} 11^s 10^d by the year. And there is assigned in the same manor (Dodynton) in the name of dower to Isabella, late the wife of the said John, who is yet alive, 10 marks by the year. The manor of Whitchurch is worth 80 marks by the year beyond reprises.

Also they say that the aforesaid Elizabeth died on the 23rd day of August last past. Also they say upon their oath that Ankaretta, daughter of John Lestraunge, of Blakemere, chivaler, is aunt and next heir of the said Elizabeth, viz. sister of the aforesaid John Lestraunge, son of the aforesaid John Lestraunge, of Blakemere, father of the aforesaid Elizabeth; which said Ankaretta Richard Talbot, chivaler, took to wife. And they say that she has begotten two daughters, namely, Elizabeth and Mary, who are living. Also they say that the aforesaid Ankaretta is of the age of 22 years and more.

INQUISITION P.M. SIR THOMAS DE ROOS OF HAMELAK, 1384.
THE MANOR OF ADDERLEY.

Chancery Inquisition Post Mortem 7 Richard II.,
NO. 68, m. 23.

[14th July, A.D. 1384.]

Inquisition taken at Adderleye, by the oath of William Rosamond, William de Wettenhull, Giles Harecourt &c. Who say upon their oath that Thomas de Roos, of Hamelak, chivaler, deceased, held on the day he died, in the County aforesaid, the manor of Adderleye, with the appurtenances, jointly enfeofed with Beatrice his wife, yet living, of the gift of Richard Stafford, clerk, and Robert Tynton, clerk, by licence of the Lord the King. To have and to hold to the said Thomas and Beatrice and to the heirs lawfully issuing

between them. The said manor is held of the King in chief by knight service and is worth 20^{li} by the year. The said Thomas died on the 8th day of June last past, and John Le Roos, knight, is son and next heir of the said Thomas and is of the age of 18 years and more, viz. from the Feast of St. Lawrence last past until the day of the taking of this Inquisition.

Dated Tuesday next after the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr 8 Richard II.

INQUISITION P.M. JOHN WAREYN, 1413. THE MANOR OF
IGHTFIELD.

Chancery Inquisition Post Mortem 1 Henry V., No. 14.

[22nd June, A.D. 1413.]

Inquisition taken at Shrewsbury, on Monday next before the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, in the first year of the reign of King Henry the fifth, before George de Haukeston, Escheator of the Lord the King, in the County of Salop and the Marches of Wales adjacent to the same County, &c. By the oath of William Hord, John Wythiford &c. Who say upon their oath that John Wareyn, son and heir of Griffyth Wareyn, in the said writ named, held in his demesne as of fee on the day he died, the manor of Ightfeld, with the appurtenances, in the County aforesaid, of the Lord the King in chief by the service of the eighth part of a knight's fee; and it is worth by the year in all issues beyond reprises, 10 marks &c.

And they say that the said John Wareyn died on Saturday next after the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Mary last past. And they say that Griffin Wareyn, now living, is son and next heir of the said John Wareyn, and is of the age of 13 years and more.

INQUISITION P.M. SIR ROGER TRUMPYNGTON, 1415-16. THE
MANOR OF ALDEMER. [ALVITHEMERE OR ALKMERE,
IN THE MANOR OF BETTON].

Chancery Inquisition Post Mortem 3 Henry V., No. 17.

[3rd Feb., A.D. 1415-16.]

Inquisition taken at Shrewsbury, on the Morrow of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the third year of

the reign of King Henry the fifth, after the conquest, before William Hord, Escheator of the Lord the King in the County of Salop and the Marches adjacent to the same County &c. By the oath of Richard Husee, Richard Stury, Nicholas Sondford, William Poynor, John Blyk, Richard Horton, Robert Coyne, &c. Who say upon their oath that Roger Trumpyngton, chivaler, in the said writ named, held jointly with Margaret, his wife, yet alive, on the day he died, the manor of Aldemere, with the appurtenances, in the said County of Salop, to himself and the aforesaid Margaret, and to the heirs of the said Roger for ever, of the gift and feoffment of John Ludwyk, of the County of Hertford, William Wenlok, of Luton, in the County of Bedford, esquires (and others) by licence 6th Jan. 7 Henry IV.

And they say that the said manor is held of the Lord the King in chief by the service of one knight's fee &c. And that the same Roger died on Thursday next after the Feast of St. Michael last past, and that Walter Trumpyngton is his son and next heir, of the age of five years and more.

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COMPILED BY F. A. MACLEOD.

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SHROPSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual Meeting of the Shropshire Archæological and Natural History Society was held at Shrewsbury, on Wednesday, July 1st, 1908, the High Sheriff, Mr. A. Heber-Percy, presiding. There were also present, Revs. Preb. Auden, F.S.A. (Chairman of the Council), W. G. Clark-Maxwell, F.S.A., E. H. Gilchrist de Castro, and J. W. Lee, Miss Auden, Miss Downward, Messrs. E. Cresswell Peele, H. H. Hughes, T. F. Pickering, J. Cosmo Melvill, H. R. H. Southam, F.S.A., J. Nurse, J. A. Morris, H. W. Adnitt, etc.

