

never sufficiently acknowledge; we in all duty and loyalty of heart addresse ourselves to Your Sacred Majesty, beseeching you to cast Your eyes and thoughts upon the safety of your own person, and your Princely Issue, and this whole Countie, a great means of which we conceive doth consist in the arms and ammunition at Hull, placed there by your Princely care and charge, and since, upon generall apprehension of dangers from Foreign parts represented to your Majestie, thought fit as yet to be continued

“We for our parts, conceiving ourselves to be still in danger, do most humbly beseech your majesty that you will be pleased to take such course and order that your Magazine may still there remain, for the better securing of these, and the rest of the Northern parts: And the rather because we think it fit, that that part of the kingdom should be best provided where your Sacred Person doth reside, Your person being like David's, the light of Israel, and more worthy than ten thousand of us,

“Who shall daily pray, etc.”<sup>1</sup>

To his amazement and annoyance, Charles found the gates of Hull closed against him by the Governor, Sir John Hotham. The King immediately communicated with the Parliament by a letter dated April 24th. In this document he states that he went to Hull on the previous day (April 23rd) in order to find out what part of the military stores there ought to be retained for the defence of the North, what part could be spared for the troops serving in Ireland, and also what arms were available to replenish the armoury in the Tower of London. His Majesty complains that the gates were closed against him by the Governor, Sir John Hotham, and also that the Duke of York

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<sup>1</sup> Published in London by Robert Baker, 1642.

and Prince Rupert (the King's son and nephew),



Fig. 25.—SIR JOHN HOTHAM.

who were present in the city, were not permitted to join His Majesty "till after some consultation".<sup>1</sup>

The conduct of Sir John was supported by the Parliament, and Charles retired to York, and there established his court.<sup>2</sup>

Within St. William's College,<sup>3</sup> Minster Yard, print-



Fig. 26.—ST. WILLIAM'S COLLEGE.

ing presses were set up, by order of the King, and from these were sent out many of the political pamphlets and sheets which helped to kindle the fires

<sup>1</sup> Published in London by Robert Baker, 1642.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Hotham was afterwards beheaded by the Parliament for treason, January 2nd, 1645.

<sup>3</sup> Founded by Henry VI. Now divided into tenements.

of rebellion. The King, at this time, did not occupy the Manor, as on former occasions, but took up his abode in the "spacious and luxurious mansion" of Sir Arthur Ingram, which then stood on the north side of the Minster, within the city walls. The proximity of this house to St. William's College facilitated "quick and unobserved communication" between the King and his printer.<sup>1</sup>

At a great gathering of the gentry of the county, held at the Castle, the King obtained a bodyguard of 200 troopers, under the command of the Prince of Wales, and 700 foot commanded by Sir Robert Strickland (Lieut.-Col.), a proceeding which was construed by the exasperated Parliament into an attempt to raise a standing army, with the immediate purpose of opposing the Parliament by force of arms, and so the ominous breach was further widened.

After an interval of a few days the King forbade the Militia to assemble or drill in any part of the kingdom, without Royal sanction.

A little later, the King summoned the ministers, freeholders, farmers, and substantial copyholders to meet on Heworth Moor. The response was so general, that, on the 3rd of June, the day appointed, 60,000 persons assembled.

The address of the King, which was conciliatory, and expressed His Majesty's aversion to anything like war, had been printed beforehand, and was

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<sup>1</sup> See Robert Davies, F.S.A., *A Memoir of the York Press*, pages 38 to 55.



distributed to the people. The opening paragraph read :

“We would have you to be assured that wee never intended the least neglect unto you in any former summons of the countrey. Our love, as well as our protection, extending to all our subjects ; but as you are a great body, time and conveniency must be observed in all your assembling.

“That you may know the general reasons of Our being here, you must understand that when we found it neither safe nor honourable to expose Our person to the tumultuous and licentious proceedings of many (which to this day are unpublished) who did disorderly approach neere Our Court at Whitehall, We trusted this part of Our Dominions chiefly to reside in ; where, as most of the Gentry already have, so Wee assure Ourselves the rest of you will give Us cleer testimony of your service and obedience, which We will never use otherwise than for the defence of the true Orthodox Religion, professed and settled in Queen Elizabeth's time ; and confirmed by the authority of the Statutes of this Realm, the defence of the Laws and fundamental Constitutions of this Kingdom (as the justest Measure of and Rule for Our Prerogatives, and your Liberties and Rights), and lastly for the preservation of the peace of this Kingdom.”

The address thus professed the peaceful intentions of the King:

“And for the cleere understanding of Our Resolutions to maintain peace, Wee may have the con-

fidence and happiness to referre (against all malignity whatsoever) to Our former sixteen yeeres Reigne (too long to dissemble Our Nation); if in all this time Wee never caused the effusion of one drop of blood, it must needs be thought that in Our riper judgement in Government, Wee should never open such issues as might drown Us and Our Posterity in them."

The address was enthusiastically received. The Cavaliers waved their hats and cheered, while from thousands of throats there rang the cries, "God bless the King!" "God unite the King and Parliament!"

But there was another side to all this. The people had drawn up an address also, and desired to present it to the King. This petition of the freeholders set forth the miseries of the county in consequence of the quarrel between the King and the Parliament. It stated, "That this particular county (most affectionate to your Majesties service) hath well-nigh for three years last past beene the stage whereon the tragicall miseries (which necessarily accompany and associate warre and armies) have been represented and acted, whereby the generall wealth and plenty of this county is exhausted and brought very low; which weight of miseries are sensibly become much more heavy by reason of your Majesties distance in residence, and difference in counsels from your great Councill the Parliament, begetting great distempers and distractions throughout the kingdom, and have especially amongst us produced factions

and divisions ; drawing to these parts great numbers of discontented persons, that may too justly be feared, doe affect the public ruine for their private advantage."

The desire of the petitioners was thus stated : "We do therefore in all humility and duty, in the sence of our present deplorable condition, beseech your Majesty to pardon us, if we importune your Majesty more than others ; since we have endured, and are in hazard more than any : and that from these apprehensions we may offer to your Majesty our earnest petitions for redresse, and prevention of these evils, daily threatening danger to your Majesty, and destruction to us, which we conceive is impossible any other way to be effected, than by your Majesties entertaining a right understanding betwixt yourself and Parliament, and affording your gracious eare and consent to such counsellis and propositions as shall be tendered by them to your Majesty for the honor and greatnesse of your Majesty and Posterity, and the good of this Church and Kingdome ; and by your Majesties declining all other counsellis whatsoever, and uniting your confidence to your Parliament."

Sir Thomas Fairfax was entrusted with the delivery of this document, but when he approached the King, His Majesty contemptuously waved his hand and refused to accept it. Not to be defeated altogether, Fairfax placed the paper on the pommel of the monarch's saddle, and left it there.

The King's friends said that the people had de-

clared for the King and against the Parliament. The majority, however, left the moor dissatisfied and angry because Charles had refused to hear them, and a large number instantly took steps for bringing their complaints against the King before Parliament. The nobility who attended the King on this occasion also did great mischief to the royal cause by their harsh treatment of those assembled. Their conduct is in part recorded in a petition presented shortly after by the freeholders to the Houses of Parliament, and which is here given in full :

“To the Right Honorable the Lords and Commons, in the  
High Court of Parliament assembled,

“The Humble Petition of the Gentry, Ministers, Freeholders, and other inhabitants of the County of York, assembled there at His Majesty's Command, the third of June 1642,

“We being resolved humbly to petition His Majesty for the redresse of those grievances which we now lye under, did desire to have met in the Castle-yard at Yorke, wee conceiving it the right place to consider of such publike affaires as concerned the County, which were not onely denied of, but charge was given to the officer there, that wee should not have any admittance, and when we assembled upon the place appointed by His Majesty and did acquaint the County, there met, with the forme of a Petition, the sense whereof they formerly approved of, and then upon the reading thereof, generally consented to, and desired the same should be presented to His Majesty, we were violently interrupted by the Earl of Linsey, who with a great troop attending him, in an imperious way, snatched out of a gentleman's hand of good quality a copy of the forenamed petition, which at the desire of the County he was reading to them, and some of his Lordship's company laid hold of his bridle and cloake, hailing him in a great fury, and sayd, ‘You are a company of traitorous rogues and villaines!’ and often lifted up his cane, as if he would have struck him.

