

"Who lieth here?"

Sir Marmaduke Rawdon (1582-1646)

Sir Marmaduke Rawdon (his surname is also spelt Royden and Rawden), was a successful London merchant in the 1620s and 1630s. He was a conscientious civic official and militia officer, and briefly a Member of Parliament. During the Civil War he was an active Royalist, serving in turn as Governor of Basing House in Hampshire, and Faringdon House in Berkshire. Knighted in December 1643, he died in April 1646, worn out by war.



*The true and lively Portraiture of that most
Valiant Colonel and worthy Knight Sir Marmaduke
Rawdon Governour of Basing and afterwards of
Faringdon for King Charles the first and died be-
sieged in Faringdon 28th April 1646.*

Marmaduke Rawdon was baptised at Brandsby in Yorkshire in March 1582. Nothing is known of his early years. His father was a younger son of a local gentry family but Marmaduke, like his elder brothers Lawrence and Robert who became merchants of York and London respectively, was set to a trade. Aged sixteen, he was sent to London to be apprenticed to Daniel Hall who was engaged in the lucrative Bordeaux trade, exporting cloth and importing wine. In his early twenties Rawdon was sent to Bordeaux as Hall's resident factor, acting as agent for his master but also establishing his own business connections and creditworthiness. He was so successful that in 1610 he was able to return to London and set up in the trade on his own account; operating from his new home in Water Lane in the parish of All Hallows Barking, close to the wharves on the Thames waterfront. He became a Freeman of the Guild of Clothworkers, one of the fraternities that dominated London's business activities; and a member of the Levant Company which sponsored international trade ventures. In 1611 he married Elizabeth Thorogood, heiress to a Hertfordshire gentleman, who reputedly brought him a dowry of £10,000. In 1613, he became a shareholder in the New River Company, which built a conduit to bring water to London from Hertfordshire. In 1614 he was one of the sponsors of Captain John Smith's expedition to New England. By 1618 he was prosperous enough to be considered a gentleman, and was granted a Coat of Arms.

In the 1620s and 1630s Rawdon carved himself a place in the mercantile oligarchy which dominated the City of London. He acquired extensive property holdings in London, including much of Water Lane and warehouses in Petit Wales by the Thames. Appropriately for a wine merchant he also acquired a tavern, "The White Horse" in Seething Lane. His interests included shares in ships, one of which was sent on an exploratory voyage to seek out the fabled North West Passage but most of which were engaged in mundane cargo carrying between London and the Low Countries, Gascony, the Iberian Peninsula and the Canary Islands. Rawdon's nephew, also called Marmaduke and the author of an autobiography, was his factor on Tenerife for many years. Rawdon's son Thomas was a frequent visitor to Lisbon and Madrid. During the wars of the 1620s Rawdon acted as spokesman for the merchants trading with France and Spain, which brought him into close contact with the Court. For a few years he enjoyed Royal favour, apparently via a connection with the Earl of Buckingham, and both James I and Charles I took his counsel and even visited him at home. His ships were licensed as privateers, and his language skills led to occasional employment deciphering captured documents. He was appointed to the committee entrusted with the disposal of goods taken from captured foreign vessels, and was one of the customs farmers who collected taxes on sea borne trade. It may have been due to royal patronage that Rawdon sat in the 1628 Parliament as member for the borough of Aldeburgh in Suffolk. Although the town corporation was vocal in its opposition to continuation of the wars, their MP seems to have served their interests well enough and he was sent a gift of fresh fish every Lent for many years afterwards. His maiden speech to the Commons suggests strong monarchism and a desire to strengthen the merchant marine:

"His Majesty hath called us together for two ends, to supply his majesty which I desire to be done speedily and in abundance and I doubt not but he will be a good king to us, and grant us more than we shall beg of him. There is a trust reposed in us. Consider how the diminution of shipping comes, and how that consumption grows. It is the cessation of building of ships. The profit of shipping is very great. They are the jewels that adorn the kingdom and the walls of the land."

Rawdon was the leading member of a consortium of London merchants who acquired land on Barbados after 1627, investing by his own estimation in excess of £10,000 to establish tobacco plantations there. A decade later he was one of the sponsors of a punitive naval expedition against the Barbary Corsairs who infested the sea-lanes as far north as the English Channel and the Irish Sea. Command of the squadron, which comprised Royal and merchant ships, was given to Captain William Rainsborough (father of the future Parliamentarian colonel and Leveller, Thomas), with whom Rawdon was on friendly terms.

He was busy in other areas. His marriage produced ten sons and six daughters, of whom eight survived to maturity. To escape the plague and other epidemics to which London was frequently subjected, he took leases of country houses in the suburb of Tottenham, then a place of meadows and market gardens on the banks of the River Lea. After the death of his father-in-law in 1622 Rawdon had a new mansion built at Hoddesdon; Rawdon House, which still survives today. Visitors included the Earl and Countess of Salisbury. The town benefited from his philanthropic provision of a new water supply and repairs to the town chapel and the town hall. In London he was elected a member of the Common Council and in 1635 as Deputy for Tower Ward he made a return of aliens residing within the ward; amongst them his own servant John Prevost, originally from Bordeaux. He sponsored the election of other aldermen but when he was proposed himself in 1639 he declined to serve. Rawdon was an

enthusiastic member of the London militia, the Trained Bands. In 1617 he had been commissioned a captain in the East Regiment, recruited from Tower Ward of which the parish of All Hallows was a part. Unlike many fellow militiamen Rawdon took his soldiering seriously and was one of a group of future Royalist and Parliamentarian officers who were also members of the Society of the Artillery Garden, a military club that encouraged the practise of arms. The Society had a parade ground and gunnery range off of Bishopsgate to the north east of the City. Rawdon recorded a list of members in his commonplace book, which also contained transcriptions of articles on military and government matters and an autobiographical poem of his much-married step-mother-in-law, Martha Moulesworth.