Letters of apology were received from Mr. Beville Stanier, M.P., the Rev. T. M. Bulkeley-Owen, Rev. W. G. D. Fletcher, Miss Mary Lloyd, and the Rev. A. Thursby-Pelham.

ANNUAL REPORT.

Prebendary AUDEN presented the Annual Report, as follows :—

The work of the Society during the year covered by this report does not present any very marked features. The *Transactions* have been issued with regularity, and it is hoped, have maintained their value; and the Society has made every effort in other ways to increase the interest taken by the public generally in the antiquities of the county. The work of excavation at Haughmond Abbey, alluded to in last year's report, has been completed under its auspices, with very satisfactory results; while the progress of the restoration of Shrewsbury Abbey Church Tower is still being watched with sympathetic interest. The deaths of Members since the last Annual Meeting have been somewhat numerous, and are a matter for much regret. Viscount Boyne and Bishop Allen, among the vice-presidents, together with Prebendary Clayton, Canon Livingstone, Mr. W. Allen, and Mr. E. Hodges, have all passed away, and left wide gaps in the membership of the Society. Bishop Allen, in particular, before his elevation to the episcopate, sat for many years on the Council, and took an active part in its work. The Accounts are not so satisfactory as they might be. The subscription list has slightly decreased, and several circumstances have slightly increased the expenditure. The result, after paying all liabilities, in spite of some special donations for illustrations, is an overdraft at the bank of £28. The only satisfactory remedy for this is increased support, and the Council would, therefore, appeal again with increased emphasis for new members. That the Archæological Society of such a county as Shropshire should be in debt is an anomaly which certainly ought not to be allowed to continue.

Mr. AUDEN added that Mrs. Baldwin-Childe had sent a donation of £5 since the accounts were made up. In the adverse balance of £28 there was no account taken of some subscriptions in arrear, and which would diminish it somewhat. Probably they were somewhere about £20 to the bad.

The CHAIRMAN moved the adoption of the Report and Statement of Accounts.

Prebendary AUDEN, in seconding, said they wanted new blood, and he hoped the result of it being known that they had a balance on the wrong side would bring them some new members. (Hear, hear.) He mentioned that the date of the Annual Excursion at Ludlow, was Friday, August 28th. They would have amongst them then, all being well, Mr. St. John Hope, the Assistant Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, than whom there was no greater authority on antiquities in the kingdom—he might almost say in the world,—and he was quite sure that under Mr. Hope's guidance they would have an expedition which would be a treat from the antiquaries' point of view, and full of rich instruction for all. (Hear, hear.)

The motion was carried.

THE COUNCIL.

On the motion of the Rev. E. H. G. DE CASTRO, seconded by Mr. NURSE, the Council were re-elected.

ELECTION OF AUDITOR.

The Rev. W. G. CLARK-MAXWELL, in proposing thanks to Mr. Naunton, and that he be re-elected auditor, said he recently had occasion to consult a good many of the State papers published by the Record Office. In the Shrewsbury Free Library they had got some, but they were very fragmentary. One hardly thought it consonant with the dignity of a borough like Shrewsbury that it should be served in that fashion, while the library at Stafford had a perfectly complete series given to them, and, as a quasi-Salopian, he supposed he ought to boil with indignation. (Laughter.) While at the Record Office last week he ventured to ask the reasons. One was that they had not quite sufficient push and did not badger the Office enough, and another was that the Archæological Society at Stafford had been able to publish a great deal more of original matter, and that was recognised by a correspondingly liberal donation from headquarters in London. If the Society could get additional members, they could have an additional output, and thus earn a more abundant shower of those documents.

Mr. SOUTHAM seconded, and said he would like to say, as Chairman of the Books Committee of the Free Library, that they had already approached the necessary people with regard to the State papers. (Hear, hear.) He thought he had a certain amount of push, and he would try to use it. (Laughter, and hear, hear.)

The motion was carried.

THE LAST STAND OF CARACTACUS.

The CHAIRMAN then read the following paper on "The Last Stand of Caractacus":—

I beg to ask for your kind indulgence whilst I bring a much-argued point before this Society, as I hope, from a new point of view; that is, not only from its archæological, but from its tactical and strategical side.

The old question I venture to resuscitate is this: where did Caractacus make his last stand against the Romans?

The Very Rev. Charles Merivale, late Dean of Ely, in his "History of the Romans under the Empire," writes in a note: "The spots which have been most confidently assigned for the last battle of Caractacus are Coxwall Knoll on the Teme, near Leintwardine (Roy); Cefn Carnedd, west of the Severn, near Llanidloes (Hartshorne *Salopia Antiq.* p. 63); Caer Caradoc, on the Clun, in Shropshire (*Gough's Camden*, iii., p. 3, 13); and the Breidden Hill, near Welshpool, on the Severn (*Archæol. Camb.*, April, 1851.) A Roman Camp, now called Castell Collen, may be traced as far west as the Ython, near Rhayader, and here, too, a suitable locality might be found. But all is misty conjecture. It would seem that Ostorius, intending to strike at the Silures in the centre of Siluria, was drawn northwards by the movements of Caractacus into the country of the Ordovices, along one of the lateral valleys that issue from the Welsh mountains. Tacitus says only, 'Transfert bellum in Ordovices.'