“And also a knight of this County was affronted by the Lord Saville, upon his reading the draught of a petition to himself, upon the place aforesaid, the day above :

“First, his Lordship told him it was a pamphlet, which he denied ; thereupon the Lord Saville demanded it of him, which he refused to deliver ; his Lordship layd hands upon his sword, and almost pluckt him from his horse. Upon which the said Knight, fearing some mischief would be done to him, delivered the same. And then the said Lord Saville told him he laboured to sow seeds of sedition, and if he would fight there should be fighting enough, and many of the said Lord Saville's company held up their canes at him, and one of them said, ‘Hold your prating : it were good to cane you !’ which provocations, had not the people beene peaceably enclyned, might have produced bloody effects.

“Notwithstanding all which, and divers other insufferable injuries, so confident were we of His Majesties former professions, never to refuse any petition presented by his people to him in a humble way, that we desisted not to wait our best opportunity to present the said petition to His Majesty. A copy whereof we here humbly present unto your grave considerations, which His Majesty notwithstanding, pleased not to accept of. We therefore desire these Honourable Houses well to weigh these Particulars, and to take such courses therein as may tend to the preservation of our liberties and the peace of the Kingdome. And that you would please to addresse yourselves to His Majesty on our behalfe, that through your wisdomes our desires may find a better acceptance with his Majesty.”

The Parliament enacted that no war supplies should be permitted to approach the North. This order was to the effect “that a strict search, and Examination be made by the Justices of Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, Constables, and other His Majesty's officers, inhabiting or neer adjoining to all the northern roads, for the stopping and staying of all Armes, Ammunition, Powder, Light-horses, or horses for service in the Warres, and great saddles

that are, or shall be carryed towards the North parts of England, but by the privity and direction of one or both the houses of Parliament, and that the said officers shall stay them accordingly, and speedily give information thereof unto one of the Houses of Parliament."<sup>1</sup> This was in June 1642. Soon after this, August 1642, the King, under the advice of the northern nobility, who foresaw and dreaded the coming storm, moved from York and set up his standard at Nottingham, an act that was tantamount to a declaration of civil war.

<sup>1</sup> Parliamentary Paper published June 15, 1642.

### CHAPTER III.

*York an immense Garrison.—The Scotch Allies of the Parliament.  
—York shut up.—Walmgate and Bootham Bars.—A Letter.  
—St. Mary's Tower.—Fever in the City.*

WHEN the King left York, the Earl of Cumberland was put in charge as the Commander-General of His Majesty's Forces, but subsequently he resigned his position in favour of the Earl of Newcastle, who came to the city at the request of the freeholders of the county, with 6,000 infantry and cavalry, and ten guns. Sir Thomas Glemham was Governor of the city. Early in the following year (Feb. 22, 1643), the Queen, Henrietta Maria, arrived from the Continent with immense munitions of war, and, after a brief rest at York, she joined the King at Nottingham.

York, as headquarters of the Royalist army, became an immense garrison. We are told that "one parish, containing but forty houses, had 500 men billeted upon it".

Lockwood and Cates thus describe the precautions taken to defend the city:—"York was now strengthened at every point. Clifford's Tower was partially repaired at the Earl of Cumberland's command, and placed under the care of Sir Francis Cob,



with two demy culverins and a saker to defend it. Two cannon were planted on the Old Baile, one at Fryers, two sling pieces, and one small drake on some banks between Skeldergate Postern and the opposite bank, and two (cannon) at each of the bars. Without Walmgate a strong bulwark was erected, and at the ends of several lanes within the city, ditches and banks were thrown up, and hogsheads filled with earth ranged for barricados. The magistrates were obliged to provide 800 men to work continually at the repairs of the walls, and the same number was added to them from the country."

Prisoners were brought in from every part of Yorkshire, for, from the autumn of 1642 to the spring of 1644, warlike operations were carried on at Wetherby, Tadcaster, Bradford, Leeds, Wakefield, Hull, Selby, and other places. These prisoners were confined in the Castle, the Merchants' Hall, Davy Hall,<sup>1</sup> and similar buildings within the city.

In the beginning of 1644, 20,000 Scots crossed the border, as the allies of the Parliament, whose cause had gradually strengthened. These troops effected a union with those of Ferdinand, Lord Fairfax, General of the Parliamentary Forces in the North, and on April 19th the combined forces settled down to the exciting but protracted operation of the siege of York. They soon discovered that their numbers, about 20,000, the Scotch army having

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<sup>1</sup> Now abolished. Site known as Davygate.



*The right Honourable Ferdinand  
Lord Fairfax.*

Fig. 27.—From *Historical Sketches of Charles the First, Cromwell, Charles the Second, and the principal personages of that period.* W. D. Fellowes. Opp. p. 348.

considerably diminished since its entrance into England, were not equal to the necessities of the siege of such a strongly garrisoned city.

Communications were therefore opened with the Earl of Manchester, who responded by joining the besiegers with 6,000 foot and 3,000 horse—the cavalry being under the command of the famous Oliver Cromwell.

By means of these accessions the Parliamentarians were enabled to almost surround the entire city. The Scots were commanded by Leslie, the Earl of Leven, and occupied the south of the city—Bishopthorpe and Middlethorpe. The men under the command of Lord Fairfax were placed on the east—Fulford and Heslington. To the Earl of Manchester was assigned a position in the north-west of the city—Clifton and its neighbourhood.

Almost the daily occurrences of this great siege can be very minutely traced in contemporaneous publications, for both sides issued their pamphlets and sheets with amazing rapidity, and others, independently, issued printed reports, "to prevent misinformation."<sup>1</sup> One has said, "Each army carried its own printer with it, expecting either to convince by its reasoning, or to delude by its falsehood."<sup>2</sup>

The city was closely pressed at Walmgate Bar

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<sup>1</sup> *The Kingdomes Weekly Post*; *Mercurius Britannicus*; *The True Informer*; *The Military Scribe*; *London's Intelligencer*, and a large number of others.

<sup>2</sup> W. D. Fellowes, *Historical Sketches*, p. 243.

and Bootham Bar. A church which stood without Walmgate Bar—St. Nicholas,<sup>1</sup> to which we shall refer again—was completely demolished. The struggle, as it raged at Walmgate and Bootham, is partly told in the following letter sent from the besieging army<sup>2</sup>:

“Upon Wednesday night last, was a battery made at the windmill<sup>3</sup> betwixt York and Heslington . . . and five pieces of great ordnance yesterday placed in it, and divers shots made into the city, which have made visible batteries both in the walls, Clifford’s Tower, and other houses. Another battery got at St. Lawrence Church, made within the churchyard next Walmgate, about fifty yards from the gate, and here, and in the church, and houses, there are about 3,000 of our men. . . . Four thousand Scots yesterday entered Gillygate, Marygate, and Mary Tower, and have made a passage into the Manor House underground. This last night a strong party sallyed out of the city, and fell upon these men to beat them back, but could not prevaile, for 7,000 of my Lo. Manchester, and my Lo. Fairfax’s men fell into Walmgate, and so diverted the enemy, and had a sore fight with them. The losse hitherto I have not heard on either side.”

On Trinity Sunday the besiegers succeeded in

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<sup>1</sup> The name is preserved in “Nicholas Street”.

<sup>2</sup> See also Sir Henry Slingsby, *Diary*, edited by Parsons, pp. 108-109.

<sup>3</sup> This was on Lamel Hill. The name is derived from the Norman *Le Meul*, i.e., “the Mill”.

blowing up St. Mary's Tower, one of the angles of the walls surrounding St. Mary's Abbey, and in making at the same time an effective breach in the walls in Marygate. The Royalist officers were in the Minster attending Divine service at the time of the explosion, but so expeditiously did they resume their various posts on hearing the report, and so ably did they lead their men to meet the inrushing foe, that the stormers were repulsed with fifty killed and 250 taken prisoners.