In 1638 Rawdon's nephew and namesake returned to England briefly and his autobiography records that there was a Rawdon family gathering in London during which:

"...they went to Greenwich, where the Court then was, where, upon Sir Marmaduke Rawdon's acquaintance, who went with them, they were highly favoured by my Lord Chamberlain, kissed the King and Queen's hand, see the lodgings, and what else that place afforded, and after dinner the gentlemen went to bowls at Blackheath. This afternoon Mr. Rawdon [the writer] managed one of the King's horses before his uncle and sister and several others of his relations with much dexterity. Amongst other sights that they saw, it was none of the worst, the Royal Sovereign, who was then newly finished, and rode at Erith; so, hiring a barge, there went Sir Marmaduke Rawdon [actually still a commoner in 1638], Sir Roger Jacques [the writer's brother-in-law, also still a commoner in 1638 but Lord Mayor of York and knighted the following year], and their ladies, Mr. Robert Rawdon [brother of the elder Marmaduke, a London fishmonger] and his lady, and some of their sons, daughters, and relations, of which Mr. Rawdon, of whom we now treat, was one. The commander of her then was Captain Rainsborough, an acquaintance of Sir Marmaduke's, who entertained them with the best things he had aboard. I have heard them say they were eleven of them all together in the great lantern [the glazed captain's quarters at the stern] of the said ship."

The close of the 1630s and the beginning of the 1640s saw several of Rawdon's children married; his daughter Elizabeth to Captain Edmund Forster, a business partner and the son of a fellow vintner and officer in the Trained Bands; and his eldest son Thomas to Magdalene Crewe, a Kentish heiress.

Rawdon's relationship with the Court seems to have cooled during the 1630s, almost certainly because of the Crown's increasing fiscal demands on the merchant community. In 1638 he was one of a group of merchants who withheld customs dues in protest at a new rate of twenty shillings per tun being levied on wine imports. He may also have been personally disappointed that in 1631 following a disputed election outcome for Captain-Leader of the Artillery Company, both he and the other candidate, John Venn (the future Parliamentarian colonel and Regicide) were ignored and a Crown appointee was imposed. The crisis year of 1642 saw religious dissension and mob violence in the City as well as the Port of London closed by a customs embargo, yet for Rawdon it was also a time of personal achievement. He was elected Master of the Guild of Clothworkers, and in this capacity he was summonsed before a Parliament intent upon extorting contributions from wealthy city institutions to fund its own activities. His handling of this matter maintained the goodwill of both Members and Guildsmen. The latter were soothed by the refurbishment of Clothworkers Hall that Rawdon undertook at his own expense, whilst the former considered him trustworthy enough to permit his appointment as Lieutenant colonel of the Red Regiment, the senior unit in the enlarged and reorganised London Trained Bands. In August he was entrusted with recovering arms

from Lambeth Palace, home of the recently impeached Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud, with a force of 200 foot and a troop of horse.

Late in the year, following the inconclusive battle at Edgehill, the Royalist army marched on London and at Turnham Green a Parliamentary force including the London Trained Bands faced them off. If Rawdon was there his nephew and biographer understandably chose to ignore this. Rawdon publicly adopted a neutral stance during the winter months as one of the signatories of the Peace Petition, urging conciliation, which was delivered to Parliament in December. However he was also involved in the shadowy plot, organised by a fellow London merchant Sir Nicholas Crispe, to raise forces in London to seize the fortifications and secure the Tower armoury. Rawdon's role in this, in which he was assisted by his son-in-law Edmund Forster, Deputy Master of the Guild of Clothworkers and a fellow militia lieutenant colonel, seems to have been to discretely steal the private armoury of the Guild. Once the plot was exposed in January 1643, Crispe fled to Oxford where the King had set up his wartime headquarters. Rawdon was not immediately implicated but he was clearly under suspicion and he decided to move to his country home at Hoddesdon. In early March 1643 Parliament acted to seize Rawdon's estate, and he immediately left Hoddesdon for Oxford, accompanied by a party of fellow Londoners. Arriving on the 9th March, the sixty-year old Rawdon was by contemporary standards an old man and he might reasonably have excused himself from an active role in the war. His possessions, other than those which he carried with him to Oxford, were left to the mercy of Parliamentary sequestrators, although he had attempted to minimise the loss by transferring some of his assets, principally his shares in the ownership of shipping, to sympathetic associates who remained in London. The mansion at Hoddesdon legally constituted the dower of his wife Elizabeth, who vigorously defended her own rights of ownership. According to a 1655 list, Rawdon's properties were eventually compounded for a fine of £559 3s 2d.

On 13th April Rawdon was commissioned a colonel by the King, with authority to raise a regiment of foot at his own expense. The new unit was referred to as "The London Regiment" in a Royalist newssheet and although this reflected the origins of the officers, the rank and file were conscripts, impressed as a result of orders issued to the Sheriff of Oxfordshire. The complexion of the regiment subsequently changed as officers and men were killed or died of disease and reinforcements made up the losses. At Basing House the garrison included turncoat Parliamentary rank-and-file, and at Faringdon many officers and men were refugees from Royalists defeats in the West Country. A troop of horse raised by Rawdon at Basing in the spring of 1645, and later expanded into a regiment, was recruited locally and officered by reformado officers, whose previous commands had been lost or broken up, some of whom had London connections. The number of men under Rawdon's command was never large. In July 1643 the foot regiment mustered 250 men, but by November 1644 this had fallen to 200 including recently arrived reinforcements. One source states that when Rawdon departed from Basing House in May 1645 he took with him fifty horse and 450 foot, but the latter figure seemed to be a considerable overstatement. In April 1646 Rawdon's garrison at Faringdon consisted of ninety horse and 250 foot, but by the time Faringdon surrendered in June 1646 only a total of 200 including officers remained, many newly arrived 'Die-Hards' like the memoirist John Gwynne.

