



# Bodleian Libraries

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

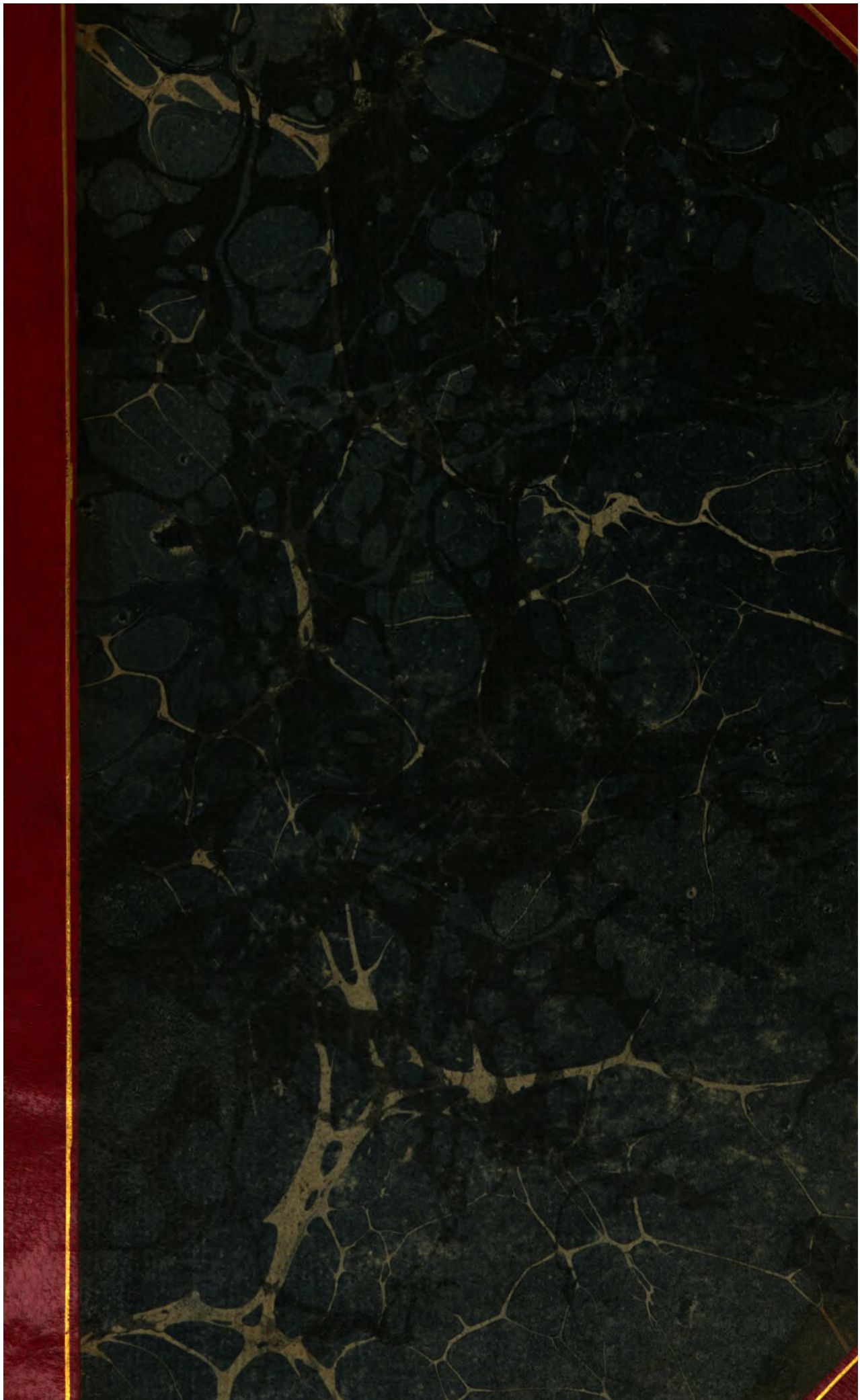
This book is part of the collection held by the Bodleian Libraries and scanned by Google, Inc. for the Google Books Library Project.

For more information see:

<http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dbooks>



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 2.0 UK: England & Wales (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0) licence.





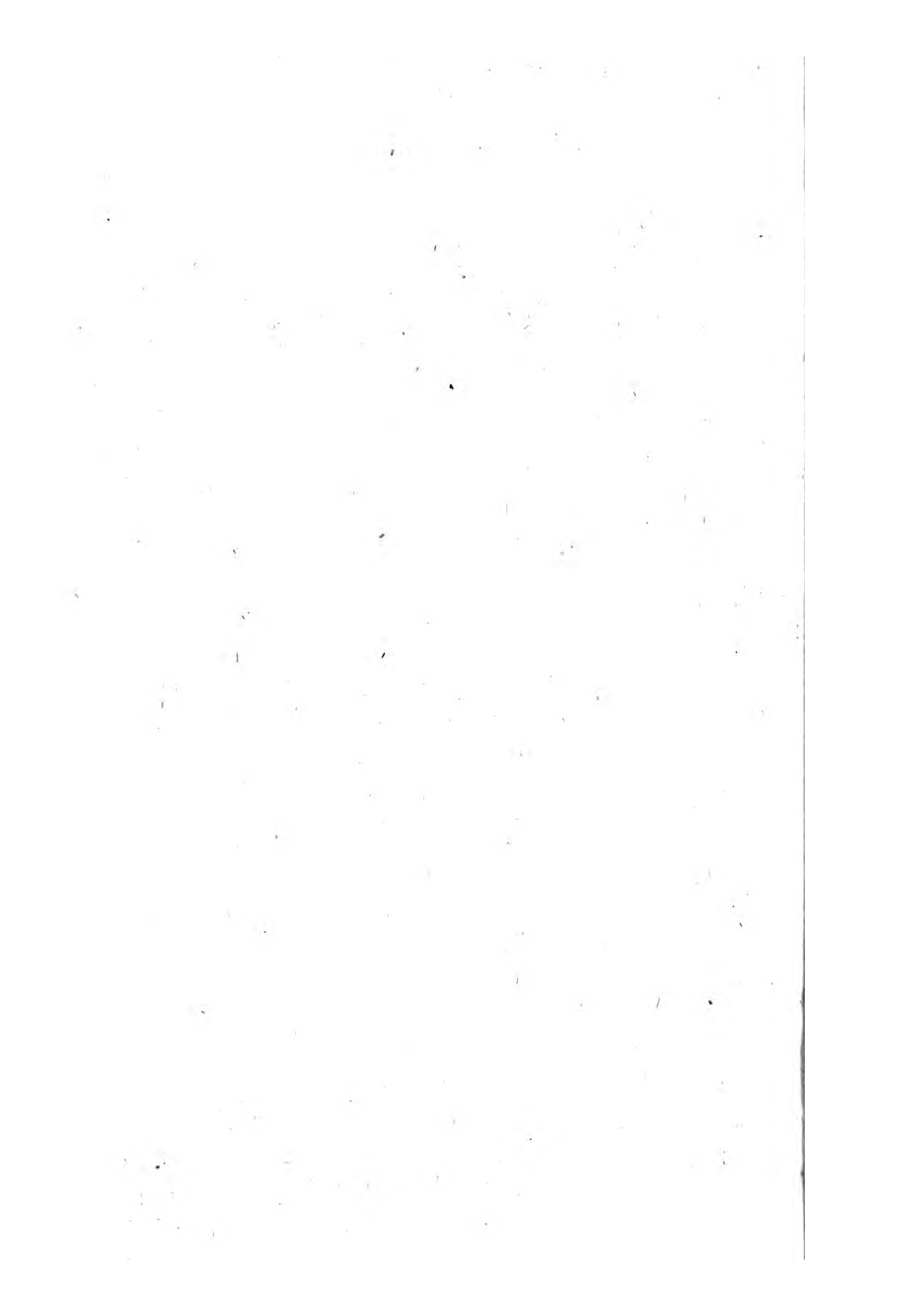
Bodleian Library Oxford

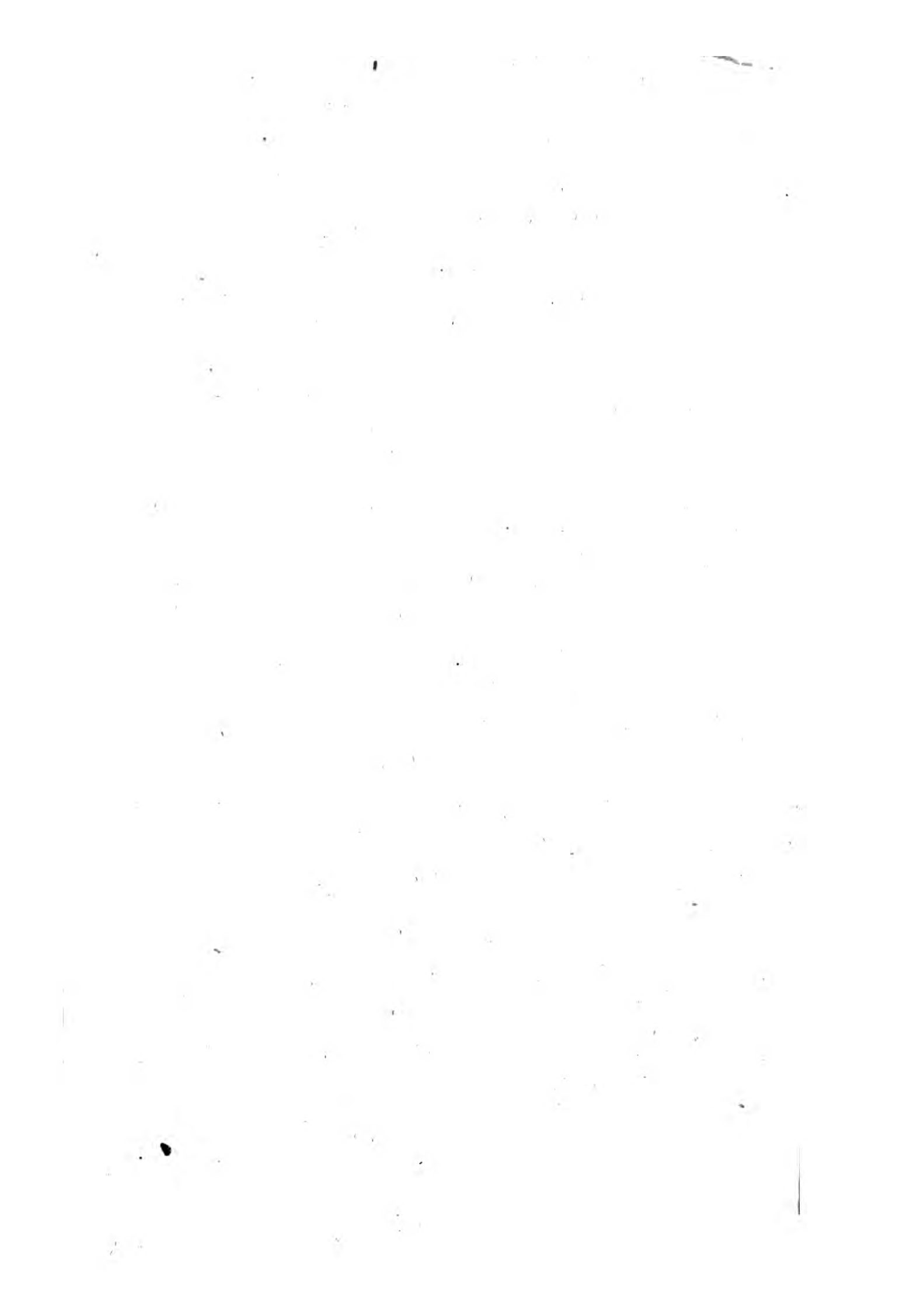


Bought from Somerville Rae Books 2/277.

22856 e. 235















*Sir Henry Slingsby Bar.<sup>ts</sup>*

*After a rare print from an Original Picture in the possession of J. Talbot Esq*

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

PHYSICS 311

PROBLEM SET 1

2011

PHYSICS 311, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



ORIGINAL  
MEMOIRS,  
WRITTEN  
DURING THE GREAT CIVIL WAR;  
BEING  
THE LIFE  
OF  
SIR HENRY SLINGSBY,  
AND MEMOIRS OF  
CAPT. HODGSON.  
WITH  
NOTES, &c.

---

EDINBURGH:

*Printed by James Ballantyne & Co.*

FOR ARCH. CONSTABLE AND CO. EDINBURGH;  
AND JOHN MURRAY, 32, FLEET-STREET, LONDON.

1806.



## CONTENTS.

---

	Page.
I. SOME Account of Sir Henry Slingsby, Bart. . . .	1
II. Memoirs of Sir Henry Slingsby, written by himself, . . . . .	19
III. Memoirs of Captain John Hodgson, touching his Conduct in the Civil Wars, &c. written by himself, . . . . .	83
<i>Relations of the Campaigns of Oliver Cromwell in Scotland, 1650, as published from the Originals, by order of Parliament.</i>	
IV. A large Relation of the Fight at Leith, . . . .	203
V. A true Relation of the Proceedings of the English Army, from 22d July to 1st August, 1650,	223
VI. A true Relation of the Daily Proceedings and Transactions of the Army in Scotland; certified by Letters from the Head-Quarters at Stonehill, 23d August, . . . . .	249



CONTENTS.

	Page.
VII. Severall Letters from Scotland, read in Parliament, 6th September, 1650, . . . . .	259
VIII. A true Relation of the Routing the Scottish Army, near Dunbar, 3d September, 1650, . . . . .	273
IX. A Letter from the Lord General Cromwell, from Dunbar; with a List of the Scottish Officers then taken, 3d September, 1650, . . . . .	289
X. The Lord Generall Cromwell his March to Sterling; being a Diary of all Proceedings in the Army, from their march out of Edinburgh, to the 25th September, 1650, . . . . .	313
XI. Letters from the Head-Quarters of the Army in Scotland to October 30, 1650, . . . . .	325
XII. A Letter from Sir Arthur Hesilrige, concerning the Scots Prisoners, . . . . .	337
XIII. The Articles of the Rendition of Edinburgh Castle, &c. 24th December, 1650, . . . . .	347
XIV. A true Relation of the second Victorie over the Scots at Hamilton, commanded by Colonel Ker, . . . . .	361

**SOME ACCOUNT**  
**OF**  
**SIR HENRY SLINGSBY.**



SOME ACCOUNT  
OF  
SIR HENRY SLINGSBY,  
AUTHOR OF THE FOLLOWING MEMOIRS.

---

SIR HENRY SLINGSBY, Bart. was proprietor of the large estates of Scriven and Redhouse, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. These possessions had devolved on him through a long line of ancestors; the earliest of whom, called Gamel, was the king's falconer, and settled at the manor of Scriven, near Knaresborough, soon after the Conquest. He was keeper of the royal forest of Knaresborough, an office held by his descendants, who assumed the name of Scriven from their place of residence. In 1357, William de Slingsby married Joanna, daughter and heir of Henry de Scriven, and in her right succeeded to the office of hereditary forester of the forest and parks of Knaresborough in the 11th

of Edward III. The Slingsbys had already great possessions in Yorkshire; for in 1287 we find Hykedon Slingsby claiming a moiety of the manors of Brereton, Scotton, and Thorpe, as having married one of the two daughters and coheiresses of William de Nessfield. This plea was resisted by John of Gaunt, who claimed in right of purchase from Nessfield. The controversy was referred to the decision of twelve of the best knights and squires in the county\*. From Henry de Slingsby, the estate of Scriven and the office of royal forester of Knaresborough descended in a direct line to Sir Francis Slingsby, Knight, grandfather of our author, who married Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Percy, second brother to the earl of Northumberland, by whom he had a numerous family. He died in 1600, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Slingsby, his eldest surviving son, who was High Sheriff of Yorkshire, and one of the Lord President of the North's learned council †.

He married Frances, daughter of William Vavasour of Weston, Esquire, by Frances, daughter of Sir Leonard Beckwith of Selby. By this lady Sir Henry Slingsby had three sons and six daughters, 1st, William, killed in Florence; 2d, Sir Henry, author of the following Memoirs, who succeeded to the estate; 3d, Thomas, who died in France unmarried; Eliza-

\* Drake's Eboracum, p. 136.

† Ibid. p. 354, 369. Hargrove's History of Knaresborough, p. 127.

beth, wife of Sir Thomas Metcalf, Knight; Mary, wife of Sir Walter Bethel, Knight; Catherine, wife of Sir John Fenwick, Knight; Alice, wife of Thomas Waterton, Esq; Frances, wife of Bryan Stapleton, Esq. and Eleanor, wife of Sir Arthur Ingram, Knight.

From the inscription upon his tomb, we learn, that Sir Henry Slingsby was fifty-seven years of age at his death in 1658. He was born therefore in 1601. He married Barbara, third daughter of Thomas Bellasyse, Viscount Fauconberg, and sister to John Bellasyse, created Lord Bellasyse during his father's life-time, who is repeatedly mentioned in the following memoirs. Sir Henry succeeded to the estates of Scriven and Red-house upon the death of his father in 1733-4. When Charles visited the north about this period, he honoured Red-house with his presence, and passed the night there \*. At the same time, a favourite racer, belonging to our author or his father, won the plate upon Achombe Moor, the king being on the ground. In memory of this steed, its effigy was cut in stone by Andrew Karne, the Dutch statuary, and placed in the centre of an area formed by the moat of the ancient castle at Red-house. Our author was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia in 1638. With these short notices, his memory might have obscurely remained in the genealogical account of his family; but the time now approached which was to draw forth into public

\* The bed, in which the king slept, is still preserved at Red-house.

notice and action many characters, who would otherwise have only been distinguished for domestic hospitality and private benevolence.

In the unfortunate troubles which broke out in 1640, the part which Sir Henry Slingsby had to espouse, was dictated to him not only by his own loyalty, and by the remembrance of that of a long line of ancestors, but also by the attachment of his wife's relations and his own to the royal cause. Amongst these we may number some of the most zealous cavaliers. Such was Lord Bellasyse, who, during the civil wars, raised no less than six regiments of horse and foot for the king's service, Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, Sir Walter Vavasour, Sir John Fenwick, and many others. Of his own name, we ought not to omit to mention his cousin, Guilford Slingsby, the faithful secretary of the high-minded Strafford.

It is not therefore surprising, that Sir Henry Slingsby, thus educated and allied, should have early embraced the loyal party. His share in the transactions of the dark and bloody period subsequent to 1640, is narrated with singular modesty in the following Memoirs, from which we here extract such notices as are necessary to connect that active portion of his life with the peaceful scenes which preceded it, and with the tragedy of his legal murder.

When the Scottish war commenced in 1638-9, Sir Henry Slingsby served in Lord Holland's troop with two light

horsemen. In the short parliament in April 1640, he sat as burgess for Knaresborough, having, as he informs us, carried his election, with much difficulty, against Sir Richard Hutton, and Sir Henry Benson.

Our author seems to have had no share in the short and disgraceful campaign against the Scots, which was terminated by the treaty at Rippon. His next public situation was that of member for Knaresborough in the long parliament, and in the eventful session of November 1640. But after fourteen weeks attendance in this stormy atmosphere, Sir Henry returned to the superintendance of his buildings, and his other domestic avocations. Upon the 31st December 1640, Lady Slingsby died, a loss pathetically lamented, and severely felt, by her husband. He had not yet ventured to visit his own house, desolated by this calamity, when he was called from the indulgence of his private affliction to the discharge of the public duty imposed by his principles.

Charles, having taken the final step of raising his royal standard, appointed persons of known loyalty and attachment to his person, to call out the trained bands of the various counties, in order to counterbalance the parliamentary militia. Sir Henry Slingsby was appointed to command those of York; but from the backwardness of the inhabitants, that design miscarried. His zeal for the royal cause next induced him to propose to raise a regiment of infantry; but from



want of arms, his offer could not for the present be accepted. At this time he witnessed the transactions before Hull, the prelude to the bloody tragedy which followed. Shortly after the king left York, Lord Fairfax entertained a design of seizing Knaresborough castle for the parliament, but was anticipated by our author, who took possession of it for the king, and delivered it up to Sir Robert Hutton, appointed to the command by the Earl of Cumberland.

On the 13th December 1643, Sir Henry Slingsby, being then in York, received a commission as Colonel in the king's service, and succeeded in raising a regiment by means of his extensive influence in the county. The first duty of this new corps was to escort the queen, then landed from Holland in Burlington bay, Sir Henry was in York during the blockade and siege in 1644, and when that city surrendered after the battle of Long Marston Moor, he retreated to Cumberland with Sir Thomas Glenham, and, after some stay in these parts, returned with Sir Marmaduke Langdale for the purpose of joining the king. This they executed after many skirmishes and much loss, fighting their way through all the middle counties until they arrived at Oxford, in the end of December 1644.

In the spring of the following year, Charles commenced the last and most calamitous of his campaigns. Sir Henry Slingsby witnessed the storm of Leicester and the battle of Naseby, and accompanied the king in his

retreat into Wales, and in the rapid march by which he hoped to join the army of Montrose, and which terminated by his being forced to take refuge in Newark. This garrison being commanded by Lord Bellasyse, our author's brother-in-law, he was induced to remain and share his fate after the king's return to Oxford. During an obstinate siege by the Scottish army, the garrison of Newark was surprised to learn, that the king, for whom they held the castle, had thrown himself into the camp of the besiegers. This extraordinary intelligence was followed by an order from his majesty to surrender the place, which having been obeyed, Sir Henry went to attend the king in the Scottish army, and near Topcliffe was formally dismissed from his service, after having borne arms from the very beginning of the war till its conclusion.

He now retreated to his mansion of Red-house, where he lived in a state of precarious security, owing to his refusal to take the negative oath and national covenant ; by the first of which, he complains, the parliamentary party would have had him to renounce his allegiance, and, by the second, his religion. He lived concealed in a room of his own house, debarred from exercise and secluded from society. It was here that he heard the shameful news that the Scots had delivered up the king, and here that he afterwards learned his melancholy fate, with which he concludes his interesting journal. It seems probable, that, after 1648, he enjoyed greater tranquillity, and was at liberty to attend to

some of his former pursuits ; for a part of the building of Redhouse bears the date of 1652, and must therefore have been built under our author's inspection \*.

It is certain, however, from his defence on his trial, that if he remained in possession of Red-house, the rest of his property was sequestrated and sold, his steady loyalty (or malignancy, as it was then termed) being deemed a sufficient reason for not admitting him with others to compound for a fine.

How long Sir Henry remained in this state of poverty and seclusion, we have not access to know ; but in 1656, his zeal for the royal cause engaged him in active attempts to serve the exiled king. At this period, Cromwell's undisguised strides to arbitrary power had indisposed those who were attached by principle to the parliament. To counterbalance their influence, the officers and soldiers, who had formerly fought in the cause of monarchy, were now admitted into the armies of the usurper. As these men, in many instances, held their former principles and language, it was conceived by the sanguine counsellors of Charles II. that they might be easily engaged to revolt in his favour, while the division between the Presbyterians and Independants, and the general hatred of Cromwell, seemed to render the whole nation ripe for a counter-revo-

\* The inscription on the west front runs thus: *Paulisper et relucet et ipse, M. R. 29. 1652.* The device is a setting sun. *History of Knaresborough*, p. 296.

lution. The Earl of Rochester was dispatched by Charles to England, to examine the possibility of carrying into effect what was so confidently proposed; and it seems to have been planned, that an insurrection of the king's friends should take place in the west of England, while those in the north should do their utmost to secure the town of Hull, at which the king might land with forces from abroad. Sir Henry Slingsby was deeply engaged in this latter design. But the insurrection in the west, under Penruddock and Groves, proving unsuccessful, nothing was attempted in Yorkshire, and the Earl of Rochester fled out of England. In the meantime, the jails were filled with royalists arrested upon general suspicion, and amongst others our author was committed to the fort or castle of Hull, where he was long confined. Notwithstanding his restraint, he still continued to make exertions in the royal cause. He was particularly earnest with one Waterhouse, a captain in garrison at Hull, that he should deliver up a blockhouse, or outer fortification, which he commanded, to a force to be raised for the king. To induce him to this step, Sir Henry presented him with a commission as governor of the castle of Hull, given under the hand of Charles, and dated 10th May 1657\*. But this man betrayed the secret to Colonel Smith, his commanding officer. Sir Henry made a similar at-

\* Sir Henry said on his trial, that this was a blank commission, of which he had been possessed for years.

tempt on Overton, another captain of the Hull garrison, endeavouring to prevail upon him to declare for the king, or at least not to oppose his landing, if he should appear before the harbour. In this he was equally unsuccessful, though both Waterhouse and Overton, and another officer called Thomson, with whom he had also tampered, seem to have imposed on him by professions of zeal for king Charles. From Hull Sir Henry was removed to York castle. Here he was long confined, and a walk at the back of the castle, next to the fossé, retains his name, and is said to have been made at his expence\*.

During Sir Henry Slingsby's confinement, a marriage was concluded in his wife's family, which, although it must have been very displeasing to him, was in all likelihood the cause of his life being prolonged. Cromwell, ambitious of connecting his family with the ancient nobility, had bestowed his youngest daughter upon the Lord Fauconberg, a gentleman of hereditary loyalty, but destined, in this instance, to illustrate Shakspeare's proverb, that misery makes men acquainted with strange bedfellows †. This young nobleman was nephew to the deceased lady of Sir Henry Slingsby;

\* Drake's Eboracum, p. 288.

† Lord Fauconberg availed himself of the influence thus acquired, to fortify the party of General Monk in that convulsion which produced the Restoration. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 180. Edinburgh Edition.

and it may be presumed, that the influence he acquired with the Protector, by this close alliance, was employed in suspending the fate of his relation.

In 1658, however, a new plot was formed by the royalists against Cromwell's government, which impelled the incensed usurper to measures of the deepest severity. The Marquis of Ormond had visited England to encourage and unite the friends of Charles, but, by their own heat and precipitance, the enterprise was discovered; the Marquis escaped with difficulty, and several persons of distinction were apprehended. It was not pretended that Sir Henry Slingsby, so long a close prisoner, had, or could possibly have, any accession to the alleged conspiracy; but it was resolved to bring him to trial, that his fate might awe into inaction his party at large. Accordingly, on the 25th of May 1658, Sir Henry Slingsby, now grey-headed and advanced in years, was placed at the bar of what was called the High Court of Justice\*, which united the characters of judges and jurors. After claiming in vain the privilege of a trial by jury, he pleaded not guilty to an indictment of high treason. Waterhouse, Overton, and Thomson, were then brought to prove, that Sir Henry Slingsby, while prisoner in Hull, had endeavour-

\* Whitelocke had advised, that the persons accused should be proceeded against by the common law; but the Protector, he observes, was too much in love with the *new way*, and thought it would strike a deeper and more general terror. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 674.

ed, at divers times, to persuade them to deliver up the place to Charles Stewart, and that he gave Waterhouse a Colonel's commission subscribed by that person. It is obvious, that the machinations of a prisoner could not be very formidable to an established government; and it seems equally clear, that treason cannot be committed against a government, which the accused has never recognised. But these circumstances only shew the determined resolution of Cromwell to take his life. Sir Henry, aware his fate was pre-determined, cared not to justify himself against the accusation, only alledging that he was in prison as an open enemy when these things took place, and that he had been trepanned by the witnesses, who had solicited his confidence upon these dangerous topics. The commission was, he said, a blank one, which he had long had by him, and he neither had nor could have any communication beyond seas. The court was then adjourned till the 2d of June; and, having met upon that day, Sir Henry objected to the competency of judges, by whom his estate had been sequestered and his person imprisoned. He was interrupted by Lisle, the President, who, in a long speech, upbraided the prisoner with an attempt to revive the civil war, and to bring in a family addicted to popery. He concluded by pronouncing the usual doom of treason, to be carried into execution upon the 5th instant\*. The intercessions of Lord Fauconberg,

\* See the trial at length in the 2d vol. of State Trials.

of his lady and of her allies, were only able to procure a respite of three days, and a change of the manner of his death to decapitation.

Upon Tuesday, June 8. 1658, Sir Henry Slingsby was led to the scaffold on Tower-hill. His manly fortitude affected the sternest republicans, since even Ludlow allowed, that he received harsh measure\*. In a very short speech addressed to the sheriff, he vindicated his conduct and asserted his loyalty, adding, with affecting simplicity, that he was glad to die for being an honest man. Having knelt down to the block, his head was severed at a single blow. His remains were deposited in a chapel belonging to his family in the church of Knaresborough, under a large stone of black marble, which had covered the remains of Saint Robert.

† Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 148.

---



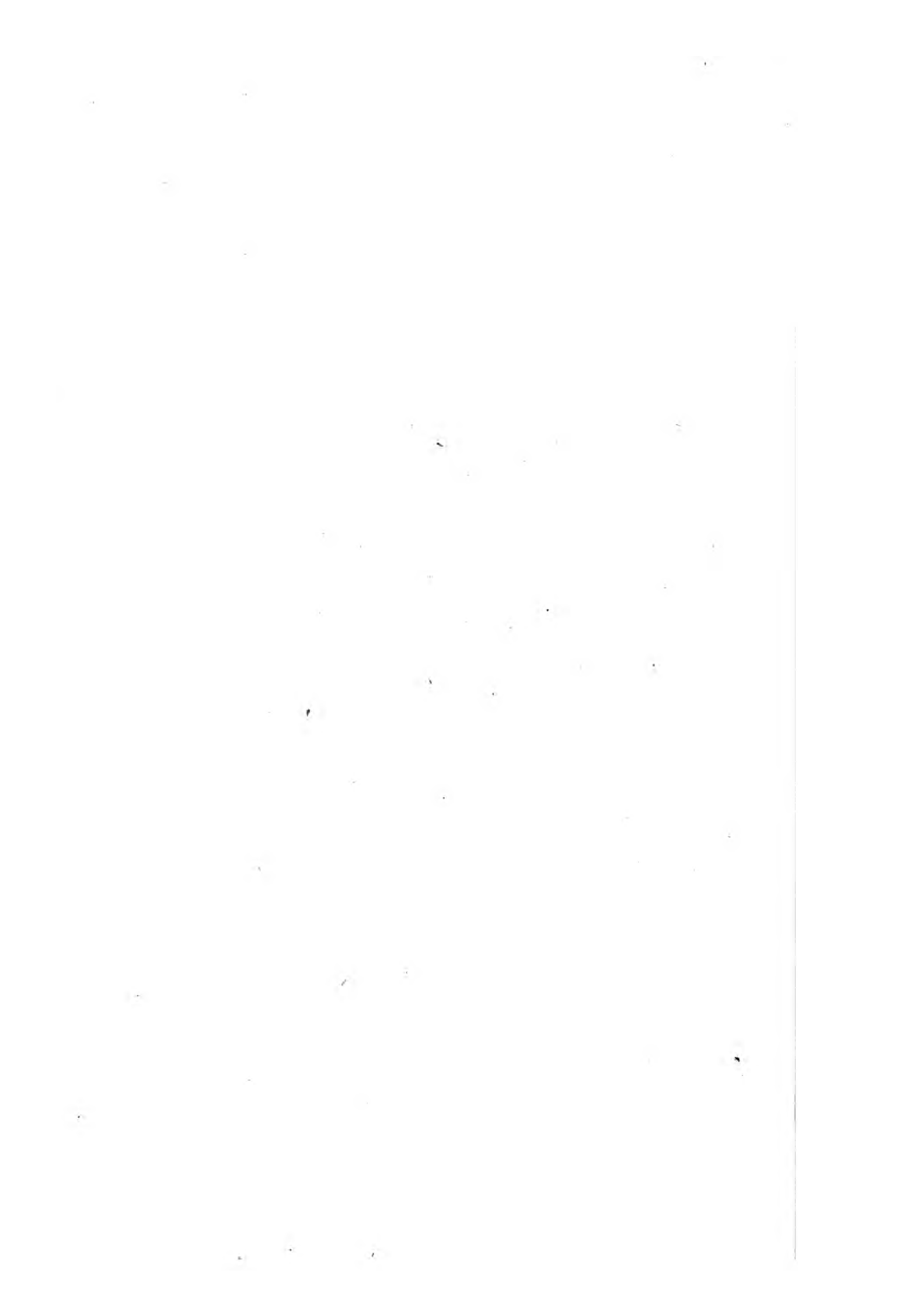
The following inscription was placed on his tomb by his grandson, Sir Thomas Slingsby :

SANCTI ROBERTI,  
 HUC SAXUM ADVECTUM EST:  
 SUBQ. EODEM NUNC JACET HIC  
 HENRICUS SLINGSBY, HENRICI FĪLIUS,  
 CUI E PARLIAMENTO EJECTO  
 ET EX PLEBISCITO BONIS OMNIBUS EXUTO  
 NIHIL ALIUD SUPERERAT  
 QUAM UT VELLEŦ ANIMAM SUAM SALVAM ESSE.  
 PASSUS EST ANNO ÆTATIS SUÆ LVII.  
 SEXTO IDUS JUNIAS ANNOQ. CHRISTI MDCLVIII.  
 FIDEI IN REGEM LEGESQ. PATRIAS CAUSA  
 NON PERIIT SED AD MELIORES SEDES TRANSLATUS EST  
 A TYRANNO CROMWELLIO CAPITE MULCTATUS.  
 POSUIT THOMAS SLINGSBY BARON. NON DEGENER.  
 NEPOS. ANNO ÆRÆ CHRISTI  
 MDCXCIII.

Our author left two sons, Sir Thomas Slingsby, by whom he was succeeded, and Henry ; and two daughters, Barbara, married to Sir John Talbot of Laycock, in Wilts, and Catherine, wife of Sir John Fenwick.

Of Sir Henry Slingsby's character we may form an accurate judgment from his own memoirs, and the events of his life. Lord Clarendon says, that he was a gentleman of good understanding, but of a very melan-

eholic nature, and of very few words. In his private character, he was a friend to the fine arts, especially those of sculpture and architecture, and his memoirs bear witness to his hospitality and family affection. In public life he had the merit of suffering wounds, hardships, slight, poverty, imprisonment and death, in the cause which he embraced upon the dictates of his conscience. The large estates, which he forfeited by his loyalty, were in better days restored to his son Sir Thomas Slingsby, and are now possessed by Sir Thomas Turner Slingsby, the great-great-grandson of our author.



MEMOIRS  
OF  
SIR HENRY SLINGSBY,  
BARONET.

---

THE chappel at Redhouse \* was built by my father, Sir Henry Slingsby : it is in the form of a colledge-chappel. In the east end upon the glass is painted a crucifix, not as ordinarily crucifix's are made, but with a transverse piece of wood at the feet, as there is for the hands ; at the feet of the crucifix is set the Virgin Mary, and on the one hand, the picture of the apostle St John, and on the other, Elizabeth ; un-

\* Redhouse, the favourite residence of our author, is situated on the banks of the Ouse, within seven miles of York. It was built, or at least greatly repaired by him.

derneath, St Peter, St Andrew, St Paul ; in the south window the rest of the apostles ; in the north corner is a handsome pulpit, a table altarwise under the east window, with a cloth of purple colour wrought with stripes of worstet, which was my wife's own handy-work. In the middle of the chapel, to be removed at pleasure, stood a pillar with branches at the top to set a bason on, wherein water was set for the christenings.

The 3d of January 1639, out of curiosity, I went to Bramham moor, to see the training of our light horse, for which service I myself had sent two horses, by commandment of the Lieutenants and Sir Jacob Ashly \*, who is lately come down with special commission from the king to traine and exercise them. These are strange spectacles to this nation, in this age that have lived thus long peaceably, without

\* Afterwards Major General for the King during the civil wars.

noise of drum or shott, and after we have stood neuters, and in peace, when all the world besides hath been in armes.

Our fears proceed from the Scots, who at this time are become most warlike, being long experienced in the Sweedish and German wars. The cause of their grievance, they pretend, is matter of religion. My Lord Deputy out of Ireland sent his letters unto my Lord Mayor of York, and to myself as Deputy Lieutenant, by which I sat to assist my Lord Mayor in taking the view of armes : the which I did perform most diligently, a thing not usual with me, who do little affect business. Therefore, as I entered upon it by virtue of my Lord Deputy's letter directed to my Lord Mayor and myself, after two months service I gave it over.

January the 29th was the christening of my son Henry \*, in my chappel at Red-

\* Our author's second son.

house, being born 37 years after me. I once assayed to get the chappel consecrated by our bishop, that now is (Neale) but he refused, having, as he says, express command not to consecrate any, least it may be occasion of conventicles\*.

The 17th of February I sent Henry Kirkman, the miller of my wind-mill, to keep for me the mill at Knaresbrough, having taken it into my own hands. 'Twas but the last year that I repaired Knaresbrough mill, having had the year before more than a third part driven down by a flood: The charge whereof in repairing, besides the timber (which took 110 trees), stood me in workmanship of timber, L.69. 4s. 6d. for iron work and draughts for leading, L.11. 5s. 4d. ; for mason work and labourers L.38. 5s. 4d. according as is in my cousin

\* It was however afterwards consecrated by Thomas Merton, Bishop of Litchfield, whose arms are painted on the east window above the Communion table. *History of Knaresborough*, p. 302.

Brinard's account ; William Thompson being chief workman. I had let the mills at Knaresbrough and Saint Roberts at L. 30. the quarter to a miller of York, who enjoyed it only half a year, and now is gone away in my debt. The mills were worth a great deal more if they had the same soke, which, while Knaresbrough-mills were the kings, they had ; but now the soke is bought and sold since carrying hath been in use, and especially by that mill at Goldbrough, drawing away the custom of the mills, by lending poor men money and other curtesies, which housekeepers may do. While they were the kings mills, those that were his tenants were bound to bring their corn to his (the kings) mills, and now having bought them of the king, those that were tied by this soke ought to be so still.

The number we are, at this time, in household is thirty persons, whereof sixteen are men-servants, and eight women, besides ourselves. Our charge every year is much at one certainty, being well acco-



modated with good, faithful, and diligent servants in their several offices, so that at least every year I spend in housekeeping L. 500.

This April\* the king was at York at his going into Scotland with an army, and there remained till he had drawn down such foot companies of prest soldiers, and such troops of horse as he intended to take with him ; and on Wednesday, in Easter week, the king went to Selby to view his troops that lay there. It was an extraordinary preparation that was made for this intended warr, wherein the greatest part of the nobility and gentry of this kingdom was personally engaged, every one comeing according to his ability, ready furnished with horse, some more some less. The king's letters did engage them according as they did offer. They brought some 10, some 20, some 60, some 100. I am charged with two light horse within the west-riding, according to my estate there, and I took

\* April 1st 1638-9.

two light horse with me to serve the king in the journey, and did design them for my Lord of Holländ's troop, and had billet for them at my Lord's quarters (where his troop lay) att Twizel. My lord had the use of my cousin Selby's house, and there kept a very noble house, and gave very great entertainments to many of the commanders that frequented to him at this place. Haveing the freedom of my Lord's house, and a chamber to myself, by my cousin Selby's means, did I continue as one of my Lord's troop, till a peace was concluded between the king and the Lords of the Covenant in Scotland. The day after Assension-day, my wife sent Thomas Adamson, my butler, post for me, she being desirous to see me on account of an extreme fit of sickness. I instantly took post, and without resting, in 24 hours I got to her and found her well againe. After this I returned to Twizel, where our quarters were, and came the very day before the full agreement between the king and

nobility of Scotland. I had but a very short time of being a soldjer, which had not lasted above 6 weeks, and I like it as a commendable way of breeding for a gentleman if he consort himself with such as are civil, and the quarrel lawfull; for as idleness is the nurse of all evil, enfeebling the parts both of mind and body, this employment of a soldier, as contrary unto it, shall greatly improve him by enabling his body for labour, his mind for watchfulness, and so by a contempt of all things, but that employment he is in, he shall not much care how hard he lieth, or how hardly he fareth.

The 7th October 1639, John Gowland, the carpenter, took down the gavel end of the chapel, which was of brick, and set up another of wood. I had also John Davie a carpenter, an ingenious workman, but drunken, and one that went in his apparel more like a bedlamite than a working man. The day after this was finished, my wife and I, and my daughter Barbara, made a

journey to see that old rotten house at Scriven, and to take order for the repair of it; wee lay at it two nights, having neither bed nor furniture but what wee borrowed of my tennant Charles Waide, hanging up blankets for curtains, and so making as good a shift as wee could. Wee lay in the chamber which is called my Lord of Northumberland's chamber; he that was beheaded for raising a rebellion in the north, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, being the first that lay in it after the building of it, coming to see my grandmother, his sister\*. I have agreed with George Squires, a freemason, to repair and alter it, haveing intended the entring into the house to be where that building is which was intended for a chappel, being the west end of the house, and so make that to be

\* The grandmother of Sir Henry was a daughter of Sir Thomas Percy, second brother to Henry Earl of Northumberland, and consequently sister to Thomas Earl of Northumberland, who suffered for his share in the grand Northern Insurrection in the 12th of Elizabeth, 1569.

the hall which is now the parlour, and that the kitchen which is now the hall; and he is to take down that side which joyned to the tower, leaving only so much as to make room for a larder, which now is in length 16 yards, but they are, after takeing it down, to make it not above five or six yards. I make my stairs at that end which was intended for a chappel, with purpose that if hereafter I should add to it, this stair-case should serve both for the new building and for the old. I have intended it a double house, which I mean to join to the chappel-end to make a square to the old: that side to be 24 yards; the coming into the house to be the middle of it; the hall to be in that part which lieth to the garden upon the west, the parlour to that part which lieth to the north to the court, which by that means will lay the parlour nearer to the rest of the house.

The 13th of April 1640, began the court of parliament to sit; which was unfortunate, as it ended in three weeks,\* without

\* Being dissolved on the 5th of May.

haveing any thing done to content either the king or country. I was chosen a burgesse of Knaresbrough at this parliament, which I obtained with much adoe through the diligence of my man Thomas Richardson. My competitors were Sir Richard Hutton and Sir H. Benson\*. About the 3d of July, I returned to Red-House, and found my building here, and at Screven, in very good forwardnes. The 28th of July, being the assize-week, I went to York, where the gentlemen of the county intended to meet to consult together of an answer to return to the king, who had sent to desire that his soldiers that lay billeted in the county might be maintained by the country fourteen days: hereunto they petitioned and pleaded their inability, and hoped the king would lay no such burdens upon them, considdering they had so willingly and chearfully served him in the last year,

\* Henry Benson, Esq. sat as the other representative. Rushworth, p. 1113.

in which service, and other military expenses, they had expended an hundred thousand pounds.

