

MOORE (or More, Moor), JOHN (1599-1650), regicide and Parliamentary radical, MP 1640 (Liverpool), was eldest son of Edward Moore (JP by 1611, Sheriff of Lancashire 20 November 1620, MP for Liverpool in first Parliament of 1625) of Bank Hall, Walton, Lancashire (now the Liverpool dock area), and Katherine, daughter of John and Margaret Hockenhull (or Hocknell) of Prenton, Cheshire. The Moores were an extremely prosperous and ancient Lancashire family; in their dower house, the Old Hall (formerly called Moore Hall), an ancestor, Sir John de la More, had resided as early as 1235 (*Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire & Cheshire*, 2nd Series, XIII, 2). By the 17th century, the Moores had an astonishing 27 quarterings to their arms (*Ibid.*, LXIII, 98), and Sir John Meldrum described them, not surprisingly, as ‘an ancient family’ in recommending Moore for command (CSPD, 2 November 1644). Moore’s ancestors had been MPs for Liverpool on and off since the year 1307 (*Transactions, op. cit.*, LXIII, 104). Moore had three brothers and four sisters, his uncle was Major General Ralph Assheton (MP for Lancashire), his pre-war friend and godfather of his son was James, Lord Strange, later Earl of Derby (J. Brownbill and K. Walker, *A Calendar of ... Papers of the Moore Family*, Record Society of Lancashire & Cheshire, LXVII, 1913, p. 183), and the Viscounts Moore of Drogheda (later Earls of Drogheda) were ‘kinsmen’ with whom he had cordial relations (Moore MSS. 1061, 1062, 1276 in Liverpool Record Office). His wife’s uncle was the Earl of Meath, and Roger Kirkby (died 1644), MP for Lancashire, was her cousin (*Visitation of Lancashire 1664-5*, Chetham Society, Volume LXXXIV, p. 169). Moore was admitted to Lincolns Inn 17 August 1638, at the request of Hugh Rigby, Reader, being contemporary there with the regicides John Hutchinson, Augustine Garland, and Henry Smith, Moore married late in 1633 Mary, daughter of the royalist Alexander Rigby (Admin. 1 September 1650, PROB-6-25, p. 135 in the PRO where it is wrongly indexed) of Burgh and Leighton, Lancashire, who must not be confused with his contemporary and cousin, the MP of the same name (q.v.), who was a radical Parliament supporter, and Catherine, daughter of Sir Edward Brabazon (*Visitation of Lancashire, op. cit.*, p. 244). Around the time of the marriage, Moore bought out his mother’s share in Bank Hall and the family estates for £10,000 in cash (Moore MS. 306 at Liverpool Record Office). Moore from then on resided at the moated and ‘new’ Bank Hall (erected 1382, so hardly ‘new’ by anybody else’s standards). His Articles of Marriage dated 2 October 1633 survive (Moore MS. 920 MOO 2179 at Liverpool Record Office), in which Mary is to bring a dowry of £1200 in instalments. However, Moore had still not received all of this by the time of his own death 16 years later, as he says in his will (Moore MS. 920 MOO 844 at Liverpool Record Office), at which time also his wife’s royalist father (who had compounded 16 January 1647; CCC, pp. 1650-1), brother William, and deceased relation Hugh Rigby (mentioned above, Reader at Lincolns Inn) were all Moore’s debtors for hundreds of pounds. Moore’s eldest son was Captain Edward Moore, created baronet 1 March 1662 (delayed creation until 22 November 1675; *Complete Baronetage*, p. 70), who married 1st Dorothy, daughter of the royalist Sir William Fenwick, and 2nd Mary Ben, and this baronetcy continued (under spelling of ‘More’) until it became extinct on 21 May 1810, with the death of the fifth baronet. Moore’s other children living in 1650 and mentioned in his will were Alexander, Thomas, and Katherine (unmarried). Moore was not mentioned in the DNB until I wrote his entry for the DNB *Missing Persons* volume. To Noble, Moore was only a name, and he thought he had not even signed the Death Warrant (Noble, II, 85-6). In fact, John Moore’s signature (between those

of John Jones and Gilbert Millington) on the Death Warrant is not easy to decipher with certainty, so Noble's failure to do so is understandable.