Although Rawdon's commission indicated that he would furnish the regiment at his own expense, it is clear that much of the weaponry for the regiment was provided from the meagre Royal arsenal at Oxford, and mainly comprised pikes and muskets. There is no mention in the Ordnance papers of armour for pikemen, or bandoliers and rests for musketeers. The records

suggest that only two swords were issued to the whole regiment. Whilst these deficiencies could have been made up to some extent from Rawdon's personal armoury and subsequently by captured equipment, the general impression is that the regiment was not particularly well armed, although the apparently equal proportions of musketeers and pikemen was on a par with other Royalist foot. Prior to their departure for Basing the regiment received a supplemental issue of sixty bills presumably to replace some of the pikes that were of limited value to a garrison unit, although the use of pikes in combat is mentioned at Faringdon. It seems likely that uniforms were issued to Rawdon's conscripts since the diarist Anthony a Wood records the issue of red and blue clothing to troops at Oxford at the time the unit was raised; but the replacements who joined the regiment at Basing or Faringdon doubtless had to make do with what they already wore. Nothing is known of the colours carried by the regiment although Rawdon's personal banner bore the motto, "Magna est veritas et prevalet" (Truth is strong and will prevail) on a black background. The regiment seems unlikely to have reached the ideal establishment of ten companies, although there seem to have been at least five companies in existence when the unit was at its peak strength. These sub-units seem to have been principally administrative; at Basing a system of Watches, each under a field officer, was adopted for day-to-day guard duty whilst raiding and foraging parties seem to have been formed on an ad hoc basis and their command entrusted to a suitable field officer. Rawdon's regiment of horse appears to have numbered three troops at its peak. Being a scratch force they were presumably armed and equipped with whatever was available. The colours of a party of Rawdon's horse captured at Highworth in 1645 were described as "bloody", implying they were red.

The officers who served under Rawdon at Basing at Faringdon were predominantly Londoners drawn from the mercantile and professional classes. Losses were made good by reformadoes. The most prominent of the Londoners associated with Rawdon at Oxford were Robert Peake and Thomas Johnson. Peake was born in 1592, the son of a Court artist, who traded in prints and paintings from a shop near Holborn Conduit. He was appointed Lieutenant colonel of Rawdon's regiment just before it departed for Basing House, but once there he rejected Rawdon's authority and placed himself under the command of Basing's aristocratic owner, the Marquis of Winchester. Johnson, born c.1600, was the leading apothecary (pharmacist) of his time, and the author of several botanical books, including a definitive revision of Gerard's Herbal. Like Rawdon he was Yorkshire born, but from 1629 had practised from his shop and physic garden in Snow Hill near Holborn Cross. In 1633 he displayed the first hand of bananas imported from the West Indies in his shop window, which were there for three months. Previously an ensign in the Green Regiment of the London Trained Bands and commissioned as a captain under Rawdon, he clearly acted as his deputy whilst the new unit was organised and was soon promoted to major. A grateful King granted him an honorary degree in medicine from Oxford University, and despite his military duties, he still found time to publish another book on botany. He was later promoted to Lieutenant colonel of the regiment, holding this rank until his death in 1644. His successor as major was Thomas Langley, formerly a mercer (textile merchant) living in Ave Maria Lane near St Paul's Cathedral. Family connections compromised him in early 1645 when he was suspected of corresponding with the enemy. His wife was alleged to be a relative of Colonel John Dalbier, the Dutch mercenary who served Parliament as a cavalry officer and siege engineer, and he was left behind under a cloud when Rawdon departed for Faringdon. The regiment's third and last major was William Rosewell who had been commissioned as a captain in June 1643. Rosewell was also a London apothecary, but spent some years in the household of the Archbishop of York.

Captain Isaac Rowlett, formerly resident in Holborn, was a scrivener (writer of legal documents). He commanded a foot company at Basing and later a troop of horse. He died at Faringdon and a posthumous enquiry into his financial affairs showed that he had lost everything in the war and had left five sisters in poverty. An unnamed brother served as his lieutenant at Basing and remained there when the regiment moved to Faringdon. Captain Robert Amery, a vintner (wine merchant) by trade, was a Royalist activist who had participated in the King's abortive attempt to arrest the Five Members in 1641 and was later attacked by the London mob for his opinions. He served with Rawdon at Basing as a captain of foot, and accompanied Rawdon when he went to Oxford to appeal against his removal from the governorship. Amery's family were also at Basing, fleeing continuing persecution in London. His two sons also served under Rawdon as a lieutenant and ensign respectively, and the latter was killed in action at Basing in 1644. Captain Samuel Mason, a neighbour of Rawdon's at Hoddesdon, commanded a company at Basing and Faringdon where he was killed in April 1646. Captain James Freeman also served under Rawdon at Basing and Faringdon, and one occasion saved his Colonel's life by pushing him out of the way of an incoming Parliamentary cannonball. Captain Thomas Fletcher appears to have commanded some of the reinforcements sent to Basing House in October 1644 and served under Rawdon thereafter. Another officer recorded as serving with Rawdon's foot was a Captain Rudyerd, who Rawdon's biographer says died at Faringdon. However an officer of the same name appears in the post-Restoration list of Royalist officers known as the "Indigent Officers". Perhaps he was a relative of the London merchant Sir Benjamin Rudyerd. Captain Henry Henn commanded Rawdon's troop of horse from 1645 and saved his Colonel from being captured when his horse's bit broke whilst in the middle of a fight. He was later promoted to major. Captain Hugh Henn also commanded a troop of horse under Rawdon at Basing. Although Rawdon's biographer claims he also died at Faringdon, it seems possible that he was the same Hugh Henn who was captured at the battle of Naseby in June 1645. This Hugh Henn was one of the King's pages (despite being a grandfather at the time of his capture), and later served in the King household during the negotiations with Parliament in 1648. Hugh and his brother Henry (presumably the Henry Henn above) had been given the keepership of the Queen's Garden at Greenwich in 1639. In June 1643 Hugh and various others whose duties, and perhaps inclination, kept them at Greenwich complained to Parliament that they had not received payment for two years and had been obliged to pawn goods for their own upkeep. Whilst the House of Lords was sympathetic, there is no indication that the Commons took any action and presumably Hugh had no choice other than to seek refuge in a Royalist garrison. A Captain Gardiner is mentioned as commander of a party of horse at Faringdon, whilst Captain William Atterbury actually served as cornet and later lieutenant of Rawdon's own troop. Amongst the troopers were Robert Swynnerton, one of Rawdon's junior business partners, Robert Baites, who was captured and imprisoned at Windsor and was the subject of cordial letters exchanged with Rawdon's old rival John Venn who commanded the garrison there, and John Waters, a scrivener of Highworth (Wilts) who was captured when the garrison there surrendered in 1645. Rawdon's personal entourage during the war included his chaplain, Dr. Jones, formerly of Milk Street, London, and his French caterer John Prevost.

