

ously murdered that blessed, though unfortunate prince, Charles the First: There being actually guilty of that horrid murder, by giving sentence, and signing the warrant for his beheading,

John Bradshaw, president,
John Lisle,
William Say,
Oliver Cromwell,
Henry Ireton,
Sir Hardresse Waller,
Valentine Walton,
Thomas Harrison,
Edward Whaley,
Thomas Pride,
Isaac Ewers,
Lord Gray of Groby,
Sir John Danvers, knight,
Sir Thomas Maleverer, bart.
Sir John Bouchier, knight,
William Heveningham,
Alderman Pennington,
William Purefoy,
Henry Martin,
John Barkstead,
John Blackiston,
Gilbert Millington,
Sir William Constable, bart.
Edmond Ludlow,
John Hutchinson,
Sir Mich. Livesey, bart.
Robert Titchbourne,
Owen Roe,
Robert Lilburn,
Adrian Scroop,
Richard Deane,
John Okey,
John Hewson,

William Goffe,
Cornelius Holland,
John Carey,
John Jones,
Miles Corbet,
Francis Allin,
Peregrine Pelham,
John Moore,
John Aldred,
Henry Smith,
Humphrey Edwards,
Gregory Clement,
Thomas Woogan,
Sir Gregory Norton, knight,
Edmond Harvy,
John Venn,
Thomas Scott,
Thomas Andrews, alderman,
William Cawly,
Anthony Stapley,
John Downes,
Thomas Horton,
Thomas Hammond,
Nicholas Love,
Vincent Potter,
Augustine Garland,
John Dixwell,
George Fleetwood,
Symon Mayne,
James Temple,
Peter Temple,
Daniel Blaggrave,
Thomas Waite.

Counsellors assistant to the court, and to draw up the charge against the king, Dr Dorislaus, Mr Aske, Mr Steele, attorney-general; Mr Cook, solicitor-general; Mr Broughton, Mr Phelps, clerks to the court.

Officers of the Court.

Sergeant Dandy, sergeant at arms; Colonel Humphrey, sword-bearer.

Messengers, Door-Keepers, and Criers, were these, viz.

Mr Walford, Mr Radley, Mr Pain, Mr Powel, Mr Hull, Mr King.

Sir Hardress Waller, Colonel Harrison, Commissary-General Ireton, Colonel Deane, and Colonel Okey, appointed the place to be the street before Whitehall, and the time the 30th of January.

TRACTS

DURING

THE REIGN OF KING CHARLES I.

THIRD CLASS.

MILITARY TRACTS.

KING CHARLES I.

THIRD CLASS.

MILITARY TRACTS.

Experimental and exact Relation upon that famous and renowned Siege of Newcastle, the divers Conflicts and Occurrances fell out there during the Time of ten Weeks and odde Dayes ; and of that mightie and marvellous Storming thereof, with Power, Policie, and prudent Plots of Warre : Together with a succinct Commentarie upon the Battell of Bowdon Hill, and that victorious Battell of York, or Marston Moore, never to bee forgotten.

By him who was an Eye-witnesse to the Siege of Newcastle, WILLIAM LITHGOW.

Edinburgh, Printed by ROBERT BRYSON, 1645.

Cum privilegio.

Some account of Lithgow the traveller, author of the following tract, may be found in Vol. IV. of this collection, p. 535.

The present piece contains some interesting particulars of the northern campaign undertaken by the Scottish nation, with the ambitious hope of establishing presbytery in England. The Scottish army, commanded nominally by old Lesly, Earl of Leven, but, in effect, by his more able and enterprising namesake, David Lesly, invaded England during the midst of the winter 1644. The gallant Earl of Newcastle, after some indecisive skirmishing, found it necessary to retreat, for the protection of the city of York, which was shortly after blockaded by the joint forces of Lesly, Fairfax, and Manchester. The approach of Prince Rupert compelled the united armies to raise the siege. Encouraged by this success, the prince hazarded and lost the celebrated battle of Long Marston Moor; a signal defeat, which the king's party in the north never effectually recovered. After this engagement the Scots returned to secure Newcastle, in order at once to relieve London from the distressing scarcity of fuel experienced by that city's remaining in the

hands of the royalists, and to secure a communication with Scotland. "An obstinate defence," says Laing, "was maintained by Morley, the governor; and the subterraneous approaches of the besiegers were almost countermined, when their mines were hastily sprung, and the town was taken by a desperate assault. Their loss was considerable; yet such was the excellence of their military or religious discipline, that no cruelty, rapine, or lust, was indulged; and the town was redeemed from pillage by an equitable ransom, when taken by storm. The castle surrendered at discretion; Tinemouth capitulated; and Musgrave and Fletcher were defeated in Westmoreland, and their forces dispersed by Lesly during the siege."—*History of Scotland*, I, 248.

A just and exact Discourse upon the Siege and Storming of Newcastle; with a succinct Commentarie upon the two Battells of Bowdon Hill and Marston Moore.

IN these turbulent times, when opinions grow variable, and the diversity of doubtful reports more voluble than the rushing winde, yet have I adventured (like to an old practitioner in prose, poesie, and unparalleled peregrination) to cast in my myte of known experience upon the brazen faces of ignorant understanders, that, with the knowledge of my quotidian inspection, I may either enlighten their blindness, or give truth the glory of a just deserving. And why? Because now too many calumnious criticks, being more prone to censure other mens labours than to do any thing themselves worthie of censure, yet dare to upbraid that which hardly their sinistrous judgment can rightly construct; the world being turned to such a crabbed and crooked condition, that either they will approve what they conceive, though never so erroneous, or otherwise disprove that which they affect not, though never so illustrious. Wherefore, damnifying the one, and villifying the other, I come to court my present purpose, and thus I begin:

This long cross'd labour now it comes to light,
And I and my discourse set in my right,
Which reason crav'd; for where can truth prevaile,
But where sound judgement may it countervaile.
For what seek I? in what these times afford,
But of my countries praise a just record;
Which God allows: And what can contraires bring,
But man for men, the light of truth may sing;
Else after ages would be borne as blinde,
As though our time had come their time behinde;
For curious penmen and the paper scroule,
They are of memorie the life and soule.

After our first army (levyed in the hollow time of winter, 1644, and led by the earl of Leven, lord-general) had, with certain oppositions, recoured over Tyne, and thence falling downe to Sunderland, situate upon the river Weir, (Durhams dallying and circulating consort;) after, I say, they had beene provoked by the lord Newcastle and Lieutenant-Generall King, upon the Sabbath day, to give them battell, it was skirmished and fought two dayes together, at Bowdon Hill, March 20, 21, 1644; where, by the great mercy of the Divine Providence, that laudable victory fell to our armie, and the enemy in a retyring way flying for Durham, fled shortly thereafter in a confused march unto York. To which place (their refuge) his excellence with our army mainly advancing, beleagured the greater halfe of the towne; the earle Manchester and Lord Fairfax envyrning the rest.

Where diverse weeks and dayes being spent in advancing their works, their achievements, and other approaches, there fell out (*interim*) certaine accidentall skirmishes and countermatching assaults; in one of which that mirrour of Mars and manhood, Lieutenant-Colonell Ballantine, was deadly wounded, whereof he dyed. A large subject have I here to handle, if time might suffer me; but true it is, hee was a cavalier of such extraordinary fortune, (being onely 28 years of age at his last vale,) that in Germany, Ireland, and twice in England. hee became exceeding auspicious in martiall affaires; though, indeed, he was best understood under the name of Major Ballantine. All which discourse, and this epitomizd memoriall, I purposely abandon till a fitter time; and so I returne to my former commentary, and thus:

This siege of Yorke continuing still with many fortunate and misfortunate adventures, at last our several armies were enforced to incorporate themselves in one maine body, and that on Long-Marston Moore; where, the day following, Prince Rupert imbracing their left field, our armie, upon advertisement thereof, were engaged to make a speedy returne, for rancountring the enemie, and to recover that ground which formerly they had freely forsaken: which, in the end, amongst many difficulties and mighty oppositions, they both adventerously and advantagiously obtained, to the enemies absolute overthrow, and their own victorious safety. The summarie whereof I now involve in these following lynes, as unwilling to imbarke my selfe within the lists of intricate passages, or too peremptory and punctuall particulars. And why? Because I was not there an ocular testator, and so to build upon the wings of flying report were meerly erroneious, (the diversities whereof being already innumerable and incredible;) but only done by way of introduction, to bring me the more facily upon the face of Newcastle, or otherwise, more properly, to enlighten memorie for present and future times. And thus,

In July last, the second day, and more,
One thousand six hundred fourtie and foure,
On Marston Moore two awfull armies met,
Oppos'd then stood, one 'gainst another set,
To quarrell for religion, and that light
Which far excels all humane power and might.
(And yet the darknesse of these dangrous times
Would faine ecclypse God's glory and mens crymes.
But here I stay, lest that in straying much,
I gall the mighty, and the loftie touch.)
Then cease, sad muse, returne, and let me show
This sequell stroke, for now begins the blow.
To worke they go, well ordred on both sides,
In stately posture; experience divides,
In regiments and brigads, horse and foot,
Two mightie armies; then began to shoot
The roaring cannon, and their ecchoing worce
Made hills and dales rebound their violent force,
That fell on fatall breasts; the musket shoures
Went off like thunder; pryde and strife devoures

² The presbyterians and independents differed respecting the merit due to the forces engaged in the battle of Long Marston Moor, the former claiming for Fairfax and Lesly the laurel which the latter awarded to Cromwell. Lirhgow prudently has recourse to poetical license, which might emancipate him in some measure from the charge of partially narrating that to which he had not been an eye-witness.

The saiklesse standers; the naked sword and pyke
 Commanded crueltie to push and strike;
 Which been obeyd, the drum and trumpet sounded,
 Some here, some there fell downe; some deadly wounded:
 On all hands there was slaughter; and what worse,
 Some of our foot were trod by our owne horse,
 And Fairfax too. But true it is, that course
 Brought fame to some, to others sad remorse,
 Which sorrow felt. And yet our staile stood fast,^{*}
 And wrought a passage on their foes at last,
 That made opposers quake. Wings and reserves,
 By hard pursuit, on their part shortly swerves;
 For truth enragd, these Romish butchers fled,
 Gorg'd with atheisme; their bastard bloud they shed,
 Like Jezabels, on ground, and there was left,
 For dogs to glut on. So their lives were reft,²
 With admiration, that the world might see
 The heavens and Scots gaynd both one victorie,
 Which in them was engrossd; and wondrous too;
 For what could valour more for valour do,
 Than they that mannd this battell. It is true,
 That valiant men would have a gratefull due
 To cherish fame. So they, our northren hearts,
 (As stout as steele,) dischargd their manly parts,
 Where noble Lindesay, Earle of Crawford now,
 Stood bravely to it, made his foes to bow,
 And left no ground, nor did his foote remove;
 Such was his courage, graft in Jesus love:
 Then here his badge, which well his worth may yeeld;
 A lamb at home, a lyon in the field:
 And so he prov'd: where then all happie he
 Seald up his name in tymes eternitie.
 So forward Eglintoun, he acted his part,
 And fiercely road, with a couragious heart,
 To front his foes: where in that conflict he
 Installd his name 'mongst peeres of chivalrie:
 Where his brave sonne behav'd himself so well,
 Some may come near, but none his worth excell:
 Which if we had, as Romanes wont to have,
 A twofold triumph might their merit crave.
 What should I speak of Baillie, but admire
 How th' heavens his mynde with noble gifts inspyre;
 For manners, manhood, wisdom, skill, and wit,
 Both Mars and Pallas in his bosome sit;

^{*} The staile signifies any body of men in battle array, but properly the centre. The right wing of the parliamentary army, commanded by the younger Fairfax, was totally routed, and in their flight broke and trampled down a part of the Scottish infantry.

² The poet, if he can be called so, alludes to the slaughter of the earl of Newcastle's regiment, called *white-coats*, who were chiefly catholics. They fell without swerving from the ranks in which they were drawn up, and deserved a more honourable, as well as a more poetical commemoration than Lithgow has afforded them.

Their throne his heart, their honour his desert.
Where judgment raignes, there knowledge bears a part,
And understanding too ; for now these three
Crowne all his gifts with love and modestie.
For laureat Lumsdale, fixt in Bellones camp,
Procured what hee deserves ; became that lamp
Which crownes a chiftayne, and his fame to blaze ;
Still as he acts, the world may sing his praise :
There, there he stay'd, and stood so stronglie to it,
'Mongst mortal men no champion more could do it.
Then gallant Leslie, leader of our trowpes,
Travers'd alwhere ; mad spyte to valour stoupes :
Where he ! adventrous he ! spurred up and downe,
And cleard the field ; regayn'd that Delphian crowne
Which courage fought for : and what worth allowes,
A laurell garland, may decore his browes.
Last, here and there the ground with slaughterd corps
Was cled from York to five adjacent Dorps :
The blood lay on the grasse like shoures of rayne
That fill the furies : the heapes of them were slaine
Like dunghills were ; that on the wearie fields
Some fought, some fled, some stood, and many yeelds ;
That even, me thought, the groans of Rome and Spayne
Were heard the coast about, on shoare and maine ;
And Father Falsehood swore their jesuit plots
Could not prevail gaynst our triumphant Scots.
The enemie thus quell'd, and scatterd round
Alwhere about ; nay, some in everie ground,
In came the Lord of Hostes, and he proclaimd
The field was his, or what more could be nam'd,
For person, place, or time ; for he alone
Beat downe that Dagon, Babells idoll throne,
And buryed superstition and blynd rites
Within the gulf of ever-gnashing sprites :
For which be praise ; to whom all thanks and power,
From this time forth, and so for ever more.

Within a few days thereafter, upon considerable conditions, the citie of York yeelding, and the lord Fairfax made governour thereof, our most victorious general and his redoubted army, with great expedition, returned through Yorkshire and bishoprick, for Newcastle, to assist that noble and judicious chiftayne ; of whom now (as it is my mayne purpose) I begin to discourse of his and their proceedings ; and as impartially as an honest heart may do, without either flatterie or favour.

In this last springtydes second expedition, 1644, for England, our parliament then sitting, James, Earle of Calendar, Lord Almond, was selected and appoynted by them to be lord-lieutenant-general of all our Scottish forces in Scotland and in England : whereupon a considerable armye being levyed, consisting of six thousand foote, and eight hundred horse, he advanced for Northumberland, and courting Tweed, crossd the Tyne at Newburne ; where his armye reposing all night, made me call to minde these following lynes I wrote upon that former conflict fought there four vears agoe, 1640.

Let Conway bragge of armes, and his great horses,
 Let papists boast of men, and their fled coarses,
 Let Newburne rayle on Tweed, and curse their Tyne,
 Let prelates sweare the fault was thine and mine;
 I'll tell you newes,—their popish drifts and plots
 Were curbd and crushd by our victorious Scots.

The day following, our aforesaid armie accosted Lumley Castle; where sojourning certaine dayes, the lord Calendar, with a number of horse and foot, (in this time,) set face for Hatlepool and Stocktoun; where, when come, and after a promiscuous parleye, seazing upon both townes, he left garrisons there, and governours to overrule them. Whence returning to the residue of his armye, lying at Lumleye, he set forward to Osworth: From which place my lord Calendar sending some horse and foote, to clear the way for the Gatesyde, they were rancountred with the enemye at the tope of the Wynde-mill Hill; where, being prevented by night, and the enemye stronger than they, they were constrained to turn back: whereupon, the next day, the lieutenant-general himselfe came up with the residue of his armye, and fiercelie facing the enemy, beat them from the hill, chased them downe the Gatesyde, and hushing them along the bridge, closed them within the towne. Hereupon he forthwith commanded the Gatesyde; and then the next day he begun to dispute for the enjoying of the bridge, with the fierie service of cannon and musket; which, indeed, was manfully invaded, and as courageously defended: yet, at last, in despite of the enemy, he gained the better half of the bridge, and with much adoe fortified the same with earthen rampiers and artillerie; which still so defensively continued, untill the towne was taken in by storme. This being regardfully done, he caused to erect five batteries along the bank head, and just opposite to the towne, from whence the cannon did continually extreame good service, not onely against the walls and batteries, but also against particular places and particular persons: besides the frequent shooting of potpieces, and other fireworkes of great importance, which daily annoyed the inhabitants within the towne. At the most of which fire employments the lord Calendar himself was ever personally directing them; to the which dexterity of charge I was often both an eye-witnesse and observer.

By this time, or there about, his excellency arryving here from York, and accoasting the Tyne, he caused immediately build a bridge over the river, of keill boats; over the which his armie having safely and peaceably past, he caused lay down their severall quarters with great promptitude and expedition: and so beleaguering the west and north-west parts of the town, they enclosed all that circuit, till they joyned with the lord Sinclairs regiment; Sheefield Fort (belonging to the towne) only dividing them: and so this rebellious towne was mainly blocked up on all quarters. Now, and at this time also, the earle Calander re-crossing Tyne, tooke presently in Sandgate, the one end whereof standing contiguous with the towne wals: where, setting sundrie regiments there, and about that place, he forthwith caused to construct a strong bridge of keill boats over Tyne, (and within his quarters,) for the passing and repasing of his forces to both sides, and fixed the same a pretty way below the glasse house. This advantageous passage became very steedable, not onely for the souldiers, but also for the country people that brought in daily provision for the armie. The bridge it self (being daily guarded with my lord Kenmoores regiment at both ends, and a strong centrie set at each of them, within two redoubts,) had also three watrie guards of keill boats, tyed with cable ropes, from banke to banke, to secure it from any sudden surprise

Now, as for the manner of the common souldiers lying here in their severall leaguers,

and in all parts about the towne; their mansions or domiciles, I meane their houts, are composed of turff, clay, straw, and watles; where their halls, chambers, kitchines, and cellars are all one: and yet the better sort (I mean their officers) are overshadowed with circulating pavillions, more ready to receive the blustering winde than the sinking raine. Then, at last, all things being orderly done, and their batteries at sundrie advantages erected; then (I say) begun they to play with cannon and musket at others faces, and often also tempering their naked swords in others bloody bodies; where courage cassiering despair, and valour desirous of honour, they exposed themselves unto all hazards and dangerous attempts: neither did they feare death (I meane our owne) more then an auspicious fortune; for being clad with consorts, each provoked another to the uttermost of extremities; and some of them esteeming of the good cause more than of their owne lives, reserved the one, and lost the other. So also the inveterateemie, making now and then diverse sallies from towne (issuing at posterne gates) upon our flanking trenches, engaged themselves into great jeopardies, and our souldiers to as desperat a defence: where, indeed, they both often tasted of mutual fatalitie; till, in the end, the lord Sinclairs regiment desygned these debording hyrelings a narrower precinct; which was, to keep their falling bodies more safely within their sheltring walls; which, indeed, they constrainedly observed: for the enemy within were more affrayed of the lord Sinclairs souldiers without, then of any one regiment of the army lying about; and they had just reason, recogitating seriously their sanguine blowes and fatall rancounters, which they disdainfully felt.

And now, before I go any further, I thirke it best to shew the unacquainted reader how the towne is situate, from whence such mortalitie proceeded: And thus it standeth mainly upon the devaling face of a continuing hill, falling downe steep to the bordering river, where one narrow street runneth along from Sandgate to Clossigate; the Sandhill (from which the bridge bendeth over to Gateside) being the pryme market-place; whence the two ascending passages court distinctly High Street and Pilgrime Street, the two chieftest streets of the towne; to the bowels of which there bee other three market-places annexed. Now, besides these, there are other two back streets, with five or six contrades, and a number of narrow dévalling lanes. The walles about the towne are both high and strong, built both within and without with *saxo quadrato*, and maynely fenced with dungeon towres, interlarded also with turrets, and alongst with them a large and defensive battlement, having eight sundrie ports, and four parochiall churches: The which walles the defendants within had marvelously fortified, rampiering them about, at most eminent parts, with interlynings and mountynes of earth. The streets that were answerable to their barrocaded ports and in-frequent passages were also casten up with defensive breastworkes, and planted with demi-culverines of iron. And, above all other workes, the towne castle itself was seriously enlarged, with diverse curious fortifications, besides breastworkes, redoubts, and terrenniat demilunes, and withall three distinctive hornworkes; two of which exteriorly are strongly pallosaded, and of great bounds. Nay, the very capstones of the battlements round about the towne were surged and underproped with little stones, that, in case of scalleting, they might have tumbled them over upon the assailants: Which, indeed, for the facility of the action, schoole boyes might have performed. Yea, and all the gapes of the battlements were shut up with lime and stone, having a narrow slit in each of them, through which they might murder our souldiers, and secure themselves from a just revenge. The graffe about and without was digged deeper, and the exterior root of the walls were steeply lyned with clay mixt earth, to intercept any footing for leddars, or climbing thereon. All the ports about were closed with lime and stone, and strongly barrocaded within; having no passage, save at little posterne doores, where they had their quotidian intercourses.

The townes mayne constructure rysing upwards, divides it selfe in two corners ; the one north, at Weavers Tower, the other southwest, at Hatmakers Tower ; decyphering two hornes, like unto Calabrian females with their bogling busks ; but, indeed, more like unto the Novacastrians themselves, that retrogradingly adorne their cuckolds frontespieces with the large dimension of Acteons monstrous-made hornes. Upon the townes north-east side, and a little without, there was a fortresse erected, called Sheef-field Fort, standing on a moderate height, and champion-like commanding the fields ; the modell thus : It standeth squarely quadrangled, with a four-cornered bastion at every angle, and all of them thus quadrate : they are composed of earth and wattles ; having the north-east side of one bulwarke pallosaded, the rest not ; save, along the top of the worke about, they had laid masts of ships, to beat down the assailants with their tumbling force. At the entrie whereof there is a wooden draw-bridge, and within it two courts du guard : the graffe without is dry, and of small importance, save onely that repugnancie of the defendants within, which commonly consisted of three hundred men.

And now, to close this topographical description, the invention, policie, nor wit of man could have done more than they did within and without for their own safetie, either for military discipline or manely prouesses, in their owne desperat defence. Of whom our owne countrey men were the cheeffest actors, both for the one and for the other, and the onely cause of so much bloodshed and losse of lives as we sustayned ; which makes me recall this Italian proverb : *Iddio mi guarda dall' odio di mei amigi, percioche so bene a guardar mi stesto dall' odio di mei inimigi*. The Lord keep me from the hurt of my friends, for I know well how to keep me from myne enemies :—A thing now adayes so frequent, that where all should stand for *amoris patriæ*, there many stand now for *doloris patriæ* ; and declyning from that auncient and native duety *pugno propatria*, they involve themselves, (without either honestie or honour,) to exterminate the lyves and lybertye of their *patria* ; where, strugling with their owne strife, they often deservingly fall in the extreame madnesse of desperation : Where now leaving them to their left selves, I revert to my purpose. The walles here of Newcastle are a great deale stronger than these of Yorke, and not unlyke to the walles of Avineon, but especially of Jerusalem ; being all three decored about the battlements with little quadrangled turrets ; the advantage resting onely upon Newcastle, in regard of seventeen dungeon towers fixt about the walles, (and they also wonderfull strong,) which the other two have not. Yet what availeth either towers, walles, or turrets, where the force of armyes command ? Nay, just nothing ; for, indeed, these walles, with their pendicles, were first erected to resist the Scottish invasions, and yet in vayne ; for now we have shaken their foundations, and by the same strength they relyed upon, we have by the self-same meane overthrowne them, all glorie be to the God of glorie therefore.

As for the inhabitants resyding within, the richest or better sort of them, as seven or eight common knights, aldermen, coale-merchants, pudlers, and the like creatures, are altogether inalignants, most of them being papists, and the greater part of all, I say, irreligious atheists. The vulgar condition, being a masse of silly ignorants, live rather like to the Berdoans in Lybia, (wanting knowledge, conscience, and honesty,) than like to wel-disposed Christians, plyable to religion, civill order, or church discipline. And why ? Because their brutish desires being onely for libertinous ends, avarice, and voluptuousnesse, they have a greater sensuality in a pretended formalitie than the savage Sabunks, with whom I leave them here engrossed. And now, forsaking this present introduction, I come back to my continuing discourse. The siege growing daily more and more hotter and hotter, at all quarters and in all places, as wele in the one side as in the other, then, and at which tyme, I must ingeniously confesse that these indefatigable pains my lord Callendar took were more than praise-worthy ; for late and

early, and at all times, he was extraordinary carefull, paynefull, and diligent, in overseeing, here and there, his mynes, in directing his batteryes, in managing privat and prudent ends for a publick good, in dispatching of messengers and messages, and in ordering of his souldiers atchievements, by night or by day, as they were employed; insomuch that his industrious and vigilant actions became a marveilous amazement to all these that were acquainted with his paynes; and for my part, to shunne ingratitude, worthy of deserved memorie.