There were four Moores in the Long Parliament, two of them colonels, and three more Moores, not MPs, who were also colonels, adding to the confusion. The Moores were thus the only regicide family more difficult for historians to sort out than the Temples. John Moore became JP by 1624, bailiff of Liverpool in 1630, and Mayor in 1633. A warrant from him and another JP of 17 November 1634 regarding relief for the poor indicates an early social conscience (Brownbill, *op. cit.*, p. 202, MS. 1394). Moore was elected MP in the Long Parliament for Liverpool, where he immediately made an impression, by 4 December was on a small committee, and on 5 December 'Mr. Jo. Moore, and all the merchants of the House' were added to the Committee for Monopolies, indicating his importance as one of the wealthiest traders, ship owners, and land developers in the House (CJ, II, 44b, 45b). His connections with seafaring led to his appointment 10 December to an important committee concerning the securing of navigation in the Mediterranean, and the prisoners of the Turks and the corsairs, which was soon expanded to consider treaties with Spain (CJ, II, 48). On December 11, Moore joined a committee on postal services which neophytes Oliver Cromwell and the regicide Valentine Wauton only joined on February 10 as their very first Parliamentary committee (CJ, II, 49b, 82a). Moore kept extensive parliamentary diaries, which were not referenced by Keeler and were missed by nearly all scholars because for more than a century they were indexed on the index cards in the Manuscript Room of the British Museum Library only under the spelling of 'More' and not under 'Moore', thus meaning that everyone missed them, and I believe that I was the first person who ever 'discovered' them there since their original acquisition. Six volumes of these diaries survive, commencing 6 November 1640, and which he headed 'A journal of the transactions of the House of Commons at the time the right of ship money was debated' (Harleian MS. 541, ff. 62-118, is Volume I; Harleian MSS. 476-80 are Volumes II-VI, ending 28 February 1642.) Moore's handwriting is appalling and these diaries are extremely difficult to read, bordering on the impossible. W. A. Shaw prepared a 449-page Victorian transcript of Volume II (Harleian MS. 476) only, covering the dates 23 February 1641 to 21 April 1641, and it is preserved as MS. 451 at the John Rylands Library in Manchester, but ironically (or should one say perversely?) this is as difficult to read as the original!

Moore pledged £1500 in 1640, £500 in 1641 (Keeler, p. 277), and £300 in April, 1642 (CJ, II, 520a; T. Heywood, *Moore Rental*, Chetham Society, XII, 1847, p. xii), and in June, 1642, pledged two horses for the imminent defense, the same as his uncle Assheton (*Notes & Queries*, 1st Series, XII, 359). On 21 August 1641 the Commons sent Moore, Rigby, Assheton and Kirkby (all of whom were related to one another) to Lancashire to 'disarm recusants' (CJ, II, 267b), a major problem, as Lancashire was heavily Catholic in parts. On 10 February 1642, Lord Wharton was nominated by the Commons as Lord Lieutenant of Lancashire (*Ibid.*, 424b), approved by the Lords February 12 after some controversy (G. F. Trevallyn, *Saw-Pit Wharton*, Sydney, 1967, p. 432). He hesitated in naming his Deputy Lieutenants (*Ibid.*, 45), so the Commons recommended to him for this purpose Moore, Rigby, and others on 24 March 1642 (CJ, II, 495b). On 13 April 1642, Moore was sent with a letter to Brereton in Cheshire (*Ibid.*, 524b). He and his fellow-Deputy Lieutenants then were ordered on June 9 (*Ibid.*, 615a-b, 618a, 620b) to proceed to Lancashire, where they