Located one mile east of the Hampshire market town of Basingstoke, Basing House was probably the largest private residence in England. There were two main buildings, the Old House built in the mid-sixteenth century within the ramparts of a medieval castle, whilst the adjacent New House, a large mansion, was built in the bailey some years later. Beyond these were outbuildings, orchards and gardens, all within a boundary wall approximately one mile

in circumference. The owner, the Marquis of Winchester, was a Catholic and had adopted a neutral public stance in the early stages of the Civil War. However his religion and immense personal wealth ensured that the local Parliamentarians were watching him and in July 1643, they despatched a body of dragoons to occupy the house. Winchester and his retainers, armed with the few remaining weapons of a substantial family arsenal disposed of by order of parliament before the outbreak of hostilities, fought them off and urgently appealed to the King for assistance. The King responded by nominating Marmaduke Rawdon as Governor and a body of one hundred musketeers led by Lieutenant colonel Robert Peake was sent to secure the house. The detachment arrived on the 31st July, only hours before another attempt to capture the house was launched by Colonel Richard Norton, the local Parliamentarian commander. This attack was also repulsed and Rawdon himself arrived shortly afterwards with the rest of his regiment and a train of artillery. The latter comprised one three-pounder and two six-pounder guns. He immediately set about improving the house's defences, adding various earthwork revetments, embankments and bastions to the existing brick defences that were not designed to withstand artillery bombardment. Encouraged by the establishment of the new garrison, many local Royalists sought refuge there. From these Winchester began to raise a regiment of his own, abetted by Robert Peake. Many of the new regiment's officers were Catholics, as were many of the prominent civilians who sought sanctuary with the Marquis, hence the Parliamentarian accusation that Basing House was "a nest of papists".

A small body of horse was also raised at Basing, which successfully contested control of the countryside around the garrison with Colonel Norton's dragoons. Sufficient money and food was brought into the garrison to sustain the increasing numbers of soldiers and adherents. When in late October 1643 news came of the approach of a Parliamentarian army under Sir William Waller, Basing House was secure and the occupants in good spirits. Waller's army, which arrived at Basing House on the 6th November, was by contrast in a poor state; mutinous, lacking supplies, and suffering from the extremely cold weather. Nevertheless Waller sent forward a picked body of five hundred musketeers to test the improved defences whilst his artillery took up position. Bombardment began at dusk and continued until daybreak when a general assault was launched which led to the capture of some outbuildings containing a considerable store of food and supplies. These were probably in the area known as The Grange, the principal building of which, now known as "The Bloody Barn", still survives. However, some of the Parliamentarians took to looting which enabled Lieutenant colonels Peake and Johnson, the later promoted by Rawdon to replace Peake, to sally out with a handful of men and recapture the buildings. A Parliamentarian counter attack along a sunken lane next to the defences, was broken up by two cannons that the Royalists had secreted there. All impetus lost, Waller retired to Basingstoke to reorganise.

It was only on the afternoon of Sunday 12th that Waller was able to launch a new attack, this time concentrating two thrusts against the house, one from the park to the south of the house, and the other from Basing Village to the east. However, the assault faltered when a petard failed to effect a breach in the defences; and a shower of stones, bricks and insults hurled down from the roofs by the garrison womenfolk broke the nerve of the assailants. The garrison saw their opportunity and sallied out, driving the Parliamentarians back into their quarters. At dawn the next day, Waller's scouts reported that a Royalist army under Sir Ralph Hopton was now only six miles away, and reinforcements from Reading were on the way to join him. Initially Waller resolved to attack Hopton, but his infantry - mainly London Trained Bandsmen, who had taken to shouting "Home, Home" whenever they saw their general - mutinied and he was obliged to retreat to Farnham. The siege was over at a cost to Parliament of three hundred men, but the garrison had lost only a handful of men and sustained minimal

damage to its defences. The Royalists also gained a large stock of weapons and ammunition abandoned by Waller's men when they departed. An account of the siege in a Royalist newspaper "Mercurius Aulicus", made much of the casualties suffered by the Green Auxiliary Regiment, a London militia unit at the hands of Colonel Rawdon's men; and claimed that he was formerly its commander but this is not supported by other evidence. On the 20th December, in the course of a visit to Oxford, Rawdon was knighted for his services at Basing House.

For the rest of 1643 and the early part of 1644 the garrison was untroubled by the enemy but was almost lost through treachery. No less a figure than Lord Edward Paulet, Winchester's younger brother, was the ringleader of a plot to surrender the House to Waller. This was revealed in March 1644 when Sir Richard Grenville, Waller's second in command, defected to the Royalists. In a punishment of biblical severity Paulet was made garrison hangman and compelled to execute his co-conspirators. With the coming of spring the local parliamentary forces were once again operating near the house. In May 1644 a party of horse from Basing collecting 'contributions' from the surrounding villages was ambushed and Captain William Rosewell was captured and imprisoned in Farnham Castle. The same month saw the arrival at Basing House of Rawdon's second son, also called Marmaduke, and some companions who had recently returned from the Canary Islands. They brought with them a gold necklace that was presented to Rawdon, along with a bag of gold coins. Most of the latter went into the garrison pay chest, but a few were melted down and cast into a medallion portrait of King Charles and attached to the necklace. Rawdon is said to have worn this combination every day for the rest of his life, and features on an engraving of Rawdon that was made whilst he was at Basing. The artist is not certain but the London engraver William Faithorne, once apprenticed to Robert Peake, sought refuge there.