The loss of many valuable ecclesiastical documents was occasioned by this event, for here the Lord President of the North kept the charters of the religious houses of the northern counties. A remnant of this tower may be seen built into a house at the corner of Marygate and Bootham.

The contiguity of the opposing forces, and the fierceness of the contest, may be understood from the fact that the King's Manor House was garrisoned by Royalist troops, and yet the roof of St. Olave Church, about 100 yards distant, was in the possession of the Parliamentarians, who had planted upon it a battery of guns.<sup>1</sup>

During the siege the city suffered much from sickness. *The True Informer* for June 20-22, 1644, says: "The garrison and citizens are verie much distressed by reason of the spotted feaver,

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<sup>1</sup> MS. letter of Sir Harry Vane, Pelham Papers, B.M., Ad. 933,084, fol. 46.



ST. MARY'S TOWER, BOOTHAM.

*Opp. p. 160.*

which much rages there, and whereof many, both soldiers and other, die dailie."

Although provisions, within the city, rose to very high prices, it does not appear that there was anything like a famine of plain food. There was no lack, for instance, of salt meat. Some of the prices were as follows: quarter of veal or mutton, sixteen shillings; beef, four shillings a stone; a pig, seven shillings; a hen, four shillings; eggs, threepence each; fresh butter, two shillings and eightpence per pound.<sup>1</sup> Money value, at this time, was several times as much as at the present day.

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<sup>1</sup> *The Antiquities of York*, collected from the papers of Christopher Hildyard by James Torr. Many details of the siege are to be found here.



## CHAPTER IV.

### *The Battle of Marston Moor.*

THE Marquis of Newcastle, seeing that the siege was going sadly against him, appealed to the King for assistance, and, in response, Charles, who was in Oxford, despatched his nephew, Prince Rupert, at the head of a small force, with orders to attempt the relief of the city.

After various successes in Lancashire—at Liverpool, Bolton, Latham House, and other places—the Prince advanced with a largely augmented army of 20,000 men towards York. The city opened communications with him by means of beacon lights on the top of the Minster and Clifford's Tower, which were answered by fires on the Castle at Pontefract.

On the evening of June the 30th, the relief force occupied the towns of Boroughbridge and Knaresborough.

The Parliamentarians had been apprised of this movement of the Royalists, and were conscious that they were not equal to the twofold task of maintaining the siege and meeting a field force like that of the Prince. They therefore determined to leave

their trenches, and make an attempt to cut off his advance.

For this purpose the besieging army left York on July 1st, and proceeded to Hessay Moor, naturally supposing that the Prince would seek to

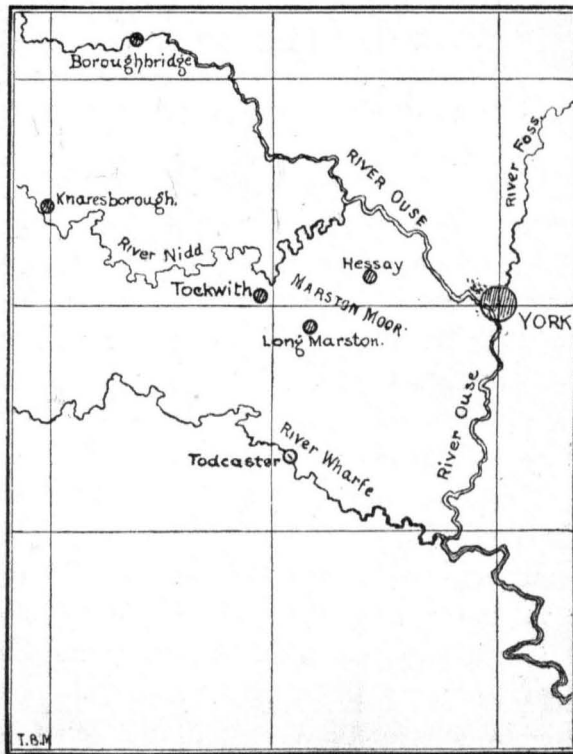


Fig. 28.—MAP ILLUSTRATING THE MOVEMENTS OF PRINCE RUPERT.

enter York on the west, in which case they would be certain to intercept him.

Rupert outwitted his would-be combatants. By a flank movement he crossed the Ouse near its

confluence with the Nidd, he placed the principal stream between himself and the enemy, and reached the N.E. suburbs of York on the evening of the very day that the siege was raised. On his march along the northern bank of the Ouse, Rupert seized at Poppleton a bridge of boats, which had been constructed by the Earl of Manchester, and was guarded by a regiment of dragoons. Manchester had really anticipated the movement of the Prince, and intended to make use of this bridge to pass his army over, in case the Royalists marched toward the city by the north bank of the river.<sup>1</sup>

Encamping his army on the Forest of Galtres, he entered York the same night by Monk Bar with a detachment of two hundred cavaliers.<sup>2</sup>

The appearance of the Prince in the city led to the most unrestrained expressions of delight on the part of the inhabitants and garrison. "Salutes were fired, the bells in the churches were rung, bonfires were kindled, and wild triumphant revelry and merriment filled the city, in place of the doubt and despair which had so lately possessed it!"

Rupert announced to the authorities his determination to increase his force from the garrison, and at once to give the Parliamentarians battle. The Marquis, who expected further reinforce-

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<sup>1</sup> J. L. Sanford, *Illustrations of the Great Rebellion*, p. 589. Poppleton is a little more than two miles from the city.

<sup>2</sup> S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War, 1642-1649*, is of opinion that Rupert did not actually enter York, vol. i, p. 439, *note*.

ments in a few days, and many other officers were against this plan.

The following words have been put into the lips of one of Rupert's officers by De Foe,<sup>1</sup> as expressing the unwisdom of the Prince's persistency in seeking an immediate engagement: "No action of this whole war had gained the Prince so much Honour, or the King's Affairs so much Advantage as this, had the Prince but had the Power to have restrained his Courage, and checked his fatal Eagerness for Fighting. Here was a Siege raised, a City relieved and furnished, with all things necessary in the Face of an Army, superior in Number by near 10,000 men, and commanded by a triumvirate of Generals—Leven, Fairfax, and Manchester. 'Twas the Enemy's business to fight, if possible, 'twas his (Rupert's) to avoid it; for having delivered the city, and put the Disgrace of raising the Siege upon the Enemy, he had nothing farther to do, but to have waited till he had seen what course the Enemy would take, and taken his farther Measures from their Motion."

There is a considerable show of reason in all this; but, on the other hand, it must be remembered that the Prince understood the King's wish to be the defeat of the Northern Parliamentary

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<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of a Cavalier*. "This delightful novel is well known to have been frequently cited as a historical authority", *The Bibliographers' Manual of English Literature*, vol. ii, p. 614.

army, and feared that such a favourable opportunity of meeting these troops in the open field might not occur again.

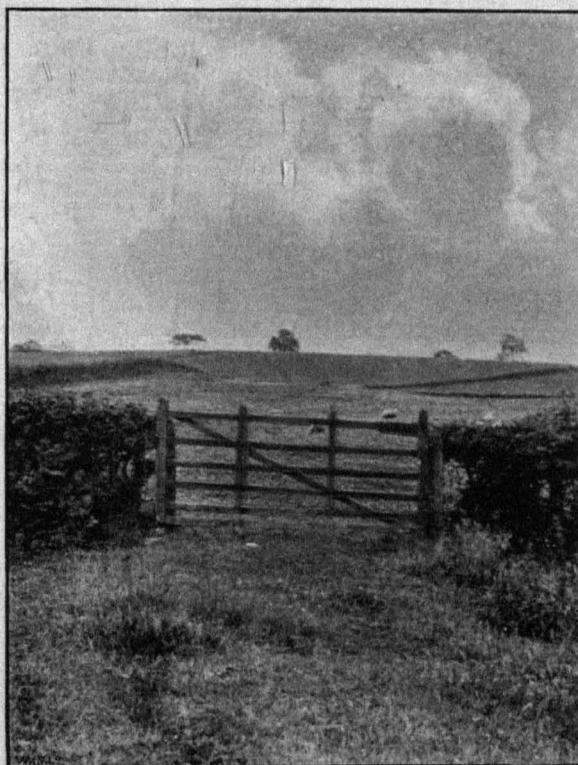
On July 2nd, the Royalist army, comprising about 24,000 men, proceeded from York to challenge the army of the Parliament, crossing the Ouse at Poppleton, where the river was fordable, and where they had secured the Earl of Manchester's bridge of boats.