The chief cannoneirs that were upon his five batteryes in the Gatesyde were, William Hunter, captain of the trayne of artillerie, James Scot, Robert Spense, and William Wallace, men of singular skill, and many moe, which I purposely (to avoyd prolixitie) omit. And now, from here and hence, the lieutenant-generall traversing hourelly the river, to his other batteryes and workes at Sandgate, being onely two, he was ever in a fastidious action. One of which batteries beat downe the top, face, and upmost parts of Carpenters tower unto the dust: the other batterie had been newly erected, for repulsing the enemy from intercepting our mines: yet notwithstanding whereof, the Nullifidians within discovered the lowest myne, next to the river-syde: the which my lord Calendar perceaving, and thrusting a pyke, with his own hand, through the renting division, and to prevent the drowning thereof, gave presently order that the next morning it should be sprung: which accordingly done, it tumbled over the demi-hornewark, disappointed the enemye, and became a shelterage to our encroaching souldiers. The other three adjacent mynes were not as yet reddey neither, now to be employed, as after you shall heare.

About this same time, September 29, the lord-lieutenant-generall Baillie, upon the townes north syde, and near to St Andrew's church, gave order (for there his batterie lay) to brash downe a part of the towne wall; which in three hours space was fortunatly accomplished; where the wall fell down within half a yard of the roote, and so large, that ten men might have marched through it in a front. This tryall gave indeed a great encouragement to our armye. And why? Because then our commanders were assured that if their mynes should be disappointed, the brashing of the walls should be their last advantage. And yet this breach was never pursued, in regard the enemye, under the shaddow of a blynd of canvesse, reenforced or barrocaded it with trash and timber. Upon Weddinsday following, at morne, October 3, the enemy discovered and drowned two of our mynes with watter; and the next day ensuing another also: whereat the enemy growing insolent, gave order for ringing of bells all night, to console (as it were) the distressed mindes of the starving communaltie, who rather fed upon violent necessitie than any other kinde of cherishing or comfortable reliefe; being whiles flattered with impossibilities, and otherwhiles tyrannized over, by the malicious malignitie of the mercilesse, and now miserable maior.

For true it is, that this Sir John Marley, their governour, an œconomick polititian, more wilfull than skilfull, did so inveigle and blindfold the common multitude, that these letters which hee sent to our lord-generall were all read by him in publike to them, being too peremptorie and impertinent; but for the answer of his excellence, that came to him, he concealed them all; making them to believe that he would admit of no condition, nor grant any safety, longer than the revenging sword might overreach their necks.

All which being falsly and perfidiously spoken, was onely to irritate their doubtfull dispositions, and to incense their desperate condition with the deceit of a treacherous despaire, to make them bolder for their dreadfull defence; for, indeed, there was an order condescended upon by the committee, some five weeks before their ruine approached; which was, that if they should render in time, and prevent the greater

effusion of blood, they should have faire and free quarters, and all these liberall conditions that people in the like case could either look for or require. But all these proffers or offers were by the maior vilified, and by him concealed from the people, till their day of desolation was declared. And now the coppies of these intercoursing letters being lately published to the vulgar world, and striving to relinquish unnecessary particulars, or any obvious rancounter of small consequence, I come to the maine point, and thus:

After ten weeks siege, and odde dayes, with many disastrous affronts following on all hands, there was a parley appointed, being Fryday, October 18; where, in the forenoone, our three commissioners, the lord Humble, the laird of Wedderburne, and John Rutherford, provost of Jedburgh, went in, (the three hostages from the towne being formerly come forth;) ours, I say, accosting the maiors presence, there were diverse propositions and answers by both parties delivered, but to no purpose nor effect; the maior ever dallying, with drifts and delays. to procrastinate time, till they had discovered our two chiefe mines; which, indeed, were very near the point. Yet, neverthesse, (in a jeering way,) our commissioners being dismissed, after five houres conference, and their pledges returned, the next morning early the untimely preventing maior sent forth a drummer to the lord Sinclair, with two letters:—The contents of one was thus: My lord, I have received diverse letters and warrants subscribed by the name of Leven, but of late can heare of none that have seen such a man; besides, there is a strong report hee is dead: therefore, to remove all scruples, I desire our drummer may deliver one letter to himselfe; thus wishing you could thinke on some other course to compose the differences of these sad distracted kingdomes, than by battering Newcastle, and annoying us, who never wronged any of you; for if you seriously consider, you will finde that these courses will agravate, and not moderat distempers. But I will refer all to your own consciences, and rest your friend. John Marlay. Newcastle, 19 October.

Now, let the judicious reader observe how detestable a thing it was to see this improvident man brought to such extremity, (that he could neither pitie himself nor yet a populous towne,) when he was just upon the point of life or death, to wryte thus; for, indeed, long before night, (for all his base derision,) he knew his excellence to be alive, and found deservedly the smart of it. And now, not to forget any maine circumstance, the maior, the former night, recalled the souldiers from Sheeffield fort, to strengthen the defendants within towne; but, ere they left the fortresse, they despihtfully burned their two courts du gard to the ground, and so retired. Now the sequell day come, being Saturday, October 19, (and that day which, from age to age, Newcastle should never forget,) there were certaine commanded men, from every regiment, drawne up: the officers, I say, having first, in their owne quarters, throwne the dyce, who should goe in the adventure, (fewest blacks destinated thereto,) they marched away to all their severail stands about the walls, againe ten of the clocke in the forenoon. Meanwhile, the night before, was the earl of Calendars cannon carried about, to supply and strengthen the four batteries that were to brash the wals; where, with the rest, they did exceeding good service.

Now the mynes being ready to spring, and the batteries brought to their greatest perfection, about three a clock in the afternoone, the two most available mynes were sprung; one at the Whytefriars tower westward, and the other neare Carres fort, or Sandgate, eastward; (notwithstanding there were other two sprung here, one of which miscarried:) so, also, I say, the breaches of the walles by the batteries being made open and passable, and leddars set to at diverse parts for scalleting, then entred, mainely and manfully, all the regiments of our commanded men, at all quarters, but

more facily and lesse dangerous where the mynes sprung. The greatest difficultie and mightiest opposition, nay, and the sorest slaughter we received, was at the climbing up of these steep and stay breaches; where, truely, and too truely, theemie did more harme with hand garnads, then either with musket, pyke, or Herculean clubs. This club hath a long iron-banded staffe, with a round falling head, (like to a pomegranate,) and that is set with sharpe iron pikes, to slay or strike with; the forehead whereof being set with a long-poynted pyke of iron, it grimely looketh like to the pale face of murther.* The first of the foure breaches was neare to Weavers tower; where Lieutenant Colonell Henderson, a reformeir, and Major Mophet were killed, with many others of speciall and common note. The second batterrie was conjoynd with Black Bessies tower; where Major Hepburne, Capitaine Corbet, Capitaine John Home, an Edinburgensen, and that renowned officer Lieutenant-Colonell Home were slaine. The memorie of whom last now mentioned I here in this epitaph involve:

Woe to that breach, beside Blacke Bessies towre;
Woe to itselfe, that bloody butchering bowre,
Where valiant Home, that sterne Bellonaes blade,
And brave commander fell; for there he stayd,
Arraign'd by death. Where now that heart of Mars
Deserves a tombe, on it a sable herse.
Yet here's the end of valour, (fortunes thrall,)—
The most adventrous nearest to his fall:
And so was he; though well might he have done,
For worth and valour, worne the laurell crowne.
But this crownes all—he dyed for Christ; and more,—
Christ now shall crowne him with a crowne of gloire.

The third batterrie was contiguat with that dungeon of Westgate; where these two captains, John and Thomas Hammitons, were slaine, with sundrie other of our Cliddisdale regiment. The fourth and last was low by Clossigate; where the earle Buckcleughs and Lowdons regiments entred, both at their batteries and with scalleting leddars; whereupon their fell a fierce conflict, and the falling enemye repulsed, both with the courage and resolution of our souldiers: and yet we receaved there but small losse, either of officers or others; albeit one had been too many, the divine pleasure and providence excepted.

Now, our men being enterd. and fighting for enterie at all quarters round about, let me pause a while, and consider how grievous and how dreadfull hot that cruell conflict was, for a long houres space; that truelie it was more than admirable to behold the desperat courage, both of the assailants and defendants: the thundering cannon roaring from our batteries without, and theirs rebounding from the castle within; the thousands of musket-balls flyeing at others faces, like to the droving haylestones from septentrion blasts; the clangour and carving of naked and unsheathed swords; the pushing of brangling pykes, crying for blood; and the pittyfull clamour of heart-fainting woemen, imploring for mercie to their husbands, themselves, and their children; that, me thought, (when now seriously pondered,) their reverberating ecchoes piercing the clouds, that terrible noyse of fyrie incensed martialists, and that loathsome inspection upon the brazen faces of desperation, had conjured (I say) the heavens to confound and dissolve the earth; the earth to overwhelm the infernall pit; the carkases of men to lye like dead dogges upon the groaning streets; and man

* This sort of club was called by the Germans, with whom it was in great use, a *morgen-stern*, or morning star. The ancient implements of warfare were not, it would seem, as yet entirely out of use.

against man to become the object of homicidious and barbarous cruelty. O! loathsome sight of despayre. Neither was this all; for our people, in this selfe tyme, set a house on fire at Clossegate, whereon there fell a meritorious destruction. So had the whole towne beene served, (and a small revenge, although it had beene so,) if it had not beene speedily prevented, by the relenting pittie of the earle Calendar. So was there likewise, at this present combustion, a ballenger-boat set floting on the flood, full of flaming fire, (by Captaine Andrew Abirnethie,) to have burned the keyelockt ships lay there.

Insomuch that there was no policie left undone, for the destroyer to destroy destruction, nor for a speedy revenge, to bring the ruines of ruine to nothing. Yet now, returning to observe my methodicall order:—In this most dreadful conflict, when the commanded brigade of that renowned commander, the lord Calendar, had breasted and overpassed that blowne-up myne connexed with Carres fort, (where Captaine Sinclair, and other two of lesser note, lost their lives;) then, I say, they marched celessly along to the Sandhill, with flyeing collours and roaring drummes. Meane while, and at this instant, the lieutenant-general Calendar entering the towne, dispatched and directed the lord Levingston, and Killhead, the earle of Queensberrys brother, with their two regiments, to possesse the walls, and to beat the enemy off, all along, betwixt and their passages unto the next breaches north-westward; which was accordingly done. So, and at this tyme, the aforesaid brigade having attained to the Sandhill, where rancountering the exasperate enemy with a bloodie salutation; the rest of our western and northern brigades pursuing hotely these shrinking fugitives from the walles to the choaking market-place; where being distressed (as it were) betweene Scylla and Charibdis, they presentlie called for quarters, and laying downe their armes without assurance, some were taken, some were shaken, some stood still, and some fled away, to hyde their bleeding bodies in some secret shelter; yea, some sate downe by their fathers fire-syde, as though they had caryed no armes.

Upon this surrender, (the major being formerly fled to the castle, with some others of greater and lesser note,) they caused quickly pull downe the red flag on the castle tope, and set up the whyte flag of peace, signifying subjection. This done, the earl Calendar having formerly entered the towne with great expedition, gave presently order for quiescing of tumults, and managing disorders; after a considerable way, returned that same night to the Gatesyde. So, as he was the first lay downe before the towne, so he was duely the first that entred it; and that to the great comfort of the inhabitants, because of that unspeakable favour and undeserved mercy they then suddenly received, far beyond their merit, and our expectation.

Then begun the whole armie, commanded and uncommanded, (observing King Davids ancient rule, that they who stayd with the baggage, and they that fought in the field, should share the booties alike,) to plunder, I say, for twenty-foure houres time; being an act of permission, although to no great purpose. And why? Because the common souldiers being onely able to plunder the common people, (although they might have justly stretched their hands further,) had, for the greatest part of them, but small benefite, excepting only household stuff, as bed-cloaths, linnings, tanned leather, calve skins, men and womens apparell, pans, pots, and plates, and such like common things. But our prime officers, I say, and others of that nature, by infringing the common souldiers, infringd themselves, and spoyled both their fortunes; for they investing themselves in the richest malignants and papisted houses, by way of safeguard, had but small compositions, for all their protection and compelled centries; where, otherwise, they might have justly and lawfully seazed upon all their enjoyments. But this ancient proverb holdeth good here, that Scottishmen are aye wise behinde the hand; and so were they: and as they abused their victorie, in storming the towne with too much undeserved mercy, so they as unwisely and imprudently

overreached themselves, in plundering the towne with an ignorant negligence and carelesse omission. And as they thus defrauded themselves, with a whistle in their mouths, so they pitifully prejudged, by this their inveigled course, the common souldiers of their just due, and dear-bought advantages.

For, by your leave, if a souldiers industrie be not quickned and animated with bountifull rewards, hee hath lesse will to performe any part of martiall service, than a dead coarse hath power to arise out of the grave. For what can bee more precious to man than his bloud, being the fountaine and nurse of his vitall spirits, and the ground of his bodily substance, which no free nor ingenious nature will loose for nothing. And whosoever shall argument or discourse upon sound reason and infallible experience, may easily prove and perceive that these commanders have ever best prospered, which have most liberally maintained and had in singular regard militarie arts and souldiers: Otherwise the honourable minde would account it a great deale better to have death without life, than life without reward; yea, and the noble commander desiring rather to want than to suffer true worth unrecompensed.

I could instance here many examples of ingratitude in great persons, that, by their too much wretchednesse to souldiers, have first lost themselves, and then their kingdoms and principalities; but I desist; onely lamenting what I saw here, the recitation of which (*amoris patriæ*) I forbear to touch. And, as the Spaniard saith well, *nella bocca serrada non ci entra las muscas*; that is, when the mouth is shut, the flees cannot enter in the throat; so saith the Italian, to this same purpose, *assai sa, che nõ sa, chi sia*; hee knoweth enough that can misknow the thing he knoweth. And the poetick proverb is thus:

*Dic pauca, multa vide, disce quam plurima pati,
Nam multum juvant, hæc tria sæpe viros.*

Speake little, see much, learne to suffer more;
For these three oft help men the world all o're.

And now, closing these comparisons, I proceed to my methodicall discourse. As for the number of our souldiers that were lost at the storming of this obstinate and unhappie towne, (not reckoning the fatalitie of other times,) they extended to three hundred lacking one; of whom there were thirtie-eight officers, of six distinctive kindes, besides seven or eight hundred that were diverse wayes ill hurt; of which wounds some have lately dyed since that time. And now I recall that these three sieges of Breda, York, and now Newcastle, were all of one dyet, though not at one time, and did each of them so nearly sympathize one with another, in the computation of ten weekes and odde dayes, that they may all three rest now contented to live under the substant shadow of an honest and honourable subjection. Yet, when I consider here the malicious obstinacie of Newcastle, and thereupon the storming of it, I am ravished with admiration to behold how, in the heat of bloud and goaring slaughter, they got so soon mercie and quarters; that, me thinketh, there was not the like mercie showne, in such a case, since the deluge of the world; nay, and (alas) showne unto an impenitent and pernicious people. When, contrariwise, the lives and goods of man, wife, and child, within that refractarie towne (for their railing and blasphemie daillie abounded) were in the power and pleasure of our victorious armie. The which favour, I dare avouch, may be a paterne to all succeeding ages enduring time, for pity, pardon, and piety.

And to instance heere the contrary example, you shall see, and that within these twenty years past, how the populous and once-famous city of Madenburg, in Germany, (being all protestants,) was beleagured with the imperiall forces: where, after diverse parleyes and subtile drifts, the enemy on a sudden stormed the town; where,

forthwith, they slew eleven thousands, of men, woemen, and children: And the next morning, their divelish despight growing wearie of that murdering slaughter, unnaturally and unmercifully threw headlong eightene thousands of them in the river: So that none escaped in the whole city, of young or old, save onely foure hundred, that fled into a church. And striping these starke naked, sent them away, and plundering all the goods of the towne, at last razed it to the ground.

By which crueltie this famous universitie, as it was first sacked, and then burned with fire, so the people were both slayne with the sword and drowned with the watter. O! pittifull destruction. And that river which formerly had brought them profit and pleasure, was then suddenly become their death and sepulture.

This fragrant flood, that wont to serve and please
 Their trade with gayne, their paines with pleasant ease;
 Yea, filld their hearts with pleasure, beauteous strays,
 To see a river passing free allwayes;
 The banks along adorn'd with stately trees,
 That daylie payd kynd tribute to their eyes;
 Where flourie meeds, round hills, salubrious fields,
 Enclosd this closure, and their custome yeelds,
 With swelling brookes to help it. This rare piece
 Became more sweet than Tempian streames in Greece;
 And grac'd their schooles and science, lib'rall arts,
 Where learning flourish'd, vertue light imparts.
 Yet, fatall Blue, was now thy glutting wombe,
 That fed their lust with fish, become their tombe
 And swallowing grave: Art thou, sad dismall bounds,
 That plunging sepulcher, ingulfd with wounds,
 Hatchd from thyne Euripus, gaynst natures tract,
 As death had summon'd thee to doe this fact.
 No, no, I grant (this losse) their detriment
 Sprung not from thee, dumb, sensles element;
 But from these cruell hands, that strain'd thy strength
 To murder natures glorie; where, at lenth,
 They sunk within thy bosome: Then thou roard,
 And all thy brinks about their fall deplord;
 And sought the heavens, as judges, to revenge
 This parracide, and that slayne cities change.

Now, miserable Newcastle! what canst thou say? that was not dealt at all with such tyranicall crueltie, when thou hadst deserved a worser destruction than they, who stood out onely for religion, you having little or none at all. Then what shall I say, but that your desolation may come yet on a sudden, unlesse you amend your wicked lives, and, with Ninivie, turne to the Lord with prayer and fasting; ever acknowledging the great goodnesse and clemencye of Scotsmen, so undeservingly exposed upon you, a headstrong and sedicious people. Yet, notwithstanding whereof, thy sydes are shaken and torne, thine edges broken downe, and the burden of thy miserie lying sore upon thy shrinking shoulders: Which makes me now call to minde the miserable effects of warre, (howsoever deservinglie fallen upon thee;) the nature of which I here involve in these lynes:

O woefull warre! that lessens wealth and strength,
 And brings the ruines of ruine at lenth:

It doth dishonour honour, and degrade
 The mightie man from what his greatnesse had;
 Then quells the poore, and spoyles the pleasant lands,
 Where peace and pleasure joynd with other hands:
 Which weight let Tyrus, sometimes stately plumd,
 With Troy and Thebes, both alike consumd;
 Swelld Ninivie, whose fragments nought imparts;
 And learned Athens, once the source of arts;
 With sightlesse Carthage, Lacedemon rent,
 Jebus and Bagdat, in a manner shent;
 Sardis, Syracuse, Adrianople lost;
 Nay, now stressd Almaine, with such sorrows crost;
 (And Britanes ile, the Irish bounds, and Spayne,
 Where thousands fall, and many thousands slaine;)
 Denote and shew what tyme and warres have wrought,
 That crushd their might, from flattring pryde, to nought:
 Nay, monarchies, great kingdomes, th' universe,
 Are prest to change, erectd, throwne downe by Mars.

Like to the rage of the impetuous flood,
 Debording from his banks, leaves slyme and mood,
 To choake the fertile playnes; supplants the rootes
 Of hearbes and trees; defaceth quyte the fruits
 Of grapes and grayn; and often breaks the walls
 Of strongest townes, whereon destruction falls:

Even so the furye of the bloodie warre,
 In breaking downe the bonds of peace; debarre
 The links of love and alliance; quite defaceth
 The libertie of nature, and disgraceth
 The ornaments of tyme; and cuts the throat
 Of martiall darlings; then casts up the lot
 Of desolation: which destroyeth all
 That can to meane or mighty men befall:

So, so Newcastle to itselfe became

A treachrous foe, when friends besiegd the same.

And I may not forget here, how a despiteful jest was suddenly revolved in sad earnest; that, even when the towne was a storming, there was a child baptized, and a number of thirty persons at the baptisme feast; I meane in Newcastle: and making merrie with the best cheare they had, they begunne to drink a health about the table; and that was, to the confusion of the Scots rebels; and knew of no danger, till a dozen of our souldiers came in upon them, (to digest their confused health,) with drawn swordes and pistolls: At which the rayling and jeering tablers falling downe beneath the boord, (as it were,) distracted of their wits, our adventurers fell a plundering their pockets, leaving the greatest part of them stript of their apparell, and the house utterlie spoyle of domestick furniture; and with this salve they solemnized their frolick feast: Being, I say, a just reward for such a malicious misregard.

Now, the towne being ours, upon Sunday morning, October 20, 1644, his everhappy and auspicious excellence entered the towne, a triumphant victor, and repairing to S. Nicholas church, accompanied with the earle of Calendar, Lieutenant-Generall Bailie, and the generall of artillerie, with a few others, (for it was not a daye for men of fortune to dalleye with time,) there was thankes given to God, (by that reverend

pastor Master Robert Dowglas,) for that our famous and renowned victorie. And now, to seale up all, the clouds fell impetuously a-weeping three dayes together, for that great fatalitie (as I may say) of so many brave cavaliers as we lost. And with this same deluge the two keill-bridges, above and below, were broke downe, and dissenabled for passage, with the violent rapt of Tynes debording streame: But happye it was that the greatest part of our armie got then shelterage within the town, otherwise they had found, by this dissolving rayne, sommersed quarters.

Upon the fourth day after the towne was stormed, there issued from the castle three-score twelve officers, ingeniers, and prime souldiers, under the custodie of our perforce, and were incarcerat within the towne, as many of their kinde were served so before. The maior and some of our noble countrey men were also then dismissed from the castle, but not enlarged; and the day following, (being Wednesday,) the maior was returned from his house, unto a dungeon-trance within the castle: Where now that presumptuous governour remaineth, till the hangman salute his neck with a blow of Straffords courtesie; where now I leave him till he enjoy his merit.

As for the number of the enemy, either souldiers or townesmen, that carried armes during the siege, indeed it is no part of my intention to medle with them, although they medled too much with us; neither with their hungrie troupers, and, far worse, their hungered horses. Yet, neverthesse, (as I was informed,) they were but eight hundred of the traind band, and some nine hundred, besides, of voluntiers, prest men, coliers, keillmen, and poore tradesmen; with some few experimented officers to overtop them, which were at last overtopped themselves.

And now, meanwhile, we found great penurie and scarcitie of victuals, amunition, and other necessities within this dejected towne; so that they could not have holden out ten dayes longer, unlesse the one halfe had devoured the other. And now the encroaching winter commanding expedition, our armie was sent to their garrisons abroad, (reserving onely a proper garrison for Newcastle;) some to Darnton, Haukland, Durham, Chester, Morpet, Exome, and other near adjacent places. Yet, neverthesse, the plague was raging in Gatesyde, Sandgate, Sunderland, and maney countrey villages about. Upon the eight day after the taking in of Newcastle, the lord-generall rode downe to Tinmouth Castle; where, after a short parley, young Sir Thomas Riddell, governour thereof, surrendered it upon easie conditions. The occasion why was thus: The pestilence having been five weeks amongst them, with a great mortalitie, they were glad to yeeld, and to scatter themselves abroad; but to the great undoing and infecting of the countrey about, as it hath contagiously begun.

And now, before I draw to finis, I must water my muse a little in the Poeneian springs; and gargarizing her throat with Newcastle, I will bath her old inventions in Permessis streame, fixt under that Heliconean forked hill, where Soron, breasting Parnassus, saluteth with the pleasures of Pindus all aged poets, as I am now, in my climaterick yeare.

Now in this treatise thou hast seen the mappe
Of revolution, and that sudden clappe
Of ever-changing tyme, and how the fates,
And sterne-fac'd destinie, ramverse the mates
Of stubbornnes and pryd; and how the wind
Brecks downe the tallest cedar that we find
On Libans flowrie bankes; and how the oake,
Though fensd with boughs, must yeeld unto the stroake
Of a septentrion blast. Heavens constellations
Concurred in one, to judge these execrations

Flew forth from steep-bankd Tyne. What filthie rayling
Burst from her gutts? even when we were assailing
Her girded sides with walls; that even, methought,
Sterne Radamanthus had their forgings wrought.
Then in came Judgement, in this cracking thunder,
And facd with terrour, did produce a wonder,
That vomits spyte and blood: Next, headlong comes
(Backd with shrill trumpets, and lowd roaring drummes)
Base stinking Pryde quite stript; where, being naked,
The shryne of Fortune blusht, and Blindnesse quaked.