Thus far the Dean of Ely. Of these four spots, I think that the places usually accepted as the two most likely are the Breidden and Coxwall Knoll.

The history of the period preceding the battle was, briefly, as follows:—Claudius had returned to Rome after the defeat of the Trinobantes under Cunobelin, their King, at Camulodunum (Colchester), where lines can still be traced from the river Colne to a little wooded stream called the Roman river, indicating the ramparts of this British Oppidum. He had claimed and received the honour of a triumph, and had been given the appellation of Britannicus; he had left behind him in Britain Proprætor Plautius to secure the fruits of his success (though Suetonius declares that Claudius' conquest was bloodless.) Vespasianus was then sent in command of the second legion to reduce the Belgæ and the Damnonii, who occupied the country from the Isle of Wight to the Tamar; in this he succeeded.

Plautius was re-called to Rome in A.D. 47, and his successor, Publius Ostorius Scapula, appointed in A.D. 50, found himself being raided by the refractory Britons in various quarters. To confine the still unconquered tribes within the boundary of the Severn, he drew a double line

of posts along the course of that river and the Avon. These posts must have been at the fords, which must have been connected by a road with the base, for reliefs and supplies. This road is most probably the Watling Street from Colchester to Uriconium.

He established a base and a colony at Camulodunum as a stronghold of the Roman power in the island.

Though far from the Severn and the country of Silures, it was the nearer to Rome, and a good base for the Roman operations for the entire subjugation of the island. In the events that ensued, one is constantly reminded of the last frontier war with the Afridis, the Mohmands, and the other border tribes. First, the Icenians, a tribe inhabiting Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire, were defeated in a battle in which Tacitus records that Marcus Ostorius, the son of the General, having saved the life of a Roman citizen, acquired the civic crown.

Then the Cangi, who inhabited Cheshire and part of Lancashire, were laid waste; then commotions amongst the Brigantes called for the Roman General's attention.

But neither threats nor promises could induce the Silures to abandon their hostile actions; nor could they be quelled but by encamping the legions among them. To facilitate this design a colony, consisting of a powerful body of veterans, was conveyed to Colchester to settle upon the conquered lands, as a resource against the rebels and for initiating the Allies in the requisitions of the Roman law.

Then Ostorius marched against the Silures, a people resolute and fierce by nature, and rendered confident by the valour of Caractacus, the son of Cunobelin, their leader.

Caractacus transferred his forces to the territory of the Ordovices, where he resolved to give battle, and chose a spot which was difficult for the enemy to attack, and easy for the Britons to defend and retreat from; or thus I understand Tacitus when he writes, "every way incommodious to our army, and every way favourable to his own." This post, continues Tacitus, "was upon the ridge of some lofty mountains; where their sides were gently inclining and approachable, he piled up stones for a rampart; his position was also skirted by a river difficult to be forded."

This position alarmed Ostorius, but the soldiers, demanding battle, he led them on, and, without much difficulty, cleared the river; many of the assailants fell at the stone ramparts, but, forming the military shell with their shields, they demolished the rough stone walls, and the Britons betook themselves to the ridges of the mountain where, being unprotected by helmets or breastplates, they were slaughtered by the swords and javelins of the Romans. The Britons were defeated, the wife and daughter of

Caractacus taken, and his brothers surrendered; the gallant chieftain himself escaped to Cartismandua, Queen of the Brigantes, who subsequently gave him up to the Romans, A.D. 51.

Now, looking at the site of the Breidden, I cannot see that it in any way answers to the description of this battle. The Severn is too far away from the foot of the hill to be any protection to men entrenched on the Breidden armed with bows and arrows and swords and javelins; it also must have been a much more formidable river to cross then than it is now, when the country is all drained.

In about 894 A.D. the Danes sailed their vessels—they may have been of light draught for sea-going vessels, but sea-going vessels they must have been—up the Thames, portaged them across to the mouth of the Severn, and navigated them up that river as far as Buttington, about two miles below Welshpool, where they were caught by the Saxons and utterly defeated.

Mr. Clark-Maxwell also tells me that Tacitus used the word "Amnis" for the stream crossed at Caradoc's defeat, whilst he calls the Severn "Fluvius," and we should remember that though Ostorius was alarmed at the sight of the river, his men "without much difficulty cleared it." The Breidden, though steep, might be assaulted on all sides except the precipitous slopes on the northern and western sides, and, if so carried, there would be no way of retreat for the defenders.

The camp at the Breidden has round its highest elevation an outer and an inner wall, and on a lower top one circumvallation. The apparent connecting works marked on the Survey Sheet are, I think, doubtful as to their antiquity, and are at best but very slightly indicated.

Coxwall Knoll, on the contrary, in my opinion, answers well to the description.