Newcastle having thrown up his command in disgust at Rupert's "friendship to precipitate counsels", the Prince himself assumed command, though the Marquis accompanied the force as a volunteer.

Meanwhile, the Parliamentarians, finding themselves out-manceuvred, had held a council of war, and had decided to march to Tadcaster, in order to intercept Rupert should he proceed southwards.

When the Royalists had passed Hessay and reached Marston Moor, the rearguard of the Parliamentary army was seen on the crest of the high land lying between the villages of Long Marston and Tockwith. Seeing that they were pursued, Generals Leven, Fairfax, and Manchester ordered an immediate return of all troops, and, early in the afternoon, the Parliamentary forces were drawn up in array of battle on the elevated ground just referred to, and saw on the moor below them that the Royalists were also preparing themselves to meet the approaching storm.

The various accounts of this battle differ very widely, no two accounts agreeing in every parti-



THE HIGH LAND ABOVE MARSTON MOOR.

*Opp. p. 166.*

cular. Anyone who has read the contemporary authorities will sympathise, more or less, with the bewildered historian who says, "I shall not undertake to describe this battle, because in all the accounts, I have seen, I meet with so little order

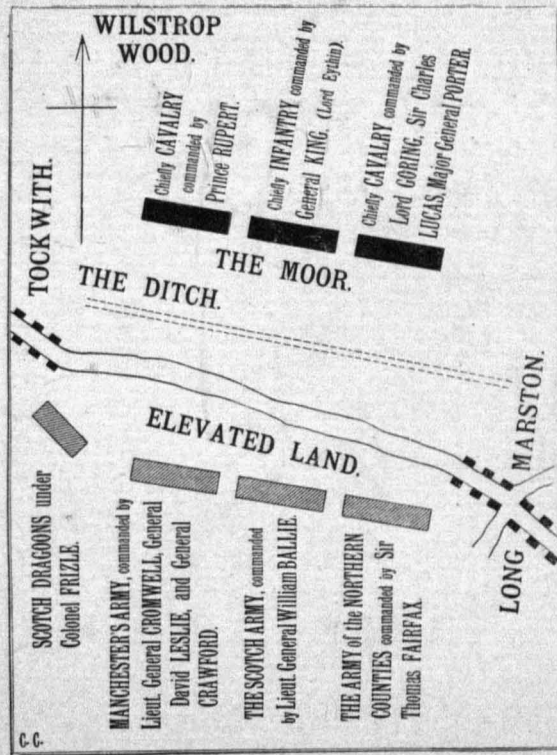


Fig. 29.

The designations, *Army of the Northern Counties*, *Scotch Army*, *Manchester's Army*, only mean that these troops preponderated in the positions so indicated. The Scotch and English were much intermixed, in order that both should share the honour of victory or the disgrace of defeat.



and clearness that I cannot expect to give a satisfactory idea of it."<sup>1</sup>

The plan (Fig. 29) indicates the general disposal of the opposing forces.

The Royalists stretched across the moor from east to west.

Their left wing was under the leadership of General Goring, Sir Charles Lucas, and Major-General Porter.

Their right wing was commanded personally by Prince Rupert. Both these wings were composed chiefly of cavalry.

The centre, consisting of musketeers and pikemen, including the splendid regiment of the Marquis of Newcastle, known as "Newcastle's lambs", because of their white undyed tunics,<sup>2</sup> was commanded by General King (Lord Eythin), a professional soldier, upon whose military skill the Royalists placed great reliance.

In advance of the Royalist position was a wide ditch, which can still be traced. This dyke was lined by musketeers, who proved a deadly foe to the Parliamentary troops, as they descended the hill and moved forward to reach the open moor.

The position of the Parliamentary front has already been indicated.

Their right wing, flanked by the village of Long

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<sup>1</sup> Rapin, Tindal ed., vol. ii, Bk. xxi, p. 499.

<sup>2</sup> It is stated by the Duchess of Newcastle that these brave retainers of the Earl refused to have their tunics dyed, saying that they preferred to dye them crimson with their blood.

Marston, was composed chiefly of the Yorkshire horse, commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax, under Lord Ferdinand Fairfax, supported by three regiments of Scotch horse, and also English and Scotch infantry.

The left wing, resting upon the village of Tockwith, was composed of the Earl of Manchester's horse, under the command of Lieut.-General Oliver Cromwell. This section was also strengthened by Scotch supports, commanded by General David Leslie. The infantry of this wing was commanded by Major-General Crawford. The Royalist front at this extremity extended beyond that of the Parliamentarians. An extension was therefore added to this wing in order to prevent it being outflanked. The troops forming this extension were Scotch dragoons under Colonel Frizle.

The pikemen, musketeers, and other troops, almost entirely Scotch, forming the centre, were commanded by Lieut.-General Ballie, under Alexander Leslie, the Earl of Leven.

"On Marston Heath  
Met, front to front, the ranks of death;  
Flourish'd the trumpets fierce, and now  
Fired was each eye, and flush'd each brow!  
On either side loud clamours ring,  
'God and the cause!' 'God and the King!'"<sup>1</sup>

Cannon shots were exchanged throughout the afternoon, but the engagement did not really

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<sup>1</sup> Scott, *Rokeby*, Canto I, xii.

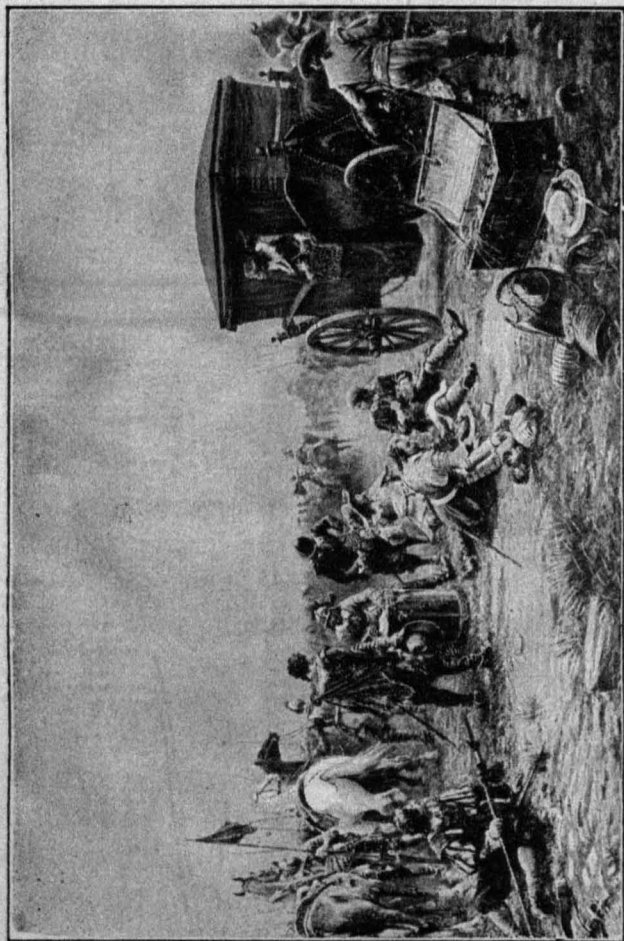
begin till after six in the evening, and then it raged without intermission till nearly midnight. "A summer's eve is a winter's day!"<sup>1</sup>

In this battle there were two men, one on each side, who were, above all others present, the beau-ideal of cavalry officers—Prince Rupert and Lieut.-General Cromwell, though the latter was little known. These men stood opposed to each other, and their fortunes largely decided the final result of the day.<sup>2</sup> Rupert appears to have

