

Dunham Massey, will be found in a pedigree of his family, vol. III. p. 78 [*now* 137]. His researches appear to have been purely genealogical, and his ability and assiduity in this department of antiquities left him inferior only in these respects to sir Peter Leycester, who often refers to his "laborious collections." These MSS. consist of a series of Cheshire pedigrees, compiled (in the later generations) from the Visitations of 1568, 80, 1613, and (in the earlier ones) from charters. The original copy of these is still preserved at Twemlowe hall, and was obligingly offered by his representative J. C. Booth, esq. (through the medium of Mr. Hamper). Another copy, written in the beautiful hand of the late Mr. Stafford, was lent by his daughter, Mrs. Johnson, of Ashton on Mersey; as was also a third, formerly belonging to the Utkinton library, by Archdeacon Churton; a fourth and fifth occurred in the libraries of the Heralds' College, and of Egerton Leigh, esq.; and three others were entrusted to the author by major-gen. Glegg, Edward Townshend, of Wincham, esq. and sir J. F. Leycester, bart. which deserve more particular notice. The first had been transcribed by Mr. Glegg, grandfather of the present proprietor, and in many instances continued to his time; the second belonging to the Lees of Dernhall, and, being written on a large paper, had been made the vehicle of numerous additional pedigrees and continuations, inserted from time to time by many of the several families; and the last (which was also written in a very large volume, and contained similar additions) had been transcribed by sir Peter Leycester himself as a basis for his further discoveries, and he had carefully noted what occurred on his subsequent examinations of original evidences.

LAWRENCE BOSTOCK has been noticed in p. 135 [*now* 258], vol. III. as author of a poem of some merit on the subject of the Norman earldom, and as a Cheshire collector. A transcript of his MS. poem by Alexander Mort of Astley, an intelligent Lancashire antiquary of the last century, is in the hands of the author, and his general collections are preserved in Harl. MSS. 139.

For HENRY BRADSHAW, monk of St. Werburgh's, author of the life of that saint (see XXIII.), and of a treatise "de Antiquitate et Magnificentiâ urbis Cestriæ," the reader is referred to the Addenda, [*now* transferred to p. 252, vol. I.] and to the Brit. Topog. of Gough, and Typ. Antiq. of Dibdin.

The MS. correspondence of SIR WILLIAM BRERETON (noticed by Dr. Gower) is described in a note appended to the memoir of this celebrated parliamentary general, vol. III. p. 327 [*now* 643].

Dr. JOHN BRIDGEMAN (who occurs in his place among the bishops of Chester, vol. I. p. 76 [*now* 99]), compiled a large folio, yet extant in MS. in the episcopal registry of Chester, and considered a document of high authority, on the subject of the endowment and revenues of the see.

CARRINGTON is mentioned by Dr. Gower (p. 60) as having enlarged and continued a curious MS. on the subject of Chester Antiquities, in his possession, and he adds, "I have written as well as living evidence to declare, that though he has studiously concealed the name of his benefactor, yet if Mr. Carrington had not been the guiding index of his enquiries, Horseley's account of Roman remains in Chester would have been exceedingly imperfect."

RALPH CATERALL also occurs in Dr. Gower's prospectus (p. 41) as the author of "a folio volume with the following title, 'Caterall's book of the Antiquity and Gentry of Cheshire,'" which he does not identify, but probably means a transcript of a part of the MS. preserved in Harl. MSS. 1988. The subjoined extract from Harl. MSS. 2119, shews where the original MS. existed, and identifies this antiquary with Randle, third son of John Cathedral of Horton, representative of a younger branch of the Catherals of Cathedral near Garstang in Lancashire.*

THOMAS JACOB, AND JAMES CHALONER, stated by Dr. Gower to be father, son, and grandson, occur next in alphabetical order. The monument of the first (1598) has been given in vol. I. p. 271 [*now* 343], and by the monument of his widow's husband (*ibid.* p. 266 [*now* 335]), he is ascertained to have had the appointment of Ulster King at Arms. The business of herald painter and professional compiler of genealogies, appears to have been carried on by his son and grandson,† in the manner in which it was conducted by the Randle Holmes. Many of their pedigrees

* Dr. Gower says of *Derbyshire*, but he certainly means the Horton family, by alluding to their alliance with the Bulkeleyes. See *ped.* in vol. II. p. 388 [*now* 707-8]. The extract referred to occurs in a note on a pedigree, Harl. MSS. 2119, 13, as follows: "Copied from Mr. Tho. Venables of Ox. M^a of Arts, to whom Mr. Rand. Cattral left his booke of collections to give to his nephew Jo. Cattrall, of Horton, Cheshire, and writt this with his owne hand."

† The latter of these has been confounded by Dr. Gower and Mr. Gough with James Chaloner of Brasenose college, of the Gisborough family, author of the treatise on the Isle of Man, appended to the original edition of the *Vale Royal*. See *Chalmers's Biog. Dict.* vol. IX. p. 76.