were commissioned Deputy Lieutenants on June 13 (*Transactions, op. cit.*, XXXVIII, p. 152, Item 27) and where they then were involved in the first actions of the Civil War three months later. Lord Strange, who had already seized powder at Liverpool, sent a demand for the surrender of ten barrels of powder kept in his own house at Manchester. Moore and the others rushed to Manchester to secure it for the Parliament, and mustered and trained the local citizens there (Letter of 25 June 1642 from Moore, Assheton, and Rigby, printed in *Severall Letters from the Committees in Severall Counties to ... Lenthall*, London, 27 June 1642; see also CJ, II, 641-2). On July 4, what appears to have been the first actual small battle of the Civil War took place (which may never have been noticed by historians) when Lord Strange attacked Manchester. Moore and the other Deputy-Lieutenants ‘drew out ten small companies, and set them in a fair battalion against (the enemy)’ and defeated Strange after two or three hours, who withdrew leaving 27 men dead (*The Beginning of Civill-Warres in England*, London, 9 July 1642). Thus did these Lancashire Deputy-Lieutenants, later famed as commanders, make their fighting debut eight days before Parliament even had a General. By July 25, Moore, Rigby, and Assheton were back in London (CJ, II, 689b). Moore became the Parliament’s police officer on August 6, as Colonel of Guards ‘Horse and Foot in London, Westminster, and Southwark’ (*Transactions, op. cit.*, XXXVIII, p. 154, Item 45), and on November 24 he searched Westminster and all Middlesex for deserters from Essex’s army (CJ, II, 861b). Early in 1643, Moore, back in Liverpool, recommended that four small ships sail for service at Lancashire, and the Committee for the Navy ordered this on February 3 (CSPD, 1641-3, p. xvi). Soon Moore is searching for malefactors again in London, and on May 30 is granted a whole regiment exclusively for searching for and seizing of arms ‘in such places as he ... shall think fit’ (CJ, III, 121a). His duties also included commanding forts and out-guards around London (*Ibid.*, 152b). On June 9 he is ordered to search the trunks of the French ambassador (*Ibid.*, 1212a), and house-searches by him were common (*Ibid.*, 125a-b). On June 13 one of Moore’s ships, formerly captured by royalists, is returned to him by Parliament (*Ibid.*, 127a). He fell seriously ill (*Ibid.*, 152b, 156a-b), and on August 18 he accepted commissions as Colonel of Foot and Captain of Horse for Lancashire and left his police duties in London to go to Liverpool. On November 12, he warned Parliament of ships about to bring rebels from Ireland, and the House responded by asking Warwick to make Moore Vice-Admiral for Lancashire and Westmorland on November 22 (*Ibid.*, 317b), which was done, and within weeks Moore had seized several enemy vessels (HMC 10th Report, Appendix IV, p. 69, Warwick to Moore; HMC Portland MSS. I, 156, otherwise original Nalson MSS. III. 84, in the Bodleian). During this time, Moore’s clerk was Adam Martindale, who has left an interesting and vivid account of the experience (*Life of Adam Martindale Written by Himself*, Chetham Society, 1845, pp. 36-41 and p. 81). On 3 February 1644 Sir Thomas Fairfax wrote to Moore desiring him ‘that according to former letters you would take care there be a very vigilant eye had for the guarding of the seas near you & your preventing the landing of the Irish who are now daily expected’, and ‘dispersing the enemy’s forces in what garrisons they have in Wirral ...’ (Moore MS. 920 MOO 320, Liverpool Record Office).

