Art. VIII.—Hereford During the Civil War.


We have been agreeably disappointed by a perusal of these volumes. It seemed to us almost impossible that a thrice-told tale like the Great Rebellion, illustrated by the pen of Clarendon, by the researches of Mr. W. Hamilton amid the State Papers, and by the industry and ability of Mr. Rawson Gardiner, the latest historian of this period, could be made to disclose any fresh matter. The authors of this work, however, by confining themselves to local traditions, and limiting the scene of action to one special district, have thrown much light upon one of the most exciting episodes of English history, and have furnished a most important contribution to the literature we already possess upon the subject. The idea was an excellent one. We have here no general history of the Civil War; but one special and distinct, showing us how the hostilities between Cavalier and Parliamentarian affected one particular district, and one class of local interests—how dwellings were rifled and ruined, fertile fields stained with blood, peaceful peasants put to the sword, and all the horrors of war let loose. It is a county history with this great difference, that instead of antiquarian details, pedigrees and accounts of family seats, we have battles, sieges, surrenders, and all the military details attending a forced occupation by the enemy.

It is evident that the sympathies of the authors are throughout on the Royalist side, yet such predilections never for one moment interfere with the soberness and impartiality of the true historian.

The volumes open with a sketch of Herefordshire during the early part of the seventeenth century, and with a brief review of the causes which led to the rupture between the King and the Parliament. These causes are not difficult to discover: arbitrary proceedings, a firm resolve to maintain the monarchical power independent of all Parliamentary control, forced loans, unjust taxes, the establishment of unconstitutional courts of law. The county of Hereford, in a lofty strain of Cavalier feeling, and in a bitter and caustic style, opposed the conduct of the Parliamentary party. At a meeting held by its principal gentry, it drew up a resolution which was printed and circulated throughout the shire. In this important document, which has escaped the attention of historians, past misgovernment was admitted, though it was
maintained that the Parliament, instead of curing, had increased the disease. It charged the opponents of the King with pursuing private ends, by means of secret combinations; it stated that the Houses were managed by men who punished freedom of speech with imprisonment; who rejected all petitions but such as favoured their own views, and who received informations and all sorts of rumours against the King and his friends. It set forth that Parliament in severing itself from the King had ceased to be a Parliament, that the Protestant religion and the Royal power had been attacked in the assaults made upon Church and State, that the King was perfectly justified in the course he had pursued, that law and liberty had been violated, and that the people of Herefordshire had no sympathy with the past proceedings, and declined to be terrified into paying heed to a Parliament whose debates were uncertain and whose ordinances were no laws.

This resolve was soon to be carried out. The Royal Standard had been raised at Nottingham, and Civil War was now to lay low the kingdom with its evil discord and fratricidal slaughter.