What I have said of the Severn (as far as regards the drainage of the land), equally applies to the Teme—it must have been a bigger river than it is now.

The stream runs at the very foot of the hill on which stands the camp; with stone walls erected along the bank on the camp side it would add much to the strength of the position of the defenders.

There is no trace that we could find of these stone walls. But, as the Roman soldiers could remove them under cover of the military shield, they could only have been piles of loose stones, what is called a Burr-wall in Shropshire still.

Its left flank is bounded by a brook called the Red Lake brook from its appearance, probably then bordered by marshes; nearing its summit are the surrounding walls of the British Camp, at its rear the way of retreat lies open

to the hills, through which Caractacus must have escaped (north, let it be remembered) to the Queen of the Brigantes, a tribe who inhabited Yorkshire, Durham, Cumberland, and Westmoreland.

Again, where had Caractacus withdrawn from to find a suitable position to defend? He had come from the country of the Silures, a people who occupied Herefordshire, Radnor, Brecknock, Monmouth, Glamorgan, and, in general, South Wales, and passed into the country of the Ordovices, the people of Shropshire and North Wales. In a note in the Dean of Ely's book I find: "From the distance marked in the XII. and XIII. Itinera of Antoninus it has been supposed Branogenium of the Ordovices, is at Leintwardine, on the Teme, and Magna Castra of the Silures, at Kentchester, a little north of the Wye. The boundary would, therefore, lie between these two rivers. It seems to me that Caractacus, a horn hill fighter, would never have left his vantage ground in the Shropshire hills for the sake of the perhaps, imposing, but certainly weak, position, of the isolated Breidden. Nor can I imagine Ostorius advancing from Colchester, circling round in the plain country north of the Severn, aware, as he must have been, that before he could attack he would have to cross that then formidable river.

His probable line of advance from Camulodunum would be the line of Watling Street (though possibly that "street" did not yet exist) over the lowest ford on the Severn at Uriconium, which must have been a fortified post, and thence by the, perhaps, subsequent military road to Leintwardine.

Directly the Severn was crossed at Uriconium, the Breidden as the scene of a battle as described by Tacitus becomes impossible.

The association of the name Caer Caradoc with the camp on the hills behind Coxwall is, I believe, ancient, and, therefore, valuable, especially as Caractacus, son of Cunobelin, King of Trinobantes, except by his fierce resistance to the Romans and by this great fight, had no local connection with either the Silures or Ordovices.

Camden states that the battle was fought in Shropshire, where the Clun runs into the Teme, not far from a hill called Caer Caradoc. This answers exactly to Coxwall Knoll. It may be said that Camden had no more written authority to go on for this statement than we have. Yet, living as he did in 1586, when he published in what I read was "Elegant Latin, the history of the ancient inhabitants of Britain. when facile means of locomotion were not, races and families lived long in their Shropshire valleys, and the old tales and traditions would be told and re-told, and t

handed down in a way that is impossible to conceive now-a-days. Yet even so, I found two old residents who told me that the Red Lake Brook was so called because a great battle had been fought there, so that the brook ran red with blood!

I cannot finish this article without expressing my great indebtedness and grateful thanks to Mr. Clark-Maxwell, without whose help this article could not have been written, and in whose company so many delightful days have been spent visiting these and other British and Roman encampments in the neighbourhood.

We at any rate are quite convinced that at Coxwall Knoll we have the true scene of the last fight of the great British hero, Caractacus.

Mr. MELVILL proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman for his interesting paper. He said he visited Coxwall Knoll last year, but he had always imagined until now that the popular idea that the Breidden was the place of the battle was the right one. Now, however, he saw, as Mr. Heber-Percy had pointed out, that the Severn flowed too far from the place to make it likely to be the site of Caractacus' last stand. He knew the Teme flowed close to Coxwall Knoll, and he imagined there must have been a marsh in the primeval times, and that it was quite likely the Knoll was the scene of the battle. He hoped to visit the place again, and, after the interesting arguments he had heard, he would look upon it with a different eye.

Mr. PERLE, in seconding, said he knew the Breidden very well, and he agreed with the Chairman that it was not the place described by Tacitus, nor anything like it. The other place he had never seen, but he would follow Mr. Melvill's example and take an early opportunity of visiting it. He felt that Mr. Heber-Percy had really solved that question, which had engaged so much attention.