In March, 1644, the citizens petitioned Fairfax for Moore to be made Governor of Liverpool (HMC 10th Report, Appendix IV, p. 66). Rigby and Assheton laid siege to Lathom House, but when Assheton was ordered away, Moore rushed from his duties at Liverpool to replace him (*Ibid.*, pp. 71-2). Rupert’s movements forced Moore back to Liverpool by the end of May (CSPD, 28 May 1644, p. 173),

and his 600 men were reinforced by 300 more from Warrington by June 13 (*Ibid.*, p. 231), but Rupert's forces totalling 12,000-13,000 men (*Ibid.*, p. 257), after several repulses and a brilliant defense (CSPD, 11 June 1644), overwhelmed Liverpool and massacred 360 unarmed men (Martindale, *op. cit.*, p. 41). Marston Moor left the Lancashire royalists exposed, and on August 26, Lieutenant-General Meldrum commenced a siege of Liverpool with inferior forces (CSPD, 29 September 1644), but the garrison nevertheless capitulated under Sir Robert Byron on November 1 (Surrender articles printed in HMC, *op. cit.*, 95-6). The next day, Meldrum appointed Moore Governor once again, saying he was 'a great lover of the cause' (CSPD, 2 November 1644; HMC, *op. cit.*, p. 73), confirmed by Essex by November 11 (*Ibid.*, p. 74). Meldrum said that Moore had fought extremely fiercely and 'the mariners did stick to him', and 'no man has been more forward, industrious, or diligent in this service' (CSPD, *op. cit.*) Moore then immediately re-fortified Liverpool, 'which, upon my reputation, has been made one of the strongest seats of war in this kingdom by Col. Moore', said Meldrum (*Ibid.*, 4 November 1644). Liverpool's Mayor and Common Council on 11 March 1645 sought Moore's aid as MP, indicating congenial relations (HMC, *op. cit.*, p. 75), and officially thanked him 14 October 1645 (*Ibid.*, p. 76).

Moore's Lancashire militia commissions ceased 24 July 1645 with the end of the Civil War (*Transactions, op. cit.*, XXXVIII, p. 154, Item 45) and he returned to London to serve as MP, serving on many committees including that of the Admiralty (CJ, IV, 244b, 295a, 281a, 297a). On 21 July 1645, the Committee of the Navy contracted for naval use of Moore's merchant ship the 'Moorcock' (named after Moore's family crest), for which Moore received £406 on 1 June 1646 (CSPD, 1645-7, p. 292; HMC, *op. cit.*, p. 79). On November 22, Moore and Assheton journeyed to Lancashire for six weeks, in time for the surrender of Lathom House on December 4 (HMC, *op. cit.*, p. 76; CJ, IV, 352a). Moore returned to Parliament and to more committees (*Ibid.*, 505a, 526b, 574b, 575n), his familiar police investigation duties (*Ibid.*, 582b), and other work (*Ibid.*, 595b, 603a, 612b, 613b, 617b). On July 9, the House decided to send Moore and his regiment to Ireland (*Ibid.*, 612a). The Lords delayed in giving their concurrence, and only on August 18 did Moore leave London (*Ibid.*, 625b, 647a). His last act before leaving was to submit a petition on August 12 to the Committee for Compounding on behalf of the hundreds of widows and orphans of Liverpool for compensation to be paid to them out of the compounding of the Lancashire royalist Lord Molineux (CCC, p. 1344).

Half of Moore's regiment were shipwrecked in December, and only 70 men and 14 officers reached him in Ireland (*Moore Rental, op. cit.*, p. xxxii). Moore took up headquarters at Strangford in County Down and petitioned in February 1647 and again in August for relief for his men (CJ, V, 95b, 282a). He was Governor of County Louth and of Dundalk, and as a Commissioner for Ireland he was named with four others to treat with Ormonde and take over his government (Firth and Davies, *Regimental History of Cromwell's Army*, p. 651; CSPD 27 February 1647; R. Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, I, 125-6). Moore had a prolonged and acrimonious quarrel with Colonel Monck about this time in Ireland (HMC, *op. cit.*, 82, 89, 90). On July 28, Moore was ordered to the relief of Trim (*Ibid.*, p. 83), and an interesting diary survives of this campaign (*Ibid.*, pp. 83-5), which was extraordinary in that Moore defeated the enemy and killed over 6000 of them for a loss of only two of his own men. Another military diary from October also survives (*Ibid.*, pp. 86-88).