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Fuller, *Worthies*, Part III, p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> The position occupied by Prince Rupert on this battlefield has been a frequent subject of dispute. Eliot Warburton, *Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers*, contends that he commanded the left wing, quoting as his chief authority Whitelock, *Memorials of English Affairs*. Rapin de Thoyras, *Hist. Eng.*, Tindal ed., vol. ii, Bk. XXI, p. 499, also adopts this opinion. Against this theory there are many reliable authorities. Some of these say that other officers than Rupert commanded the left wing. Others state that he commanded the right wing. Others, again, in their account of the fight, embrace both these statements. Of these authorities the following claim consideration: The Royalist periodical, *Mercurius Aulicus*, B.M. Burney Newspapers, 1644, p. 1083; Sir Henry Slingsby, *Diary*, p. 112; Duchess of Newcastle, *Life of William Cavendish*, Bk. I, p. 48; Scoutmaster Watson, of the Parliamentary army, adopted by Rushworth, Part III, vol. ii, p. 633; Captain Stewart, of the Scotch army, *King's Pamphlets*, 4to, No. 164, Tract 19; Mrs. Hutchinson, *Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, p. 203; Ludlow, *Memoirs*, vol. i, p. 124. This list leaves a mass of corroborative evidence unnamed. Of later historians, S. R. Gardiner, *Hist. Great Civil War*, vol. i, p. 439; and J. L. Sanford, *Studies and Illustrations*, p. 595, place Rupert in command of the right wing of the Royalists.

About three years ago I wrote an account of this battle, based on Rapin and Warburton, for a newspaper, and the article was



MARSTON MOOR: ERNEST CROFTS, A.R.A.

*Opp. p. 171.*

regarded Cromwell as a foeman worthy of his steel. A little while before the battle, the Prince inquired of a prisoner the names of the Parliamentary leaders. "General Leven, my Lord Fairfax, and Sir Thomas Fairfax," answered the man.

"But is Cromwell there?" continued Rupert.

Being informed that he was, he said, "Will they fight?" but, without waiting for a reply, added, "If they will, they shall have fighting enough!"

The man was shortly after released, and quickly made his way back to his own army. There he related to the Generals in council what had passed, not forgetting to inform Cromwell that Rupert had specially asked for him, and had said they should have *fighting enough*.

As soon as the man had finished his story, Cromwell, who had listened to him with eagerness, exclaimed, "And, if it please God, so shall he!"

Who had the upper hand at length will soon be seen.

"It was now between six and seven, and Rupert, calling for provisions, dismounted, and began to eat his supper. A large number of his followers did the like. Newcastle strolled toward

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afterwards circulated as a reprint. I am persuaded, however, that this view of the battle is incorrect. There can be little doubt that Prince Rupert and Colonel Cromwell stood face to face.



his coach to solace himself with a pipe. Before he had time to take a whiff the battle had begun."<sup>1</sup> The squadrons of Cromwell were the first to assume, on any large scale, the offensive. They charged and re-charged the Royalist right wing, and always with deadly effect. In one of these terrific charges a bullet grazed the neck of Cromwell, alarming his men lest he should be severely hurt, but, merrily exclaiming, "A miss is as good as a mile!" onward he rode.<sup>2</sup> Such was Cromwell's success that the living remnant of the forces under Rupert were chased from the field, flying "along Wilstrop woodside as fast and thick as could be".<sup>3</sup> Rupert, it is said, lay for some time hidden in a beanfield, and finally escaped only by the fleetness of his horse.<sup>4</sup>

A somewhat similar scene was witnessed at the other extremity of the line of battle. The Royalists completely routed the right wing of the Parliamentary forces. The horse under Sir Thomas Fairfax gained a partial and temporary triumph, chasing some of the enemy towards York. But before the furious onslaughts of the Royalist troopers the infantry turned and fled in the wildest panic. Before Sir Thomas regained the field, after the pursuit of the Royalists who had given

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<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Hist. Civil War*, vol. i, p. 442.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted, Davenport Adams, *Memorable Battles*, vol. i, p. 296.

<sup>3</sup> Slingsby, *Diary*, pp. 112-113, and Duchess of Newcastle, Bk. I, p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> Vicars, *Parl. Chron.*, Part III, p. 272.

way, the disaster was complete. He says: "I must ever remember with thankfulness the goodness of God to us this day: for, on returning back, I got in among the enemy, who stood up and down the field. So, taking the signal out of my hat, I passed through them for one of their own commanders, and got to my Lord of Manchester's horse in the other wing, only with a cut in my cheek, which was given me in the first charge, and a shot which my horse received."

But how were matters going in the centre or main battle? The Parliamentarians had forced and crossed the defended ditch, but the contest was so stubborn that neither side could boast much advantage. The sounding of victory on the Royalist left wing, however, proved the signal for a sudden change. The victorious Goring and his comrades fell upon the right flank of the Parliamentary centre. They "dashed into the very heart of that fierce and solemn host, scattering them like spray before some storm-driven ship, and plunging still onward to the front of their reserve!" Within a short time the Scotch were in retreat, and the "whole mass, pursuers and pursued, swept up the hill." Alexander Leslie, Earl of Leven, believing that the battle was irretrievably lost, fled from the field, and never drew bridle till he reached Leeds.

So complete was this second triumph that the Royalists proceeded to seize the Parliamentary stores and baggage on the top of the hill.



Now "came the business of the day!" This was Cromwell's opportunity of securing lasting renown as a military genius, by snatching a victory which the Royalists had already two-thirds won. His work on the Royalist right wing being over, he thundered down upon the right flank of the enemy's centre. Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had rallied some of his broken troops, also took possession of the ground just vacated by the Royalist centre, as they pressed after the retiring centre of the Parliamentarians, and fell upon them in the rear.

The charging cavalry under Cromwell and Fairfax met with a stout resistance. Cromwell was withstood by "Newcastle's lambs", but they went down before the Parliamentary sabres, and perished almost to a man.<sup>1</sup> Nor did the cavaliers, who in many a dashing charge had swept all before them, prove a match for the terrific onset of the Ironsides,<sup>2</sup> flushed, equally with themselves, with the success of a conspicuous victory.

The moon that night looked down on a woful scene! By ten o'clock the Royalist forces were completely wrecked—hundreds were prisoners on the field—larger numbers were flying to neighbouring garrisons before the pursuing victors—

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<sup>1</sup> Warburton says that thirty only survived.

<sup>2</sup> Cromwell's troopers were first called Ironsides on this occasion. See William Lilly, *Life and Times*, ed. 1715, p. 78.

while upwards of three thousand lay in mangled heaps of slain.

The scattered forces of Rupert principally sought refuge in York. They arrived at Micklegate Bar about midnight. Here "a dreadful scene of confusion ensued, none being allowed to enter but those belonging to the garrison. During the tedious admission many fainted with fatigue and loss of blood, so that the air was filled with cries and lamentations."

Many of the wounded took refuge in the village of Kirkhammerton, not far from Marston Moor, but on the other side of the Ouse. In the Church Register there were many entries, for weeks after the battle, of soldiers who died from their wounds. This Register was unfortunately lost—perhaps burned—some years ago.

There fell in this battle more than 4,000 men. Among the slain on the side of the Parliament was a nephew of Cromwell. It is said it was the sight of this young man being struck down by a cannon-shot that caused Cromwell to move to the attack. A son of Lord Fairfax was also mortally wounded.

Among those who died in the cause of the King were Lord Kerry, Sir Francis Dacres, Sir William Lampton, Sir Charles Slingsby,<sup>1</sup> Sir William Wentworth, Sir Marmaduke Luddon, Sir Richard

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<sup>1</sup> Buried in York Minster. *Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby*, p. 114.

Gledhill, Colonel Fenwick, Sir Richard Graham, and Captain John Baird, while General Porter, Sir Charles Lucas, and a son of Lord Goring were among the prisoners.

The victors also captured twenty-five pieces of artillery, 130 barrels of gunpowder, 10,000 stand of arms, forty-seven colours, and other materials of war.