The visitors did not stay long and soon travelled onto London where, predictably enough, they were arrested and imprisoned as suspected spies. Fortunately they convinced the authorities of their innocence and political neutrality, and returned to the Canaries later in the year. Shortly after their departure from Basing a major disaster struck the garrison. To discourage a new attempt on the House, a surprise raid was launched on a Parliamentary outpost at Odiham, seven miles to the east of Basing. A force of eighty horse and two hundred foot left the House at eleven o'clock in the evening on the 2nd June, but a new traitor in the garrison had revealed something of the plan to the enemy, and at two o'clock the following morning the raiders were intercepted at the ford by Warnborough Mill, only a couple of miles short of Odiham, by Norton's dragoons and foot from the Farnham Castle garrison under Colonel Samuel Jones. In the ensuing rout back to Basing, several Royalists were killed and over eighty captured. Amongst the prisoners were Captain Isaac Rowlett, Lieutenant Rowlett and Lieutenant Amery of Rawdon's regiment. Major Langley was wounded in the fighting and was taken prisoner, but according to a Parliamentary source, his appearance being "more like a tinker than a gentleman" he was promptly released. Realising the garrison was seriously weakened, Colonel Norton hastily brought up his forces and blockaded the house; but the response from other local Parliamentarians was painfully slow. It was only on the 11th June that sufficient infantry arrived to begin the construction of siege works. Building work was frequently interrupted by sallies from the garrison and it was only on the 29th that the positions were sufficiently secure to bring up the artillery. However, once bombardment began, it continued unabated for over a week, during which much damage was done to the defences. The Marquis of Winchester narrowly escaped injury when a cannonball passed through his bedchamber. Of equal concern, the supply position was now difficult with no meat and little water available to the garrison. On the 4th July a large

quantity of sour beer was thrown over the walls, no doubt to the distress of onlookers from both sides.

A general assault was now imminent and command of sections of the garrison's defences was given to the field officers. Lieutenant colonel Johnson took charge of The Grange, Major Langley the gardens, and Rawdon himself the defences facing Basing Village. Major Cusaude of Winchester's regiment had responsibility for the park frontage and Lieutenant colonel Peake commanded the artillery and a reserve force consisting of his own company of foot and the garrison horse now dismounted and armed with muskets. The Marquis of Winchester now directed operations, which demonstrates how much Rawdon's authority as governor had been compromised by Winchester's superior social rank. By virtue of his age, Rawdon was already excused duty as Captain of the Watch, a burden shared by the other field officers, and the enemy for their part often snubbed him and sought to communicate directly with Winchester. On the 11th July a summons to surrender made by Colonel Herbert Morley, governor of Arundel Castle, commanding in the absence of Norton, was addressed, in the most unctuous terms, to the Marquis. His response was a haughty no, and to add injury to insult the Royalists used the lull in the fighting whilst the messages were exchanged to bring in some livestock stranded between the garrison defences and the siege works and smuggle out a messenger bound for Oxford with an urgent plea for relief. Their offer of terms rejected, the Parliamentarians once again tried to bombard the garrison into surrender. A lucky shot destroyed the carriage of one of the garrison's smaller artillery pieces, a falconet, and a mortar shell hit one of the garrison's stores and spoiled a quantity of grain. However the Parliamentarian's activities were hampered by the unpredictability of the English summer. On the night of the 22nd July a storm brought torrential rain to Hampshire that lasted for several days. The River Loddon to the north of Basing House overflowed its banks and flooded some of the siege works, forcing the occupants into the open where they suffered heavy casualties from the garrison's artillery fire. However the Parliamentarians, made aware of the desperate situation within the garrison by some prisoners who had escaped from the House during the stormy night of the 22nd, were determined to finish the matter.

To this end they installed a small cannon in the tower of Basing Church on the 30th and successfully demolished a tower used by Royalist marksmen for sniping. The garrison was now almost exhausted, reduced to only 250 men, and was further imperilled by an outbreak of smallpox. All those fit to do so were on duty twenty-four hours out of every forty-eight. Nevertheless, the garrison continued to harass the Parliamentarians as best they could, and on the 11th August Major Cusaude and Lieutenant Snow of Winchester's regiment conducted a particularly successful raid that destroyed one Parliamentarian gun in its emplacement and forced the hasty withdrawal of another. Less spectacularly, a third party ventured out beyond the Grange and established a small outwork in the meadows to secure a supply of fodder for the garrison's horse. Late the following night a Parliamentarian attempt to capture this was beaten off, but on the 14th the boldness of the garrison was punished when a raiding party which had sallied out as far as Basingstoke itself, was cut off. Amongst those captured was Cornet Bryan, second in command of the garrison horse, and the fatalities included Ensign Amery of Rawdon's foot. Morale in the garrison was now extremely low and over the next week there were a series of desertions. On the 19th August the Parliamentarians, edging ever closer to the garrison's defences, brought up their artillery, including a powerful demi-cannon, as close as they dared and began an intensive three-day bombardment. This destroyed the garrison's best artillery piece and did considerable damage to the fortifications but only killed two men. Although on the 22nd the shelling stopped, the Parliamentarians continued to work on the garrison's nerves. They began firing arrows into the House, attached

to which were leaflets encouraging desertion, mutiny and bad feeling between the two regiments in the garrison. This appears to have had the desired effect, and the rate of desertion increased until the 25th when one would be deserter was caught and executed, which seems to have stopped further attempts.