But now to wheele about: Behold and see
The divyne justice, with an awfull eye,
Declaring sentence, punishment, and yoake,
To thrall their necks with a correcting stroake.
How long did Pittie knock at their shut gate,
And offerd mercy to their desprat state?
Yet would they not receav't; nor could they pitty
Themselves, brought under a judicial dittie;
But sufferd death to stand where justice stood,
And they delinquents to a gen'ral good.
Yet in came Mercy, from their friendly foes,
And pleaded for their pardon: Mercie goes
Along with us to them; which, when they see,
They grew ashamd, to find such clemencie.
For what sought we, but their desyred good?
And to prevent the effusion of blood,
Proposd them courteous proffers; all to wonne
Their hearts and souls to seek salvation,
And to professe that word (religious lamp)
Where light and truth have both one heavenlie stamp.
Yet this they would not, and as hardly will
Consent, unforcd, to leave their froward ill.
Now vanquishd, they, and from their duty swervd,
May swear our Scots shew mercie undeservd
To hardned hearts like flint. And what rests more,
But practise must the fall of pride deplore,
Which cankerd natures keeps. But they're so blinded,
As if disdayne had all their malice winded
With stiffnesse and contempt. Yet for their words,
Sometymes they're fair, and sometimes sharp like swords.
But what is that? We have them under feet,
And needs not weigh their breath, be't sowre or sweet;
For where the victors rule, the vanquisht stand
Like Bajazet to Tamberlanes strong hand:
And freedome thrald by just disdain, then pryde
Stoupes like a slave: the sword must things decayde.
Yet mercy keeps some measure, curbing reason
With generous lenitie, actd out of season;
Yea, sometimes it's more honest for to save,
Than to expide the vanquisht to the grave.
What though they bark like to Hircanian doggs,
Or bleating stand, like winter-beaten hogges,

Yet there's compunction and revenge to use,
 (Accordingly) as tymes may time excuse ;
 And sealing Mercie, with a sworded hand,
 Makes foes more loath to flie, than forced to stand.

And now, to close the summary of this tragical discourse, I heartily beseech Almighty God to preserve and prosper our armie, and to be their guard, guide, and governour, whithersoever they go, and to imprint the fear of his holy name in their hearts. And now, most good and gracious Lord, blesse so and sanctifie the hearts of their chief commanders and leaders, with wisdom, courage, and magnanimity of minde, that they never decline, neither to the right nor to the left hand ; but keeping a straight course, in honour, honesty, and holinesse, they may ever, in all their proceedings, have the glory of thy great and glorious name before their eyes, that the life and light of peace and truth may in all true beleevvers abound. Amen.

FINIS.

A true and impartial History of the Military Government of the Citie of Gloucester, from the Beginning of the Civil War between the King and Parliament, to the Removall of that most faithfull and deserving Commander, for the Defence of his Country, in their greatest Necessity, Colonel Edward Massey ; who was removed from that Government to the Command of the Western Forces, where he performed most faithfull and gallant Service.

*Oderint dum metuant.
 Veritas odium.
 Virtus invidiam.*

The second Edition. Published by Authority.

London, Printed for ROBERT BOSTOCK, in Pauls Church-yard, at the Signe of the Kings Head. 1647.

The siege of Gloucester, of which the reader has here a curious and detailed account, was one of the events upon which, and its consequences, the issue of the civil war seems in a great measure to have turned. The success of the king's Cornish army, and the taking of Bristol, had struck such terror into the parliament, that had Charles approached London with his victorious and united forces, he might at least have engaged them in a favourable treaty, if he could not have dictated the terms. Yet there were other, and important reasons which seemed to recommend an attack upon Gloucester, which it was not supposed would be seriously held out. These are detailed by Clarendon.

" There was not a man who did not think the reducing of Gloucester, a city within little more than twenty miles of Bristol, of mighty importance to the king, if it might be done without great expence of time, and loss of men. It was the only garrison the rebels had between Bristol and Lancashire, on the north part of England, and if it could be recovered, his majesty

would have the river Severn entirely within his command; whereby his garrisons of Worcester and Shrewsbury, and all those parts, might be supplied from Bristol, and the trade of that city thereby so advanced, that the customs and duty might bring a notable revenue to the king; and the wealth of the city increasing, it might bear the greater burden for the war. A rich and populous country, which hitherto rather yielded conveniencies of quarter than a settled contribution, (that garrison holding not only the whole forest division, which is a fourth part of the county of Gloucester, absolutely in obedience, but so alarm'd all other parts, that none of the gentry, who, for the most part, were well affected, durst stay at their own houses,) might be wholly the king's quarters; and by how much it had offended and disquieted the king more than other counties, by so much the more money might be raised upon them. Besides the general weekly contributions, the yeomanry, who had been most forward and seditious, being very wealthy, and able to redeem their delinquency at a high price, (and these arguments were fully pressed by the well-affected gentry of the county, who had carried themselves honestly, and suffered very much by doing so, and undertook great levies of men, if this work were first done,) there was another argument, of no less, if not greater moment than all the rest. If Gloucester were reduced, there would need no forces to be left in Wales, and all those soldiers might be then drawn to the marching army, and the contributions and other taxes assigned to the payment of it. Indeed the king would have had a glorious and entire part of his kingdom to have contended with the rest.

“ Yet all these motives were not thought worth the engaging his army in a doubtful siege; whilst the parliament might both recover the fear that was upon them, and consequently allay and compose the distempers, which, if they did not wholly proceed from, were very much strengthened by those fears, and recruit their army; and therefore that it was much better to march into some of those counties which were most oppressed by the enemy, and there wait such advantage as the distraction in and about London would administer, except there could be some probable hope that Gloucester might be got without much delay: And to that purpose there had been secret agitation, the effect whereof was hourly expected.”—CLARENDON, II. 241.

These hopes, which proved very delusive, were founded upon the supposed inclinations of Colonel Edward Massey, the governor of the city. He was a soldier of fortune, and, although a Scotchman and a presbyterian, had first offered his services to the king. Meeting with some disgust, he embraced the opposite party, and continued to discharge his duty to the parliament with great spirit and fidelity; making a considerable figure upon various occasions, until he was set aside, with other officers of the presbyterian religion, by that ingenious state-engine called the self-denying ordinance. Massey was, indeed, one of the persons against whom this memorable piece of political artillery was principally levelled. He was supposed to have great influence with the earl of Essex. He afterwards embraced the royal cause, and was lieutenant general under Charles II., in 1651.

This tract appears to have been the work of a presbyterian, jealous for the honour of the sect to which Massey belonged. It contains some curious particulars of military history.

*To the Right Worshipfull the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Councill, with the Bur-
gesses of the City of Gloucester.*

GENTLEMEN,

SILENT and calme times, and an equal stream of secular affairs, are more acceptable to men of the present age, because they are times of enjoyment; whereas the greater changes and confusions of the world do more delight posterity, or such as survive the trouble of those changes: For 'tis a pleasure to behold at such a distance the risings and falls of nations and their governments, as to see the raging sea from a secure land. And it doth not seldome come to passe that an universal concussion, and the shaking of the pillars of the earth, doth cast it into better frame, and settle it on a firm basis: So that the men of the former age doe labour, and those of the latter enter into their labours. Even so 'tis the calamity of these dayes to be engaged in such a warre, and the woefull attendants thereof; yet their felicity to be engaged for the highest interests in this life, which will exalt them, whatsoever the successe be; and, if pros-

perous, will make the faithfull in the land a perpetual excellency, and the joy of many generations. The action of these times transcends the barones warres, and those tedious discords betweene the houses of Yorke and Lancaster, in as much it is undertaken upon higher principles, and carried on to a nobler end, and effects more universall. And in this you have acted not the least part, for a particular government, to your owne safety and honour, and, by a generall acknowledgement, not a little to the preservation of the whole kingdome. Wherefore, out of abundant respect to my deare native place, having collected some memorials of its fidelity and industry, I humbly present them to your view, who were witnesses of, and bore a part in those performances. I remember my own thoughts when we were in the height of danger, and ready to fall into the depth of misery, that I did seeme to refresh my selfe in the conceipt of the future joyous remembrance thereof, when we should outlive those extremities. And you also must needs be abundantly satisfied in reminding those manifold hazards and exegencies which you, by patience and perseverance, have in good measure overcome. For which cause this historical relation, though it tenders itself to the review of all serious men, yet unto yours chiefly, that your joy might be yet more full. Neither ought we to be so injurious to Divine Providence, as to bury or keep secret the influence and working thereof upon the endeavours of a willing people. Hitherto you have runne well; nothing remaines but perseverance, that the concluding part may be blessed and honourable. Let your city ever flourish and prosper under the protection of the Highest.

Gentlemen, your humbly devoted servant,

JOHN CORBET.

Leges historiae civilis aperte satis innuit Franciscus Verulamius notanda plurima quæ eam circumstant vitia. Dum plerique narrationes quasdam inopes et plebeias conscribant; alii particulares relationes, et commentariolos opera festinata, et textu inæquali consariant; alii capita tantum rerum gestarum percurrant; alii contra minima quæque et ad summas actionum nihil facientia persequantur: Nonnulli, nimia erga ingenia propria indulgentia plurima audacter confingant: Ast alii non tam ingeniorum suorum, quam affectuum imaginem rebus imprimant et addant, partium suarum memores, rerum parum fideles testes; quidam politica in quibus sibi complacent, ubique inculcent, et diverticula ad ostentationem quærendo narrationem rerum nimis leviter interrumpant: Alii in orationum et concionum aut etiam actorum ipsorum prolixitate parum cum judicio nimii sunt.

Hæc omnia cantè vivantur in historia legitima et numeris suis absoluta.

De Augment, Scient. l. 2, c. 5.

Verses on the Siege of Gloucester and Colonell Massey, since Major-General of the West, and voted Lieutenant-General of the Horse for the Relief of distressed Ireland, and a Member of the Honourable House of Commons.

So stands a rock, (rooted within the main,)
In spite of tempests, whilst the waves in vain,
In curled heaps, which on his bosome beat,
Fall back in foam, and make a faint retreat;

As Gloster stood against the numerous powers
 Of the besiegers, who with thunder-showers
 Charg'd her old ribs, but vanisht like a storm,
 With their own losse, and did no more perform,
 Then squibs cast in the air, which throw about
 Some furious sparks, and so in smoke go out.
 'Twas not her trenches which their force withstood,
 Nor river, purpled with malignant blood,
 Canon, nor bulwarks, rais'd with martiall art,
 That did secure her, but great Massey's heart;
 That was the fort no engine could beat down,
 Nor mine blow up; more strong then was the town:
 Impregna^bl' as a rock, they sooner might
 Plunder the fire of heat, the sun of light,
 Then him of virtue; neither could reward,
 Nor battery of court-honours break his guard;
 Nor promises nor threats an entrance got,
 But did return as fruitlesse as their shot;
 And when the fuell for defence was wasted,
 Even to the last extremes his valour lasted;
 For formidable Essex, from afar,
 Upon the mountains, (like a blazing-star,)
 Appears to the malignants, and portends
 Ruine and death; but his distressed friends
 With animating vigour he inspires,
 And warms at distance by auspicious fires;
 As when the sun with his ascent doth cleer
 The winter tempests, and recruit the yeer.
 'Tis said the satyr fled from man aghast,
 When he perceiv'd his breath at the same blast
 To cool and heat: had here that satyr been,
 He might from flames the like effects have seen.
 These courage got, and those their courage lost,
 And what to these gave heat, to those was frost.
 'Stead of granadoes, curses now they dart,
 With vollies of God-dammees, and so part.
 Gloster is freed, her being and her name
 Made monuments (brave Massey) to thy fame;
 Her temples and her pyramids now turn
 Thy trophies, which were like to be thy urn;
 Whilst we dispute which to ascribe to thee,
 An active or a passive victory;
 And are in doubt in which thou wert most brave,
 When thou didst thousands kill, or thousands save.

Printed according to Order. 1647.

An Historical Relation of the Military Government of Gloucester.

AMIDST the variety of action in the present age, the course of this military government was conceived not unworthy to be knowne unto more than them that acted, or beheld at a nearer distance; onely the care of a true and meete representation held

his thoughts who hath now brought it to the publick light, and hazarded the censure of these knowing times. If I have fallen below the story, I shall neither begg acceptance nor crave pardon for a deliberate error; neverthelesse, to give an accompt of the designe is no more then that due which all may expect and challenge; onely the princes of learnings empire are authentick in the very name, and require an uncontrolled passe, without a preface, to usher them; but whosoever owes respect and duty to the world, his observance will plead for the necessity of a reall introduction.

The relation, therefore, brings to remembrance the affaires of a particular command, which as yet hath not been the meanest part of the present warfare, the event whereof all Christendome may expect with admiration and horror. 'Tis one branch of the history of these times, which happily may be viewed in severall parcells, better then in one entire body; for such a chronicle, if it shall duely expresse the rise and progresse of things, must needs be perplexed with multiplicity of interwoven discourses, when three kingdomes are engaged, and no part in either of them stand free, as spectators onely, of the common calamity; that the worke must either swell into a bulke mishapen and burdensome, or lye too narrow to comprize the severall parts in their just and perfect measures. But many single narrations doe more exactly delineate, give the truest colours, and put upon things the most unsuspected visage. General histories doe seldome approach the fountaine of action, and their glosse, though beautifull, yet more dull, cannot hold forth that native grace and lustre; whereas there appeare in particular branches those lively sparklings, and more secret motions of life and heate, which strike upon that fancy and intellect that can behold and reach them: Besides, they that gather up so many divided plots (as are now acted) into one modell, are wont to endeavour after a smother path, a greater harmony, and more exact symmetry of parts; whereas the face of things is conscious of more disproportion, sometimes a confusion of businesse, and the severall scenes may easily swerve from the originall plot; but the divided parts, drawne in severall, are not so constrained and rackt, but come naked and more simple, and shew that the reason of the same counsells is one in the senate or conclave, another in the field; discovers the failing or the crosse-working of contrivances: how, in the midst of action, the maine land-markes are waved, and many grand projects never reach their period. Out of all which the comparing faculty of a judicious observer may collect the mis-guidance or defects of policy, and see how the pearcing subtilties of wit are broken and shattered by the course of things more knotty, rude, and violent: And this is the life of history, that ought to declare the delinquency of state, as well as its accomplishment and perfection.

If the materialls of the worke be questioned, whether fit to be drawne up into one regular and compacted whole, and to make a standing monument, we also know that nothing in this kinde is to be thrust upon the world, since history doth intend to gratifie the future times with the remembrance of those things onely which prudent men desire and claime from such as pretend an interest and portion in the treasures of knowledge: It beares, therefore, before it nothing more then the thing itselfe gives forth, and which may finde acceptance with severer wits; for not onely the remarkable changes of the universe, the grand periods of kingdomes and common-wealths, the chiefe and turning points of state-affaires, but particular plat-formes, lives, examples, and emergent occasions also, are to be observed, and laid up for posterity. More yet:—Those particularities and minute passages are they that come home to mens businesse, approach their experience, and guide their course; but things more grand and lofty seeme to be turned upon the wheelles of providence, too high for the imitation of men. The worke of a politick or martiall man is to fixe his designe, and then to expect the accomplishment, not by one sudden or great atchievement, but by a series of many particles, and through an infinite variety of emergent occasions,

and at last the maine turning point falls in by the over-ruling power of the universall cause: Such are properly the workes of men, into which they ought to enquire and search. Besides, the chiefe skill is not the generall knowledge of the maine undertaking, but a certaine dexterity in meeting every point, in working through many mazes and windings, since sundry passages of small purport intervene, to disturbe or promote it. Experience tells that many universall schollars are the most uncouth persons to civill employment; which so happens, because they study bookes more then the course of businesse, in which they gaze upon high objects, and binde themselves to the rigid observance of received canons; that if they venture amongst men, upon a slight accident unexpected, they sticke in the mire, or runne a wrong course. We dislike not the taking up of well-tryed principles: Onely by examples of all sorts must we learne to except and distinguish, and, by consequence, to use or abate the rigour of politicall maxims: neither doth it seldome come to passe that inferiour things overrule, and a circumstance may be predominant. From such a low bottome and meane beginning are great things raised, and as their verticle point come in an instant, so may they be turned upon a weake and slender hinge; yet we meane not those circumstances that are the inseparable attendants of every naturall action, but onely such as are worthy, and have a morall influence; all which shun their understandings who respect onely great and excelse objects; which, peradventure, may flourish with ostentation and pompe, but if applyed unto the life of man, bring forth an effect like the birth of the mountaines. And here we tender a naked comentary and true rehearsall of those things as deserve not wholly to be forgotten. If it be not full of rare changes, which may grace the composure, and affect the reader, yet doth it give the full draught of a martiall command, and a true copy of the things it intends to expresse: It hath this advantage, in common with others of the like nature, that it can come forth to the censure of the present age without the guilt and shame of mistakes or flatteries. Authors more universall could never gaine to be stiled the writers of unquestionable verities, for they see at a greater distance, and by a more obscure and duskey light: Certainly a nearer approach, and some kind of interest, is required of him that desires to shew not onely some tracke and foot-steps, but the expresse image of things; for whatsoever passes from hand to hand, though upon the most undoubted authority, proves at the best but the image of a picture; for the best wit that takes things, though upon the surest trust, must needs fall short of the copy by which he writes; if not in beauty, yet in the truth and life thereof. The onely danger in such as are intressed is, least they be partiall to their own side, or make the discourse more lofty then the stage can reach; which mischief the deliberate thoughts of a serious man can prevent, and tell him that the unvayling of the defects and misfortunes of his owne party doth evince the sincerity of the relation, and graceth it with more variety then what the continuall streame of the height of gallantry and successe can yeeld; and, which is most of all, doth demonstrate, that, at some times, the designe was laid upon the principles of reason, and prosecuted with industry; whereas continuall victory is attributed to a certaine hidden felicity, and the bounty of Providence. Affection, therefore, receives a check from that man who is more true to his owne faction and ends then to transgresse against the honour of that worke he takes in hand.

As for this military government, the power hereof hath rested in one command, and therefore doth more easily close into a single frame, yet not in a smooth and equall straine, but distinguished by many rises and falls: 'Tis a branch almost divided from the maine stocke, and hath been put to live and act of itselfe; neverthesse a branch still, and enlivened by the authority of the kingdomes soveraigne power, from which it receives an influence, both of support and guidance: But its distance from the fountaine of power had derived upon the trustee a more free command, and made

way for the perfect worke of a souldier, both counsell and action; which is the surest way to make such commands both active and prosperous.

The seate hereof lyes in the heart of the enemies country, like a forlorn hope, and is maintained, not so much for its owne sake, or that so much ground might lye under a parliament power, but to divide the king's association, to stop his recrutes, to scatter his forces, and continually to distract the designes of that army. Experience is witness of how great concernment it hath been to the safety of the commonwealth: Not one place in the kingdome of England hath so much exhausted the enemies army, nor hath the like advantage to ruine it: It can paine them at the heart: 'Tis a fire kindled in their bowels, that might eat out their strength, had it been the felicity of the state to have sent hither a part of those great supplies which have been else-where expended, and done little towards the conclusion of the great worke.

If this collection shall present any thing that comes home to a civill life, or the imployment of a souldier; if it shall bring to minde acceptable services, and cause the people to remember the day of small things, with the power of active and faithfull endeavours, that observe and follow the Divine Providence, I shall not faile of my end: and I know that this my adventure is no more then what the action doth deserve, and the world may challenge.

THE ingagement of the city of Gloucester in this common cause of religion and liberty first began when the houses of parliament declared to the kingdome their resolution of a defensive war; neither were its principall and active men drawne in by inferiour and accidentall motives, but quickened by the same principles, in the maine, that did enliven and actuate the supreme court; expressing in themselves the very motions of a parliamentary spirit, by an absolute and greedy compliance with every act that breathed towards the perfect health of the state: the severall remonstrances of both houses were received with all due respect, whereas no declaration sent from the other party found the courtesie of a formall entertainment. It hath beene the honour of that civill government, never to be guilty of the least act of disservice against that cause which their hearts wish might prevaile and prosper: Therefore, when the fire kindled and fomented by jesuited papists and their adherents was blowne up into a flame, and the heads of two parties appeared within this realme, the city of Gloucester determined not to stand neutrall in action, but to adhere unto one party, with which they resolved to stand or fall; necessity requiring no lesse; which affection improves into vertue. The acknowledgement of its owne advantage in situation and strength importuned a more timely declaration, least, by itselfe neglected, it should be seized by the enemy, whose eye was upon it, and so cast into perpetuall bondage. Also, the greatest part of the country consented, and resolved to maintaine their birth-rights, in the defence of the priviledges and power of parliament, against all invasions of usurpation and tyranny.

During the kings preparations in the north, they attempted (according to the slendernes of al beginnings) to put themselves into a posture of defence, and expected the instructions of parliament. And whereas the ordinance of militia was the first pretended ground of difference betweene his majesty and the houses, (they desiring such officers in whom the state might confide, and the king refusing to deprive them that by himselfe were intrusted,) when the rent was once made, a greater necessity impleaded the execution of that ordinance: Whereupon the Lord Say was, by order of parliament, appointed lord-lieutenant: A commission was likewise granted unto divers gentlemen for deputy-lieutenants; many whereof drew back, and shunned the imployment, that the power for the most part rested in the members of the house of commons for this county, by whose countenance many companies of volunteers were raised, then called the militia bands, and led by such captaines as the embryo

of the warre could afford. But the first undertaking was more jocund then the progresse; as oft times it comes to passe that a military pompe and appearance of bravery doth affect and raise up many feeble spirits, who quickly lye flat, when they begin to feele the stubbornesse and cruelty of warre.

The commission of array did not adventure to tender itselfe to the people: It was about to be offered to their liking at Cirencester, by the lord Chandos and some other disaffected gentlemen, but was stifled in the birth, and crusht by the rude hand of the multitude, before it saw the light. The chiefe abettor thereof was like to suffer violence by the meanest of the people, whose fury constrained him to promise, and give, under his hand, that he would never more deale in the businesse. But when they saw that this lord had escaped their hands by a secret conveyance, they were the more enraged, and waxed cruell against his accoutrements and furniture, and whatsoever of his was left behind; delighting in a contumelious revenge and rustick triumph. Such were the effects of that fury that tooke hold on the ignoble multitude, in whom not alwaies the deepe sense of their owne interests doth provoke this extasie of passion, but, peradventure, a slighter accident and unexpected turning of the fancy sets them in a hurry, when their insolency becomes intollerable, and they glory to vent their humours, by reason of an usuall restraint and subjection. Nevertheless, they have produced good effects; and oft times a more undescerned guidance of superiour agents turnes them to the terrour of the enemy, and an unexplecable self-engagement upon the common people, which prudent men promote and maintaine, yet no farther then themselves can over-rule and moderate. Hereupon the full streame of the country runnes for the ordinance of the militia, and against the kings declarations and commission of array. But since we are now upon the beginning of action, it will not be from the matter to declare the grounds of that affection which the country did expresse, and were common unto them with many parts of the kingdome that were devoted to the same cause, but might appeare in a greater degree, and have a clearer evidence in the present example. Most men, therefore, did undoubtedly foresee greater hopes of liberty from the parliament then the kings party; in so much that there appeared in all the states adhearents an inbred propensity to freedome; but a desire of vast dominion, dignity, revenge, or rapine in them that tooke to the contrary faction; by which this country did seeme well disposed to comply with the parliaments grand designe; for there was no excessive number of powerfull gentry; who, for the most part, care not to render themselves the slaves of princes, that they also might rule over their neighbours as vassalls: But the inhabitants consisted chiefly of yeomen, farmers, petty free-holders, and such as use manufactures that enrich the country, and passe through the hands of a multitude; a generation of men truely laborious, jealous of their properties, whose principall ayme is liberty and plenty; and whilst in an equall ranke with their neighbours, they desire onely not to be oppressed, and account themselves extreamely bound to the world, if they may keepe their owne. Such, therefore, continually thwart the intentions of tyrannie, unto which they onely are moulded, who, detesting a close, hardy, and industrious way of living, doe eate their bread in the sweat of other men, and, neglecting a secure estate, rejoyce rather in the height of fortune, though inconstant and dangerous. Such is the predominant humour of gentlemen in a corrupted age. Besides, the country-man had of his owne, and did not live by the breath of his great land-lord; neither were the poore and needy at the will of the gentry, but observed those men by whom those manufactures were maintained that kept them alive. By which meanes it came to passe that neither they of the middle ranke nor the needy were devoted to the examples of the gentlemen who turned back, betrayed their trust, (and are alwaies more apt to be corrupted, or mistaken in judging of the common interest,) but had learned to reverence their liberties, and to acknowledge their native happinesse.