Upon the return of the defeated Prince to York, the offended Marquis sent word to him that he would stay no longer in the city, and immediately repaired with his friends to Scarborough, and set sail for the Continent. Neither did Rupert remain in York, but sought to join Colonel Clavering in Lancashire.

The Earl of Clarendon<sup>1</sup> expresses great disgust at the conduct of these two men. "This may be said of it, that the like was never done or heard, or read of before: that two great Generals should both agree in nothing else but in leaving that good city, and the whole country, as a prey to the enemy, who had not yet the courage to believe that they had the victory."

Their famous victory, and the departure of Newcastle and the Prince from York, augured well for the Parliamentarians, and they counted the city now an easy prey. They therefore resumed their position in the trenches, in order to continue the siege.

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<sup>1</sup> *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars*, vol. ii, Part II, p. 505.

## CHAPTER V.

*Miscellaneous Events: An Old Cottage.—Young Walton.—Flight of the Earl of Leven.—Gamekeeper's Cottage.—Among the Slain.—Prince Rupert's Dog.*

BEFORE continuing the story of the siege, it may be well to devote a little space to miscellaneous facts and incidents connected with the memorable battle described in the last chapter.

Little more than two years ago, there stood



Fig. 30.

on the north side of Marston Moor, between Marston Station and Wilstrop Wood, a small ancient farmhouse possessing some interest in connection with this battle. This house,

though permitted to stand, was superseded, about a century ago, by a larger house built about two hundred yards distant. This old house, and the new one, were occupied by successive generations of a family named Easby, for a period of nearly 500 years, the last tenant of that name dying in 1877. It was a carefully preserved tradition of

this family that a General of cavalry occupied the old house on the night of July 1st, 1644—the eve of the battle of Marston Moor.<sup>1</sup>

The nephew of Cromwell, who fell in this battle, was the son of Oliver's younger sister Margaret, the wife of Colonel Valentine Walton. Carlyle, who has rescued the letters of Cromwell from a wilful and ignominious neglect, presents to us the letter in which the General reports the death of young Walton to the bereaved father.<sup>2</sup> The letter runs thus :

“Sir, God hath taken away your eldest son by a cannon-shot. It brake his leg. We were necessitated to have it cut off, whereof he died. Sir, you know my own trials this way, but the Lord supported me with this, that the Lord took him into the happiness we all pant for and live for. There is your precious child full of glory, never to know sin or sorrow any more. He was a gallant young man, exceedingly gracious. God give you His comfort. Before his death he was so full of comfort that to Frank Russell and myself he could not express it. It was so great above his pain. This he said to us. Indeed, it was admirable. A little after, he said, one thing lay upon his spirit. I asked him what that was. He told me it was, that God had not suffered him to be any more the executioner of His enemies. At his fall, his horse being killed with the bullet, and, as I am informed, three horses more, I am told he bid them open to the right and left, that he might see the rogues run.”

Carlyle, who calls this fight “an enormous hurly-burly of fire and smoke, steel-flashings, and death-tumult”, concurs in the opinion that the stray cannon-shot, which proved fatal to Cromwell's

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<sup>1</sup> MS. in possession of Mr. John Daniel, Holgate, York.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters and Speeches of Cromwell*, xxi.

nephew, also roused his humour to the charging point, and brought on the general battle.

Reference has been made to the flight of the Earl of Leven to Leeds. The story is too entertaining to be passed over. The incident is thus narrated :

“As for Generall Lesselie, in the beginning of this flight haveing that part of the army quite brocken, where he had placed himself, by the valour of the Prince, he imagined, and was conformed by the opinione of others then upon the place with him, that the battell was irrecoverably lost, seeing that they were fflieeing upon all hands ; thierfore they humblie intreated his excellence to retire and wait his better fortune, which, without farder advysing, he did ; and never drew bridle untill he came the lenth of Leads, having ridden all that night with a cloak of *drap de berrie* about him, belonging to this gentleman of whom I write, then in his retinue, with many other officers of good qualitie. It was neer twelve the next day before they had the certanety who was master of the field, when at length ther arryves ane express, sent by David Lesselie, to acquaint the General they had obtained a most glorious victory, and that the Prince, with his brocken trupes, was fled from Yorke. The General, quite spent with his long journey in the night, had casten himselfe doune upon a bed to rest ; when this gentleman coming quyety into his chamber, he awoke, and hastily cryes out, ‘Lieutenant Collonell, what news?’ ‘All is safe, may it

please your Excellence; the Parliament's armie his obtained a great victory!' and then delyvers the letter. The Generall, upon hearing of this, knocked upon his breast, and sayes, 'I would to God I had dyed upon the place!' He returned to the army next day."<sup>1</sup>

About four hundred yards south of the site of the old farmhouse, occupied for so long by the Easby family, and very near to Wilstrop Wood, there may be seen the ruins of another old house which was pulled down recently. This cottage was locally known as "Gamekeeper's Cottage", and has a tradition of a sorrowful nature associated with it. When the Ironsides of Cromwell scattered the Royalist cavalry, part of the broken body of horsemen fled along the woodside, which route took them to a gateway, still in use, situated only a few yards from the cottage just referred to. A servant girl, who was within, seeing them making for the gate, ran out by the back door in order to throw it open. Unfortunately, the poor girl's generous endeavour resulted in her death. In their headlong flight the troopers knocked her down, and the poor creature was trampled beneath the iron-shod feet of their horses.<sup>2</sup>

Not a few touching stories have been related of this battle-field when occupied by only the victors

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<sup>1</sup> James, eleventh Lord Somerville, *Memorie of the Somervilles*, vol. ii, pp. 349-351.

<sup>2</sup> MS. in possession of Mr. John Daniel, Holgate, York.



THE KNIGHT'S FAREWELL: ERNEST CROFTS, A.R.A.

*Opp. p. 181.*



and the slain. Two of these are admirably narrated in *The Battlefields of Yorkshire*.

Mr. Grainge says: "After the battle, Sir Charles Lucas was desired by his captors to point out upon the battle-field such of the dead as he thought proper to select for private interment, and from among the vast number of his friends who had fallen he could only discriminate one who had a bracelet of hair about his wrist, which he requested might be taken off, as he knew an honourable lady who would thankfully receive it." What a fruitful theme of conjecture this little incident affords! pledges of love exchanged—the tender parting, and the last adieu.

"Another anecdote is related of this field, which shows that the age of chivalry was not then extinct, and that the rude Roundhead felt its influence as well as the gallant Cavalier. Charles Townley, Esq., having fallen in the battle, his lady, Mary, daughter of Francis Trappes, Esq., who was then with her father at Knaresborough, hastened next morning to the battle-field to search for his body whilst the attendants of the camp were stripping and burying the dead. There she was accosted by a general officer, to whom she told her melancholy story. He heard her with great tenderness, but earnestly desired her to leave the place, where, besides the distress of witnessing such a scene, she might probably be insulted. She complied, and a trooper was immediately called to take her behind him to Knaresborough. On inquiry, the officer who had shown so much

humanity, and to whom she was so greatly indebted, proved to be Lieutenant-General Cromwell."<sup>1</sup>

Nor must we forget another touching incident. Among the dead on Marston Field was Prince Rupert's favourite dog. This animal had been his follower for years, and his companion throughout his exile consequent upon his father's<sup>2</sup> misfortunes. In the general confusion caused by the unexpected commencement of the battle, this faithful creature was forgotten, and it rushed into the fray with Rupert's Life Guards, and was killed. The carcass was found next morning by those engaged in burying the slain.<sup>3</sup> Some of the Parliamentary writers display a lack of human kindness and an abundance of superstition in rejoicing over the poor dog's death.

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See Whitaker, *Life and Correspondence of Sir George Radcliffe*, p. 165, note.

<sup>2</sup> King Frederick of Bohemia.

<sup>3</sup> *King's Pam*, 4to, 166, Tract 14; Vicars, *Parl. Chron.*, Pt. III, p. 277, etc.