After a further nine days bombardment, Colonel Norton called a parley and demanded the surrender of the garrison. Winchester, unbeknown to Norton, had been secretly advised that relief would be forthcoming on the 4th September, immediately refused. The Parliamentary artillery opened fire once again and within a matter of hours they demolished another of the brick towers. At dawn the garrison was called to arms in anticipation of the arrival of a relief force, but when this failed to appear two small raiding parties were sent out. One succeeded in capturing a Parliamentary cannon, which they attempted to bring into the garrison but finally left just outside the defences in full view of the enemy. Amongst the angry onlookers was Sir William Waller who had arrived that morning with two troops of horse in order to inspect progress. A further attempt by the Royalists to bring the cannon in that night was also unsuccessful and both sides had to content themselves with placing a watch on the gun. It was only on the 10th September that a messenger arrived to advise that relief was now definitely on the way, and beacons were lit upon the gatehouse in order to guide them to the house. Unfortunately a heavy fog had built up in Loddon Valley and obscured these, but at 7 o'clock the next morning the relief force under Sir Henry Gage finally reached the area and drew up on Chinham Down across the valley from the House. Colonel Norton's troopers were despatched to challenge them, but after a confused fight in the fog they were beaten off and Gage led his forces down towards the house. Some Parliamentary foot fought a fierce rear-guard action, contesting every hedgerow, but the sound of the fighting and the lifting of the fog alerted the garrison to Gage's whereabouts; and Lieutenant colonel Johnson led a force out from the Grange, successfully punching a hole in the Parliamentary lines through which Gage's men passed into the house. After paying his respects to the Marquis of Winchester and leaving ammunition and one hundred musketeers of Colonel Hawkins' regiment to bolster the depleted garrison, Gage marched out again towards Basingstoke.

The success of the relief operation completely demoralised the Parliamentary foot conducting the siege and no serious resistance was offered either to Gage or to troops from the garrison sent out to recapture the village of Basing and its church. The few Parliamentarians remaining in the immediate vicinity of the house were bottled up in a single fort in the park, impotent as the Royalists set about slighting the abandoned siege works. Gage had meanwhile occupied Basingstoke and conscripting wagons, conveyed as much food and munitions as he could carry back to Basing House. However, by dusk the Parliamentary horse had rallied sufficiently to oblige the exhausted Royalists to fall back within the garrison's defences. The following day they again ventured out to collect provisions and bring in two abandoned cannons, one of these being the gun left stranded after the raid of the 4th September. During the day Gage's scouts brought in the news that Parliamentary forces had occupied the bridges over the Kennet and Thames, over which Gage intended to pass on his return to Oxford. Fearing that he would be trapped if he stayed any longer, Gage and his men quietly departed at 11 o'clock that same night. Gage's own estimation was that the garrison now had sufficient supplies for a further month's siege, but with the Parliamentarians still in disarray, the respite from the rigours of siege continued for a further day, during which more provisions were gathered in and the siege works further dismantled. On the 14th a detachment of 100 musketeers under Captain Fletcher, a recent arrival, was sent to occupy Basingstoke. Encountering no resistance, he rather unwisely allowed his men to begin drinking and they were consequently caught in disorder when Norton's Parliamentarians attacked the town in

the early evening. Fletcher's men retreated into the churchyard to make a last stand; but fortunately news of his predicament reached Basing House and a further detachment was sent to rescue him, which beat off Norton's men and inflicted heavy casualties. This deterred further attacks, and the town remained in Royalist hands for a further week, but this minor success was marred by the loss of Lieutenant colonel Johnson who was shot in the shoulder during this fight, contracted a fever and died a fortnight later. In the garrison he had been valued equally for his military valour and medical skills.

On the 23rd September the Parliamentarians finally reappeared in strength, reoccupying Basing Church, and the Royalist troops in Basingstoke were hastily drawn back into the House. Over the next fortnight, despite several successful forays from the garrison, Norton succeeded in throwing a ring around the house once more. This period also saw a wholesale exchange of prisoners. Amongst those released were Captain Rosewell, Captain Rowlett and Lieutenant Amery of Rawdon's regiment, and the cavalry officer, Cornet Bryan. Within days of his release, Rosewell was promoted to Major in succession to Langley, who had become Lieutenant colonel upon Johnson's death. They had returned in time to witness the Parliamentarian armies of the Earls of Essex and Manchester and Sir William Waller rendezvous at Basingstoke (October 17th-19th) but these troops were not committed to the siege and marched off to challenge the King who, on the 21st, was only seven miles away but was unable to relieve the garrison. With the siege lines re-established, supplies again began to run short and notwithstanding some success in stealing provisions from under the noses of the besiegers, by early November there was no bread or beer in the garrison. On the 5th the officers, who had voluntarily restricted themselves to one meal a day for the previous ten days, convinced their men, hitherto fed twice a day, to do the same. One dissenter promptly deserted and revealed the chronic shortages within the house to the Parliamentarians but they were hardly any better off themselves. The weather was extremely wintry and twenty-three weeks in the field had reduced the besieger's strength from 2,000 to seven hundred, including recently arrived reinforcements. Those that remained were diseased and demoralised. The siege had become a stalemate that was broken on the 9th when a party led by Major Rosewell sallied out of the garrison and brought in eighteen head of livestock and six cartloads of corn. The garrison's survival was guaranteed for a little longer and two messengers got through the Parliamentarian lines. On the 15th the Parliamentarians, hearing reports of the approach of another relief force, finally lifted the siege and marched away to Farnham. The following evening the relief column arrived, a brigade of horse commanded once again by Sir Henry Gage. Each trooper bore a bag containing food and ammunition and had a skein of match wound around his waist. Gage reported that the occupants of the house, who included one hundred and forty non-combatants, "looked all as if they had been rather the prisoners of the grave than keepers of a castle". An anonymous writer in the garrison concluded "that seldom hath been a siege wherein the preservation of the place more immediately might be imputed to the hand of God".