Before the departure of the King from York, there had arrived from the Continent two German princes, his nephews, sons of his sister Elizabeth, and of the deceased Prince Frederic of the Rhine. These princes were to occupy a conspicuous position in the contest that now ensued. Rupert, the elder of the two, was but three-and-twenty years of age, and his brother Maurice one year younger; the young men were advanced by Charles to high commands, though in most respects they were only fitted to obey. Maurice, though brave, was of a cautious and saturnine temperament, whilst Rupert was haughty and impatient of advice, and in battle all impetuosity and fire. The character of Rupert is strongly impressed upon the events of the war in Herefordshire. Flattered by the poet, the toast at military messes, and the object of the devotion of young eager Cavaliers, the Prince was at once the idol of his friends and the terror of his enemies. He was a splendid soldier, but a fatal general, for it cannot be questioned that he was the occasion of much more injury than benefit to the cause of his uncle; for, although his valour was beyond all common daring, and he achieved what few could have performed, yet his incorrigible defects, both in the council and the field, were often the cause of disasters which were irreparable. Into the details of the war, save so far as they affect Herefordshire, we cannot enter. In the South and West, with the exception of Cornwall, it was going hard with the Royal cause. At a council held by the Parliamentarians, it had been resolved, the better to cut off all communication between the Cavaliers of the South and the North, to occupy Hereford, and the Earl of Stamford was dispatched by Essex to lay siege to the ancient city. His task was not a very arduous one. Hereford was ill-fortified, it was badly supplied
with guns and ammunition, while its clergy, mindful of the havoc which the Parliamentarians created in the aisles of Worcester and Canterbury, trembled for the security of their Cathedral. After a feeble resistance Lord Stamford entered the city and established himself as its governor with control over the neighbouring districts. He imprisoned the Cavaliers, he wrecked the property of the Royalist clergy, and he essayed his utmost to carry out Napoleon’s maxim, that war should be made to support war. Still his position was surrounded by danger. He and his soldiery were reduced to great straits, for it was no easy matter to feed a thousand men and more than a hundred horses. He petitioned his employers for money; they had repeatedly voted him thanks, but he could get no funds. The military chest was with Essex, and the Lord General was now out of reach; to that they should have looked; but for the last two months they had received nothing out of it; they had borrowed and exacted till they knew not in which direction to turn. Sir Robert Harley—who was almost the only member of the Herefordshire squirearchy on the side of the Parliament—had done what he could to assist them, and a loan had been raised in the city at the instigation of the mayor. The citizens, however, were not in general sufficiently pleased with the presence and behaviour of their newly imposed garrison to make sacrifices for their longer continuance, whilst the county regarded them as rebels, and held aloof. Without money, credit, and provisions, Stamford found himself powerless, and thus daily his situation became more critical. Whether he turned his eyes towards Worcester, or Shropshire, the counties of Radnor, Brecon or Monmouth, the Cavaliers prevailed. The only road open to him to retreat was to the eastward. In Gloucester he would find quarters to his heart’s content, and be sure of welcome among an honest people, who, having declared for the Parliament, were left without means of defence. Accordingly he lost but little time in retiring from a city and county, the disposition of whose inhabitants, in a residence of more than ten weeks, he had ascertained to be generally hostile to him. The evacuation of Hereford was effected apparently without molestation. Arrived at Gloucester, the Parliamentarians were received with open arms, and hailed as brethren and defenders. The mayor greeted the commander at the Tolsey on entering the town and presented him with a silver-gilt bowl and cover, in testimony of the opinion entertained of his services. On the departure of the foe, the Herefordshire Royalists returned to their homes, with the satisfaction of knowing that throughout the county there was not a single enemy abroad to harm them; the peasants kindled their twelfth-eve fires without danger of exciting alarm; all was peace and quiet; no ordinance of Parliament was in force throughout Herefordshire.
This tranquillity was, however, not long to continue. The Civil War had been carried on with alternate results, victory now favouring the Cavaliers and then the Roundheads. Halls and castles had been taken and then abandoned; battles had been fought and their decision reversed in subsequent actions; negotiations had been entered into for a peace, but had fallen through. Whilst such was the state of affairs Sir William Waller, one of the ablest as well as one of the most humane of the Parliamentary generals, resolved upon consolidating his position in the West by re-capturing Hereford. The city was even worse prepared for resistance than when Stamford had appeared before its gates, and a siege was out of the question. On the approach of Waller, a parley was sounded, and a trumpeter went forward with a summons. The answer came from Sir Richard Cave, the Cavalier defender of the city. "He who held the town, held it by commission of the King; if Sir William Waller could produce a better commission from the King it should be delivered to him; otherwise he who had it by authority from the King would preserve it for the King." These brave words, however, were of little avail, and before the day had deepened into dusk the city was in the hands of Waller, and for the second time had to obey the ruling of a conqueror. The captive Cavaliers did not repine at the hard measure meted out to them. Their goods were forfeited; they were crowded together in prisons, and often so neglected that many perished. Yet they bore their sufferings with cheerfulness. If the Roundheads were sustained in the confidence that they suffered for the purity of religious doctrine and the establishment of civil liberty, the Cavaliers gloried also in being martyrs to what they held to be one of the noblest of relative duties, and strongest tests of religious obedience. The sentiment of L'Estrange inspired them all:

What though I cannot see my king,
Neither in person nor in coin;
Yet contemplation is a thing
That renders what I have not, mine.
My king from me what adamant can part,
Whom I do wear engraven on my heart?