The 1st of September, I set forward to Hull with my wife and children, except my son Henry, whom I left here at home. The Scots we heard had taken Newcastle, and repelled the king's forces, which he sent to stop their passage at Newburn. We went from Hull to Barton in a passage boat, and, haveing the wind cross to us, made us sail with more difficulty and danger; and as every present evil seems the most insupportable, the fear that my wife thought to avoid seems now less than that she was in. What made her more apprehensive of danger was the trouble we had in getting out of the harbour amongst the boats that lay there; and, being clear of them, we unfortunately fell foul upon another ship that was coming in, which bore us under her, and broke a little of the fore part of our boat, which set my wife and her sister, the Lady Vava-

sour\*, into such a fright, as they ceased not weeping and praying till we came ashore at Barton. After they got to shore I left them, they haveing the benefit of my Lady Ingram's† coach to carry them to Worlabby; and so I came back to Hull, and from thence the next day home, in the company of my Lord Duke of Lennox, who went by Beverley to see the old minster and monuments there, and so dined at Weighton. It is strange to see how the ways are pestered with carriages of all manner of preparation for warr: thirty pieces of ordinance I met comeing from Hull, and abundance of waggons with all things belonging, of powder, shot, and match, tents, pikes, spades, and shovels: It was then too late to march with a train of artillery, for, before they could get to Newcastle, the Scots had possessed themselves of it; and the whole county of

\* Ursula, daughter to Lord Fauconberg, and lady of Sir Walter Vavasour.

† Another sister of Lady Slingsby, married to Sir Thomas Ingram of Temple Newzome.



Northumberland, and bishoprick of Durham, are compelled to pay contribution-money to Lessley, the Scots general, three hundred pounds a-day, which they demand of the county of Northumberland, and two hundred and fifty pounds a-day of the bishoprick of Durham. Their proportion for victualling their army, after their demands, is thirty thousand weight of bread a-day, ten tun of beer a-day, six hundred weight of cheese, fifty pounds worth of beef, and twenty-four pounds worth of mutton by the day.

The 24th September, the king and lords met together in the great hall at the dean's house, to consult what answer to give to the Scotch petition, and how the king might have supply of money to maintain his army in the mean time. It was concluded the first day, that commissioners should be appointed, to the number of sixteen Earls and Lords, and the place to be at Rippon, to meet the Scotch commissioners.

The 13th of October, I went to the elec-

tion of burgesses for Knaresbrough, with intention to stand for one of their burgesses; and, comeing thither, I found Sir Richard Hutton and Henry Benson to be competitors with me. When it came to polling, I carried it with some difficulty, and Henry Benson was the other burgesse.

'The 2d of November, I take my journey to London to be at the parliament, and came there two days after it had begun. Great expectance there is of an happy parliament, where the subjects may have redress of all their grievances.

After fourteen weeks stay in London, I returned into the country, having first asked leave of the parliament. About the latter end of August I made a journey to Skipton to my Lord of Cumberland's house\*, to move his Lordship for the under-stewardship of the castle-court of Knaresbrough, having formerly his promise, but Robottom, his man, had changed his mind, and when I came he denied me.

\* George, (Clifford,) Earl of Cumberland.

The 31st of December, my dear wife departed this life, after she had endured a world of misery; her many infirmities turning at last to a consumption. The loss, by her death, is beyond expression, both to her children and all that knew her, but chiefly to myself, who have enjoyed so many happy days in her company, which I now find a want of.

A little before this, the King being at York, gave out commissions for the several regiments of foot of the train-bands for Yorkshire, and to myself one among the rest, dated the 11th day of May 1642.

I had not been yet at home at my own house, not abiding to come where I should find a miss of my dear wife, and where every room will call her to my remembrance, and renew my grief.

I, therefore, staid at Alne, at my sister Bethel's house\*. There it was that I had my commission sent unto me to command

\* The lady of Sir Walter Bethel, Knight.

the train-bands of the city of York. I received an order a little after from the king, to take twenty of a company to do the duty of a soldier, and to be a guard to the king's person during the time of his abode at York: but I perceived a great backwardness in them, and upon a summons few or none appeared; so this passed over, and no more done: so the king went to Beverley, to be near Sir John Hotham and his son, who refused him and his train entrance into Hull. Therefore, the king gathers together part of the train-bands, and makes some shew to block up the town of Hull; but, without effecting much, he returns to York. My Lord Crawford had spoken to the king for me to have a commission for a regiment of foot; but the king had so many that waited for employment, that, unless I would find arms for them when they were raised, it would not be granted.

When the king left York, my Lord of Cumberland was lieutenant, who hearing Hotham was marched out of Hull into the

West-Riding, Sir Thomas Glenham was sent out from York to settle Pontefract a garrison for the king, being the 13th of October 1642, with horse and foot, and one drake\*, and thus marcheth to Leeds, but was obliged to retreat back to York on Hotham's advancing from Doncaster to intercept him. Sir Thomas Fairfax now joins Hotham, who, to straiten York the more, holds Selby, and keeps guard at Tadcaster and Wetherby. A little before this comes General Ruthen†, with twenty-two Scotch officers, to go to the king, and hearing of Hotham's being at Doncaster, he sends from Wetherby to my Lord Cumberland for a convoy. My Lord desires him to come to York, and he would advise with him for the best way. When they met, it was thought Skipton would be the safest passage, and

\* A small piece of cannon.

† General Ruthven, in the year 1640, held out Edinburgh castle for the king. He was afterwards created Earl of Brentford, and was much trusted by the king on account of his experience acquired in the German wars.

so through Lancashire. I entreated General Ruthen to go by my house ; so he, and all the Scotch officers, lay the first night at Red-House, and the next day I waited on them to Knaresbrough, and there provided them a guide to Skipton. Being at Knaresbrough, some of my tennants acquaint me that my Lord Fairfax intended that night to put some soldiers into the castle : Herewith I acquainted General Ruthen ; he adviseth me to hold it myself, and draw some soldiers into it : Whereupon I got the keys of the castle ; caused a bed to be carried in ; and that very night comes Sir Richard Hutton, and part of the train-bands, with commission from my Lord of Cumberland to hold it for the king. So I resigned, and only laid in the castle that night, and in that room and lodging built by my father, and where I had lain when I was very young, being sent for by my father.\* Part-

\* It is conjectured by Mr Hargrove, that this occurred at the period of the Gunpowder-treason, when the gentry of the country retired in many places to strong-

ing with Ruthen, I returned back to York with two of the Scotch officers, whom he consented should stay with us at York ; where we were now in a manner blocked up : Hotham, on one side from Cawood, on the other side from Tadcaster, beating in our scouts, and takeing some prisoners ; my man, and his horse and arms, was one of them that were taken prisoner.

My Lord of Cumberland sent out Sir Thomas Glenham once again to beat up Sir Thomas Fairfax's quarters at Wetherby, commanding out a party, both of horse and dragoons : he comes close up to the town, undiscovered, a little before sun-rise ; and Prideaux, and some others, enter the town through a back yard. This gave an alarm quite through the town. Sir Thomas Fairfax was, at this juncture, drawing on his boots to go to his father at Tadcaster : he gets on horseback, draws out some pikes,

holds, in consequence of the general alarm. Sir Henry Slingsby was then four years old. History of Knaresborough, p. 13.

and so meets our gentlemen ; every one had his shot at him, he only makeing at them with his sword, and then retired again under the guard of his pikes. At another part, Lieutenant-Collonell Norton enters with his dragoons, Captain Atkinson encounters him on horseback, the other being on foot ; they meet, Atkinson misseth with his pistol ; Norton pulls him off horseback by the sword-belt ; being both on the ground, Atkinson's soldiers come in, fell Norton into the ditch, with the but-end of their musquets, to rescue their lieutenant. Norton's soldiers came in, and beat down Atkinson ; and, with repeated blows, break his thigh, of which wound he died. After this, they retreated out of the town (a sore scuffle between two that had been neighbours, and intimate friends), with the loss of more than one trooper killed, and one Major Carr, a Scotchman.

Thus straitened, and shut up, gave occasion to the gentlemen to send to my Lord of Newcastle, who was then raising an army



in Northumberland, to come to their relief. He marches into Yorkshire, gives us a fair view of his army on the forest-side near Skelton; my Lord of Cumberland, with all the gentlemen in York, go out to meet him, and wait upon his lordship into the town. Two days after his excellency came to York, he undertook to attempt to beat Lord Fairfax out of Tadcaster; in this he succeeded pretty well, and marched to Pomfret, which he made his head-quarters; his horse at Sherburn, and towns next adjoining. Here wee were a little too secure; Sir Thomas Fairfax, with a party of 300 horse, and, it seems, hearing the officers in Sherburn were to have a feast, comes at noon-day, beats up our quarters, takes Commissary Windham, Sir William Riddall, and many others, prisoners.

The 13th of December 1642, I received a commission from his excellency to raise a regiment of volunteers. I caused my drum to be beaten up in York, and other places; and those that came to be listed, I caused

to be billeted among my tennants. When I had gotten them up to the number of 200, I had them mustered, and after received their pay of the treasurer with the rest of the regiments. The first time they marched with the army was when his excellency went to Burlington to receive the queen. On her landing\* there, in returning, my regiment was left at Stamford-bridge, which was garrisoned for the king.

About the 5th of May 1643, I came to have the command of the town. Here I continued eight weeks. While I stayed, I eased the country of the tax which the former governor had imposed, of three-pence for every horse-load of corn. Wee now heard the Scots had advanced almost to York, rendezvousing on Bramham-moore, where they and Lord Fairfax meet, and both come and take up their quarters; the Scots at Bishopthorpe and Middlethorpe;

\* She landed at Burlington Bay, in the East-Riding of Yorkshire, 22d February, 1642-3. On the 5th March she came to Norburton, thence to Malton and York, where she arrived on the 7th.

Fairfax at Fulford and Heslington, by making over Ouse a bridge of boats : Thus wee were blocked up on two sides of the town ; and the rest wee had open for about three weeks, until such time as Lord Manchester\* came with his Norfolk men, and then closed us up on every side. Provisions wee had good store within the town, but money wee had none, which bred us some trouble to help out, and many complaints both from soldiers and townsmen. My Lord † took a course to have them billeted, and proportionably laid upon the gentlemen and officers, either to find them meat or money, after a groat a man *per diem* ; which, for my share, came to four pounds five shillings a-week ; the money being raised out

\* General for the parliament of the forces raised in the seven eastern associated counties, amounting to 14,000 men.

† The Marquis of Newcastle. He had advanced to the Borders to oppose the Scots ; but Lord Fairfax taking the opportunity to advance into Yorkshire, the Earl was compelled to fall back before the Scots, and, finally, to throw himself into the town of York.

of the corn that I had brought into the town.

The enemy began his approaches, raising a battery upon the Windmill-hill, as the way lies to Heslington; plants upon it five pieces of cannon, and plays from thence continually into the town. They come nearer us, and take the suburbs without Walmgate-bar; plant two pieces in the street against the Bar, another at the Dove-coat, within a stone's cast. Then he works under ground close by the Bar, and makes his mines in two several places. Manchester, who had his quarters about Clifton and Huxworth, was no less active; makes his approaches, works his mines under Saint Mary's tower without Bootham-bar, and raiseth a battery against the manor-wall that lieth to the orchard. He begins to play with his cannon, and throws down a piece of the wall. Wee fall to work, and make it up with earth: this happened in the morning. About noon they spring their mine under St Mary's tower, and blow

up one part of it, which falling outward made the access more easy. Then some at the breach, and some with ladders, get up, and enter to the number of 500. Sir Phillip Byron, that had the guard of that place, was unfortunately killed as he opened the doors into the bowling-green, where the enemy had gotten. But the difficulty was not much, wee soon beat them out again; haveing taken 200 prisoners, and killed many of them, as might be seen in the bowling-green, orchard, and garden\*. The Scots were, all this while, busy about their mine, and wee as busy in countermining; but, at length, both gave over, being hindered by water. They had beaten down the top of the Bar as low as the gate, which wee had barricaded up with earth; and, besides, had made a traverse against it, and pulled down some houses near the

\* This mine, according to Rushworth, was sprung by Major-General Crawford, without informing the other generals of his intention, that they might have made a diversion in favour of the storming party. Tom, v. p. 632.

gate. Sallies wee made little or none, haveing only Mickelgate-bar open, and a little sally-port at Monk-bar, where wee once made a sally out upon Manchester's men. Our provisions wasted, and would have had an end without wee had relief; therefore, my Lord would make trial to send to the prince, to inform him of the condition the town was in. He chuseth out eight, that undertake to go to the Prince, and either to pass the enemy's scouts undiscerned, or else break through them: but all, or most of them, were taken, either going or comeing. Wee made fires upon the minster, and were answered by others at Pomfret. They kept so strict guards, either in the night or day, that I could get no one to go to Red-house, and bring me word how my children did, but were taken. But, at last, he whom wee long looked for is heard of comeing to our relief; we were still in some doubt till we perceived the Scots had drawn of their guards. Sir Gamaliel Dudley, that com-

manded at Walmgate-bar, sends some horse and foot ; the horse, commanded by Major Constable, advanced to Fulforth. When the enemy's trumpets in Fulforth sounded a charge, our horse were forced to make a stand that our foot might the better retreat to the walls, till they were forced to charge, and presently mingled one with another. In this charge they took some of ours prisoners ; and wee killed a cornet of theirs, which, they said, should have married Sir Thomas Notcliffe's sister, and they shot Captain Squire, a York-man, in the back. Thus they parted, wee to our garrison, and they to their rendezvous on Knapton-moore ; where all of them meet, and, for hast, had left a boat-load of shoes, and other provisions, which they could not carry away.

The prince, who was come within three or four miles of York, upon the forest side, and sends in to my Lord Newcastle to meet him with those forces he had in York : it was upon the 2d of July 1644 when my Lord marched out, with all the forces he

had, leaving only in the town Colonel Belasy's regiment, Sir Thomas Glenham's regiment, and my own, which was the city regiment. The prince passeth over at Poppleton, where the Scots had made a bridge of boats, and follows the Scots in the rear, who were now in their march to Marston, and in so much haste, as if they meant to march clear away. The prince follows on, and makes a halt at Marston-town. The Scots then march up the field, the direct way to Tadcaster ; but, upon the top of the hill, they face, and front towards the prince, who, till now, was persuaded that they meant not to give him battle, but to march quite away. Now the prince bestirs himself, putting his men in order to fight, and sending away to my Lord of Newcastle to march with all speed. The enemy makes some shot at him as he was drawing up his men, and the first shot kills a son of Sir Gilbert Haughton's, that was captain in the Prince's army. But this was only shewing their teeth ; for, after four shot made,



they give over, and in Marston-corn-field fall to singing psalms.

The Prince's horse had the right wing, my Lord Goring the left, the foot disposed with most advantage to fight some of them, drawn off to line the hedge of the corn-field, where the enemy must come to charge. The enemies forces, consisting of three parts, the Scots, Manchester, and Fairfax, were one mixed with another; Cromwell, having the left wing drawn into five bodies of horse, came off the Cows-Warrant by Bilton-Breame to charge our horse; and upon the first charge routed them: They fly along by Wilstrop wood-side as fast and as thick as could be, yet our left wing pressed as hard upon their right wing, and pursued them over the hill. After our horse was gone, they fall upon our foot; and, although a great while they maintained the fight, yet at last they were outdone, and most part either taken or killed \*. Here

\* These were the Marquis of Newcastle's Northumberland men, called, from their dress, *White Coats*.

I lost a nephew, Collonel John Fenwicke †, and a kinsman, Sir Charles Slingsby, both of them slain in the field: The former could not be found to have his body brought off; the latter was found, and buried in Yorkminster. The enemy pursued not, but kept the field, as many as were left; for they fled as fast as wee, and their three generals thinking all had been lost. Wee came late to York, which made a great confusion; for at the bar, none were suffered to come in but such as were of the town, so that the whole street, up the bar, was thronged with wounded and lame soldiers; which made a pitiful cry among them. The Prince marched out the next morning with the remaining horse, and as many footmen as he could horse, leaving the rest in York\*.

They behaved with the utmost gallantry, and fell in their ranks without the flight of one man.

† A son of his sister Catherine, the Lady of Sir John Fenwick.

\* The conduct of Prince Rupert, on this memorable occasion, was a great stain on his military character. This hazarding a battle, after accomplishing

Thus were we left at York out of all hope of relief, the town much distracted, every one ready to abandon her; so that, to encourage them that were left in the town, and to get them to stay, we were forced to give out false reports; that the Prince had fallen suddenly upon, and routed the enemy, and that he was coming back again to the town: Yet many left us, not likeing the prospect of another siege, which soon after began; for the enemy, takeing a few days respite to bury their dead, to provide for the wounded, and to gather in such scattered troops as had left the field (for by

the relief of York, the sole purpose of his march, was a most unnecessary risk. Sir Harry Slingsby has probably stated the true reason, that the Prince did not believe the retreating army of Cromwell and Lesly durst have rallied and faced him; an idea highly suitable to his sanguine and impetuous temper. But, even after the loss of the battle of Long-Marston-Moor, it would seem that he might still have defended York, which he abandoned, and with it all the north of England, to the Scottish and Parliamentary forces. An unfortunate dissention, betwixt the Marquis of Newcastle and Prince Rupert, seems to have accelerated this fatal resolution.

this time their generals were returned, and were now ready to march back again to York), they make, at this their second coming, new batteries; one betwixt Walmgate-bar and Latern-postern, another upon the hill in Bishop-fields, and had made a bridge to clap over the fosse, and straw and hurdles for a storm, where, by the Latern-postern, it was most easy, haveing nothing but that ditch, with drought almost dry, to hinder their entrance. Therefore, not thinking it fit to hazard the town, haveing no hope to be relieved, wee capitulate and article, and upon that day forthnight the battle was, wee yield the town, and that upon very good conditions, if they had been kept. Wee were to march out with our arms, and with colours flying, till wee came within twelve miles of the Prince. Wee were to have convoy\*, but find a failing in the performance at the very first;

\* Viz. One troop from each of the three besieging armies. See the terms in *Rushworth*, tom. v. p. 638. York was surrendered on 15th July 1644.

for the soldier was pillaged, our waggons plundered ; mine the first, and others the next day. Thus disconsolate wee march ; forced to leave our country, unless wee would apostate, not daring to see my own house, nor take a farewell of my children, although wee lay the first night at Hessey, within two miles of it. The second day of our march was to Knaresbrough ; and in our march wee were much infested by Manchester's horse, and though wee had a guard of seven troops, yet could they not, or would, prevent us from being plundered, but in the field before Allerton-Mauleverer, where wee made a halt till our rear was brought up, wee were forced to endure affronts by some of the enemies, that came amongst, and would snatch the soldiers hats from of their heads, and their swords from their sides : And though wee complained of it to the officers, yet could wee have no remedy. And going a little further, in a straight lane, they overturn the first waggon, which was my Lady Wolton's, and fell

a plundering it and the rest. Before wee come at Knaresbrough, Whaley, Cromwell's lieutenant-collonel, meets us, and goes along with us, discoursing of the fight on Marston-moore, desirous to see Sir R. Hutton, at whose house he quartered, and would fain have invited him to his own house, where his Lady was; but he would not; and likewise would have perswaded me to abide at home, shewing how much he desired to shake hands with me. Upon Knaresbrough forrest wee made an handsome show with those troops of our guard; for wee marched with these colours, namely, Sir Thomas Glenham's nine colours, but not with above 120 or 170, then one Colonel Tilliers, one of Sir John Girlington's, and one of mine, with such only of the Prince's men as were left in York; but they soon left their colours, and would take the nearest way to go to the Prince. Our guards we discharged at Otley; so marched on to Skipton, from thence to Kirby Lonsdale, where I met Marmaduke Lang-

dale, who then was come with his horse into Westmorland. Here I left Sir Thomas Glenham, who was designed to go to Carlisle to keep that garrison, and steered my course to Cartmel and Fourness, in a part of Lancashire, where, at that time, Sir John Mainy was, with a brigade of horse, of broken and shattered regiments. After staying here some months, I returned towards Yorkshire with Sir John Mainy. On the 10th of September 1644, we set forwards on our march for Skipton, and, by marching in the night, passed through the enemy that lay on every side. We had but one stop, which was at a bridge near Ingleton, where the enemy had set a guard; but we soon made our passage, with the loss of one lieutenant of horse, who was shot in the body, and died on the way as he was carrying. We marched in the night from Skipton, and came suddenly upon a new raised troop near Bradford; we took some of them prisoners, and the captain out of his bed. Thus, with a speedy march,

wee got to Pomfret. Sir John Redman, who at that time lay sick in a deep consumption, was governor of the castle ; Colonel Sands, who lay thereabouts with fifteen colours of horse, heard of our approach, and that wee were the Prince's horse, and much more numerous than in reality wee were, sent to my Lord Fairfax at York ; and his orders returned to march away to York. Before wee came, Sir John was resolved to fight Sands, and goes with his horse to charge him, beats them off their ground ; they retreat beyond the bridge, and would make good the bridge ; that wee soon cleared, and follow the enemy into Brotherton-field, where they drew up, meaning to charge us in a narrow lane. Wee fight for ground to fight on, and they to keep us in that strait : at last, haveing gotten into the field, we at once both charged and put them to flight, chasing them as far as Sherburn. We took 50 prisoners, and among the rest Sir William Lister's son, who had marched out of York with us, be-



ing captain in the Prince's army. Sir John was lost in the chase, and could not be heard of, till next day we heard he lay wounded at a town three or four miles off; and going with a party to fetch him off, we met him coming in a cart. After Sir John was well, we resolved to leave that garrison, and go to Newark, having divers gentlemen to go along with us, and amongst the rest, my Lord St Paule. We made it one night and part of a day ere we reached Newark, and, by close marching in the night, got thither undisturbed. After a fortnight's stay there, we begin our march to Oxford, but not in that order as ought to have been in a country where the enemy lay round about us; for we had in our company soldiers so unruly, that gave the whole country an alarum against us; they would ride out on every hand, rob the carriages, and play such pranks, as we could expect no less than to be met with by the enemy. After many small skirmishes, which delayed our march, and gave the enemy's whole

body time to come up with us, and being few in number, left us no hope but in makeing the best shift we could to escape: Some of our company had forsaken their horses, and betaken themselves to the wood; others followed on as long as they could, and, still as they dropt off, were taken by the enemy. My man, Thomas Adamson, was once taken and escaped: though I lost all I had, yet had the loss been not so great, if Sir John Mainy had not been taken, being sore wounded at Daintry, where my Lord Northampton, with a party of horse, fetched him off. Wee were fifteen that got to Banbury; fifteen were taken prisoners, and all the rest were killed. This day proved a day of great observation to me, for the very day that my father parted with his life, and all that he had, the same day of the month, I parted likewise with all I had, and was in some hazard of my life: I shall long remember it, being the 17th day of December 1644\*.

\* These superstitious observations were very com-

From Banbury I went to Oxford, and left Sir John ; but he followed as soon as he was able for his wounds, having his mouth cut up to his ears, and three other wounds in his head and neck. I lived here with great ease and much content, through Sir William Parkhurst's noble entertainment, till we leave Oxford, for the general rendezvous at Bradwaydowns for the whole of the King's troops in those parts \*. Here our army consisted of 3000 foot and 4000 horse : from hence we march to Evesham ; from thence, northwards, to Burton upon Trent ; from thence to Ashby de la Zouch ; and, coming thither, orders were sent to Sir Marmaduke Langdale to go with the northern horse, of which he had the command, consisting of 1400 horse, or thereabouts, to hinder provisions, or any of the country people, from coming into Leices-

mon at this period. It was remarked, that Cromwell's principal victories at Dunbar and Worcester, and, finally, his death, fell upon the 3d of September.

\* The king took the field 7th May 1645.

ter. Wee marched immediately away to within four miles of Leicester, and had drawn our horse into a fair meadow, where wee fed them ; our scouts give us notice of some horse that were within half a mile of us, and had gray-hounds with them a coursing ; Sir Marmaduke sends some horse towards them, and as they advanced, wee perceived more horse coming from behind the hill, and still as we drew out more horse towards them, so did they, till at last they appear before us in three bodies. Wee advance to charge them, and still as wee advance, they orderly draw off in the rear, keeping still one body facing us. Thus, sometimes retreating, sometimes making a stand, wee forced them under the works of Leicester, and with our horse take the hill that lies above the town ; from hence wee sent to the king to give him notice where wee were ; and there wee lay that night ; the next day the king comes with the rest of the army and begirts the town, and took

it in a very little space \*. Soon after followed the battle of Nasebie, where wee lost our baggage, and the best part of our army †. From Nasebie wee retreated to Leicester, and here I met with my lord Belasyse, and in the night wee went together to my lord Beamond's, and the next day came to the king at Ashby, a garrison well stored with good victuals, and a good cellar; in the afternoon, with his remaining horse to Litchfield, from thence to Bewdley, and so to Hereford, where wee made some little stay, the king haveing sent Sir Marmaduke Langdale with the Northern horse, to quarter about Lenster, and prince Rupert, and prince Maurice, to Bristol. The city of Hereford is not much unlike York for situation, and in some parts resembles it very much; for it hath a round

\* Leicester was taken by storm, 30th May 1645. This important conquest was the last glimpse of fortune that shone on the banners of Charles. Leicester was retaken on the 18th June following.

† The fatal battle of Naseby, a death blow to the royal cause, was fought 14th June 1645.

tower, mounted on a little hill, like to Clifford's-tower. The king marched from hence to Ragland castle, belonging to the Earl of Worcester, very strong of itself, and beautiful to behold. Here the king continued three weeks ; from hence wee marched to Brecknock. The king now resolved to try his fortune in the North, in hopes to join the Marquis of Montross, and therefore, by many days march, passing by Wolverhampton, Lichfield, Titbury, Chatsworth, wee came at last to Welbeck, my lord of Newcastle's house, which then was a garrison held by the king. Here came to the king the gentlemen that were at Newark, and the governor\* with all the Newark horse. After consulting with these gentlemen, the king intends to march to Doncaster, but was prevented by the diligence of Poyntz, who was left General in Yorkshire for the parliament †. Wee there-

\* Sir Richard Byron.

† Major General Poyntz was posted at Rotheram and Doncaster with 2000 horse, and had secured the pass at Ferrybridge.

fore retreated back to Newark, and so to Beavor, through the associated countries to Stamford, then to Huntingdon. Here wee tarryed one day; the king caused Collonel Cromwell, a kinsman of the other, whom he made sheriff, to send out his warrants to summon the country to give their assistance; and accordingly there appeared, as we passed by Godmanchester, about 400 countrymen, drawn together to offer themselves to the king. The king sent to give them thanks, but withall to tell them, that he should not need their assistance at that time. From hence wee marched to Oxford\*, where the king tarried but one day, not knowing where to repose himself; and yet, wheresoever he marched, he was sure to be followed by Poyntz, who had his order given to attend the king's motions. Therefore the king thinks to secure himself once again amongst the mountains in Wales, some of which we found almost in-

\* August 28. 1646.

accessible, many of the troopers horses tiring, and little accommodation to be met with, which makes me remember this passage. When the king was at supper, eating a pullet, and a piece of cheese, the room without was full, but the men's stomachs were empty for want of meat; the goodwife, troubled with the continual calling upon her for victuals, and haveing, it seems, but that one cheese, comes into the room where the king was, and very soberly asks if the king had done with the cheese, for that the gentlemen without desired it.

We continued our march untill wee came to Chester, where wee found my Lord Byron command in the town, and the enemy \* in the suburbs so close that it was some hazard to the king to pass the bridge. Now our horse was quartered about three miles off, except the king's life-guards, and my Lord Gerrard's horse, both which were

\* Under Colonel Jones and Adjutant-General Louthian.



drawn into the town, and intended the next day to make a sally; but while preparations were making, a messenger came, that brought the king word, that Poyntz had engaged Sir Marmaduke Langdale to fight, but that the king must send him a supply by reason that the enemy encreased; whereupon the king sends forth my Lord Litchfield and Lord Gerrard, with those horse that were in the town; but before they could join, our horse was beaten, many taken, and my Lord of Litchfield slain in view of the town and the king, who, from one of the towers of the wall, saw his troops defeated.\* Here I do wonder at the admirable temper of the king, whose constancy was such, that no perils never so unavoidable could move him to astonishment, but that still he set the same face, and settled countenance, upon whatsoever adverse fortune befel him, and nei-

\* This defeat took place on Routon-heath, within three miles of Chester, 24th September, 1646.

ther was he exalted by prosperity, nor dejected in adversity, which was the more admirable in him, seeing he had no other to have recourse unto, but must bear the whole burden upon his own shoulders. Wee left Chester next day, with the few horse left that came safe to the town; wee passed the bridge in the day-time, haveing set up blinds, that the enemy might not see when the king passed it; and except one horse that was killed, I think no other took any harm. From thence wee marched to Denbigh Castle, one of the strongest in Wales; after that to Ruthven, till, at last, by unknown ways and passages, with many dark and late marches, wee arrived at the garrison at Newark, about the 14th of October.\* The king makes no stay,

\* Sir Henry's recollection is here inaccurate, or there is an error in the transcription. The King came to Newark on the 4th of October, and staid till the beginning of November, when a siege began to be apprehended. He went from Newark to Daintry, thence to Banbury, and so to Oxford.

but marches for Tuxford; from thence to Worsop; where it was agreed, that the northern horse, commanded by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, my Lord Digby,\* and my Lord Cornwath, should march into the north, to join Montrose; the king, and the remaining horse, should go back to Newark. But this design took no effect, for, at Sherburn, † they were overtaken by Colonel Copely; him they repulsed, but were received by Collonel Lilburne, and put to the worst, and quite routed, leaving dead upon the spot above forty, whereof Sir Richard was one, and Collonel Carnaby another; those which escaped fled to Skipton; but Captain Robert Slingsby, being sore wounded, was left at Aberforth, where he had his wounds dressed and cured. My

\* Lord Digby had the chief command. See his letter to the chancellor on this expedition, in Rushworth, Part IV. Vol. i. p. 123.

† Here they surprised and routed Colonel Wren, with a regiment of horse, and took 1000 prisoners.—But Copely and Lilburne surprised them in their turn.

Lord Digby, and the horse which remained, makes still northward, till they came upon the Border, where a second misfortune befel them ; for, no sooner were they come into Scotland, but, upon a sudden, the Scotch horse falls into their quarters, and utterly ruins and disperses them : \* My Lord Digby, my Lord Cornwath, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, got a boat, which wafted them into the Isle of Man : the rest endured a great deal of misery before they got into their own country.

When the king turned back to Newark, Prince Rupert makes a venture to come to him with an hundred horse through the enemy's country, and was forced many times to fight for a passage ; and meeting

\* Lord Digby long maintained himself, and kept his forces together by availing himself of their knowledge of the country. But, after avoiding the parliamentary horse under Col. Briggs at Kirkby Lonsdale, as also Lesley's cavalry, and a force from the Scottish frontier, commanded by Lord Balmerinoch, he was routed by Sir John Brown, the Scottish governor of Carlisle, near Carlisle Sands.

with the horse of Burley-house, he slew the governor, that would be following too near his heels; yet, being way-laid by the Lincolnshire horse, he recovered Beavor Castle with much difficulty.\* About this time I went from Newark to my own house in disguise, with intention to supply my wants with money, whereof I had a long time great scarcity. I tarried about a month at Haslewood, and kept in so privately, that I was not seen of any; and when I went to my own house, I took the night-time for it, and in the night returned; scarce any in the house knowing that I was there. So, after I had satisfied myself with one day's stay, and taken with me forty pounds in gold, I resolved to go back to Newark, and that must be presently,

\* Sir Richard Willis, governor of Newark, was, at this time, removed from that charge by the King, and Lord Bellasis appointed in his stead, upon which occasion about two hundred gentlemen left the king's service. See Clarendon.

for the Scots were drawing towards it, \* and I must not go thither, if I get not there before them. I therefore came as I went, in disguise, but not the same way ; for I came by Doncaster, but I went by Cowick, through the Levell, and, by good fortune, returned safe to Newark. About the latter end of November, the Scots came to Muscome, a little off Newark, where, at the bridge, we had a guard, but being not able to maintain it, they fired the bridge, and retreated not so discreetly as they ought, for leaving it before the fire had well taken hold, the Scots came and quenched it. On the other side of the town lay Poyntz and Rosseter, and, as the days began to grow longer, their forces drew nearer to us, and made their line from the middle of the hill to the water of Trent, on both sides of the town. The garrison was well fortified, and well victualled, espe-

\* Being probably moved by a vote of the Parliament, that if they formed the siege of Newark before the 1st of November, they should have 30,000 l., but otherwise not.

cially with bread and beer, and had their fortifications as well without the town, by two regular sconces, as about it, with a deep graft and strong bulwarks; and on the outside of the graft, they made two row of holes, the height of a man in depth, and so near, that it might hinder the sudden assaulting of the works, to busy the enemy the more. The governor would continually be giving them alarms, which put them to so hard duty, in so cold and frosty a winter, as was not almost to be endured. Once wee had almost taken Poyntz in his quarters, and, but that the darkness of the night favoured him, he had not escaped. When the enemy drew nearer to us, our horse made a sally at the lower end of the towne, upon a troop of the enemy's, and some musqueteers; we charge home with them, and notwithstanding the superiority of their numbers, at last break them, and as many as could not take over a little bridge, which they had made over a brook,

take into the water, whereof many were drowned. Albeit wee were worsted when we should have beaten up the Scots quarters at Muscome, where wee lost Major Whitmore, who led the foot; we made a sally also into the isle with horse and foot. Major-general Hire brings on the horse, and Lord Lexington the foot. The Scotch horse drew up in a body, expecting our charge; our horse likewise comes up to them, but by reason of a ditch which separated them, we could not break in upon them, whereupon twenty of our men take a compass about, and fall upon the rear, and did so fast belabour them with their long tuckes,\* that they could not endure it, but took to their heels: this was in sight of the parliaments three generals, Poyntz, Lesley, and Rosseter, who were at that

\* All foot soldiers had swords before, and indeed long after, the introduction of the bayonet. Shadwell, in one of his comedies, describes the Roundheads "in high-crowned hats, collared bands, great loose coats, long tuckes under them, and calve's-leather boots; they used to sing a psalm, fall on, and beat us to the devil."—*The Volunteers*, Act iii. Scene 1.



time altogether in the isle, but the enemy began to draw out so fast over the water, that our horse had command given to retreat. Now, all hope was taken away from us; wee could not rely any thing upon the king, for he was close besieged at Oxford, neither could wee expect any relief from the Marquis of Montrose, for Davie Leslie had chased him into the mountains; our best way was to apply ourselves to a treaty, and get as honourable conditions as might be: but while wee were upon our treaty, notice was given us from the Scots camp, that the king was come among them in disguise, willing rather to yield himself to the Scots, who shewed some moderation, than to the parliament, who so vehemently persecuted him. Therefore, he sends to the Governor, to make up an agreement speedily, for he knew the parliament would demand him of the Scots; and, upon refusal, send after to hinder his march. This command of the kings, and I may allege, the plague too, which was so hot among us,

might be sufficient cause for yielding up the town so hastily ; whereupon articles of redition being agreed and concluded, wee yielded up the town, and marched out the 8th of May, 1646. The king and the Scots army marched away the day before us to Tuxford, where at a rendezvous I came to them, taking the opportunity of having the company of a Scotch captain, who came to view the garrison the day before wee yielded the towne, and so lay that night at Kelham, at mistress Love's house, where the king had lodged the night before. In five days march wee came to Topcliffe, with a speedy quick march ; and herein the Scots may be commended for their order and good discipline, both in taking up their quarters, and in their march ; whether it was by reason of the king's being among them, or that it was usual for them to doe, I cannot tell, for it was the first time that I came into their quarters ; but they shewed a great deal of celerity, not a

man being scarce seen to straggle, and if they made a halt, they never made it both with horse and foot together; but if the horse halted, the foot marched through. A little before wee came to Topcliffe, where the king dined, I was commanded by the king to return home, which was upon the 11th of May, 1646. After takeing leave of the king, I went to Newbrough, where my daughter was in the house with my brother Belasyse; and after a day's rest, came home to Red-house. But since they have from York laid wait for me to take me, and I have escaped them, I take myself to one room in my house, scarce known of by my servants, where I spend my days in great silence, scarce daring to speak, or walk, but with great heed, lest I be discovered: *Et jam veniet tacito, curva senectus, pede.* Why I should be thus aimed at, I know not; if my neighbourhood to York makes them not more quarrelsome, my disposition is to love quietness, and, since the king willed me to go home, when I

parted from him at Topcliffe, (which I took the more notice of, being a discharge from his service the very day of the month that I came into it by the date of my commission, which was the 11th of May), I resolved to keep home, if the Lord Mayor, Alderman Watson, would have permitted me quietly to live there; but they will not suffer me to have the benefit of the articles of Newarke, which gave us liberty of three months to live at home undisturbed, but from York they send to take me within the first month, and all is to try me with the negative oath, and national covenant; the one makes me renounce my allegiance, the other my religion. For the oath, why it should be imposed on us to swear not to assist the king, when all means are taken from us whereby we might assist him, and not to assist in this war which is now come to an end, and nothing in all England held for the king, I see no reason; unless they would have us do a wicked act, and they the authors, out of greater spite to wound

both the soul and the body; for now the not takeing of the oath cannot much prejudice them, and the takeing of it will much prejudice us, being contrary to former oaths, which we have taken, and against civil justice, which, as it abhors neutrality, will not admit a man should falsify that trust which he hath given. This is commendable in the mouths of our very enemys, who have been known to use a man better, for his constancy to that side he hath taken, and that will not be bought and sold, and more cause there is where his obligations stand towards his prince; the Germans held it a perpetual infamy to return from that battle wherein their prince was slain, it being the principalest part of their oath to defend and maintain him, and ascribe their own exploits to his glory and honour. One of the family of the *Claudii* is commended for his constancy, that he would not forsake Antony, but when all others had yielded themselves to Augustus, he only stuck to him: *Et solus*

*ipse permansit in partibus.* As for the covenant, which they would have me take, there is first reason that I should be convinced of the lawfulness thereof, before I take it, and not urged, as the Mahometans do their disciples, by force, and not by reason; for, by this new religion which is imposed, you make every man that takes it up guilty either of haveing no religion, and so become an atheist, or else a religion put on or off as he doth his hat to every one he meets: meantime, to keep out of their hands, I am deprived of my health, as wanting liberty to enjoy the fresh air; for keeping close in one room without air did stifle the vital spirits, and meeting with a crazy body, made so by the immoderate bleeding of the hemorrhoides with excess of humours through want of exercise, did so distemper all the parts, that, unless by the help of a glyster, I could never go to the stool.

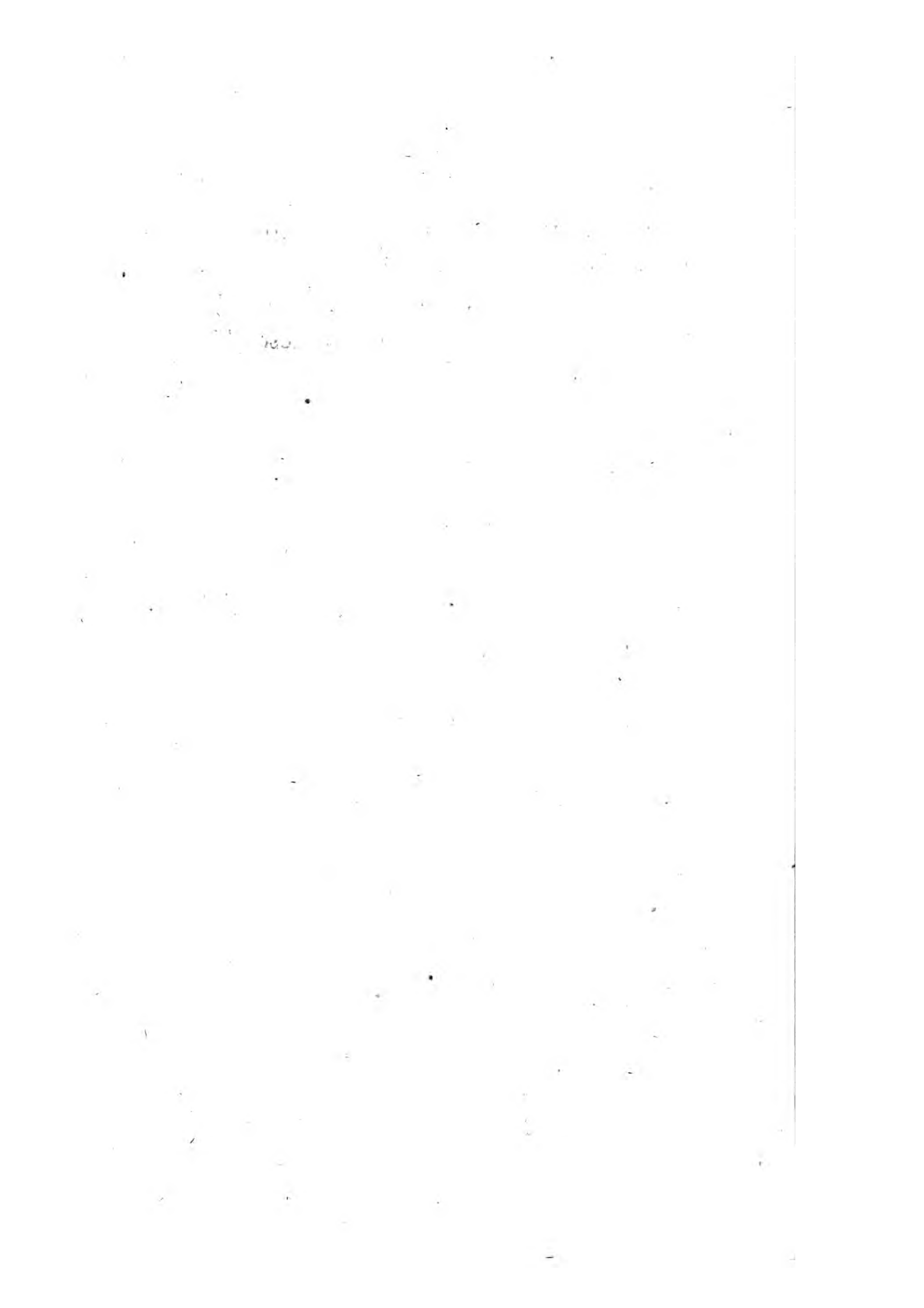
Since my coming home I did pare off the swarth, and did gravel that walk which is

on the side of the west-orchard, which Will. Hinckes planted, and set the walk with trees on either side; one of ash, the other of sicamore, and among them one oak planted in the year 1622. Thomas Adamson, my gardiner, in the year 1646, at my comeing home, set that ash which grows by the causey, as you go from the low stable to the inges; he also set that grove of sicamore by the green, which, many years agoe, had been the seat of the house, which is now called Red-house.