God, or rather man's differing perceptions of Him, achieved in the comparatively quiet winter months of late 1644 and early 1645 what twenty-four weeks of siege could not. That there was religious antagonism between the Anglican and the Catholic members of the garrison is indicated by the efforts of the Parliamentarians to ferment bad feeling between the two regiments of the garrison in October 1644. It is clear that Winchester petitioned the King to the effect that Protestants be excluded from the garrison of Basing House. Rawdon's surviving written response suggests that he was much grieved by Winchester's attempts to subvert his authority. Not satisfied that with poaching Peake, the Marquis also complained that Rawdon's other officers were disorderly. In an attempt to settle the matter Rawdon,

accompanied by Captain Amery, travelled to Oxford to petition the King personally but Charles was reluctant to offend the Papist lobby and agreed to Winchester's request. Rawdon was offered the governorship of Weymouth, but the town fell to Parliament before he could take up the post and he was then compensated with governorship of Faringdon House, apparently at the suggestion of Sir George Lisle, the incumbent governor, who had been called to Oxford to take up a field command. Rawdon accepted the slight with good grace, commenting that "if the King made him keeper of a molehill he would die defending it", and returned to Basing to move his men to his new command. In the seventeenth century Faringdon was a market town on the road between Oxford and Bath. This route became strategically significant with the outbreak of civil war as the link between the King's headquarters at Oxford and his supporters in the West Country. However, the town was not permanently garrisoned until late 1643 or early 1644 when a small force was put into Faringdon House on the outskirts. This had the double task of guarding the town itself and the bridge over the River Thames at Radcot two miles to the north. In contrast to Basing, Faringdon House was a modest mansion built in the 1630s by the Pye family. The only existing fortification was a dry moat surrounding the house, although some effort had been put into improving its defensibility with earthworks. The town itself was not fortified. Faringdon possessed several large inns, including the Crown Inn which still survives, and these were used to quarter cavalry from the King's field army during the winter months. At the time of Rawdon's appointment Faringdon House was one of only three remaining Royalist strongholds in Berkshire, and on the 30th April a Parliamentary force under Oliver Cromwell launched an assault on it but they were beaten off leaving fifteen dead and many more wounded. Cromwell opted to move on and Rawdon arrived on or about the 7th May.

Rawdon had left Basing House on the 1st May with a force of 50 horse and, supposedly, 450 foot. Rawdon's intention was to rendezvous with Lord Goring's army in Berkshire, and a rapid march brought them to the River Kennett by mid-afternoon. Whilst crossing the river at an unidentified point between Thatcham and Newbury, possibly Hambridge; the column was attacked by a body of Parliamentary horse led by Colonel John Butler. After a brief skirmish the Parliamentarians retreated and Rawdon hurried on to the safety of the garrison at Donnington Castle, one mile north of Newbury. The following morning Rawdon set out again but reports of a planned ambush obliged him to fall back to Donnington. Here he remained for five days until Goring's troops arrived and he was then able to proceed on to Faringdon without further incident. Within days Rawdon's horse were patrolling the Oxford-Bristol road; Lady Anne Fanshawe recorded that her party travelling west was intercepted by a troop under the personal command of Sir Marmaduke who escorted them for twelve miles. In early June a detachment of Rawdon's newly constituted horse regiment was quartered at Highworth, seven miles west of Faringdon. On 26th June the main body of the Parliamentary New Model Army, en-route for the West Country and commanded by Lord General Fairfax in person, appeared unexpectedly outside the town. The Royalists had fortified the church with earthworks but Major Henry Henn, who commanded the outpost, prudently surrendered the position upon the offer of quarter. Seventy men, two colours and eighty weapons were lost. At Fairfax's request Colonel Nicholas Devereux, governor of Malmesbury, installed a garrison of local Parliamentary troops. A few days later, following Fairfax's departure, Rawdon sent a force to recapture the town but this was repulsed with further losses when a relief force of Parliamentary horse, once again from Colonel Butler's regiment, arrived. For the rest of 1645 Faringdon was not seriously threatened as the Parliamentarians concentrated their attention on defeating the Royalist armies in the field and suppressing the more isolated garrisons, including Basing House which fell on the 14th October. This allowed Rawdon's remaining horse to operate virtually unchecked and in

December they even raided as far as Andover, twenty-five miles away, taking prisoner several Parliamentary officers who were visiting the town. The garrison was reinforced during the winter by three hundred cavalry from the Royalist field army that were quartered on Faringdon and the surrounding area.

With the departure of these troops in February or March 1646, local Parliamentary forces led by Colonel Deveraux initiated siege operations by blockading and bombarding Faringdon and its outpost at Radcot Bridge. With the arrival of a detachment of the New Model Army under Colonel Robert Pye, son of the Royalist owner of Faringdon House, operations against Faringdon itself were intensified, with further bombardment and encroachment into the outskirts of the town. Despite musket fire from Royalist marksmen perched on the church steeple, the Parliamentarians were able to erect an earthwork across the western end of the town and fortified a stone house on the northern side. Rawdon ordered a counter attack sending out two hundred and forty foot and ninety horse. Two groups of foot led by Captains Mason and Freeman were sent against the earthwork and were supported by the horse, thirty under Captain Gardiner and the rest under Henry Henn, who had presumably been exchanged after his capture at Highworth the previous summer and had been promoted to Lieutenant colonel. Gardiner led a wild charge that pushed the enemy skirmish line back through their main body; and a follow up attack by Henn and the rest of the foot quickly cleared the parliamentarians from the fortification. Meanwhile the third group of foot under Captain Amery stormed the fortified house on the northern side and captured all the Parliamentary troops inside. However, casualties were heavy, Captain Mason and his lieutenant, Goodwin, were amongst the dead, and at nightfall Rawdon's men drew back into Faringdon House. During the night the enemy occupied another house, this time on the south side of the town, but this was attacked and cleared at daybreak. This venture was led by Major Rosewell, who sustained a lasting injury from being struck on the thigh by a rock whilst leading a body of pikemen into action. The Parliamentarians responded by establishing a battery of guns in a lane on the eastern side of the town and began bombardment of the church steeple, killing some marksmen and apparently intending to topple it into the Royalist positions around the house. The garrison was alerted to the danger and pre-empted this by mining the steeple so that it fell towards the opposition. Nevertheless the bombardment continued, starting a fire that swept through the predominantly wooden buildings of the town and causing damage valued, remarkably precisely, at £56,967 and 4 shillings.