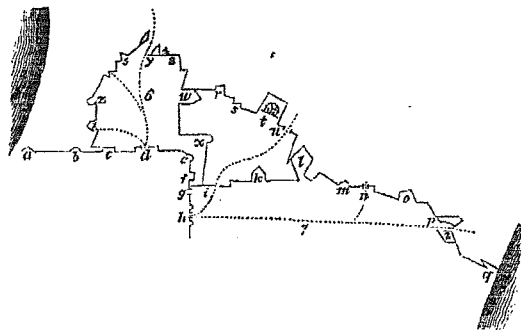
issued a commission to search for concealed arms, dated "at our court at Chester, this 26th of September, in the 18th year of our reign;" and "his majesties declaration to all his loving subjects upon the occasion of his late messages to both houses of parliament, and their refusal to treat with him for the peace of the kingdom. Given under our royal signet at our court of Chester, this 27th of Sept. &c."

At two o'clock on the following day, the king proceeded to Wrexham, and was escorted by the corporation to the city boundary. On the following day he was waited on at Wrexham by the mayor, who had declined the honour of knighthood, and was here presented by Garter, agreeably to his majesty's orders, with a grant of arms, the bearings of which were coats assigned to the two first Norman earls of the palatinate.

His majesty before his departure had directed the city to be put into a state of defence, and the preparations had been previously commenced. At a common-council held on the 6th of September, 1642, an assessment of rool. had been ordered for repairing the gates and fortifying the city.

^a(The outworks and entrenchments were carried on with great vigour. In the beginning of the next summer, the mud walls, mount, bastions, &c. were all thoroughly completed.

The out-works began about the middle of that part of the city-walls which lies between the new tower looking towards Hawarden and the Northgate, and proceeded towards the stone bridge leading to Blacon; inclined then to the north-east, and took in the utmost limits of the further Northgate-street; then turning eastward near to Flooker's-brook, encompassed Horn-lane, the Justing Croft, and all that part of the town to Boughton; from whence the works were carried on down to the brink of the river.



Upon Friday, July 18, 1643, sir William Brereton came with his forces before Chester, and on the Thursday morning following made a violent assault upon the works, which were so resolutely defended, that he was beat off, and forced to retire. Many of his men were killed and carried away in carts; the besieged sustained no loss, except that one person was killed who was fool-hardy enough to stand upright upon the highest part of the mud wall, in defiance of the enemy: another was wounded by exposing himself in the like manner.

^a The following account of the siege of Chester was drawn up by Dr. Cowper of Overlegh, and has been twice printed at Chester, but with considerable alterations. It is here printed from his own hand writing in his MS. work entitled "Parentalia," now in the possession of Charles Cowper Cholmondeley, esq.

a The New (or Water) Tower. b The Alcove. c The rais'd Square Platform. d The North Gate. e The Phoenix Tower. f The Sadler's Tower. g The Cale Yard's Sally Port. h The East Gate. i Cow Lane. k The Justing Croft Mount. l Cockpit-hill Mount. m Horn-lane Mount. n Horn-lane Flanker. o The Withen Trees. p Boughton Turnpike. q Flanker upon River at Boughton. r Mount in the Fields towards Flookers-brook. s Flookersbrook Flanker. t Flanker and Works at Flookersbrook Hall. u Cow-lane Turnpike. v Reed's Mount. x Phoenix Tower Mount. y Further Northgate Street Turnpike. z Mount in the Lane leading to Finchet's Stone Bridge. 1 Morgan's Mount. 2 The Gun Mount. 3 Flanker at the further Northgate-street Turnpike. 4 Doctor Wolley's Mount. 5 Flanker facing Finchet's Stone Bridge. 6 Fore Northgate Street 7 Foregate Street. The plan is reduced from an original drawing by Dr. Cowper.

Sir W. Brereton being so smartly repulsed, thought proper to draw off his men, and attempt nothing farther against the city at that time. Soon after, Spital-Boughton chapel was pulled down, and all the houses thereabouts; many other houses and barns in that neighbourhood were likewise destroyed, and the great windmill without the North-gate was taken down to prevent the enemy from making lodgments in these buildings to the annoyance of the city.

Upon Saturday, November 11th, 1643, sir William Brereton, accompanied by alderman William Edwards, who had been mayor of Chester a^o 1636, came with a party to Hawarden castle (five miles from Chester); Thomas Ravenscroft, of Bretton, esq. and Mr. John Alderscy, being then in that garrison, opened the castle-gates and received sir William and his party very joyfully. They being in possession of that strong fortress, and likewise of the town of Hawarden, prevented all that neighbourhood from bringing coals, corn, or provisions of any kind to Chester, which proved a great inconvenience to the city.

Upon the afternoon of the same day that sir William Brereton entered Hawarden, Mr. Ravenscroft, pretending to be of the king's party, ventured into Chester, and applied to the governor for a barrel of gun-powder and a quantity of match, which, as he was unsuspected, were delivered to him by the store-keeper of the garrison. On the Thursday following, sir William Brereton wrote a summons from Hawarden to sir Abraham Shipman, then governor of Chester, expressly requiring him to surrender that city, adding some severe threatenings in case of refusal. The governor sent him for answer, That he was not to be terrified by words, but bade him come and win it, and have it; however, upon this warning, the governor thought proper to order all the Handbridge suburbs to be burnt down. Mr. Matthew Ellis also covenanted that Overlegh hall, with all the outhousings, should be demolished, to prevent the enemy at Hawarden from sheltering themselves there if they should come to attack the city.