Having thus passed some time, I hear the Parliament began to treat with the Scots, to have the king return back unto them, makeing shew they would give him an honourable reception; but they made him at last know he was their prisoner: and, while I remained concealed in my own house, I could hear of his going to Holmby, to Hampton-court, the Isle of Wight, to White-hall, and, at last, which was his last day, upon the 30th of January, 1648, I hear—HEU ME! QUID HEU ME!

HUMANA PERPESSI SUMUS.—[With this melancholy reflection, excited by the execution of his beloved sovereign on a public scaffold, Sir Henry Slingsby closes his Memoirs.]





**MEMOIRS**  
**OF**  
**CAPTAIN JOHN HODGSON**

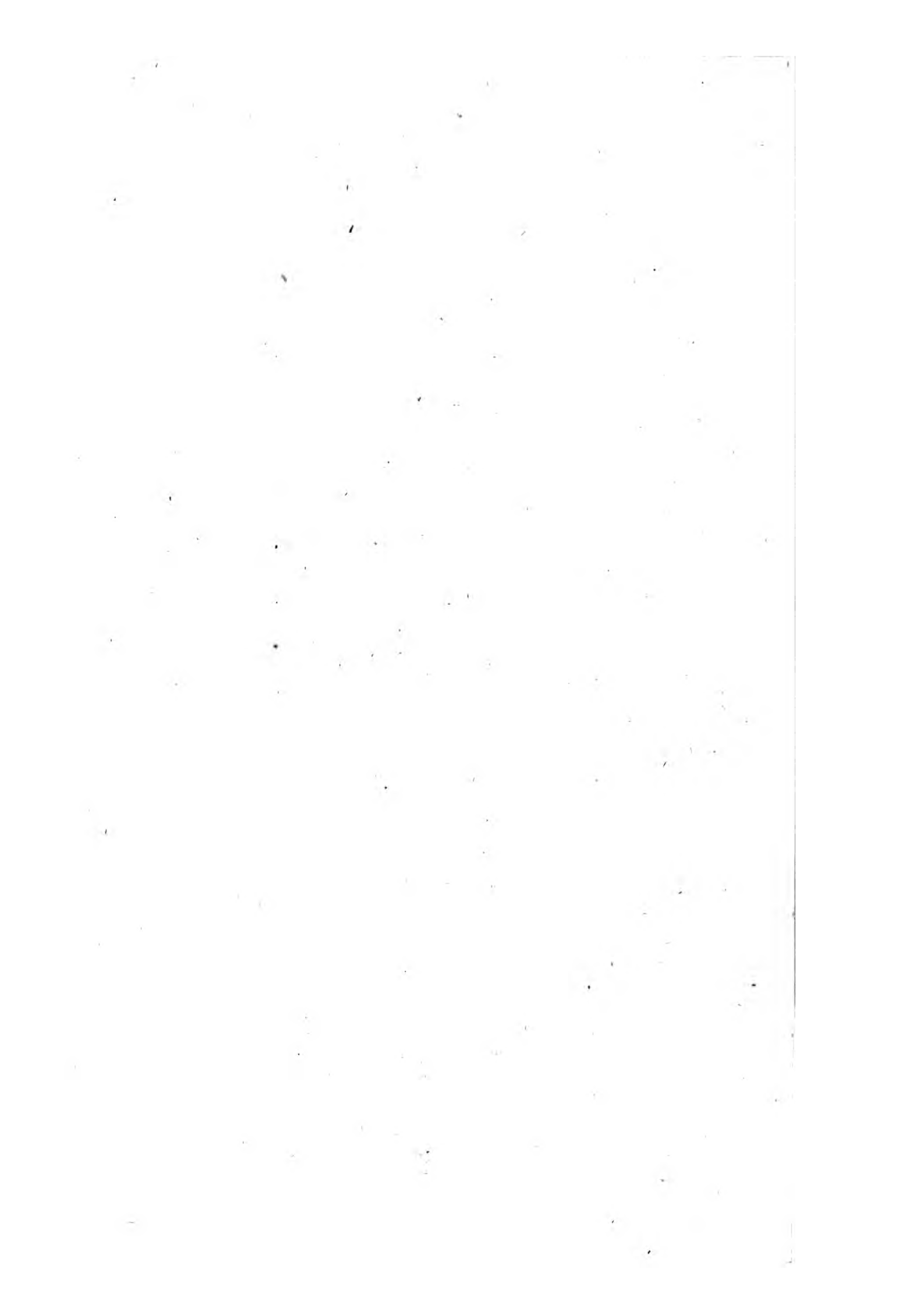
**OF**  
**COALLEY-HALL, NEAR HALIFAX;**

**TOUCHING**  
**HIS CONDUCT IN THE CIVIL WARS, AND HIS TROUBLES**  
**AFTER THE RESTORATION.**

---

**WRITTEN BY HIMSELF,**

**AND NOW FIRST PUBLISHED FROM HIS MANUSCRIPT.**



# ADVERTISEMENT,

BY

JOSEPH RITSON, Esq.

---

THE following Memoirs, written with the author's own hand, are contained in a sort of pocket-book, which had afterwards belonged to his son-in-law William Kitchin, whence they have been carefully transcribed. The incorrect orthography of the writer, indeed, has not been adhered to, and some few emendations have been made in his grammar; but the language is, in every other respect, as it fell from his pen.

Of the author and his family nothing has been learned, beyond what we are told by himself in the course of the present narrative. He appears to have been originally an ensign "to Captain Nathaniel Bower;" afterwards lieutenant "to Captain Pockley, in Major-General Lambert's regiment of horse;" and, afterwards, "ordered into Colonel Sanders's regiment of horse;"

and, from the binding over of Daniel Lysten, as well as from his conversation with Sir John Armitage, to have been an acting magistrate, under the Commonwealth, for the county of York. By his wife, whose maiden name was Stanclife, he had issue two sons, Timothy and Eleazer, and three daughters: Sarah, who died in her infancy; Martha, who died the widow of William Kitchen in 1672, leaving one child, Elisabeth; and Lydia, of whom nothing further occurs. How long the family continued to possess Coley (or, as the author writes it, Coalley) hall, does not appear. Watson, in his "History of the Parish of Halifax," ranks it among "the most considerable places" in the township of Hipperholme, in that parish; and says it was "formerly wrote Caldley, meaning the cald-ley, or cold pasture\*," and that the house was lately the property and place of residence of William Horton, Esq. of the family of Howroyd; but he and his descendants being dead, it came, by inheritance, to the Beaumonts of Whitley in Yorkshire. "The fabric," he adds, "is modern, and affords neither arms, inscriptions, nor any thing antique." It seems, however, somewhat extraordinary, that so industrious an antiquary should never have heard, that this very house had, not above eighty years before, been the seat, and, for any thing that appears to the contrary, the paternal inheritance of Captain John Hodgson, a

\* The author took it apparently to mean, the Coal-ley, or Coal-pasture.

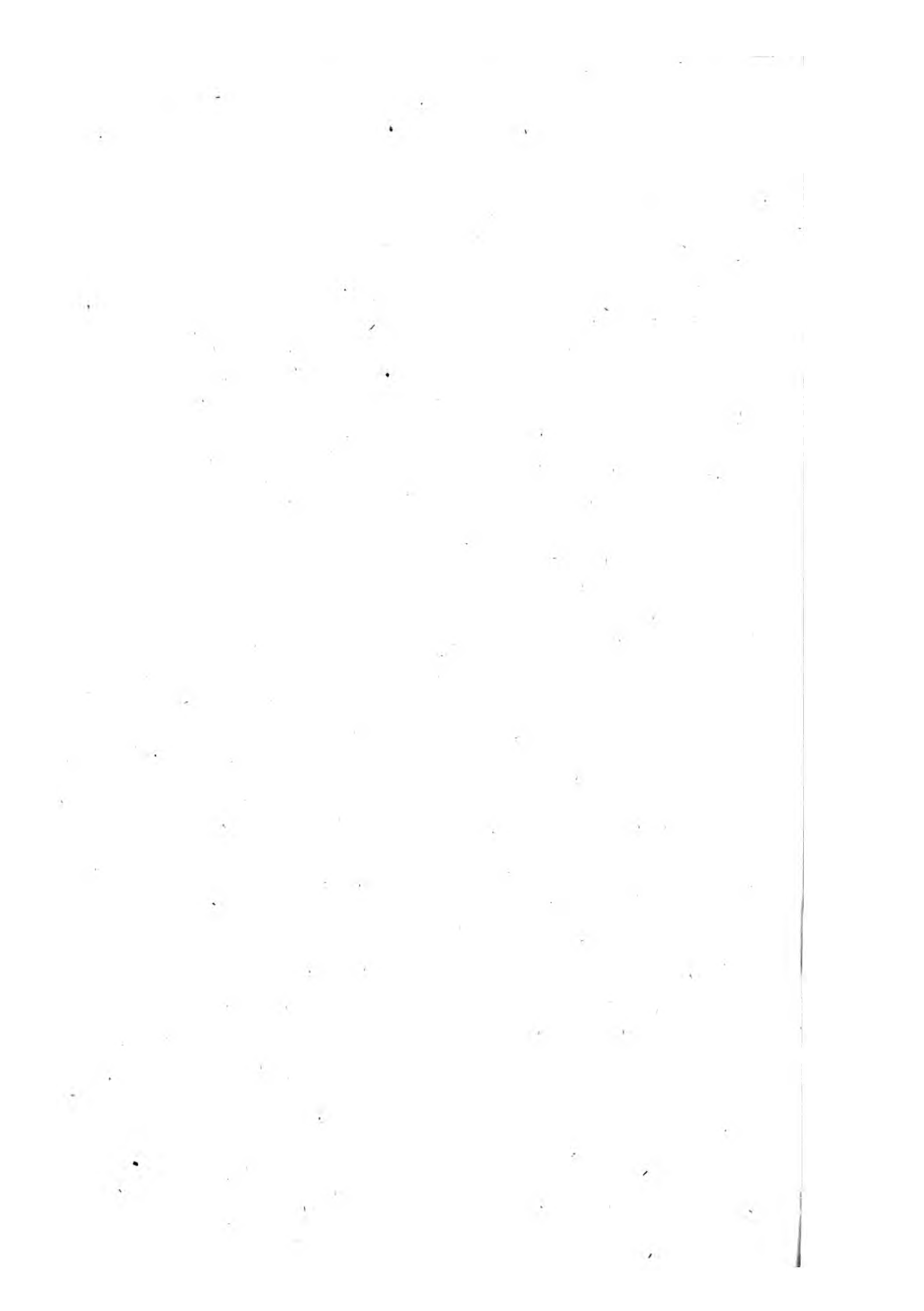
character, perhaps, of no less consequence or respectability than either "William Horton, Esq." or "the Beaumonts of Whitley."

At the end of these Memoirs, which appear to have been written in the month of September 1683\*, are some imperfect observations on "God's call to Abraham, about great and stupendious works." In another part of the book, are some entries in cypher, or shorthand; and "certayne queries collected out of an act of Parliament, made in the 22d and 23d of Charles the II. cap. 20. (about jail fees)." The other writings are receipts, accounts, and various uninteresting memorandums.

Without meaning to dispute the merit of De Foe, in his peculiarly happy manner of telling a story, or, in other words, in the art of book-making, it will probably be found, that, truth or falsehood being out of the question, in point of importance, interest, and even pleasantry, Captain Hodgson's narrative is infinitely superior to the "Memoirs of a Cavalier."

\* \* \* Besides the north country phrases and obsolete military terms which occur throughout these Memoirs, the author has used certain words in a seemingly peculiar sense: as *gap-stead*, for *a breach in a hedge*; *while*, for *till*; *the leave*, (*lave*, Scottish) for *the rest*; *in the head of the army*, for *at the head*; *with* for *by*; *for* for *from*; *over-run* for *run away from*; *as* for *that*, &c.

\* The last date in the pocket-book is, the 11th of January in that year; which, it is probable, the author did not long survive.



MEMOIRS  
OF  
CAPTAIN JOHN HODGSON.

---

**W**HEN I put my hand to the Lord's work, in 1642, I did it not rashly, but had many an hour and night to seek God, to know my way, it being a time the nation was filled with rumours, and fears of some bust-ling betwixt the king and his great council the Parliament, that was called before the rebellion in Ireland; and the first thing I took notice of, the king was gone for Scotland, to settle the service-book: But it would not pass according to his mind; and while he was contending with them, news comes to him, that the rebels were up in



Ireland, and murdering all the protestants before them, men, women, and children; at which tidings he leaves the Scots, and retreats to his Parliament at London; and not being long there, the Scots had raised a considerable army, and marched to the borders, to vindicate their rights, as they pretended. The king would have had his Parliament to have declared them rebels, which they refused; and to have granted money in England to suppress them by force, in which they were very shy. At last he raises the train-bands, and other forces, to march towards the borders; and coming to a treaty with the Scots, commissioners were appointed on both sides, and met at Rippon, and agreed upon articles; but not being pleasing at court, they were afterwards burnt, by order, at Charing-cross, by the common hangman. Thus ill humours began to breed through the three nations, and sprung on apace to a very great height. Papers flew up and down in every place. That dreadful news out of Ireland put a

damp upon all honest spirits ; the common report being of two hundred thousand murdered. Things began to look sadly at home : The papists grew high ; the protestant party much discouraged. His majesty, with a guard, demands five members out of the House of Commons ; but was disappointed, by reason of their absence that day \*. It seems he took the huff, and withdrew himself, guards, and party, to Newmarket, and, by degrees, to York, to set up the standard at Nottingham, and to lay siege to Hull.

These things caused serious thoughts in many ; and amongst things that I read and heard were these following, viz. That the safety of the people is the supreme law both of nature and nations ; and that there was a people before there were rulers and governors chosen and set over them ; and

\* 4th of January, 1641-2. These five members were, exclusive of Lord Kimbolton, Mr Pym, Mr Hampden, Mr Holles, Sir Arthur Heselrige, and Mr Stroud.

when these turned the government, laid down by law, into an armed force, then did the people betake themselves to thoughts of reformation. This hath been an old practice, whether the government hath been monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy: the fountain hath been from the agreement of the people; and that rulers and governors are accountable to the people for their misgovernment, when they transgress the laws and rules by which the people did agree they would be governed. (that is, the people assembled in parliaments or chief councils.) Now, I have found that England was never a pure monarchy, (for that is tyranny,) but a political monarchy governed by laws. It had a king, the chiefest officer; one single person, who was compassed with laws, above him, being made for him to rule by; and with a necessity of concurrence with Lords and Commons below him for future legislative power and authority; and he, at his coronation, swears to rule his people according to those laws. But at this time the breach

between king and Parliament grew wider each day than other; and preparations were making for war in each place. The country people were threatened to have their arms taken from them; and that noise of the dreadful massacre in Ireland startled many, and constrained them to whet their swords, and to prepare such instruments as they possibly could to defend themselves, which was done by many that did foresee evil:—and observe the success!

Sir William Saville, this Lord of Halifax's father\*, draws up an army of horse and foot, with two great guns, on a sabbath-day, in the morning, against Bradford-church; the town's-people that had arms having fled into it to secure themselves. Several neighbours came into Halifax vicarage to the chapels, to crave the assistance of such as were able and willing, that they would af-

\* Sir George Saville, son of Sir William, was created Viscount Halifax in 1667, and Marquis of Halifax in 1682.

ford their help to rescue their poor besieged neighbours, who were threatened with nothing less than destruction, viz. burning, disarming, imprisoning, killing, and what not. A good man, one Isaac Baume, comes in haste to Coalley-chapel, and there acquaints the minister, one Mr Latham, what their condition was at Bradford; and he enlargeth upon it, to the congregation, with a great deal of tenderness and affection, so that many of us did put our hands to the plough with much resolution, being well appointed with necessary weapons; and coming down to Bradford-kirk, found the enemy ready to make an attempt upon them in the kirk. But we gave them no time; but with a party of club-men, or such as had scythes layed in poles, fell upon their horse on one side, and the musketeers on the houses, that were ready to storm the church, on the other side, and so beat them off; took most of them prisoners that were got into the houses; and had taken their guns, but that we wanted a scattering of

horse. We had a sore brush with them; and made an honourable retreat, after an hazardous pursuit\*.

The night after, we spent our time upon the guards, in telling what exploits had been done, and blessing God for his deliverance. I was fetched home the next day, and another man brought in my room, to supply my place; but immediately after comes a fresh alarm, and then I was resolved to stay by it. Old Ferdinando, Lord Fairfax, comes to Bradford to strengthen his party, and gave an invitation to the country to come in; at which time many appeared, both horse and foot, and staid in the army. Great preparations there were through the nation; and the Parliament had declared their fears and jealousies, that there was a popish party about the king, carrying on a design to alter religion; that the war with

\* This skirmish is mentioned in Lord Fairfax's letter to the Speaker, 26th January 1642.—RUSHWORTH, Vol. v. p. 126.

Scotland was procured for to make way for it; that the rebellion in Ireland was framed in England, and should have been acted here. These things were scattered amongst us, and made us closer unto ourselves. I was made ensign to Captain Nathaniel Bower, and one Forbes, a Scot, commanded us. We were several companies of horse and foot that lay at Bradford. Sir Thomas Fairfax was with us sometimes, Sir Henry Foulis, and others. The old lord lay then about Wresil, Selby, and Hull. We drew forth one night over Aperly bridge, by Rawdon, to Woodhouse-muir, commanded by Sir Thomas, and there Hotham met us; it being designed to make an attempt upon Leeds, Sir William Saville's quarters. And it proved such a tempest, that we could not draw up on the muir; but Sir Thomas drew us down into the bottoms towards Leeds, and, by degrees, we entered the town near the water side, and our horse broke in on the other side, and met in the market-place, and beat out their horse and foot, and put

them all to run \*. We kept Leeds a garrison ; and that winter the Earl of Newcastle was preparing his great northern army, and marches southward by degrees. Lord Fairfax, quartering at Selby, resolved to leave the place, and to join with us at Leeds ; and for that purpose sends Sir Thomas orders to march out to Sherburn, to face the enemy belonging to York, while he got by with his carriages : And Sir Thomas, exceeding his commission at the request of the clubmen, he marches to Tadcaster to pull down their works, and there trifles out time so long, until horse and foot were marched over at Thorp-arch, and got near our way, when we retreated, and proved much to our damage ; for at Seacroft they fell upon us, and totally routed us. Our poor foot suffered much, but the horse escaped to Leeds. I was there sore wounded, shot in two places, cut in several, and

\* Leeds was taken, 23d January 1643-4.—RUSHWORTH, Vol. v. p. 125.



led off into a wood, by one of my soldiers, called Killingham wood. With much ado he got me to Leeds in the night, and it was a considerable time before I was cured.

The next attempt our army made was the storming of Wakefield. Sir Thomas had about 1,500 horse and foot, drawn from Bradford and Leeds, and fell upon the works, beat the enemy out of the town, and took their great guns from them, though they were judged to be double in number to him\*. Not long after this appears the Earl of Newcastle, with a formidable army. It was observed by some, that the land was like Eden before him, and behind him as a barren wilderness †. He marcheth up to Atherton, and there pitcheth. All the forces we could spare in Leeds, Halifax, and Bradford, with some Lancashire regiments, were drawn up towards Wiskett hill; and,

\* 20th May 1643-4.—RUSHWORTH, Vol. v. p. 269. Leeds had been occupied, for the King, by General Goring, who was taken prisoner upon this occasion.

† See Joel, chap. ii. v. 3.

after some time, they joined battle with the great army, and beat them off their ground, put them to the foil, and in all probability had beat Newcastle off the field ; but the matter changed in a trice, and a party of their horse coming on, our party retreated, and never faced again that day \*. Some fled to Bradford, some to Halifax. Within a few days after they drew up their whole army, and besieged us in Bradford ; planted their pocket-pistols † and mortar-pieces against the kirk and town ; frightened many, but killed few. Sir Thomas came to us from Halifax, and got into the town. We grew soon at a great loss for want of provisions, and ammunition to secure the place ; and, after some time, we were forced to over-run it ‡. Some got clear

\* 30th June, 1643-4.—RUSHWORTH, Vol. v. p. 279.

† Two pieces of cannon, shooting thirty-six pound balls, called the *Queen's pocket-pistols*, otherwise *Gog and Magog*. They were lost in the retreat from Hull.

‡ Fairfax escaped to Hull, where he assumed the command in place of Sir John Hotham, arrested by the Mayor, on suspicion of a design to deliver up the place to the King.

away into Lancashire ; others of the horse broke out, and got to Hull : Many were taken prisoners ; myself was stript into my shirt, and driven in amongst the rest. After they had kept us two or three days, they had us to Leeds, and there many took up arms ; they were going to besiege Hull, and a small while they staid there. The most of the prisoners were released ; some on one account, some on another. I made it my work to get into Lancashire, to Rochdale, and there I fell sick of a fever ; and, after recovery, I was sent for to Thornhall in Craven, where we gathered together three or four companies of such as had fled away, and got out of prisons ; and, in a little time, Sir Thomas Fairfax, who left Hull with his horse and dragoons, betakes himself into Lincolnshire, and joins with Rossiter, and some others, at Winsby, and routed Goring, Hopton, and all their party. After, he was appointed to raise the siege at Nantwich, which was made by those forces sent by King and Parliament, to suppress the cut-



throat tories in the rebellion \*. These desert their work, and fight in England against the Parliament's friends; besieged Nantwich, and had brought it very low, but that they proved stout within. Sir Thomas sends an order for our companies to meet him at Knutsford-heath, near Manchester. The good man wept when he looked upon us; yet did give great encouragement, if God gave success, that in the battle we should be taken care for in a peculiar manner. We were put upon the forlorn. That morning we came to engage, we beat up an ambuscade at a mill, and took many prisoners; our horse fell in, and took them off our hands. We marched on to the enemy's main body, near Achton church; and there we went to prayers; and, after a council of war, it was resolved, to march the whole

\* Meaning the Irish rebels. "In the coldest season of the year, I was commanded by the Parliament to go and raise the siege at Nantwich; which the Lord Byron, with the Irish army, had reduced to great extremity."—LORD FAIRFAX'S *Memorials*, p. 69.

army to Nantwich, fearing we wanted foot; and, as we were slowly moving after the pioneers with the guns and waggons, the enemy fell upon our right flank with all the power they could: And much ado we had to get our party into order; yet at last it was done, though through many difficulties, and great hazards. It pleased God we kept our ground; and one Captain Holt, with four or five companies of Ashton's regiment, falls upon our enemy's flank in the hedges, and so we put the English-Irish to retreat to their waggons and guns at the church, and there we seized on all, and set a guard about the prisoners. There Monk\* was taken prisoner, and many thousands†. Several took up arms with us. Our company was appointed for Colonel Bright, to make up his regiment. He

\* General Monk, who afterwards restored Charles II., and was made Duke of Albemarle, then Colonel in the King's service. Nantwich was relieved 21st January, 1644-5.

† In all, 1,500 only.

had some companies came from about Sheffield before us. He was but young when he first had the command; but he grew very valiant and prudent, and had his officers and soldiers under good conduct. He continued with us until 1650, that was so far as Newcastle in our way to invade Scotland, and there he left us.

We marched back out of Cheshire to Sowerby, and from thence to Halifax, and back to Kighly, and so to Bradford, Major-General Lambert commanding the whole party. We found the enemy in Bradford\*, but they over-run the kirk. Our horse had some pickeering with them up to the lane head, and was put to flight; but our foot gave them such a salute with shot, as made them run for it. We retreated to Bradford and quartered there a while, and after marched to Leeds, and, after, took Selby†;

\* Colonel Bellasis, governor of York, had marched thither in hopes of surprizing Lambert.

† Here Colonel Bellasis was totally defeated, and made prisoner, 11th April 1644.

and, upon an instant, three armies were joined together, and besieged York: The Lord Fairfax at Walmgate-bar; the Scots at Mickle-gate; and Manchester at Bootham-bar.

June 5, 1645. Sir Marmaduke Langdale comes out of the south, with a body of horse, to raise the siege at Pontefract; and Colonel Lambert meeting them at Wentbridge engaged himself so far, that he came busily off; and, after some little bustle, most of our forces fled to Ferrybridge: Only our regiment stayed on the field; and if we had but had two troops of horse with us we had kept the field, but we were totally routed. The castle-foot being on one side, and the horse on another, they put us to the rout. Many were taken prisoners, but those were soon released\*; so that we besieged it again in a month's time, or there-

\* The author had originally written, "but not many taken, and those that was prisoners was soon released." The four first words are obliterated, and "many taken prisoners" interlined.

about. For they began to be in a low condition within; and, one Tuesday night, Sandal-men coming at unawares, got in some fifty beasts: Our men took thirty from them at the castle side; six or seven horsemen were forced into the castle, that had not liberty to come out. After this they grew quiet, and made no sallies. They then began to turn out women and children, and one old man; and our governor Colonel Overton examining them, sent them in again; it was presently surrendered. The Scotch army was marching towards Leicester, when the King's forces had made entrance. At this time came tidings, that Montrose was routed in Scotland, and driven into a castle\*.

I changed my condition 17th April 1646; we quartered then in York.

February 6, 1648, we were besieging

\* He was defeated at Philiphaugh, on the 13th September 1645.



Pontefract castle, and in great hopes of the rendition of it\*.

May the 8th, 1646. Tidings came to York, that the king was come to Newark, and surrendered himself to the Scots army, and presently after they marched by to Newcastle.

July 6, 1648 †. The Yorkshire army, quartered at Cattrick, being retreated from Barnard castle by reason of the enemy's advance, Colonel Harrison's regiment of horse, Twiselton's and the General's regi-

\* It did not surrender till the 22d of March, after a siege of several months.

*N. B.* This is the second siege the author now speaks of; the castle having been surprized by the royalists on the 3d of June preceding. He probably intended to insert the paragraph in its proper place, but had forgotten: which has given occasion to some person to correct the chronology, by converting the 8 into a 6, and the next 6 into an 8.

† At this time the civil war was rekindled. Sir Marmaduke Langdale, on the part of the King, had surprized Carlisle; and gathering together the northern royalists, had formed an army strong enough to face Lambert, under whom our author served, and who commanded in the north for the Parliament.

ment of foot, came to us, and we drew up on Gatherley muir. That night quartered near Kirby on the hill; the next day marched towards Bowes, where the enemy was retreated: That night we had a party of horse and foot drawn over Stanemore, and kept a pass not far from Brough. Our men fell upon their rear, and brought in some prisoners. Sir Marmaduke Langdale did appear himself, but durst not engage\*. We met with tempestuous weather over Stanemore; took Appleby castle, with four days siege; drew on to Penrith, where the enemy appeared near Kirkby Thorpe. We expected a battle, but they over-run us, having the sconce of a wood, which was called Whinfield park: Our horse fell upon their rear, and did execution. We drew

\* The Scottish Parliament were now about to declare for the King; and it is believed, that Langdale had strict orders to risk nothing till the advance of the Scottish army.—RUSHWORTH, vii. p. 1148. RAPIN, Vol. ii. p. 552.

up to Penrith, and refreshed ourselves three or four days: Our army was very healthy and stout, though it was unseasonable weather. We marched towards Carlisle, and drew up our army within a mile of it, and viewed their army under the walls, and could proceed no further. Several soldiers were taken that had run away from us, and were judged to be hanged; but mercy was used. That day we drew back to Penrith, and our regiment was ordered for Yorkshire; and, being marched as far as Appleby, (Lancashire forces being come to Kendal to supply our place, but being unwilling to march,) we were called back to Penrith with all expedition, and marched towards Carlisle; and the next morning stormed Rose castle, and took it without the loss of a man. We broke open the gate, and entered; took twenty-five prisoners: Major Cholmley was left in it, with a party of horse, to hinder Carlisle garrison from provision, and took many prisoners. By this time the

Lancashire forces were come up\*, and the army marched to Warwick bridge, where the enemy kept a guard ; and on the Sabbath day, in the morning, our horse fell unexpectedly upon them, and took a hundred prisoners in their quarters, most of them volunteers that came out of Yorkshire. On Monday we drew up to Carlisle, where the enemy were fortifying themselves at Stanwick ; but when we appeared they over-run their works, and sheltered themselves in Carlisle. We kept guard on Scotland-side five days, within musket-shot of the town ; and immediately a great part of our horse was sent, under the conduct of Colonel Lelburn, into Northumberland, where Langdale had sent his horse, most of them ; and our horse falling upon them unawares, fell into their quarters, seized on the horses in the fields, and the men in their quarters,

\* Four regiments of foot, and two of horse, were ordered to join Lambert by the committee of Lancashire.

and routed them totally. They were the gallantry of Langdale's army \* ; and all this was done without the loss of one man on our party. The encouragement to this attempt, was the information of an old woman, that gave our men an account of their security. First, they secured six hundred horse in the fields ; and, after, rid into their quarters, and cried, *horse ! horse !* and took four hundred prisoners, Colonel Grey, their chief commander, and three other Colonels, with many captains and gentlemen, that would not confess they had command.

When these tidings came to Major-General Lambert, who was always faithful and forward to promote the work, he drew us off from Carlisle, and marched us to Brampton, in Gilsland ; and the enemy, in Car-

\* They consisted of 700 or 800 horse, under Colonel Tempest, who had been detached by Langdale into Northumberland to effect a junction with Colonel Grey, which he achieved, but was unfortunately surprized by Colonel Lelburne, 1st July 1648. A list of the prisoners may be found, RUSHWORTH, Vol. vii. p. 1175.

lisle, seeing us draw off, was lifted up, expecting great things, and marched after us with horse and foot, thinking to have played some great exploit: And indeed they came on resolutely, and fell upon our rear; but Major Robinson, that never-to-be-forgotten commander for his gallantry, put them to the foil, though he was inconsiderable in number to them; yet lying in ambuscade, at a barn-end, with a party of horse, he, with his true-bred Lancastrians, fell upon them, and slashed them off the field. They took eleven considerable men prisoners, one a captain of horse. We drew off to Brampton, three miles off Carlisle, near Eden; but in this time we had taken Greystock castle, Brougham castle, Skelby and Appleby castles, and Cocker-mouth, and Saint Wilfrey isle\*. We quartered about Ireby, 6th July 1648.

\* See Lambert's account of these successes, in Rushworth, Vol. vii. p. 1184.

About the 13th July 1648, tidings came to the head-quarters, that Hamilton had entered England with his vast army, and now was marched within eight miles of Penrith where we lay, and there threatened to eat us up at once\*. Some brought us intelligence, they were at a stand in their councils, being divided. At this time comes news of a great victory obtained by Colonel Rossiter in Nottinghamshire, the 5th July 1648 †; and this alarm of the Scots drawing so near to us, it was resolved not to stand them fight there, they being so numerous, and we so few. We sent away our carriages for Appleby, and only kept the ammunition with us; and so we retreated by degrees. We had spies amongst their army daily, that brought us true intelli-

\* The Duke of Hamilton, with the Scottish forces, joined Sir Marmaduke Langdale near Carlisle, and made up an army of about 12,000 men.

† Over the royal garrison of Pontefract castle, under Sir Philip Mouncton and Sir Gilbert Byron, whom he encountered at Willoughby bridge.

gence of their numbers, as near as could be computed, and their postures and demeanours. As we retreated they pursued, and fell upon our rear-guard of horse near Appleby, that was commanded by that pious worthy commander Major-General Harrison; and he got a sore wound, yet not mortal. A great providence of God was observed: The Scots draw down with horse and foot towards Appleby bridge, and at their first appearance the water was fordable, but in a short time it was risen so high as we had no fords to maintain but only the bridge, where we had our foot placed on a piece of advantageous ground. Being below them, and they coming down full upon us, our foot gave them weight of lead, and missed not their mark; and because they could not come to us, being many fallen, we marched to them, both horse and foot, beat them to their main body a mile off, and made a safe retreat\*.

\* Harrison was wounded in this affair.



These wonders our leader, whom we desired to serve, wrought for us, to our great encouragement; and, on the contrary, to the discouragement of the adversary. The next night we marched towards Stanemore, and left a garrison in Appleby. One Elwand, a lieutenant belonging to our regiment, had commanded a party of stout men to join with Captain Aitkenson, and they left not a chirurgeon with them. The Scots lay down before it; and, after some sallies and skirmishes, they treated, and yielded upon some small terms, to march away with their arms; and so came after us to Bernard castle. The Scots marched towards Kendal, we towards Rippon; where Oliver\* met us with horse and foot. We were then betwixt eight or nine thousand; a fine smart army, and fit for action. We marched up to Shipton; and the forlorn of the

\* Oliver Cromwell; afterwards, in name, Lord Protector, and in power, King. There seems to have been bad generalship on Hamilton's part, in not fighting Lambert before this junction.

enemy's horse was come to Gargrave, and took some men away, and made others pay what money they pleased; having made havock of the country, it seems, intending never to come there again. At this time Captain Curren, a dreaping commander we had in those days, should have delivered up the castle to Langdale if he had come on, but stout Henry Cromwell commanded the forlorn to Gargrave, but the Langdales over-run him. The next day we marched to Clithero; and, at Waddey, our forlorn of horse took Colonel Tempest and a party of horse, for an earnest of what was behind. That night we pitched our camp at Stan-yares hall, a papist's house, one Sherburne; and the next morning a forlorn was drawn out of horse and foot; and, at Langridge chapel, our horse gleaned up a considerable parcel of the enemy, and fought them all the way until within a mile of Preston. They were drawn up very formidably. One Major Poundall and myself commanded the forlorn of foot; and being drawn up by the

moor side, (that scattering we had being not half the number we should have been,) the general comes to us, and commands to march: We not having half of our men come up, desired a little patience; he gives out the word, *march!* and so we drew over a little common, where our horse was drawn up, and came to a ditch, and the enemy lēt fly at us (a company of Langdale's men that was newly raised). They shot at the skies, which did so encourage our men, that they were willing to venture upon any attempt; and the major orders me to march to the next hedge, and I bid him order the men to follow me, and there drew out a small party; and we came up to the hedge end, and the enemy, many of them, threw down their arms, and run to their party, where was their stand of pikes, and a great body of colours. We drew up toward them; and on our right hand was a party of foot drawing off, that laid an ambuscado to hinder our horse, commanded by Major Smithson, for passing up the lane; and I seeing

their officer, that over-run his soldiers, retreating by himself, and the soldiers a great way behind him, bid the soldiers be in readiness, and stand still; and I leaped over the ditch, and made at the champion, which was one Colonel Carleton that afterwards I knew, but he over-run me on the plain-field, which caused a great shout in our army; in which time Major Smithson was advanced as forward as we were; and the enemy coming against us with a great body of colours, we had no way to shelter ourselves, but drew over a lane where Major Smithson was, and there we kept them in play so long as our ammunition lasted, and still kept our ground. At last comes a party of Scots lancers, and charged Major Smithson in the lane, passing by us, and put him to retreat; but they were routed immediately, and one of their commanders was running away, and I being aware of him, stepped into the lane, and dismounted him, and clapped into the saddle, and our horse came up in pursuit. My captain sees

me mounted, and orders me to ride up to my colonel, that was deeply engaged both in front and flank : And I did so, and there was nothing but fire and smoke ; and I met Major-General Lambert coming off on foot, who had been with his brother Bright ; and coming to him, I told him where his danger lay, on his left wing chiefly. He ordered me to fetch up the Lancashire regiment ; and God brought me off, both horse and myself. The bullets flew freely ; then was the heat of the battle that day. I came down to the muir, where I met with Major Jackson, that belonged to Ashton's regiment, and about three hundred men were come up ; and I ordered him to march, but he said he would not, till his men were come up. A serjeant, belonging to them, asked me, where they should march ? I shewed him the party he was to fight ; and he, like a true bred Englishman, marched, and I caused the soldiers to follow him ; which presently fell upon the enemy, and, losing that wing, the whole army gave

ground, and fled. Such valiant acts were done by contemptible instruments! The major had been called to a council of war, but that he cried *peccavi*. The Lancashire foot were as stout men as were in the world, and as brave firemen. I have often told them, they were as good fighters, and as great plunderers, as ever went to a field. This battle was about the 20th August 1648\*. It was to admiration to see what a spirit of courage and resolution there was amongst us, and how God hid from us the fears and dangers we were exposed to; what posture the enemy were in; their numbers (46,000 men, as reported); their threatenings, what they would do; how they were accoutered, and encouraged through the nation: They had cast lots for the spoil of us. Colonel Bright's regiment, Colonel Pride's, and Colonel Deane's, kept

\* See Cromwell's account of the victory at Preston.—RUSHWORTH, Vol. vii. p. 1237. He makes the Scottish and royalist forces amount to 21,000 men, his own to 8,600.

the field; the Lancashire regiments, and my Lord General Cromwell's regiment of foot, pursued towards Ribbald bridge, with most of our horse, where the Scots had six regiments of horse and foot, that had been in no service, besides their great army, with the waggons, near Waltonhall, drawn up in readiness. There was a long dispute before the bridge was gained; and our horse and foot having routed that party above Waltonhall, they came to their main body; and a matter of six or eight horsemen, commanded by Captain Pockley, kept a gapstead of their whole army; while some of our troopers lighted, and turned about Hamilton's waggons, and threw over that wherein was all his plate, as they brought it down the hill; but the Scots, having no mind to rescue it, suffered them to carry the prize away in the face of their whole army, though nothing to fright them but a forlorn hope of horse. Such things did God for a handful of men! That night our regiment was appointed quarters in Pres-

ton, and slept quietly. The next morning Colonel Horney\*, a valiant good man, in pursuit of the Scots, was run through with a lancier in Chorley, he wanting his arms; and these sad tidings coming to Preston, trumpets sounded, and drums beat, and most of the army marched with all speed, save these that guarded the prisoners, and some few that pursued Langdale northward, who marched on to Wigan, where the enemy was; and our men had so closely pursued them, that they had slain of them all the way as we marched. To Wigan we came; and pitching upon a muir towards morning, that good man, and valiant of a young man, Major Cholmley, came to my Captain Spencer and me, wanting a refreshment, being ordered to march; and we got a pint of strong waters amongst several of us, and parted; and the next

\* This name is mis-spelled. Cromwell calls him, "that worthy gentleman Colonel Thornhaugh, who, pressing too boldly, was slain; being run into the body, thigh, and head, by the enemies lanciers."



news we had in the morning of him, he was slain in pursuing. A great loss we had of such a youth, who was grown so expert, valiant, and faithful. We pursued to Winwick, where we found the horse was fled to Warrington bridge, and the foot drawn up in a most advantageous place, and snaffled our forlorn, and put them to retreat. So we being drawn up, horse and foot, to give them a charge, their horse appeared upon the muir from Warrington bridge; but their foot threw down their arms, and run into Winwick church, about four or five thousand; and there we set a guard about them. The next day the country people brought in prisoners by drifts, and seven regiments of foot laid down their arms at Trodshame bridge. Their horse fled to Uttoxeter, where Hamilton was taken, and all the lave\* of them; and there was an end of him, and his great army. We had pursuit of these youths for twenty-four miles in

\* *Lave*, for *remainder*; a Scottish phrase.

computation. There were above ten thousand prisoners taken, and of what were slain none could give account, the battle was of so long continuance, and such a running fight. Our foot pursued to Stopforth, and then faced about for Yorkshire; and afterwards marched for Scotland, and quartered at Duns, the 18th September 1648.

The Scots were struck in great fear at our approach, and most of their men left us their room; but, after they had been away for a while, and hearing of our civil deportment, returned to their homes, and confessed they never saw such a civil people in all their days. We found the country very poor, and very malignant. The general cashiered Colonel Wren, and several of his officers, in the head of our army, for plundering with their soldiers\*. It gave a great deal of encouragement to the honest part of the army, to cashier such time-serving

\* See Cromwell's proclamation on this subject.—  
RUSHWORTH, Vol. vii. p. 1274.

fellows. We had Berwick delivered to us by agreement with the Scots commissioners. Sir Lodowick Lesly marched out with all the Scots, and it was agreed to join with old General Lesley against the common enemy. Monro\*, we heard, was come in to Lesley. The English were left to themselves in Berwick; the best end of them was to be prisoners. Duke Hamilton pressed every fourth man amongst them for that expedition into England; and they are now raising new men for old Lesley. The gentry of the nation have such influence over the commonalty, that they can lead them what way they please. Sir Arthur M'Selrige takes the command of Berwick; and several regiments are on our march so far as Langtown, towards Carlisle: The Scots

\* Monro had marched into England with a considerable army to support Hamilton, but retired to Scotland on Cromwell's approach. In the mean time, the kirk party had obtained the ascendance in the committee of estates. Monro was declared a public enemy, and Cromwell welcomed as the deliverer of the church.—LAING'S *History*, Vol. i. p. 367.

commissioners go along with us. Before we reached it, our forlorn of horse fell into the enemy's quarters at Brampton, and took their whole party of horse, many of them drunk, in their quarters; that was the last skirmish we had with them. Carlisle was delivered to our men, and Appleby castle, some days before, to the Lancashire forces. We marched back into Yorkshire.