A siege, however, far more romantic than any that Herefordshire had yet seen, was now to take place. If the history of the Civil War displays equally the devotion of the Cavalier and the Roundhead to the cause they supported, it is far from being deficient in exhibiting the courage and devotion of the female sex during those troublous times. Did not Blanche, Lady Arundel, daughter of the Marquis of Worcester, defend the castle of Wardour with a few men against Sir Edmund Hungerford and Colonel Ludlow, during the absence of her husband at Oxford? Did not Lady Wintour refuse to yield to the summons of Massey? Was not Corfe Castle defended by Lady Bankes? And above
all, did not the famous Countess of Derby baffle the assaults of Fairfax at Latham House till the siege was raised? To this list we must add the defence of Brampton Ryan Castle by the Lady Brilliana, the wife of that staunch Herefordshire Parliamentarian, Sir Robert Harley. It was to be expected that a house situated in the midst of a Cavalier county, which had been the refuge of many a runaway Roundhead, and which was owned by a man who had made himself particularly obnoxious to the Royalist cause, should be made the object of attack. The law of retaliation is ever in force during war; the Herefordshire squires—the Scudamores, the Crofts, the Rudhalls, the Coningsbys, the Brabazons—who had enrolled themselves under the banner of the King had been severely punished for their devotion; was their neighbour then, who had taken a prominent part in all the proceedings against them, to escape safe and unhurt now that it was in their power to crush him? The castle of Brampton Ryan stood alone, hemmed in by enemies on all sides; in Shropshire, Radnorshire, and in its own county, it raised its grey stone walls alone and unprotected. Sir Robert Harley was in London; the defence of his home therefore devolved upon his wife, Lady Brilliana, a woman of rare resolution, fit to command and to insure obedience. With her husband absent, her eldest son serving in a cavalry regiment under Sir Arthur Hazlerigg, the fair chatelaine was sorely tired. Shut up with the rest of her children, and such retainers as were personally attached to her within the walls of her strong habitation, she lived in growing dread of opening her doors, and of suspicion of those who dwelt around her. As the Civil War progressed, intensifying party hate, she, a Roundhead in the midst of Royalists, became deserted by friend after friend. Tenants and gentry with whom she had enjoyed pleasant and cheerful intercourse now held themselves aloof, and declined to know one who had sided with the enemies of their sovereign. Her position was indeed desolate:

My comfort is that you are not with me (she writes to her eldest son, with the loving unselfishness of a mother), lest they should take you; but I do most dearly miss you. I wish, if it pleased God, that I were with your father. My dear Ned, I pray you advise with your father whether he thinks it best that I should put away most of the men that are in my house, and whether it be best for me to go from Brampton, or, by God’s help, to stand it out. I will be willing to do what he would have me do. I never was in such sorrows as I have been since you left me; but I hope the Lord will deliver me; but they are most cruelly bent against me.

She had no alternative but “to stand it out.” Her garrison was composed of about 100 men completely armed, with ammunition and provisions which would last two months. On the 26th of
July, 1643, Lord Molyneux appeared before the castle walls, at
the head of several troops of horse, with foot and battery cannon.
For weeks the Cavaliers lay around the walls and exhausted all
their resources to reduce the little garrison to submission. But
the enemy was met with corresponding vigour and address.
According to Collins, the Royalists were, “after many attacks,
oblged to raise the siege merely through Lady Brilliana Harley’s
skilful management of treaties with the adversaries, and exem­
plary courage which animated the defendants.” The probability
is, however, that the King could ill spare men at the time, and
that the besiegers, finding their task more difficult than they had
imagined, had been ordered to reinforce the troops then busy
endeavouring to reduce Gloucester. Still the Royalists had made
their presence felt in the district. They had inserted poisoned
bullets in their muskets, they had poisoned a running spring
which furnished the town with water at its fountain-head, they
had ransacked the farms and hamlets around Brampton, they
had reduced the village under the castle walls to ruins, they
had laid waste the parks and warren of Sir Robert Harley,
they had destroyed the rectory house and the church, and had
defaced the venerable monuments against the walls. A terrible
list of disasters for the Roundhead squire to con over, as he
busied himself in the councils of the Parliament held in London.
Shortly after the departure of her foes, Lady Brilliana fell ill of
a “very greate coold,” which terminated fatally a few days
afterwards.