The day following, Mr. Whitby's mansion, Bache-hall, and Flooker'sbrook-hall, sir Thomas Smith's, were burnt down, lest they might afford lodgments to enemies from another quarter. A party of the king's forces, which had been employed against the rebels in Ireland, landed about that time at Mostyn in Flintshire, and advanced to Hawarden-castle, to which they sent a verbal summons by a trumpet, to which they in the garrison returned a long paper in the puritanical style of those times, concluding thus:—"We fear the loss of our religion more than the loss of our dearest blood, and being resolved to make good our trust, we put our lives into the hands of that God, who can, and we hope will, secure them more than our walls or weapons."

Colonel Marrow, who had summoned them by the trumpet, immediately sent the following reply:

"Gentlemen,

"It is not to hear you preach that I am sent hither, but it is, in his majesty's name, to demand the castle for

his majesty's use; as your allegiance binds you to be true to him, and not to invigle those innocent souls that are within you; so I desire your resolution, if you will deliver the castle or no?

"Nov. 21st, 1643."

A rejoinder was soon sent from the castle, in much the same style with their former answer, intimating, That they were satisfied of colonel Marrow's disaffection to preaching; that God would require blood from those who shed it; that they relied upon the Lord of Hosts, &c.

On the 22d of November, more forces, being arrived from Ireland, came up; and another summons was sent in, from sir Michael Ernley and major-general Gibson, but they received such answer as the former. They had a letter likewise from one captain Sandford, newly come from the service in Ireland, which, as it is somewhat singular, shall be here inserted:

"Gentlemen,

"I presume you very well know, or have heard, of my condition and disposition, and that I neither give or take quarter; I am now with my firelocks, who never yet neglected opportunity to correct rebels; ready to use you as I have done the Irish, but loth I am to spill my countrymen's blood; wherefore, by these, I advise you to your fealty and obedience towards his majesty, and shew yourselves faithful subjects by delivering the castle into my hands for his majesty's use; in so doing you shall be received into mercy, &c. Otherwise, if you put me to the least trouble, or loss of blood, to force you, expect no quarter for man, woman, or child. I hear you have some of our late Irish army in your company; they very well know me, and that my firelocks used not parly.—Be not unadvised, but think of your liberty, for I vow all hopes of relief are taken from you, and our intents are not to starve you, but to batter and storm you, and then hang you all, and follow the rest of that rebel crew. I am no bread and cheese rogue, but as ever a loyalist, and will ever be whilst I can write or name

"THO. SANDFORD,
"Capt. of Firelocks.

"Nov. 28th, 1643.

"I expect your speedy answer this Tuesday night at Broad-lane hall, where I now am your near neighbour.

"To the officer commanding in chief at Hawarden-castle, and his consorts there."

However, the garrison not surrendering, the besiegers thought proper to apply to Chester to obtain a reinforcement: whereupon sir Abraham Shipman, the governor, called a council of the commissioners to consider of this matter, who, after some debate, resolved as follows:

"At a council holden at the council-chamber within his majesty's castle of Chester, this first day of December, 1643, we, whose names are hereunto subscribed,

having duly weighed and considered the application and request of sir Michael Ernley, knight, and major-general Richard Gibson, to us made for aid and assistance, whereby to enable them to reduce the rebel garrison at Hawarden, it is hereby ordered, that on the morrow, by break of day, 300 of the citizens and train-bands, with their proper officers, together with the companies of captain Thropp and captain Morgell, do march to the assistance of the king's forces now at Hawarden, and that this detachment shall be commanded by lieutenant-colonel John Robinson. (Signed)

"ABRAH. SHIPMAN,

"ROB. CHOLMONDELEY, "FRANCIS GAMULL,
"WM. MANWARING, "R. GROSVENOR,
"ROB. BRERWOOD, "THO. THROPP,
"THO. COWPER, "CHA. WALLEY,"^(*)

December 2d, 1643. Accordingly this reinforcement came to Hawarden the next day, and a brisk attack being made upon the castle the day following, the besieged hung out a white flag, and December 4th, 1643, capitulated; and early next morning the castle was surrendered to sir Michael Ernley, on condition to march out with half arms, and two pairs of colours, one flying, and the other furled, and to be safely conveyed either to Wem or Nantwich.

After this success the party from Chester marched back to that city, without the loss of one man. But the royalists, being further reinforced by some regiments from Ireland, marched into Cheshire, under the command of sir John, lately created lord Byron, and took Bceston-castle; for which the parliament governor there was soon after executed for cowardice.

Next they engaged sir William Brereton and colonel Ashton at Middlewich, and cut off near two hundred of their men, which occasioned Northwich to be quitted to them, and likewise Crew-house, after a stout resistance, was forced to surrender; as also Doddington-house and Acton-church, without much opposition.

On the 18th of January lord Byron made a sudden and violent storm upon Nantwich, but was beaten off with great loss, and among the slain was the famous firelock captain before-mentioned.

January 25th, that town was relieved, and lord Byron routed by general Fairfax.