Prebendary AUDEN said he stood up to champion the Breidden as the site of the last stand. He was aware there was a good deal to be said for Coxwall Knoll, and he would like to give the fullest benefit to what could be said. It had the advantage of the old tradition which Mr. Heber-Percy had alluded to, and also it had the authority of Camden. He supposed it was known that Camden himself never visited the spot. The objection to the Knoll, in his mind, was that it first of all had no stone wall upon it, as Mr. Heber-Percy acknowledged, and, with regard to the marsh, he thought no doubt there was a marsh beyond the Severn as well as in most places; in fact, it was the rule for any river to have marshy ground around it, and he thought that would do away with one of the difficulties

that had been stated with regard to the course of the river being far away from the Breidden. He thought an argument in the Breidden's favour was its isolation; a force on the top of the hill could only be attacked from below. Then with regard to the river, it must be admitted that rivers in the time of Caractacus had a good deal more water in them than they had now, and also they would not be so confined in their channels; and he thought he was right in saying that, allowing for every change, the Severn must have been a bigger river at the Breidden than the Teme at Coxwall Knoll. He pinned his faith to the Breidden partly because of its position, its isolation, and partly because he thought it was more in the country of the Ordovices than the Knoll; also, it had a river which was in those days formidable, and a stone rampart. With reference to the Danes bringing vessels up the Severn, as a Salopian, he was prepared to stick to the fact that it was the Buttington, near Welshpool. But recently, while staying close to Chepstow, he was a little surprised to hear that there was a place close by called Boddington or Buttington, and the people who lived there took it as a matter of course that that was the Buttington referred to. Of course, being a good Salopian, he could not accept that, but they must not make too much of the ships. The other day he was talking to Archdeacon Thomas, who was an authority on the subject, and the Archdeacon told him that, had it been possible for him to be present, he would have done his utmost to support the view that the Breidden was the site of the last stand.

Mr. CLARK-MAXWELL supported the Chairman's view, and said it seemed to him the only weak point was the small size of the Knoll. It was a much smaller camp than the Breidden, but that might have been one reason why it was chosen, because of the small force. He pointed out that if Camden never saw the site, neither did Tacitus.

Miss AUDEN gave instances showing the unreliability of traditions.

Mr. SOUTHAM said from his little military knowledge he was bound to follow Mr. Heber-Percy's lead.

The vote was heartily carried.

The CHAIRMAN, in reply, said he maintained that the Breidden was not difficult to attack, and it was most difficult to defend and impossible to retreat from. With regard to Mr. Auden's contention that the Severn was the most formidable river, that was a point he made in his paper as proving that the Breidden was not the site. He had been interested in all that had been said against him, but he could not say that he was converted. (Laughter.)

ANNUAL EXCURSION.

The Annual Excursion of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society took place on August 28th, when a large party of Members and friends spent the day in studying some of the antiquities of Ludlow. The party included the Rev. Prebendary Auden, F.S.A., and Miss Auden, Rev. E. B. and Mrs. Bartleet, Rev. W. G. Clark-Maxwell, F.S.A., and Mrs. Clark-Maxwell, Rev. Prebendary and Mr. C. Moss, Mr. W. H. St. J. Hope, Assist. Sec. S.A., Mr. H. T. Weyman, F.S.A., Rev. E. H. Gilchrist de Castro, Rev. C. H. Drinkwater, Dr. Gepp, Mr. G. S. Gulston, Mr. H. Howard, Miss R. Humphreys, Miss Lloyd, Mr. J. Cosmo Melvill, Rev. Dr. Moriarty, Mr. J. Nurse, Mrs. Roche, Mrs. Roughton, Mr. H. R. H. Southam, Mrs. J. D. Southam, Miss Ida Southam, Miss D. Owen, Miss Gladys Owen, Miss E. Greves, Rev. Father Fisher, Rev. J. G. Swainson, Mrs. Wright, Miss Lucy S. Wright, Mr. A. E. Cooper, Rev. C. and Mrs. Tudor, Rev. M. J. and Mrs. Ransome, Rev. J. W. and Mrs. Lee, Miss Chitty, etc. They met at the Church at 11-30, where the Rev. W. G. Clark-Maxwell kindly gave a resumé of the history of the building, and Mr. St. John Hope called attention to its architectural features. The plan of the Church was laid out on its present lines in the 12th century, probably at the time that the great castle founded by Roger de Lacy in his manor of Stanton had begun to attract considerable population under its protection. Modern research goes to show that Mr. Eyton's theory of a Saxon origin for Ludlow rests upon a very insecure basis. The coins stamped "Lude," which he supposed to have been minted at Ludlow, are now known to belong to the London Mint, and Mr. J. H. Round is of opinion that the manor of Lude, mentioned in the Domesday Book is that of Lye, in Herefordshire. In 1199 mention is made of the enlarging of Ludlow Church, and the 14th and 15th centuries brought many alterations and additions to it. The heraldry of the chancel roof points to the first half of the 15th century, and there is documentary evidence of the screen work being of that period. The Church is rich in old stained glass, and formerly possessed many chantry chapels, the sites of the altars of which were pointed out by Mr. H. T. Weyman. The tomb at the north-west end of the Church, popularly, but most incorrectly, associated with Prince Arthur, is shown to be probably that of Dr. Denton, master of St. John's Hospital, which is mentioned by Leland. St. John the Evangelist was the patron saint of the Palmers' Guild of Ludlow, the legend of which is given in the east window of their chapel at the end of the north aisle, as that of St.