To the character of this lady (writes Mr. John Webb), whose
name should never be extinct among us, not only so long as there is a
Harley, but while there is a wife or mother among us to record her
praise, it is difficult to do adequate justice. In whatever light many
may view the bias of her religious or political sentiments, it is un­
questionable that in her private life she was as exemplary as she
became distinguished in the public part that she took in the local
transactions of this eventful period. Her creed was that of Calvin,
and, with the Puritan teachers of that school, she looked upon Episco­
pacy as an institution to be done away; and in this and all other
matters she followed implicitly the opinions of her husband; but the
severity of her principles was in all this tempered by feminine gentle­
ness. The cause in which her family was engaged she concluded to
be that before which everything must give way, considering that it
was the cause of God. She was an enthusiastic admirer of all the
proceedings of the legislative body in which her husband acted so
conspicuous a part, pitied and prayed for the King, applauded the
expulsion of the bishops from the House of Lords, and dreamed of
glorious changes yet to come.

Shortly after her death Brampton Ryan was again attacked by
the Cavaliers, and this time the only hold of the Parliamen-
tarians in the county sank under the power of the enemy. Its garrison were taken prisoners, its demolition was decreed and carried into effect a few weeks after the surrender. By this destruction art and literature sustained a grievous injury, for the Harleys were men of taste, and their collection of pictures, jewels, and manuscripts, were amongst the most valuable in the country.

We must now cast but a hasty glance at the events which crowd the canvas. Those who wish to peruse an unusually full account of the siege of Gloucester, to watch the movements of Massey and Thynne in the west, and to read of the reverses that attended upon the efforts of the Cavaliers, cannot do better than consult these two carefully compiled volumes. One wretched fact we learn from their pages. It has been the fashion of those whose sympathies favoured the Royal cause to attribute all the atrocities that occurred during the Civil War to the vindictiveness of the Parliamentary party. The Cavalier, it is said, was a gentleman, he willingly gave his blood for his king, but when he met his enemy he fought him like a soldier and not like a savage. The Roundhead, on the other hand, was a canaille who mutilated the dead, defaced monuments, and in the hour of victory disgraced the name of Englishman by the barbarities that he sanctioned. Yet, from the evidence that lies before us, neither side can afford to throw the stone at the other or to affect a superior humanity. Let us briefly examine the catalogue of offences and leave it to the reader to decide which party conducted its military operations with a less severity. We know how the Cavaliers behaved before Brampton Ryan; but their first exploit showed how little was to be expected from their generosity or humanity. “For as they passed through the street of Brampton, there met them a poor blind man, whom without provocation they murdered, and thereby merited the failure of their enterprise.” Sir Michael Woodhouse, a Royalist commander, appeared before the walls of Hopton Castle, and demanded its surrender in the name of Prince Rupert. It capitulated, begging for mercy, and what was the fate of the garrison? Every mother’s son was stripped, tied back to back, and put to death with circumstances of the utmost barbarity. The Cavaliers ransacked the governor’s house and put all his family to the sword, sparing neither man, woman, nor child. The steward, a man of 80 years of age, “being weak and not able to stand, they were so compassionate as to put him in a chair to cut his throat.” It is said that after this massacre the cause of Charles never prospered, and that whenever his soldiers craved quarter, the reply was, “We’ll give you none but Hopton quarter.”

1 The gloomy aspect of the ruins of Hopton Castle recalls to mind the
On the march of Langdale to aid Prince Maurice, who was being severely pressed in the north, we read that "the atrocities that his lawless troopers inflicted upon the unoffending inhabitants, and especially their ill-treatment of females, in the countries through which they swept like a desolating whirlwind, were too shocking to be recorded." A Cavalier officer, one Talbot, was seen in the streets of Worcester, his sword reeking with the blood of a poor prisoner just brought in, and exulting that a rebel had been slain by his hand. Military executions frequently took place without formality of trial. Sir Richard Grenville hanged thirteen constables in this manner, and when he had taken Saltash, he was on the point of despatching some 300 of its inhabitants, in this wholesale fashion, when expressly forbidden by the King. He was nicknamed the hangman of the West. The highlands of the Forest of Dean were severely scourged. At Drybrook a man was struck down and his eyes knocked out for refusing to give up a flitch of bacon to a foraging party. "They have plundered," we read, "much about Mansilhope, Staunton, and the adjacent parts about the Forest of Dean, and have murdered divers men, women, and children—particularly at Longhope they took away some gentlemen's children, and the like at other towns, and carried them away either to be redeemed by their parents or starved; for some of those children have died under their hands." On the arrival of some regiments of Prince Rupert's infantry into Hereford we hear that—