Upon Saturday, February 13th, a detachment of the garrison of Chester sallied forth to attack a party of the parliament soldiers who had made a lodgment at Christleton. The fight began near to Great Boughton, but after a very bloody engagement, the parliament forces retired. There were slain of the king's party, officers and soldiers, near 140, most of them Chester men. Upon the Wednesday following Great Boughton was burned down by the garrison of Chester, to prevent the parliamentarians from harbouring there.

Upon Monday, June 19th, 1644, a party of the king's forces, consisting of six companies of foot, and three troops of horse, marched out of Chester to recon-

* The following is given as an example of a "safe conduct," or "indemnity pass," issued at this time by Arthur, Lord Capel, in favour of Mr. Wm. Colley, of Eccleston near Chester, the original of which is still in existence, in the possession of Mr. Colley's descendant, Dr. Davies, of Chester (1862).—"Arthur, Lord Capell, Lieutenant-Generall to the Prince his highness of all his Majesties forces in the Countyes of Worcester, Salop, and Chester, and the Six Border Countyes of Wales. To all Commanders, Officers, and Souldiers under my command, and to all other his Majesties, Officers and Loving Subjects whome these presents may concerne, By virtue of his Majesties Commission under the great Seale of England to mee directed, and as Lieutenant Generall of the forces aforesaid, I doe hereby strictly charge and command you and every of you not to doe nor willingly permit or suffer to be done any hurt, vyolence, damage, plunder, or detriment whatsoever unto the person, house, family, goods, chattels, or estate of William Colley, of Eccleston in the County of Cheshire (sic), gentleman. And I further command that you redeliver this my protection unto such person or persons as shall shew it unto you, when and as often as there shall bee occasion to produce the same. Hereof you are not to faile as you will answer the contrary at your utmost perill. Given under my hand and Seale the first day of December A^o 1643. Arthur Capell." See *Journal Chester Hist. Soc.*, vol. ii.—II.

noitre the enemy in the neighbouring quarters, and took captain Glegg and his whole troop prisoners.

August 18th, 1644. Colonel Marrow, governor of Chester, fell upon a party of sir William Brereton's forces near Crowton house, where they kept a garrison, and took fourteen of them prisoners; but the governor himself there received a shot, of which he died soon after at Chester.

August 21st, 1644. Sir William Brereton sending out a party from Northwich, they advanced as far as Tarvin, and there engaged a party of the king's forces; but the alarm being given to Chester, they sallied out of that garrison and routed the parliamentarians, who fled over Declamere forest with great precipitation.

Prince Maurice coming to Chester during the siege in 1644, thought proper to issue out a precept to the commissioners there, to tender a protestation, or test, to the inhabitants of that city; the precept and test are as follow:

"To the mayor of the city of Chester, sir Francis Gamull, sir William Manwaring, lieut. col. Robinson, ald. Tho. Cowper, lieut. col. Grosvenor, col. Mostyn, capt. Tho. Thropp, capt. Morgell, or to any two of them:

"These are to will, authorize, and require you, or any two of you, to administer the protestation hereunto annexed, lately made for the security of this city, to all the nobility, gentry, divines, citizens, and all other the inhabitants of this city; and to all and every the officers, soldiers, and others, that shall come into, or have any commerce within, the said city: and in case any person or persons refuse, deny, and will not take the same, you are hereby required to give in a list of the names of all and every person so refusing unto me. Herein you are not to fail. Given at Chester under my hand and seal at arms, this 4th day of March, 1644.

"MAURICE."

THE PROTESTATION.

"I A. B. do vow and protest, in the presence of Almighty God, that I believe in my heart, that the earl of Essex, sir William Brereton, sir Thomas Middleton, and Mr. Thomas Mytton, and all their party and adherents, are in actual rebellion against the king, and that I will with my life, and fortune, and to the utmost of my power, maintain and defend his majesty's cause against the said rebels, and all others who are now in arms without his majesty's express consent and command; and that I will not give, nor by any privity and consent suffer to be given, any aid, assistance, or intelligence to the aforesaid rebels, or any of their parties, in prejudice of the safety of this city of Chester, to the betraying of it, or any forces, castles, garrisons, or forts under his majesty's express command and government, in any of his dominions, into the said rebels hands and power. And I do likewise from my soul abhor the taking of the damnable and late invented Covenant, commonly called the National Covenant, pressed by the rebels upon many of his majesty's subjects: and to all that I have protested I call God to witness, believing that I cannot be absolved by any power, mental reservation, or equivocation, from this my vow and protestation. So help me God, and by the contents of this book."

Friday, Sept. 19th, 1645. Col. Jones, who commanded the horse, and adjutant-general Louthian, who

commanded the foot, which were then besieging Beeston castle, drew off 1300 horse and foot from that place, about eight of the clock in the evening, and in a very private manner marched all night to Chester; and next morning before day-break, they divided their forces into four squadrons, and stormed the out-works in so many different places, and got upon the works in some parts even before the guards discovered them, and so with little loss made themselves masters not only of Boughton, but likewise of St. John's church, with the adjoining lanes, the Foregate-street, and all the eastward suburbs. They possessed themselves of the mayor's house, with the sword and mace, &c. and made a brisk attempt upon the city itself, to the no little terror and consternation of all within.