York, 19th June 1650. The Parliament had under consideration how to settle the army for the north, now when the Scots had agreed about their king\*; or, however, had agreed upon it, and had resolved Fairfax to be general, and Cromwell lieutenant-general, but Fairfax deserted it †. It seems

\* Charles II.

† Hear Lord Fairfax's own reasons for his conduct on this occasion.

“ All the power being got into the army, they cut up the root of kingly government: After this were engagements made to abolish that title. Then was war declared against Scotland for assisting the king; and several leagues made with foreign princes, to confederate with their new government, which was now a Commonwealth, against the kingly power.

the great man \* is sore startled at the Scots, for taking off the heads of Montrose, Spotswood, and others; and so they have sent new messengers to him, to persuade him, that the taking away of their lives will be no prejudice to him, but rather further their proceedings in settling their kingdom.

27th June 1650. We marched out of York, with our regiment, northward; the train of artillery came in the night before, the 16th June, and near sixty carriages. We came to Sunderland the 6th July, and Wearmouth; and there we quartered for

“ All this I saw with grief and sorrow: And though I had as much the love of the army as ever, and was, with great importunity, solicited by that remaining Parliament, and soldiers, to continue my command; and though I might, so long as I acted their designs, have attained to what height of power, and other advantages, I pleased; yet, by the mercies and goodness of God, I did, so long as I continued in the army, oppose all those ways in their councils; and, when I could do no more, I then declined their actions: Though I did not resign my commission, which I had from the Parliament, till the remaining part of it took it from me.” *Short Memorials*, p. 127.

\* The king.

some time. The king was now come into Scotland, and had been three days at Stirling castle before any great notice was taken of him. News sent out of Ireland is, that Castlehaven hath recruited his army to ten thousand, and intends to raise some of the sieges that are laid by our forces.

11th July. I quartered, with our company, at Sir William Fenwick's, four miles beyond Morpeth. News came to us, that Colonel Bright had deserted us at Newcastle, and thrown in his commission, upon some little discontent, that the general would not give him a fortnight's time to settle his concerns at home\*. At this time, being the 17th July, we were within eighteen miles of Berwick. We are the first foot regiment, and the carriages are moving after us. The Scots are startled at our approach so near them. They promise great things to the soldiers, that all shall be their

\* General Lambert was appointed in his room; a circumstance afterwards more particularly noticed.

own when they come in England. They give them six shillings a-piece to buy them swords. They have prized all the corn and grass near the borders, and given the people warning, upon our approach, to flee away northward, and draw their goods with them. They seem to be much startled at our approach so near them, especially at our taking divers of their ships. A great victory was obtained in Ireland by our party; the bishop was routed, and all his forces, who were known Irish papists, whom the Scots declare to be their friends\*.

July the 22d. We passed through Ber-

\* The author most probably alludes to the battle of Skirfolas, fought on the 21st of June 1650, between the English, under the command of Sir Charles Coote, and the Irish, commanded by the popish Bishop of Clogher, in which the latter were defeated with great slaughter; the pursuit continuing thirty miles. The Bishop himself, who had given his forces the name of *The confident victorious Catholic army of the North*, was taken prisoner, and next day hanged. The author had sufficient reason for calling them "known Irish papists," there not being a single protestant, or catholic, of English extraction among them.

wick; and, marching over the bounds, came to Mordington, where we encamped. The general made a large discourse to the officers on the bounds, shewing he spoke as a Christian and a soldier, and shewed the inconveniencies we should meet with in the nation as to the scarcity of provisions; as to the people, we should find the leading part of them to be soldiers, and they were very numerous, and, at present, may be unanimous; and much to that purpose: And charged the officers to double, nay treble their diligence in that place, for be sure we had work before us. Well, that night we pitched at Mordington, about the house. Our officers were looking out at a window, hearing a great shout amongst the soldiers, they spied a soldier with a Scots kirn\* on his head. Some of them had been purveying abroad, and had found a vessel filled with Scots cream; and, bringing the rever-

\* Alias *kurn*; in the south of England pronounced *churn*.



sions to their tents, some got dishfuls, and some hatfuls; and the cream growing low in the vessel, one would have a modest drink, and heaving up the kirn, another lifts it up, and the man was lost in it, and all the cream trickles down his apparel, and his head fast in the tub; this was a merriment to the officers, as Oliver loved an innocent jest. The next morning a trumpeter came from the Scots army, but to little purpose. The beacons were all set on fire that night; the men fled, and drove away their cattle\*. The clergy, highly in-

\* " In the march between Mordington and Copper-smith (Cockburn's path), we saw not any Scotchman in Eyton, and other places that we passed through; but the streets were full of Scotch women, pitiful sorry creatures, clothed in white flannel, in a very homely manner. Very many of them much bemoaned their husbands, who, they said, were enforced by the lairds of the towns to gange to the muster. All the men in this town (Dunbar), as in other places of this day's march, were fled; and not any to be seen above seven, or under seventy years old, but only some few decrepid ones." *Relation of the Fight at Leith, near Edinburgh*, &c. published by authority; printed by Ed. Griffin, 1650, 4to.

censed against us, represent us to the people as if we had been the monsters of the world. Eight troopers were brought in by our guards, and suffered to go home, upon their promising to be peaceable.

About the 30th July we were marched up to Musselburgh. Our regiment quartered at the Stane-hill \*, in a house by ourselves. It was of advantage for a regiment to draw up in, having walls and ditches about it. We marched up to Edinburgh on the Monday, and found the foot placed in works betwixt Edinburgh and Leith, their horse at a distance from them, part drawn up on a high hill above them near Edinburgh †. That night we lay in the

\* A house on the western side of the Esk, converted, upon this occasion, into a garrison; and which was occasionally head-quarters, as several letters are dated from thence.

† Lesley lay strongly posted betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, with much ordnance in front of his line. His left flank occupied the Calton-hill, and he had advanced posts upon the declivity of Arthur's seat and Salisbury craigs, who lined the wall of the king's park. These were driven back by Cromwell, who occupied

fields, near a little village, named, I think, *Lichnagarie* (Lang-Niddery), and had a most tempestuous night; the arms of the soldiers were almost spoiled, and made at present unserviceable. About eleven o'clock we wanted our bread and cheese, and drew off towards Musselburgh; and the van of our army marching too fast, as if we had been at a great distance from the enemy, they took courage, and came swarming out like bees, horse and foot; fell upon our rear of horse, where they were sore put to it, near *Lichnagarie* (Lang-Niddery), cut and hewed Major-General Lambert, took him prisoner, and were carrying him away towards Edinburgh, but the valiant Lieutenant Emson, one of Hacker's officers, pur-

these heights; and, from the neighbourhood of Saint Anthony's chapel, cannonaded Lesley's left wing, who returned the fire from a place on the descent of the Calton, called the Quarry-holes. A confusion has arisen in this narrative, from some authors confusing Saint Anthony with Saint Leonard, who gives name to another part of these rocks, but to which Cromwell could not possibly have advanced.

sued with five or six of our soldiers, and hewed him out, and brought him to his own foot regiment, where we procured him a pacing horse\*. Now in this time the

\* This attack was made by two bodies of Scottish horse, the one from Leith on the right, the other from the Canongate on the left. Captain Evanson, who received the charge of the last body, was routed, as was Cromwell's own regiment, which supported him; and they were only extricated by the gallantry of Lambert. Meanwhile, Colonel Hacker was engaged with those who had advanced from Leith, whom he repulsed with loss. "The Scotch King being on the Castle-hill to see his men, which he called his *green-hornes*, beaten on both sides to Leith and Edinburgh to some purpose."—*Relation of the Fight, &c.* Cromwell writes the following account of this skirmish to the Lord President of the Council of State: "The enemy, when we drew off, fell upon our rear, and put them into some little disorder; but our bodies of horse being in some readiness, came to a grable with them, where, indeed, there was a gallant and hot dispute. The Major-General, and Colonel Whalley, being in the rear, and the enemy drawing out great bodies to second their first affront, our men charged them up to the very trenches, and beat them in. The Major-General his horse was shot in the neck and head, himself run through the arm with a lance, and run into another place of the body, was taken prisoner by the enemy, but rescued

Scots were all skulked into their dens, and we marched, with empty stomachs, peaceably to our quarters about Musselburgh. Pride's regiment of foot, being on the rear-guard, behaved themselves daringly that day, and some others of horse; but our deliverances were such at all times as was to admiration. Worthy Lambert got two wounds; one with a lance into the thigh, the other into the arm with a tuck. The next morning we had an alarm before day, at Steane-hill\*, by Lilburne's horse: One

immediately by Lieutenant Emson of my regiment." *True Relation of the proceedings of the English Army in Scotland, from 22d July to 1st August; Extracted from Letters sent from the Army, and read in Parliament.* Published by order of Parliament.

\* This night-attack was made by a body of cavalry, commanded by Major-Generals Montgomery and Strachan. Their guides were a gentleman named Hamilton, proprietor of Stoneyhill, and his servant, who were both killed. When the English patrol of cavalry took the alarm and mounted, two Englishmen came forwards and cried, it was a false alarm, which gave the Scottish cavalry time to gallop in amongst them, and do some execution. Fleetwood's horse were entirely routed; and the army was preserved by the vigilance

Captain Watkinson, that commanded the guard, a person of great worth for conduct and valour, gave the foot the alarm, and we were all roused up, having little to do but to shake ourselves; and being drawn forth, and day approaching, the enemy falls pell-mell upon our horse guard; but the foot lying so near, baffled them. There were 1500 horse, that were resolved to sacrifice us that morning; being headed by Strachan, Lockhart, Kerr, and a company of remonstrators; and, before we left them, they were sadly mangled. At their first attempt they drew up upon a conney warren hill; and being in view, and in the reach of

and activity of Bright's (now Lambert's) regiment of infantry, in which our author was a captain. The assailants amounted to about 800 picked men, well armed with cuirasses, lances, and pistols. They were called, *the Kirk regiment of horse*, but, in the eyes of their opponents, they ill deserved that venerable name; one man, when wounded mortally, exclaiming, "Damn me, I'll go to my king;" from which, and other circumstances, they were supposed to have in their ranks some reprobate cavaliers.

our great guns, they were let fly amongst them, and did such execution as they came down upon the foot, within pistol-shot of our works; and there they fell out of the frying-pan into the fire\*. God appeared wonderfully for us that morning, in delivering us, and in destroying our enemies †. There were about forty of them killed about us, it was judged a hundred in all; and about two hundred taken prisoners, with their horses: We had eighteen or twenty wounded. The next day our general sent a trumpet to Edinburgh, with four or five waggons laden with dead men, to convince the Scots how they had beaten us, as they

\* "The enemy being routed, and coming by Colonel Bright's (our author's) regiment of foot, had so great a volley from them, that many fell from their horses, one corporal's leg taken off, and three horses killed, with one of the great guns of that regiment." *Letters, &c.* as above.

† Cromwell was of the same mind. "Indeed this is a sweet beginning of your business, or rather of the Lord's,—and I trust this work, which is the Lord's, will prosper in the hands of his servants." *Letter to the President*, ut supra.

had reported ; at which the spectators cried, *out! out\*!*

About the 6th of August we retreated to Dunbar, for want of provisions ; the ships not being come up with recruits and provisions, that were hourly expected † : And I heard, that my wife was brought to bed of a son and daughter, which were my son Timothy, and Sarah that died. At this time we were brought under great distress for want of provisions ; and had much what lost the discipline of the army. It was sad to see the devastation that was made ; and the great reason was the timorousness of the Scots, who had plundered their own houses, and had hid their stuff in private

\* “ To refute the imputations of cruelty thrown upon him by the Scots, Cromwell sent back the principal prisoners in his own coach, and the wounded in wag-gons.” *WHITELOCKE'S Memorials*, p. 452.

† The stormy season prevented the vessels, with tents and provisions from London, to come farther up the firth of Forth than Dunbar. The Kirk proclaimed a thanksgiving on the retreat of the English, which was dashed by their immediate return.



places ; where the Scots informed them, or they, by their own covetous appetites, found them out. At this time the Scots came skulking to their houses ; and the general having a special regard to them to protect them, encouraged many, and constrained them to be quiet, and to follow their callings.

The next march we had was to Pentland hills \*, south of Edinburgh ; and there we pitched our tents on a piece of ground pretty secure. We lying so near them, and hindering their provisions and recruits for coming to them, their whole army lifted

\* On this occasion Cromwell endeavoured to force the wary Lesley to battle, by throwing himself betwixt Edinburgh and Stirling, so as to cut off the supplies which the Scottish army drew from the west. But the veteran contented himself with facing the English army, and covering Edinburgh, sensible that distress would force them to regain Musselburgh before he could feel any want of provisions. He therefore occupied the fields adjacent to Kirkliston and Gogar, having small garrisons in Collinton, Redhall, Dalhousie, Craigmillar, and other favourable strengths. The two first were taken by Cromwell.

and drew to Gawger field, and we marched to meet them, where both armies were drawn up. Our army had our regiment of foot commanded by Lambert, who was our colonel; the soldiers chose him unani- mously when we had lost our old one. (Co- lonel Bright.) Not to omit one thing, when we were about Alnwick, several colonels came into the head of the regiment, and told the soldiers, the general was much trou- bled such a regiment should want a colo- nel; who would they have? The soldiers told them they had a good colonel, but he had left them, and they knew not whom they might have. The colonels asked, if they would have Colonel Monk? "*Colo- nel Monk!*" said some of them, "what! to betray us? We took him, not long since, at Namptwick, prisoner: we'll have none of him." The next day the colonels came again, and propounded the case afresh; and asked, if they would have Major-Ge- neral Lambert to be their colonel? At which they all threw up their hats, and

shouted, *a Lambert! a Lambert\*!* Now this regiment, with his regiment of horse, was drawn up on the left wing of our army, and Sir David Lesley did over-wing us, and both the armies were entirely drawn up, ready for battle; but there proved to be a bog betwixt us, on our left wing, that we could not engage them. Betwixt the armies were some sheep-folds, made up of sod walls; and the Scots draw into them a party of foot, to hinder our men from viewing their army, and they begun to fire upon some of ours, that were pickeering betwixt the armies; and Oliver calls for a couple of guns, and batters their shelter about their ears, that much they had to do to get off their quick and dead; at which our army set up an English shout, and be-

\* “Colonel Bright’s regiment being drawn up, Major-General Lambert, appointed colonel thereof, coming to the head of the regiment, was received with great acclamations.” *Relation of the Fight at Leith.* Colonel Bright had resigned his command upon disgust, as our author has already noticed.

gun to play with our great guns upon their army, from the right to the left wing, and did great execution ; and they let fly at us, but God covered our heads \*. There was but one shot flew amongst our pikes all the day, and killed two men, and struck down three ; but all that were aimed at us flew over, or short †. We drew back at night, to

\* Not so completely, however, but that they had some loss. The water of Leith parted the armies. "The word given out was, RISE LORD ; the body of foot advancing within less than twice musket-shot, and then was discovered such a bog on both our wings of horse, that it was impossible to pass over. Thus, by this very unexpected hand of Providence, were we prevented, and only had liberty to play with our cannon that evening, and part of the next morning, which did good execution, as we believe, upon them. We had very strange and remarkable deliverances from theirs, though they played very hard upon us, and that with much art ; but the Lord suffered them not to do us much hurt, we had not slain and wounded above five-and-twenty men." *True Relation, &c.*

† A letter in the "True Relation" mentions several strange shots. "One was at Major Hobson's troops, which was drawn close together to prayer ; and just as the *amen* was said, there came in a great shot among them, and touched neither horse nor man."

see if they would advance ; but having no great stomachs, we drew back to Pentland hills, and they to Edinburgh and Leith. The next day, we drew back towards Musselburgh \*, and they marched very briskly after us ; and our general observing their motion, as though they designed to flank us on the right wing, (they were to march down by a mountain end in view of us, and in reach of our guns,) he caused two to play upon them in their march. Their van being passed, the rest must follow ; and indeed they were sore baffled with our shot, they had such fair play at them. That night we marched to Musselburgh, where we shipped near five hundred sick men for

\* Cromwell, while abandoning his camp at Pentland hills, was in some danger of losing his post of Musselburgh, and others to the eastward, which were threatened by Lesley advancing from Edinburgh and Leith, and occupying the eastern descent of Arthur's Seat. Here the cannonade, mentioned by our author, took place ; but the Scottish general still declining an engagement, drew off betwixt Craigmillar and Arthur's Seat.

Berwick. Our army grew weaker every day than another; and as we were drawing homeward towards Haddington, the Scot came up close to us; and it was a misty evening. Colonel Charles Fairfax's regiment of foot, and a regiment of horse, being drawn to the guard on the outside of the town, in the place the enemy was designed to enter, our men being in readiness, beat them back, and the Highlanders threw down their arms, and run for it. The next morning was the Sabbath, and our officers were consulting on which side of the town to fight them; and drawing several regiments on the west side of the town, we were presently ordered to retreat, and to leave the town of Haddington betwixt us. We staid until about ten o'clock, had been at prayer in several regiments, sent away our waggons and carriages towards Dunbar, and not long afterwards marched, a poor, shattered, hungry, discouraged army; and the Scots pursued very close, that our rear-guard had much ado to secure our poor

weak foot, that was not able to march up. We drew near Dunbar towards night, and the Scot ready to fall upon our rear: Two guns played upon them, and so they drew off, and left us that night, having got us into a pound as they reckoned. The next morning was very tempestuous, and they had blocked up our way for England. A great clough was betwixt the armies, and it could be no less than a mile of ground betwixt their right wing, near Roxburgh house, and their left wing; they had a great mountain behind them, which was prejudicial, as God ordered it. Our poor army drew up about swamps and bogs, not far from Dunbar, and could not pitch a tent all that day. About nine o'clock at night we had a council of war called; and, debating the case what to do, many of the colonels were for shipping the foot, and the horse to force their passage; but honest Lambert was against them in all that matter, he being active the day before in observing the disadvantage the Scots might meet with in the

posture they were drawn up in, and gave us reasons, and great encouragements to fight; first, we had great experience of the goodness of God to us, while we kept close together; and if we parted we lost all: Secondly, there was no time to shift the foot, for the day would be upon us, and we should lose all our carriages: Thirdly, we had great advantage of them in their drawing up; if we beat their right wing, we hazarded their whole army, for they would be all in confusion, in regard they had not great ground to traverse their regiments betwixt the mountain and the clough: Fourthly, they had left intervals in their bodies, upon the brink of the hill, that our horse might march a troop at once, and so the foot; and the enemy could not wheel about, nor oppose them, but must put themselves into disorder: Lastly, our guns might have fair play at their left wing, while we were fighting their right. These, with other reasons, altered the council; and one steps up, and desires that Colonel Lambert might have



the conduct of the army that morning, which was granted by the General freely. Towards morning we were ordered to march down to Roxburgh house, all the whole army, neither regarding tents nor baggage; and as our regiment was marching in the head of the horse, a cornet was at prayer in the night, and I appointed one of my officers to take my place. I rid to hear him, and he was exceedingly carried on in the duty. I met with so much of God in it, as I was satisfied deliverance was at hand: And coming to my command, did encourage the poor weak soldiers, which did much affect them, which when it came to it, indeed, a little one was as David, and the house of David as the angel of the Lord \*. The day broke, and we in disorder, and the Major-General a wanting, being ordering the guns: The General was impatient; the Scots a-preparing to make the attempt upon us, sounding a trumpet,

\* Zechariah, chap. xii. v. 8.

but soon desisted. At last the Major-General came, and ordered Packer, major to the General's regiment, Gough's, and our two foot regiments, to march about Roxburgh house, towards the sea, and so to fall upon the enemy's flank, which was done with a great deal of resolution; and one of the Scots brigades of foot would not yield, though at push of pike and butt end of the musket, until a troop of our horse charged from one end to another of them, and so left them at the mercy of the foot. The General himself comes in the rear of our regiment, and commands to incline to the left; that was, to take more ground, to be clear of all bodies: And we did so, and horse and foot were engaged all over the field; and the Scots all in confusion: And, the sun appearing upon the sea, I heard Nol say, "Now let God arise, and his enemies shall be scattered \*;" and he, follow-

\* Psalm lxviii. v. 1.

The Scots, however, thought that they themselves had got God on their side; as the ministers, by order-

ing us as we slowly marched, I heard him say, "I profess they run!" and then was the Scots army all in disorder and running, both right wing, and left, and main battle. They had routed one another, after we had done their work on their right wing; and we, coming up to the top of the hill with the straggling parties, that had been engaged, kept them from bodying; and so the foot threw down their arms, and fled towards Dunbar, our pin-fold, and there they were surrounded and taken. The horse fled what way they could get, ours pursued towards Haddington; and the General made a halt, and sung the hundred and seventeenth psalm; and by that time they had

ing the king to leave the camp, and purging it of all *malignants*, who were their best soldiers, compelled Lesley, against his mind, to descend the heights of Lammermuir, an impregnable situation, crying out, like the army of Jerub-baal, (Judges, chap. vii. v. 20.) "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon!" when Cromwell, not less a fanatic, discerned through his glass an extraordinary movement in the Scottish camp: "They are coming down," he exclaimed, "the Lord hath delivered them into our hands."

done, their party was increased, and advancing; the Scots ran, and were no more heard of that fight. The commander of our army was busy in securing prisoners, and the whole bag and baggage; and, afterwards, we returned to bless God in our tents, like Issachar\*, for the great salvation afforded to us that day.

The next march was for the city of Edinburgh, and there we besieged the strong castle; undermined it immediately; drew up guns against it; and after some few fire balls were thrown in, they were discouraged, and yielded upon terms. We had considerable markets kept in a little time, and provisions brought in plentifully. Our horse, lying in the west for fresh quarters, had sore tugging with the Remonstrators, a party that could not agree with the rest; and after some fights between Major-General Lambert and them, the leaders came in-

\* Deuteronomy, chap. xxxiii. v. 18.

to us, and desired protection, and proved very faithful.

That winter being got over, and the next summer almost worn out, we marched, to and again, to Glasgow; but no fighting, excepting one small bout at Torwood: A great army they had got together, and the king crowned, and amongst them; we drew up our army by water side, and their whole army lay at a distance on the other side. We had spies sent out amongst them into Langdale's party, pretending to run away from us, and they were coming in continually with intelligence; but quartering so near them that night, in the morning they fired two drakes into the midst of our camp, and startled many, but killed few. We drew all out immediately, and left the tents standing; towards noon plucked up all, and prepared for a march to our bread and cheese. They were preparing as they would have followed us. Old Nol was angry they had been so rough with our tents; and in the morning he appointed two of our field-

pieces to be left with the guns, at a distance, in the rear of our army; and the enemy, not aware of them, had drawn a company together, where they had a great consultation, and had resolved to have fought us that day; but our guns letting fly amongst them, spoiled their resolution, and so we drew off without any more ado. Presently we divided the army; Lambert was boated over the water towards the Queensferry, with horse and foot, and the General facing them while he was got over; and, retreating from Torwood, we saw them with our prospective glasses that bodies fled westward, so that we concluded we had beaten them; which proved accordingly. They had sent out a party of their best horse and foot from Stirling, and were beaten with our men, with some tugging, to dirt. We hasted to get over the whole army into Fife, and took Bruntisland; marched to St Johnston\*, where two troopers

\* Perth.

were hanged, in the view of our army, for plundering. St Johnston was delivered on treaty; and the king's army marched from Stirling to England. Lambert was sent away with a great party of horse, to attend their motion; and Monk left behind in Scotland. The General marched, with our waggons, in all haste for England. Lambert was got before the Scots at Warrington, and had a skirmish there with them. Colonel Lilburne was left in Lancashire, to observe the Earl of Derby's motion, and to hinder him from raising forces; and it seems they lay near together about Preston: and we, having marched as far as Rutherford Abbey in Nottinghamshire, Lilburne writes to the General for a foot regiment, as he was not able to meet him on the field. The next morning he ordered his own regiment to prepare for a march for Lancashire. It was newly raised. They came to us after Dunbar fight; and I had a company given me in it. The soldiers had an inclination to march, being many of them Lan-

cashire men. We had one troop of horse with us; marched at a great rate until we came at Manchester, and coming thither there was some appearance of danger, and so we pitched in the field a night or two, until Lilburne sent orders to march up towards Wigan, and be very careful, for he feared the earl would fall upon us, and take us unawares. We set out scouts before us, and they brought in two prisoners that informed our officers, that the earl and his party were totally routed near Wigan. We doubled our diligence in our march; and by that time we came to Wigan, had taken many prisoners running away. Two officers were sent to the General, that came to him before Worcester fight with tidings, which proved very seasonable and acceptable. The General sent orders to Lilburne to march most of his horse to Bewdly bridge, and to leave two troops with the foot to conduct them southward. He being a person that never used to give day in any expedition, he prepares to make an



attempt upon them at Worcester, and after sore service on both sides, the water puts them to a total rout, after a sore fight as related. A great part of the Scots horse flies homeward ; and as we were marching one morning upon the downs from Whitchurch in Staffordshire, a countryman comes riding in haste, and informs us of a great party of horse that was coming on, and if we made haste, we might take a bridge before them, and hinder a pass, and secure ourselves ; and the foot being so zealous, would compare with the horse, took the pass, and prevented the Scot. The Scots seeing themselves stopt, marched another road towards Nantwich, which was about half a mile off us, and we had a party of horse and foot drawn out to interrupt them ; and our soldiers had pleasant work with them while they marched by. They were, by computation, about five or six hundred men, and our musketeers would have gone into the lane, and taken by the bridle the best-like person they saw, and brought him

out, without a stroke ; so low was the Scot brought. But the most remarkable thing was, one Oliver Edge, one of our captains, had a mind to see what became of the forlorn, hearing such a great firing ; and viewing them very busy, he spies a party of horse behind him in the fields, and, having no order to be there, he retreats towards the regiment ; but they called upon him, and asked if he was an officer ; and drawing towards them, about eighteen or twenty horsemen lighted, and told him they would surrender themselves prisoners ; there was the Earl of Derby, the Earl of Lauderdale, Sinclair, and a fourth : These became prisoners to one single captain ; but the soldiers fell in with him immediately.

This victory being over, we were to march back into Lancashire, to take the isle of Man, under the conduct of Colonel Duckenfield. Horse and foot were drawn into Wiral, to wait for shipping and a fair wind. At last it came, and we were transported to the isle ; forced our entrance, af-

ter storms at sea ; and had two castles delivered upon terms, viz. Peel and Rushin. In a short time afterwards we were ordered for London ; but no respite to refresh ourselves, but when one woe was past, another was a-coming. But, to enlarge this account, we had tidings out of Scotland, the 10th August 1651, which our army had given them : They had taken Dundee by storm ; old Leven, Lord Ogilvie, Lord Crawford, Lindsey, with others, were taken prisoners, who had a design to raise the siege at Dundee ; but Colonel Alured was sent forth with his regiment of horse, and two troops of dragoons, and fell upon them, and routed them, and took, besides the noblemen, three hundred gentlemen, with many of their ministers.

After several years lying at London, we had great encounters with the Dutch by sea, and beat them in three great sea fights : And these things being over, and the Protector being settled in the government he had taken upon him, I grew weary of my

employment, having a desire to leave the army, and to sit down with my dear wife and children; and I used means to some of our grandees, but it seems they had no mind to part with me, but disposed of me into Major-General Lambert's regiment of horse, to be lieutenant to Captain Pockley; where they thought I might have much more liberty with my family, in regard the regiment was to quarter much in Yorkshire. We continued so until the Protector died: And the Major-General having his commission taken from him before, was called in again by the army. Richard laid aside, the old Parliament was brought in: Sir George Booth rises in Cheshire, and declares for the king. Lambert is sent down to attend his motion; meets with him about Northwick; fights him; and quickly routs him and his whole party. It should seem, that Monk was expected to his assistance. In the new model that was made in the army, I was ordered into Colonel Saunders's regiment in Scotland, un-

der Monk ; and having leave for a month's time, to prepare myself for a march. In the interim I was sent for with all speed, by a special messenger, to repair to my command, and to bring with me fourteen or sixteen old soldiers, well mounted ; which I had raised in a short time : And passing northward to Ferryhill, I quartered my party there, and repaired to the Major-General Lambert, who was got thither before me with a strong army of horse and foot, which was designed to fight Monk, who was then marched into Northumberland with his army ; and staying some days at Newcastle with the officers, Lambert would have had me to have marched to Monk, and would have persuaded me, that if I staid not with him (Lambert), he (Monk) would give me my arrears which were then due to me (L. 208) and I might return again ; but I told him, I should lie open to many temptations, and if there should be a breach between them, I had no heart to fight against him, though I had a com-

mission under Monk. So he left me to my liberty, and desired I would go into the country, to see if, with Captain Coats, we could get him any money; and not many days after he left Newcastle, and his party scattered without strokes; and Monk, with his party, marched on to London. It should seem, the Parliament sends down two of their members, Robinson and Scott, to treat, to order these armies to march each to their old quarters, Monk into Scotland, and Lambert southward; which he did accordingly, so far as Rippon; and Monk pursuing so closely, and Fairfax, with others of the army that was revolted, as part of Lilburne's regiment got into a body at Piers bridge; and so Lambert and his party was mouldered away, and I lost that L. 208 at that turn, besides the great charge I was at in raising and maintaining that party of horse, while under my command; but the main sum was due to me in Lambert's horse regiment, as I was lieutenant to Pockley, and in Fauconberg's re-

giment, who was our colonel. I was disposed on out of that regiment to Colonel Saunders's regiment of horse, then under Monk in Scotland, to be lieutenant to Captain Coulson, and had a commission from the Speaker in the House, the 3d August 1659.

*Memorandum.* I had pay, due in Lambert's regiment, after the 3d day of January muster, for every twenty-eight days L. 20 : 6s. a-month, viz. January the last, L. 20 : 6s. ; February the last, L. 20 : 6s. ; March the 28th, L. 20 : 6s. ; April the 25th, L. 20 : 6s. ; May the 23d, L. 20 : 6s. ; June the 20th, L. 20 : 6s. ; July the 18th, L. 20 : 6s. ; July the last, L. 10 : 3s. ; so that the whole amounts to L. 152 : 5s. This money was due for myself and two servants.

*Memorandum.* I lent Henry Foxcroft of Batley L. 40, upon his security, and his son John Foxcroft's debenture ; and have lost that wholly : It was not satisfied by the State.

I lost all my pay in Coulson's troop in Saunders's regiment, and the charge I was at in raising eleven troopers, furnishing them with money and necessaries for their march\*.

I want L. 40 from my brother Stancliffe, part of my wife's portion, promised by her father, which I was not urgent with him for, in regard of his burden; yet it is a debt due to me or mine, with consideration, since 1646.

*Memorandum.* I received at Newcastle, the 10th December, 1659, Scotch arrears for my service in Coulson's troop, from the hands of William Walker, the sum of L. 24:12s., being L. 1:6s. more than my due for myself and two servants. I had four months more due to me, allowed upon the muster-roll, which comes to four-score pounds and twenty-four shillings.

*Memorandum.* In 1655, in the time of

\* This paragraph is crossed through; and see the next but one.



the Protector's government, there was one Mr Tombes, whom Sir Paul Pinder made one of his executors; and coming to enjoy his estate, he lived so riotously, that he grew melancholy, and hanged himself. The kindred made their application to the Protector, that some persons might be employed to look after the concern, that the estate might not be embezzled. Three commissioners were appointed, viz. Worsley, Hodgson\*, and Dendie; and I was employed in the city, and elsewhere, to enquire, and make search; and finding by one good fellow at Clerkenwell, that he had conveyed away a bag and a vase filled with jewels, and lighting of them there, they were delivered to me, sealed with Tombes' seal; and William Tombes, coachmaker in London, Gabriel Hodgkins, Richard Tombes, Robert Britain, and the soldiers, went along with me to St James's,

\* The author. He repeats the story in another place.

and saw me deliver them, sealed up, to Lieutenant Colonel Worsley, with my own hand; and I never had more to do with them. When the king was come in, Samuel Tooley, Elizabeth his wife, and Mary Sanburne, pretending to be executors to Tombes\*, serve a writ upon me, and declare upon an action of trover and conversion for L. 4,000. And we had a trial in Guild-Hall; and I cleared myself by my warrant, and their own witnesses, that what I received was sealed up when I received them, valued to L. 500, and that I delivered them, so sealed, to Lieutenant Colonel Worsley, before their witnesses, and had never more to do with them; and when the Lord Chief-Justice Foster understood the whole matter, he ordered to withdraw the jury; and I paid half of the court charges. They bring me on the next

\* He means good-fellow as it stands in the repetition. Tombes was a *felo de se*, and had no executor. Oliver seems to have taken especial care, that the estate might not be embezzled.

term for a new trial, and I had three lawyers, Sir John Hawley, Sir Thomas Stringer, and another; and, in the conclusion, the jury quit me, and I did not enter the judgment because the times were troublesome; but those two trials cost me about L. 60, and that was all the recompense I got ever since. These particulars are inserted more at large in a written paper pocket-book †.

\* \* \* \* \*

† Here follow a memorandum about the disposal of the author's farm at Thorlbie, "being in great distress for money:" "An account of what trees were in the ground, boards, and other goods in the house, 19th April 1649;" and an account of debts owing by him, the 3d September, 1683, with a memorandum respecting his joint purchase, in 1652, of the rents of Pendleforest.

AN  
ACCOUNT

OF

*The Troubles that befel me, after the month  
of October 1660, about my Imprisonments\*.*

---

It was after the King's return to London, one night a parcel of armed men besets

\* The officers of the army, which had so long constituted the virtual government of England, were naturally objects of suspicion to the restored monarch. Nor did the habits of these military saints incline them to forget their late domination, and to sit down peaceably under the sway of a king, and the pastoral care of a prelacy. Hence they were subjected to various restraints: And as, on the one hand, they frequently engaged in plots for the restoration of the Commonwealth; so, on the other, the magistrates, many of them smarting under late sufferings in the cause of royalty, often took but slight occasion to retaliate, on this obnoxious class of men, the severities they had themselves experienced.

my house at Coalley-hall, near Halifax, and, in an unseasonable hour in the night, demands entrance; and my servants within having some discourse with them on the outside, they gave threatening language, put their pistols in at the windows; and my wife being with child, and for fear of frightening the rest, I ordered the doors to be opened, and they came in, Joseph Lyster, Sir John Armitage's clerk, who had a warrant to apprehend me for treason, and Lawrence Johnston, and several others. After they had presented a pistol to my breast, (that Johnston did) I advised them to civil deportment, seeing I had let them in in the night; and so they shewed me their authority to apprehend me: And it was under the hands and seals of Sir John Kaye, and Sir John Armitage, knight and baronet, lieutenants, "To apprehend the person of John Hodgson of Coalley-hall, and carry him to York castle a prisoner, to be continued there until he be delivered by due course of law, for speaking trea-

sonable words against the king." They took me out of my house that night, and carried me to Bradford, and the next day to the jail, and never had me before any magistrate. Afterwards I had two friends, that did proffer security for my appearance at the assizes, and suitable deportment in the interim, but it would not be accepted. When the assizes came, one Daniel Lyster, brother to Joseph, was my prosecutor, a person that I once bound to his good behaviour, upon an information of the constable of Manningham, that this Lyster was too familiar with another man's wife, an ale-house keeper in the town, and that he spent much of his time in dishonest ale-houses, and lewd company, &c.; and after the king was come in, he meets me, and demands the names of those that informed against him, and a copy of it; and I told him, that the business was over, and that it was not seasonable to rip into old troubles: With that he threatened me, and said, he would have them; "The sun," said he,

“ now shines on our side of the hedge ;” and so I bid him take his course. Now his information against me was, that I should say, “ There is a crown provided, but the king will never wear it ;” and this was put in the indictment before the grand jury, that “ I had never been a turn-coat ; I never took the oath of allegiance, nor never would do ;” and these poor things were forged against me ; only that I had never been a turn-coat, I justified it before the judge and jury. When the matter was heard against me, I had one Jeremiah Brookesbank, a neighbour, that did swear that he was in company with Lyster, and heard him say, that if ever the times changed, he would sit on Hodgson’s skirts ; and Lyster had over-run the court, or else had been bound to his good behaviour. Joseph Lyster swore to the second indictment, that he heard Lawrence Johnston say, that he heard me say, that I had never been no turn-coat, &c. These were like Simon and Levi, brethren in iniquity. The jury found

both the indictments not guilty; and the foreman, one Micklethwaite, told the judge openly in the court, that if such informers and persons were suffered to go on, there would be no living for honest men. The judge asked me, why I did not take the oath of allegiance? I told him, I thought it unseasonable to tender it me, until the king had declared what government he would maintain. But Sir Thomas Gower, and Justice Fairfax, were sent to tender the oath; and, after much dispute, I took it, and had a certificate. Now this proved very chargeable to me: I was above five months in prison; the clerk to the assizes' fees, and the lawyers, cost me above thirty pounds; besides my sufferings at home in the want of my employment †.

\* \* \* \* \*

† The grievous expence of a victory at law, it would seem, led our author to repeat here the history of his two trials respecting Tombes and his property.



About the middle of July 1661, I was at Adderton\* fair, having some goods to sell; and when I had taken money for them, I was going to my host-house for my horse, and it being at the Lord Brookes †, Mr Peebles, an attorney, or otherways quarter-master to Sir John Armitage, with Abraham Mitchell of Halifax, John Hanson, and many others of the said troop, did

\* Or Adwalton, about ten miles from Halifax; the author writes it, Atherton.

† That is, at the sign of that nobleman's head.

Lord Brooke was one of the Parliament generals. He had taken possession of Litchfield; and was viewing, from a window, Saint Chad's cathedral, in which a party of the royalists had fortified themselves. He was cased in complete armour, but was shot through the eye by a random ball. His Lordship was a zealous puritan; and had formerly said, that he hoped to see with his eyes the ruin of all the cathedrals of England. It was a superstitious remark of the royalists, that he was killed on Saint Chad's day by a shot from Saint Chad's cathedral, which pierced the very eye by which he hoped to see the ruin of all cathedrals. (Dugdale, p. 118. Clarendon, &c. Hume) The fanatic party, of course, would naturally consider him as a saint and martyr; and hence, no doubt, came his head to be hung up for a sign.

draw up themselves in the court, and Peebles followed me into the stable, and violently took me by the shoulder, gave me many shoves and pushes, and told me I was his prisoner, called me rebel and traitor, and used many speeches to provoke me, that he, and Abraham Mitchell, and the rest, being at the least a dozen horsemen, mounted at the door, might take occasion against me. I told him, with Mitchell, that if I was their prisoner, let them shew me their authority by which they apprehended me: With that Peebles laid his hand upon his sword, and told me, that was his authority, and demeaned himself after such a manner, that I expected when he and Abraham Mitchell would have drawn upon me; and then I slipped into the house, having a great charge of money upon me, and they followed me into a room, where the landlady sat down betwixt me and danger at the table-end, and kept Peebles and Mitchell off me; and several people being in the room, after some threatening

language, they left me. Afterwards I sent for my horse, to carry him to another house; and making speed homeward, I had some notice of the party, that they intended to pursue me; which they did; but I took another way, and so escaped them.

The next trouble I was in, was about returning some money to London\*; and having been at Leeds on a Tuesday, and a neighbour of mine with me, in our return homeward we lighted of a soldier that came from York, who was a trooper, and relieved from his duty; and passing by my neighbour's door in the twilight, a maid-servant tells her master, Michael Boulton, that I was ridden up with two troopers, well armed; and he, in the morning, goes to inform Sir John Armitage, that I had two troop of horse at my house, well armed and appointed; and, as I was informed,

\* The officers, who had served under Cromwell, or the Parliament, were prohibited from approaching within 20 miles of London, by royal proclamation.

Sir John writ to the king's secretary about it, and informed with so much confidence and assurance that it was so, and that there had been a dangerous meeting at Mr Joshua Horton's, in Sowerby, that the king, being acquainted with this, sent for the Duke of Albemarle, and acquainting him with it, he gave no credit to it, in regard he knew me; yet, notwithstanding, a commission was granted to several gentlemen in the county to examine the matter, and chiefly to Major Goodricke, who was sent down with it, who prosecuted it with a great deal of vigilance. Their appointed place to meet was at Bradford; and if they had found any thing against me, Major Smithson was there to have carried me away. They came to examine witnesses; and, as I was informed, one John Drake, Boulton's servant, was called in, and they asked him, if he knew Captain Hodgson? and he said he did, as a good loving neighbour; but they asked him, what he had heard, or knew, of two troop of horse that

were lately at his house one night, and what strangers he saw riding to and again by their door? He answered, that he heard their maid speaking one night, and that he had heard her say, that Mr Hodgson was ridden up with two troopers, that rid before him; and that he had seen several men and women ride up by the door, but whither they travelled he knew not. And they asked him, whether that way led to any other place than Mr Hodgson's? He said it did; for it is the high road to Halifax, and other places: And so they dismissed him; only Stephen Ellis would have had him to have gone in again, having put new words into his mouth; but it seems they made no more of it. Then they came to Sowerby plot, and several persons were examined. First, one Dobson, a blind man, that kept a public-house; and they asked, what persons lit at his house such a day, and what horses he had set up in his stable? who answered, that he had not seen his stable for many years, and he did not know how many there

might be : And he asked him, why his wife was not there ? and he told them, he had a pretty young woman to his wife, and he durst not trust her abroad in these times we lived in. And then they called a blacksmith in, and asked him, what men he saw in Sowerby such a day ? who told them, he saw a company of good-like men walking up and down the town. But, " what," says one, " had they no arms ?" " Yes," says the smith, " they had arms." " What kind of arms ?" said one : " Why," saith the smith, " such as you and other men wear ; I saw no other." " But did not you shoe their horses ?" " Yes," saith the smith, " I set on a shoe or two, and they paid me honestly for them." And then they called in others, who answered to the same purpose ; and so they certified an ignoramus\*.

\* Our author is not quite explicit as to this meeting at Sowerby ; but we may reasonably conjecture, that it was a rendezvous of the disbanded officers, of which several took place about this time.