They came into several houses and plundered all the money and all that was good that they could lay their hands on, and made them to fetch them in roasted mutton, veal, lamb, poultry, and I know not what; and when they had done, they having ate and drunk, while their bellies would hold, took the rest and threw it up and down the house, and let out a great deal of drink out of the barrels, and did such barbarous actions as is most wonderful; and there is no withstanding them; for if any oppose them, it is no more but knocking them on the head, or pistolling those who speak against them.

Nor was the conduct of the Roundheads a whit less arbitrary, for as to indiscriminate wrong and robbery, the offence is evenly balanced between the two parties. Hating episcopacy and all that falls under its rule, the more violent sections of the Parliamentarians loved to wreak their narrow-minded spite upon the clergy
Hereford during the Civil War.

and the Cathedrals. In London Sir Robert Harley, the chief acting commissioner of the Parliament, was busy demolishing crosses and stained-glass windows wherever he found them, in church or chapel. The cross in Cheapside, cherished by the citizens in better times, where so many divines had taught the doctrines of the Reformation, was not spared, but stripped of its "gorgeously gilt-leaden coat," a military band playing all the while "most rare and melodious music." "It was done," says a Cavalier writer, "in so triumphant and brazen a manner, with sound of trumpet and noise of several instruments, as if they had obtained some remarkable victory upon the greatest enemies of the Christian faith." One morning whilst Hacket, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield, was reading prayers at St. Giles's, Holborn, a trooper presented a loaded pistol at his head, and threatened him with instant death if he did not desist. "Do you your duty, I shall do mine," was the heroic reply. At Oxford and Canterbury the devastating hand of Fanaticism is plainly visible. On the capture of Worcester, one of the first operations of the Roundheads was to repair to the Cathedral and wreak their vengeance upon the books, vestments, organ and windows. They broke into the beautiful chapter-house, scattered about and tore up the college records, brought their horses into the nave, lit fires in it, and defiled the choir in the most unseemly manner; some of the dragoons came forth in surplices, and paraded with them in derision through the streets. The cloisters of the Cathedral still show that horses have been attached there by the marks of the insertion of rings soldered in with lead between the stones. One Swift, the vicar of Goodrich, was stripped of his property, and left with his children and servants at the beginning of winter with hardly a garment to shelter them, and all who should show them mercy severely threatened. "These are our militant Evangelists," sneers a Cavalier, "whose consciences start out of the way at a white surplice, but never boggle at garments rolled in blood." Serving in the ranks of the Royalists were many Papists from the Emerald Isle; an order was issued by the Parliament that, as every Irishman in the King's service had been concerned in the murderous insurrection of the Papists in Ireland—a statement which by the way had been satisfactorily refuted—all Irishmen taken in arms should be put to death.

The commander-in-chief of the Parliamentary forces in Shropshire and Cheshire was Sir William Brereton. He was unable to control the enormities committed by his troops. "They have slain men, plundered houses, and used all the violence that may be!" cried their accusers at Shrewsbury. They robbed and spoiled without mercy or distinction of friend or foe. The destruction of cattle and sheep was enormous, and the wantonness of the robbers may be estimated from the fact that they were in
the habit of appropriating and slaughtering sheep merely for their skins. The argument, “if we leave them behind the enemy will come and take them,” was too often and fatally applied. A widow who resisted had her house “fired, and all refused quarter—viz., twelve, put to the sword, nine whereof were roasted.” A Committee of the House of Commons in London, listening to these grave charges, wrote to Brereton severely reprimanding him for the laxity of his discipline.