The king having been at Hereford, left that city the very day that this attack was made upon Chester, intending to pass through Lancashire and Cumberland into Scotland: and taking his route through Wales came to Chirk castle. As he advanced near Chester, he received intelligence of col. Jones's late success, but his majesty's coming greatly encouraged the garrison, as it equally dismayed the besiegers, whom the king's troops looked upon as already in their power.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale was detached with most of the horse over Holt-bridge, that he might be on the Cheshire side of the river Dee, whilst the king with his guards, and the lord Gerard, with the rest of the horse, marched directly that night into Chester. His majesty lodged at sir Francis Gamull's house, Wednesday, Sept. 24, 1645, near the bridge. Next morning alderman Cowper went to pay his duty to the king, and was most graciously received, and had the honour to kiss his majesty's hand; the king was pleased in a very kind manner to express his approbation of his service, and ordered him to attend him that day.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale, having passed the river at Holt, was drawn up upon Rowton-heath, two miles east of Chester, that very evening, when he intercepted a letter from major-general Poyntz, who was advanced as far as Whitchurch, to the parliament commander before Chester, telling him that he was come to his rescue, and desiring him to have some foot sent to him to assist him against the king's horse. The next morning Poyntz being advanced towards Chester, sir Marmaduke Langdale charged him with such resolution, that he forced him to retire: however, he drew up his men again, but kept at a distance, expecting the forces from before Chester, to whom he had dispatched a second courier. In the mean time they in the city not considering, till it was too late, in what posture sir Marmaduke Langdale was, and there being no good intelligence between him and the lord Gerard, sent him orders to march towards Chester, where some foot, drawn up under the command of the lord Astley and sir John Glenham should be ready to support him; but sir Marmaduke could not possibly obey these orders, because, had he proceeded towards Chester, Poyntz would have fallen upon his rear. About noon colonel Jones, and adjutant-general Louthian, having drawn out 500 horse and 300 foot, from before Chester, began a hasty march, which caused those in the city to imagine that they were upon their flight; whereupon a great part of the forces in town were ordered out by the Northgate, and so by Flooker's-Brook, for the direct way was blocked up by the enemy, to pursue the besiegers, but it seems their supposed flight was only an eager haste to get up to general Poyntz; who now perceiving col. Jones's

men coming towards him, and having rallied his troops, immediately advanced upon sir Marmaduke Langdale, and then there began a most furious fresh encounter. But general Langdale having to deal with Poyntz in the front, and Jones's reinforcement having fallen upon his rear, after having fought bravely, was at length overpowered, and routed, and forced to retire towards Chester. Poyntz pursued his victory, and followed close till he came to Hool-heath, where the lord Gerard and the earl of Lindsey were drawn out with their troops, who charged and repulsed him; but those disordered horse, which first fled, had so crowded up all the little passes and narrow lanes between that heath and the city, a ground quite unfit for horse to fight upon, that when a fresh body of the enemy's musqueteers charged briskly upon them, they forced the king's horse to turn, and to rout one another, and to overbear their own officers who would have restrained them. In this fatal crisis fell many gentlemen of high rank, and officers of distinction. And amongst the slain, covered over with wounds, was Bernard Stuart, the young gallant earl of Lichfield. A noble historian tells us that he was the third brother of that illustrious family that sacrificed their lives in this cause; a very faultless young man, of a most gentle, courteous, and affable nature, and of a spirit and courage invincible; whose loss all men exceedingly lamented, and the king bore it with extraordinary grief.

By computation not less than 600 were killed on both sides, and many persons of quality, on the king's party, were taken prisoners, amongst whom was sir Philip Musgrave of the north. His majesty, attended by the mayor, sir Francis Gamull, and alderman Cowper, stood upon the leads of the Phoenix-tower, and was all the while a sad spectator of most of this tragedy. The king's routed horse were scattered about the country, several made for Holt-bridge, others ventured to cross the river at Boughton-ford, for Poyntz having had enough that day, pursued them no further. His majesty staid that night and the next morning in Chester, and at his departure gave orders to the lord Byron, then governor, and to his commissioners, "If after eight days they saw no possibility of farther assistance, to treat for their own preservation." Believing that the city must of necessity have been surrendered even before he could have well secured his own person, though the place held out against a close and severe siege twenty weeks afterwards; and had those whom his majesty employed to relieve it, done their parts, or had not the intended assistance from Ireland been stopped, the city had not then fallen into the enemy's hands, but might possibly have been the basis of a new fortune to his majesty.

On Thursday, Sept. 25, 1645, the king marched over Dee-bridge with 500 horse, and not without some danger passed into Wales; sir Francis Gamull, capt. Thropp, and alderman Cowper, attended his majesty to Denbigh-castle, where he arrived that night. They staid with the king till Saturday, when those loyal citizens took a sad and final leave of their sovereign and returned to Chester, which, if possible, they found more distressed than when they left it the Thursday before; for that very morning, about four of the clock, the enemy had again forced the works at Boughton, and re-possessed themselves of all that part of the town without the Eastgate; the citizens, tho' now confined within the narrow circuit of their own walls, earnestly applied themselves to the defence of the city.