But some higher cause had a greater influence on the endeavours of many for a well-bounded freedom and regular priviledges—a knowledge of things pertaining to divine worship, according to the maine principles of the Christian profession. Which religion is not according to the will of man, but grounded upon an unchangeable and eternal truth, and doth indispensably binde every soule to one law perpetuall and constant. This, therefore, doth strongly implead the necessity of external priviledges in her professors; and though it doth not destroy the kingdomes of the world, nor usurpe a greater liberty than humane lawes will easily grant, yet it will not give away its native right; and it hath, moreover, in its nature, an irreconcilable enmity against arbitrary government, and will worke its selfe out of bondage, when the felicity of the times shall give power, and a lawfull call. And in this kind of knowledge this city and county was more happy than many other parts of the kingdome, by means of a practical ministry; which hath not only its powerful working in divine things, but doth also inable vulgar capacities more fitly to apply themselves to such things as concerne the life of a moral man: And although each person thus informed reacheth not the depth of reason, yet he can comprehend the truth thereof, and jealousie makes him the more quick-sighted. Thus have we found that the common people addicted to the kings service have come out of blinde Wales, and other dark corners of the land; but the more knowing are apt to contradict and question, and will not easily be brought to the bent. For this cause the ambition of the times hath endeavoured the undermining of true religion, to promote a blind and irracionall worship, that might bring forth an ignorant and slavish generation of men; which kinde of bondage the meanest person that performes a reasonable service cannot but resent and feare.

Yet something there was that might debase and infeeble their spirits, (the plague and mischief of the whole realme,)—a grosse ignorance and supine neglect of military discipline; there being no ground for the study and exercise of armes, that might keepe the body of the state in health and vigour. Nor is it unlikely that extreame vassalage was the end of that long sluggish peace; when the nation could not have been more happy then in some just and honourable warre with forraigne parts, though now none more miserable, by reason of these civil broyles, that teare the bowels, and eate up the strength of the kingdome. 'Tis no shame, in the progresse of time, to look backe upon the beginnings of action. The trained bands, accounted the maine support of the realme, and bulworks against unexpected invasions, were effeminate in courage, and incapable of discipline, because their whole course of life was alienated from warlike employment; in so much that young and active spirits were more perfect by the experience of two daies service. Wherefore these men might easily repine at oppression, and have a will to preserve themselves; yet a small body of desperate cavaliers might overrunne and ruine them at their pleasure. Some professed souldiers were sent downe from the parliament to settle these and the militia bands; who had this onely according to the rules of warre—to be gathered under severall captaines, and many of them into the forme of a regiment; which disposition might fit them for a suddaine service, and the very posture conferre something of a warlike spirit.

Within the city of Gloucester one company of volunteers was added to the trayned band, and some peeces of ordinance obtained from London and Bristoll, which were then received with universall amazement by an inland people, though not long after they grew familiar with their terrible execution. Meane while the city was open on three parts at least, and had no considerable defence, onely capable thereof by advantage of situations. The citizens did mainly shew their care and affection in fortifying the towne; a worke both expensive and tedious; being of great compasse, and raised from the ground. During these things the enemy came not neere our dwellings; we heard of them afarre off, but little thought that the cloud of blood should be blowne from the north, and settle over us, upon whom it afterwards brake into so many

showres; that this place should become the seate of warre, and the stage of action; that then lying open to a free commerce with the world, it should be shut up sometimes in strict custody, but still under a larger confinement, and beleagured at a distance, in the midst of the kings head garrisons.

At that time the rumours of warre and first acts of hostility quickly filled the eares and tongues of people: Alarms were then taken at a greater distance; and the first was given from the neighbour city of Worcester, by five hundred of the kings horse, which entered the towne, and at that season were not the least part of his majesties forces: His whole strength could not amount to the number of a just army, according to the slender proportion of those times; neither could they march like a set and perfect body, but flasht through the land, as the lightning that strikes from one quarter of the heaven to the other. The noyse of a nearer enemy raised the volunteers of the country, who marched, under the conduct of some gentlemen, towards Worcester, expecting to meete colonell Nathaniel Fiennes with a strength of horse; but colonell Fiennes had faced the towne, and drawne off before the advance of our foote; and they also retreated, having done nothing, but so meanelly prepared for the service, that they were much bound to the enemy that they fell not out of the city, and cut them in peeces. The same volunteers came on the second time, and were to joine once more with colonell Fiennes, who returned with a greater strength of horse and dragoones, under the command of colonell Sands, and now also prevented our foot: They attempted the onset, and approached the towne with much speed and confidence, on the Welch side of the Seaverne; supposing the earle of Essex at hand to assault the other side; but were meerly deluded by a false message from the enemy, with a signal accordingly given; at which instant of time prince Rupert arrived at Worcester. By meanes of this deceit the horse rush upon an ambuscado, when, through the straightnesse of the passage, first over a bridge, then through a narrow lane, neither the reare could be brought up, nor the van make a retreat. 'Twas an hot skirmish, and performed with sufficient gallantry on our part, by them that came up; where persons of value were slaine and taken, the rest wholly routed, and fled, in confusion, farre beyond the reach of a persuite. This victory was of great consequence to the enemy, because the omen and first fruits of the warre. Upon this the kings forces, hearing of the approach of the parliament army, immediately quitted the towne: So they shifted from place to place, since their inconsiderable number would scarce allow them to erect any garrison: Yet they encreased by their motion and quick dispatch, gathered the strength of the countries as they passed along, and withall overcame the contempt of their small numbers, and by frequent execution gained the repute of a party not easily to be vanquished. This they acted while the parliament army lay still, or marched according to the slow paces of a greater body. The day after the skirmish, the earle of Essex entered Worcester with his whole power, and there continued a moneths space; sent forth severall parties, as the lord Stanford to Hereford, to prevent the forces of South Wales, whilst the king lay about Shrewsbury, and raised himselfe to such an army as was able to deale with, and endanger that maine power raised by the parliament.

After the famous battaile at Edge-hill, the first large field of bloud in these civill warres, though the kings army was there much broken, yet his strength increased, and multitudes began to looke towards him, as one at least-wise possible not to be overcome; and in this strange confluence of men, his army seemed like that fabulous generation that sprung out of the teeth of the Cadmean serpent buried in the earth. The neglected enemy becomes formidable, and the parliament forces may desire their first advantage, but have sufficiently learned that to give the first blow is not against the law of a defensive warre: The hopes of a subitaneous service are lost, and the kingdome is made sensible that their peace and liberty will cost much bloud. Both the

armies begin to take up their winter quarters in the most defensible places, and for the most part are settled according to the affections and engagements of the people. Colonell Thomas Essex marched into Gloucester, with the command of two regiments of foote, as governour of the towne; but as yet the deputy-lieutenants had the sole command of the county. Foure weekes had not passed in this government, but colonell Essex was commanded to Bristoll, to secure and settle that city, of so great concernment, both by sea and land, and at that time much distracted between the well-affected and malignant parties. So it was that the kings cause and party were favoured by two extreames in that city; the one the wealthy and powerfull men, the other of the basest and lowest sort, but disgusted by the middle ranke, the true and best citizens. Thus the present state of things had taught men to distinguish between the true commons of the realme and the dreggs of the people; the one the most vehement assertors of publicke liberty, but the other the first rise of tyrannicall government, and the foot-stoole upon which princes tread when they ascend the height of monarchy. In that city many of the rich men were disaffected to reformed religion, and some more powerfull were conscious of delinquency; others upbraided themselves with their owne publicke disgrace, and therefore did much distaste the waies of the parliament; and the needy multitude, besides their natural hatred of good order, were at the devotion of the rich men. These, therefore, began to raise commotions, and hearing of the advance of the forces from Gloucester, flocked together after a tumultuary manner, shut up the gates, but chiefly guarded that port where they expected an entrance would be made, and planted many ordnance against the approach of our men, with a full resolution to fire upon them. They were expected in the evening; but colonell Essex had intelligence of these preparations, and from a party within was directed to march that night to another gate, (then neglected by the multitude,) that should be set open. This was performed accordingly; and betimes in the morning he entered the city with his two regiments, besides great numbers out of this county, and in an instant surprized the mutineers, and quashed the businesse without drawing of blood.

The city of Gloucester was againe left naked, till the earle of Stamford marched hither with his regiment of foot, and two troopes of horse, from Hereford. The earle himselfe was commanded into the west upon his first arrivall, but his regiment designed for this city, under the command of lieutenant-coloneil Massie; first as deputy-governour under the lord Stamford, afterwards with the power in himselfe; which, for the space of two yeares and six moneths, continued an uninterrupted and happy government: The providence of God and the felicity of the place so over-ruling, that that country which should endure the brunt, sustaine so many violent shocks, and beare up under the kings whole army, should be defended by a commander whose experience, fidelity, and valour, with indefatigable care and industry, might answer the expectation of so great a trust; assisted with that regiment, whose very name proved a terrour to the enemy, and long enjoyed the honour of the most ancient regiment in the parliament army, though broken, torne, and worne out with extraordinary duty and service. And because the mere pomp of military preparations, and the hopes of a sudden victory being now past, the warre hath put on a blacker visage, and the sad effects thereof come home to these parts, it is meete to expresse what was the state of the country at that time. The inhabitants of this county had openly engaged themselves in the state service, nor as yet had they any thought of repenting, though cast into the midst of an iraged enemy. Oxford is the kings head garrison; Herefordshire possessed by his forces, upon the first removal of the earle of Stamford into Gloucester; Worcester hath already entertained a strength; Wales rise on the kings behalfe, by the power of the lord Herbert; the earle of Essex, with his army, is drawne towards London; the parliament forces in the west have their hands full; and there remaine in these parts of the kingdome onely two broken regiments at Bristoll, which

was much distracted by intestine divisions, and one regiment at Gloucester; so that the most slender guard was left upon these parts where the enemy resolved their chiefe game for the winter action. And if this country must be preserved, it must be done by the volunteers, which were yet as a cake not turned; a kinde of souldiers not wholly drawn off from the plow or domesticke employments; having neither resolution nor support suitable to the service. But the greatest defect was the want of able and experienced officers; neither had they any commander-in-chiefe upon whom the hearts of the people might fasten.

Amidst these things the strength of the county was drawne to Cirencester, a frontier towne towards the kings head quarters then made a garrison, to prevent the incursions of the enemy, as well to preserve the country from ruine, as to advance the publicke service. Colonell Fettiplace had the command of this garrison, under whom some trained bands and volunteers were drawne into a regiment; and two companies of the lord Stamfords regiment were added, to encourage the businesse: A few horse and dragoones were raised at the free charge of the country; and the rest of the militia were to assist upon all appearance of danger. All things were transacted in a more voluntary, but lesse regular way. The businesse chiefly rested on sir Robert Coske, sir John Seamore, master Nathaniel Stephens, master Edward Stephens, master Thomas Hodges, with the rest of the deputy-lieutenants; and setting aside these men, with some gleanings of the gentry, the yeomen, farmers, cloathiers, and the whole middle ranke of the people were the onely active men. The gentlemen in generall denyed their concurrence; discerning their country either by open enmity or detestable neutrality; and from the major part no better fruite was to be looked for in a degenerate age; when in many of them their appeared an hatred of the commons, and a strong disposition to the ends of tyranny. Others there were not wholly averse from the good of the commonwealth; whose enmity was grounded in religion, which obtained the most eminent place in the parliaments cause. The superstitious adoring of their old way imbittered their spirits against reformed religion, which to them seemed a peevish affectation of novelty, besides the hatred and feare of ecclesiasticall discipline. But the greatest number, neither driven by ambition nor the spirit of blind zeale, onely resolving to be true to themselves, deserted the state, with some inclinations to the contrary faction; reflecting on their estates invironed with the kings country, neare the heart of his strength, and farre from parliamentary supplies: Besides, the violence and quick dispatch of the kings army, with the slow performances of our country agents, after the space of an ordinary legall course in those extremities, did much deterre them. The country complained of their principall men, for the neglect of taxes, and the gentlemen might happily see the grudgings of the country in the payment of those taxes, (for the common people are alwaies covetous, though well-affected,) and forbore to urge whatsoever might distaste the people, or crosse the parliaments accustomed moderation. Which slow deliberations did lessen the esteem of the service in the hearts of many.

The secession of the disaffected gentlemen did cast an aspersion that could not sticke, that the businesse was deserted by knowing men, and prosecuted by a rash and confused multitude: Whereas by no one thing could it more evidently appeare to be the cause of the commonwealth, then by the acknowledgement of the whole body of the commons, which is more honest and wise in things of publicke concernement; for though they be very weake one by one, yet, brought together, they ballance each other; and when no man hath power to impropriate much, each man expects only a proportionable share in the publicke interest. Neither is their judgement and foresight to be undervalued, who are apt to discern any thing that concernes themselves, and, being united, are not like to faile; for they have the best experience, and are neerly affected with the woe or weale of the state, and so may sometimes judge better then



those that guide it ; as he that useth the house can better judge thereof than the builder, and the pilate of the sterne then the carpenter. And although they have not the first and most excellent part of knowledge to finde out, and by themselves to understand the rules of government, yet have they the second part, which is also excellent, to judge aright of things proposed ; and if not made fit for the yoke, by dependence on the gentry, can discover the fraud that lies under the fairest pretext. But the gentlemen, by depriving the meaner people of their due protection, blemished the reputation of their families, and crossed the end of their honours and possessions, which, in a well-ordered state, are given for a shelter to the under shrubs, that some generous spirit neerer the commons might keepe off the invasion of princes ; and whose power was most desired in such an exegence, to gather up the scatterings of the people, and keepe them united ; who, for want of this concurrence, were of lesse strength and vigour.

Such was the face of this country, now ready to receive the first shooke of the enemies fury. About the first of January, 1642, the maine strength of the kings army came before Cirencester, prepared and resolved to storne it ; yet they onely faced the towne, and after two daies were strangely taken off ; either disabled by the extreame cold on the hills, or some suddaine misfortune, or daunted by the shew of unanimity and resolution in the people, or else clouded in their thoughts, by the secret will of God, in the nick of action, that they made not the least attempt, but threatned an after-clap. A few daies after, our forces had their designe upon Sudely castle, at that time kept by captaine Bridges, in the behalf of the lord Chandos. Lieutenant-colonell Massie was intrusted with the manage of this action : who drew from Gloucester a party of three hundred musketteers, with two sakres, assisted with fourescore horse, and foure companies of dragoones from Cirencester, by order of a counsell of warre held there, and consent of the deputy-lieutenants. There were in the castle neere threescore souldiers, with provisions and ammunition sufficient. Our men drew up before it in the evening, made several shots, and the canon did some execution. The same night summons was given : the enemy refused to render upon quarter, but craved time till the next day, which in part was granted : Guards were set upon them all night. The next morning our men were drawne out to make an assault : Beds and wool-packs were fetched out of the neighbourhood, which they tumbled before, and saved themselves from shot. The horse and dragoones came up before the foot approached the wall, and possest themselves of a garden under the castle, and got hay and straw, which they fired, that the smoake, driven by the wind, smothered the house, in the shadow of which the ordnance were brought up undiscovered, and planted against the weakest part of the castle ; which, when the enemy perceived, they sounded a parley, and immediately rendred upon agreement. The conditions were, that all might have liberty of person, and passe to their own houses, leaving their armes behind, and taking an oath never to serve against the parliament : They compounded also for the goods in the house, for which they were to pay five hundred pounds within sixe daies, or to leave them a free prize to the souldiers.

Within two daies after, prince Rupert faced Sudely with about foure thousand horse and foote, pretending an attempt to regaine it, but in the meane time marched his artillery towards Cirencester. Lieutenant-colonell Massie made provision to maintaine the castle, by taking in water, and store of hay and corne ; and having left there lieutenant-colonell Forbes, with a sufficient guard, himselfe retreated to Gloucester. The prince, with his forces, kept the hills, and after three daies fell before Cirencester, a stragling and open towne, neither well fortified nor capable of defence. The campaignne country round about was most advantageous to the horse, in which the enemies strength did chiefly consist, and which was then wholly wanting to that garrison ; for their horse and dragoones were sent to the taking of Sudely ; most of their

officers were drawne out upon that service, except the captaines of the volunteers ; and lieutenant-colonell Karre was the onely experienced souldier left there ; their canoneers were wanting ; the common souldiers quite off the hinges ; either cowardly or mutinous. The storme rose when least feared by the miserable people, who had not ended the joy of their late deliverance from as great a power, but strangely diverted ; and though they were still in the same danger upon the reverse of the army, yet were they not capable of the least distrust, till the storme hovered againe ; either supposing themselves invincible, or by defiance to have baffled a wary enemy, that falls backe, and waites his time, to returne with greater fury. On the second of February the towne was assaulted and taken. The first and maine assault was made on a house a flight-shot from the town, which was defended by a hundred musketeers for an houres space, against two regiments of foot and a regiment of horse, which were led on by the prince ; till at length, having drawne up their musketeers, and by granadoes fired the barnes and ricks, and smothered the guard, the enemies horse drove their foote before them, entered the streetes by maine force, and possest themselves of the garrison within two houres. Yet it cost them the lives of many, amongst whom the Welchmen were reported to suffer the greatest slaughter, who in that army were a continual sacrifice to the sword. Each guard made resistance according to the officers valour and experience. The souldiers of the earle of Stamfords regiment had acted the best part, but that they were most put to the sword when the towne was entered, except those that by flight had their lives given them for a prey. Some few besides defended their guards a while ; but the passages were many and open, and the enemy soone came upon their backs. As for the country men, their houre was not yet come, neither had they quitted such employment as did enfeeble their spirits, nor entered the schoole of war, to study indignation, revenge, and blood, that alone can overcome the terrour of an army.

It so fell out, that, in the midst of the service, they were at their wits end, and stood like men amazed : Feare bereft them of understanding and memory, begat confusion in the minde within, and the thronging thoughts did oppresse and stop the course of action, that they were busied in every thing, but could bring forth nothing. Few of ours were slain in the fight, but many murthered after the taking of the towne, eleaven hundred taken prisoners, and at least two thousand armes lost, which the country had there laid up, as in a secure magazine. The miserable captives were entertained with all despight and contumely, according to the enemies accustomed cruelty in the beginning of the warre :¹ Commanders and gentlemen had no better quarter then the common souldiers, but were all thrust into the church, to be reserved for a triumph, and trampled upon in a base and impotent revenge. Whether the first fury of a civill warre, and the jarres of brethren, prove most outrageous, or the cause of religion had blouded their minds, not a man could be released, though the price of his redemption were paid, till he had first attended the triumph at Oxford ; that an unfortunate king might view the aspect of such innocent subjects that should presume to claime those rights wherein they were borne ; when reason might easily evince that no slight matter could engage such a people in an open warre, as were ever willing to deceive themselves into a supererrogation of loyalty.²

The whole country was quickly full of this disaster, and in vaine did thinke to recover what was lost, by weakenesse of spirit, or errour in the chiefe manage of the businesse. Thousands of men, armed and unarmed, flocked together, and resolved to undertake the enemy, under the conduct of a grave and well minded patriot ; but the

¹ See the " True Relation of the Taking of Cirencester, and the cruel Dealing of the merciless Cavaliers towards the Prisoners they took there, in their Passage as they went to Oxon, and at Oxon," Vol. IV., p. 510.

² See the Tract *ubi supra*, Vol. IV., p. 511, and Note.

desired leader was conscious of the peoples madnesse, and knew well that they made a loude cry afarre off, but if once brought up to the face of the army, they would never abide the fury of the first onset: Wherefore he refused to engage himselfe and them upon a certaine destruction: neverthelesse, the people bitterly railed against him, and curst him, as a traitor to his country; neither could the experience of these times dispossesse them of that absurd conceite.

The very next day after the losse of Cirencester, the city of Gloucester was demanded by prince Rupert: The summons found the people extreemly dashed at the strange turning of things, and so much amazed, that they could not credit the report of this blow, though confirmed by sundry eye-witnesses. The hearts of many sunke very low, and began to lye flat: zeale and religion upheld some: all had a kinde of will; but the strong fidelity and resolution of the souldier at that time, and in all extreame hazards, upheld the garrison. The prince therefore received a short answer from lieutenant-colonell Massie and the principall officers, that they were resolved with their lives and fortunes to defend the city, for the use of the king and parliament, and in no wise would surrender at the demand of a forraigne prince. Another answer was returned from the mayor of the city, (for the martiall command was not fully settled,) that he was resolved, according to his oath and allegiance, to keepe the city in his majesties behoofe, and would not deliver the same, according to this summons: Whereupon a second summons was sent from the prince, which could not alter the case in their judgment who held the towne, and seeming withall to persuade and sollicite them out of their hold, did easily beget an opinion of the enemies weaknesse, and their owne considerable strength; since neither religion nor modesty could withhold from blood that enraged party, but onely the conscience of a selfe insufficiency: The souldier therefore began to acknowledge the remainder of power, which did not appeare contemptible with the kings army.

Hitherto the city had been lodged in the midst of many out-garrisons, as the heart in the body, but now it hath enough to doe in its owne safety, and the remote parts must be pared off, that a liberrall nourishment might preserve and foster that place, which was the seate and fountain of life unto these parts of the kingdome. Sudely castle was deserted; the garrison of Tewksbury (which was defended onely with such slender forces as Gloucester could spare out of its penury before the enemy fell on the county) was already surprised with feare: Both places could not be maintained, when so great a power did urge and beare downe on every side. Those of Tewksbury sent an expresse to the city, to informe them of the state of their towne, and to request more aide; likewise they dispatched messengers to the villages round about, to acquaint them with the state of things, and to try whether the inhabitants would come in person, or send in their armes; but there came neither the one nor the other; and it was resolved by the counsell of warre at Gloucester, that the forces, ordnance, and ammunition, with all well-affected persons, should forthwith repaire thither. In the heate of this debate there came an invitation from Worcester, by a letter from sir William Russell, with intimation of conditions of peace; all which disposed that towne to compliance with the enemy. Hereupon a common counsell being held, and the officers present, 'twas determined that the Gloucester order was to be obeyed. The towne, thus deserted, was willing to provide for its own safety, and clused rather to obtaine some reasonable termes of peace, then suffer itselfe to be quite ruined; wherefore they drew up some propositions, to be sent to sir William Russell; yet before the dispatch, they sent to Gloucester a second message, by the minister of the towne, and an officer of the garrison, with sir William Russells letter, and their answer. These promised an early return, but failing some houres of the time appointed, in the meane-while the propositions were sent to Worcester. This message brought a countermand,

when there sprung an alarum that Cirencester was regained, and the spoile and prisoners recovered backe. For this cause the souldiers were detained a while; but when the report was found untrue, of themselves they began to quit the towne. In the evening the messenger returned from Worcester, with the propositions granted. The subjection seemed unfortunate and dishonourable in them whose affections were engaged to this cause; neither did there appeare a meanes to prevent it; for the transmigration of the whole towne was impossible, nor as yet did the condition of the warre require any such thing from one particular place; for the parliaments adherents, as also the malignant faction, did never at once forsake their habitations, to be gathered into one body, for a suddain conclusion, but were brought peece-meale into action; and many lye under covert in the enemies country, reserving themselves for future service. Thus the people entertained gladly those conditions, which, though performed in part, yet were a sufficient bondage, did impoverish their spirits, coole their zeale of religion, and lessen the former inclination to liberty; after which, by frequent changes under many lords, they became so feeble, that they never durst confide in themselves to vindicate the towne into its former happinesse, but a long time remained averse to the fairest opportunities, yea, necessities of ingagement, and desired an everlasting neutrality. The deserting of this towne encreased the forces of Gloucester by two hundred foote and dragoones, and tooke off the feare of a greater mischief; for though the quitting of the place caused us to resent our great distresse, yet the taking thereof would have confounded our thoughts, and hazarded the maine chance where the whole strength did not lye at stake.

The enemy breathed out threatnings; many false friends sought cunningly to make us affraid; the country-men, in general, were taken off; who, in their jocund beginnings, still concluded on the victory, but never prepared for a blow, that the whole businesse was dashed at one clap, and especially when Cirencester was taken, in which they did repose so much trust. The issue discovered the weaknesse of the former proceedings, in committing the whole fortune of the country, and the lives of so many men, to such a poore defence, and hazarding the maine rest where the strength of the game could not be managed. Besides, the enemy had this great advantage in overpowering the minds of men; who, since their cause could not lay claime to justice, nor themselves procure love, sought to prevaile by terrour, and by their late cruelties became dreadfull; so that such spirits as wanted greatnesse of minde, or strong fidelity to persevere, did greedily comply with that party; supposing themselves secure from this side, at least in respect of a deep personall suffering; which supposals were grounded upon the parliaments lenity, and unto which, peradventure, they were bound, that they might gaine affections in a voluntary warre. The more zealous and active had no head under whom they might unite and grow strong. The power of the deputy-lieutenants was quite fallen, (a kind of command suitable onely to the infancy of military affaires,) and the whole businesse was devolved on the souldier, whom the people then beheld as the professed servants of fortune, and trusted not till after manifold experience; so they sunke under the burden, and gave up themselves to spoile and rapine. The clouds gathered round the city; the enemy lay strong at Cirencester and Tewksbury; our men were confined to the towne walls; the workes not halfe finished; the souldier within mutinous and desperate; no monies came from the state, and but small supplies out of the country, that the vilest mutineers were to be dealt with by intreaty, their insolencies to be suffered with patience; who tooke so great advantage by our extremity, that their humours had a full vent, and ran forth into incorrigible wickednesse: The city was constrained to free quarter and great disbursements by way of lone, and the governour to use his skill in keeping together the male-contented souldiers.