Lawrence, the patron saint of the Church, is in the east window of the chancel. The Palmers' Chapel also, like Clun Church, possesses an oak canopy above the altar. Other unusual features are the mediæval lavatory near the south door, and the little chamber behind the altar at the east end of the chancel, with its inserted 12th century window. Stukeley considered the room to have been a treasure chamber, but this is clearly incorrect. Mr. St. John Hope was of opinion that it was built in order to make it possible to conform with the canon which ordered the ringing of a bell at a given point in the saying of the Mass, that the parishioners at their work outside might hear. He mentioned that this is probably the reason for the much-debated low-side windows, with their shuttered openings. In later mediæval times a bell in the steeple was rung instead of a hand-bell, and the sanctus bell-cote found in many churches marks an intermediate stage.

The monuments in Ludlow Church are many of them noteworthy, especially that to Sir John Bridgman and his wife. Sir John died in 1637, and his monument is probably the work of Francesco Fanelli, who was employed at Gloucester Cathedral about that date. Sir John was not popular, and Gough, in his history of Middle, records a rhyming Latin epitaph made on him by Ralph Gittins, one of the masters of Shrewsbury School, and its English translation.

After an interval for lunch, the party re-assembled at the Castle, where Mr. St. John Hope spoke first of the general history of the building. There is little documentary evidence as to its early history, as, not being a Royal Castle, the Pipe Rolls are silent as to expenditure upon it. The first Norman builders used the stone they took out of their moat to build a great gateway tower (as they did at Richmond in Yorkshire), instead of making the usual earthen mound. One side of the almond-shaped enclosure of the inner bailey was fortified by nature, and only required the addition of a wall, against which the later buildings now stand. The great tower was much altered about the 13th century, the entrance archway being taken away and built up, and the lowest storey made into a dungeon. The entrance was made beside at a different level, and the outer bailey was enclosed and used for various buildings. Of these, the porter's lodge is still standing, with the prison next to it, to which Sir John Bridgman, if tradition be true, was wont to send prisoners for very small faults. A single wall remains of the Chapel of St. Peter, which Sir Henry Sidney made into two storeys for use as a courthouse and muniment room.

The first building of note in coming into the inner court is the Judge's lodgings, built by Sir Henry Sidney.

with a picturesque newel staircase ; but the round Norman Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene eclipses all the other buildings in interest. The excavations made a few years ago under the supervision of Mr. Hope showed that the original chancel was finished by an octagonal apse. This was removed by Sir Henry Sidney, and replaced by a longer chancel of timber work. He also brought corbels from various parts of the Castle, and inserted them in the nave walls as supports to a gallery or upper floor, where he and his family and guests heard the service, while the dependents occupied the ground floor. A covered way led from the state apartments to the chapel, with a passage below from the servants' quarters.

At this point a heavy shower made the party beat a retreat to the shelter still afforded by the great tower, where Mr. Hope pointed out the various alterations it had gone through, and showed that the curious short wall passage was a relic of the time when it was the great gateway. In troubled times, or at night, when the inner doors were closed, persons might be admitted one at a time through this passage, which in the daytime would be partially hidden by the open door against it. The arrangements of the great hall and the other buildings also showed many points of interest, and must have contained much that was noticeable before the Government, under George I., allowed everything to fall into irrevocable ruin at the beginning of the 18th century.

Leaving the Castle precincts, the party walked round the exterior, and then made their way to the little late 12th century Chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury, now a furniture store, and so to the Grammar School, where the 13th century hall of Thomas Barneby now forms part of the school precincts. The Teme was crossed by the picturesque Ludford Bridge, near the site, in 1459, of camps of the rival forces of York and Lancaster.

Ludford House was visited, by the kind permission of Mr. A. C. Brown. This contains early work in its walls, for it was originally a Hospital of St. Giles, where beggars and poor strangers were entertained in mediæval times. The Ludford Hospital seems to have taken the form of almshouses, known as St. Giles' House, which were bought on the dissolution of the smaller religious foundations by William Foxe, Bailiff of Ludlow, the purchaser of St. John's Hospital in Ludlow. He seems to have adapted St. Giles House for the use of his son Edmund, and re-built the almshouses. Edmund Foxe was called of Ludford, on his death in 1551, four years before that of his father. William Foxe's grandson, Edward, conveyed Ludford to Bonham Norton, of Church Stretton, in 1607, and it passed, a few

years later, to the Charlton family, who first occur in connection with Ludford in 1632, and who seem to have been in full possession of the house in 1667. The Charltons, who were a branch of those at Apley, had been goldsmiths, or what would in modern days be called bankers, of London, and the negotiations of loans to the King passed through their hands. They bought property in their native county, and became owners of Whitton, near Ludlow. Richard Charlton, of Whitton, married Emma, daughter of Sir Job Harby, of Adston, in Northants, and their son, Job, became eminent in the law. He was born in 1614, and in 1662 was appointed Chief Justice of Chester, and in 1672 Speaker of the House of Commons. He was created a baronet in 1686. He lived at Ludford, and there entertained King James II. in 1687. The King's bed and his chair are still to be seen at Ludford, where the character of the house remains much as it was at that time, and to the casual observer little but the ground plan tells of its earlier date. Sir Job's grandson, Sir Francis, settled Ludford on the eldest son of his first marriage, and Park Hall, near Oswestry, which he bought in 1717, on that of his second; but the male line of both branches failed about the beginning of the 19th century, Ludford passing to the Lechmeres, and Park Hall to the Kinchantes.