On the Monday following, the besiegers made a breach in the walls near to the Newgate, by the battery of 150 cannon shot, and at midnight made a sharp assault upon the breach. They likewise attempted to mount the walls with scaling ladders, but some officers and several soldiers were hauled in over the walls, some of the ladders too were dragged over, and many of the assistants thrown down and killed, and the rest forced to give over the attack.

Wednesday, October 1st, The enemy removed their battery, and planted thirteen pieces of cannon against the Eastgate, and played them furiously all that day, but with little or no damage to the city. Early next morning the citizens made a brisk sally, dismounted most of those cannon, killed seven or eight men, and brought in a lieutenant and an engineer prisoners.

On the Saturday following, October 4th, the besiegers removed their great ordnance and planted four large pieces against the walls between the Northgate and the New-Tower, where the besieged had some cannon planted upon Morgan's-mount. All Sunday the enemy played their artillery so violently, that they beat down some of the battlements, and forced the king's soldiers to retire from the walls; they likewise, by a shot, scattered the carriage of one of the largest cannon, which in the fall had two foot of the muzzle broke off. That night the besieged repaired the damages, and made entrenchments in the Lady Borough Hey, which they found to be very servicable in the defence of that part of the city.

On the Monday, October 6th, the enemy removed their ordnance about six roods downwards nearer to the New-Tower, but they had no great effect: the day following they raised a battery upon Brewer's-hall-hill, endeavouring with those cannon to clear the line within the city.

On the Wednesday next, October 8th, there was a parley between the city and the besiegers, and an answer was to be returned the next morning; but terms could not be agreed upon, so the siege was continued with all possible rigour, and the same day they placed two pieces of cannon upon an eminence in St. John's-lane, and played them with much violence against the walls. The next day the besiegers discharged 352 large shot against the walls; two breaches were made, but they were effectually repaired. That afternoon the enemy's horse drew up round about the town, and about five o'clock a violent assault was made in several places; the battlements were resolutely attacked, and as bravely defended; the assailants having with great difficulty gained the top of the wall, were beat off, thrown down and killed. The king's party got a good number of arms, and dragged up several of the scaling-ladders over the walls into the city. After this day's action the besiegers did not think fit to make any further attempt to storm the city, but changed the siege into a close blockade, in order to subdue those by famine, whom they could not overcome by force.

The parliament forces having made a floating bridge over the river, just above Chester, the besieged finding themselves much annoyed by it, had recourse to this contrivance to burn it; upon a certain day, when there was a spring tide, they filled two boats with combustible materials, and so turned them adrift to be carried up the river by the tide: the boats floated up accordingly, and the trains took fire when they came to the enemy's bridge, but by the diligence of the guards no great damage was done. The same day 500 horse and 200

foot made a brisk sally out of the city, and fell upon the besiegers, but being over-numbered, it was thought advisable to retire back to Chester, and but few were killed on either side.

About ten days afterwards, November 27th, sir William Brereton sent some proposals to the besieged, but the lord Byron and the commissioners insisted upon such terms as would not by any means be complied with, so that that treaty was soon over.

In about a fortnight after, December 10th, colonel Booth, with the Lancashire forces, who had just before reduced Latham-house, received orders to march to Chester, and reinforce sir William Brereton; they arrived accordingly, and such dispositions were made, that the city was quite encompassed, nor was any place more straightly beleaguered.

This soon occasioned a scarcity of provisions, and the poor citizens kept a Lenten Christmas. In the beginning of January hunger and want began to occasion discontents, and murmurings increased almost to a mutiny. The disaffected insinuated to the people, that notwithstanding their misery, the governor and commissioners lived well themselves. The lord Byron and some of the commissioners took opportunity, severally, to invite the chiefs of the malcontents to dine with them, and entertained them with boiled wheat, and gave them spring-water to wash it down, solemnly assuring them, that this, and such like, had been their only fare for some time past. When this was made known to the citizens, they all seemed inspired with the same resolution to hold it out to the very last extremity.

January 1st, 1645-6, sir William Brereton sent a sort of threatening summons to the commanders, to which they returned no answer in five days. Upon which sir William sent another letter to them, peremptorily requiring them to answer it that very day, which they accordingly did, and offered to come to a treaty if the king did not relieve them in twelve days, and desired a pass to send an express to his majesty. But this was not complied with.

The governor and the commissioners had, by their judicious management, kept this town and garrison, contented to feed on horses, dogs, and cats, whilst there was the least probability of relief. They refused nine several summonses, and did not answer the tenth till they had received undoubted assurance that there were no hopes of any succours; then, and not till then, they consented to a treaty, previous to which the following letters passed between the commanders:

"My Lord,

"I cannot send you such propositions as have formerly been rejected, every day producing loss of blood and expence of treasure; neither will I trouble myself with answering the particulars of your unparalleled demands, to which if I should suit mine, I should require no less than yourself and all the officers and commanders to be my prisoners, and the rest to submit to mercy. Yet to witness my desires of the preservation of the city, I have, upon serious consideration and debate, thought fit to tender these inclosed conditions, for the perfecting whereof, I am content commissioners meet concerning them, and such further particulars as may be conceived conducible to the welfare of the cities and countries adjacent; and have given commission to these gentlemen to receive your answer in writing to these propositions of mine herewith sent, touching which I shall not be so

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scrupulous as to demand their return, not valuing to what view they may be exposed; therefore they are left with you if you please, and I remain,

"Your servant,

"Chester Suburbs,
Jan. 26, 1645-6."