The 25th August, 1662, the morning after the ministers were all silenced, they had a new plot in hand ; and early in the morning, being Monday, a dark morning after black Bartholomew \*, the constables come to my house, with a party of horse, to apprehend me, with a warrant from Sir John Armitage, and after I had seen and read it, I made ready to go along with them ; and Sir John being absent, the constables kept me prisoner until Wednesday ; then I was brought before his worship, and he told me he had several informations against me. I asked, what they were, and who were the informers ? He said, I had furnished myself with good horses, and that there was a great plot in hand, and that I had a hand in it. And when he insisted on that, I offered him the best horse I had for L. 5 ; and told him, it was like the rest of the

\* Saint Bartholomew's day, when the act of uniformity took place, and about 2000 Calvinistical ministers lost their preferments.

things they had, from time to time, forged against me. He told me, I must find sureties to appear at the next quarter sessions, and, in the interim, to be bound to the good behaviour. I asked him, in what particular I had misbehaved myself? If there was nothing but lies and falsities against me, why should I be demanded such a thing? adding, I would not give in any sureties, he might do with me what he pleased: And then he took my word to appear at the sessions; but his clerk, my false friend Lyster, sent me word, not to trouble myself in appearing at the sessions. Sir John took me into an inner room, and called for a bottle of ale; and, being private, I told him what hard measures I had from him, considering what I had done for him and his servants, whenever they came with any complaint: I thought it was a poor requital; and seeing that providence had ordered that I was fallen under his protection, I desired, if he had any thing against me that he would let me know; if he sent



the meanest boy about his house I would requite him, and wait upon him night or day, to prevent these bailiffs and soldiers; and he promised me, very seriously, he would do it.—But how he performed, take notice.

The next bout was September the 11th, 1662\*. A party of horse came to my house, commanded by Mr Peebles; and he told me, he was come for my arms, and I was to deliver them to him. I asked him for his order. He told me, he had a better order than Oliver used to give; and clapping his hand upon his sword-hilt, he said that was his order. I told him if he had none, but that it was not sufficient to take my arms; and then he pulled out his warrant, and I read it. It was signed by Wentworth Armitage; a general warrant to search all persons they suspected, and so left the

\* About this time a plot, against the king's life, was discovered; for which Philips, Tongue, Stubs, and others, suffered death.

power to the soldiers at their pleasure. They came to us at Coalley-hall about sun-setting; and I caused a candle to be lighted, and conveyed Peebles into the room where my arms were, near the kitchen fire; and there they took away fowling-pieces, pistols, muskets, carbines, and such like, better than L. 20. Then Mr Peebles asked me for my buff-coat; and I told him, they had no order to take away my apparel. He told me, I was not to dispute their orders; but if I would not deliver it, he would carry me away prisoner; and had me out of doors. Yet he let me alone unto the next morning, that I must wait upon Sir John at Halifax; and coming before him, he threatened me, and said, if I did not send the coat, for it was too good for me to keep. I told him, it was not in his power to demand my apparel: And he, growing into a fit, called me rebel and traitor; and said, if I did not send the coat with all speed, he would send me where I would not like well. I told him I was no rebel, and he did not well to call me so be-

fore these soldiers and gentlemen, to make me the mark for every one to shoot at. With that he ordered me to be gone at my peril, and send in the coat. I departed the room ; yet, notwithstanding all the threatenings, did not send the coat. But the next day he sent John Lyster, the son of Mr Thomas Lyster of Shipdenhall, for this coat, with a letter, verbatim thus : “ Mr Hodgson, I admire you will play the child so with me, as you have done in writing such an inconsiderate letter. Let me have the buff-coat sent forthwith, otherways you shall so hear from me, as will not very well please you.” I was not at home when this messenger came ; but I had ordered my wife not to deliver it, but if they would take it let them look to it : And he took it away ; and one of Sir John’s brethern wore it many years after. They sent Captain Batt to compound with my wife about it ; but I sent word I would have my own again : But he advised me to take a price for it, and make no more ado. I said it was hard to take my arms

and apparel too; I had laid out a great deal of money for them; I hoped they did not mean to destroy me, by taking my goods illegally from me. He said he would make up the matter, if I pleased, betwixt us; and it seems had brought Sir John to a price for my coat. I would not have taken L. 10 for it: He would have given about L. 4; but wanting my receipt for the money, he kept both sides, and I had never satisfaction.

My next trouble came upon me in the beginning of July 1663\*. I had occasion to be at Leeds, and coming home at night, I found Mr Jollie, a good man †, was come

\* About this time a great plot was in agitation in the north of England, to which it would seem our author was privy. The design was, to seize York, Nottingham, Gloucester, Newcastle, and Boston. With this plot Ludlow seems to have been acquainted. *Memoirs*, Vol. iii. p. 97. It totally misgave after one or two trifling attempts to rise in Westmoreland and Yorkshire. Many were arrested in consequence; and, amongst others, Captain Hodgson.

† Apparently one of the silenced ministers.

to my house out of Lancashire, on purpose to visit me and my family, and, as his custom was, and had been many years, to instruct us. My wife had sent for many neighbours to come in; and the act of conformity having taken place, he was performing family-duty, being tender of his own liberty, as well as ours. He craved a blessing upon the ordinance, and spoke something from a scripture: But I desired to put an end to the duty, in regard there was danger towards us; our neighbours that belonged to Sir John's troop being mounted, with a design to set the house about: But one of their wives sent us word to look to ourselves; and so we dismissed the company out at the back-door into the fields, the minister and all, and shut up the gates and doors of the house; and presently we were set about with horsemen, a parcel of the sons of Belial, who were groping about the walls all night, like the men in Sodom about Lot's door, or the Gibeonites that sought occasion against the Levite and

his concubine, that lodged amongst them. In the morning I caused the hall-door to be opened, after a parley, and suffered three persons to come in, Abraham Mitchell, the leader of the party, Samuel Foxcroft, and John Hanson, who came in with his sword drawn, but I caused him to put it up; and so I shewed them my children and family in bed; and so they withdrew, and searched neighbours' houses, and no prey;—so wonderfully did God hide us from the fury of these men.

Within two days after, two bailiffs came to my house and wanted me, but I was rid into Lancashire; and they gave out threatening language to my wife, that if they took me, they would do no less than hang me; which put my wife into such fear, as she sent a special messenger to advise me, by no means to come home at present, for there was evil designed against me, and imprisonment would be the least; and besides, there were four or five justices appointed to make inquiry after things done

in the country, and these men met at Bradford, Pudsey, Caverley, Armitage, Thornhill, and Hawkesworth. They sent for divers of our neighbours, and examined them very strictly, bound some to the sessions, and freed others: Yet they could make nothing of their weighty concern; none had any thing against me. Those that were brought in were released by three justices, and bound over again by Sir John Armitage, and some other; and thus were they confounded: These that set them at liberty withdrew from the court, and meddled no farther. Upon this notice from my wife, I staid in Lancashire until after the assizes; and it seems one sabbath-day morning, my house was set about with soldiers, Sir John, and his troop; and having the doors opened, he came in, and asked my wife where her husband was. She said, he was in Lancashire. He told her, there was a plot in hand, and that I knew of it; and gave out threatening language, what he would do with me if ever he caught me. She de-

sired I might have liberty to vindicate myself from those aspersions cast upon me; and that I might not be sent to prison before I had the liberty to clear myself from those aspersions, unworthily, from time to time, cast upon me. When I heard from my wife what threatenings were used, I rid to Sir Thomas Gower, the high-sheriff, and gave him a true account why I absented myself; and he told me what Sir John had laid to my charge: But he seemed to be sorry for my sufferings, and gave me a pass to live at home, and a letter to Mr Copley, that I should not be meddled with, having given him satisfaction; and that I should wait on him at Sir John Goodricke's at fourteen days end: And he told me, that he had the most suspicious person in durance at York, one Doctor Richardson; and that there was Major Greathead and Captain Oates\*, who were not to be found; and that a declaration was drawn up, and

\* Afterwards taken, and executed.



that they intended to set up the long parliament, and had been with many of them, but they could not agree; and that there was one Captain Jones, a very active man in Bishopric \*, and Paul Hobson, and others of the anabaptists, that were resolved to pull down the episcopal government, and to declare against the hearth-money and the excise. But, according to my promise, I repaired to Sir John Goodricke's at the fortnight's end, and waited on them to Knaresbrough. There was Slingsby † and Gower; and they examined me about a meeting that was at my house, and told me, if I would promise, and would endeavour to prevent these for the future, and not to entertain above four, besides my family, to pray together, I might have my liberty until the 20th of October; then I must appear at Price's in York: And the 9th of

\* That is, the county of Durham, where the plot originated. *Continuation of Heath*, p. 320.

† The son of Sir Henry Slingsby, whose memoirs are now published with those of Captain Hodgson.

October I was summoned by the bailiff of Halifax, John Thompson, to repair to York with all speed: Which I did the day following; and coming to Sir Thomas Gower to know his pleasure, he appointed me to keep my lodging at Mistress Brookes in the Water-lane, until he sent for me; which I did, for the space of sixteen days. The 26th day I was taken from my lodging by a major, and carried to Chatterton's, and brought in before several deputy-lieutenants, Sir George Savile, Sir Thomas Wentworth, Strickland, Gower, and others; and they examined me about the plot, but I perceived had nothing against me but what Ralph Oates informed: And being sent for, he told them, that he came to my house one Saturday, about two months before the rising, and he told me, that Major Greathead and his father had sent him to let me know, they would speak with me the next week; and that I told him I could not do it, seeing I was ordered to wait upon the sheriff at the time; but he said further, that

I should say to him, if Major Greathead did engage, I would not sit still. The deputy-lieutenants left the business with the sheriff, who drew a mittimus himself, and sent me to the castle in York, “ 26th October 1663. Keep in safe custody, at your peril, the body of Captain John Hodgson of Coalley, now brought unto you, being accused by several persons to be guilty of treason, in consenting to raise war against his majesty. Fail not, nor suffer any to speak with him, without particular order. THO. GOWER, *vi Com.* To the keeper of the jail, in the castle of York.”

I reckon this mittimus not to be legal; for, 1st, a sheriff is not to commit prisoners to his own jail: 2dly, A mittimus ought to have convenient certainty in expressing for what the party is committed; for ignorance in the judge, brings calamity on the judged: 3dly, The mittimus ought to run, that the prisoner “ you are safely to keep, until he be delivered by order of law;” so that the conclusion of this is altogether illegal, be-

ing not to suffer any to speak to him, without particular order.

After I had been kept a season in close prison, I was sent for by the deputy-lieutenants, and there severally examined. There was Osborne, now a prisoner in the tower; Wentworth, dead; Armitage, that broke his neck off his horse when drunk; Cobb, that killed himself; and several others; with Hayes, their clerk: And after a long examination, and having nothing against me, Sir Thomas Osborne ordered the jailor to return me to close prison where I came from. I told him, I hoped he could send me no whither, but I should have the presence of God with me. The judges came down, not long after, to try the plotters\*;

\* A commission of oyer and terminer was sent down, in the depth of winter, to try those concerned in this northern plot. Fifteen persons were found guilty; many of whom were executed at York, Leeds, and other places in the north. *Continuation of Heath's Chronicle*, p. 520. Several other agitators were condemned and executed in the following year, for the same plot. *Ibid.* p. 525. It was probably expected, that sufficient

but I was not called before them, but continued in prison. And not long after their departure, I was, with other prisoners, brought before the deputy-lieutenants into the hall; and, after a long time of attendance, I was called before them, and the clerk of the assizes told me (it was Mr Benson), that I was to be re-committed, and continued until the next assizes, without bail or main-prize. I asked him, for what? He said, for consenting to raise war against the king. I asked, why I was not tried according to law, if they had a charge against me? He told me, it was the judge's pleasure it should be so. In 33d Henry VIII. cap. 23. I find, that if any person be vehemently suspected of any treasons, misprision of treason, &c. the Chancellor shall grant out a commission of oyer and terminer, for the speedy trial, for the conviction or deliverance of such persons. Likewise

evidence would be found to convict our author with this latter set, and hence the cause of his detention in jail.

in the 13th Charles, cap. 2. "that if any person, within this realm, shall compass, imagine, or intend the death of the king, or depose him from his honour, or levy war against him, and shall utter it by printing, writing, preaching, or by malicious and advised speaking, being legally convicted upon the oaths of two lawful and credible witnesses, shall be adjudged traitors; but withal, the offenders shall be prosecuted within six months next after the offence committed, and indicted within three months after such prosecution." Likewise, in the 1st Edward VI. cap. 12. "No person shall be impeached, or put to answer, for any offence concerning treasons by open preaching, or for words only, except the offender be accused within thirty days next after the words so spoken or declared, if he be within the realm; and six months, if without the realm." I was indicted before the grand jury, as I was informed, and the jury found it not; and Sir John Armitage fetched forth Lawyer Weston out of the

hall, and he told the jury, they must find the indictment ; for though it was an accusation, yet it was no conviction ; and so the jury found it, being over-awed. I was not tried this assize, but continued until the next in prison : And, at the latter end of the assize, Mr Stockdale, myself, and Mr Rymer, were called to the bar, and an indictment was read against Stockdale and myself for misprision of treason, that we knew of a plot, and did not discover it to some magistrate. This indictment was never before, nor found by any grand jury. Mr Stockdale desired counsel ; and the judges told him, if he would confess the fact, he might be heard in arrest of judgment ; then he pleaded, not guilty : And, after, they asked me, and I desired counsel, having several exceptions against the indictment. Judge Twisden said, frowningly, I must plead guilty or not guilty ; to which I answered, “ Not guilty.” My exceptions were, 1st, It was not the indictment found by the grand jury : 2dly, I should have been

indicted within three months after prosecution, and it was above six months: 3dly, It ought to be grounded upon some statute, which it was not, but grounded upon the common law: 4thly, There was not a right addition to my name, and the time was not set down when the offence was committed. I pleaded for counsel; but neither judge nor counsel was ready to promote it, the matter was so frivolous: And the jury giving in their verdict, Sir Edmund Jennings being foreman, they clear Stockdale, and found me guilty of misprision of treason. That cost me L. 20 for a pardon to Benson, but I could neither procure it, nor a copy of it. Mr Rymer was likewise found guilty of misprision. This it cost me, besides all my imprisonment and charges in the court.

Not long after, Sir John, with a constable and some of his servants, came riding to the gates at Coalley-hall, betimes in the morning; and the constable knocking, one of



the family opened the door, and let them in. My wife was up, but I was in bed. Sir John coming into the hall, with a pistol presented in his hand, asked my wife, where her husband was? She told him, I was in bed; and he walking a turn or two in the hall, giving out threatening language against me, according to his accustomed manner, my wife called up the servants; and, as she came back into the hall, she said, "Even the Lord rebuke him;" and immediately Sir John left the house, and told the constable he might go home; and he mounted with all speed, with a servant he had, and was gone. We could judge no less, considering the circumstances, that he came with a design to have destroyed me, but the Lord rebuked him.

In the year 1665, about the beginning of August\*, I was arrested in Halifax, on a

\* Some fresh suspicions of a plot seem to have arisen at this time, as the proclamation, prohibiting disbanded officers to approach within 20 miles of London, was now renewed.

market-day, by Jeremiah Bower of Bradford, and carried to the *Swan*, where I found young Mr Coote a prisoner, and several others were brought in; but none of us knew in whose name, or at whose suit, we were arrested; only they pretended, it was the deputy-lieutenant's deed, by the appointment of the Duke of York, who was then coming to York with his Duchess; the plague being so violent in London, and in the southern parts. We marched that night to Bradford, and rested there the Sabbath; and the next day to York, where our company was much increased. The next morning I went down to the castle, whence I was but newly come out; and having an influence upon Grimston the jailor, I took up lodging for seven or eight ministers; and so coming out of the castle, I met the prisoners all coming down, and I turned back again with them, being above the number of fourscore. There were Parliament-men, colonels, majors, lieutenant-

colonels, captains, lieutenants, &c. and these brought out of all parts of the country. A violent fever fell in amongst us: some died; Major Davidson, Captain Lascelles, Captain Ambler, and others. Cob being then sheriff, when he heard of any dangerously sick, he sent for them out, alleging, he would not be guilty of their blood. We continued at this rate until Martinmas, and by that time many were released upon bond; and I had an unreasonable bond offered me that I could not sign, and so continued until one fortnight before Lent assizes, and Wentworth and Armitage sent a *liberate*, knowing I should have got out by the judges; for this was much like the rest, *sic volo, sic jubeo*. We had an act came from Oxford, to keep a monthly fast for London\*; and we had liberty in the jail to keep it, having good assistance of ministers, and a large auditory of prisoners, and

\* On account of the plague,

some few admitted out of the city. God was amongst us, and did hear the prayers of the destitute for that city, did cause the destroying angel to put up his sword, &c. Another remarkable thing I met with in prison was, my wife had writ me word my daughter Lydia was very weak; and I being reading over her letter, I was observed by Mr Fisher to be dejected; and he looks over it, and was much affected with it in prayer, in the last duty of the day, and shewed what I had met with from men, how injuriously they had dealt with me, and that God did afflict the family too; and used many arguments to stay his hand, and spare the child: Which indeed were heard; for my wife's next letter certifies, that the neighbours were come in, fearing she was drawing away, and, as they thought, seemed to slumber; and they sitting quietly by the bed-side, she roused herself up, and asked for something to eat: And this was

about the very time when Mr Fisher was upon his knees wrestling for her\*. Such Jacobs we had in prison†.

\* Them, MS.

† The originally concluding words, "and this was my last imprisonment," are obliterated; and the following, "with us, and such a prayer-hearing God to attend us," added by the author's son, Timothy.

RELATIONS  
OF  
THE CAMPAIGNS  
OF  
*OLIVER CROMWELL*  
IN  
SCOTLAND—1650.

AS PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINALS BY ORDER OF

*PARLIAMENT.*



## ADVERTISEMENT.

**THE** "Memoirs of Captain Hodgson" contain some account of the campaigns of Cromwell in Scotland; but the republication of the following documents, from the originals in possession of Thomas Thomson, Esq. Advocate, convey much more complete information on a point of Scottish history, the details of which have been generally considered as singularly obscure. In other respects, the matter of the following pages has immediate reference to the martial period in which Slingsby and Hodgson wrote their Memoirs, and forms an important addition to the miscellaneous contents of the present volume.



1

2

3

A  
*LARGE*  
RELATION  
OF THE  
FIGHT AT LEITH,  
NEERE  
EDENBURGH;

WHEREIN

MAJOR-GENERALL MONTGOMERY, COLONEL STRAUGHAN, WITH  
MANY MORE OF QUALITY OF THE SCOTTISH PARTY,  
WERE SLAIN AND WOUNDED.

THE PARTICULARS ON BOTH SIDES FULLY RELATED;  
WITH A LIST OF THE PRISONERS TAKEN,  
AND NUMBER KILD

ALSO,

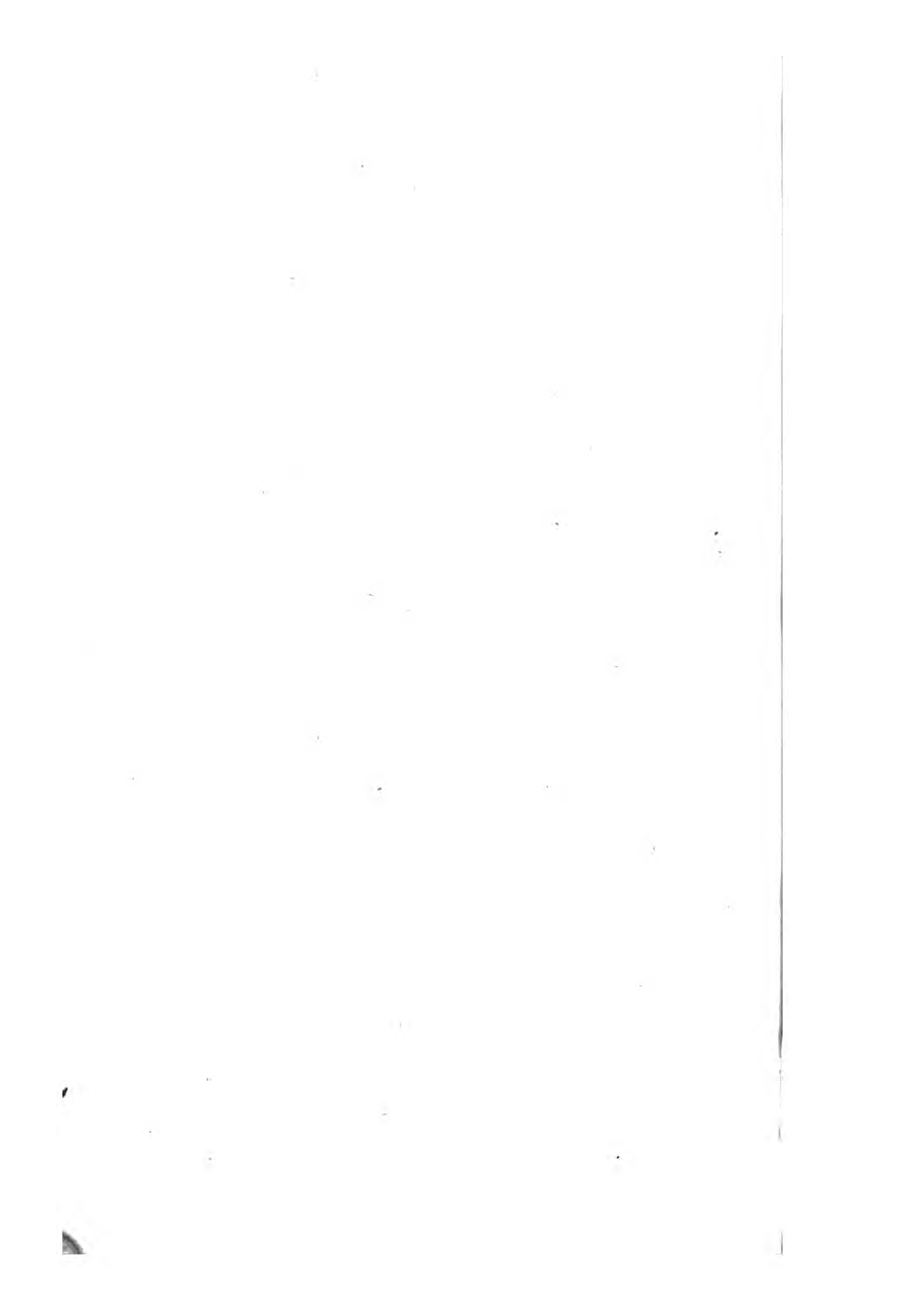
A PERFECT ACCOUNT  
OF EVERY DAYES TRANSACTIONS AND ENGAGEMENTS BETWEEN THE  
ARMIES, SINCE OUR ARMIES FIRST ENTRING SCOTLAND.

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY.



LONDON:

PRINTED BY ED. GRIFFIN, IN THE OLD BAILY—1650.



SIR,

ON Thursday, July 25, the Generall and army marched from Mordington to Copperspith, Col. Hacker's regiment being drawn up in the way; his Excellency made a speech to satisfie them, concerning Cap. Ogle's troope being sent back into Northumberland, in regard of his interest in that county; and that Cap. Greenwood's troop, appointed for Barwick, should march with the regiment in the stead thereof, which gave great satisfaction. Col. Bright's regiment being drawn up, Major-Gen. Lambert appointed colonel thereof, comming to the head of the regiment, was received with great acclamations.

By the way we had intelligence from Edinburgh, that on Munday last most part

of the inhabitants of the city shut up their shops, and carried away most part of their goods towards Sterling ; that the army was mustered neere Edinburgh ; their horse were 2500, old horse of David Lesley's, the new raised made them up 5000 ; the foot not certainly known, in regard that orders were given for levies, but the men did not come in ; those that appeared were about 10,000 ; that the prince removed from Falkland to St Johnston's on Saturday last, and intended not to stay there, but to goe to Sterling ; that Major-Gen. Massey was in Edinburgh, but not in command.

His excellency quartered this night at Sir James Nicholson's at Copperspith, being a port town about 14 miles from Barwick. When our scouts came first to the town, they were met withall by three Scots, which our men disarmed, and took prisoners ; but at night (they alledging they were only countrymen, and that their ministers and grandees had given out that the army

would kill man, woman, and child), whereupon their swords, and other things taken from them, were ordered by his excellency to be restored, and the men dismissed; which, we hope, will work well upon the country. One of our scouts met with one of the enemy, who ran at him with a lance, and broke it against his armor; but seeing our scout had the better, he quitted his horse, and fell headlong down a steep hill, where our trooper could not follow him, but seized the horse.

In the march between Mordington and Copperspith we saw not any Scotchman, in Eyton and other places that we passed thorow; but the streets were full of Scotch women, pitifull, sorry creatures, clothed in white flannell, in a very homely manner; very many of them much bemoaned their husbands, who, they said, were enforced by the lairds of the towns to gange to the muster.

Friday, July 26. His excellency marched from Copperspith to Dunbarre, a port

town of trade, and populous, where some Scotch foot had been the night before; but, upon the coming in of some of our scouts, ran away; so that one man might chase ten or twenty of them, not daring one of them to look back. We understand the enemy were not farre from the town, but ran away so soon as our horse drew towards them. All the men in this town, as in other places of this daies march, were fled; and not any to be seen above seven or under 70 yeeres old, but onely some few decrepid ones.

Our souldiers had not been long in the town, but there was an alarm that the enemy were coming on; whereupon the souldiers were drawn out into the field, though much streightned for provisions; but since the Amity and other ships are come from Newcastle with provisions. This day we marcht to Haddington. A party of the Scots, who live about Hume castle, fell upon some countrey men who were bringing provisions to the army out of

Northumberland, and cut the men; but the governor of Barwick hath sent a troop of horse, which will scoure the coasts. Thus far from Dunbarre, July 27.

On Sunday, July 28, our army went forth betimes in the morning from Haddington, and rendezvouzd upon Gladmore; the enemy appeared in small bodies, divers of them were taken.

Those that quartered in Muslebrough the night before quitted it; some of Col. Fleetwood's regiment comming upon them, took severall prisoners. A party of three of ours charged 12 of theirs, and took three.

A trooper in Col. Whaley's regiment was sentenc't, at a court-marshall, to have his horse and arms taken from him, and to work as a pioneere for three weeks, for taking away some curtaines and other things out of a Scottish gentleman's house.

Major Haines being sent with a commanded party towards the enemy, followed them within halfe a mile of Edenburgh. This day we understood that one Mr John



Lower, a Scotch minister, preached upon this text in Edenburgh, Exod. xiv. 8. The words, and his comment upon them, are very observable, but too long to be related.

Munday, July 29. The army drew out of Muslebrough within two miles of Edenburgh; our horse and theirs puckerd all the forenoone; about foure in the afternoone, his excellency commanded a forlorne of horse neere Arthur's hill, who faced the enemy, and still continued puckering; but perceiving the enemy had lyned the parke wall with muskateers, and had the command of the hill, whereby they viewed our army, a forlorne of muskateers were sent to beat them off, which they did without loss.

While this was doing, a piece of ordinance was drawing up neere the hill, which playd upon a great part of the enemies body, who then faced us, but quickly quit their ground, and retreated to their main body, who had intrenched themselves be-

tween Leith and Edenburgh. By this time the whole army were drawn up in battalia in sight of Edenburgh; a party sent to possess some houses neer the town, which they did, and the train drawn up there.

This day, Captaine Hall, reere-admirall, being come up with the Liberty, the Heart frigot, the Garland, and the Dolphin, plaid hard with their ordnance into Leith, while the army plaid with theirs by land, till eleven at night, and so again after three in the morning; all this while the army stood drawne up in the field; and from the first appearing, till the next day at eight or nine o'clock, there fell an exceeding great deale of raine, which hindred the attempting of any thing, and the enemy not stirring out of their intrenchment and fortifications; which latter did more trouble our souldiers, who were exceeding cheerfull, and desirous of nothing so much as to fight then all the unseasonableness of the weather. While our army was thus drawne out of Mussel-

borough, many of the wretched country people, who had hid themselves in coale-pits at the coming of our men, came to the towne, and fell to barocadoing of it; and 500 of them got together, with an intent to have cut the throats of the army in case they had beene beaten, which they expected; and had orders, as they said, from Lieutenant-Gen. Lesley so to doe; Major Haines, with a party of Col. Fleetwood's regiment, fell upon them, killed 30 of them, wounded others, and tooke about 40 prisoners.

Tuesday, July 30. It being not held advisable to fall upon the enemy, who were more in number than ourselves, and had the two garrisons of Leith and Edenburgh, besides the advantage of a high and strong hill, where they had intrencht themselves; the army drew off towards Musselborough for refreshment, both of horse and man, which the enemy perceiving, with great bodies of horse, the one from Leith, on the right, and the other from the Cannygate,

on the left, mercht furiously on, and fell upon the reere-guard, being but 200 horse, commanded by Captain Evanson, who received the charge; but being overpowered by the enemy, retreated; then the general's regiment, being neere, advanc't towards the enemy, gave them a hot charge, and routed them; after this the enemy came up againe with another fresh body, and put the general's regiment to a retreat; hereupon four troops of Col. Whaley's regiment, and Major-Gen. Lambert's, charged them, routed them, and pursued them to the line; in doing of which, our men were disordered; and the enemy perceiving it, came up againe with another fresh body of horse, thinking thereby to have put us to the long run; but upon the coming up of one troop more of Col. Whaley's regiment, commanded by Captaine Chillenden, being in good order, charged them, and put them to the run, pursuing and killing them, even to and within their line; so that after this the enemy at that

port had no mind to engage whilst these regiments were thus employed. Col. Hacker, with his regiment, charged the enemy on the right, towards Leith, routing and pursuing them within their works. We took two colours at both places. There were divers killed of the enemy, and many dangerously wounded ; and but three of ours slain, and some small number wounded, whereof the major-general received two wounds in the thigh and shoulder with a lance in the last charge ; he having twice before charged in the head of our parties ; and in this businesse the Major-gen., Col. Whaley, and Co. Hacker, with the rest of the officers and souldiers that engaged, deserve much honour for their gallantry and resolution therein ; Capt. Gladman, of the general's own troop, and the cornet thereof, were wounded ; also Cornet Russel, cornet to Captain Chillenden, were also wounded, with some few troopers. The Scotch king being upon the Castle-hill to see his men, which he called his Green Hornes,

beaten on both sides to Leith and Edinburgh to some purpose : Therefore, that night they took a resolution, at a councell of warre, to redeem their credit, and resolved that a party of their best horse, of old soldiers, consisting of 1500 chosen men, commanded by Major-Gen. Montgomery and Col. Straughan, should, on Wednesday morning, 31 July, fall upon our quarters to beat them up ; and, as their own men, now prisoners, confesse, that Straughan did engage to bring his excellency, our general, alive or dead to the prince ; which resolution was followed accordingly : and on Wednesday, July 31, they came out by a by way, and came near our guards, then kept by Col. Fleetwood's regiment ; about three in the morning our scouts discovered them, demanding who they were for ? they said, Friends, friends ; but our men believing them not, fired upon them, and gave the alarm to the guard, who were in a good posture to receive them ; but be-

ing overpower'd, were put to disorder: then Col. Lilburne's regiment received them, and gave them a hot charge; so that many of them fell, broake their bodies, put them to the runne, forty or thereabouts slaine, and about 100 taken prisoners; among the slain was Major-Generall Montgomery, their commander in chiefe, also Col. Straughan wounded, if not slaine.— Prisoners taken were as followeth:

Sir Thomas Nairne, lieut.-col. to the Lord Breckine; Major Brice Cockram, major to Col. Straughan; Alexander Facquet, lieut. to Major Lindsey, in Col. Osan's regiment; James Browne, cornet to the Lord Breckin; Joseph Shet, cornet to Captain Fairle, in Col. Straughan's regiment. Three of the lifeguard to Generall Leven; with 80 troopers.

These are already brought into the custody of the marshall-generall. There are many other prisoners in the several regiments, and wounded, which are not brought in,

Yesterday the Scottish general sent a trumpeter to his excellency with two prisoners they had taken of ours; one was one of the corporalls of the field, and the other a trooper: to answer which civility, the lord-general sent back two of his life-guard and a trooper.

There are several vessels of provisions from Newcastle and other parts, come in for our souldiers, which are now unlading, which gives them encouragement. We hope those from London will be here suddenly; the people being more base in hiding their provisions, then the country is barren of producing them. The prisoners say, the prince came to Edenburgh last night; most of those who came forth were English cavaliers. The prisoners say, they promised to bring the Lord-Gen. Cromwell to him; not 100 of them got backe to Edenburgh in a body. Our men had the pursuit of them four miles; Col. Bright's regiment of foot being drawn up in the field, kild many



of them. We lost onely Col. Lilburn's cornet, and some few souldiers.

MUSLEBOROUGH, *July 31, 1650.*

Since the writing of the former, we are further informed by the prisoners taken, and other certain information, that the party of 1500 horse, who came out of Edinburgh, were the choicest of their horse; that Major-Gen. Straughan, at the counsell of war the night before, had engaged to the prince to bring the Lord-Gen. Cromwell to him alive or dead, and therefore desired to command the party; but it being not thought fit to trust him, Major-Gen. Montgomery was appointed to command the party, and Col. Straughan to bring up the reare. They came out of Edinburgh about ten of the clock at night, and went sixteen miles about; when the first party of our men took the alarm, which were Col. Lilburne's men, two of them came before as friends (being English), and told our men it was a false alarm; whereupon they

dismounted, and so the enemy came upon them immediately, but did not much prejudice, onely Col. Lilburne's cornet kild, and two or three others hurt; their intention reaching to more then that guard.

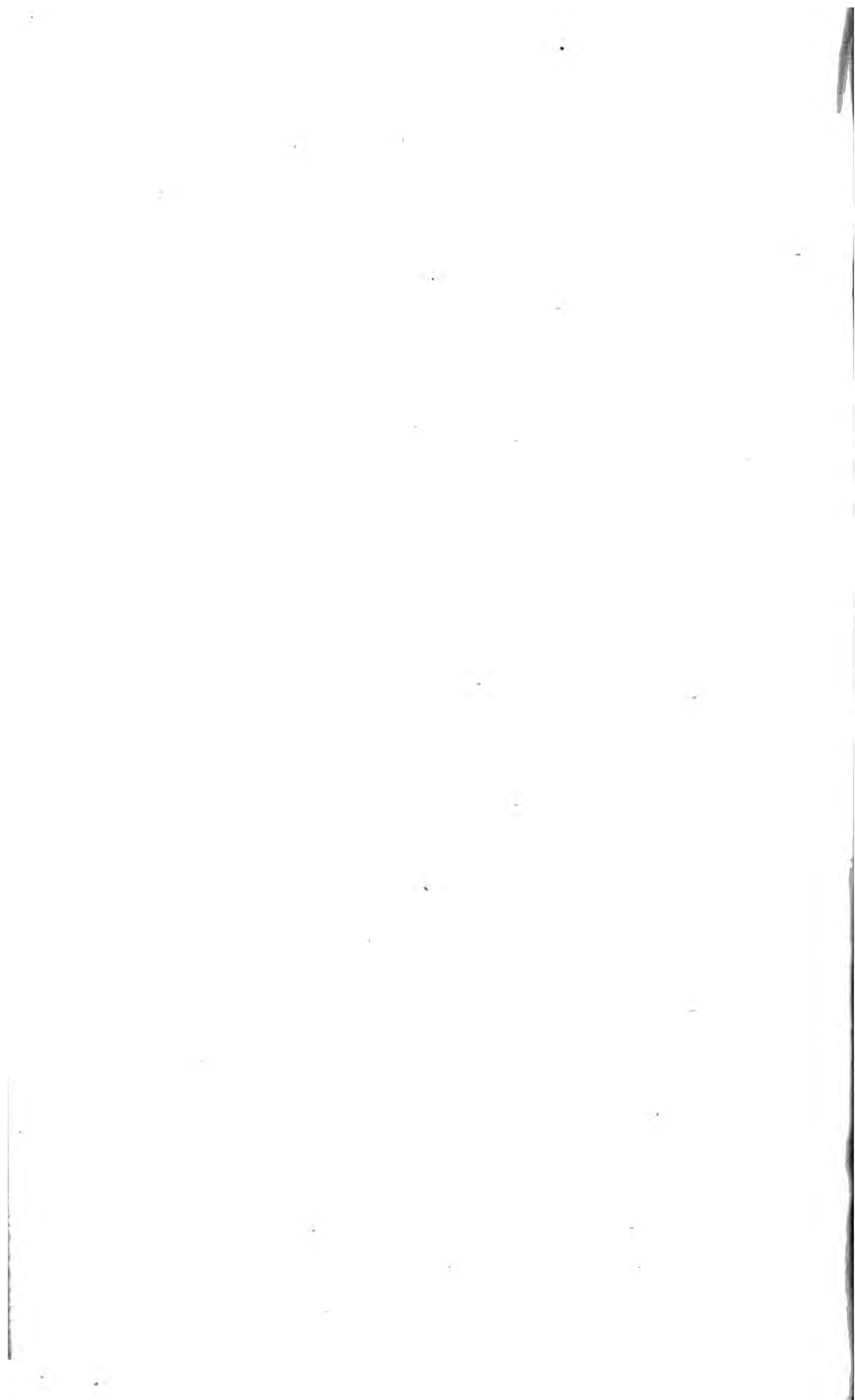
They came on to Muslebrough towne; and in the way Col. Fleetwood's three troops met with them, and scattered them; and coming by Col. Bright's regiment, they gave them so great a volley, that it tooke off many from their horses; three horses were kild, and a corporall's legges taken off at one drake shot from that regiment; our men scattered them so, that some of them were taken in Muslebrough towne. Wee had the pursuite of them for four miles; and our dragoones, which quartered that night within a mile of Edenburgh, met them, and kild divers of them. Amongst the rest of those that were slaine, Major-Gen. Montgomery was one, the rest are not yet known. One of them, who was kild by our men, was heard, upon his last gaspe, to say, "Dam me, I'll to my

king." They were most English cavaliers that charg'd in this and the first engagement ; at both places, they were heard to say, " We are Morris his men ; remember Pontefract." The prince (tis said) gave to each of them two shillings to drink, which made them drunk.

Capt. Wilford, a gentleman in my lord's own troop, being on Tuesday taken prisoner (his horse being kild under him), was carried to Leith, where he was very courteously used by Lieut.-Gen. David Lesley, who kept him at his own house ; where resorted to him divers of their ministers and commanders, who demanded of him how long he had served under Antichrist, that proud man Cromwell ; over whose head the curse of God hung for murdering the king, breaking the covenant, and they did expect daily when the Lord should deliver him into their hands ; they saying he termed his guns his twelve apostles, and that he put his whole confidence in them ; and the commanders, old cavaliere like, did sweare

most desperately, that they had taken 18 of our colours; and the ministers said, that our ships in the haven were revolted to the king: which your London cavaliers may perhaps believe.

MUSLEBOROUGH, *August* 1, 1650.



A  
*TRUE*  
RELATION  
OF THE  
PROCEEDINGS OF THE ENGLISH ARMY  
NOW IN  
SCOTLAND,

FROM THE TWO-AND-TWENTIETH DAY OF JULY  
TO THE FIRST OF AUGUST.

CONTAINED IN AND EXTRACTED OUT OF THE  
SEVERAL LETTERS  
SENT FROM THE ARMY, AND READ IN PARLIAMENT  
THE SIXTH OF AUGUST, 1650.

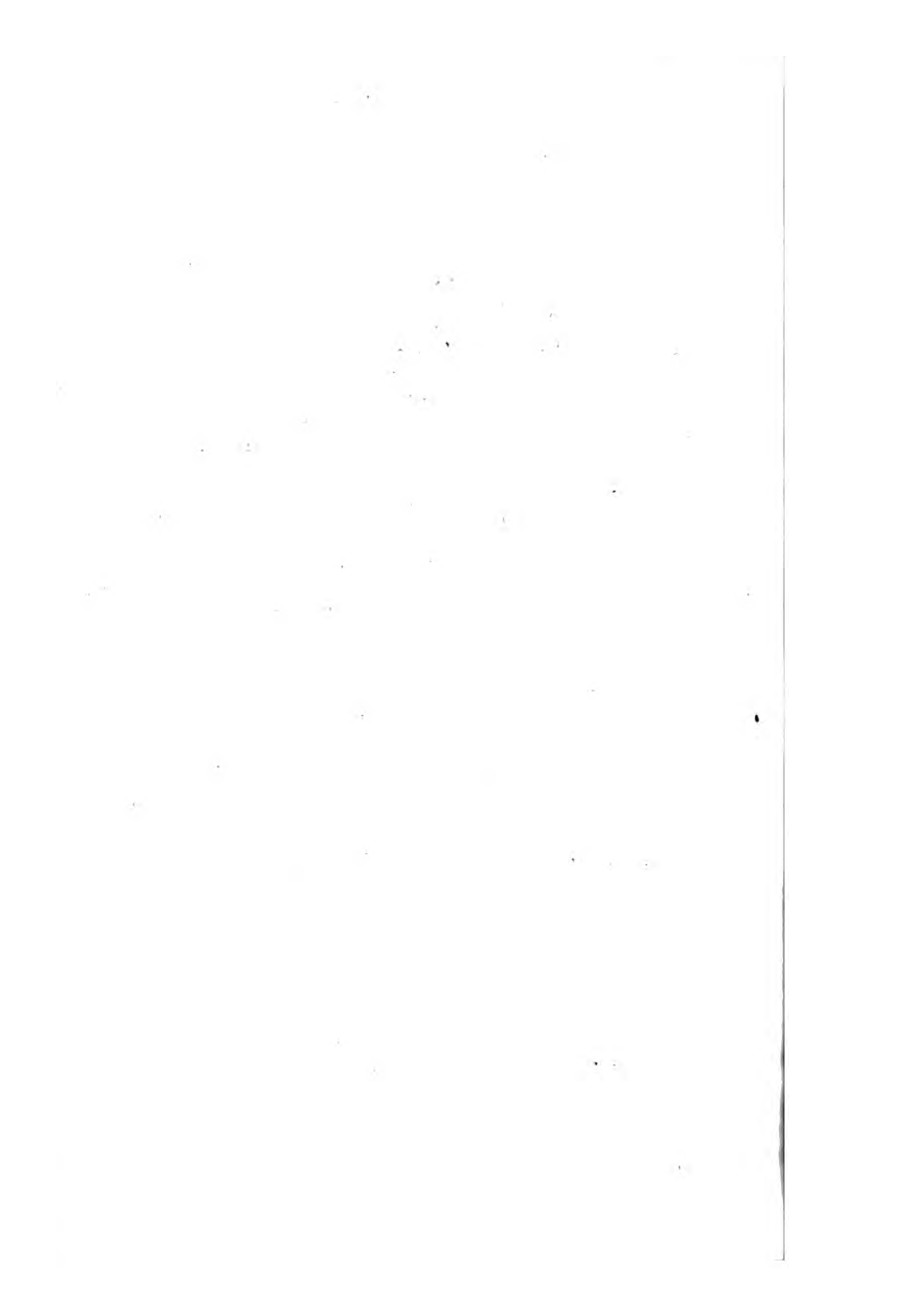
*Ordered by the Parliament, that these Letters, with the several  
Extracts, be forthwith printed and published.*

HEN. SCOBELL, *Cleric. Parliamenti.*

---

LONDON:

PRINTED BY EDWARD HUSBAND AND JOHN FIELD,  
PRINTERS TO THE PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND.