SIGNATURE OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

## CHAPTER VI.

*The Official Account of the Battle, and the Order for a Day of  
Public Thanksgiving.*

ONE of the most interesting documents of this period is the original Official Report of the battle presented to the Parliament by the Generals in command of the victorious troops. This Report, with an Order for a Day of Public Thanksgiving, was published ten days after the fight. This paper, which, in addition to its unique character, is valuable as presenting a good summary of the event, is as follows:—

“A LETTER

from

GENERALL LEVEN, the LORD FAIRFAX, and the EARL  
OF MANCHESTER ;

To the Committee of both Kingdoms : and by them  
communicated to the Parliament concerning the  
great

VICTORY

It hath pleased God to give them over the Forces  
under the Command of Prince Rupert and the

Marquesse of Newcastle, at Marstam-moor, neer  
York, July the second 1644.

Signed thus ;

LEVEN.

LINDSEY.

F. FAIRFAX.

THO: HATCHER.

MANCHESTER.

Expressing also what number of the Enemy are  
slain, what number taken prisoners, and what Ord-  
nance, Arms, and Ammunition the enemy lost.

Also an ORDER of the Commons assembled in Par-  
liament for Thursday, the 18 of this present July,  
for a day of public Thanksgiving throughout the  
whole Kingdom.

Die Mercurii 10 . Julii 1644.

Ordered by the Commons in Parliament that this  
Letter be forthwith printed and published: H  
Elsynge, Cl. P. D. Com:

London : Printed for Ed. Husbands, July 12, 1644.

“ Right Honourable ;

“ Since our last to your Lordship the Con-  
dition of our affairs is not a little changed, for on  
Munday last, upon notice of Prince Ruperts March-  
ing from Knaresborough toward us : we resolved,  
and accordingly drew out the Armies to have met  
him, and for that end did march that same night to  
Long Marston Moor, about 4 miles of the west side  
of York, but he having notice thereof, did passe with  
his Armie at Borough Bridge, and so put the River  
of Ouse between him and us : whereby we were

disenabled to oppose his passage into Yorke, the bridge we built on the West side of the Towne being so weake, that we durst not adventure to transport our Armies upon it : This made us resolve the next morning to March to Tadcaster, for stopping of his passage Southward : and the Armies being so far on their way, as the van was within a mile of it, notice was sent to us by our horsemen, who were upon our Rear, that the Prince his armie, Horse and Foote, were advanced the length of Long Marston Moore, and was ready to fall upon them ; whereupon we recalled the Armie, and drew them up on a Corne-hill, upon the south side of the Moore, in the best way we could, so far as the straitnesse of the fields, and other disadvantages of the place could permit ; before both armies were in a readinesse it was seven a clocke at night, about which Time they advanced the one to the other : whereupon followed a very hot Encounter for the space of three hours, whereof (by the great blessing and good providence of God) the issue was the totall Routing of the Enemies armie, the loss of all their Ordnance to the Number of 20, Their ammunition and Baggage, about 100 Colours, and ten thousand armes, there were killed upon the place about 3.000 of them, whereof many are chief Officers, and 1.500 prisoners taken, amongst whom there are above 100 Officers, in which number is Sir Charles Lucas, Lieut: General to the Marquesse of Newcastles horse, Porter Major Generall, and Major Generall Tillier, besides diverse Colonells, Lieu<sup>t</sup>

tenant Colonells, and Majors ; Our losse, God be praised, is not very great, being only of one Lieutenant Colonell, some few Captaines, and about two or three hundred common souldiers. The Prince, in a great distraction, with a few horsemen, and almost no foote, marched the next morning from Yorke Northwards : We are now lying down again in our old Leaguer before Yorke, which we are in hopes, in a few dayes to gaine ; and are resolved to send a great part of our Cavalrie after Prince Rupert : we having nothing to adde, but as the glory of all the Successe belongeth unto God, and the benefit, wee hope, shall redound to the whole Kingdome ; we have appointed this next Sabbath for a day of public thanksgiving throughout the Armies ; so your Lordships would appoint a day for the same to be kept throughout the Kingdom and Notice sent to us thereof, that wee may altogether joyne in it, and we shall continue

Your Lordships affectionate Friends  
and Servants,

LEVEN.

LINDSAY.

F. FAIRFAX.

THO: HATCHER.

MANCHESTER.

From the Leaguer before

York, 5 July 1644."

The Order is here produced in *facsimile*, showing the style of the whole document :—

Die Lune, 8. Iulii,

I 6 4 4.

**I**s this day Ordered by the  
**LORDS and COMMONS**  
assembled in Parliament, That  
Thursday come sevensnight shall be  
set apart and appointed for a day  
of Publike Thanksgiving to be  
rendred unto Almighty God, for  
his great Blessing and full Vi-  
ctory over Prince RUPERTS Army  
in York-shire, to be kept in London  
and Westminster, and all other  
parts of the Kingdome.

*H: Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.*

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## CHAPTER VII.

*The Siege recommenced.—The Conditions of Surrender.—The Garrison marches out.—A Chaplain's Diary.—The United Armies divide.—Payment to the Scots.—Use of the Blue-coat School.—Destruction to Buildings.—The Minster.—The Churches of St. Olave, St. Sampson, St. Dennis, and St. Nicholas. Clifford's Tower.—The Walls and Bars.—Restoration.—Withdrawal of the Garrison.*

THE siege recommenced on the 4th of July, and from this time the ultimate fall of the city was inevitable.

The battle of Marston Moor, which played such an important part in deciding the issue of the siege, must ever be regarded as an epoch-making event. Practically, it decided whether England should continue to writhe under the tyranny of an absolute monarchy or rejoice in the liberties of a free people. Writing to Prince Rupert, prior to the battle of Marston Moor, the King said: "If York be lost, I shall esteem my crown little else. Wherefore I command and conjure you, by the duty and affection which I know you bear me, you immediately march, according to your first intention, with all your forces to the relief of York." Charles rightly estimated the important results involved in the contest before York. The Parliamentary triumph at Marston



Moor ruined his cause, and it only required the battle of Naseby, fought about a year later (June 14, 1645) to consummate his downfall.

York capitulated on the 16th of July 1644.

Sir William Constable and Colonel Lambert had been admitted into the city as the deputies of the Parliamentary forces, hostages being sent out for their security and safe return, to arrange the terms of surrender with the garrison. This deputation was assisted, at a later stage of the negotiations, by Lord Humby and Colonel Montague.

The conditions of surrender, which were particularly favourable to the city, read as follows<sup>1</sup>:—

“Articles agreed upon, between Alexander Earl of Leven, Generall of the Scottish forces, Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, and the Earl of Manchester, Generalls of the English forces about Yorke on the one part, and Sir Thomas Glenham, Knight, Governour of the City of Yorke, and Colonell Generall of the Northerne Army, anent the surrender and delivery of the said City, with the Forts, Towers, Cannon, Ammunition, and Furniture of War belonging thereto, in manner after specified to the said Generalls for the use of the King and Parliament, the 15th day of July, Ann. Dom. 1644.

“1. The said Sir Thomas, as governour of the said City, shall surrender and deliver up the same, with the Forts, Towers, Cannon, Ammunition, and Furniture of war belonging thereto, betwixt this and the 16th day of July, instant, at or about the eleventh hour thereof in the forenoon, to the said generalls, or any in their name, for the use aforesaid, in the manner, and upon conditions after written.

“2. That the Governours, and all Officers, and Souldiers both

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<sup>1</sup> As published by authority.

horse and foot, the Governours, Officers and Souldiers in Cliffords Tower, the Officers and Souldiers in the Sconce, the Officers and Souldiers in the Traine and outworks, shall march out of the city, on horse back, with their Arms, Flying colors, Drums beating, Matches lighted on both ends, Bullett in their mouth, and that every souldier shall have twelve charges of powder.

"3. That the Officers and Souldiers shall not march above ten miles a day, that they shall have accomodation of quarter, and conveniencie of carriages, that a Troop of Horse, out of every of the three Armies, shall attend upon them, for their convoy in their march (that no injury nor affront be offered them) to Skipton, or the next Garrison town, within 16 miles of the Princes Army.