"WM. BRERETON."

To this my lord that day returned, that he could not at present give a full answer, in regard that he must consult the gentlemen joined in commission with him: however, the next day he sent his answer, thus:

"Sir,

"Those demands of mine, which you term unparalleled, have been heretofore granted by far greater commanders than yourself, no disparagement to you, to places in a far worse condition than, God be thanked, this is yet. Witness the Bosse, Breda, Macstricht, and as many other towns as have been beleaguered either by the Spaniard or the Hollander; or, to come home, York and Carlisle, and nearest of all, Beeston-castle; and therefore you must excuse me, if, upon the authority of so many examples, I have not only propounded, but think fit to insist upon them, as the sense of all manner of people in the city. As for your conceit in demanding of myself, and the rest of the commanders and officers, to be your prisoners, I would have you know, that we esteem our honours so far above our lives, that no extremity whatsoever can put so mean thoughts into the meanest of us all. That to submit to your mercy is by us reckoned amongst those things that we intend never to make use of. I am nevertheless still content that the commissioners, whose names I formerly tendered unto you, meet with such as you shall appoint, in any indifferent place, to treat upon honourable conditions; and desire you to assure yourself, that no other will be assented unto, by

Chester,

Jan. 27, 1645-6.

"Your servant,

"JOHN BYRON."

To which Sir William Brereton sent the reply as under:

"My Lord,

"I cannot believe that you conceive the war betwixt the Hollander and the Spaniard is to be made a precedent for us; neither can I believe that such conditions as you demanded were granted to the Bosse, Breda, or Macstricht. Sure I am, none such were given to York, Carlisle, or Beeston, though some of them were maintained by as great commanders as yourself, and no disparagement to you. I shall therefore 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, do right to all those many innocents under your command, to render their safety and the preservation of the city; for which end I have sent you fair and honourable conditions, such as are the sense of all the officers and soldiers with me; which being rejected, you may expect worse from

Chester-Suburbs,

Jan. 27, 1645-6.

"Your servant,

"WM. BRERETON."

It now being thought adviseable to come to a treaty, the lord Byron fixed upon eighteen commissioners, and a greater number were appointed on behalf of the besiegers, which is taken notice of by Sir William Brereton.

ton in a letter to the parliament, wherein he says, "I was the more desirous to have a number of commissioners, that the soldiers might be better satisfied with that which was agreed unto by their own officers; and the officers would be more careful to keep the soldiers to an observance of those conditions, which they themselves had signed and ratified."

The treaty continued six days, during which there were frequent debates among the city commissioners, when they withdrew from the others to consider of certain points. At length, conditions, consisting of eighteen articles, were agreed to, and subscribed by twelve of the city-commissioners; but as some of those articles were dissented to by others, the treaty was refused to be signed by the commissioners following: Francis Gamull, Thomas Cowper, Sir Robert Brerewood, Charles

Walley, Richard Morgell, and Robert Harvey; but a great majority of the commissioners agreeing to, and subscribing, the terms subjoined, they were likewise confirmed by lord Byron.^a

Pursuant to this the brave and loyal city of Chester, which had held out twenty weeks beyond expectation, being now subdued by famine only, was upon the third day of February, 1645-6, surrendered up to the parliament forces, who immediately took possession of it; and soon after two thousand arms, and five hundred and twenty head pieces were brought into the castle, agreeably to the 14th article of the treaty.

February 6th, 1645-6. Three days afterwards, orders came down from the parliament to regulate the garrison, and to appoint alderman William Edwards to be colonel of the regiment of that city.

* THE ARTICLES OF SURRENDER.

"ARTICLE I. That the lord Byron, and all noblemen, commanders, officers, gentlemen, and soldiers, and all other persons whatever, now residing in the city of Chester, and the castle and fort thereof, shall have liberty to march out of the said city, castle, and fort, with all their apparel whatsoever, and no other, or more goods, horses, or arms, than are hereafter-mentioned, viz. The lord Byron with his horse and arms, and ten men with their horses and arms to attend him; also his lady and servants, two coaches, and four horses in either of them, for the accommodating of them and such other ladies and gentlemen as the said lord Byron shall think meet; with eighty of the said lord's books, and all his deeds and evidences, manuscripts and writings in his possession. And the said lord, his lady, nor any their attendants, carrying amongst them all above forty pounds in money, and twenty pounds in plate. The rest of the noblemen, with their ladies and servants, to march with their horses, each of the said lords attended with four men, their horses and arms; every such nobleman carrying with him not above thirty pounds in money. Every knight and colonel to march with four men, their horses and arms; no such knight or colonel to carry with him above ten pounds in money. Every lieutenant-colonel, major, and captain of horse, with one man, their horses and arms; and such lieutenant-colonel, major, and captain, not to carry with him above five pounds in money. Every captain of foot, esquire, graduate, preaching minister, gentleman of quality, the advocate and secretary to the army, every of them with his own horse and sword, the ministers without swords; none of them carrying with them above fifty shillings; and the ministers to have all their own manuscripts, notes and evidences. Lieutenants, cornets, ensigns, and other inferior officers in commission, on foot, with every man his own sword, and not above twenty shillings in money. All troopers, soldiers, gun-powder-makers, cannoniers, and all others not before-mentioned, to march without horse and arms; and that none of the said persons before-mentioned shall, in their march, after they are out of the city and liberties thereof, be plundered, searched, or molested.