TO  
THE RIGHT HONORABLE  
THE  
LORD PRESIDENT  
OF THE  
COUNCEL OF STATE.

---

MY LORD,

WE marched from Berwick upon Monday, being the two-and-twentieth day of July, and lay at my Lord Mordington's house, Monday night, Tuesday, and Wednesday; on Thursday we marched to Copperspeth; on Friday to Dunbar, where we got some small pittance from our ships; from thence we marched to Haddington. On the Lord's day, hearing that the Scot-



tish army meant to meet us at Gladsmore, we labored to possess the moor before them, and beat our drums very early in the morning ; but when we came there, no considerable body of the enemy appeared ; whereupon 1400 horse, under the command of Major-General Lambert and Colonel Whalley, were sent as a vanguard to Muscleborough, to see likewise if they could finde out and attempt any thing upon the enemy. I marched in the heel of them, with the residue of the army ; our party encountered with some of their horse, but they could not abide us. We lay at Muscleborough ; incamped close that night ; the enemy's army lying between Edinburgh and Leith, about four miles from us, intrenched by a line flanked from Edinburgh to Leith ; the guns also from Leith scouring most parts of the line, so that they lay very strong. Upon Monday, the 29th instant, we were resolved to draw up to them, to see if they would fight with us ; and when we came upon the

place, we resolved to get our canons as near them as we could, hoping thereby to annoy them; we likewise perceived, that they had some force upon a hill that overlooks Edenburgh, from whence we might be annoyed, did resolve to send up a party to possess the said hill, which prevailed; but, upon the whole, we did finde, that their army were not easily to be attempted; whereupon we laid still all the said day; which proved to be so sore a day and night of raine, as I have seldom seen, and greatly to our disadvantage; the enemy having enough to cover them, and we nothing at all considerable. Our soldiers did abide this difficulty with great courage and resolution, hoping they should speedily come to fight. In the morning, the ground being very wet, our provisions scarce, we resolved to draw back to our quarters at Muscledborough, there to refresh and revictual. The enemy, when we drew off, fell upon our rear, and put them into some little disorder; but our bodies of

horse, being in some readiness, came to a grapple with them ; where, indeed, there was a gallant and hot dispute ; the major-general and Colonel Whalley being in the rear, and the enemy drawing out great bodies to second their first affront. Our men charged them up to the very trenches, and beat them in ; the major-general his horse was shot in the neck and head, himself run through the arm with a lance, and run into another place of his body, was taken prisoner by the enemy, but rescued immediately by Lieutenant Empson, of my regiment. Colonel Whalley, who was then nearest to the major-general, did charge very resolutely, and repulsed the enemy, and killed divers of them upon the place, and took some prisoners, without any considerable loss ; which indeed did so amaze and quiet them, that we marched off to Muscleborough ; but they dar'd not send out a man to trouble us. We hear their yong king looked on upon all this, but was very ill satisfied to see their men do no

better. We came to Muscleborough that night, so tired and wearied for want of sleep, and so dirty by reason of the wetness of the weather, that we expected the enemy would make an infal upon us; which accordingly they did, between three and four of the clock this morning, with fifteen of their most select troops, under the command of Major-General Montgomery and Straughan, two champions of the church. Upon which business there was great hope and expectation laid. The enemy came on with a great deal of resolution, beat in our guards, and put a regiment of horse in some disorder; but our men speedily taking the alarum, charged the enemy, routed them, took many prisoners, killed a great many of them, did execution within a quarter of a mile of Edinburgh, and, as I am informed, Straughan was killed there, besides divers others officers of quality; we took the major to Straughan's regiment, Major Hamilton, a lieutenant-colonel, and divers other officers

and persons of quality, whom yet we know not. Indeed, this is a sweet beginning of your business, or rather the Lord's ; and I believe is not very satisfactory to the enemy, especially to the kirk party. We did not lose any in this business, so far as I hear, but a cornet. I do not hear of four men more. The major-general will, I believe, within few days, be well to take the field ; and I trust, this work, which is the Lord's, will prosper in the hands of his servants. I did not think it adviseable to attempt upon the enemy, lying as he doth ; but surely it would sufficiently provoke him to fight, if he had a mind to it. I do not think he is less than six or seven thousand horse, and fourteen or fifteen thousand foot. The reason, I hear, that they give out to their people why they do not fight us, is, because they expect many bodies of men more out of the north of Scotland ; which, when they come, they give out they will then engage ; but, I believe, they would rather tempt us to attempt

them in their fast nets, within which they are intrenched ; or else hoping we shall famish for want of provisions ; which is very likely to be, if we be not timely and fully supplied. I remain,

My Lord,

Your most humble servant,

O. CROMVELL.

MUSCLEBOROUGH, *Julii 30*, 1650.

I understand, since the writing of this letter, that Major-General Montgomery is slain.

SIR,

My last acquainted you with our advance into Scotland: you may expect to hear of some action. The people had generally deserted their habitations, some few women only were left behind; yet we had this mercy, that their houses thus forsaken were indifferently well furnished with beer, wine, and corn, which was a very good supply to us. Our soldiers were civil and orderly, which gains much upon the country.

On the 26 of this instant we came to Haddington, where we received intelligence, that the Scots army had rendezvoused that day, and proposed to march all that night, to meet us on a moor, betwixt Muscleburgh and Haddington, called Gladsmoor. We drew out our army early in the morning, expecting an engagement; but missing thereof, and meeting with no certain intelligence where their army was, we drew out a party of fifteen

hundred horse, commanded by Major-General Lambert, which had a forlorn of two hundred horse, led by Major Heyne. These advanced before the body of our army, to give some notice where their army lay. Our forlorn had some light skirmishes with theirs. We still prest on till we had discovered some bodies of their horse, drawn up about a mile and an half on this side Leith. Upon the appearing of our party, they retreated; our forlorn advanced after them, but they quickly got under the shelter of their works; so that nothing considerable was done that day.

We quartered that night at Muscleborough, within four miles of their camp. We then found that they encamped between Leith and Edinburgh; and had entrenched themselves very strongly, drawing their trench from the Leith to the foot of Cannygate street in Edinburgh; and all along the line they had mounted very many pieces of ordnance. The next morning, being the 28 of July instant, we drew



out our army, supposing that they would have given us battle, and a plain field for the deciding of our work. Our forlorn of horse was commanded by Major Brown ; a party of two hundred foot led by Major Cobbet, with an hundred horse, were to possess the mickle hill on this side Edinburgh, where some of their muskettiers lay popping at us. They quickly made themselves masters of that hill ; which, if their army had maintained, and planted great guns upon it, they might have very much galled the left wing of our army. They had no such intentions as to come to us, onely some small bodies of their horse appeared, but they were suddenly beaten back again. We quartered that night within less than musket-shot of their intrenchments. It began to rain about five of the clock in the evening, and it proved as sad and wet a night as ever was endured. The next morning, perceiving they would not fight, and viewing the strength of their intrenchments, the soldiers having endured

so bitter a night, we drew off to quarters, for the refreshment of our men and horses. They have made themselves so strong, lying under the command of Edinburgh castle and of Leith, that we could not come near them, without the apparent hazard of the loss of our army. Upon our drawing off, they endeavoured to fall on our rear, which was done with as great advantage on their part as might be; and yet (through the goodness of God) it proved to their loss: They had kept our rear-guard too long pickering, till great bodies of horse, which we could not judge to be less than a thousand, appeared near them, both on their rear and on their flank: and indeed, before they could reach the rear of our army, they were forced into some disorder; but one of our rear troops received ours, and put theirs to a stand. At length we rallied up, and dividing into two parts, we charged both their bodies of horse home, pursuing them to their very works. 'Tis supposed we killed fifty or sixty of

theirs, wounding more, and taking some prisoners. This gave an alarm to the van of our army, who were all drawn off; but they would not come out to give us battel, though we drew up in their view. We lost some few; Captain Gladman, with some others, being wounded; the major-general himself received two wounds in his arm and thigh by their lances; he was taken prisoner, but rescued by Lieutenant Empson. They refusing to fight, we drew off to Muscledborough to quarters. The enemy, taking advantage at our weariness, about the break of the day, this morning, being the 30 of this instant July, attempted to make a desperate charge upon our quarters with eight hundred of their choice horse. This they did very resolutely; and our guard of horse being somewhat negligent, they routed them, and came to our very town gate, till our musquettiers, and a piece of ordnance, had discharged, and done execution upon them, they were put to a stand, and received by two troops of

Colonel Lilburn's horse very gallantly ; falling upon us suddenly, before we could well receive the alarm, they mightily disordered our horse, and wounded many of our men. At length our men rallied, and charged them home, and pursued them to their very works, which was four miles ; and in their pursuit they killed and wounded many of them, taking divers prisoners. Sir Robert Montgomery, their major-general, commanded their party, with whom Colonel Straughan (once our friend) was ; it is thought he is killed. We have taken a lieutenant-colonel, a major, some captains, and other officers, prisoners. The number we have slain is not yet known ; prisoners are still brought in ; we may conjecture they will return back above one hundred less than they came forth. This was a very great mercy to us, and a check to them. We have one captain of theirs prisoner, and he is much wounded, whom they value, and account of very high for their kirk. We had a cornet killed, whose

colours were also taken. It was but in part a requital of what we did to them yesterday, for we took two of their colours. Their king came to them on Monday, and viewed their army. His coronation day is shortly to be solemnized. We much wonder, that none of the honest party amongst them do fall off yet to us. If they would appear, our work might receive a more speedy result. They expect more forces out of the north; they report to the number of about five or six thousand. I have no more at this present, but to desire you to accept of the service of

Your humble servant,

R. H.

MUSCLEBOROUGH, 30th July, 1650.

SIR,

We are now come near Edinburgh, before which the army, horse and foot, were drawn up on Monday last. The enemy had lined the park wall with musketers, about a mile from the town. A party of our musketers were sent to beat them from it, especially in regard it gave them a view of the army. This they did; and the enemy fled to their body, who lay encamped upon a hill near the city. Order was given for the drawing up a piece of ordnance upon Arthur's hill, which played upon the enemy, and made them give back to their trenches, which they had made between Edenburgh and Leith, to secure themselves. The army stood in battalia all the night; but the enemy, not willing to leave their advantages, and it not being advisable to fall upon our enemy, far above our number, who had two garisons, and a line to defend themselves, besides the extraordinary wet that fell that night and the

next morning ; the army had order to march back to Muscleborough, which they did : The enemy perceiving it, a great party of their horse issued forth to fall upon our reer, which received their charge ; and, after an hot dispute, forc'd them retreat into the town. In this skirmish, Major-General Lambert received a slight hurt ; Captain Gladman, Captain Fenis, and some others of ours, wounded ; divers of theirs killed, and some taken. A party of the countrey, of above five hundred, were gathered together on the hill near this town, but routed by Major Haynes. This morning, about four of the clock, fifteen hundred of the enemies best horse, commanded by Major-General Montgomery, being many of them drunk, had engaged to the prince, who came to Edenburgh the other night, that they would bring him, the Lord General Cromwell, alive or dead,—gave an alarm to the army, and came up to Muscleborough, under the notion of friends ; but being discovered, they were

encountred with and routed, so that not one hundred of them got back to Edenburgh. There was above forty slain; Colonel Straughan, a lieutenant-colonel, a major, a captain, a lieutenant, and divers other officers, and many soldiers, slain, whose bodies lay scattered all the way between this and Edenburgh. Major-General Montgomery was slain in the pursuit.

MUSCLEBOROUGH, 31 *July*, 1650.



*Besides what is contained in the Lord General's Letter to the Council of State, and those other herewith printed, there are several other material circumstances in other Letters, which were also read in the Parliament, for brevity's sake extracted, and are as followeth :*

A letter from Sir Arthur Hesilrige, from Newcastle, the third of August, assures us,—

The ships, with provisions from London, went by Tinnmouth-castle for Leith, upon Friday the second of August, about five of the clock in the morning, having a very good wind.

In a letter from Muscleborough, of the 30 of July, from a colonel of the army, as followeth :—

The Lord hath been pleased to manifest his presence and owning of us, and wites-

sed that we are not a people forsaken ; but he doth declare that our cause is that wherein his name and glory is concerned ; and that the Lord doth own us, is matter to me of the greatest rejoycing.

Monday, the nineteenth of July, we drew near to the enemy, and possest ourselves of a convenient hill, where the enemy lay, on that side of Edinburgh that goes to Leith, having drawn a line from that city to Leith, strongly fortified. Our design in marching so near was to provoke the enemy to fight ; but God took away their courage, and they suffered us to take our ground without opposition, where we intended to fight, in case they durst draw forth, which they did not, though both armies fac'd each other. We lay all night in the field (which proved extreme wet) ; yet the Lord gave our men great courage and contentedness with their hardship, which indeed was a choyce mercy, considering what want of provision our men had. The countrey not affording relief,

and the ships from London not come to us: but God supplied all, by giving the army quietness under all their straits.

The two blows given by our army to the enemy on Tuesday and Wednesday, hath strook so much terror into them, that I do not think they will be able to keep together.

In a letter from Mr Owen to the Lord Commissioner Lisle:—

I dare not write the particulars of the fight, being assured that you have it from better hands: the issue, that they were repulsed by an handful, and a hundred and eighty taken prisoners; amongst them, Straughan's major, himself reported to be slain; the whole party pursued to their works: four ministers came out with them, but being not known, received the lot of war, three of them killed, and one taken.

This was the party they most relyed upon, as being especially consecrated by the kirk to this service.

Their ministers told the people before our army came, that they should not need to strike one stroke, but stand still, and they should see the sectaries destroyed.

In another letter from Mr Downing, of the first of August :—

Some of the prisoners told me, that War-riston, Sir John Chiesley, Broudy, and Jeof-fryes, two of their ministers, and late com-missioners to their king in Holland, were to charge in the head of the kirk regiment.

Straughan, by all probability, is killed ; not onely by the description of his person, which they give that killed him, but also of his clothes, and by his pistol and sword, which are taken ; by all which, both we and our prisoners do conclude him to be Straughan : after he was dismounted, he refused quarter, strook at one with his sword, and discharged his pistol, whereup-on they killed him ; but he being one of the last men that was killed, and close by their line, they recovered his body. Lieu-

tenant Griffith was upon the charge, and made a speech at the head of his troop, to encourage them before they fell on ; his horse that he charged upon is taken, and he thought to be killed.

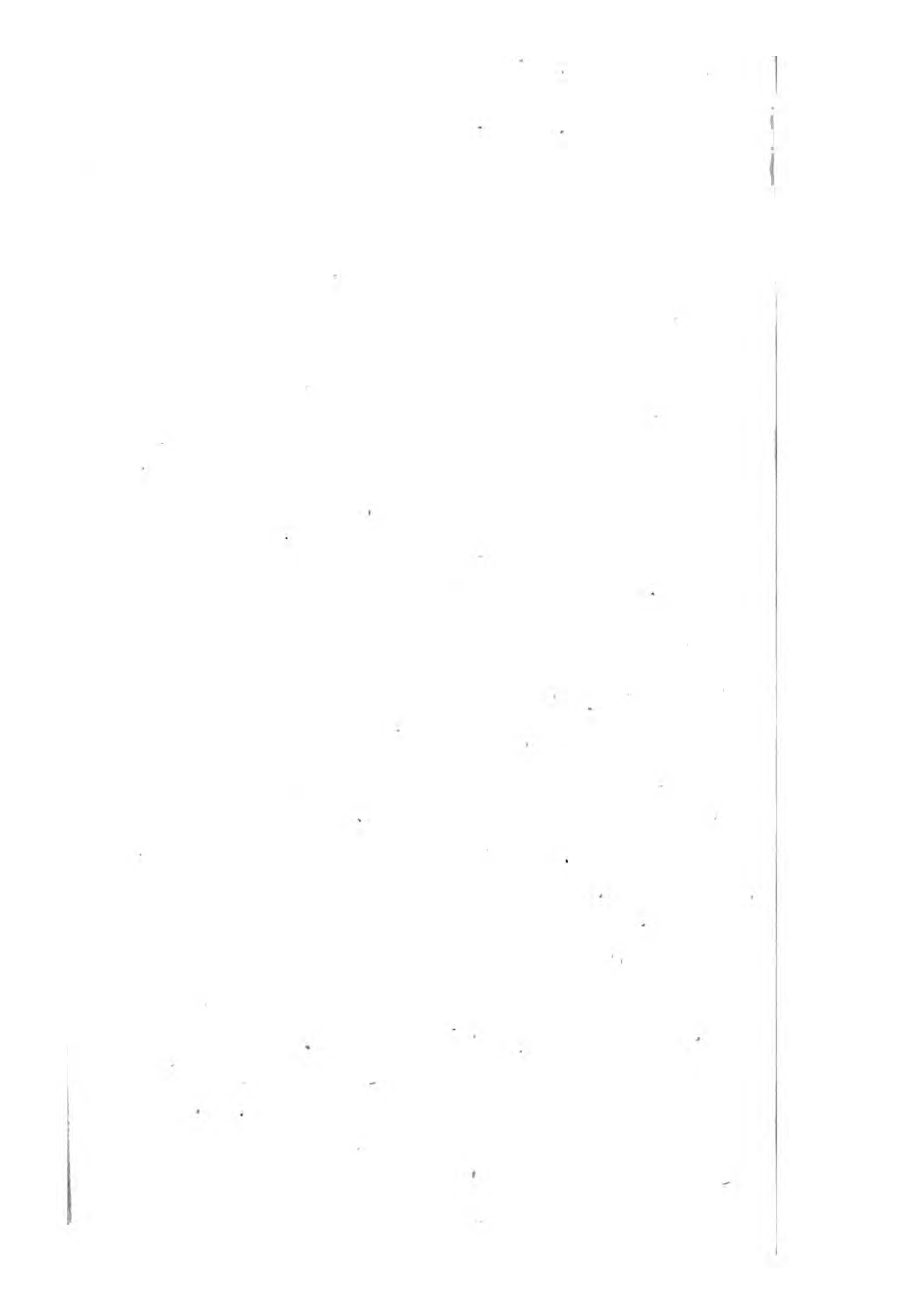
Dated MUSCLEBOROUGH, *August 1, 1650.*

That the fifteen troops which came out of Edinburgh, were the choycest of the enemies horse, and pickt troops, whereon was most dependance; amongst which were many English cavaliers; that these and Major Straughan (as the prisoners say) had engaged to the prince to bring the Lord General Cromwel to him dead or alive. The prince gave to each of the troopers two shillings to drink; that Major Straughan desired the command of this party; but that being not thought fit, Major-General Montgomery was appointed to it, and Straughan to bring up the rere.

That this party went near sixteen miles about, to get their best opportunity for falling on; and after some of Colonel Lil-

burn's men had first taken the alarm, two of the enemies came up as friends (being English), and said it was false : whereupon ours dismounted ; and so the enemy came on immediately ; yet did little prejudice, onely Colonel Lilburn's cornet killed, and two or three others hurt.

That the enemy being routed (and coming by Colonel Bright's regiment of foot), had so great a volley from them, that many fell from their horses ; one corporal's leg taken off, and three horses killed, with one of the great guns of that regiment. Our men so scattered the enemy, that some of them were taken that night in Muscleborough town (being our headquarters), besides the pursuit of them for four miles. Our dragoons, quartering that night within a mile of Edinburgh, met, and killed divers of them at their return. One of them, who was killed, was heard by our men, upon his last gasp, to say, *Damme, I'll go to my king!*



A  
*TRUE*  
**RELATION**  
OF THE  
**DAILY PROCEEDINGS**  
AND  
**TRANSACTIONS OF THE ARMY**  
IN  
**SCOTLAND,**  
UNDER HIS EXCELLENCY  
**THE LORD-GEN. CROMWELL.**

---

---

CERTIFIED

*BY LETTERS*

FROM THE HEAD-QUARTERS AT STONEHILL, IN SCOTLAND,  
AUG. 23.

AND PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY.

---

---

LONDON:

PRINTED BY E. G. IN THE OLD BAILY--1650.





SIR,

IN my last, I told you of our marching backe to Musleborough; where we stayd Thursday night, Friday, and Saturday, taking in provisions; and on Sunday, the 17, marched backe to our old quarters on Pentland Hills.

Whilst we stayd at Musleborough fields, orders were given for the possessing and fortifying of two houses; one belonging to Mr Hamilton, who, with his man, were guides to that party that fell so desperately into our quarters in Musleborough, and both kild on each side the house. The other was a frontier to Dalkeith, and another garrison, formerly kept by our dragoons, neere Edenborough (but quitted.) The former (being neer the waterside) is intended as a magazine for provisions for the army; in it there are 140 foot, com-

manded by Cap. Hughes, one of Col. Fenwicke's captaines, and forty horse, under Lieut. Wilkinson, of Col. Lilburn's regiment, and twenty dragoons; and the latter, to secure the passages betweene the garrison and the army, it being in the midway betweene both, in it there is a party commanded by Cap. Webb, of Col. Mallivere's regiment. We had intelligence of the killing two of our foot souldiers that went to seek provisions in the country, besides one of Col. Daniel's, that was kild by some of the enemies horse, adventring too far into their quarters towards Edenburgh, when the army was encampt on Pencland Hills.

In the armies march from about Musleborough to Pencland Hills, the enemy drew out severall bodies of horse, which faced us in the way, but came to no engagement; they also fired at our men out of severall houses which they had garisoned in the way. At his excellencies comming up on the hils, he sent two troopes of dra-

goons to possesse Collinton-house, which is a very strong house, within halfe a mile of Redhouse (a garrison of the enemies), which annoyed our men upon their former march thither.

A serjeant of Col. Coxe's regiment was executed on a gallows on Pencland Hills, though there was no tree to hang him on, for being present with some souldiers of that regiment, when they plundered a house, and himselfe took away a cloke: and so tender is his lordship of any injury to be done to the country, that he renders good for evil. There were three souldiers condemned with him; but his excellencies mercy was extended towards them, and a pardon brought them immediately after the execution of the other.

In the meane time, severall great bodies of the enemies horse, to the number of 2 or 3000, were drawn out on the west side of Edenburgh, betweene the river Leith and the sea; and having an advantage of a passe over the river (which they

supposed our designe was to take), severall parties of theirs came and pickered in the sight of our army ; but, upon the drawing up of our parties, retreated back. His excellency, in person, drew out a forlorn, and went before them ; when he came neer them, one of them fired a carbine ; upon which his Excellency called to him, and said, If he had been one of his souldiers, he would have cashierd him for firing at such a distance ; whereupon he that fired, having formerly served L. G. Lesly, coming up, told him, he was Cromwell himselfe, and that he had seen him in Yorkshire with his master.

There are 39 of the runawaies that went from the army brought prisoners by sea from Barwick, where they were apprehended by Col. Fenwick, the governor : more are coming, and some of them will be made exemplary ; 27 of those already brought, were, Monday, Aug. 9, condemned at a court-martial.

Divers women and others got away by

night from Leith by land and water, and steal back into the country ; by which we perceive they are in some straits for want of provision. We wonder to see such a false relation printed, as goes under the name of one Mr Brooke's, at the Angel, in Cornhill, numb. 3, whercin he relates the taking of Leith : which if it were done, our work were soon at an end ; it being the most considerable place, and the onely considerable port-town in Scotland. Certainly none in the army would mention such a fiction, when we see the enemy in it every day. Tuesday, Aug. 20. There was a parley between Maj. Gen. Lambert and other officers of ours, and Col. Straughan and others of the enemies army : Much was said to convince each other, but it amounted to nothing.

Lieut. Gen. Lesley's trumpeter came with a letter and declaration of their king's (as they call it), which he hath now subscribed ; but it was drawn up by the kirk.

The effect was, in confessing his father's and his own guilt in the late war; and promising, for the future, to do nothing but by the advice of the kirke and state. There is also a sheet of paper, entitled, "A supplication of the officers of the army to the committee of estates, to purge the army and courts of malignants, without respect of persons; and the committee's thanks to them, and promise to do it."

This day the enemy drew their whole army, horse and foot, out of Leith; they gave them out to be 30,000; they left a regiment of horse, and 1000 commanded foot, in it. The king was then at Dumferling, with a life-guard of horse, and two or three companies of foot; but when we expected an engagement, they retreated back to Leith. Our army is begun to intrench on Pencland Hills.

Wednesday, August 21. A counsel was called, of all the field officers and captains. The business was, to relate what transac-

tions had been ; and how the Scots, having combined with their king, and scornefully sent his declaration, before any thing could be offered farther in an amicable way, to prevent the misery of what must follow by force, or that we should doe our utmost endeavours to reduce them, using all meanes which an invading enemy will doe one against another : and as they were speaking every man his heart, whereby there might be a knowledge how it was with them, there came an alarum that the enemy was drawne out severall waies towards Sterling, towards the provisions. There was pickering neere Collington-house with the dragoones ; and the enemy had a captaine of theirs slaine, and two prisoners. The enemy are reduced to such extremity for want of provisions, that they must move one way or other ; and I doubt not but God will fill this hippocriticall generation, with whom we have to deale, with their own waies.



This night a party of horse and foot are drawne out upon a considerable designe; of which more by the next.

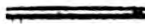
STONEHILL-GARRISON, *Aug. 23, 1650.*

SEVERALL  
LETTERS

FROM  
SCOTLAND,

RELATING THE  
PROCEEDINGS OF THE ARMY THERE.

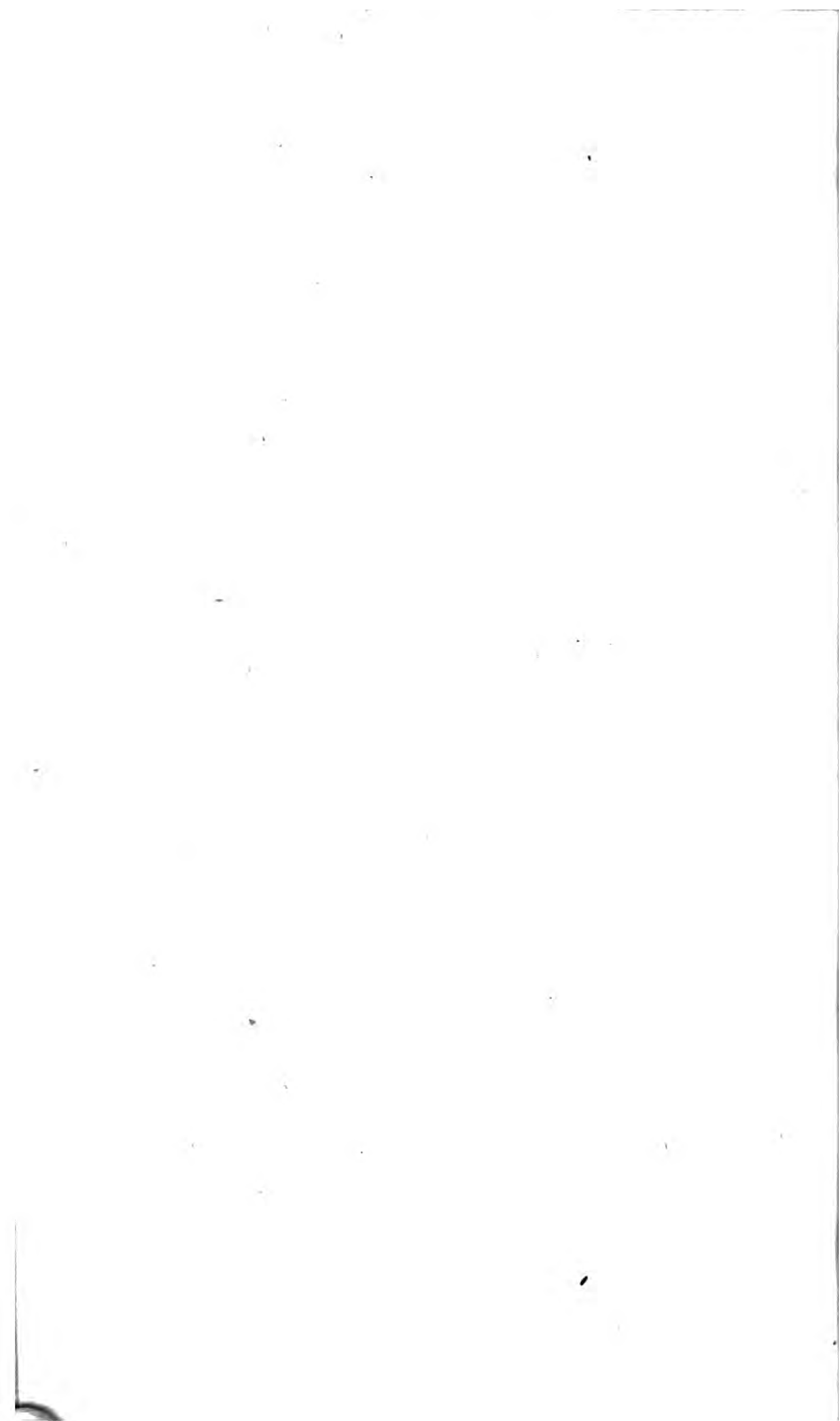
READ IN PARLIAMENT THE SIXTH DAY OF SEPTEMBER,  
ONE THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED AND FIFTY.



IMPRIMATUR,  
HEN. SCOBELL, CLERIC. PARLIAMENTI.



PRINTED AT LONDON FOR ROBERT IBBITSON,  
DWELLING IN SMITHFIELD, NEER HOSIER-LANE, 1650.



A  
**LETTER**  
FROM THE  
**LORD GENERAL**

TO  
A MEMBER OF THE COUNCELL OF STATE.

---

SIR,

SINCE my last, we seeing the enemy not willing to engage, and yet very apt to take exceptions against speeches of that kind, spoken in our army, which occasioned some of them to come to parley with our officers, to let them know that they would fight us, they lying still in, or near

their fastnesse, on the west side of Edenburgh ; we resolved (the Lord assisting), to draw neer to them once more, to try if we could fight them ; and indeed, one hour's advantage gained, might probably (we think) have given us an opportunity ; to which purpose, upon Tuesday, the 27 instant, we marched westward of Edenburgh towards Sterling ; which the enemy perceiving, marched with as great expedition as was possible to prevent us ; and the vanguards of both the armies came to skirmish upon a place, where bogges and passes made the accesse of each army to the other difficult. We being ignorant of the place, drew up, hoping to have engaged ; but found no way feazable by reason of the bogs and other difficulties.

We drew up our cannon, and did that day discharge two or three hundred great shot upon them ; a considerable number they likewise returned to us ; and this was all that passed from each to other ; wherein we had neere twenty killed and wound-

ed, but not one commissioned officer. The enemy, as we are informed, had about fourscore kild, and some considerable officers. Seeing they would keep their ground, from which we could not remove them, and our bread being spent, we were necessitated to go for a new supply; and so marched off about ten or eleven o'clock on Wednesday morning. The enemy perceiving it, and, as we conceive, fearing we might interpose between them and Edinburgh, though it was not our intention, albeit it seemed so by our march, retreated back again with all haste, having a bogge and passes between them and us. There being no considerable action, saving the skirmishing of the van of our horse with theirs, neere to Edinburgh, without any losse to either part considerable, saving that we got two or three of their horses.

That night we quartered within a mile of Edinburgh, and of the enemy. It was a most tempestuous night and wet morning.

The enemy marched in the night between Leith and Edenburgh, to interpose between us and our victuall, they knowing that it was spent (but the Lord, in mercy, prevented it); which we perceiving in the morning, got time enough, through the goodnesse of the Lord, to the sea-side to revictuall; the enemy being drawn up upon the hill neer Arthur's Seat, looking upon us, but not attempting any thing. And thus you have an account of the present occurrences.

Your most humble servant,

O. CROMWELL.

MUSCLEBOROUGH, 31 *August*, 1650.

*A Letter from a Collonell of the Army, to a  
Member of the Councill of State:—*

DEARE SIR,

Since my last, we have againe twice attempted to ingage the Scots army. Upon Tuesday last, we marched with an endeavour to interpose betwixt Edenburgh and Sterling, and by that necessitate the enemy to fight; and accordingly wee advanced with our whole army, but they being in view of us (only a river parting), discerned by our march what we designed, and so hastened their march, untill they came to a passe neare us, and drew up in battalia; we did the like; all being confident we should, within a quarter of an houre, have an ingagement, and, as we judged, could not be prevented, the ground appearing equally good on both sides.



The word given out was, " Rise, Lord!" the body of foot advancing within lesse than twice musket-shot; and then was discovered such a bog on both our wings of horse, that it was impossible to passe over. Thus, by this very unexpected hand of Providence, were we prevented, and only had liberty to play with our cannon that evening and part of the next morning, which did good execution, as we believe, upon them. We had very strange and remarkeable deliverances from theirs, though they played very hard upon us, and that with such art; but the Lord suffered them not to do us much hurt; we had not slaine and wounded above five-and-twenty men. We finding it not possible to ingage them, and far from our provisions, divers of our men having cast away their bisket, with their tents, out of a confidence they should then fight; we therefore resolved upon our march back to the sea-side; the enemy likewise hastened towards Edenburgh. We did believe their design was to gain a passe or

two, and so interpose betwixt us and our provisions, which they might easily have done, being before us ; but the Lord gave them not courage to do it. We found them drawne up near Edenburgh, by Arthur's Hill, and not at all interrupted our march ; but not long after we got over the passe, they, instead of offering to advance upon us, retreated behind one of their garisons, and so marched on that side of the passe. We came over up towards those hills we left.

So we finding an impossibility in our forcing them to fight, the passes being so many and great, that as soone as we got on one side, they go over on the other ; that the council yesterday was very unanimous on this, that it was to no purpose further to march after them, but inclined generally to fall upon garisoning of Dunbarre, and other considerable places nearer Tweed ; and, after one garison compleated (if we have no better compliance), to proceed to some more severe course than

hath bin yet taken. I know many among you will thinke it strange we have done no more against them: I wish they may eye the Lord, and not man. We have this satisfaction, there is no meanes left unattemped by us; we have done our utmost; and the Lord therein gives us comfort; besides many remarkable testimonies of His presence.

Of late, we have understood those who have the name of honesty among them, begin to be better satisfied, and more desirous of an agreement. They are not so of a peece as they were, but their disaffection about the king, and other divisions, increase. They see themselves in a snare, and would gladly many of them get out; We are assured their honest men will not long hold in with them. The Lord, I doubt not, but one way or other, will very eminently appear with us, is the prayer of your affectionate humble servant,

C. F.

MUSCLEBOROUGH, 31 *August*, 1650.

*Another Letter from the Army.*

SIR,

Having taken Redhall, Monday the 26 instant, we advanced from Penckland Hills, about two miles to the water of Leith; and the next day we marched on, resolving (if possible) to engage the enemy, who were drawne up that morning in battalia, as if they intended to have stood us; but as they observed us wheeling to the westward, to come upon them, they removed from their ground, and gained a passe, where there was a boggy ground of each side. Our men were drawn on with all possible speed, not knowing the ground to be such, and were in a short time set in order. Never more resolution and willingness knowne to have engaged an enemy then was in our men at that time; but when we should have fallen on, neither wing was able to come at them; and then

we perceived, that, notwithstanding all their bravadoes the day before by Sir Jo. Browne, by whom they sent us word they were resolved to give us a faire meeting; yet their haste towards us was not to engage us, but to stop us from comming at them. Wee stood in battalia that afternoone and next morning; the cannons playing hotly on both sides; and though we were much the fairer mark, standing upon the pitch of a rising ground, yet it pleased God our losse was much the lesse; we had onely about foure that dyed upon the place, and about 18 or 19 wounded; and of the enemy about 100 wounded and killed; one Col. Mennes, and a captain, and a lieutenant of horse, and an ensigne, killed of theirs. We have lost, since our comming into Scotland, by the enemy, onely one commission officer, viz. Col. Lilburne's cornet, who was killed at the charge at Muscleborough. There was several strange shot; one was at Major Hobson's troopes, which was drawne close together to prayer; and just as the

Amen was said, there came in a great shot among them, and touched neither horse nor man. The next morning, having but two dayes provision left, and seeing we could not in that place engage them, we drew back to our old quarters on Penckland Hills; and the enemy drew between Edenburgh and Leith, as if they would that night have attempted our garrisons on the east side of Edenburgh, and have interposed between us and our bread and cheese. The 29 instant we marched to the eastward of Edenburgh; and seeing the enemy drawn up from Arthur's Hill to the sea-side, we possessed ourselves of the next ground to them, within cannon-shot, resolving there to have endeavoured to engage them; but they very gallantly drew away between Arthur's Hill and Craigmiller, a garison of theirs. Our cannons some of them reaching them, and doing, as we understand, notable execution upon them. Thus, from time to time, they avoyded fighting; neither is it possible, as long as

they are thus minded, to ingage them ; so that to follow them up and down, is but to loose time and weaken ourselves. Me-thinks this people deale with my lorde as did the Irish army ; so that as his worke was to take in garisons, ours, its humbly conceived, wil be to make a considerable garison or two, and spoiling what of their country we cannot get under our power. I suppose you wil have a full account hereof. This day we march. I think if ever there was an unworthy jugling, which the Lord will witsesse against, its among those with whom we have to do. Straughan, at a conference since my last, being asked seriously by one what he thought of their king ; and whether he conceived him any whit the better since his signing the late declaration ? replied, that he thought him as wicked as ever ; and designing both their and our destruction ; and that of the two, he thought his hatred towards them was the more implacable.

Your honor's humble servant,

G. D.

MUSCLEBOROUGH, 31 *Aug.* 1650.

A TRUE  
RELATION  
OF  
THE ROUTING THE SCOTISH ARMY,  
NEAR DUNBAR, SEPT. 3, INSTANT;  
THE PARTICULARS OF THE FIGHT,  
NUMBERS SLAIN, AND PRIZE TAKEN;  
WITH  
AN EXACT LIST OF THE NAMES OF THE PRISONERS.

CERTIFIED  
BY LETTERS  
FROM THE HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE ARMY, SEPT. 4.

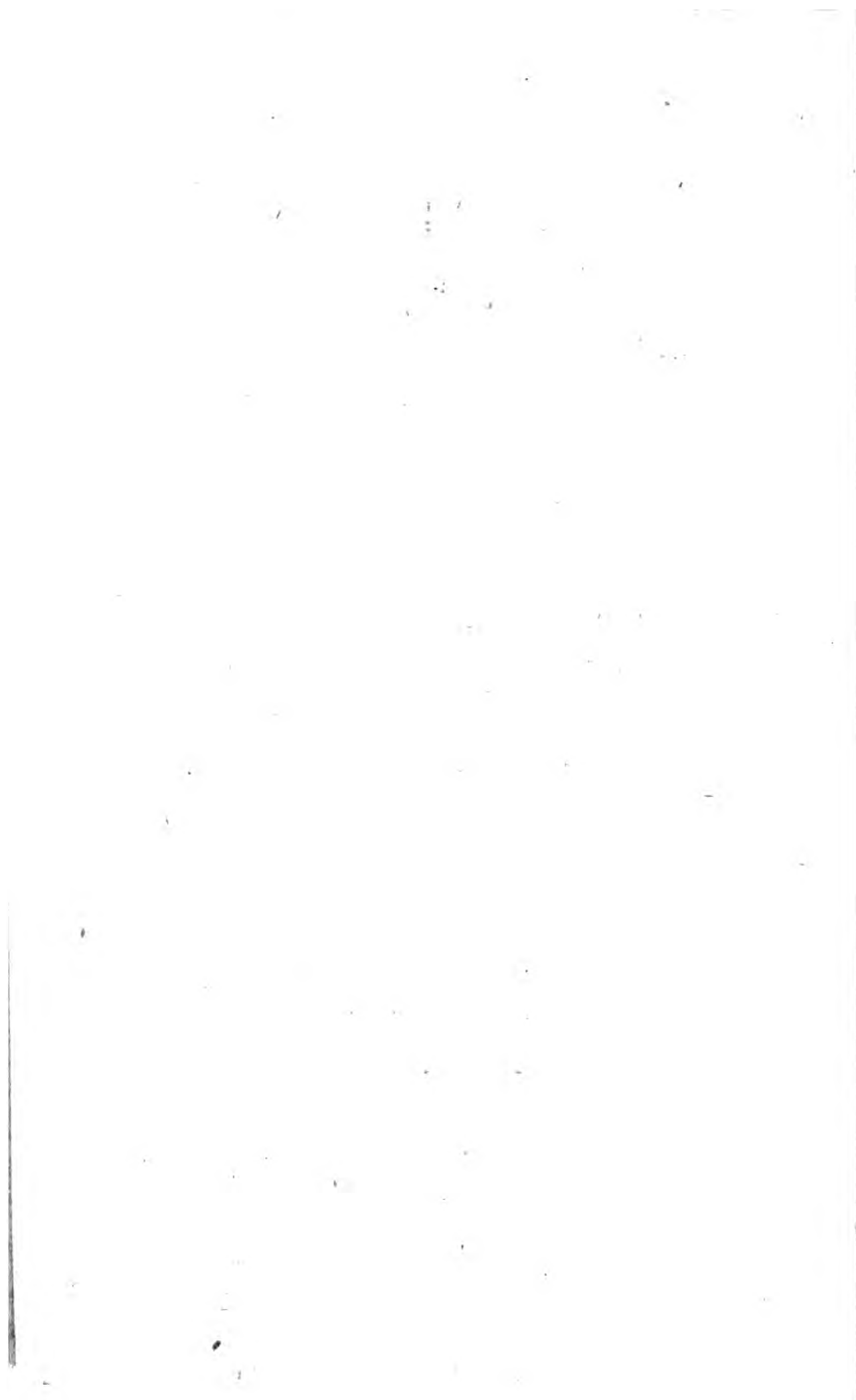
ALSO,  
THE LORD GENERAL'S PROCLAMATION  
CONCERNING THE PRISONERS AND WOUNDED MEN LEFT IN THE FIELD.