From the Hall the party went to Ludford Church, where, in the absence of the Vicar, the Rev. R. V. Tremills kindly met them, and pointed out the objects of interest. The north aisle, built by William Foxe in the 16th century, contains an interesting brass to his memory, and that of his wife. The inscription mentions that he built the aisle, and "re-edified" the almshouses. The date of his wife's death has not been filled in. She died March 11th, 1564, and her will carefully guards the rights of the poor to the almshouses at Ludford. Sir Job Charlton, who died in 1697, aged 83, is commemorated by a fine recumbent effigy in his Judge's robes, and the monument to his first wife, Dorothy Bunden, has a graceful portrait medallion. There is a tomb of curious design erected by Edward Fox, but no dates have been filled in upon it. Apparently it was erected before money difficulties obliged him to part with Ludford. Considerable interest was shown by the members in a vessel of stone built into the south wall of the interior, but it did not appear to be in situ, and various opinions were expressed as to whether it had originally been a font or a stoup.

From Ludford Church the party made their way back to the town in detachments, and at 6-2 the Shrewsbury contingent went on their homeward way after a most interesting day in the town that King James is said to have called (and rightly so) one of the fairest in his dominions.

MINUTES OF THE MONTHLY COUNCIL MEETINGS.

October 9th, 1907—Rev. Prebendary Auden, F.S.A. in the Chair.

Mr. George Whiteley, M.P. of Hawkstone Park, was elected a member of the Society.

In consideration of the valuable literary services rendered to the county by Miss Burne, the Council decided to present to her one volume and one odd part of the *Transactions* necessary to enable her to complete her set.

Mr. Southam reported that a sum slightly exceeding £25 had accumulated as interest on the amount which was deposited in the Salop Old Bank on behalf of the Uriconium Excavation Fund, when the work was discontinued in 1899. It was resolved that the sum of £25 of this interest be devoted towards liquidating the balance due for work done in excavating the ruins at Haughmond Abbey during the Spring of 1907.

November 13th, 1907—Rev. Prebendary Auden, F.S.A., in the Chair.

A letter was read from Miss Burne, thanking the Council for their gift of the parts of the *Transactions* which she wanted.

It was decided that two plates and one block be allowed to Mr. H. B. Walters for the next instalment of his paper on Church Bells; and that the question of the Illustrations for Mrs. Baldwyn-Childe's paper on Kinlet be referred to the Editorial Committee.

December 11th, 1907—Rev. Prebendary Auden, F.S.A., in the Chair.

Mr. A. Middleton Rickards, of 21, Glenloch Road, Haverstock Hill, N.W., was elected a member of the Society.

The Chairman read a letter which he proposed should be printed and sent to all the subscribers to the Uriconium Excavation Fund, informing them that £25 of the interest accumulated on the deposit at the Salop Old Bank had been devoted towards

liquidating the balance due for work done in excavating the ruins at Haughmond Abbey in the Spring of 1907. The letter was approved, and the Assistant Secretary was instructed to send a copy to each of the subscribers to the Uriconium Fund.

January 8th, 1908—Rev. Prebendary Auden, F.S.A., in the Chair.

The Assistant Secretary reported that he had sent by post to each subscriber to the Uriconium Excavation Fund a copy of the letter approved at the last Council Meeting, and that no replies had been received.

Miss Lucy S. Wright, of Grinshill Vicarage, was elected a member of the Society.

A letter was read from Mr. J. Cosmo Melvill, asking that his name should not appear, for the present, as Curator of Conchology.

A letter was read from Mrs. Baldwyn-Childe, offering £5 towards the cost of the Illustrations in the *Transactions* which she desired for Blakeway's Notes on Kinlet Church. Mrs. Baldwyn-Childe's offer was accepted with thanks, and the Council agreed to add a further sum for illustrations not exceeding £5.

February 12th, 1908—Rev. C. H. Drinkwater in the Chair.

The following new members of the Society were elected:—The Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore, Brogyntyn, Oswestry, and Mr. John Beacall, of Sorrento, Italy.

A Statement of the Receipts and Expenditure for the year 1907 was laid on the table, showing a balance overdrawn at the end of the year of £28 7s. 10d.

It was resolved that if, in Mr. Adnitt's opinion, there is a sufficient number of surplus copies for future sales of Vol. I., 2nd Series, of the *Transactions*, a number of copies not exceeding ten might be broken up for the purpose of completing the "Lay Subsidy Roll of 1327" for the members of the Council, and of binding copies of the "History of Shrewsbury Liberties" for sale for the Society.

March 11th, 1908—Rev. Prebendary Auden, F.S.A., in the Chair.

The following new members of the Society were elected:—Mr. G. S. Gulston, Moor Hall, Ludlow, Mr. Gerald G. P. Heywood, Tickwood Hall, Much Wenlock, and Mrs. F. R. Gamwell, Aber Artio, Llanbedr, Merioneth.