The army raised in Wales, by the power of the earle of Worcester, and his son, the lord Herbert, begins to appeare.¹ is designed for Gloucester, and comes on at Coford, in the forrest of Deane, three miles from Monmouth. where colonell Berrowes regiment had made a kind of loose garrison, for the defence of the forrest, in an open towne, and with slender preparations. Here the Welch fell on; but their officers with strange fury drove our party before them, which was borne downe by their multitudes, yet with a greater losse on their part. Divers officers were slaine, and with the rest their commander-in chiefe, sir Richard Lawly, major-generall of South Wales: Of ours few slaine, but lieutenant-colonell Winter, and some inferiour officers, with about forty private souldiers, taken prisoners.² All the strength of these parts are now driven into the walls of Gloucester, onely Barkly castle is held still, for an intercourse between us and Bristoll. This city was accounted one of the chiefe holds of the kingdome, and far from the well-spring of succour; yet was there no care of a competent brigade or magazine; a common defect, by which the state hath received much detriment; that through the penury of men, armes, and amunition, remote garrisons are left in dispaire, or the intention of the maine army must be diverted, for their relief. Our succours were yet to be raised, or selected out of severall commands, and come on slowly: The people were held up by false reports; and to stave off the enemy, the governour was to put the best face on a bad matter.

Meane while a great power of the Welch army advance towards Gloucester, and settled at Highnam House, within two miles of the city, and began to intrench. The governour placed a guard at the bishops house, to keepe them at a distance. Sir Jerome Brett, their major-generall, had the confidence to demand the towne; but the summons was received with scorne from a Welch brigade, and became ridiculous when Prince Rupert had beene twice refused: Besides, an inveterate hatred, derived by fabulous tradition, had passed betweene the Welch-men and the citizens of Gloucester. Such slight and irrational passages prevaile much with the common people, in whom opinion beares rule. Those forces were said to expect Prince Ruperts approach on the other side, else it cannot be imagined to what end they lay five weekes in a stinking nest. They were basely baffled, never attempted our out guard, never undertooke the least party that issued forth. Meane while the prince was conceived to waite upon other designes. The Bristoll plot offered it selfe, upon which his person did attend before the gates of that city. Thence he was drawne off to stop Sir William Wallers advance for our reliefe; who deceived the prince by strong reports and night marches, and happily drilled along his small army to the place of action. The governour could attempt nothing, but onely make good the guard at the bishops house, and flourish with some slender sallyes: He had not an hundred horse, and the enemies foot were double the number of those in the garrison. At length an addition of two hundred

¹ These Welch forces, which lord Clarendon, on account of the sudden manner in which they were raised and dispersed, terms a mushroom army, consisted of about 1500 foot and 500 horse; levied chiefly at the expence of the marquis of Worcester, then one of the richest men in England. He had, unfortunately for his master, the affectation of desiring a separate army, and distinct command of his own. After the account of their being totally surprized and dispersed by sir William Waller, the noble historian judiciously adds, that if the expence of these raw levies, computed to amount to 60,000*l.*, had been brought into the general military expences, and employed to the best purpose, it would, in his opinion, have ended the war next summer.

² Lord Clarendon gives the following account of the marquis's army, officers, and approach to Gloucester: "The horse he put under the command of his brother, the lord Somerset, a maiden soldier too; and the foot under colonel Lawly, whom he made his major-general; a bold and sprightly officer. About the middle of February he marched towards Gloucester, with an ill omen at his setting out; for a rabble of the country people being got together, without order or officer of name, barricaded a little village in the forest of Deane, called Cover, (through which he was to pass,) and refused to give him entrance; and out of a window killed colonel Lawly and two officers more, without hurting a common soldier; whereby that body was destitute of any person of experience to command them."—*Clarendon*, II. 118.

horse and dragoones from Bristoll, under the command of captain John Fiennes, gave some life to the businesse. Hereupon severall parties, at sundry times, were drawn out, which never failed to beat the enemy into their works, kill and take prisoners, although treble the number of our strongest party; so that the name of our blew regiment became a terrour to those miserable Welch-men, who were partly constrained to take up armes, partly allured with the hope of plunder. Certainly they were deceived out of their owne country, not to fight, but to take Gloucester; by which meanes they could act an impotent villany and cruelty, but nothing of a souldiers gallantry.

Immediately after the taking of Malmesbury, Sir William Waller bent his course towards Gloucester, and laid his designe for the surprize of the Welch army. He gave notice of his advance unto lieutenant-colonell Massie, with directions instantly to draw forth both horse and foot before Hignham, and to keepe them in continuall action, that they might not understand his approach. He gave order, likewise, that those flat-bottomes which were brought from London upon carriages, for service upon the river Seaverne, should be sent downe to Frampton passage, sixe miles below Gloucester; where both horse and foot were arrived by noone, passed over the river before night, and unawares of the enemy, got between them and home, tooke them in a snare, and intercepted their flight. The governour performed according to the intention of the plot, drew forth all the horse, and a party of five hundred foot, brought up the ordnance neere the house, and kept them in the heate of play till the evening. At night he set guards round the house, with that straitnesse and confidence, that the enemy durst not stirre, nor a spy steale out, although they lay fiftene hundred strong. At sunne-rising they had a fresh alarme by our ordnance, and were held to it by our musket-shot. This morning their horse issued out, attempting to force their way through the horse guard; which they did, and put some of our horse, rashly charging, and upon disadvantage, to a disorderly retreat; but comming up to a foot guard, received a repulse. And to the reliefe of that guard, which was thought too weake, a party was drawne from the artillery, and that againe by this meanes much neglected; in so much that the same instant the enemy fell out upon our ordnance, then like to be deserted, but were beaten backe by the gallantry of some few that kept their ground. In this point of action Sir William Waller came up, and shot his warning-peece on the other side; which dasht the enemy, and so revived our men, that they ran up with fury, stormed a redoubt, and tooke in it two captaines and above thirty private souldiers; which service had a maine influence upon the surrender of the house. Sir William placed his army to the best advantage for shew, and displayed the colours of two foot regiments, reduced to a hundred and fifty men; drew neere the house, and made some few shot with his canon. After his approach, not a man of the enemy was slaine or hurt; yet the common souldiers would doe any thing but fight, when they were well fortified, and had a sufficient magazine. They sounded a parley, and sent forth some officers to treat, which had this result—that they should render the house and themselves as prisoners, and the officers should receive respect and quarter, according to their quality. Upon the returne of these terms, some advised to break through; which the common souldiers utterly refused, and neglected the advantage of a dark and rainy night. The persons that treated dealt the second time in a kind of begging way, but at last accepted the former conditions, and gave up the Welch army into the hands of men quite spent with continuall marches and watching. Divers persons of quality were here taken, the most powerfull gentry of Herefordshire; some of those that in scorne were stiled the nine worthies; who, in the first opening of the great breach, affronted the parliament with a scandalous remonstrance. The next day, being the twenty-fifth of March, neere fiftene hundred were led captive into Gloucester; as great a number as Sir William Wallers army, with the garrison

forces, could rise unto. Thus the first fruites of Wales were blasted, the strength of the nearer parts almost vanquished, and the effects of this victory had been more lasting, had it been used to the best advantage. The kings party had a notable faculty in the improvement of victories by strict imprisonment, and inhauncing the rate of their captives: Their usuall fiercenesse did extract great ransomes, or unequall exchanges, and disposed them to detaine their captives in extreame misery, and to neglect their owne friends in the like thralldome, of which those that were taken at Cirencester gave a full testimony. But the parliament garrisons knew not how to keepe a correspondence in this case, but groaned under the burthen of miserable prisoners, were prone to exchange, or set free upon easie termes. And by this meanes most of the common souldiers then taken, within tenne daies were sent backe into their owne country, with an oath never to serve against the parliament: others that tendred themselves were entertained in the service; who, for the most part, proved runnegadoes. The commanders and gentlemen came off, some with a ransome, and oath which they quickly violated; and the residue were wholly lost at the surrender of Bristoll.

The whole successe of the former action happily complied with the maine plot, and extreemly dashed the kings affaires in these parts. The generall fame did increase and heighten the repute of Sir William Waller, and the enemy, possessed therewith, began to draw back on all sides. Sir Matthew Carew forthwith quitted the towne of Tewksbury, which, within twelve houres, was repossessed by our forces: Captaine John Fienes was commanded thither, with a slender strength of horse and dragoones; with whom the well-affected of the town that abode in Gloucester began to returne. The undertaking was hasty and confused, without the observance of the enemies motion or distance, or any rationall assurance of defending the place. Our party had no sooner saluted the towne, but received an alarme that the former forces were returned with a greater power. 'Twas a gallant brigade of horse, commanded by the lord Grandeston, which immediately came from Cheltenham, whereof our men had not the least intelligence. It seemed, by the event, that the enemy expected none from Gloucester. However, there was quicke dispatch on both sides; yet captaine Fienes, with his whole party, had bin surprised, had not those horse been kept off at a miles distance by a ridiculous accident. It so fell out that they met a man comming alone from the towne, whom they fell to question whether any forces were there, of what strength, and by whom commanded. The man intending nothing lesse then the escape of our party, but supposing them a part of the parliament forces, and willing to curry favour, begins to talke of a maine strength, and vast numbers, with so many guns, and all kind of preparations, and withall defies the cavalliers, with much affected indignation; which words so farre prevailed, that they presently held a counsell of war, and once were about to fall back. This delay gave an houres respite to those within to prepare for a flight; who had no sooner recovered the end of the towne, but the enemy had entred, amazed to see themselves so miserably deluded.

When Sir William Waller had refreshed his men some few daies, about the first of Aprill, 1643, he advanced towards Monmouthshire, at the solicitation of divers gentlemen of that country, with a promise of concurrence in reducing those parts to the obedience of king and parliament. When he came neere the towne of Monmouth, where the lord Herbert had began to place a garrison, the souldiers did not abide his comming, but all shifted for themselves by flight: Sir William entred the naked and open towne, where he stayed a while, and sent many parties abroad the country for supplies of money; thence marched to Uske, where he set free some prisoners kept there. But the reducing of the country came to nothing; for the gentlemen did not perform; and he found there what usually comes to passe in such cases, that men desirous of alterations invite upon ample promises, but never make good, and seldome appeare in the businesse till the souldier hath done the worke to their hands, or they

have gotten some stronge hold to secure their ingagements. So that the well-affected would not declare themselves, because a running army could be no lasting support, and they had no strong hold, nor the stream of the people, which were at the devotion of the earle of Worcester, almost an universall land-lord in that county.

Whilst these things are acted, prince Maurice enters Tewksbury, with a power of horse and foot added to those former under the command of the lord Grandeston; resolving to make after sir William Waller, and to intercept his return out of Wales; for he was gotten into such a nooke of the land in the enemies country, that the prince might easily drive him to a *non ultra*. Wherefore a bridge of boates was made over Seaverne at Tewksbury, that they might passe to and fro nearer the retreat of our army. Here the prince marched over, with a body of two thousand horse and foot, confident of this designe, and therefore too remisse and slow in his advance. Sir William was nimble in the retreat, caused his foot and artillery to passe over Seaverne at Chepstow; and himselfe, with his horse and dragoones, passed through the lower part of the forrest of Deane, neare the river side; and before the enemy had notice of his march, sent forth two parties, to fall upon two of their maine quarters; which was performed whilst the maine body slipt between both; and a party was left to face them, and make good the retreat; which came off something disorderly, and with the losse of a few private souldiers. 'Twas an exquisite conveyance and unexpected felicity that brought them out of the snare through those intricate waies. This alarme quickly reached Gloucester, and lieutenant-colonell Massie drew out three hundred foot, and two troops of horse, to fetch off our men; but if he found them dis-engaged, for a further designe. This party met them within two miles of the towne; where the governour made knowne to sir William Waller his purpose to set upon Tewksbury; and taking the opportunity of the princes absence, and the enemies jollity at our supposed totall defeate, instantly advanced upon them, and by break of day brought up his men before the towne; one part whereof fell into the Ham, seased upon the guard left with the bridge of boats, and cut off that bridge. The horse, with the rest of the foot, came up Gloucester way. The forlorne hope surprised and slew the sentinell, climbed over the workes, and cut down the draw-bridge; whereupon both horse and foot rushed in, and the party on the other side of Avon ready to enter. There were left in the towne neere three hundred men, commanded by sir Matthew Carew; whom the triumph of yesterdaies conceived victory laid asleepe, and the sudden alarme roused up, first into a shuffling fighting posture, and after halfe an houre to a nimble escape. Sir Matthew Carew fled, and many escaped the hands of our men, who wanted numbers to surround the towne; but most of the common souldiers, and some valuable officers were taken. Oxford was as miserably gulled in these passages, and in a few houres extreemely affected with contrary reports; for the jocund newes of the vanquishing of sir William Waller arrived early in the morning, but before noone an expresse came of the losse of Tewksbury; which was cast upon the heat of the first report like cold water into a boyling pot.

The same day a party of prince Maurice his horse appeared from the top of a hill neere Tewksbury, and intimated the approach of his whole army; whereupon sir William Waller marched thither that evening, and resolved to breake downe or make good the bridge at Upton upon Seaverne, besides which there was no passe nearer then Worcester; but the scouts gave notice that the prince had recovered the bridge, and set a guard upon it. The next morning sir William advanced towards the prince, and found him in Ripple field, with his army drawn up, and divided into three bodies, besides the hedges lined with musketeers. Here our forces faced the enemy in a large

* It was this train of success that gained the active and enterprising Waller the epithet of William the Conqueror, which he lost in his battles against the loyalists of Cornwall.

field, and could hardly reach the third part of the princes strength; brought up their gunnes; having neither shot prepared, nor cannoneers that understood the businesse, nor the assistance of foot, save only a part of the governours owne company: besides, the wind and sun were against them, and no retreat, if need were, but through a narrow lane of two miles long. And whereas they might stand upon the top of a rising ground, to deceive the enemy with the semblance of a greater power behind, they descended a little on the side of the hill, and discovered their weaknesse to a full view. In this posture some perswaded to fight, and began to make some shot with the ordnance, which gave no shew of the least execution; but some other officers examined the cannoneere, and finding neither fit bullet, nor any convenient shot, but all things at randome, earnestly dissuaded either to make the onset, or expect the enemy in that place; and advising likewise the tryall, discovered their ambuscadoes within the hedges. Hereupon sir William Waller fell back, and entred the narrow lane, commanding a party of dragoones to face the princes army, and the musketeeres to stand at the corner of the lane, within the hedges, to make good the retreat. The enemy fell on. Not a man of those dragoones would stand to receive the charge, but hurried away, broke over the hedge, fell among and disordered our owne musketeers; the enemy clapt in after them, cut down foure or five of the foot, and tooke as many prisoners. Lientenant-colonell Massie kept close to his foot, and instantly dispatcht to Tewksbury for a supply; and sir Arthur Hazelrigg prevailed with his owne troope to charge,¹ and in his owne person performed gallantly. The foot, with those horse, put the enemy to a stand, and in part tooke off the foulness of the retreat through that strait passage. When they came to the next open place, our men had the advantage of a ditch to stay the persuit; and in the heat of the chase, one foot-souldier, at the command of the governour, turned upon the enemy a gate then cast off the hinges; which barred their entrance, and enabled our men to draw up for a charge. Here for a while they stood in a maze, but on a suddain faced about, ran flock-meale, the enemy upon their backs; and the close of this action was like to be miserable; but at the entrance of a strait passage neere the Myth hill, a supply of foot from the town opportunely met them, gauled the enemy, and put them to a stand once more; whilst the governour charged the leader of the forlorne hope hand to hand, and was rescued by the gallantry of some officers; when of ours onely a small party of horse remained in the field, the rest being got off in great confusion. Yet the escape might equall a victory, and the saving of the forces passe for cleare gaine. Prince Maurice did not attempt the regaining of Tewksbury, the government whereof was intrusted to sir Robert Cooke, who had newly raised a regiment of foot, by commission from sir William Waller.

At that season the main strength of the kings army was drawn from these parts, when Redding was beleaguered by the earle of Essex; by which means the parliament forces had a large and free game in this countrey, went on with a full stream of succeſse, driven with a gentle gale of providence, and a kinde of unimitable happinesse, in unbloody victories. The fortune of the former did over-rule the event of the succeeding action, and the name and presence of sir William Waller did include more then a thousand men. Neither was he wanting to himselfe, but made the best use of his present fame, and kept it up by constant active endeavours, lest a little intermission might permit the enemy to recollect himselfe, or the reall weaknesse of this army be discerned. It was therefore suddenly resolved for Hereford, whither he advanced with a thousand horse and dragoons, assisted by the governour, with the greatest part of the lord Stamfords regiment: There were also the beginnings of colonell

¹ Sir Arthur Haslerig commanded a regiment of five hundred cavalry, so completely armed with corslets, that they were called the *Lobsters*. This was the first body of cavalry in the service of the parliament which could be brought to endure the shock of the king's horse.

Thomas Stephens his regiment. The maine body of horse and foot were drawn up before Bisters-gate, on the north side of the town, stood aloof off, and shot at random, till the lieutenant-colonell commanded captain Grey, with a party of musketiers, over the river, towards Wie bridge; whose march was secured by a rising bank under the walls. These were ordered to make shew of an assault, and, if need were, to fall back unto the water-side, where seconds were placed for their reliefe. The enemies horse sallied out upon them, whom that party having gallantly kept off, and forced back into the city, withdrew thence, and gained a church within pistoll-shot of St Owens-gate, whence our musketiers plaied on the walls, and exceedingly terrified those within. But the main rest of the businesse was the name of a conquering army, which sir William Waller improved to the best advantage, by all expedition and industry. And to help forward, Massie drew up two sakers¹ in a strait line against Wigmarsh gate; not without extream hazard by shot from the walls; himselfe gave fire; and the first canon-shot entred the gate, took an officers head from his shoulders, and slew some few besides. More shots were made, each of which scoured the streets, and so daunted the enemy, that they presently sounded a parley, which was entertained by sir William Waller, and hostages given on both sides. The parley lasted almost the whole day, whilst most of the common souldiers ranne over Wie bridge into Wales: only the commanders and gentlemen remained, and were reported to be held in by the townsmen, to sweeten the surrender, and obtaine better quarter. Next morning they rendred. The chiefe prisoners here taken were, the lord Scudamore, colonell Coningsby, sir William Crofts, &c.; few horse and private souldiers, but store of armes and ammunition. The town compounded, was secured from plunder, and after fourteen dayes deserted. Sir William Waller obtained many faire victories, but had no power to make them good, because his field was too large for that strength, and the state made an inconsiderable number of men the only stay of the remote parts. These could over-run the enemies countrey, but get no ground, master no strong hold, nor reduce a people naturally malignant, that were dashed at present, but did flourish again in the reverse of the kings army. The next attempt was made upon Worcester, whither all the horse and the greatest part of the blue regiment were drawn. They at Oxford were said to have yeilded that town for lost, and to give out that sir William was gone to take possession of his purchase; for at that time treason was the pretended cause of every losse on both sides, especially if weak and unworthy. Both horse and foot came up before the city, where they lay a day and a night, effected nothing, and were drawn off at the noise of the lord Capels advance; at which instant sir William Waller was taken off these parts, and ordered to march into the west with all speed, to prevent the joyning of sir Ralph Hoptons forces with the rest of the kings army. Sir Robert Cooks regiment was called off from Tewksbury for the western expedition, and that town once more slighted.

Hitherto Lieutenant-Colonell Massie governed the city of Gloucester, by deputation from the earle of Stamford, whose returne was not expected; wherefore the thoughts of the citizens began to enquire after a governour. They thought well of a man neare home, and cast their eye upon a knowne patriot. Neverthelesse, more intelligent men, upon the serious review of the cities continuall hazard, found that the necessity of this place did require a tried souldier, and that such a one might possibly be found faithfull, but a timorous or unskilfull man must needs ruine all: Wherefore they reflected on Massie, whose good services gave them also a competent assurance of his fidelity; that, by the happy choice of the citizens, and the lord-generals commission, he was appointed governour. To enable the city to defend it selte, a foot

¹ The sakers were small pieces of artillery, which, like the falcons and falconets, took their name from a particular kind of hawk.

regiment was raised, by commission from sir William Waller, out of the townsmen, for the major part, both officers and souldiers, under the command of colonell Henry Stephens. The first intention of this regiment was to defend the city only within the walls, according to the infancy of warre; but the hard service of this place did suddenly require and exact the full duty of souldiers. At this instant the city was well becalmed, only there hapned one passage of inferiour nature, but full of the fortune of warre. The governour, with a party of an hundred and twenty horse and dragoons, advanced towards Stow in the Wold, to beat up the enemies quarters. By break of day he fell into Slaughter, took a lieutenant, twelve troopers, horse and armes, and thence marched to Odington, a mile beyond Stow, where he surprised a captaine of a troop, with forty men and horse, and so made homewards; neglecting the residue of the enemy, who drew out of their quarters with all speed. The remainder of their regiment fell upon the reere of our men, neare unto Slaughter, with some slight execution, but were beaten back. The governour being confident he was able to fight with them upon any ground, made no haste to march off, till the enemy had received a supply of horse from Sudely Castle, and again charged him at Andovers foord; whom our men received gallantly, and repulsed without any losse. The captaine that led the van was slain by the governours hand, and the rest wheeled about; whereupon the governour dismounted the dragoons, and divided his men into three bodies; the horse to the right and left wing; in this posture resolving to march up to the enemy, (who would gladly rid their hands of the businesse;) but having advanced a little distance, and looking back to bring on his men, saw the greater part in a strange hurry, occasioned by the facing about of some cowardly spirits, and himselfe with those dismounted men desperately engaged. For a while he shuffled amongst the enemies troopes, till observing himself eyed by some, he sprang forth, fired in their faces, and came last off the field, upon the maine roade. He offended here, by affecting too much gallantry, and was deceived in his new-raised men, who were not hardned by the sight of an enemy. Besides, no ordinary care was had of securing the prisoners, who were all recovered back. Four of ours were slaine, many wounded; Colonel Stephens, a lieutenant, with five-and-twenty private souldiers, taken prisoners. The springing hopes of colonell Stephens failed, unfortunately, when his eager minde engaged him in the action without order, and against the will of the commander-in-chiefe. He had no command in the action, but hasted after, as greedy of the service. He was led captive to Oxford, and a while after breathed his last in that poysonous ayre, where many gentlemen were observed in those dayes to expire.

Amidst these things, sir John Winter, a zealous papist, began to declare himselfe: —A subtile wit, that pretended innocency till his houre was come, and had almost perswaded the world that he durst deny himselfe, and commit an unpardonable sinne against the catholike cause. His house in the forrest of Deane was at first neglected, when it was in the power of this garrison to ruine his designe. But under-hand he prepared for defence, suddenly clapt in his owne confidents, and with a little labour made it inaccessible, but with apparent great losse, and maintained his den as the plague of the forrest, and a goad in the sides of this garrison. These things were acted about the time of that blow, almost fatall to the parliaments cause, in the vanquishing of sir William Wallers army at the Devices;¹ which defeat cast these parts of the kingdome into a miserable plight, when the state had placed the whole game in the successe of this army; never providing a reserve. The king became master of the field, the parliament left without an army that could check the enemy, who came

¹ Commonly called the battle of Roundway Down, in which sir William Waller sustained a severe defeat from the forces under Lord Wilmot; losing his whole arms, ammunition, and baggage, and himself escaping with the greatest difficulty.

up to our gates, and by threats would seeme to shake the walls of the city. Many began to prepare for flight, whose presence no reall necessity, but the peoples opinion did require. They at Bristoll disclosed their feares, and gave no good presages: And when that city was yeilded, Gloucester did stand alone, without help and hope. The lord-generals army pined away: Sir William Waller at London for a recruit: The earle of Stamford shut up within the walls of Exeter: The kings countrey reached from the utmost Cornwall to the borders of Scotland; and he was able to divide his army; one part for Exeter, and the other for Gloucester.