IMPRIMATUR, JOH. RUSHWORTH.

---

LONDON:  
PRINTED BY JOHN FIELD, SEPT. 9, 1650.





A  
TRUE RELATION  
OF THE  
ROUTING THE SCOTISH ARMY  
NEAR DUNBAR,

*Sep. 3, instant.*

---

SIR,

ON Saturday, August 31, the army marched to Haddington, where, in the night-time, the enemy attempted, with a party of mounted musketers, to come near the town-walls, and there made a volley of shot, which our men permitted, until they had received them within shot;

and then our foot, being of Colonel Fairfax's regiment, and himself leading them up, fired, and sent them back in a full career; we lost not one man: Captain White, of Colonel Fleetwood's regiment, had his horse shot under him, and himself bruised. The enemy left two dead behinde them, besides what was hurt.

On Sunday, Sep. 1, the general marched the army to Dunbar; the enemy march'd about two miles distant in the rear; his excellency drew out the army into the field, close by the town, and the enemy flanckt us upon the hills on the right hand, where they lay all night within a mile of our army. They sent a party to possess the pass at Copperspeth, to cut off correspondency betwixt us and Berwick.

All Monday, Septemb. 2, our men stood in battalia in the field; we could not go up to engage the enemy by reason of the hills, nor would they come down to give us battle; but that night it pleased the Lord wonderfully to look upon us, not

onely in a happy deliverance, but a singular and glorious victory: A party of ours advancing to gain the wind of the enemy, were discovered by a party of theirs who came to alarm us; but notwithstanding (through the Lord's great mercy), after above an hour's dispute at the pass, upon the Broadway between Dunbar and Berwick, our men obtained their end, possessed the pass, whereby we might with ease come over with our army; which was prosecuted so effectually, that about break of the day on Tuesday morning, both armies were engaged; our horse and foot charged them so resolutely upon a steep hill, that they stood onely two shocks, and soon left their train; the foot threw down their arms; and both horse and foot ran several ways; some towards Copperspeth, but the greatest part towards Edenburgh; we pursued them as far as Haddington, killing and wounding them all the way. There were above 4000 slain upon the place, and in the pursuit about 10,000 taken prison-

ers, most of which are wounded; many of note and quality taken; the Lord Liberton, Lieutenant-General Lumsden, and many more; of whose names, and the names of the officers of note taken, a list is enclosed, as was given in to the marshal-general; there are more brought in hourly. Their word was, *For the Covenant of Faith*; ours, *The Lord of Hosts*: and indeed this is the Lord of Hosts his own doings, and it is marvellous in our eyes; *the Lord of Hosts was above the Covenant*. We took all their train, being 32 pieces of ordnance, small, great, and leather guns; all their foot colours, besides horse; there are already brought in near 200 colours, horse and foot; all their arms, tents, bag and baggage. This is a just judgment upon the enemy, who, the day before, having taken about 30 of Col. Pride's men, who being to possess a house between our army and theirs, and not seconded by those appointed to bring them off; the enemy killed three of them, and wounded all the rest

after quarter given. The lord-general's regiment of foot this day led the van, and charged the enemy with much resolution, and were seconded by Colonel Pride's men, who were even with some of them for their cruel usage to their fellow-soldiers the day before ; we lost not forty men in the whole engagement, and no officer that I can hear of but Major Rooksby, who dyed of his wounds the next day ; Captain Lloyd, of Lieutenant-General Fleetwood's regiment, sorely wounded ; Major-General Whaley had his horse shot under him the first charge, himself slightly wounded ; his regiment charged through the enemies whole army, and back again, with little loss : Major Straughan was in this fight, and charged desperately ; Lieutenant-General Lesley's servant was taken. There were of note of the enemies killed, that we already hear of, Colonel Gilbert Kerr, Colonel Gray (formerly an adjutant-general in our army), and Lieutenant-Colonel Croxon. We took from all their foot short

skeans and long knives (such as the Irish use) to stab a man when they come within him.

DUNBAR, *Septemb. 4, 1650.*

---

*A List of the Scots taken Prisoners near  
Dunbar, Sept. 3, 1650.*

The Lord Liberton, Lieut. Gen. Sir James Lumsden, lieut. gen. of horse, the Lord Grandison, Sir John Brown, Colonel Sir William Douglas, Colonel Gurdon, Lieut.-Col. Walter Hamilton, Lieut.-Col. Wallis, Lieut. Col. Lesley, Lieut. Col. Murray, Lieut. Colonel Henry Malwin, Lieut. Col. Forbus, Lieut. Col. Walthrop, of horse, Lieut.-Col. Dunbarre, Lieut. Col. William Hamilton, Lieut.-Col. Dundasse, Lieut. Col. Alexander English, Lieut. Col. Craford.

MAJORS.

Henry Carmihil, James Cranston, of horse, George Moat, George Forbus Reformedo, William Jeremy, George Steward.

James Bickerton, adjutant-gen. of horse, George Cample, scout-master-general.

Mr Gallespy, minister, Mr John Wangle, minister, Mr Alex. Jeffery, of the committee of estates, Mr Tho. Jeffery, major of Aberdeen.

CAPTAINS OF FOOT.

Belon, James Sterline, Francis Nue, Agree, Sibbald, Alex. Montegreff, George Halliburton, Tho. Brown, Bonner, William Murray, James Scot, William Rutherford, James Macubray, Hugh Montgomery, James Aiken, George Smith, John Mackihellan, Hugh Madole, George Pingle, Robert Scot, Alexander Wood, Robert Hamilton, Tho. Gray, Robert Adamson, Robert Duncan, Robert Mancaula, Walter



Scot, Matthew Creshton, James Steward, William Douglas, Walter Lesley, Wau-chop, of horse, James Borthock, Daniel Murray, John Murray, William Burton, James Camil.

Capt. Roger Hamilton, Capt. Robert Wood, Capt. William Blayre, Capt. Rob. Anderson.

#### LIEUTENANTS OF FOOT.

James Cunningham, James Blackwood, Patrick Marnal, Henry Cunningham, Lancelot Car, John Macknight, John Hume, John Gourdon, George Cunningham, Geo. Weare, Henry Eston, Nicholas Cowston, Alexander Steward, William Petre, Norman Lesly, William Gladston, Robert Hamilton, Gen. Mackburn, Robert Strahan, Richard Allen, James Mackbey, George Disset, James Nichols, John Car, Thomas Mennib, William Sims, Alexander Car, James Twede, William Leich, James Suiers, John Moor, Andrew Kenner, Baily, John Rich, John Camel, William Knocks, Tho-

mas Anderson, Lancaster Car, James Monnorgome, Thomas Car, James Twede, James Armer, James Smer, Andrew Kenner, Jo. Camel, John Steward, Allen Osborn, John Wilson, Walter Wanhop, Patrick Warberton, William Ingles, Alexander Gourdon, Samuel Gourdon, Lancaster Harkenson, Robert Rankin, Cha. Colmine, John Rawson, Andrew Guiler, Geo. Totterson, Thomas Hutchen, John Emnes, John Skew, John Hunter, John Markdoughal, Andrew Drummon, George Moale, Francis Scot, Alexander Kiff, John Markdoughil, George Lesley, William Livery, John Denant, William Elliot.

George Windram, cornet, Thomas Colterwood, cornet, Patrick Lindsey, cornet, Captain William Brisbon, of horse, William Cunningham, cornet, James Maxwel, cornet, Jam. Denham, cornet, James Bruse, lieut. of horse, John Magel, cornet, Walter Steward, cornet, John Hay, cornet, William Danrimple, captain of foot, Captain Charls Kerkpatrick, C. Nich. Lawson, Cor-

net Ja. Magavile, Cornet John Brown, Cornet Alex. Michel.

QUARTERMASTERS OF HORSE.

Tho. Richinson, William Fabus.

ENSIGNS OF FOOT.

Kilpatrick, Walter Mac Doghal, William Sanckle, George Jack, Hartley Gud, William Carnetuss, Thomas Wallis, Andrew Myan, James Bennet, John Linsey, Andrew Hanna, Thomas Pringle, Robert Hamilton, James Delap, John Gunny, John Edwards, Col. Camel, Heatly, Robert Ray, Gilbert Hurrall, James Musket, William Simple, Robert Ogleby, Robert Williamson, William Lesley, Ersbield Shields, Robert Habern, William Scot, James Edmaston, Robert Lawson, James Newen, Andrew Bathick, George Elphen-son, John Hindise, Henry Whittle, Andrew Donnalson, David Kenede, John Camel, Dunkin Kemel, Cornelius Engles, Patrick Calion, William Mawod, Henry

Kerkebrik, Alex. Chalmers, George Crime, James Rede, John Somervil, John Abenille, John Clark, Alexander Breme, William Chapman, John Muckin, Alexander Spence, John Mark, Thomas Thompson, John Dixon, John Smith, Alexander Johnson, William Egger, David Grant, George Guyle, John Wallis, John Kemen, Thomas Anderson, James Brewse, William Mambalan, James Carmihil, William Walsin, William Anderson, James Dunbarre, James Calderwood, Hugh Rey, Thomas Bayde, David Beed, Robert Craw, George Calley, James Rutherford, Walter Scot, Walter Steward, Robert Henne, James Facquer, James Marmath, Henry Ackman, John Weare, John Brown-Lee, David Bisket, George Hinderson, John Blacketter, Alexander Michel, Alexander Baily, Robert Wallwood, John Watson, William Greere, John Crawford, William Wilson, John Dunbar, Samuel Gurdon, John Munins, John Cunningham, William Staolm, Alexander Guthery, John Hunter, Adam Luc-

key, Andrew Mayrey, Robert Macktallon, Robert Gerne, John Mackews, James Brotherston, William Gentry, Edward Sincler, Andrew Brede, Robert Hunter, John Gray.

SERJEANTS.

Henry Muckerry, Alexander Sibbet, Gilbert Gray, James Ellis, Collin Gardner, John Axenhead, John Hogg, William Watson, John Mackwel, James Lyel, James Coddell, John Morris, Adam Kerk, Captain Robert Rutherford, of foot, Captain John Car, of foot.

The whole number of officers and private soldiers taken, ten thousand.

Four thousand slain.

Thirty-two pieces of ordnance, of all sorts.

Two hundred colours, horse and foot.

All their arms, tents, bag and baggage.

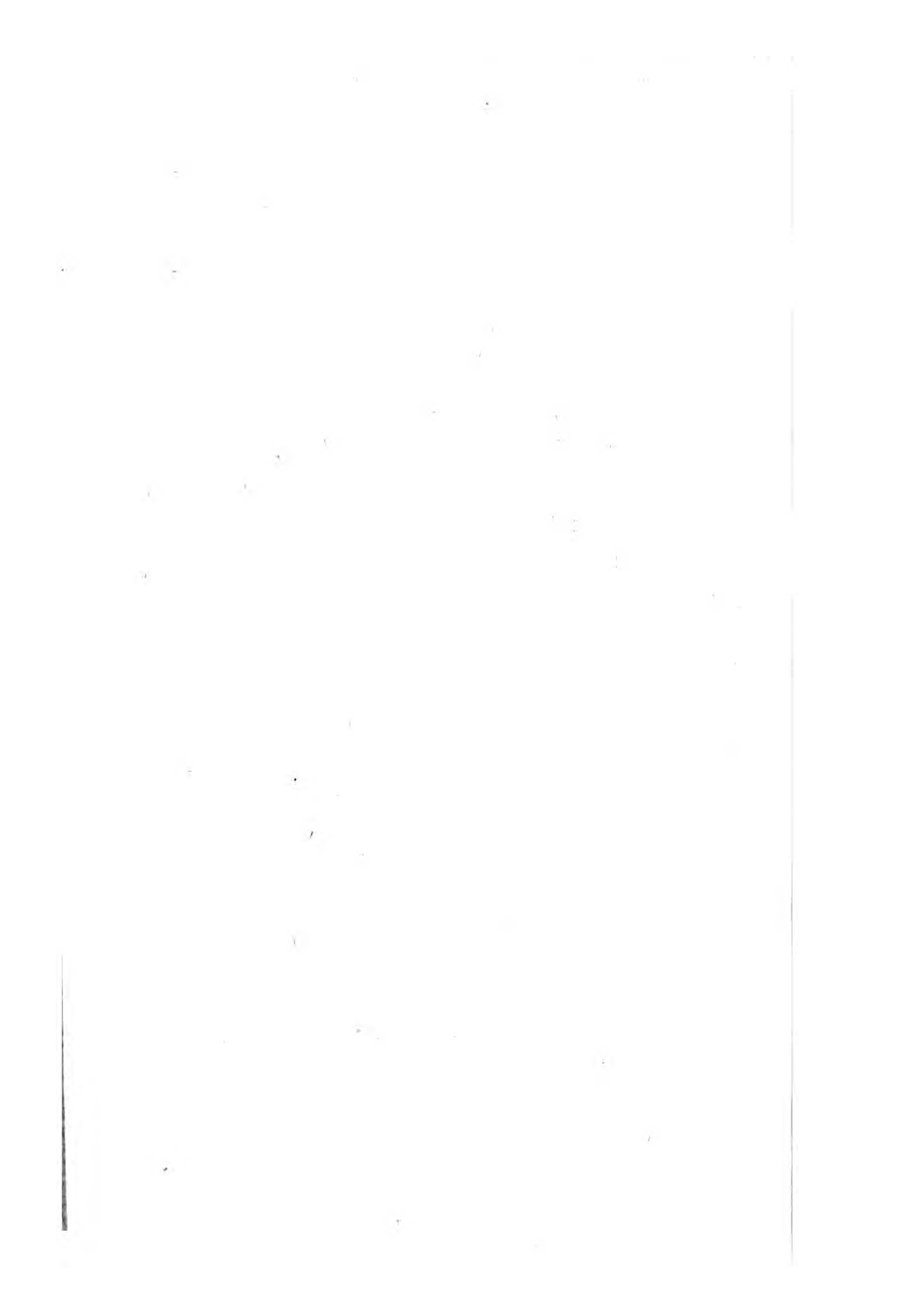
*The Lord-General's Proclamation concerning  
the Wounded Men left in the Field.*

Forasmuch as I understand there are several soldiers of the enemies army yet abiding in the field, who, by reason of their wounds, could not march from thence: these are therefore to give notice to the inhabitants of this nation, that they may and have free liberty to repair to the field aforesaid, and with their carts, or any other peaceable way, to carry the said soldiers to such places as they shall think fit; provided they meddle not or take away any the arms there; and all officers and soldiers are to take notice that the same is permitted. Given under my hand at Dunbar.

O. CROMWELL.

*Sept. 4, 1650.*

To be proclaimed by beat of drum.



A  
LETTER  
FROM  
THE LORD GENERAL CROMWEL,  
FROM  
DUNBAR;  
CONTAINING  
A TRUE RELATION  
OF THE  
PROCEEDINGS OF THE PARLIAMENT ARMY  
UNDER HIS COMMAND IN SCOTLAND;  
AND THE SUCCESS GOD WAS PLEASED TO GIVE THEM AGAINST THE  
SCOTS ARMY, IN A BATTLE AT DUNBAR, SEPT. 3, 1650.  
TOGETHER WITH A LIST OF THE  
SCOTISH OFFICERS THEN TAKEN.

DIE MARTIS, 10 SEPTEMBER, 1650.

*Ordered by the Parliament, that the Lord General's Letter, with the  
List of Names therewith sent, be forthwith printed and published.*

HEN. SCOBELL, *Cleric. Parliamenti.*

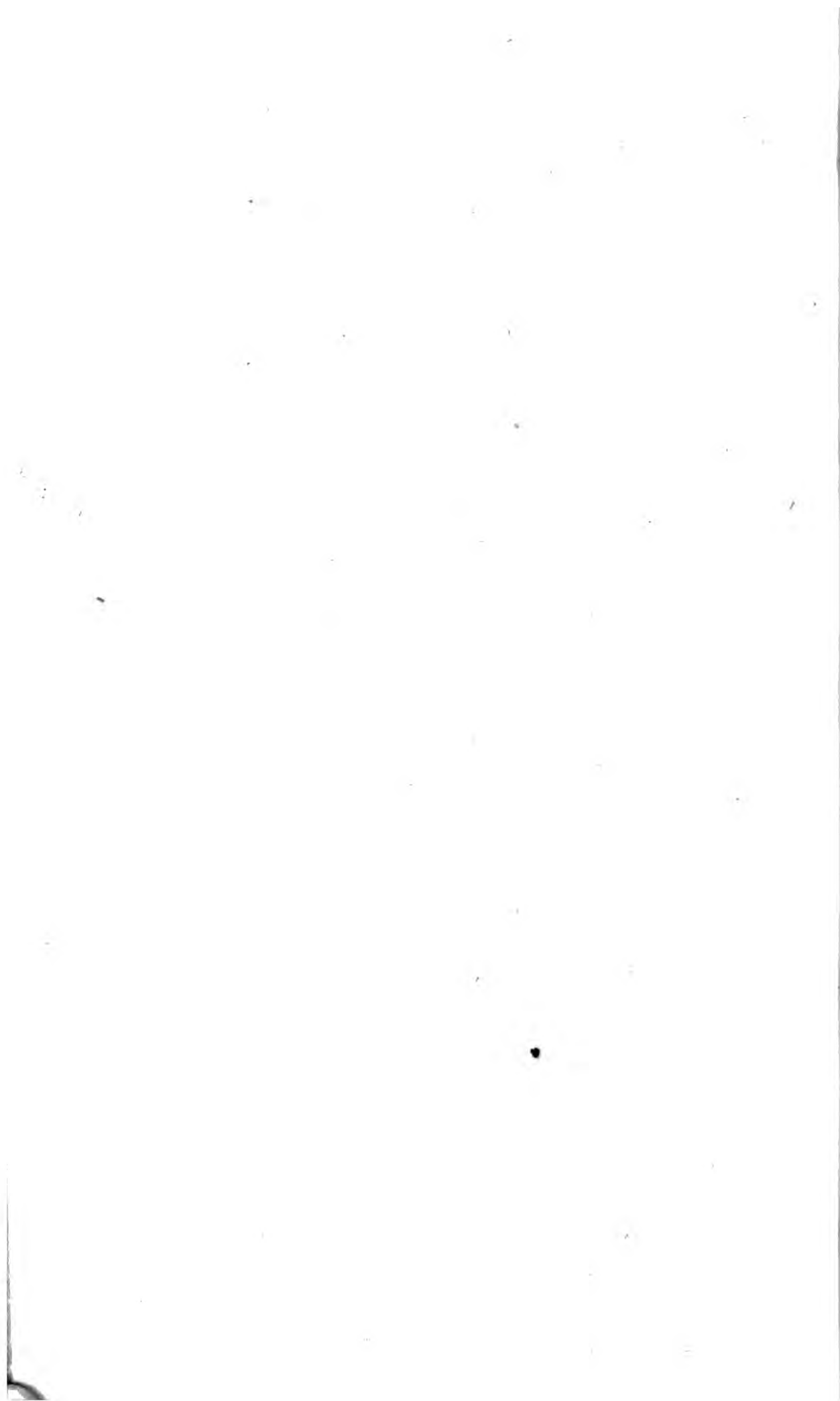
---

LONDON:

PRINTED BY EDWARD HUSBAND AND JOHN FIELD,  
PRINTERS TO THE PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND.  
1650.

T





FOR THE HONORABLE

WILLIAM LEUTHAL, Esq.

SPEAKER OF THE PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND.

---

SIR,

I HOPE it is not ill taken, that I make no more frequent addresses to the parliament; things that are of trouble, in point of provision for your army, and of ordinary direction, I have, as I could, often presented to the council of state, together with such occurrences as have happened; who, I am sure, as they have not been wanting in their extraordinary care and provision for us, so neither, what they judge fit and necessary, to represent the same to you; and this I thought to be a

sufficient discharge of my duty on that behalf.

It hath now pleased God to bestow a mercy upon you, worthy your knowledge, and of the utmost praise and thanks of all that fear and love His name; yea, the mercy is far above all praise, which, that you may the better perceive, I shall take the boldness to tender unto you some circumstances accompanying this great business, which will manifest the greatness and seasonableness of this mercy. We having tryed what we could to engage the enemy three or four miles west of Edinburgh; that proving ineffectual, and our victual failing, we marched towards our ships for a recruit of our wants; the enemy did not at all trouble us in our rear, but marched the direct way towards Edinburgh, and partly in the night and morning, slips through his whole army, and quarters himself in a posture easie to interpose between us and our victual; but the Lord made him lose the opportunity; and the

morning proving exceeding wet and dark, we recovered, by that time it was light, into a ground where they could not hinder us from our victual ; which was a high act of the Lord's providence to us. We being come into the said ground, the enemy marched into the ground we were last upon ; having no mind either to strive to interpose between us and our victual, or to fight ; being indeed upon this lock, hoping that the sickness of your army would render their work more easie by the gaining of time ; whereupon we marched to Muscleburgh to victual, and to ship away our sick men, where we sent aboard near five hundred sick and wounded soldiers : And, upon serious consideration, finding our weakness so to increase, and the enemy lying upon his advantages, at a general council it was thought fit to march to Dunbar, and there to fortifie the town, which, we thought, if any thing, would provoke them to engage ; as also, the having a garrison there, would furnish us with accommoda-

tion for our sick men ; would be a place for a good magazin (which we exceedingly wanted), being put to depend upon the uncertainty of weather for landing provisions, which many times cannot be done, though the being of the whole army lay upon it ; all the coasts from Leith to Berwick not having one good harbor ; as also to lie more conveniently to receive our recruits of horse and foot from Berwick. Having these considerations, upon Saturday, the thirtieth of August, we marched from Muscleburgh to Heddington, where, by that time, we had got the van-brigade of our horse, and our foot and train, into their quarters ; the enemy was marched with that exceeding expedition, that they fell upon the rear-forlorn of our horse, and put it in some disorder ; and indeed had like to have engaged our rear brigade of horse with their whole army, had not the Lord, by his providence, put a cloud over the moon, thereby giving us opportunity to draw off those horse to the rest of the

army, which accordingly was done without any loss, save of three or four of our aforementioned forlorn, wherein the enemy (as we believe) received more loss. The army being put into a reasonable secure posture, towards midnight the enemy attempted our quarters on the west end of Heddington, but (through the goodness of God) we repulsed them. The next morning we drew into an open field, on the south side of Heddington; we not judging it safe for us to draw to the enemy upon his own ground, he being prepossessed thereof, but rather drew back to give him way to come to us, if he had so thought fit; and having waited about the space of four or five hours, to see if he would come to us; and not finding any inclination in the enemy so to do, we resolved to go, according to our first intendment, to Dunbar. By that time we had marched three or four miles, we saw some bodies of the enemies horse draw out of their quarters; and by that time our carriages were gotten near Dunbar, their

whole army was upon their march after us ; and indeed, our drawing back in this maner, with the addition of three new regiments added to them, did much heighten their confidence, if not presumption and arrogancy. The enemy, that night, we perceived, gathered towards the hills, laboring to make a perfect interposition between us and Berwick ; and having, in this posture, a great advantage, through his better knowledg of the country, which he effected, by sending a considerable party to the strait pass at Copperspeth, where ten men to hinder, are better than forty to make their way : and truly this was an exigent to us ; wherewith the enemy reproached us with that condition the parliament's army was in, when it made its hard conditions with the king in Cornwall. By some reports that have come to us, they had disposed of us, and of their business, in sufficient revenge and wrath towards our persons ; and had swallowed up the poor interest of England, believing that their

army and their king would have marched to London without any interruption; it being told us, we know not how truly, by a prisoner we took the night before the fight, *that their king was very suddenly to come amongst them with those English they allowed to be about him*; but in what they were thus lifted up, the Lord was above them.

The enemy lying in the posture before mentioned, having those advantages, we lay very neer him, being sensible of our disadvantage, having some weakness of flesh, but yet consolation and support from the Lord himself, to our poor weak faith, wherein, I beleeve, not a few amongst us shared, that, because of their numbers, because of their advantages, because of their confidence, because of our weakness, because of our strait, we were in the mount, and in the mount the Lord would be seen, and that he would finde out a way of deliverance and salvation for us; and indeed we had our consolations and our hopes.



Upon Monday evening, the enemy, whose numbers were very great, as we hear, about six thousand horse, and sixteen thousand foot, at least; ours drawn down, as to sound men, to about seven thousand five hundred foot, and three thousand five hundred horse; the enemy drew down to their right wing about two-thirds of their left wing of horse, to the right wing shogging also their foot and train much to the right, causing their right wing of horse to edge down towards the sea. We could not well imagine, but that the enemy intended to attempt upon us, or to place themselves in a more exact condition of interposition. Major-general and myself coming to the earl of Roxburgh's house, and observing this posture, I told him, I thought it did give us an opportunity and advantage to attempt upon the enemy; to which he immediately replied, that he had thought to have said the same thing to me: so that it pleased the Lord to set this apprehension upon both of our hearts at the same instant. We

called for Colonel Monk, and shewed him the thing; and coming to our quarter at night, and demonstrating our apprehensions to some of the colonels, they also cheerfully concurred; we resolved, therefore, to put our business into this posture, that six regiments of horse, and three regiments and an half of foot, should march in the van; and that the major-general, the lieutenant-general of the horse, and the commissary-general, and Col. Monk, to command the brigade of foot, should lead on the business; and that Colonel Pride's brigade, Colonel Overton's brigade, and the remaining two regiments of horse, should bring up the cannon and rere; the time of falling on to be by break of day; but, through some delays, it proved not to be so till six a clock in the morning: The enemies word was, *The Covenant*; which it had been for divers days; ours, *The Lord of Hosts*. The major-general, Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, and Commissary-General Whaley, and Colonel Twisletons,

gave the onset ; the enemy being in very good posture to receive them, having the advantage of their cannon and foot against our horse. Before our foot could come up, the enemy made a gallant resistance, and there was a very hot dispute at swords point between our horse and theirs : Our first foot, after they had discharged their duty, being over-powered with the enemy, received some repulse, which they soon recovered ; but my own regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Goff, and my Major White, did come seasonably in ; and, at the push of pike, did repel the stoutest regiment the enemy had there, meerly with the courage the Lord was pleased to give ; which proved a great amazement to the residue of their foot. This being the first action between the foot, the horse, in the mean time, did, with a great deal of courage and spirit, beat back all opposition, charging through the bodies of the enemies horse and their foot, who were, after the first repulse given,

made, by the Lord of Hosts, as stubble to their swords. Indeed, I believe, I may speak it without partiality, both your chief commanders, and others, in their several places, and soldiers also, were acted with as much courage as ever hath been seen in any action since this war. I know they look on to be named ; and therefore I forbear particulars. The best of the enemies horse and foot being broken through and through in less than an hour's dispute, their whole army being put into confusion, it became a total rout ; our men having the chace and execution of them near eight miles. We believe, that upon the place, and near about it, were about three thousand slain ; prisoners taken of their officers, you have this enclosed list ; of private soldiers, near ten thousand ; the whole baggage and train taken ; wherein was good store of match, powder, and bullet ; all their artillery, great and small, thirty guns ; we are confident they have left behinde them not less than fifteen thousand

arms. I have already brought into me near two hundred colours, which I herewith send you ; what officers of quality of theirs are killed, we yet cannot learn : but yet surely divers are, and many men of quality are mortally wounded ; as Colonel Lumsdel, the Lord Liberton, and others ; and that, which is no small addition, I do not believe we have lost twenty men ; not one commissioned officer slain that I hear of, save one cornet, and Major Rooksby, since dead of his wounds ; and not many mortally wounded ; Colonel Whaley onely cut in the hand-wrist, and his horse twice shot and killed under him, but he well, recovered another horse, and went on in the chase. Thus you have the prospect of one of the most signal mercies God hath done for England and his people this war : And now may it please you to give me the leave of a few words ; it is easie to say, the Lord hath done this ; it would do you good to see and hear our poor foot go up and down making their boast of God :

But, sir, it is in your hands, and by these eminent mercies God puts it more into your hands to give glory to Him; to improve your power and His blessings to His praise. We that serve you, beg of you not to own us, but God alone: we pray you own His people more and more, for they are the chariots and horsemen of Israel: disown your selves, but own your authority, and improve it, to curb the proud and the insolent, such as would disturb the tranquillity of England, though under what specious pretences soever; relieve the oppressed, hear the groans of poor prisoners in England; be pleased to reform the abuses of all professions; and if there be any one that makes many poor to make a few rich, that suits not a commonwealth. If He, that strengthens your servants to fight, pleases to give you hearts to set upon these things, in order to His glory, and the glory of your commonwealth, besides the benefit of England shall feel thereby, you shall shine forth to other na-

tions, who shall emulate the glory of such a patern, and, through the power of God, turn in to the like. These are our desires; and, that you may have liberty and opportunity to do these things, and not be hindred, we have been, and shall be (by God's assistance) willing to venture our lives, and not desire you should be precipitated by importunities from your care of safety and preservation; but that the doing of these good things may have their place amongst those which concern well being, and so be wrought in their time and order. Since we came into Scotland, it hath been our desire and longing to have avoided blood in this business, by reason that God hath a people here fearing His name, though deceived; and to that end have we offered much love unto such in the bowels of Christ; and concerning the truth of our hearts therein, have we appealed unto the Lord. The ministers of Scotland have hindred the passage of these things to the hearts of those to whom we

intended them ; and now we hear, that not onely the deceived people, but some of the ministers, are also fallen in this battel. This is the great hand of the Lord, and worthy of the consideration of all those who, taking into their hands the instruments of a foolish shepherd, to wit, meddling with worldly policies, and mixtures of earthly power, to set up that which they call the kingdom of Christ ; which is neither it, nor, if it were it, would such means be found effectual to that end, and neglect, or trust not to the word of God, the sword of the spirit, which is alone powerful, and able for the setting up of that kingdom ; and, when trusted to, will be found effectually able to that end, and wil also do it. This is humbly offred for their sakes ; who, having lately too much turned aside, that they might return again to preach Jesus Christ, according to the simplicity of the gospel ; and then, no doubt, they will discern and finde your protection and encouragement. Beseeching



you to pardon this length, I humbly take leave, and rest,

SIR,

Your most humble servant,

O. CROMWELL.

DUNBAR, *September 4, 1650.*

---

*A List of such Prisoners taken at the Fight.*

Sir James Lomsden, lieut.-gen. of foot.

COLONELS.

Col. Sir Will. Douglas, Col. Will. Lomsden, Colonel Gurdon.

LIEUTENANT-COLONELS.

Lieut. Col. Wallis, Lieut. Col. Lesley, Lieut. Col. Murray, Lieut. Col. Henry Malvin, L. Col. Arthur Forbis, Lieut. Co-

lonel Wanhap, of horse, Lieut. Col. Dunbarre, Lieut. Col. Hamilton, Lieut. Col. Crawford, Lieut. Col. Ingles, Lieut-Colonel John Montgomery, James Bickerton, adjutant-gen. of horse.

MAJORS.

Henry Carmihil, of foot, James Cranster, of horse, George Moat, of foot, Will. Scringer, of foot, John Steward, of foot, George Forbes, Reformado, Moor, Oagle, Freesle.

CAPTAINS OF FOOT.

James Sterlyn, Francis Agnue, Sibbald, Alex. Monpreff, George Holliburton, Tho. Brown, William Murray, James Scott, William Rudderford, James Macularoy, Hugh Montgomery, James Aken, George Smith, John Maclellan, Robert Mackellum, Hugh Madole, George Pringle, Robert Scot, Alexander Wood, Robert Hamilton, Tho. Gray, Robert Adamson, Be-ton.

## CAPTAINS OF HORSE AND FOOT.

Robert Duncan, Robert Maccaulla, Walter Scot, Matthew Creshton, James Steward, William Douglas, Walter Lesley, Wil. Manhop, of horse, James Borthick, David Murray.

## CAPTAINS OF HORSE.

John Murray, William Burton, James Camil, William Bresbon, of horse, William Daurimple, Charls Kerkpatrick, Nicholas Lawson, Robert Rudderford, John Car, Dundass, Ogleby, Gourdon, Bonner, Lieut. Bruse, lieutenant of horse.

## CORNETS OF HORSE.

William Cunningham, James Maxwel, James Denham, James Magil, Walter Steward, John Hay, Anthony Macdoer, John Brown, Alex. Michel, John Collewod, George Winderum.

CAPTAINS-LIEUT. OF HORSE AND FOOT.

John Monnergain, William Emery, William Blayer, Robert Anderson, Roger Holden, Robert Wood.

LIEUTENANTS OF FOOT.

James Cunningham, James Blackwood, Patrick Macknab, Henry Cunningham, Lancelot Car, John Macknight, John Heume, John Gourdon, George Cunningham, James Weare, Henry Eston, William Gun, Nicholas Coston, Alexander Steward, Arthur Steward, William Petre, Norman Lesley, William Bailey, William Gladston, Robert Hamberton, Geo. Mackburney, Robert Straughan, Richard Allen, James Mackbey, George Bisset, James Nichols, Thomas Mennis, William Sinnis, John Car, Alexander Car, James Twede, Philip Leich, James Armor, James Sayers, John Meer, Andrew Pennere, Patrick Bailey, John Camil, John Rich, John Steward, John Camil, Allen Osborn, William Knocks, John

Wilson, Thomas Anderson, Walter Wanhap, Patrick Holliburton, Lancelot Car, William Engley, Thomas Car, Alexander Gourdon, Lancaster Forguson, Robert Rankin, Cha. Coleman, John Lewson, Andrew Guiler, George Patterson, Thomas Hutchen, John Ennis, John Sken, John Hunter, John Mackdoughal, Andrew Drumon, George Lesley, George Moat, Francis Scot, William Elliot, Alexander Ciff, John Denguit.

QUARTERMASTERS OF HORSE.

Tho. Richman, William Forbis.

ENSIGNS.

Kilpatrick, Walter Macdoughel, William Sinclare, George Jack, Hartley Gadley, William Carnecuse, Thomas Wallis, James Rolston, Andrew Myn, James Bennet, John Linsey, Andrew Hanna, Thomas Pringle, Robert Hamilton, James Delop, John Gray, James Edward, Collin Camel, — Heatley, Robert Roy, Gilbert Harral, James

Musket, William Sample, Robert Ogleby, Robert Williamson, William Lesley, Ersby Shields, Robert Haborn, William Scot, Ja. Edminston, Robert Lawson, James Neicen, Andrew Barthick, George Elphenston, John Fairdise, Henry White, Andrew Dunalson, David Camide, John Camil, Cornelius Engles, Duncan Camil, Patrick Canburn, William Mannord, Robert Craw, George Calley, James Rudderford, Walter Scot, Walter Steward, Robert Heume, Jas. Forquer, James Macknath, Henry Ackman, John Wayer, John Brown, William Chapman, John Macuo, Alexander Spence, John Black, Thomas Thompson, Robert Fryer, John Thompson, John Dixon, Geo. Smith, Alexander Johnston, William Egger, David Grant, George Gayler, John Wallis, John Kemmen, Thomas Ender-son, James Brewse, William Maclan, John Carmihil, William Watson, William Ander-son, James Dunbar, James Elderwood, Henry Roy, Thomas Boyd, David Reed.



THE  
LORD GENERALL CROMWELL

HIS MARCH TO

STERLING:

BEING

*A DIARY*

OF ALL

PROCEEDINGS IN THE ARMY,

FROM THEIR MARCH OUT OF EDINBURGH,  
TO THE 25TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1650.

ALSO,

THE LORD GENERAL'S PROCLAMATION

IN RELATION TO  
EDINBURGH AND LEITH.

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY.

---

LONDON:

PRINTED BY E. G. IN THE OLD BAILEY—1650.





THE army having stayed in Edinburgh and Leith for the space of six or seven daies, both for their refreshment, and the securing of those parts which his excellency thought fit to order, after so many difficulties endured by them, without any intermission.

On Saturday, Sept. 14, his excellency, with the army (who had then seven daies provisions with them), marched to Netherish, about six miles from Edenburgh; his excellency returned that night to Leith, leaving Major-Gen. Overton to be governor of Edenburgh, with Colonel Fairfax and Col. Coxe's regiments, and Col. Daniel's regiment in Leith; all these regiments being of Major-Gen. Overton's brigade.

Sunday, Sept. 15. The army marched beyond Linlithgow towards Sterling; but,

by reason of the extraordinary raine and storme, they were necessitated to retreat backe to Linlithgow, where they quartered all night.

Munday, Sept. 16. The army marched towards Falkirk; and being informed by the way that there was a garrison kept, a trumpet was sent to summon it; answer was returned, that they were all gentlemen in the house, and were resolved all to die than yield it; but if Sterling were taken or yielded, that should be given up; that they would offer no violence to any of our army in their passing to and againe, but such as carried themselves disorderly.

Tuesday, Septemb. 17. We marcht from Falkirk within a mile of Sterling; where, the weather being extraordinary wet and stormy, the general was necessitated to quarter in the church, there being no house or accommodation for him.

Wednesday, Sept. 18. It rained very sore till afternoon. In the forenoone there was a councell of war; and a letter was drawne

up, to be sent to Sterling, expressing their constant affections to and tenderness of the people of Scotland, which yet had not taken the desired effect; and now, being so far advanced with their army, that they would take into consideration their former papers, and that they would yield up that place to the service of the commonwealth of England. A trumpeter being sent with this letter, a gentleman on foot, with a pike in his hand, met him, and told him he must return backe, for they would not let him come in, or receive his letter. In the afternoone, came a trumpeter, about the release of prisoners, desiring that they might be releast upon ransome: To which the Lord Generall writ an answer, that we came not hither to make merchandize of men, or to get a gain to ourselves, but for the service and security of the commonwealth of England.

About one of the clocke in the afternoone, there were orders given for all the foot, and likewise the horse, except three

regiments, to march towards Sterling, in order to a storme, ladders, and all things that we could possibly expect, being provided for that purpose; but, upon the result of the councell, for many considerations, it was thought fit to retreat, and draw off the army to quarter in the same ground they had done before.

Thursday, Sept. 19. It being not held advisable, by reason of several disadvantages, the strength of the towne, and enemy, to engage at present against Sterling; the army drew from before Sterling, and marched to Linlithgow, where his excellency viewed the town.

Friday, Sept. 20. His excellency came to Dundasse, where Generall Deane (who came in the *Faithful Speaker*, and rode before Leith the Sunday before), met him; they both returned to Lithgoe.

Saturday, Sept. 21. This morning, his excellency went with General Deane, and other officers, and an engineer, and viewed the place round about Lithingoe, and gave

orders for severall workes to bee made for security of the place, and left Col. Sanderson and Major Mitchell with five troops of horse, and six commanded companies of foot, to secure it ; which will be a very considerable frontier garrison, being in the midway and heart of the countrey, betweene Edenburgh and Sterling. That night, his excellency, and the rest of the army, came into Edenburgh, where he had intelligence of the death of the Lord Libberton, who was wounded in the late fight.

Sunday, Sept. 22. His excellency stayed at Edenburgh. The castle have been very quiet since our comming hither, onely discharging some muskets at our guards as they are relieved, and at our men, when they see opportunity. They have not killed any of our men ; but one or two of their own, walking the streets at Edenburgh. The last night they discharged four pieces of ordnance, at the relieving the guards, but did no hurt.

Munday, Sept. 23. The generall and officers kept a day of humiliation ; the same night came in six English cavaliers from the enemy ; who declare their being weary of the court and camp ; and that there are so many divisions in both, that they will suddenly break to pieces.

This day the kirk appointed a day of humiliation. First, to bewaile the sinnes of their nation in general : Secondly, the sin of their commissioners, in bringing over their king so soon : Thirdly, for their acceptance of their king, before he had more sufficiently repented him of his by past sins : Fourthly, for their not purging their army : Fifthly, for their too much trusting in the arme of flesh. Wee understand Generall Leven is gone to his owne house ; Lieut. David Lesley is with the army neer Sterling ; Co. Straghan and Col. Gibby Car are gone to raise forces about Glasco. The committee of estates divided, some to one place, and some in another ; one party

acting for the king's interest, the other for the presbyterians.

Last Tuesday, Sept. 24. Nothing considerable hapned ; onely some regiments of foot were disposed into the country for enlargement of quarters.