Although the garrison itself was still secure, Rawdon was now gravely ill and had taken to his bed. He had been unwell for much of the preceding winter but had continued his habit of daily inspections of the troops and defences until the onset of pneumonia incapacitated him. On the 25th April he called the officers of the garrison to his chamber in Faringdon House to bid them farewell and recommended that Sir William Courtney, a respected soldier who had taken refuge in Faringdon after the destruction of his own regiment in battle, should succeed him as governor. His duty completed, Rawdon closeted himself with his chaplain, Dr. Jones, to make his peace with God and died three days later on the 28th April 1646. His funeral took place in the chapel of Faringdon House and was conducted by Dr. Jones who took Job 1,21 – “Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither: the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord” - as the text for his sermon. The officers then conveyed his corpse to Faringdon church for internment. His burial was accompanied by military salutes of cannon and musket fire, and the ceremonial renting of his banner into small pieces that were distributed amongst officers and men as keepsakes. Under the terms of his will - which does not survive - his horses were divided amongst his officers, legacies were granted to deserving reformadoes and small gifts of money given to his

servants and the ordinary soldiers. Parliament's farewell was in the form of a 200-pound mortar shell that hit the church shortly after the ceremony. On 24th May 1646 the Parliamentarians once again attacked the outpost at Radcot Bridge. The Royalist garrison under Colonel Palmer, was occupying Radcot House but surrendered almost immediately when a shell exploded in the cellar and destroyed the supply of beer. Faringdon itself continued to hold out until Oxford itself surrendered on honourable terms on 25th June and was spared a final onslaught.

After the war a monument to Sir Marmaduke was erected in Faringdon church. This bore a Latin epitaph, which translates as follows: "Who lieth here? Rawdon, that Name suffices, What worth can comprehend, this tomb comprises". Elizabeth Rawdon last saw her husband in March 1643. Despite the attentions of sequestrators and occasional brutality by passing soldiers, she remained firmly in residence at Hoddesdon throughout the war and the Commonwealth. Thomas Rawdon, for many years his father's factor in Spain and Portugal, was ordered by his father to stay out of the conflict. Unable to honour his father's wishes he joined the King's forces, and was successively a captain and lieutenant colonel of Sir Nicholas Crispe's Regiment of horse. Prior to the war Nicholas Crispe had been the majority shareholder of the Guinea Company, which traded for dyestuff in Sierra Leone, and for gold on the Gold Coast. Crispe himself estimated that he had exported half a million pounds sterling of the latter in the decade before the war. Thomas Rawdon served the King in a diplomatic role in the final stages of the conflict. He suffered continuing persecution by Parliament in the aftermath of the war and he compounded for a fine of £400. In the 1650s he went into exile on Barbados, where he successfully recovered lands that had been misappropriated by Sir Marmaduke's factor, Captain James Holdip, now a successful tobacco and sugar planter. He returned to England after the Restoration and died in 1666. His cousin Marmaduke Rawdon "The Traveller", returned from Tenerife in 1658, a wealthy and eccentric expatriate. He fancied himself a man of letters, producing a collection of family biographies and an autobiography that are the principal sources for this study, as well as travelling extensively within the British Isles. During one of these trips he visited his uncle's former servant, John Prevost, who had become an innkeeper at Abingdon after the war. He died in 1668.

Robert Peake, knighted for his services at Oxford on 28th March 1645, continued to serve as Lieutenant colonel of Winchester's Regiment and Lieutenant governor of Basing until it fell in October 1645. He was then imprisoned in London. After his release he was exiled for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to Parliament. In 1660 he returned to England and was appointed Vice-President and Leader of the Honourable Artillery Company under James, Duke of York. He died in 1667. Following the Restoration Thomas Langley petitioned unsuccessfully for appointment to command of a foot company in the Landguard Fort, opposite Yarmouth (Suffolk), by way of compensation for losses sustained during the war. During the 1650s William Rosewell was an officer of the London Trained Bands, living on his pay and possibly acting as a Royalist spy. At the Restoration he was generously rewarded for previous services to the Crown, being appointed Master of the Company of Apothecaries, despite not having practiced as one for fourteen years, and granted several other remunerative medical and civic posts that restored his personal fortunes. In 1662 he commanded a body of Trained Bandsmen that broke up a Quaker meeting and imprisoned thirty of the worshippers. He was later Lieutenant colonel of the Yellow Regiment of the Trained Bands and a Justice of the Peace, dying in the 1680s. Robert Amery survived the war, but lost his remaining son during fighting in Ireland. In 1660 he petitioned unsuccessfully for the right to nominate a baronetcy. Somewhat improbably, Rawdon's nephew and namesake met Captain Thomas

Fletcher whilst visiting the African coast after the war. Fletcher gave him the piece of his uncle's banner that he had been given in 1646. In the 1660s Captain James Freeman and Cornet George Mason, brother of the Captain Mason killed at Faringdon, contributed to the biography of Sir Marmaduke compiled by Rawdon's nephew. Mason was then living at Hoddesdon.

On the face of it Rawdon has been largely forgotten today, but there are traces of him in surprising places. Contemporary manuscripts and documents relating to him can be found in the Hertfordshire County Record Office, the Hampshire County Record Office, the British Library and the library of Yale University. His signature appears in the parish records of All Hallows by the Tower, still kept in the church, although Water Lane has now largely disappeared under the dual carriageway of Byward Street. At Hoddesdon the conduit head paid for by Rawdon, a statue of the Samaritan woman, is preserved in the garden of the Lowewood Museum and the badge of the local Masonic Lodge sports Rawdon's motto. Rawdon House is now used as offices, but many original Jacobean architectural features survive and there are traces of a knot garden to the rear. Many original fireplaces from Rawdon House were stripped out a century ago and reinstalled in what is now the student hall of residence of the Rothamsted Agricultural Experimental Station near Harpenden. The New River still supplies water to London and passes Broxbourne Church where Rawdon family funerary monuments are still visible. Basing House is a ruin, but visitors will find a herb garden there planted in memory of Thomas Johnson and others that died there. At Faringdon Church Rawdon's monument is no longer there but a memorial slab bearing his name is partially visible in the choir. Lastly, there are at least four English Civil War re-enactment groups, two in Britain, one in Australia and one in the United States, that include a 'Rawdon's Regiment'.

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