A letter read from Mr. Herbert Southam, enclosing a cheque for £1 rs., being a donation from himself and Mr. Adnitt to the Illustrations Fund.

The Rev. W. G. D. Fletcher and Mr. Adnitt were requested to draw up a circular postcard to be sent to the Clergy, Landowners, and others likely to be interested, calling attention to the fact that there were several copies of the "History of Shrewsbury Liberties" for sale.

April 8th, 1908—Rev. Prebendary Auden, F.S.A., in the Chair.

The question of the Annual Excursion was discussed, and it was decided to make Ludlow the centre for the Excursion, provided that Mr. St. John Hope or Mr. Brakspear would be able to attend.

May 13th, 1908—Rev. Prebendary Auden, F.S.A., in the Chair.

It was reported that Mrs. Baldwyn-Childe had sent her promised subscription of £5 to the Illustrations Fund, and the Assistant Secretary was instructed to convey the thanks of the Council to Mrs. Baldwyn-Childe for her generous donation.

The Chairman was requested to convey to the relatives of the Right Rev. Bishop Allen the sympathy of the Council on the death of the Bishop.

It was decided that the Annual General Meeting be held in July, and that Major Heber-Percy be asked to take the Chair.

June 10th, 1908—Rev. Prebendary Auden, F.S.A., in the Chair.

The printers' account for Part I., Vol. VIII., of the *Transactions* was laid on the table; and it was decided that enquiry be made as to some of the charges which appeared to the Council to be excessive.

July 1st, 1908—Rev. Prebendary Auden, F.S.A., in the Chair.

The question of the printers' charges was again discussed, but postponed to a future meeting.

The Rev. C. M. Tudor and Mrs. Tudor, of Pitchford Rectory, were elected members of the Society.

The Annual Excursion was fixed for August 28th.

*September 9th, 1908—Colonel H. R. H. Southam, F.S.A.,
in the Chair.*

The following new members of the Society were elected :—

Rev. Maurice J. Ransome, Pulverbatch Rectory.

Rev. G. R. Peak, Dinham, Ludlow.

Mrs. J. W. Lee, Cressage, Shrewsbury.

The Chairman having reported that the hedge at Uriconium required laying, it was decided that the matter be left in Mr. Southam's hands.

The Assistant Secretary was instructed to call the attention of the Churchwardens of St. Chad's to the fact that some little cleaning up was necessary at the Crypt.

SHROPSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL

AND

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SHROPSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

Statement of Accounts for the year 1907.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
To Balance in hands of Bankers, January 1st, 1907	...	2	16 4
" Members' Subscriptions	...	167	19 0
" Sale of <i>Transactions</i>	...	3	3 0
" Sale of <i>Guide to Uriconium</i>	...	6	12 0
" Sir Offley Wakeman, Bart., Cost of printing the Middleton Pedigree	...	3	2 6
" Mr. H. W. Adnitt, Donation to Illustration Fund	...	0	10 6
" Mr. H. R. H. Southam, Donation to Illustration Fund	...	0	10 6
" Balance due to Bankers	...	28	7 10

£213 1 8

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.
By Messrs. Woodall, Minshall, Thomas and Co., for Printing <i>Transactions</i>	...	121	18 10
" Messrs. Adnitt and Naunton	...	35	17 1
" Salary of Assistant Secretary	...	5	0 0
" Wroxeter: Rent, Rates, Tithe, &c.	...	4	7 5
" Editorial Committee, Postage Stamps and Carriage of Parcels	...	1	5 0
" Postage Stamps, General Correspondence, Calling Meetings, Collecting Subscriptions, &c.	...	2	15 0
" Railway Carriage and Postage of <i>Transactions</i>	...	6	13 9
" Commission	...	8	8 0
" Fee for Indexing Vol. VII., 3rd Series of the <i>Transactions</i>	...	2	2 0
" Subscription to Congress of Archæological Societies	...	1	0 0
" Engraving Blocks for History of Church Bells	...	2	16 0
" Expenses in connection with Annual Excursion	...	0	7 10
" Index of Archæological Papers (2 years)	...	2	11 3
" Mr. W. K. Boyd, Copying MSS. at Record Office	...	5	0 0
" Expenses of Annual General Meeting	...	2	19 6
" Subscription to Haughmond Abbey Excavation Fund	...	10	0 0

£213 1 8

16 March, 1908.

Examined and found correct,
(Signed) W. W. NAUNTON,
Auditor.

NOTICE TO MEMBERS.

The Council respectfully solicit contributions of Papers, specially Parochial Histories, for future volumes of the *Transactions* of the Society.

The Society does not hold itself responsible for the Statements, Opinions, or Errors of Authors of Papers.

A few copies of BLAKEWAY'S HISTORY OF THE LIBERTIES OF SHREWSBURY, 500 pages, in cloth, can still be had from Messrs. Adnitt and Naunton, price 11/6. It contains the history of 34 villages and townships in the neighbourhood of Shrewsbury.

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