That sudden surrender of Bristoll, which was almost beyond our feares, brought forth a dark gloomy day to the city of Gloucester. The mindes of people were filled with amazement, and the failing of such a promising government made most men infidels, or at least to question all things. But here was the greatest mischief of all: Many were not wanting to debate upon the maine cause of the kingdom; malignant spirits took the advantage of our misery; and unstable mindes, who, beholding only the surface of things, and led by the common voice of their equals, were flushed in prosperous times, now became crest-fallen, and questioned the passages of state; conceiving each miscarriage a fundamentall error, and accounting their present sufferings, not for religion and liberty, but some scruples of state policy. The state of things required strong resolution; the usuall posture could not pretend to the safety of the place. The souldiers therefore acted with mindes more sturdy and vigorous as desperate concerning the enemy, but not in despaire of their owne party. The commanders reserved no place of retreat; and if causelesse jealousies over-clouded any, they put themselves upon a free declaration. The old and carefull souldiers who were unlucky in the censures of the people, upon the first arrivall of the sad newes from Bristoll, vented themselves in sharp and cutted speeches, which, bursting from the fulnesse of the thoughts, did imprint and pierce, were received for good prognosticks, and repaired likewise that credit which the presumption of a conceived opinion bore down; and an ordinary good behaviour could hardly raise up, but happily regained by one violent and severer passage. The officers were to give in a full resolve that no place be left for an after dispute; wherefore they vowed never to see within the gates the face of a conquering enemy. But chiefly the hearts of the people were to be held up; wherefore the governour appeared in publike, rode from place to place with a cheerfull aspect, and bearing before him no change in the sudden alteration of fortune. To them that enquired into his very thoughts, hee gave assurance of safety; concealing the danger, or lessening its esteem. Fear did not beget confusion, but things were transacted in a calm and constant order. The presages of misery were exquisitely shunned, and the least shew of distraction and weaknesse forbidden. Money, plate, valuable goods, or any kinde of riches were not suffered to passe the gates, but here to rest, as in a safe treasury, that the people might resolve upon a happy deliverance, or an utter destruction. Neverthelesse, whosoever was weak and faint-hearted had leave to depart the city. Meane while the enemy dealt under-hand, and, by the mediation of seeming friends, affectionately solicited a surrender; with terrible information of our manifold losses abroad, of the rage of the kings army, and inevitable desolation; and withall tendred the opportunity of an accommodation between his majesty and the citizens. The mouthes of the viler people were filled with curses against the authours of our engagements. We received strange intimations of dreadfull things concerning the state. The whole countrey forsook us, and employed some to represent their desires and thoughts of the businesse; who, in the generall, had so farre revolted from themselves, as to perswade us to make our peace with the enemy, and to befool and execrate our perseverance; for they conceived the standing-out of Gloucester, however advantagious to the common-wealth, yet miserable for them; because, by the falling down of a great army, they expected a destruction of corn and

cattle; and if, at last, the king should not take in this place, to stoop perpetually under two burthens, and be cast into a remedlesse condition of misery and poverty: Whereas if the enemy should prevaile, they were sure to rest in the heart of the kings countrey, farre from spoile and plunder, and have as free and ample trade as in times of peace. The citizens examined their own strength and grounds of perseverance; a common councell was held, the officers being present; their late protestation brought to remembrance, by which they were all obliged never to act or comply with the adverse faction; and upon that pretext joyntly refused the tender of peace. Neverthelessse a great number of the inhabitants were only not malignants, but born up by the zeale of the rest, and the souldiers power; and those stuck most to the businesse who were held up by the deep sense of religion, or acknowledged a necessity to withstand a malicious and enraged enemy, whose implacable hatred urged them to offend against their own designs, and by horrid threatnings to make the attempt more desperate. A den of rebels was the common language. A few dayes respite recovered the city, and reports of a sudden reliefe did reare up the spirits of the common people. No crosse, show, or doubtfull resolutions did hinder the businesse: all suspended their private cares; and the women and children acted their parts, in making up the defects of the fortifications. The strength of Gloucester was no more then two regiments of foot, an hundred horse, with the trained bands, and a few reformadoes: there were besides about an hundred horse and dragoons from Berkley Castle; in the whole about fifteen hundred men: forty single barrels of gunpowder, with a slender artillery: the works of a large compasse; not half perfect. From the south gate eastward almost to the north port, the city was defended with an ancient wall, lined with earth to a reasonable heighth; thence to the north gate, with a slender work upon a low ground, having the advantage of a stone barn that commanded severall wayes. Upon the lower part of the city, from the north to the west gate, (being a large tract of ground,) there was no ancient defence, but a small work newly rayseed, with the advantage of marish grounds without, and a line drawn within, from the inner north gate, under the colledge wall, to the priory of St Oswalds. From the west, towards the south gate, along the river-side, no more defence then the river it selfe, and the meadows beyond, levell with the town: From the castle to the south port, a firme and lofty work, to command the high ground in the suburbs. The ditches narrow, but watered round. In this posture did the city stand when the kings forces hovoured over the hills, and now and then skirted upon the town, before a close siege was laid. Upon the tenth of August they came down like a torrent, full of victory and revenge, with indignation that a forlorne city should stand before them. Neverthelessse, they would faine overcome without blood and the losse of time, then pretious, in their full career of victory. For which end his majesty came in person before it, that the terror of his presence might prevaile with some, and the person of the king amaze the simple, and seem to alter the case. Thus they began to work, because the mayor had answered a former summons from prince Rupert, that according to his oath he kept the town in his majesties behoof; and some whisperers gave a malignant intimation that the kings presence would sway the people.¹ And it was so, that the town was held for

¹ Clarendon assigns as a reason for the king's approach to Gloucester, the hopes of a private treaty with Massey the governor, and gives the following account of the foundation on which they were reared. "The governour of that garrison was one colonel Massey, a soldier of fortune, who had, in the late northern expeditions prepared by the king against Scotland, been an officer in the king's army, under the command of one colonel William Leg; and in the beginning of these troubles had been at York, with an inclination to serve the king; but finding himself not enough known there, and that there would be little gotten but the comfort of a good conscience, he went to London, where there was more money and fewer officers, and was easily made lieutenant-colonel to the earl of Stamford; and being quickly found to be a diligent and stout officer, and of no ill parts of conversation, to render himself acceptable among the common people, was, by his lordship, when he went into the west, left governour of that city of Gloucester, where he had behaved himself actively and

the use of his majesty, but according to the sense of the houses of parliament; and the citizens put no difference between a command in person or deputation: Whereupon his majesty gave this honorable summons, by two heraulds at armes.

CHARLES REX.

OUT of our tender compassion to our city of Gloucester, and that it may not receive prejudice by our army, which we cannot prevent, if we be compelled to assault it, we are personally come before it to require the same; and are graciously pleased to let all the inhabitants of, and all other persons within that city, as well souldiers as others, know, that if they shall immediately submit themselves, and deliver this city to us, we are contented freely and absolutely to pardon every one of them without exception; and doe assure them, in the word of a king, that they, nor any of them, shall receive the least damage or prejudice by our army, in their persons or estates: But that we will appoint such a governor, and a moderate garrison to reside there, as shall be both for the ease and security of that city and the whole county. But if they shall neglect this offer of grace and favour, and compell us, by the power of our army, to reduce that place, (which, by the helpe of God, we shall easily and shortly be able to doe,) they must thanke themselves for all the calamities and miseries that shall befall them. To this message we expect a cleare and positive answer, within two houres after the publishing hereof; and by these presents doe give leave to any persons safely to repaire to, and returne from us, whom that city shall desire to imploy unto us in that businesse: And we do require all the officers and souldiers of our army quietly to suffer them to passe accordingly.

The king by this time drew into the field before the towne, attended by prince Charles, the duke of Yorke, prince Rupert, and generall Ruthen; faced us with about six thousand horse and foote on that side, and two thousand horse on the other side. After some debate upon the message, an answer was drawn, consented unto both by citizens and souldiers, and presented to his majesty by serjeant-major Pudsey and a citizen.*

successfully. There was no reason to despair that this man (not intoxicated with any of those fumes which made men rave and frantic in the cause) might not be wrought upon: And William Leg, who had the good opinion of most men, and the particular kindness of prince Rupert, had sent a messenger, who was like to pass without suspicion to Gloucester, with such a letter of kindness, and overture to Massey, as was proper in such a case from one friend to another. This messenger returned when the king's and the army's motion was under debate, and brought an answer from the governour to colonel Leg in a very high style, and seeming to take it much unkindly that he should endeavour to corrupt him in his honesty and fidelity, and to persuade him to break a trust, which, to save his life, he would never do; with much discourse of his honour and reputation, which would be always dear to him. But this messenger said withall, that after the governor had given him this letter, and some sharp reproaches before company, he was brought again, a back way, to a place where the governor was by himself, and then he told him, that it was most necessary he should write such an answer as he had done; which was communicated to those who else would have been jealous what such a messenger should come to him about: but that he should tell William Leg that he was the same man he had ever been—his servant; and that he wished the king well: That he heard prince Rupert meant to bring the army before that town: If he did, he meant to defend it as well as he could; and his highness would find another work than he had at Bristol; but if the king himself came with his army, and summoned it, he would not hold it against him; for it would not stand with his conscience to fight against the person of the king; besides that in such a case he should be able to persuade those of the town, which otherwise he could not do.” —CLARENDON, II. 242. The event shews that this was a *Ruse de guerre* on the part of Massey.

* Clarendon gives the following picturesque account of Serjeant-Major Pudsey and his companion in office. —“ Within less than the time prescribed, together with the trumpeter returned two citizens from the town, with lean, pale, sharp, and bad visages; indeed faces so strange and unusual, and in such a garb and posture, that at once made the most severe countenances merry, and the most chearful hearts sad; for it was impossible such ambassadors could bring less than a defiance. The men, without any circumstances of duty or good manners, in a pert, shrill, undismayed accent, said, they had brought an answer from the godly city of Gloucester to the king; and were so ready to give insolent and seditious answers to any question, as if their business were chiefly to provoke the king to violate his own safe conduct.” —CLARENDON, II, 243.

WE the inhabitants, magistrates, officers, and souldiers within this garrison of Gloucester, unto his majesties gracious message return this humble answer: That we do keep this city, according to our oath and allegiance, to and for the use of his majesty and his royall posterity, and doe accordingly conceive ourselves wholly bound to obey the commands of his majesty, signified by both houses of parliament; and are resolved by Gods help to keep this city accordingly.

His majesty with all mildnesse seemed to receive this answer, onely to wonder at our confidence, and whence wee expected succour; adding these words:—"Waller is extinct, and Essex cannot come." The enemy advanced forwards into the suburbs on the east side, where they lost a commander in the first skirmish, and the rest were fired out; for upon the returne of the messengers the suburbs on each part of the city were all in a flame; which did secure and more strongly engage us, and which the enemy beheld as the act of desperate rebels; for those dreadful sights doe seeme to heighten and bloud the minds of men. The next day we discovered that they had begun their entrenchments on the south and east parts the night before, in the shadow and shelter of the houses which the flames had not caught, within musket-shot of the walls. They in the trenches plyed their worke whilest the musketeers played hard on both sides. Yet our men from the walls could doe little to retard their pioners, but by several sallies with small parties, fell into their trenches, beate them out, gained some working-tooles, armes, and prisoners, and retreated without losse. Our ordnance likewise from the east gate killed some few, and among the rest a lieutenant-colonell and captaine of the queens black regiment. Sir Jacob Ashley was then shot in the arme; and upon severall approaches we beat off the enemy, killed and wounded many.

By that time the Welch forces under the command of sir William Vavasour were advanced to the bishops house, halfe a mile from the west gate; one of our out-guards, by us intended to keep off the approach of the Welch, but now deserted for want of men, and that nothing might be lost which we purposed to defend. Here they left a sufficient guard, and passed over the river, to joyne with the forces that newly arrived from Worcester, who made their leager on the north-west side of the city. Generall Ruthen placed his leager behind the priory of Lanthony, on the south side, very neere, but sheltred from our shot by a rising ground. Sir Jacob Ashley, with a strong party, quartered in some part of the suburbs on the east side. The east and south ports were dammed up, and rammed with a thicnesse of earth cannon prooffe; and the walls on that side, from port to port, were lined to the battlements, since there we thought to receive the maine shock.

Three dayes after the siege laid, an hundred and fifty musketeers, commanded by captaine Gray, sallied over the workes, upon the Worcester forces, with whom the Welch had not yet joyned, fell into their quarters, marched up to their maine-guard, killed a captaine, with eight or nine common souldiers, tooke five prisoners, divers armes, burnt their guard, and retreated without the losse of any. Within a day after, upon some suspicion and kinde of intelligence that the enemies ordnance lay undiscovered in some grounds neere the north gate, Captain Mallery was commanded forth,

¹ Clarendon thus details the preparations for the siege on the part of the royalists.—"At the same instant orders were dispatched to Sir William Vavasour, who commanded all the forces in South Wales, (the lord Herbert having been persuaded so far to comply with the indisposition of the people as to decline that command, or at least for a time to dissemble it,) to draw all his men to the forest-side of the town, where the bridges being broken down, a small strength would keep them in, and any from going to them; which within two days was done. Thus the king was engaged before Gloucester, and thereby gave respite to the distracted spirits at London to breathe and compose themselves; and, more methodically than they had hoped to have done, to prepare for their preservation, and accomplishing their own end; which at that time seemed almost desperate and incurable."—CLARENDON, II, 244.

with a hundred and fifty musketers, to surprise it ; but finding none, retreated without losse ; having killed some, taken a few prisoners, and fired some of their quarters. Upon the sixteenth of August another party, of an hundred and fifty musketers, commanded by Captaine Crispe, sallied forth at the north port, fell into their trenches under the town-wall on the east side, marched above halfe way through them, performed gallantly, killed above an hundred men, as was confessed by some of the enemy, wounded many, beat them out of their workes, and, by the helpe of our musketers from the walls, retreated without the losse of any, only two wounded, after a very hot skirmish, for the space of halfe an houre, the cannon and musquets on both sides playing most furiously. These executions put those within on a desperate straine, and heated their minds with blood.

The enemy was indefatigable and swift in the entrenchments. The workes from the south and east gates hastened to meete each other. Their preparations seemed more tedious, yet effectual and certaine, and tended withall to save the lives of their men : Wherefore they chused not a sudden storme on the lower and weaker parts of the city, but rather to prepare the assault on the strongest side, yet most easy to their intention ; for there only could they raise the workes without the annoyance of the water-springs that issued in the lower grounds ; there only could they make battery within pistoll-shot of the walls that wanted flankers ; and when they once had entered a breach there, they were instantly possest of the highest part of the town. On this side, therefore, were their ordnance brought up ; and first two culverins of sixteen pound bullet were planted on the east side, a little out of musket-shot, where they made some store of shot, but did no execution. Next they planted three pieces of ordnance, of foure-teene and five-and-twenty pound bullet, upon their battery in a square redoubt on the south side, and began to batter the corner point of the wall, and a brick house adjoining ; where one of our men was killed, without more harme. Then they played upon our ordnance mounted against their battery point blank, and made some slight breach, which was quickly stopped up with wool-packs and cannon-baskets. By this time they had drawne the trench neer the moate, where they made a kind of mine to drain it, and sunk much of the water, and attempted to cast faggots into the moate, but were beaten off by our musketers. At several times they shot large granadoes out of their mortar-pieces : Many fell into houses and brake, but did no harme ; and one that fell in the street had the fuz quenched before it came to ground, was taken up whole, and found to weigh three-score pound.

After the Welch and Worcester forces came up, foure peece of ordnance were drawn a good distance before the place of their leager, and one planted against the Awne-gate, and the sconces thereunto adjoining : Wherefore a party, of about foure hundred musketers, commanded by major Pudsey and captaine Gray, assisted by captaine Faulkner and captaine Massey, sallied forth of the north gate. Meane while a lieutenant, with fifty musketeers, was sent over the works to give them an alarm, whilst the greater party got behinde their cannon and breast-workes, fell upon their mane guard, slew many officers, two canoneers, with about a hundred common souldiers mortally wounded, took a lieutenant, with foure more prisoners, nayled their cannon, and retreated with the losse only of two slaine, and about foure taken prisoners.

The enemy having planted three pieces of ordnance against the south side, and now three more on the east side, and two more neer the east gate, within pistoll-shot of the town wall, began a most furious battery upon the corner point, and made above an hundred and fifty great shot against it, whereby the stones were sorely battered, but the earth workes stood firme. By all this shot only two persons were hurt ; for the battery was so neare, that if the bullet missed the wall, it flew quite over the town, or lighted at randome ; yet in the intervalls of the great shot, after each discharge, our musketers playd hard, and killed foure principall cannoneers : Neither were the

people daunted at the noyse of cannon, which, by the slender execution, became so contemptible, that at that very time women and children wrought hard in lining the walls and repairing the breaches. The enemy continued the storme by sending granaadoes, which were guided by the hand of Providence into by-places, and sometimes falling upon the houses, did rend and teare the buildings, when the people within were preserved.

After ten dayes siege, two severall parties were designed for the nayling of the enemies cannon. These were commanded to fall into the trenches, and march on till they met each other. The one party, of about two hundred muskietiers of the town regiment, commanded by captaine Stevenson and captaine Moore, sallied forth at the north gate, to have fallen into their trenches at the east port; but by the mistake of their guide, over a marish ground, and full of ditches, were brought round about to sir Jacob Ashleys quarter, where most of them came not up. Only fourty muskietiers encountred with five colours of the enemy, slew divers of them, took two lieutenants prisoners, forced back the rest, and marching a little farther, faced, and fired at eight colours more, and so retreated. In the retreat two troopes of the enemies horse came on the rear, whom our men facing about and charging, forced to fall back, and made good their own retreat. In this distracted skirmish two of ours were killed, three hurt, and a sarjeant taken prisoner. The other party of the lord Stamfords regiment, commanded by captaine Blunt and captaine White, sallied by boat down the river, on the south part of the town, towards the maine leagre, marched up to a square redoubt, (our cannon in the mean while playing upon the houses in the suburbs,) beat them thence, killed a major, with some common souldiers, and advanced to meet the other party. But the design failing, through the misguidance of the other party, they were called off, and by the help of our ordnance made a faire retreat, without losse of any, onely two wounded. The failing of the enterprize crossed a brave exploit and feasible: They might have scoured the trenches, under the shelter of our walls; neither did the enemy take care to prevent them, by turning the mouthes of any one piece of ordnance upon the entry of the entrenchment. Neverthelesse, the crosse event did much amaze them, that a small party should runne up to their head-quarters, force their men, and recover back without a sensible losse. Certainly the care of a higher Providence preserved and brought off those many severall parties, when the vanquishing of any one of them must needs run the city upon extream hazard; for our whole strength remained upon the works day and night, except the reserve of a hundred and twenty men at the maine guard. One rare and slender rank were to receive the storme without seconds; yet the safety of the whole did require those frequent sallies, (a desperate remedy to a despairing city,) not only to cast back the enemies preparations, but to amaze them, that the souldiers should be held up in such heighth of resolution, and cause them to expect more hot service from within the works. Our men likewise were to be kept in the heat of action, to prevent the fainting of the spirits; their hands also imbrued in blood, did the more enrage them; nor by safer meanes could they overcome the terroure, which, by the reputation of the kings army, might possesse their minds. The enemy were kept waking by continuall alarums, to waste and weary them; and 'twas the care of the governour to cause a perpetuall noise; that whensoever their cannon had been silent for a while, one or two of our guns gave fire, to disturbe the calm, and signifie to the country that we were yet alive; for the besiegers ever and anon scattered reports of the taking of the town, with a purpose to prevent our reliefe. All things within did presage a deliverance. The sadness of the times did not cloud the countenance of the people; they beheld their fortunes with a clear brow, and were deliberate and chearfull in the endeavours of safety. No great complainings were heard in our streets; no discontent seized on the souldiers, at other times prone to mutiny; men of suspected fidelity did not faile in action; every va-

inable person was active in his own place; the usuall outcries of women were not then heard, the weaknesse of whose sexe was not overcome by the terrible engines of warre; and our becalmed spirits did implore divine assistance without confusion. The governour personally performed, ready at every turning of affairs, and gracing the businesse with speech and gesture. Upon the least intimation of diffidence, he pretended rationall hopes of successe; adding withall, that our late yeelding could not mollifie the kings army; and if in the close we must needs be lost, no surer means of safety then by the utmost gallantry to constraine honourable conditions.

The enemy still prepared for a general storm, mean while seeking to waste our magazine, which they knew must needs suddenly fayl, expended their own store, and dayly acted to the terrour of the inhabitants; shooting granadoes, fire-bals, and great stones out of their mortar-peece, and had now planted a battery on the south side westward, unto which the lower part of the town was open. Thence in one night they shot above twenty fiery melting-hot iron bullets; some eighteen pound weight, others two-and-twenty pound weight, which were seen to fly through the ayre like the shooting of a starre. They passed through stables and ricks of hay, where the fire, by the swiftnesse of the motion, did not catch, and falling on the tops of houses, presently melted the leads, and sunk through; but all the skill and industry of the enemy could not set one house on fire.

They still played their great shot against the wals, and wrought hard in filling up the moat with faggots and earth at the place where they battered, where also they built a gallery over the head of the trench, the breadth of foure abreast; in the shelter whereof they had almost workt themselves over the moat. Then we found that they had sunk a mine under the east gate; whereupon the governour commanded a counter-mine in two places; but finding the springs, left off, conceiving for the same reason the endeavour of the enemy to no purpose. To discover or interrupt this work, a sergeant, with five daring men, were put forth at a port-hole in the dungeon at the east gate, came close to the mouth of their mine, took off the board that covered it, and for a while viewed the miners. One of these cast in a hand-granado amongst them, whilst the foure muskietiers played upon them as they ran forth, and with the noise of our men from the walls gave the whole leager a strong alarm, and crept in at the port-hole without harm. Wherefore, discovering that the enemy, notwithstanding the springs, went on with their mine, we renewed our counter mine; for they had sunk a great depth under the moat, and extreemely toyled in drawing up the spring water, till at length they had gotten under the gate, that our miners could heare them work under them, and did expect to spoyle them, by pouring in water, or stealing out their powder.

For a remedy to this mischief, and withall the enemy having planted store of canon baskets within half musket-shot of the east gate, point blank, intending a battery there upon the springing of their mine, we made a very strong work crosse the street, with a large trench before it, and filled it with water, intending to raise it up to the eaves of the houses, and to plant some canon there. We answered their severall approaches by so many counter-works. A sconce was built upon a rising ground that looked into their trenches, where we could plant foure piece of ordnance, to cleare within the wals a ground called the Friars Orchard, southward, and scoure their flank upon their entrance at the east gate, and so northward. Also an inner work was drawn from the south side along the middle of the Orchard, and all passages stopt between that and the east port. And to hinder their gallery, we began to undermine, for a place to put forth a peece of ordnance at the bottom of the wall, to batter the flank thereof; which was perfected, and a saker there placed. Commanded men were drawn out upon the walls, granadoes provided, and when the great gun played upon the gallery, the muskietiers sent plenty of shot, and cast divers granadoes into their trenches. In the mean while (they firing their ordnance against the top of the wall) we cut off a maine beame of the gallery

with our bolt shot: But the same day the enemy had sunk a piece against the port-hole of our mine, and forced us to withdraw the saker; yet we cast them back three dayes work.

And because all this side of the town had no flankers, nothing did more offend the enemy in their entrenchments then an old barne at a corner point near the north port, in which was mounted a peece that commanded three severall wayes, and obliquely looked into their trenches, and oft times did good execution upon the pioners. This was the chiefe strength of that side, conceived the weakest part of the town. Upon the key-head an halfe-moon was raysed, with a breast-work upon Seavern side, under the castle, to defend an assault from those high grounds beyond the river, which was ever feared by those within.

His majesty constantly residing at a miles distance, would not solemnly invite by public summons, lest hee should detract from the honour of his enterprize: neverthelesse, those about him dealt under-hand, by sundry advertizements of the kings displeasure, threatnings, perswasions, and many intimations of possible grace and favour. Some of our neighbours in their own names desired admission to a conference, and perswaded the surrender of the city, in regard of the great power and terrible menacings of the enemy, with the small hopes, and, in a manner, impossibility of reliefe; adding withall the heavy burthens under which the country groaned. The governor made answer, that we were sufficiently conscious of our own strength and the ground of our resolution, and that we did not think ourselves obliged to the enemy for the hopes and offers of favour. These manifold perswasions made the besieged more obstinate, and enabled them to understand themselves as a people worthy of entreaty, a prize worth the purchase, and in no wise lost or desperate; the enemies themselves being judges.