"4. That such Officers and Souldiers as are sick or hurt, and cannot march out of the Town, shall have libertie to stay within, until they be recovered, and then shall have passage given them to go unto the Princes Armie, wherever it shall be, or to their own House and estates, where they may rest quiet, or whether else they shall please, that it may be recommended to my Lord Fairfax for their subsistance during their cure or being ill.

"5. That all Officers and Souldiers wives, children, and servants, now in Towne, may have liberty to goe along with their husbands, or to them, or, if they please, to return to their own Houses and estates, to injoy them, under such contributions, as the rest of the County paies, that they may have liberty to carry with them, their goods, and have a convenient time, and carriages, allowed them, to carry them away.

"6. That no Officer or Souldier be stopt, or plundered, upon their march.

"7. That no man shall intice any Officers or Souldiers, as we march out of the Towne, with any promise of preferment, or reward, or any other ground whatsoever.

"8. That the citizens and inhabitants may injoy all their privileges, which formerly they did at the beginning of their troubles, and may have freedome of trade, both by land and sea, paying such duties and customs, as all other cities, and townes, under the obedience of King and parliament.

"9. That the Garrison which shall be placed here, shall be, two parts in three, at least, of Yorkshire men, and no free quarter shall be put upon any, without his own consent, and that the Army shall not enter the City.

"10. That in all charges the Citizens, Residents, and Inhabitants, shall beare onely such part with the County at large, as was formerly used in all other assessments.

"11. That all Citizens, Gentlemen, Residents, Sojourners, and every other person, within the city, at any time, shall when they please, have free liberty to remove themselves, their families, and goods, and to dispose thereof, and of their estates, at their pleasures (according to the lawes of the land), either to live at their own Houses, or elsewhere; and to enjoy their goods and estates without molestation, and to have protections and safeguards for that purpose, so that they may rest quietly at their abodes, and to travaile safely and freely about their occasions; and for their better removall, they may have libertie of safe conduct, and be furnished with horses and carriages, paying for their carriages, reasonable rates.

"12. That all those gentlemen, and others, whatsoever, that have goods within the citie, and are absent themselves, may have free libertie, to take, carry away, and dispose of these goods, as in the last article.

"13. That neither Churches nor other buildings be defaced, nor any plunderings, nor taking of any man's person, or any part of his estate; and that justice (according to law) within the citie, shall be administered in all cases by the magistrates, and be assisted therein, if need be, by the garrison.

"14. That all persons, whose dwellings are in the citie, though now absent, may have the benefit of these articles, as if they were present within the citie.

"THO. GLENHAM."

These conditions of surrender were forwarded by the gallant Governor<sup>1</sup> for the signatures of the

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<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Glemham was the son of Sir Henry Glemham, of Glemham Parva, Suffolk, and Ann, daughter of Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset. He was educated at Oxford, and knighted by James I in 1617. He served in the German wars, and afterwards held the command of Colonel in the Scotch wars. He was appointed Governor of York by Charles I. After the capitulation of the city, he held Carlisle and Oxford for the King. The exact

Parliamentary Generals, and were accepted with very slight alterations. For instance, the sixth article, which was secured by the other conditions, and was therefore unnecessary, was struck out, and the ninth article was amended by the addition of a final clause, which read, "before the Governor and Lord Mayor be acquainted."

These conditions were signed, on behalf of the besiegers, as follows:—"Ferd. Fairfax; Manchester; Adam Hepborne; Lord Humbee; William Constable."

On the 16th of July the Parliamentary forces were drawn up on each side of the road leading from Micklegate Bar, for the distance of about a mile beyond the city walls; and through this grim, but for the time peaceful street of armed men, the garrison which had manfully sustained a siege of thirteen weeks marched away toward Skipton, leaving the city, thirty-five pieces of ordnance, three thousand stand of arms, and much ammunition in the hands of the victors.

In one instance the articles of surrender appear to have been violated by some troopers of Manchester's force, who, when called upon to explain their conduct, pleaded ignorance of the conditions. These men had pillaged some carts conveying goods

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date of his death is uncertain. His will was proved by his brother Henry, 13th March 1649-50 (Leslie Stephen, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*). He died in Holland, and was buried at Glemham Parva (Davy, *Suffolk*, Ped. Gl.). It is very doubtful whether there be any portrait of him in existence.

from the city, and their commander did his utmost to recover the missing booty. A proclamation was read at the head of every troop of horse in Manchester's force, stating that the penalty of death would be executed upon any man who was found in possession of spoil taken from the late garrison or inhabitants of the city.<sup>1</sup>

The chaplain to the Scottish troops, Robert Douglas, in his *Diary*<sup>2</sup> thus describes the surrender of the city. After relating the story of the battle, he says: "That night we stayed in the fields all night: and on the morn I viewed the dead. We kept the field all that day. Upon the 4th we came again before the city, and summoned the city to surrender; but the Governor, Sir Thomas Glenin, answered he could not render up on such absolute terms: it took a time before we could be ready to storm. Batteries were made, cannons planted, ladders brought. After all were in readiness, the battery on our quarter shot down a tower. After, one was yet sent in desyring them to render; they desyred a parley. . . . At last, on the 16th day, they rendered on condition the officers and souldiers should march out with arms, bag and baggage, and that the city should be subject to the Parliament as other cities. They rendered the city about 12 o'clock: they were marching till six o'clock. At that tyme the three

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<sup>1</sup> Sim. Ash: *A Continuation of True Intelligence* (July 27, 1644), p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Historical Fragments of Scottish Affairs* (1833), p. 65.

Generalls marched with a great train to the Minster. They desired me to pray, and intimat the thanksgiving for the great victory to be upon the 18th day. I went to pulpit, and first exhorted out of Psalm 60, verse 9, after that a prayer, after the prayer a psalm, then an exhortation to the souldiers to abstain from sin and injuring the inhabitants, after all the blessing."

Lord Fairfax was installed Governor in the place of Sir Thomas Glemham, and then the three forces, whose combined strength had reduced the city to submission, separated. Fairfax, of course, remained in the city. The Scots marched northward, and Manchester's force journeyed to the south.

The Scots, subsequently, received £200,000 for their services, which amount was paid to them in one of the chambers of the Guildhall—the room used for the sittings of the City Council.

The Blue-coat School in Peaseholm Green possesses a pathetic interest in connection with this great siege and the battle of Marston Moor. This building has been utilised for various purposes since its foundation by Sir John Langdon, Lord Mayor of York, for impotent poor, in the fifteenth century. After the battle of Marston it was turned into a hospital for the wounded soldiers of the garrison who had escaped the slaughter of the battle-field. Earlier in the siege it had been used as a store for arms, and as a powder-magazine.

There are many buildings in York which bear witness to the havoc wrought by the besiegers.

The Minster did not sustain so much damage as might be expected from its extreme prominence. Its

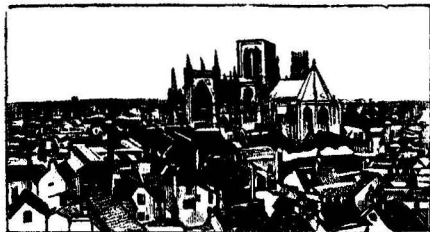


Fig. 31.—THE CITY AND ITS MINSTER.

chief loss consisted in the destruction of much valuable glass, and the removal of monumental brasses. It has been said that

Cromwell stabled the horses of his cavalry in the nave. This is an exaggeration, originated by hatred towards the man who was one of the chief agents in the overthrow of the Royalist cause.

After the siege, the Church of St. Olave, Marygate, had to be entirely rebuilt: and no wonder, when its roof had been turned into a battery of artillery!<sup>1</sup>

The tower of St. Sampson, Church Street, was wrecked by the Parliamentary cannon, and has not been restored, the upper and shattered portions being simply removed, and a roof added.

It is said that the Church of St. Dennis, in Walmgate, at the time of the siege, had a "handsome steeple". This steeple was penetrated by a shot from one of the Parliamentary batteries, and

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<sup>1</sup> Letter of Sir H. Vane, dated June 12th, 1644. *Pelham Papers*, 33,084, fol. 46.