II. "That all women of what degree soever, that please to march out of the city, shall have all their apparel with them; and such officers wives whose husbands are prisoners, or absent, may carry such sums of money with them as are allowed by these articles to commanders, officers, and gentlemen, of their husbands qualities, and no more.

III. "That none of the commanders, officers, or soldiers, or any other, at or before their marching out of the city, castle, or fort, do injure, or plunder the person or goods of any; nor carry any thing away out of the said city, castle, or fort, but what is their own, and hereby allowed.

IV. "That all citizens and others now residing within the city, shall be saved and secured in their persons, and their goods and estates within the city and liberties be preserved and kept from the plunder and violence of the soldiers; and have the like freedom of trade as other cities and towns under the parliamentary protection have, and such immunities as they of right ought to have. And that every such merchant and tradesman of Chester as shall desire to go into North-Wales to look after his goods, shall have a pass to go thither and return back again, he first giving security that during his absence he will do no act to the prejudice of the parliament; and that no such person shall at any time, without licence, carry more monies with him than sufficient to defray the charges of his journey. And that all citizens, and other inhabitants, who shall now or hereafter desire to march forth of the city of Chester, and not to act any thing against the parliament, their wives and families to have the benefit and privileges of inhabitants.

V. "That such officers or soldiers as shall be left sick or wounded within the city of Chester, or the Castle, or forts thereof, shall have liberty to stay until their recovery, and then have passes to Conway, or any of the king's garrisons not blocked up, in the mean time to be provided for.

VI. "That the said lord Byron, noblemen, commanders, gentlemen, officers, and soldiers, and all others that shall march out of the town, shall have liberty to march to Conway, and five days are allowed them to march thither, with a convoy of two hundred horse; the Welsh officers and soldiers to have liberty to go to their own homes, all of them to have free quarter in their march, and twelve carriages if they shall have occasion to use so many, which carriages are to be returned on the sixth day, and that passes be given them for their safe return to Chester, and that they be secured until they return thither.

VII. "That no soldier in his march shall be inveigled or enticed from his colours or command, with any promise or inducement whatsoever.

VIII. "That all such persons, citizens or others, who have families in Chester, and are now in places remote, shall have the like benefit of these articles, as those who are now resident in the city.

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

X. "That no church within the city, or evidences, or writings, belonging to the same, shall be defaced.

XI. "That such Irish as were born of Irish parents, and have taken part with the rebels in Ireland, now in the city, shall be prisoners.

XII. "That all those horses and arms belonging to those that march out, and not by these articles allowed to be taken and carried out of the city, except such horses as are the proper goods of the citizens and inhabitants that shall remain in the city before the delivery of the same, be brought, the horses into the Castle-court, and the arms into the shire-hall, where officers shall be appointed to receive them.

XIII. "That in consideration hereof, the said city and Castle without any slighting or defacing thereof, with all the ordnance, arms, ammunition, and all other furniture and provision of war therein whatsoever, except what is allowed to be carried away, and all the records in the castle without diminution, imbezbling, or defacing, be delivered to the said sir William Brereton, or such as he shall appoint, for the use of the king and parliament, upon Tuesday next, being the third of this instant February, 1645-6, by ten of the clock in the forenoon.

XIV. "That the fort, with all ordnance, arms, ammunition, and provisions therein, of what sort whatsoever, not formerly granted or allowed of, upon the signing these articles, be delivered to sir William Brereton, or such as he shall appoint.

XV. "That upon signing these articles, all prisoners in the city, castle, or fort, that have been in arms for the parliament, or imprisoned for adhering thereunto, shall immediately be set at liberty.

XVI. "That the convoy shall not receive any injury in their going or coming back, and shall have three days allowed for their return.

XVII. "That if any persons concerned in any of these articles, shall violate any part of them, such persons shall lose the benefit of all the said articles.

XVIII. "That upon signing of these articles sufficient hostages (such as shall be approved of) be given for the performance of the said articles

"Signed by us the commissioners appointed on the behalf of the right honourable the lord Byron,

"EDMUND VERNEY,

"JOHN ROBINSON,

"THO. CHOLMONDELY,

"PETER GRIFFITH,

"HENRY LEIGH,

"THOMAS THORP,

"CHRISTOPHER BLEASE,

"WILLIAM INCE,

"JNO. WARDEN,

"JOHN JOHNSON,

"EDMUND MORETON,

"THOMAS BRIDGE.

"What is done by the commissioners is confirmed by

JOHN BYRON."