As the souldiers within were heated with their own performance, so the enemy without being wasted in a lingering design before the houre of service came, grew feeble in their own thoughts, and to us contemptible. Our common souldiers took to themselves a liberty to revile, prevented and confounded the enemy with the self-same language in which they were wont to abuse and scorne our party; which contumely, though it begets a more deadly hatred and desire of revenge in generous mindes, at that time did deject exceedingly and debase the spirits of their private souldiers, who had never performed one gallant atchievement, and to whom the sturdinesse of our men was well known. The slownesse of their design in that form of a leaguer proceeded from the desire of saving their foot, with this presumption, that there was no power to raise the siege; which confidence deceived them till too late; for their foot, after those many knocks, and the first fury spent, were not so capable of the service, without the help of many tedious preparations. Wherefore, besides their mine and battery, they framed great store of those unperfect and troublesome engines, to assault the lower parts of the city. Those engines ran upon wheels, with planks, musket-proof, placed on the axel-tree, with holes for musket-shot, and a bridge before it; the end whereof (the wheels falling into the ditch) was to rest upon our breast-works.

Our reliefe seemed slow, and the straitnesse of the siege debarred all intelligence. Only two spies which we sent out returned from Warwick, and brought newes of the advance of the lord-generall. The report of his excellency, who then lay under a cloud, did give no great assurance. The truth is, the sense of the depth of our distresse did not reach us. Sir William Waller, upon whom the citizens of London cast their favour, had not the reliques of an army: the generals army crumbled away: the malignants of London fomented tumults in the city; and insurrections in Kent distracted the businesse. The house of lords voted a treaty with the king; the house of commons debated the matter. The resolution of Gloucester turned the stream, whose succour was resolved upon, as the kingdoms safety. The recruit of the army was too slow for the service. The London trained bands, or none, must relieve us, but could not agree

who should undertake the businesse. Essex was not favoured, but the more prudent saw that he must be the man. That none might decline the service upon whom the lot fell, the shop windows were commanded to be shut up, and trading for a time suspended. The expedition was hasted in every pulpit, carried on with continuall fasting and prayer. An army was framed in an instant, and marched with incredible swiftnesse. Prince Rupert, with the greatest part of the kings horse, drew from Gloucester, to retard their march, but still appearing in the van, did no more then drill them along. The enemy stayed before us till the last houre, judging every particle of time a great advantage, not knowing what a moment might bring forth. They within, not satisfied with the former intelligence, sent out two other spies with a double signall; first one fire on the side of a hill, to signifie their escapes, and two fires on the same place, if they heard good newes; which latter was accordingly performed, and beheld by us.

The fifth of September was appointed for a public fast, to be kept by such as might be spared from labour. This day we discovered their carriages marching from the leaguer, and their horse and foot marching after; yet we were not confident of the raising of the siege till the men were drawn out of the trenches, and the reer-guard fired their huts. We then perceived that God had sent a deliverance, and that in the close of a solemn fast, as a gracious returne of prayer.

This evening the lord-generall came to the brow of the hills seven miles from the town, and fired a warning piece; but by reason of the contrary winds the report was not heard, neither did the newes reach us that night: Wherefore we did not venture upon the reere of the enemy with our slender and wearied forces, but kept as strong and watchfull guards as any time before; presuming that reliefe at hand had raised the enemy, yet suspecting that in point of honour they would attempt something worthy of a royall army. But abiding before us to the last extremity, they were driven away with great confusion, after so many vowes of victory and revenge, when their mines, batteries, and engines were in readinesse. This hurry preserved the countrey from injury, which by them was devoted to ruine. His majesty was forced to leave the town behinde him, and constrained to a tedious march in that tempestuous rainy night; their carriages were not got up the hills till the next morning, which distraction was not known to us; and the generals army was tired with long and continuall marches. The admirable care of Providence was beheld in the season of our reliefe, when all things were prepared by the enemy for a generall storme; our ammunition consumed; but three single barrells of powder left in our magazine, and not so much more elsewhere: in the little harm done by their cannon and morder-pieces, that sent amongst us so many terrible messengers. Our lost men, taken or slain, did not amount to the number of fifty, and of these but two officers were slain—captain Marcus and the governors ensign; yet we killed of the enemy (who never ventured an assault) above a thousand men, by the lowest confession. The king expended much in ammunition, engines, and keeping together the discontented souldiers, besides the losse of his pretious time in that full tyde of victory. Here was a bound set to the swelling of those proud waves, and the rock that split that army; when the queen was sayd to be transported with passion because her counsell was not followed; who advised the king to wave Gloucester, and advance for London, whilst the parliament had no army in the field, the number of malignants in the city did equall the rest, began to rayse tumults, and the actions of state were unresolved. This city diverted the enemies thoughts from that rare opportunity; which, not so conscious of the kingdoms weaknesse, held up beyond reason, and gave a breathing-time to the state to effect its own reliefe. Great was the falling of the kings hopes in this defeat; who by the gaining of this town would have held an undivided, uninterrupted command, and the granary of the kingdome in the heart of his country; on the west bounded with the sea, cleare through the middle of the land to the northerne parts, where also the earl of Newcastles army prevailed, and in breadth reach-

ing from the utmost Wales to the London association, and backed with Ireland, with whom an accommodation was then preparing.

Neverthelesse the raising of the siege was but an unperfect deliverance. The successe of the generals army, with the supply of our wants, were to make it compleat; for the enemy continually lay at our doores, commerce was clean taken away, and we farre distant from the fountaine of future supplies; wherefore, during the stay of his excellency, parties of horse were continually sent abroad to fetch in provisions out of the enemies quarters and malignants estates. The granary was quickly filled. The generall left three culverins, forty single barrels of gunpowder, and set the garrison in order.

The London train-bands and auxiliaries supposing the work already done, and the date of their commission expired, earnestly contended homewards; yet must they break their way through the kings army, and give him some further blow, to secure and perfect the reliefe of this garrison: For so confident were the enemy of their own strength, that many thought his majesty ill-advised in not fighting with the earl of Essex neare Gloucester: Wherefore the generall was to secure his retreat, to take heed lest he be penned up in these parts; and with that speed made after the kings army, (which by this time had gotten some miles in the van of our army,) that some horse and foot out of the remote quarters marched above thirty miles before they rested. They came up before Cirencester, where the king had left a strong party. The forlorne hope entered the town whilst the rest surrounded it, killed the sentinell sleeping, marched up to the market-place without opposition, (the enemy supposing them Prince Maurice his forces, that night expected,) till they entred the houses, and surprized them in bed; took foure hundred men, and thirty cart-loades of bread, cheese, and other provisions; a great reliefe in a wasted cuntry, and the only support of the souldiers against the battle at Newbery.

The successe of which battell did close up with honour that happy and gallant undertaking of the lord-generall and the citizens of London: as brave a service as these warres can shew forth; enobled by its wonderfull rise, lively progresse, nimble expedition, admirable fortune, and honourable conclusion. Notwithstanding his excellency had hereby disabled and broken the kings army, and secured the garrison of Gloucester from a sudden reverse, yet his own army was sorely bruised, and retiring to London, left but a little burthen upon the enemy on that side: By which meanes they were free to molest these parts, and this garrison left to bear the brunt, provide for it selfe, and run the danger, though not of an other siege, yet of blocking up and ruine, by the spoyle of our cuntry, which that party decreed to destruction; and the enemy at the doore, and the distance of our friends, did threaten no lesse. Not a man could be left by the generall to encrease our strength, nor money to content the souldier: there was only an assurance of help from the parliament. When the arrears of officers and souldiers were large, the governor made certaine propositions to the parliament concerning the support of this place:—that since at such a distance he could not expect a constant supply, they would send down at once ten thousand pounds and a thousand men, (farre below the places due according to the terms of the souldiers entertainment,) which might set things in a thriving way, and enable the souldiers to act of themselves, without those continuall cravings and outcries against the state. Upon which terms the activenessse of this government gave assurance of the framing of an army to master the cuntry, then enthralled to the enemy; yea, to lie upon the enemies quarters, consume their store, distresse their chiefe garrisons of Bristoll and Oxford, and endanger the rest, as Hereford and Worcester, and stop their supply of men and money. Such a strong beginning had been more than halfe way to the end of the work.

But the state seemed to walk in a frugall course, and desire a daily dropping of reliefe, rather then to entrust much; which is not the way of great performance, nor can bring to the end of the design; when as this rationall adventure might give the increase

of an hundredfold ; and upon the failing hereof the greatest mischief could bee no more then the losse of that expence. Wherefore they voted a supply and raised men and moneys in a languishing way, that those five hundred listed for Gloucester were reduced to fifty ere they could reach us, and the greatest part of the money squandred away without a sensible advantage to this garrison.

After Newbery fight, Sir William Vavasour was sent to Hereford with a strong party, to raise forces in those parts, with commission to command in chiefe in the counties of Gloucester and Hereford, and a command from his majestie to distresse Gloucester on the Welch side, and to garrison Tewkesbury.

Colonell Massie was not satisfied in keeping his own garrison, but eager of continuall service, to destroy or disable the enemy, for which no other place in the kingdome was conceived capable of the like advantage : Wherefore by himselfe urged, he set upon the parliament with importunate complaints, that for lack of strength great opportunities of service to us and disservice to them were lost. And a greater mischief did exercise this government—the want of men and money, and ammunition to defend it selfe ; upon which extreme scarcity of provision was like to follow ; and in these hopes did the enemy blesse themselves ; so that the advantage and honour of maintaining the city against the violence of an army was like to vanish in the lingring death of the place : And the governour was about to embrace another command in the generall's army, yet reserving a submission to the parliaments pleasure, who required him to continue his service in this government. This charge was surrounded with difficulties, and each day brought forth some new birth. When the enemy begirt us in their winter quarters, the hopes of our promised succours were past, without the convoy of an army, Not one gentleman of the countrey durst be seen to assist us : No member of parliament did reside here, to encourage the businesse. All things rested upon the governours sole care, both to store the garrison with provisions, and raise money out of that small pit-tance of the countrey out of the enemies hands. The discontent of the souldier was now heightned, and ready to cause a disbanding. To make good the place was the parliaments command ; and inevitable necessity was the chieftest law to support it : Wherefore, apprehending more misery then in the late siege, the governor was constrained to lay some easie taxation on the countrey, to supply the present exigence, whilst the enemies power extended on all sides almost to the gates of Gloucester. Hereupon daily complaints were brought before him, that the taxes were unequally rated by the officers of the severall parishes ; that such as were broken by the enemy were rated as high as if their estates were entire. The governour represented these things to the parliament, earnestly begged their direction in his intended course, which by them was not in one syllable contradicted : Wherefore, at a councell of warre, the condition of the countrey was debated upon, and an order made that some officers and citizens should be intreated as a committee, to hear and rectifie the complaints concerning as-sessments, and to use that moderation which reason did require. Not long after a petition was presented to the governour in the name of the countrey,—that one monthly rate, without other charge, might be imposed upon them ; likewise, that the rate might be made according to equity, and the poore spared ; that the money might bee paid in to the common treasurer, whence it should issue as necessity required ; and that a choyce committee might be appointed to over-see all the money rated, received, and disbursed. The governour, to manifest his desire of the peoples satisfaction, and that things might be carried in a just and equall way, ordered, by the consent of a councell of warre, that a committee of officers, citizens, and countrey gentlemen, should regulate the assessments of the countrey according to their desires. Some of which gentlemen not long after were of the committee for these counties by order of parliament.

Moreover, this committee moved, at a councell of warre, for a further power to heare and determine such businesses as by the governours speciall order should be referred unto them; to examine upon oath, and commit all such persons (officers and souldiers only excepted) as should offer contempt; and this they enforced with these reasons: 1. Because there was no committee of parliament then in being, nor would any adventure such an undertaking in an oppressed and distracted countrey; and the necessities of the garrison did admit of no delay; 2. That this committee, consisting of souldiers, citizens, and countrey gentlemen, would give satisfaction, both to the countrey-men who payed their money, when themselves were acquainted with its necessity and disposal, and to the souldiers, who, being privy to the receipt of the money, and the countreys indigence, might be contented with a slender entertainment: that at once it seemed to prevent discontent in the countrey, and mutiny in the souldier; 3. That the petitions of the countrey pressed upon the governour in such multitudes, that a great part of his time, which might be spent against the enemy to better purpose, was taken up herewith, or many persons must needs be exposed to injury and oppression; 4. Because all course of law from Wesminster was then stopped, not a lawyer left in the countrey, no court of equity to relieve the oppressed, or curb the extremity of the law, whose present want was not so much in settling estates and determining right, as in providing for the support of the garrison, then like to be ruined; of which the kings party had as great a confidence as before the siege. No landlord could receive his rent, no intercourse of trade between man and man, whereby to enable them to pay taxations. And for these reasons such an order by the counsell of warre was then assented unto.

In this the people never groaned under the governours power; their voluntary submission was a witnesse of his moderation. And this authority had more of entreaty then constraint, only the sword had some influence of feare upon the injurious; the proceedings of the town-court not suspended, but sometimes entreated to forbear, upon equitable considerations. And when the governour began to observe some derogation from his intentions by this committee, he instantly sent a prohibition. 'Twas never his thought to rule by the sword, but in a desperate case by the same to cut out a way wherein the rules of law and justice might freely passe. He was ever unwilling to take the charge upon him, and by severall letters requested the parliament that the burthen of government might be layed upon some other; or if that charge must rest upon him, that they would send down a committee, that might take off the former cares, and permit him to look to the well-ordering of his forces for the safety of this place, and to enlarge his quarters, that the service here might not bee only to keep Gloucester, but weaken the enemy, and beget friends daily to the parliament.

Such was the face of government within the city, whilst the enemy acted his part without, and bore down by force on all sides. From Hereford Sir William Vavasour, with about seven hundred horse and foot, marched into Tewksbury, with a purpose to garrison that town, then a wide and open place, not easy to be held by us, who had neither competent strength nor time to fortify, the kings forces continually lying upon us. Sir William made shew of settling the garrison, styled himselfe governor of Tewksbury, invited the countrey, with promises of moderation and candor in all his proceedings. Yet these Welch forces had scarce taken up their quarters, but received an alarm from Gloucester, by a party that went up in a friggot: And the common souldiers, partly discontented with their officers, who had often deceived that innocent people, and betrayed them to the sword, and partly repining for want of pay, fell into a desperate mutiny, forced their commanders, chose rather to be kild then to fight, and constrained their flight out of the town; hasted over Upton bridge, and did scarce look back till safe in their own countrey: And twas to be suspected that many late knocks

had beaten out their spirits, but chiefly that they were afraid of this countrey ayre, in which they could never thrive. By this means the excrescence of Sir William Vavasours government was pared off, and himself driven to retire into Hereford.

Neverthelesse we are cooped up with the enemies garrisons round about, and wholly divided from the rest of the parliaments army. Sudely Castle was maintained by the lord Chandos; a great stop to our entercourse with Warwick, which was the only way of commerce with London, that a scout could not passe without extream hazard. Berkley Castle was held for the king by a Scottish captain, and subdued the richest part of the county. In the heart of the forrest Sir John Winter strongly fortified and defended his own house: And now the enemy had put a garrison into Beverstone Castle, resolving withall not to leave one strong house unguarded, both to enlarge their own quarters, and to stop our markets and contribution. Our governour began to look forth, and first, for want of quarters, was enforced to send abroad his own company, which were placed in a defenceable house at Frampton upon Severn. These were a stop to the incursions from Berkley, and furthered the safety of that side of the countrey. An hundred and fifty foot of Colonell Devereux his regiment garrisoned a strong house at Presbury, within foure miles of Sudely Castle. These sorely vexed the enemy in those parts, did a little open the passage towards Warwick, and the house proved a good resting-place in the repasse. Another guard was set at Westbury, on the edge of the forrest, to affront Sir John Winter; a most active enemy, and one chiefe agent of the popish faction. Sir John, assisted with the lord Herberts horse, threatned us out of the forrest, and had made a passage over Seavern at Newnham, to afflict those parts beyond the river. Notwithstanding all this, our small party by continuall action upheld their repute. Some weeks after the raising of the siege, the governour marched with his two troops and two hundred musketiers before Berkley castle. The musketiers faced and kept in the enemy, whilst the horse fell into the countrey beyond, to fetch in the persons of some principall malignants; but in stead of them met with the lords Herberts troops, and an hundred and forty horse besides, which came to relieve the Castle. Our horse, with some few musketiers, fell upon them, put them to a retreat, and slew some few, without any losse to our party, who drew off, expecting the opportunity of a greater strength.

About this time Sir John Winter entred upon the government of Newnham; whereupon he took the courage to plunder the villages neare Gloucester: his horse came within three miles of the city, and drove away store of the countrey cattle. The governour receiving intelligence, drew forth his small number of horse, not exceeding seventy, made after and pursued them to the entrance of their new garrison, where they had already secured their plunder. In the retreat, five troops of the lord Herberts regiment fell on the reare: our men drew up in a narrow lane, ready to receive the charge, fired upon them, and put them to a running retreat. An officer, with twelve troopers, made the pursuit, took one horse colours, and some prisoners, and killed a cornet and quarter-master; which event made Sir John Winter for present quit that government with much distraction.

At that time there was no lofty stage of action, because the present enemy did yeeld no gallant opportunity. Sir John Winter was wise for himselfe, nimble in inferiour businesses, delighted rather in petty and cunning contrivance then open gallantry, referred all his industry to his own house, or the limits of the forrest, vexed his neighbours more then weakned his enemy, and advanced the catholike cause no other way then by the plague and ruine of the countrey.

On the other side of the city the enemy was imboldned to erect new governments at Tedbury and Wotton Underedge. These did invite the governours march that way, who withall had his eye upon Beverstone Castle, newly garrisoned, and commanding the rich clothiers of Stroodwater: hither he advanced, with a party of three hundred foot and foure score horse. These horse, sent before, were so formidable to the enemy

at Tedbury, that the governour, Horatio Cary, with his whole regiment, were put to flight and dissipated, with the losse of fourteene of their men slaine and taken prisoners.

Colonell Massey brought up his men and two sakers against Beverston Castle, where having surrounded it, hee planted his guns within pistoll-shot of the gate, and gave fire severall times. Fifty musketiers ran up to the gate at noone-day, and fixed a petarre, which, neverthelesse, failed in the execution. Those from within threw granadoes amongst our men, but hurt none; who, although thereby forced from the gate, yet they ran up the second time, being open to the full shot of a secure enemy, and brought off the petarre with much gallantry. The design was not feazible for a quick dispatch, for the gate was barricado'd within; the night came on, and those remote parts did promise no security to so small a party; likewise, the state of the city required them nearer home: Wherefore, after twelve houres, the party was drawn off, and, in the retreat, advanced towards Wotton Underedge, where the enemy had placed a kind of temporary garrison, with a regiment of horse. They prepared for the comming of our forces, drew up on a hill before the town to face them, and at night retreated to their garrison, where our men arrived somewhat late, and found the enemy all mounted, fell upon them, and put them to flight; of whom about six were slaine, and twelve taken prisoners, the rest escaping to Bristoll.

The next day, by an over-ruling hand of Providence, our party was led back to Gloucester, contrary to the hope of sir John Winter and his complices. These having intelligence of the governours absence with a stronge party, and supposing the garrison thereby weakned, sent to all the quarters of the forrest, Monmouth, and Herefordshire, to draw together, and advance for the surprisall of Gloucester. It was afterwards suspected a complotment, to be managed by the assistance of malignants in the city. Late at night the governour had notice of the enemy in the forrest; thereupon he commanded captain Crispe to draw fifty musketiers from the guards, and march three miles that way, making good a house that stood on the passage. As yet there was no suspicion of a plot; but before our party had passed a mile and halfe, they encountred the enemy, who were drawn up, horse and foot, in a broad lane neare Highnam house, instantly fired upon them, slew a captaine and some foure common souldiers. The enemy were amazed at the sudden and unexpected encounter, forced back with feare, and retreated to Huntly, where sir John Winter had secured his own person; but, distracted by the strange repulse, marched off in great confusion, at the approach of fifteene horse that fell in amongst the whole brigade, slew seven or eight, and took ten prisoners.

This discomfited the enemy, and dashed the designe; yet the Hereford and Monmouthshire forces kept their randevouz at Coford in the forrest, and still threatned the city. No meanes for the reducing of this place is left unattempted; and at this present treachery was the grand design, and over-ruled all their proceedings, and prevented many mischievous acts of open hostility, which might easily have destroid us; for divers malignant gentlemen of this county went about to cast this city into extreme poverty and exigence, by the countreys ruine: Wherefore, conceiving the present enemies not sufficiently cruell, they importuned his majesty that colonell Charles Gerrard might quarter upon us with his brigade, to devour, spoyle, and burn, besides the expectation of all the mischiefe the lord Herbert and Vavasour can doe. But this malicious councill and instigation, though most opportune for the kings purpose, was afterwards crossed by their own party waiting upon the successe of a close design.

About this time was the act of pacification made by the king with the Irish rebels, which began to undeceive the world, and wipe off the varnish of the former oathes

and protestations. The world could not believe that any command or power could so soone allay and quell those Irish stormes, but that word which raised them up. Then did the effect declare the cause of those rare and slow proclamations against that bloudy rebellion, and strange intercepting of reliefe sent from the state to the distressed protestants. The greatest admirer of the kings declarations could judge no lesse then that those rebels did better comply with his intentions then the parliament of England. Since his majesty, having two enemies, is resolved to make peace with one, to crush the other, he will fall in with that party that carries least contradiction to his maine designe; and this was the rebell of Ireland; whose chiefe aime likewise his majesty must not abhorre; for there can bee no lasting compliance without a mutuall engagement. Besides, the heads of that rebellion were brought over, not as accessaries, but principals in the kings warre, and admitted to the secret councill. And to colour the pacification, the losse of that kingdome, and all the sufferings of the English protestants, were charged upon the parliament. The English forces in Ireland were possest with the opinion of neglect in the state, and were taken off the persuite of a just revenge upon those cursed rebels, to warre against their native countrey, and teare the bowels of the mother that bare them, and therein act a part, and cast in their lot with the rebels themselves.

Some of these Irish forces landed at Bristoll, and thence fell down upon Gloucestershire. Colonell Min and sir William St Leger, with both their regiments, making up eight hundred or a thousand foot, and a hundred horse, all resolved men, with eight piece of ordnance, advanced to Thornbury. Colonell Massey proclaimed entertainment to all such as would tender their service to the parliament; and many private souldiers, resenting the difference of the cause, came over daily. About the twentieth of December, a party of two hundred horse and dragoones, commanded by capitaine Backhouse, were designed to beat up their quarters at Wotton, where they were lately arrived from Thornbury: Wherefore the party advancing thither, suddenly fell in among them, and found eight hundred men; charged up to the maine guard, and for a while were masters of foure piece of ordnance; but over-matched and borne down by their numbers, were forced to retreat, yet having first slaine, wounded, and taken many of them, without the losse of a man. At the same time some of colonell Vavasours forces undertook to settle at Upton upon Seaverne, but at the first shew of an approach from Gloucester, quitted those quarters.

Once more doe the clouds gather round about: the storm threatned by the enemies fury, and more violently driven by the malice of some countrey gentlemen, begins to arise. The malignant gentlemen of Cotswold provide armes, and garrison strong houses; forces from Oxford were expected at Painsewick and Stroud; the Irish were to lie on this side Berkley, the lord Herbert and sir John Winter in the forrest, the lord Chandos at Cheltenham, sir William Vavasour and sir Walter Pie at Tewkesbury; so that by them our destruction is decreed, and seemes as a thing done.

Every corner of the country is pestered with the enemies garrisons; as Newneham, Lidney, Monmouth, Hereford, Worcester, Dimmock, Newent, Highleadon, Tainton, Tewkesbury, Sudely, Saperton, Beverston, and Berkley. Opposite to these was the governour constrained to erect petty garrisons, as many and as neare as possible; for the kings forces were againe advanced out of Herefordshire with a greater strength, and well prepared. Sir William Vavasour, sir Walter Pie, and colonell Wroughton are arrived at Tewkesbury, and began to fortifie, having a great power with them till the town was settled and made strong; yet still disturbed by continuall alarums from Gloucester, though the land-floods hindred our design upon them. The Irish regiments rose from Wotton, and thence made over the hills for Tewkesbury: And because their march was interrupted by our parties, the lord Chandos horse joyned with them, to strengthen and secure their advance to Cheltenham; whither they came, with foure

small piece of ordnance. Our men still flirtd upon them; and a party of horse and dragoones, commanded by major Gray, fell that night into Charlton kings, and had surprized the lord Chandos in his quarters, had he not made a private escape; where the search after him caused the losse of seven or eight private souldiers; yet they slew some of the enemy, took ten prisoners and some few horse. The next day the horse and foot bended their course to Tewkesbury: our men waited upon the march, and kept them up close, that those parts of the countrey received but little dammage. When these had joynd with the other regiments, they were supposed to make neare upon two thousand six hundred horse and foot.