Moore returned to England in January 1648, his personal and regimental finances in desperate condition, and he made many efforts to discover and obtain money from compounders (*Ibid.*, p. 90; CJ, V, 380b, 577b, 696; CCAM pp. in chronological order of documents: 581-2, 592, 597, 632, 179, 684, 946, 839-40, 989, 529, 1046, 886, 1012, 777). Moore's Committee of Prisoners, of which he was Chairman, was specially revived 'to meet constantly' to dispose of the thousands of prisoners flooding the country in 1648 (CJ, V, 589a, 629a, 632b, 635a; CSPD 1648-9, pp. 110, 114, 124, 127, 139, 190, 221, 280, 294, 307). Moore resumed searching and arresting and seizing people and goods with as many soldiers as he wanted almost entirely at his own discretion, making him one of the most powerful men in England, as his earlier commission as Colonel of the Guards for London clearly was still valid (*Ibid.*, pp. 131-3, 136, 148, 152, 154, 156, 157, 162, 163, 166, 167, 175, 209, 211, 254, 288 – *not* 287 as wrongly indexed -, 325). As co-Chairman of a committee to examine soldiers' accounts, Moore 'had always the most tender regard (for) the poorer sort' (CCC, p. 147). In June, Moore helped to seize 20 royalists to force an exchange for the captured Essex Committee (*Ibid.*, p. 125). In July, he helped investigate the Surrey insurrection (CJ, V, 631b), and he became Chairman of a committee to regulate sequestered estates (*Ibid.*, 641b, 658b, 662b), while continuing his usual duties (*Ibid.*, VI, 34a, 57b, 60b, 67a, 72a, 87a; V, 657a, 670a, 661b, 663b, 665a, 676b, 680b, 681b, 692a; VI, 5a-b, 10a; CSPD, 26 September 1648). Moore naturally survived Pride's Purge, and two of his wife's letters to him in June, 1647, tell how his friends, the MPs Giles Green and Alexander and Squire Bence, were scheming against him, and that 'Your friend Green ... is your arch enemy'. She adds: 'But have patience, you shall see them purged, some (who) are unjust must out' (HMC, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-9). Green and the two Bences were indeed purged, and it is tempting to think that personal information from such a guardian of public order as Moore may have tipped the scales in some cases such as these. On December 13, Moore was one of the small radical group appointed to investigate the printing of a secluded members' protestation (CJ, VI, 97b) and on his own initiative, Moore began seizing enemies of the Rump as he saw fit (*Ibid.*, 103a). He was quickly added to the Committees for the Army, for Advance of Money, and for settling Courts of Justice (*Ibid.*, 107b, 113b, 112a-b), helped raise money and assisted in other business (*Ibid.*, 114b, 116a).

Moore was appointed to the High Court of Justice to try the King, attended nearly all the meetings, and signed the Death Warrant. Immediately after the King's execution, Moore was called upon to investigate those 'designing any evil' against the members of the Court (CSPD, *op. cit.*, pp. 352-3). He was added to committees for delinquents, the Excise, and seditious publications (CJ, VI, 127b, 131b, 137b), and on February 10 to disband the Lancashire militia and send part of it to Ireland; he is still disposing of prisoners, and joins committees for sequestrations in South Wales and of Complaints and with two others prepares an act for adjourning the Lancashire assizes and avoiding the inconveniences this may bring, and to consider sales of Crown property to raise £120,000 for the forces (*Ibid.*, 141b, 149b, 151a, 153b, 160a-b). On March 27, Moore's tender for carrying 1000 foot and 400 horse to Ireland was referred to the Committee for Ireland by the Council of State, as were his plans for recruiting his regiment for Ireland on April 3 (CSPD, 1649-50, pp. 56, 66). He wrapped up his business in the Commons and his investigatory duties (CJ, VI, 175b, 178b – leaving a committee he joined at p. 160 -, 180b, 181b) and left London for