I assure your Honours (writes the Commander-in-chief), that there is nothing accompanying this service hath more afflicted me than to see these insolences that are sometimes committed by the soldiers, and not have power wholly to restrain them. I know that the soldiers’ plunder is put into a bottomless bag; the State loses it; the soldier accounts it not for pay; and those who are most undeserving are most advantaged thereby. Our reputation is extremely lost hereby with the common people, who for the most part judge our cause by the demeanour of our army. . . . For my part, I know no other way to maintain order in an army but either by special interest or severe discipline. For the first it cannot be expected that I should so far prevail with the forces assigned from several parts as if they were mine own; and for the last I have not had power to hold the reins of discipline, as otherwise have been convenient, when extreme want of all necessaries have inflamed the soldiers’ discontents to an un-masterable height, and in such a case I humbly appeal to your Honours’ experience there how hard it is to prevent outrages.

The truth was that in the war between arbitrary misgovernment and unconstitutional resistance, the country was utterly demoralised; men, maddened by the scent of blood, forgot the better part that was within them, and, whether Cavalier or Roundhead, allowed, during the fury of the struggle, the baser elements in human nature to wield the supremacy.

Here we take leave of these interesting “memorials.” The history of the Great Rebellion cannot but excite the attention of all Englishmen. It is one of those subjects which permits much to be said on both sides; there was right on each side, and yet there was also grievous wrong. The King erred perilously in resisting the demands of his first three Parliaments; the Parliament was in the wrong in waging war against its sovereign. The history of Charles is the history of personal government as opposed to constitutional government. Since the King could not obtain his ends with the assistance of Parliament, he resolved to pursue his course independent of the Legislature. For the first time in our history a monarch had ascended the throne determined upon maintaining the majesty and independence of the Prerogative. Other kings had dissolved Parliaments, imprisoned refractory members, and forced hostile votes to be rendered null; but with the exception of Charles, no English
monarch had dared for eleven long years to dispense altogether with Parliamentary aid and advice. Up to the year 1641 the conduct of the Parliament is warmly to be approved of, but after that date the Houses were not justified in the demands they laid before the King, and in the war that ensued the Parliament was clearly the aggressor. With respect to the faction that pursued Charles to death, but one opinion can now be formed. It was no friend to public liberty, for never under the most arbitrary monarch were the people of England subject to a more rigid tyranny; neither did it compose the majority of the nation, which at least latterly, had recovered its reverence for the Royal power. But it is ever so in revolutions. A few violent men take the lead— their noise and activity seem to multiply their numbers, and the great body of the people, either indolent or pusillanimous, are led in triumph at the chariot wheels of a paltry faction.

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The progress of interpreting inscriptions on the Egyptian, Assyrian, and other cognate Semitic monuments, has made such rapid progress within the last half-century, and has so important a bearing on Biblical literature and archæology, as to have necessitated the formation of such an institution as the Biblical Archæological Society, which has now been in existence during the chief part of the present decade; Dr. Birch's address as President of the Society having been delivered on the 21st of March, 1871. Hitherto our knowledge of the nations surrounding the land of Canaan has been derived from the records of Holy Scripture and the early Greek historians who have handed down such portions as entered into relation with their own particular subject. Now, by means of the excavations which have brought to light a buried world, we are enabled to ascend into the remotest times of antiquity, and to examine the identical monuments which were erected in the days of Cheops and Uruk—i.e. within two centuries of the dispersion of mankind after their failure to build the Tower of Babel. And it is with no little satisfaction that the Biblical student is enabled to find, not only so many confirmations of the truth of the Scripture record respecting the Creation and the Fall, the Noachian Deluge, the building of Babel, the story of the Exodus, and the punishment of the Houses of Israel and Judah, but also of the harmony between the chronology of those nations, Assyria and Egypt, and that which is revealed to us in the infallible word of God. So that what Champollion wrote fifty years ago in allusion to the sceptics of his day has been amply verified by the further discoveries of our cuneiform and Egyptological scholars. "They will find in this work," said he, "an absolute reply to their calumnies, since I have proved that no Egyptian monument is really older than the year 2000 B.C. This certainly is very high antiquity, but it presents nothing contradictory to the sacred histories, and I venture to affirm that it establishes them on all points; for it is in fact, by adopting the chronology and the succession of kings given by the Egyptian monuments, that the history of Egypt accords with the sacred writings." ("Ancient Egypt," p. 56.) The recently discovered tablet at Abydos of the