EDENBURGH, *Sept. 25, 1650.*

---

A  
PROCLAMATION

BY  
*HIS EXCELLENCY.*

Whereas it hath pleased God, by his gracious providence and goodnesse, to put the city of Edenburgh, and the town of Leith, under my power ; and although I have put forth several proclamations, since

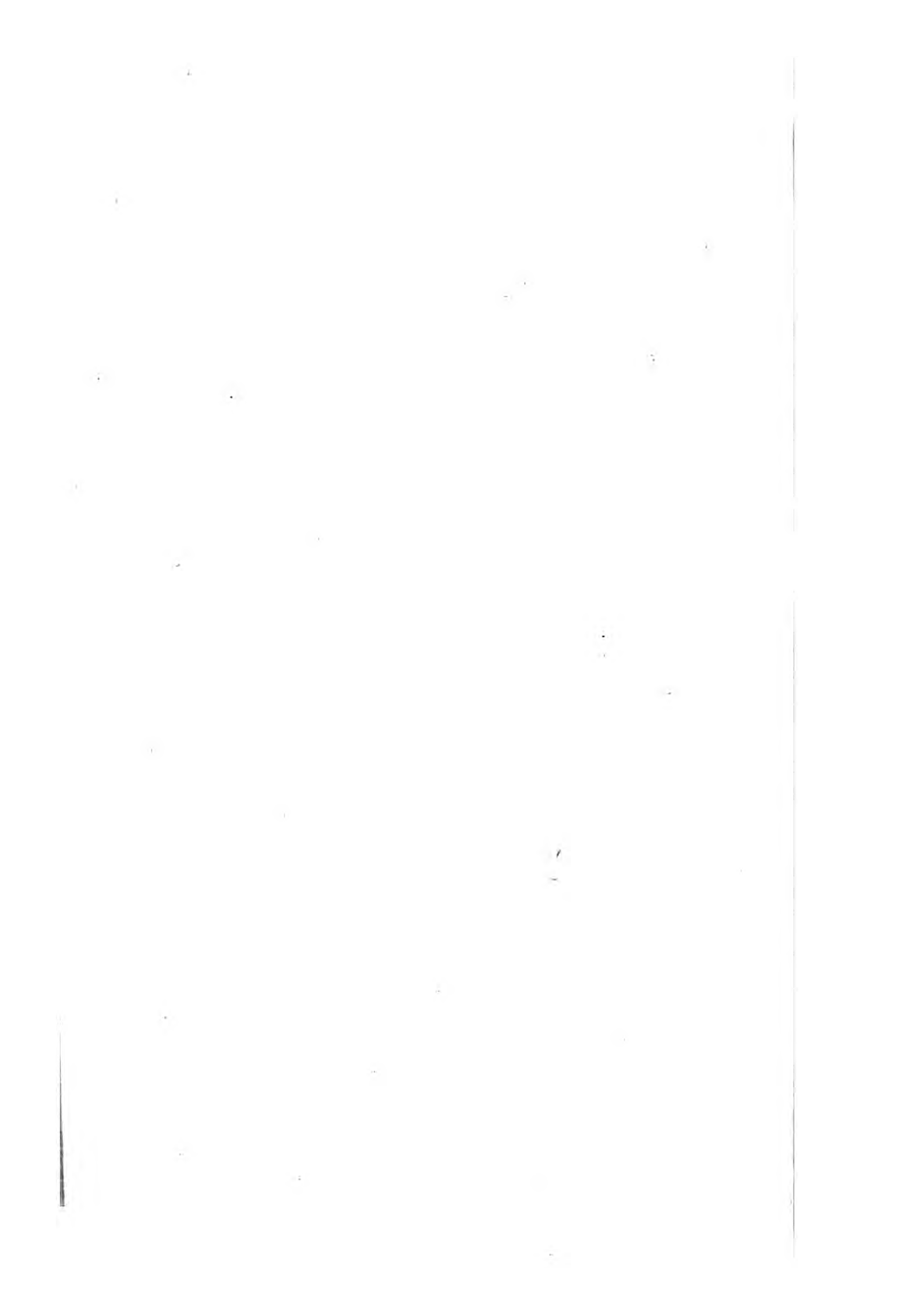


my comming into this country, to the like effect, with this present; yet, for further satisfaction to all those whom it may concern, I do hereby againe publish and declare, that all the inhabitants of the countrey (now not being, nor continuing in arms), shal have free leave and liberty to come to the army, and to the city and town aforesaid, with their cattle, corn, horse, or other commodities or goods whatsoever; and shall there have free and open markets for the same, and shall be protected in their persons and goods, in comming and returning as aforesaid, from any injury or violence of the souldiery, under my command, and shall also be protected in their respective houses. And the citizens and inhabitants of the said city and towne, shall (and hereby likewise) have free leave to vend and sell their wares and commodities, and shall be protected from the plunder and violence of the souldiers: And I do hereby require all officers and souldiers of the army under my command, to take

due notice hereof, and to yeeld obedience hereto, as they will answer the contrary at their utmost perill. Given under my hand, at Edenburgh, the 14th of September, 1650.

O. CROMWELL.

To be proclaimed in Leith and Edenburgh, by sound of trumpet and beat of drum.



# LETTERS

FROM

THE HEAD-QUARTERS

OF

*OUR ARMY*

IN

SCOTLAND :

BEING A DIARY OF

ALL PROCEEDINGS IN THE ARMY,

TO OCTOBER 30, 1650 ;

AN ACCOUNT OF

COL. KERR AND STRAUGHAN'S OVERTURE

TO THE

LORD GENERALL CROMWELL,

ABOUT ACCOMMODATION ;

ALSO,

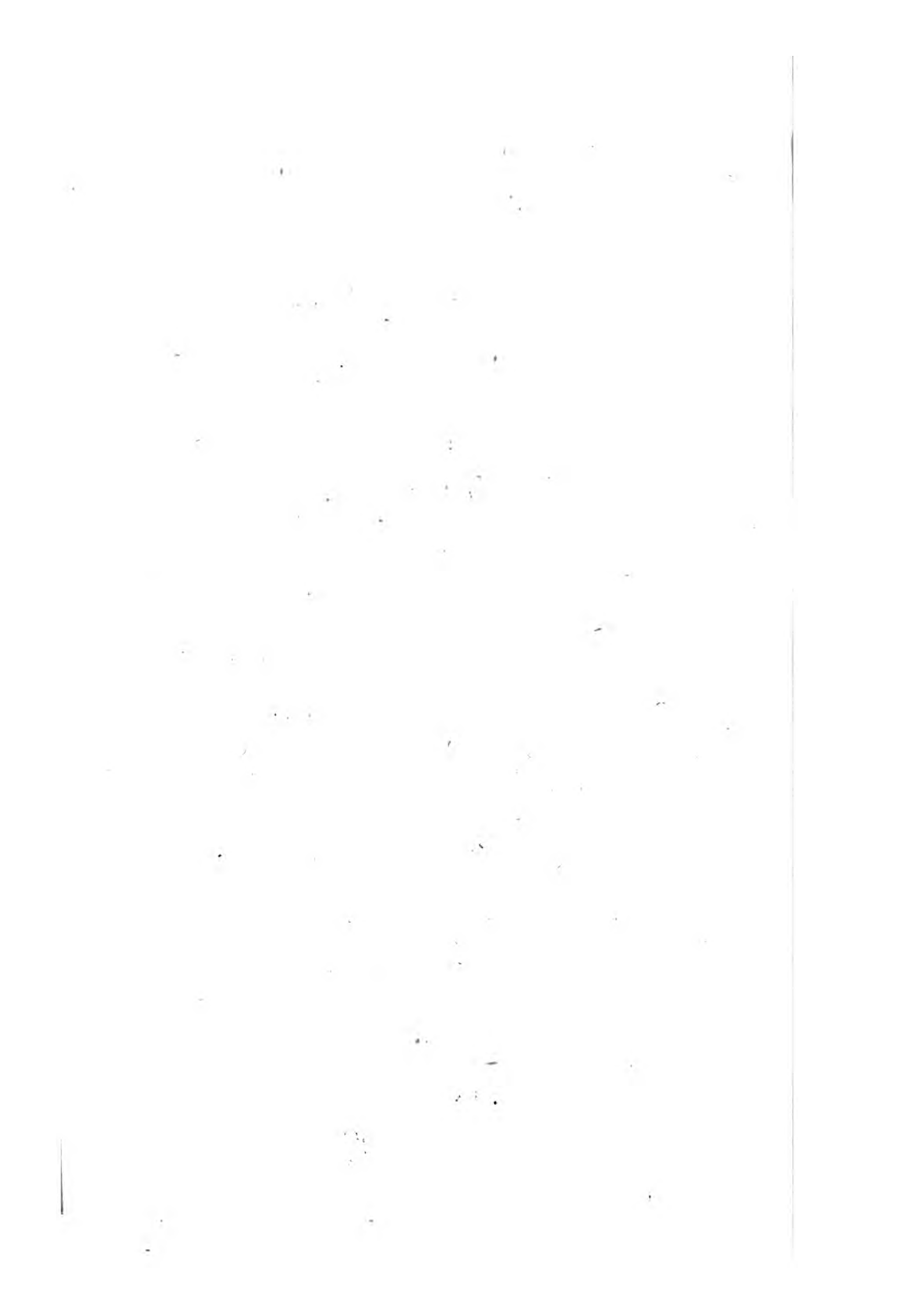
COMMISSIONERS FROM THEM, WITH A DECLARATION AGAINST THE  
INTEREST OF THE SCOTS KING AND LORDS, &c.

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY.

---

LONDON:

PRINTED BY E. G. IN THE OLD BAILEY—1650.



SIR,

I cannot but continue my duty in acquainting you what passes here; I shall be glad to hear from you, now we are like to stay here longer then expected.

My last told you of a letter to be sent to Col. Kerr and Straughan from hence. Satturday, the 26, the commissary-gen. dispatcht away a trumpet with that letter, as also, gave another to the sheriff of Cumberland, to be speeded away to M. John Scot Bailiff, and B. brother to the lord of Bucclew, for his demanding restitution upon his tenants, the moss-troopers, for the horses by them stolne the night we quartered in their country; since which promises hath been made of restitution; and we doubt not to receive it very suddenly, or else to take satisfaction another way ourselves.

Sunday, the 27. The commissary, with Col. Fitch, Col. Hacker, and divers officers of the army, heard sermon in the cathedrall at Carlisle; where preached before them, in the forenoone, M. Bywater, the gover-nour's chaplaine; and in the afternoone, an officer of our army.

Munday, 28. We had intelligence of some of our messengers being taken, and their letters intercepted: also, we were informed, that a yeelding to us was, in probabili-ty, like to be shortly from some of their grandees; who now better understand themselves then formerly, and are ready to listen to us, especially the good people of the west of Scotland; from whom, as also from Kerr and Straughan, some gentlemen are sent to treat with his excellency.

Tuesday, 29. Mr Caithnes came safe hither in the evening, and the provost of Dumfreeze with him (who was a major at Dunbar fight, there taken, and now upon his parole), came to renew it. Also, our

trumpeter, sent with the letter to Kerr and Straughan, came in this night; who informs us of his kind entertainment at Dumfreeze; but their scouts blinded him for many miles up and downe the countrey; but Kerr was sent for post to give answer to the letter, who promised to returne it speedily by a messenger of his owne. The enemy having left Dumfreeze, expectating of our comming; many of their souldiers run away daily; both horse, foot, and dragoones, were ready for a march; and Thursday morning next we were to have exchanged English for Scottish ground; but now (upon other grounds) our desired march is suspended. Our souldiers (not long since drooping and sickly) are now most lively, well, and cheerful, desirous of nothing more then action: Of such vigour is a little English refreshment, whereto some timely supplies of monies would be a most comfortable addition. This day, Mr Caithnes was dis-



patcht away, with other letters, to the headquarters; which is all at present from

Your servant,

T. F.

CARLISLE, 30 *Octob.* 1650,

The letter sent Kerr and Straughan from Carlisle, was as followeth:—

GENTLEMEN,

It is not unknown to you what amicable and Christian wayes, both before and since our comming into Scotland, and even after our never to be forgotten victory, my lord generall, and the officers about him, have taken, to avoid the effusion of Christian bloud, but hitherto (to our great griefe) God hath permitted all to be ineffectual; yet, knowing God can change the hearts of men in a moment, it troubles me not to be further solicitous; the union of God's people in both nations,

yea, even throughout the whole world, being that which above any thing in the earth we desire, its that which God hath commanded, that which he hath promised, that which we pray for, that which, with confidence, we believe shall be, and that which indefatigably, I hope, we shall endeavour. Those that are acquainted with the secrets of God, doe clearly see, the quarrell is betwixt Christ and the devill, betwixt Christ's seede and the devill's. Here it began, here it will end. The whore of Babylon hath received her deadly wound; let the devill be her chirurgion: Babylon is falling; let not God's people (to the losse of their outward man) stay in it, much lesse labour to support it; and this ye are doing, though ignorantly: and our prayers for you shall be, that the Lord would forgive you, in that you know not what you doe; and that He would give you a cleare sight of the great work He is now, in these latter dayes, carrying on;

and then, I am sure, we shall not differ. I shall say no more further, then to let you know, that the armes of our Christian love are still stretcht out ready to embrace you, whenever God shall incline your hearts to come in to us; When you shall see (as already we have declared), we seeke not for domination over you; we seeke not to enslave you, nor the depressing your kirk government; we seeke not your goods, nor estates, but to carry on the worke of the Lord; which, from our very soules, we desire you may have a joint share in. But if, after all this, God shall still suffer your eyes to be blinded; as that seeing, you will not see; and your hearts to be hardned, as to persist in your gaine saying and opposing the way of the Lord, what ever further misery befalls your nation, either through famine or sword, I must plainly tell you, will lye heavy upon you: and this before any attempt be made upon you by these forces under my command, I thought myselfe obliged, in Chris-

tian duty, to acquaint you with. I remaine,

Your servant,

E. M.

CARLISLE, *Octob. 26, 1650.*

By a speciall expresse from Edenburgh, thus:—

SIR,

The myne intended to be sprung under Edenburgh Castle goes on very well ; they have now wrought 60 yards into it, and are come to the hard rocke, so that a few dayes (if there be not some unexpected interruption) will produce the desired effect. The two mortar-pieces being come from Hull, I hope we shall goe to worke that way. Major Browne hath, with a party of horse, possessed a strong house, not farre from Dalkeeth, called Dalhouz ; it was suspected to have bin an harbour for those villanous mosse troopers, who murdered

some of our men, that were either stragling or going for provisions. They found in it 50 muskets, 50 pikes, foure barrels of powder, and some store of provisions and provender.

On Tuesday last, a lieutenant came with some intimations from Col. Ker and Col. Straughan, as to their resolution for a conference; they having already sent foure commissioners, with a declaration, that they will not own the interest of king and lords; and that, as to the executive part of the kingly power, they did not think it fit the king should be admitted to it, until he had given better satisfaction to their kirke; that his father was justly put to death for his acts of tyranny, though there might be some miscarriages in the way; that the commissioners and kirk had done very ill in provoking the English, but that the parliament were too much to blame to send an army to make an invasion, to proceed to blood before they gave them warning. They sent also a letter to the gene-

rall, with some queeries inclosed, concerning what security or satisfaction was expected, and to whom it should be given, &c.

From Saint Johnston's, we understand, that the king's and kirk's party are still at variance; that the royall party (having notice from some of the kirk's, who deserted them, of the quarters of Sir Jo. Broune's regiment), fell upon that regiment, took six score horse and prisoners: that thereupon L. G. David Lesley was gone with four regiments of horse to fall upon them; and that Major-Gen. Montgomery was gone with 800 horse to reduce Straughan and that party to the obedience of the kirk; that the kirk had perswaded the king to proclaime, that if those in the hither parts of the north should not come in within 15 daies, and the rest within 20 daies, and lay down their armes, that they should be proceeded against as traytors and enemies to him. The king's party insist to have a free parliament, and that

they may sit in parliament with the rest ; the kirk say, none shal have any hand in government that were engaged in Hamilton's invasion. Our worke now is, to stand still and see salvation wrought for us ; this nation being destined for ruine, which makes them thus to divide amongst themselves when an enemy is in their bowels.

We are raising a platform for a battery against Edenburgh Castle, which, we hope, (with the mine) will tend much to the reducing the same. They in the castle have beene so angry at it, that, for two or three nights together, they discharged seven pieces of ordnance against it, but did not spoyle it much.

Saturday, Oct. 26. The generall and officers of the army kept a day of humiliation, to humble themselves for the sins of the army, and to desire God's blessing upon their proceedings.

EDENBURGH, 27 *Octob.* 1650.

A  
LETTER

FROM

SIR ARTHUR HESILRIGE

TO THE HONORABLE

COMMITTEE OF THE COUNCEL OF STATE

FOR

IRISH AND SCOTISH AFFAIRS,

AT WHITEHALL,

CONCERNING

THE SCOTS PRISONERS.

---

DIE VENERIS, 8 NOV. 1650.

ORDERED BY THE PARLIAMENT, THAT THIS LETTER BE FORTHWITH  
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED. —HEN. SCOBELL, CLERIC. PARL.

---

LONDON:

PRINTED BY EDWARD HUSBAND AND JOHN FIELD,  
PRINTERS TO THE PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND.  
1650.

Y





GENTLEMEN,

I RECEIVED your letter, dated the twenty-sixth of October; in that you desire me, that two thousand three hundred of the Scotch prisoners, now at Durham, or elsewhere, able and fit for foot service, be selected, and marched thence to Chester and Liverpool, to be shipped for the south and west of Ireland, and that I should take special care not to send any Highlanders.

I am necessitated, upon the receipt of this, to give you a full accompt concerning the prisoners: After the battel at Dunbar, in Scotland, my lord-general writ to me, that there was about nine thousand prisoners; and that of them he had set at liberty all those that were wounded, and, as he thought, disabled for future service, and their number was, as Mr Downing

writ, five thousand one hundred ; the rest the general sent towards Newcastle, conducted to Berwick by Major Hobson, and from Berwick to Newcastle by some foot out of that garison, and the troop of horse. When they came to Morpeth, the prisoners being put into a large walled garden, they eat up raw cabages, leaves, and roots, so many, as the very seed and the labour, at four pence a day, was valued at nine pounds ; which cabage, as I conceive, they having fasted, as they themselves said, near eight days, poysoned their bodies ; for, as they were coming from thence to Newcastle, some dyed by the way-side ; and when they came to Newcastle, I put them into the greatest church in the town ; and the next morning, when I sent them to Durham, about sevenscore were sick, and not able to march, and three dyed that night, and some fell down in their march from Newcastle to Durham, and dyed ; and when they came to Durham, I having sent my lieutenant-co-

lönel and my major, with a strong guard both of horse and foot, and they being there told into the great cathedral church, they could not count them to more then three thousand ; although Colonel Fenwick writ to me, that there were about three thousand five hundred ; but I believe they were not told at Berwick, and most of those that were lost, it was in Scotland ; for I heard, that the officers that marched with them to Berwick, were necessitated to kill about thirty, fearing the loss of them all, for they fell down in great numbers, and said they were not able to march ; and they brought them far in the night, so that doubtless many ran away. When I sent them first to Durham, I writ to the major, and desired him to take care that they wanted not any thing that was fit for prisoners, and what he should disburse for them, I would repay it. I also sent them a daily supply of bread from Newcastle, and an allowance equal to what had been given to former prisoners ;

but their bodies being infected, the flux encreased amongst them. I sent many officers to look to them ; and appointed, that those that were sick should be removed out the cathedral church into the bishop's castle, which belongs to Mistris Blakiston, and provided cooks ; and they had pottage made with oatmeal, and beef and cabages ; a full quart at a meal for every prisoner : They had also coals daily brought to them ; as many as made about a hundred fires both day and night, and straw to lie upon ; and I appointed the marshal to see all these things orderly done ; and he was allowed eight men to help him to divide the coals, and their meat, bread, and pottage, equally : They were so unruly, sluttish, and nasty, that it is not to be believed ; they acted rather like beasts then men ; so that the marshal was allowed forty men to cleanse and sweep them every day ; but these men were of the lustiest prisoners, that had some small thing given them extraordina-

ry ; and these provisions were for those that were in health ; and for those that were sick, and in the castle, they had very good mutton broth, and sometimes veal broth, and beef and mutton boild together, and old women appointed to look to them in the several rooms : There was also a physitian, which let them blood, and dressed such as were wounded, and gave the sick physick ; and, I dare confidently say, there was never the like care taken for any such number of prisoners that ever were in England. Notwithstanding all this, many of them dyed, and few of any other disease but the flux ; some were killed by themselves ; for they were exceeding cruel one towards another. If a man was perceived to have any money, it was two to one but he was killed before morning, and robbed ; and if any had good clothes, he that wanted, if he was able, would strangle him, and put on his clothes : and the disease of the flux still encreasing amongst them, I was then for

ced, for their preservation, if possible it might be, to send to all the next towns to Durham, within four or five miles, to command them to bring in their milk, for that was conceived to be the best remedy for stopping of their flux, and I promised them what rates they usually sold it for at the markets; which was accordingly performed by about threescore towns and places; and twenty of the next towns to Durham continue still to send daily in their milk, which is boiled, some with water, and some with bean flower; the physicians holding it exceeding good for recovery of their health.

Gentlemen, you cannot but think strange this long preamble, and to wonder what the matter will be; in short its this: Of the three thousand prisoners that my officers told into the cathedral church at Durham, three hundred from thence, and fifty from Newcastle of the seven score left behinde, were delivered to Major Clerk, by order from the council; and there are

about five hundred sick in the castle, and about six hundred yet in health in the cathedral, and most of which are, in probability, Highlanders, they being hardier than the rest, and other means to distinguish them we have not; and about sixteen hundred are dead and buried, and officers about sixty, that are at the marshal's in Newcastle. My lord-general having released the rest of the officers, and the council having given me power to take out what I thought fit, I have granted to several well-affected persons that have salt-works at Sheels, and want servants, forty, and they have engaged to keep them to work at their salt-pans; and I have taken out more about twelve weavers, to begin a trade of linnen cloth, like unto the Scotch cloth, and about forty laborers. I cannot give you, on this sudden, a more exact account of the prisoners; neither can any account hold true long, because they still dye daily; and, doubtless, so they will, so long as any remain in prison: And for



those that are well, if Major Clerk could have believed that they had been able to have marched on foot, he would have marched them by land ; for we perceive that divers that are seemingly healthy, and have not at all been sick, suddenly dye ; and we cannot give any reason of it, onely we apprehend they are all infected, and that the strength of some holds it out till it seize upon their very hearts. Now, you fully understand the condition and the number of the prisoners, what you please to direct, I shall observe, and intend not to proceed further upon this letter, until I have your answer upon what I have now written. I am,

Gentlemen,

Your affectionate servant,

ART. HESILRIGE.

*Octob. 31, 1650.*

THE  
ARTICLES  
OF  
THE RENDITION  
OF  
EDENBURGH CASTLE

TO  
THE LORD-GENERALL CROMWELL,  
AND  
THE MANNER OF THE ENEMIES MARCHING OUT,  
DECEMBER 24, 1650;

WITH A PARTICULAR LIST OF THE ORDNANCE AND ARMES TAKEN  
THEREIN.

ALSO,  
THE TAKING ANOTHER STRONG CASTLE, CALLED KINMORE-CASTLE,  
BY A PARTY FROM CARLISLE ;

WITH THE ARTICLES OF SURRENDER, AND THE PARTICULARS TAKEN  
IN THE CASTLE, AND THEIR MARCH.

*Published by Authority.*

---

---

LONDON:

PRINTED BY E. GRIFFIN, IN THE OLD BAILY.—1650.



SIR,

THE greatest part of the time since Thursday last, (when the articles inclosed were agreed of for the rendition of Edinburgh Castle) hath beene in ordering of things in relation to their marching out this day. There hath beene a continuall passing to and from the castle with trunkes, and other goods, for these foure or five dayes ; and yet for all that, there are many more goods left for the inhabitants hereabouts, and much more those Scots who dwell farre off, and now come over in great numbers, who must have further time ; and the general hath engaged, that they shall not loose any of them after our souldiers have possession of the castle, but have free liberty to fetch them out ; its verily beleaved, that there was more money, plate, and rich household stufte in this castle then in any one part of Scotland

besides; yet such hath been the civility of our souldiers, that they have not in the least interrupted the inhabitants, or taken away any of their goods; so that, considering the impregnall strength of the place, the great losse of men we must have had, in case we had storm'd it (if we had carried it that way, which was almost impossible), and the love of the people, which we now have gained by this civil usage, it was the best course that could have been taken; and if it were put in the ballance, would not appeare to be of much lesse consequence then the defeat at Downhill, neer Dunbar. This day, Col. Dundas marched out of the castle with 120 men, all musketiers, their colors flying (which was one red ensign), one drum beating, the greatest part of them marched to Leith, and intend for Fife. Lieut. Col. White, with some companies of foot, tooke possession of the castle. We have as yet no account what number of arms, ammunition, or provision, is in it. The

number of the ordnance is inclosed. Col. Fenwick, governor of Berwick, for the present, is to take the government thereof. His excellency, with many officers, went into the castle this afternoon to view it. There are taken in it the particulars inclosed. By reason of the great winds, the souldiers that came out of the castle could not get into Fife, but were forced to stay in Leith this night with a guard. Divers of the foot laid downe their armes, and will not engage any more against our army. Before their going out of the castle, there were two barrels of gun-powder blowne up, which killed two of their men.

*December 19, 1650.*

Articles treated of, concluded, and agreed upon, by Major Andrew Abbernethe and Captaine Robert Henderson, of the one party, on the behalfe of Walter Dundasse, Esqu. governour of the castle of Edenburgh; and by Col. George Monke

and Lieut. Col. Francis White, on the other party, on the behalfe of his excellency the Lord-General Cromwell, for the rendition of the said castle, according to the articles ensuing:—

1. That the castle of Edenburgh, with the cannon, armes, ammunition, and magazeens, and furniture of war (except what shall be excepted in the ensuing articles,) be rendred to his excellency the Lord Gen. Cromwell, or whom he shall appoint, on Tuesday next, being the 24 of this present December, by 12 of the clock, without wilfull spoile or embezillment.

2. That the publike registers, publike moveables, private evidences, and writs, be transported to Fife or Sterling; and that wagons and ships be provided for the transporting of them.

3. That, for all the goods in the castle belonging to any person whatsoever, an edict may be proclaimed to the people about Edenburgh, to come, own, and re-

ceive their own; and if any bee at a far distance, or dead, a place may be provided in the towne of Edenburgh for keeping the same until they be owned; and, after owning, they have liberty to carry them where they please.

4. That all persons whatsoever not belonging to the garrison, as men, women, and children, may have liberty to goe whether they will without trouble; and there have the free exercise of their callings and employments with safety, both to themselves and goods.

5. That the governour of the said castle, and all military officers, commanders, and souldiers, of whatsoever condition (none excepted), may depart without any molestation, with their armes and baggage, with drums beating, and colours flying, matches lighted at both ends, and ball in their mouthes, as they usually are wont to march, and all their goods, with a free conduct to Brunt Island, in Fife; or if any of the foresaid persons desire to trans-



port themselves and goods any where else, for their greater conveniency, it may with freedome be granted.

6. That all officers and souldiers, as well sick as hurt, shall have free liberty to remaine in Edenburgh till they recover, and to enjoy the benefit of these articles.

7. That the number of horse and wagons, as many as the governour shall need for his own particular use, as also for the officers and souldiers, shall be sent them for the carrying of the aforesaid baggage, to the foresaid places.

8. That Capt. Lieut. Car, Lieut. Stretton, Thomas Brindy, gunner, and Patrick Summerall, gunner, be sent to his excellency the Lord Gen. Cromwell this present Thursday, by 12 of the clock, for hostages, for the performance of the aforewritten articles; and that the generall shall keep centinels about the castle, under the rock.

ANDREW ABBERNETHE,  
R. HENDERSON.

I doe approve, ratifie, and confirme the articles above written.

W. DUNDASSE.

*A List of the great Guns taken in Edinburgh Castle, Decemb. 24, 1650.*

Three iron guns, besides the great Mag.; five cannons, of 7, 9, 24 livers; two culverins, two demi-culverins, two minions, two falcons, three 3 livers, brasse.

28 short brasse munkeys, *alias* dogs.

10 iron munkeys, two pittars. In all 67.

By letters from Carlile, Decem. 25, as followeth:—A party of horse and dragoons was sent from this garrison, consisting of about 1000, to garrison Dumfrieze, in Scotland, where they are in a quiet condition. There were divers cavaliere lords and gentlemen, with some 400 attendants,

met there, with a purpose to raise some forces for their king; but, upon the advance of this party, they left the town, and went to their owne homes; which makes me conjecture they like not the dancing of the Scotch jigge at Sterling this jocund time of Christmas. Just now, a packet came to me from my Lieut. Colonel at Dumfrieze, which gives me an accompt of the parties proceedings there under his command, which he sent into Galloway to prevent the gathering of the enemy in those parts. To give you the particulars will be too tedious; onely this I will say, that they have been very active, the Lord going along with them; so that they have done their businesse; and they write to me, that there is not much considerable to be done in that part of Scotland, onely the garrisoning of some castles for conveniency of passage, and awing the cuntry. They have taken the strong castle of Kinmore, whose articles are as followeth:—

*Decemb. 22, 1650.*

Articles concluded and agreed upon, the day and yeere abovesaid, betwixt the Lord Kinmore, governour of his castle of Kinmore, on the one party; and Cap. Dowson, Cap. Crackenthorpe, and Cap. Nary, on the other party, for the parliament of England.

*Imprimis,* It is concluded and agreed upon, that the said Lord Kinmore shall forthwith deliver up to the said Cap. Dowson, Cap. Crackenthorpe, and Cap. Nary, his castle of Kinmore, with all the arms and ammunition, for the use of his excellency the Lord Gen. Cromwell.

2. It is concluded and agreed upon, that the said Lord Kinmore shall have all his householdstuffe, of what sort soever, within the said castle, secured to his proper use, either within such roomes of his said castle as he shall choose, or by conveying them

away to some other place, provided it be within fourteen daies.

3. That the Lord Kenmore, with such as are now in armes with him in the said castle, whose names are underwritten, shall have liberty to repaire to their owne homes, without any disturbance to their persons or estates, acting nothing prejudiciall to the army of England; or shall have seven daies (the morrow, being the 23 of this instant, being the first) to dispose of themselves, their horses and armes, without let or molestation, by any belonging to his excellencies army.

KENMORE.

MAN. DOWSON,	} English.
RICH. CRACKENTHORPE,	
JOHN NARY.	

ROBERT LORD KENMORE,

Rob. Glendoning,	Alex. Maxwell,
Jo. Glendoning,	Geo. Heriot,
Rob. Gourdon,	James Gibson,
Ja. Gourdon,	Patrick Merdock.

The rest of the common souldiers are likewise to have the benefit of the aforesaid articles.

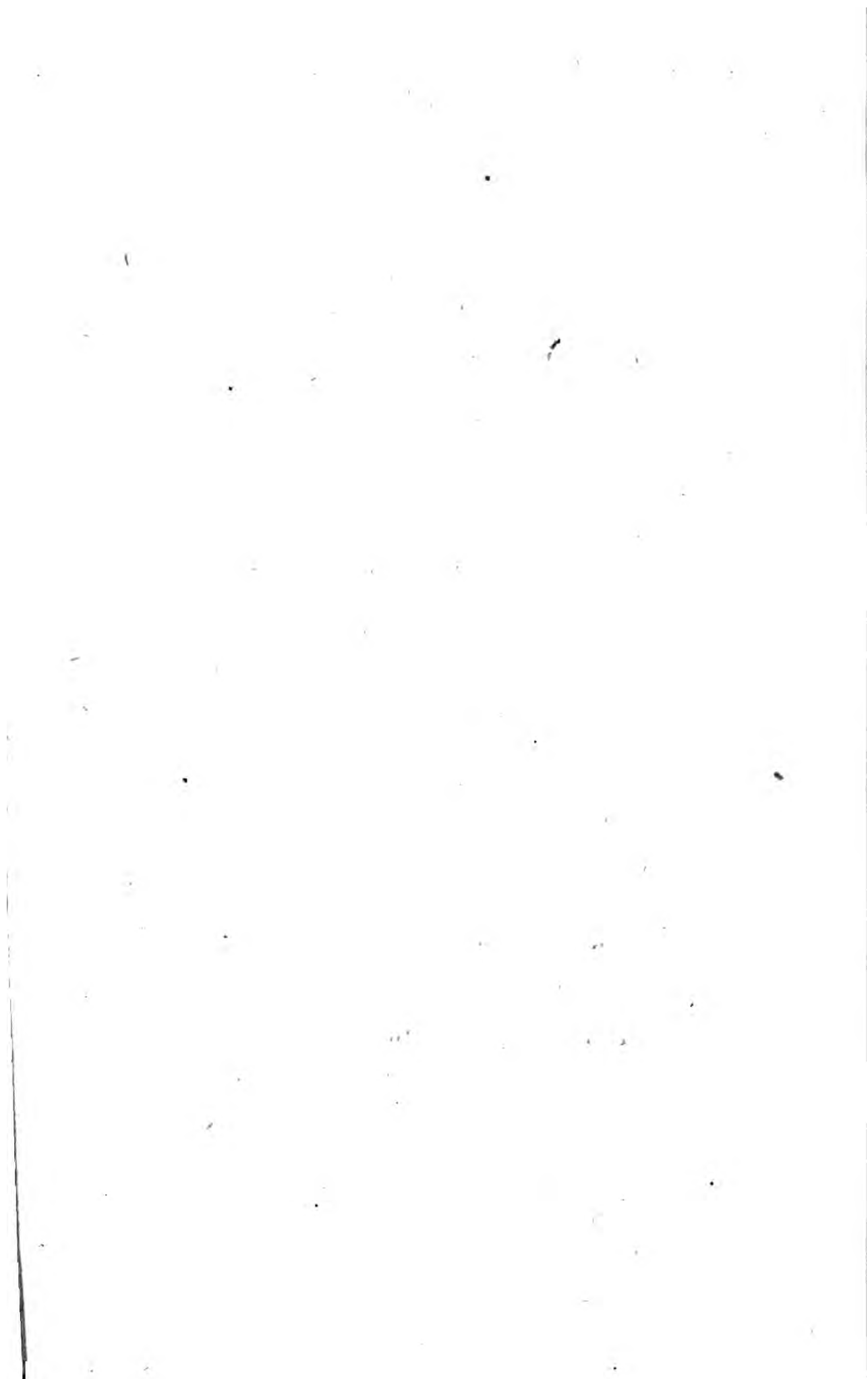
*A Note of the Armes and Ammunition taken in the Expedition from Dumfreze into Gal-  
laway, by the aforesaid Captaines.*

At Killobright, and thence carried to Kinmore, three barrels of powder, match proportionable. All the armes found there were broken, because there was not conveyance for them.

Taken at Kenmore Castle,

Sixty muskets and firelocks, eight pikes, eight great barrels of powder, each containing neere three ordinary barrels, match and ball proportionable, great store of meale and beefe.

Taken on the march about forty horse, and some prisoners.



A  
TRUE  
RELATION  
OF  
A SECOND  
VICTORIE

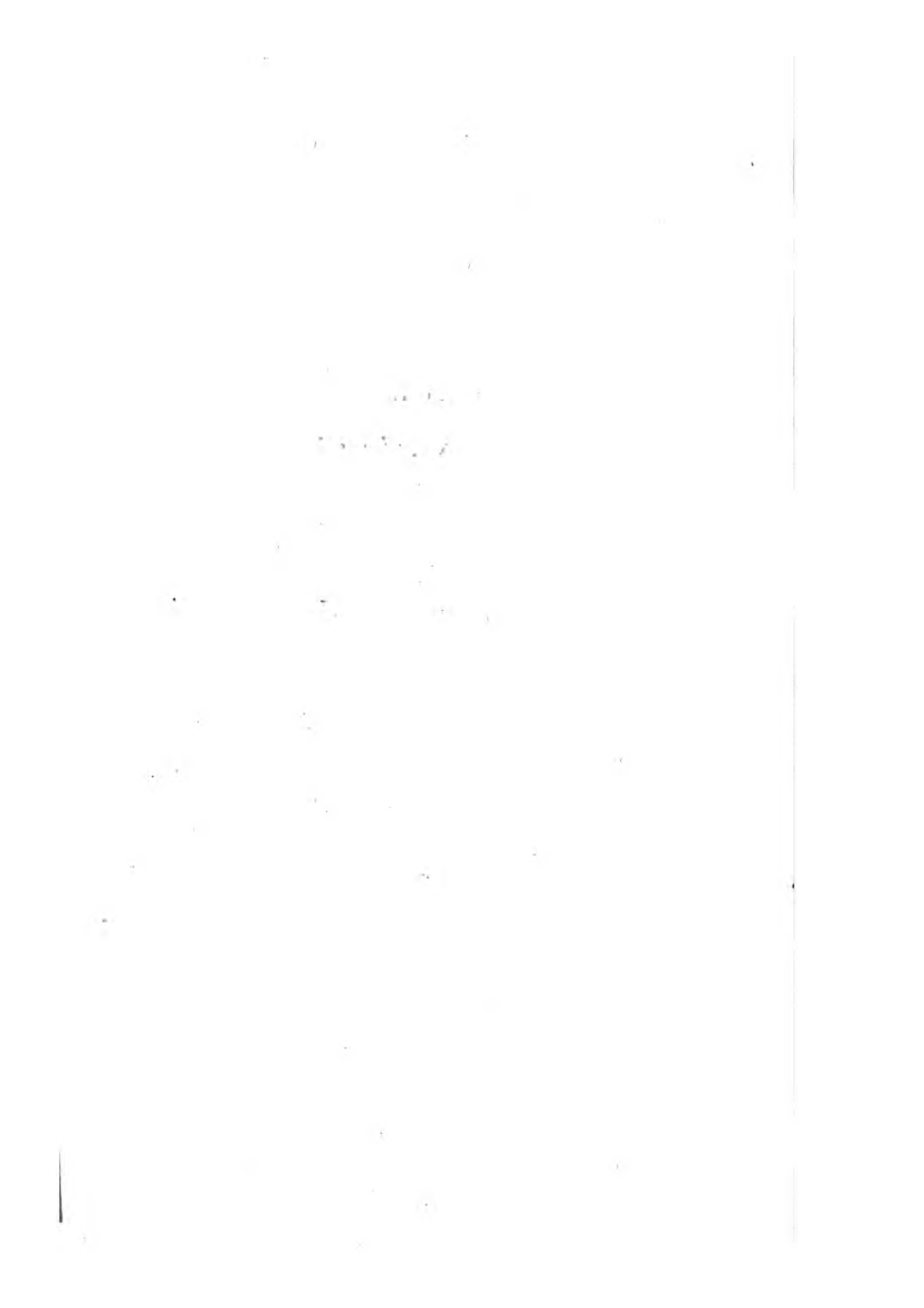
OVER  
THE SCOTS AT HAMILTON,

COMMANDED  
*BY COL. KER,*

WHO IS TAKEN BY THE PARLIAMENT'S FORCES, WITH OTHER  
PRISONERS OF QUALITIE;

CERTIFIED BY AN EXPRESS FROM  
MY LORD GENERAL.





SIR,

I HAVE now sent you the results of som treaties amongst the enemie, which came to my hands this daie:—The major-general and Commissarie-general Whaley marched a few daies ago towards Glasco, and the enemie attempted his quarters in Hamilton, were entred the town, but, by the blessing of God, by a very gracious hand of Providence, without the loss of six men, as I hear of, beat them out, killed about an hundred, took also about the same number, amongst which are som prisoners of qualitie, and neer four hundred horse (as I am informed), the major-general beeing in the chase of them, to whom I have also since sent the addition of a fresh partie. Colonel Kerr (as my messenger this night tells me) is taken, his

lieutenant-colonel, and one that was sometime major to Col. Straughan, and Kerr's capt.-lieutenant. The whole party is shattered; and give me leav to saie it, if God had not brought them upon us, wee might have march't three thousand hors to death, and not have light on ten of them: And truly 'twas a strange providence brought them upon him; for I, marching from Edenburgh, on the north side of Clويد, appointed the major-general to march from Peebles to Hamilton on the south side of Clويد. I came thither by the time expected; tarried the remainder of the daie, and until neer seven a clock the next morning, apprehending the major-general would not com by reason of the waters; I beeing retreated, the enemie took encouragement, march't all that night, and came upon the major-general's quarters about two hours before daie, where it pleased the Lord to order as you have heard. The major-general and commissarie-general (as he sent mee word) were still gon on in the

prosecution of them, and saith, that except one hundred and fiftie hors in one bodie, hee hears they are fled by 16 and 18 in a companie, all the countrie over. Robbin Montgomerie was come out of Sterling with four or five regiments of hors and dragoons, but was put to a stand when he heard of the issue of this business; Straughan, and som other officers, had quitted som three weeks or a moneth before this business, so that Kerr commanded this whole partie in chief.

It is given out the malignants will be all (almost) received, and rise unanimously and expeditiously; I can assure you, that those that serv you here, finde more satisfaction in having to deal with men of that stamp then others; and it is our comfort, that the Lord hath hitherto made it the matter of our praiers, and of our endeavors (if it might have been the will of God) to have had a Christian understanding between those that fear God in his land and our selves; and yet wee hope it hath not

been carried on with a willing failer of our dutie to those that trust us ; and I am perswaded the Lord hath looked favourably upon our sinceritie herein, and will still do so, and upon you also, whilst you make the interest of his people yours ; those religious people of Scotland, that fall in this caus, wee cannot but pitie and mourn for them, and wee praie that all good men may do so too. Indeed, there is at this time a very great distraction, and mightie workings of God upon the hearts of divers, both ministers and people, much of it tending to the justification of your caus ; and although som are as bitter and as bad as ever, making it their business to shuffle hypocritically with their consciences and the covenant, to make it lawful to joyn with malignants, which now they doe, as well they might long before, having taken in the head of them ; yet truly others are startled at it, and some have been constrained to make sad and solemn accusations of themselves, and lamentations in

the face of their supreme authoritie, charging themselvs as guiltie of the bloudshed in this war, by having a hand in the treatie at Breda, and by bringing the king in amongst them; this lately did a lord of the session, and withdrew; and, lately, Mr James Leviston, a man as highly esteemed as anie for pietie and learning, who was a commissioner for the kirk at the said treatie, charged himself with the guilt of the bloud of this war before their assemblie, and withdrew from them, and is retired to his own hous. It will be very necessarie to encourage victuallers to com to us, that you take off customs and excise from all things brought hither for the use of the armie. I beg your praiers, and rest

Your humble servant,

O. CROMWELL.

EDINBURGH, 4. Decem. 1650.

*MS. Q. 1. 25. 1026.*

THE END.