After a little stay, a part of these forces were drawn off towards Warwickshire, to joyne with the enemy that there waited the intercepting or surprizall of our supplies from London, then long and earnestly expected and noised abroad; our powder being wel nigh spent, and necessity constraining us to use a kind of match made of bast. Sir Walter Pies foot and colonell Wroughtons horse remained at Tewkesbury, to block up the city on that side; in and about which town fifteen hundred horse and foot were constantly quartered; colonell Washingtons regiment kept garrison at Evesham; and a regiment of horse lay at Parshore, besides a considerable strength at Sudely. These thought to swallow up our approaching succours, or if they did not come, speedily to compell us to yeeld up the city; for it was reported with the enemy, and believed by many, that we suffered extream penury.

And though provisions were not much wanting, being in a fat countrey, yet the reall exigences of the garrison were great. For lack of pay the discontents of the souldiers were desperate and endlesse; in most of the officers a generall neglect of duty; who for the least check would throw up their commissions, to the governours great discontent and trouble. Many inferiour officers forsook us, and common souldiers ranne to other places, that yielded a large and constant entertainment, and required lesse service; whilst honest and gallant men, that did not desert their colours, were exposed to misery and want: Yet could we not want men, who daily offered themselves to the service, had wee moneys to pay them. Neither had wee any power of men to raise moneys for the garrisons maintenance. Our out guards, as Presbury, Westbury, Essington, Frampton, Froster, set to preserve the countrey, and keep the markets open, did eat up the greater part of the contribution, and consume our men and ammunition, besides the daily sending out of parties. Twas a kind of shifting life, and wonderfull that the officers command should finde the least measure of obedience. Some officers did expend their own meanes to keep their companies entire: The governour was necessitated at his own charge to billet above threescore souldiers, besides the charge of a troop. The countrey was impoverished; the commission of excise was not settled, and brought in no considerable summe; the citizens were restrained of trade, and the ways of commerce stopped up, and therefore at present they were quite left to the garrison: Besides, the slownesse and low reports of our succours did exceedingly dishearten the people. Many countrey gentlemen, that were not the confidents of the contrary faction, were about to comply with this government, especially upon the parliaments declaration of pardon; but the notice of those slender supplies, and the thought of the states supposed neglect, turned them off, and made them more violent against us: For this lasting suspense and bondage under two parties did vex them; wherefore his majesty was again importuned to destroy and fire the countrey, if he could not lodge his forces so neare as to block us up.

The garrison, neverthelesse, did not only defend its own territories, but made sundry adventures and inrodes upon the enemies quarters; staved off, and kept them within their bounds. The governour had built a friggot for service upon the river, to secure the countrey near Gloucester, on that side Seavern, because the enemy commanded greatest part of the river, and landed at their pleasure upon our quarters, from Bristol

and Wales. This friggot was sent down Seavern, manned with seamen and a party of souldiers, for whatsoever attempt sudden opportunity should offer; and arriving at Chepstow, our musketteers hasted ashore, and entred the town, where they surprized most of the officers of colonell Oneales regiment, rayzed under the command of the lord Herbert. These never dreamed of an enemy from Gloucester in that corner of the land, at such a distance. And this was the advantage of the service, that, by the surprizall of the officers, it prevented the raysing of that regiment of horse, which shortly after would have plagued the countrey. Our men having secured their prisoners, and ready to make homewards, another prize fell into their hands, where they took a vessell laden from Bristoll with oyle, wine, sugar, and other commodities. These little services were answerable to the times, and upheld the esteem of the garrison in that low ebbe. This expedition gave an alarum to Bristoll and all Wales, who, to prevent the like inrode, sent up divers friggotts to guard the river.

At this time sir William Vavasour began to appeare from Tewksbury, and made an attempt upon Bodington House, a petty garrison of ours, only to preserve the countrey. Hither he came up with five hundred foot and two peeces of ordnance, fired his gunnes against the house, and engaged himselfe in an assault. The place was maintayned by them within till a small party drew from Gloucester; the report of which (at three miles distance) caused colonell Vavasour to draw off, and return back to Tewkesbury, with the losse of eight or ten men before the house. Neither did Vavasour seem to act with that violence which the out-side of the enemies design did look for; whether retarded by the dulnesse of nature, or the notice of some close contrivance. However, the slownesse and ill successe of his actions rendred him obnoxious to the jealousies of his own party; which suspition was easily encreased by the intercourse of civility between him and colonell Massie; when the known fidelity and constant indeavours of the one could inable him, without offence to his own side, to disport with an enemy, in such complements as the other had not the liberty to use. Such neglected passages have a great weight in the ballance of reputation and honour, since the minde is not revealed by itselfe, and wise men as well as fooles oft-times have only the event to guide their judgements.

On the other side of the town we had continuall skirmishes with colonell Veale, newly made governour of Berkley Castle, and assisted with the lord Inchequeens regiment of horse. This enemy was no way formidable nor mischievous in any thing save the plunder of the country; by whom hee was oft-times beaten back and kept in awe, by the assistance of Frampton garrison. The church at Newnham was againe fortified and defended by sir John Winter, with a sufficient strength of men and foure pieces of ordnance; whence hee might runne up to the gates of Gloucester, rob the countrey, and take mens persons at pleasure; only we kept a guard at Arlingham, to hinder his passage over Seavern.

Colonell Min lay strong at Newent, Highleaden, and Tainton. The governour could doe little on that side, only he placed a garrison at Hartpury Court, both to preserve Cosselawne, and to endeavour the engagement of colonell Min. Our garrison at Frampton was removed to Slimbridge, within foure miles of Berkley: We had other guards likewise at Essington and Froster, to preserve and enable the people to contribution. Thus was the city pestered on every hand, and fetched its livelihood out of the fire; with continuall hazard forcing the enemies quarters, and defending its own. Parties were daily drawn out by the governour, who then could not aime at victory, nor expect any great performance, though the common people repined that he did not alwayes conquer, when it was conquest enough to keep the enemy in action, and prevent their extravagances; to beare up the hearts of our friends, and signifie to the world that we were yet alive. Though the governour was not invited abroad, yet he strove to make opportunities, according to the stock of ammunition that was left

him, that counsellors might spring out of the midst of action. He drew out upon Tainton with two hundred musketers, and with a hundred horse faced the house, only to keep in or amaze them; but when the horse marched off, some of their troopes fell on the reare-guard, and charged the governour, who re-encountred and charged home some distance before the rest of the troop; and, by the breaking of the curb, his horse carryed him amongst the enemies troopes, with whom for a while he grappled, and was rescued by the gallantry of a common trooper; by which time our musketers were brought up, and beat them back without losse to us.

The governour choosed rather to make work for the enemy, and to seek him in his own quarters, then lie at home to expect the challenge: Yet did he play a wary game, and though zealous of honour, yet more true to the maine chance and tender of the lives of men: Wherefore hee advanced againe with foure hundred musketers and fifty horse, came before Tainton, and with a small party faced the house; having laid some ambuscados, with a purpose to allure them into the snare, and cut off their men, as well to encourage the countrey as weaken the enemy; but they did not adventure out. When we drew thence, our men beheld a faire body of horse at Highleaden; whereupon a forlorn hope of our musketers, with twenty horse, advanced upon them, and found their horse and foot drawn out of Highleaden house: These were to joyn with colonell Min, who at that instant was marched out of Newent, with a purpose to fall on Hartpury garrison. Here, at the first, some few of our horse gave the charge, hurried the enemy, and beat up their ambuscadoes: then they drew out their whole garrison, and fell on. Their horse did not stand to it, but with their foot there was an hot skirmish almost an houre. And though our seconds were slow in comming up, yet did the forlorn hope drive them from hedge to hedge; and after a while our body comming on, beat them in, and pursued them up to the very house, took some few prisoners, and came off with the losse only of two men.

Such multitudes of the kings forces lay upon us, to oppresse the countrey, and intercept our reliefe, that they were extremely straitned of quarter, and enforced to look forth for livelihood: Whereupon two thousand horse and foot marched from Tewkesbury to Painsewick, to gather contribution, and rob the countrey about Stroudwater. The governour drew out two hundred musketers, with an hundred horse, and marched to the top of Bruckthrop hill, expecting the enemy, whom he found divided into three bodies, and himselfe borne down by their multitude; for whilst two parties faced him, the third stole down an hollow lane, and had almost surrounded him unawares, by the negligence of the scouts; so that our whole body was brought into great danger, driven to a sudden and confused retreat, and the governour himselfe left deeply engaged. Yet most of our men got off, being preserved only by the gallantry of a few resolved men that stood in the breach; and of them captaine George Massie striving to retard the pursuit, grappled with three together, hand to hand, received a sore wound in the head, and was happily rescued by a serjeant of the company. Of ours, two lieutenants and sixteen private souldiers were taken prisoners; the rest in disorder ran down the steep, through a rough and narrow lane, and recovered an house at the foot of the hill; where a party was left to make good the retreat, and the enemy durst not pursue; by which meanes all the bottome was preserved from spoyle. Next day they retreated to Tewkesbury, laden with plunder.

Suddenly after this repulse we lost two small garrisons at Westbury and Huntly, by the treachery of captaine Thomas Davis, who sold them at a rate to sir John Winter. This Davis commanded the guard at Huntly, where himselfe by night, some distance from the house, attended the enemies comming, went in before them, as friends from Gloucester, gave them possession, and having accomplit that peece of treason, immediately marched to Westbury, where he was received for a friend, and led in his traine of cavaleers; that both places were surprized in two houres, and above eighty

men and armes lost in that great exigence. This villaine was posted on the gallows in Gloucester, and the lord-generall was desired that his name might stand upon the gibbet in all the parliament garrisons.

During these things a treason of higher nature was plotted by the enemy, to a self-delusion in the close : A greater birth required more time to bring forth. It was first conceived the nineteenth of November, and for near ten weeks had the prime influence on their whole course in these parts, and is now ripe for action. All the force they can make from Oxford and the Irish are drawn together. The lord Herbert, colonell Vavasour, and sir John Winter lie upon us, and prince Rupert himselfe lying at Newent, hoping to effect this great design. Fifteen colours of horse arrived at Cirencester, and five hundred horse and foot advanced to Saperton and Musarden, within ten miles of this garrison. There were of the enemies forces round about near six or seven thousand.

The failing of their endeavours and hopes in the late siege brought forth a despaire of reducing the city by storme, and put them upon the wayes of treachery ; who therein illuded themselves, and were over-acted in their own counsels. One Edward Stanford, an esquire, and a grand papist, assaulted the fidelity of captain Backhouse, once his friend and acquaintance. He presumed that former friendship might make way to admit the plot, and Backhouses power and interest in the governour made it (in his conception) very feasible. Wherefore, in a private letter, he tendred the renewing of ancient love, not only to the procuring of the kings pardon, but a greater advancement and fortune then the condition of those whom he served could rayse him to. This might be purchased by the delivering of Gloucester into their hands, which was not hard for him to perform, considering the nature of his employment and the honesty of the enterprize was grounded on the old proverb, *Fallere fallentem non est fras*. An hasty and abrupt temptation, and the tempters irrational confidence, did befool him in the first onset ; who knew not either to propose or expect such grounds of assurance as the thing did require, but set upon a knowing man, without the knowledge of any inbred inclination to treason or present provocation. Except a strange levity, a minde set on mischief, the conscience of delinquency, or desire of revenge, vain glory or riches are the sole aimes of a traytor, and the hopes of either must appear large and certain ; but here an attempt is made on such a one who neither by feare was compelled to provide for himselfe, nor enraged against his own party, but acknowledged a present felicity in the work in hand ; as though it were possible to perswade a man wittingly to contrive his own overthrow.

The letters were no sooner received but communicated to the governour, who advised to embrace the businesse, and hold a correspondence with that party ; practizing that rule by themselves propounded, for these reasons : First, twas a delight and glory to take them in the snare which themselves had layd ; and the advantage was great ; 2. That this treason (already secured) might prevent other conspiracies against the city, so long as they had faire hopes of prevailing by this ; lest the contrivance of a second should confound the disposition of the first ; 3. That the countrey under the command of this garrison, which, upon the petition of the malignant gentry, was devoted to destruction, might be preserved and spared by the enemy, in hope to enjoy the benefit thereof themselves ; for the embracing of this plot did not draw on the enemy, but held his hand, and suspended the execution of his fury ; 4. To spin out the plot, and feed their expectation till the countrey had vented in the markets their spare provisions of corn and cattle ; 5. That the enemy, possest and taken up with the gayning of the city, might give the parliaments forces in other parts of the kingdome a greater freedom to execute their designes ; 6. That a flattering promise might allay their fury till the winter were past, or our reliefe come, and we be able to feed them with harder meat ; and that themselves might taste the cursed fruits of treason, to a selfe-shame

and confusion. The design was communicated to captain William Singleton, alderman, and captain Read.

For these and the like reasons, Backhouse undertook the businesse, and returned an answer in a liberall garb; protesting that he honoured his majesty with his soule, and was ready to perform all reall service. He seemed withall to promote the plot, by requiring sworn secrecy, and agreeing upon a trusty messenger; and that he might seem more deeply to relish the matter, catcht hold on the promise of reward, and required some unquestionable assurance, that he might not play an after-game poorely. Thus the fraud is returned upon them, by one that strives to maintayn the repute of integrity; conceiving it no transgression of military honour to deceive them into a snare by verball equivocation, as well as by a doubtfull action; the common way of the stratagems of warre. This confident reply, and the palpable discovery of a sudden change, did not render him suspected, but, beyond all reason, gave the complotters great contentment; who did not enquire into the conviction and change of his thoughts by due degrees. Stanford desired him forthwith to expresse his conditions, propose the way, and descend unto the particulars of the service; assented to constant intercourse, and assured him that none but the lord Digby should be privy to the design. Captain Backhouse drew the modell of the plot in this following letter to Mr Stanford.

SIR,

You desire my conceit in proposall of particular propositions, and of my reward: To both which I shall thus propose unto you, to present to more mature judgments. Whether I may not, by drawing out my troop in an evening, (as I can doe at any time,) meet with your forces, and bring them in at the gate on the sudden, in a moonshine night, and so master the first guard; which may easily be done, and not discerned till too late; my troop being above three score, who may be all in the reare, and at your mercy, though I myselfe shall lead in the force, which cannot give the alarme in the night so soon as to prevent the designe. Whether, if I perswade the governour, with a strong party of horse and foot, upon some designe to lie out all night eight or ten miles distant from the garrison, (as I know I can doe,) and I my selfe stay at home; in whose absence you may safely advance in the evening to the towns side, when I can come out to you, and so bring you in under colour of our owne forces. Whether, if I finde out a place slenderly guarded, and somewhat easie to come in at, I may draw off the sentinels upon some pretence, as I can do, being known unto them all, and there direct your entrance. Whether, if I send for hay, and give you notice of the very time of its comming in, which must be in the night, I may not after the carts bring in some men as carters, who may have snaphance muskets in the carts, and some dragoons to fall in in the reare of the carts, who may master the first guards, and possesse the ordnance there, and so let in both horse and dragoons, who with such ordnance may march through all the streets in the town. These severall wayes I propose for the present; but I conceive that those who have been versed in the taking of towns may make more choice of propositions, any of which, if I apprehend it feazible, I shall gladly undertake, or render a reason of my dislike. As for my reward, I am right sensible of how great concernment the businesse is to your side; and although it be utterly against my spirit to indent beforehand, especially with such gallant and noble personages, (but the straits I have beene put into for lack of money, having received no pay for my selfe from those whom I serve, and my estate and charge bids me look to that,) I shall expect two thousand pound to bee secured; two or three hundred whereof I shall desire you, as my friend, to procure in hand, that I may bee enabled to beare up my port and credit, especially among the common souldiers and under-officers of the garrison, to whom I must be open-handed, and engage affection, that they may be ready at my call; secondly, to

engage mine owne troop, and to binde such unto me with a silver cord as I shall finde fittest for my purpose; and withall plentifully to reward the entercoursers between you and me, that they may execute our commands with all celerity and trust. This I leave to your consideration and mannage, and hope that ere long we shall meet to discourse it, when all the world shall not know.

R. B.

These propositions are sent to Oxford, entertained by the kings cabinet-councill; the lord Digby becomes the great undertaker and ratifies the proposall of captaine Backhouse in the following letter:

SIR,

You having so farre declared your desires to serve his majesty unto my very good friend master Stanford, I thinke it fit you should now receive some more authentick assurance of his majesties gracious acceptance thereof, then perhaps you will thinke his bare assurance to be: Therefore I doe here solemnly engage my word unto you, both as a minister of state and a gentleman, that if you shall performe faithfully what you promise there, you shall punctually receive, immediately after, such a pardon as your selfe shall desire, and the summe of two thousand pounds. As for the three hundred you desire in present, such a confidence I will have in your word, that as soon as ever I shall have received your answer to this, under your hand, it shall be forthwith paid into whatsoever place you shall appoint, or to what person. As for the particular waies of effecting our designe, those you propose are very rationall, but the choice and disposition thereof must be between you and those that are to execute it, with whom, if it were possible, you should procure a meeting at some unsuspected place. I doe propose unto you the choyce of severall men; and whom of them you shall like best, and thinke fittest, by reason of the place where his command is, to him alone, and to no other, the businesse shall be imparted; whether sir William Vavasour, commander-in-chiefe of the forces now in Gloucestershire, or colonell Myn, commander of a brigade of the English that come out of Ireland, or colonell Washington, who is at Evesham, or, lastly, whether the governour of Berkley Castle. As soon as you shall send me an answer, you shall receive satisfaction, from him who hopes you will so behave your selfe as to make me

Your assured friend,

G. D.

Here this degenerate lord sels his honour, and betrayes the esteeme of gallantry, by promoting and engaging himselfe to reward the vilest treason, and to insinuate himselfe into the close workings thereof, when many brave spirits, out of their abundant justice, have disdained the proffer of so base a service. And herein did hee derogate from the repute of an able statesman, in relying upon the doubtfull expressions of an unknowne person, and whose condition could not invite any of the least ground of believe.

Hereupon a correspondency was held with the lord Digby; unto whom Backhouse made his reply, that his lordships directions suted with his owne former proposals made unto master Stanford; to wit, that the commander of the forces to be employed herein must be conscious of the designe. And as touching the choice of a chiefe actor on their part, he conceived sir William Vavasour the fittest man, because he was neere the businesse; his men lying at Ledbury, when the rest were more remote, and of inconsiderable strength; as also, because he had the best advantage to make his approach undiscovered, there being no suburbs nor house neere the city from his quarters, nor any out-guard to give the alarm. And for himselfe, upon a few daies notice

he would comply with their expectation, as the actors should agree upon all circumstances.

Upon this they returned large expressions of reward and honour; but the present payment of the three hundred pound was waved by Stanford as much as possible, upon pretence of the danger of mis-fezance in the maine plot. Backhouse would not admit the excuse, importuned the payment, as well to have something in hand, as to let them know the great wheele that turned him about, that the palpable shew of corruption might make them more confident. Neither could they well keepe backe the earnest of this guerdon, lest they should render themselves capable of his dislike or jealousy, or seem to suspect his trust; whose adventure (if reall) in every line was sufficient to ruine him, and he left to bewaile his owne mis-fortune: wherefore it was resolved that this Stanford and captaine Backhouse should debate upon the businesse by word of mouth. They met accordingly in Coslawne at an houre appointed, without armes or attendants, where Backhouse received two hundred pounds in hand, with a promise from Stanford to discharge a bond of fifty pounds, and was not once urged in the whole conference to an asseveration of fidelity, by protestation or oath. He received likewise the contrivance of the plot laid by master Stanford, sir William Vavasour, and others that were lately come to Tewkesbury, which ranne thus:—That colonell Massie should be drawne out of the garrison with a strong party towards Berkley Castle, having assurance that the castle should be rendered; which was really intended by them, that the gaining of Gloucester might be the more facile. In the absence of the governour, captaine Backhouse was to open the gate, and deliver the word. Thus was the plot proposed and approved by Backhouse, but with additionall advise, that their forces might with all speed relinquish Tewkesbury, because he should never perswade the governour to draw forth such a party whilst they lay so strong upon us. This also was assented unto by the complotters, being secure of their agent, and blinded with extreame desire and confidence. And had not the proposall of the enemy been by themselves deserted, we had possest Berkley Castle, and placed a garrison in Tewkesbury. Yet so farre did they prosecute the businesse, that sir William Vavasour sent to require the governour of Berkley to draw out his whole garrison, (which was refused, without the kings or prince Ruperts speciall command:) Himselfe also commanded a great part of his foot to Parshow, professed his endeavours to march with the residue and all the horse; but that his majesties commissioners were so averse, as by no meanes to consent or permit, unlesse they might know and approve the designe; whom he professed to leave unsatisfied, lest he might doe Backhouse a disservice, and prevent or disturbe the motion. Notwithstanding, Backhouse knew well enough that the councill of warre at Tewkesbury, and the whole court at Oxford, are full of this complement; and so close was the businesse carried, that the London Mercury had blazoned him for a traytor. Wherefore, upon this pretence they ranne backe to one of the former propositions; to wit, that he would draw forth his owne troope, with one more, which should be put in the reare of their horse, and himselfe lead the forlorne hope into the towne. But he exquisitely declined this way; pretending himselfe not a little dashed at the disturbance of the first intention, which in his owne thoughts ranne so feazeble; and alledged the governours watchfulnesse in observing the garrison of Tewkesbury; that he had given private commands to the officers, both of horse and foot, to be instantly ready upon the first advance of their forces, and kept abroad night and day good parties of horse, to bring intelligence: So that he could not joyne with them without suspition or discovery: And as he should be glad to confirme their opinion of his reall performance, for whom he did thus hazard his life and fortune, so should he be infinitely unwilling to put them upon any enterprize which to themselves might prove prejudiciall. He minded them withall that the true frame of the plot was the life of the action; that one misfeizance in a

businessse of this nature was never to be repaired, but crossed the perfection of such an enterprize; wherein he protested himselfe happy if he might sacrifice himselfe to accomplish the same according to his desires. In the close hee gave his opinion that the governours absence was the chiefe requisite to prepare the businessse; that his presence was not consistent with the safety of their side, especially if the alarm be taken at the first entrance: Wherefore he was once more confident to urge the relinquishing of Tewkesbury, and upon the removall promised to possesse the governour with a private intelligence of the surrender of Berkley, and perswade him to imbrace the supposed opportunity, whilst himselfe should remaine at home with the command of the horse left for scouts, and act the businessse with more ease and safety.

This motion effected its intended purpose, to bring them on at the west port, to our best advantage against them; and sir William Vavasour seemed to incline, but craved a little patience, till the contributions were brought in to satisfie the souldiers. Master Stanford required a particular information of the state of the garrison, and received an account of the severall ports, forts, great guns, draw-bridges, provisions, and ammunition. This was taken for a pregnant testimony of Backhouse his fidelity, and made them the more bold to come on; who were gulled with such a slender notice of triviall things, that the meanest boy which passed through the streetes might give as great satisfaction. But whatsoever was of concernment he represented to the best advantage of the garrison.

After much variety of entercourse, sir William Vavasour urged the execution, in regard the parliaments army grew so strong, that what they attempted was to be done out of hand. The plot was thus disposed by captaine Backhouse, as well to secure his owne person within the gates, as to render the designe more probable:—That whereas, being commander of the horse, he could require the keyes of the city for the sending forth of scouts, he proposed this way to their liking:—That the very night of their approach he might provide scouts out of his owne troope, who should not be ready till the businessse were acted. Meane while himselfe would take the keyes, repaire to the west gate, and pretend to stay for their comming, and set the guard, which is usually slender, to drinke in an ale-house; in which time they might advance, finde no living soule but himselfe at the gate, or a few drunken men, and pretend withall to be our owne men from Churcham, where we had a guard of horse and foot, which, if they did not disturbe, would continue there a while, and further the performance.

Thus the safety of the countrey and our small garrisons was still interwoven in each part of the plot, and they deceived with so great a semblance of reason, that they could not suspect, though in every motion hee constantly waved selfe-engagement and personall danger. The maine care of the businessse is to draw them on to a selfe-destruction; and the last modell complies with their fancy in each particle, and to their second thoughts likewise appeares still more rationall. On the fifteenth of February the set time is come: Nine of the clocke at night is the houre appointed: The guards are to be drawn off from the further bridge, and the sentinells to be taken in: Prince Rupert is to advance with fifteen hundred horse and foot; and it would be very satisfactory if captaine Backhouse met them with his own troop, pretending to beat up a horse quarters; but this they urge not, if it be found inconvenient. In the evening a messenger is dispatched from Gloucester to the enemies quarters, with the watchword, for their assurance, and some private directions for their march up the town; while himselfe waited at the gate, which he undertook to set open, if they came by nine of the clock, or within half an houre after.

After the messengers dispatch, the ports were shut up round the city, carefull sentinells set: The governour called a councill of war; acquainted the officers with the plot; gave order that as well citizens as souldiers should continue that night in armes;