Liverpool (CSPD, *op. cit.*, pp. 73, 97). He returned to London in May (*Ibid.*, p. 121) and resumed his work (CJ, VI, 201a, 202a), on May 7 reported concerning the losses of Liverpool and arranged for his town to be paid £10,000 (*Ibid.*, pp. 203a, 207a). On June 8 Moore was given the power to screen everyone bound for Ireland (*Ibid.*, p. 535), then business in the House which he had been handling was referred to others (*Ibid.*, p. 207a). On June 22 the Council of State requested of him an account of his entire career as Vice-Admiral (CSPD, *op. cit.*, p. 203; his account is probably preserved in the PRO, but no reference is known for it). About the end of June, Moore embarked for Ireland from Liverpool, dispatching his regiment 'at his own charge' (*Ibid.*, p. 207), in the role of one of the Commissioners for Ireland (*Transactions, op. cit.*, XXXVIII, p. 154, Item 40). Two accounts by Moore survive of his extraordinary victory at Baggotrath on August 2, one sent to Speaker Lenthall (Tanner MSS. LVI, 84, in the Bodleian), and one preserved by Whitelocke (Whitelocke MSS. X, 26-7, at Longleat), saying in the latter: 'I do verily believe it was the absolutest victory that ever was got in this kingdom and the least loss of our side', giving interesting details of this crucial battle which preceded Cromwell's arrival in Ireland.

Cromwell soon sent Moore to England for three months to raise more men (HMC, *op. cit.*, p. 93), and on September 6 Moore was again chairing his Committee for Prisoners in London and receiving correspondence about it from Fairfax (*Ibid.*, p. 94). With the regicides Venn, Scott, Ludlow, and Purefoy, Moore also helped run the Committee of the Army (Egerton MSS. 2618, f. 40), while urging his brother Robert at Liverpool to 'hasten away all the soldiers' to Ireland (HMC, *op. cit.*, p. 94). By October 31, Moore succeeded in squeezing £500 of his considerable arrears out of Parliament (*Ibid.*), was equipped for returning to Ireland November 3 (*Ibid.*), settled his regimental accounts on December 8 (*Ibid.*), and by December 13 had arrived at Dublin (*Perfect Diurnall*, 24 December 1649), of which he was made Governor (Brownbill, *op. cit.*, p. 207, Item 1421). On 3 May 1650, Moore wrote his last letter to his son from Trim asking for his grey suit, his new coat, and some biscuits (HMC, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-5). Then he and Colonel Reynolds marched to lay siege to Tecroghan Castle, a few miles worth-west of Trim. It surrendered June 16, but by that time Moore had already sickened and died either of pleurisy or a fever (*Moore Rental, op. cit.*, p. 95). Moore's son Edward notes 'His burial cost me eight hundred pounds' (HMC, *op. cit.*, p. 95).

Moore's will (*op. cit.*) was read in Parliament 23 July 1651 in a successful plea for posthumous arrears (CJ, VI, 608b), but was never proved, possibly because the eldest son was not sufficiently favoured by the terms of the will. Instead, in defiance of the fact that a will existed, this son eight months earlier, in November 1650, had taken out Letters of Administration (PROB-6-25, p. 164, at PRO), and probate was never granted or applied for despite the will having been read aloud publicly in the House of Commons.

An account of Moore in the VCH for Lancashire (IV, 19-22) is biased, misleading, and inaccurate, and even Heywood's lengthy account is frequently inaccurate, far from complete, and distinctly unfair. Moore has been ignored or maligned but has never been properly described; suggestions that he was grasping, incompetent, and dishonest are untrue and are the products of pure fantasy, lacking any basis in evidence whatever, and contradicted by numerous testimonials as to Moore's unselfishness, generosity, and concern especially for the impoverished and

oppressed, and his overriding concern for the townspeople of Liverpool and their welfare. Moore was one of the most energetic, resourceful, and important of all the radicals of his lifetime, had sympathy with the poor, and bankrupted himself in the interests of his country's liberty.