

drew to the west gate three peeces of ordnance, and a strong guard of musketiers, well provided with granadoes; and commanded foure stout men in a boate under Ouers bridge, halfe a mile distant from the gate, to lie under the maine arch, with direction, that upon the firing of the first ordnance, they should cut a cable-rope, which being done, the bridge would fall into the river: By which meanes they had all been killed, drowned, or taken, being cooped up in an island open to our shot, without possible meanes of escape. In this preparation and posture we continued all night, watching the time to have delivered ourselves from the future mischiefe of such bloud-thirsty enemies. They advanced with their whole body of horse and foot, but before they came within a mile and a halfe of the city, it was open day; when, having lost the time by the slownesse of their march, they durst not come on, but instantly retreated to Newent. From thence captaine Backhouse was informed by letters of the reason of their faylings, which induced us to believe that the enemy did not yet know that their designe was destroyed: Wherefore we endeavoured secrecy, and the next day suffered no man to passe the ports; desired to salve the matter, and bring them on once more; but the whole frame quickly fell asunder, though the languishing enemy gave some cold entertainment to a few patching letters, because they were ashamed to acknowledge such a strong delusion.

As they had all justly perished in their own hellish mischiefe, so are they deservedly branded with notorious folly in the whole mannage: And the chiefe undertakers might have learned not to indulge their hopes of faire conclusion, by their own subtile cogitations, and the shew of a neate contrivance, when nothing beneath a like mutuall engagement and strong necessity doth deserve assurance and confidence. Neverthesse, the pregnant hopes of this imaginary treason, as it brought forth a lie to the contrivers thereof, so it wrought much good for this garrison, and the common service of the state. The imbracing of the motion held up the desires of the enemy, and made them lesse active else where. It preserved the country till our succours came, which were every day expected. Neither was this plot the cause that the power of the enemy did beare hard on the countrey, (for here was the confluence of their winter quarters,) but since we must beare their burden, it made it the lesse grievous. 'Twas impossible to keep out an enemy, but all the skill was to allay his fury, and hinder the acting of mischiefe; which was carried on with violence by the malignant gentry, and that party that were not privy to, or disliked the plot; in so much that Sir William Vavasour was complained of, reviled, and cursed, and at once lost the opportunity of action and advancement in the king's service.

The enemy swarms in every corner, except the county of the city and Whitstone hundred: That each day creates new troubles, and the governour constrained on one side or other continually to draw out strong parties to defend our selves, maintaine our markets, and encourage that part of the country which is yet clear. All advantages were taken to ingage the people; (and herein did the governour's industry put forth itselfe, in settling the country in a posture of defence, when the command of the city did not reach above three miles some wayes, and not above seaven miles on the best side;) at several rendezvouzes published the nationall covenant and declaration of both kingdomes; expressing their mutuall care of repaying our breaches, and perseverance in their maine undertaking; which gave great satisfaction to such as were damnified in this cause, and confirmed unto them the vigour and strength of the parliament: By which meanes the nearer part became wholly ours; not only yielding a supply of maintenance, but engaging themselves on their own and our defence. And some of them that did not seem to confide in the state were drawne in, being first enraged by the enemies cruelty; which discontent and desire of revenge the governour cherished, and raised to an open declaration, and, unawares of the multitude, put them beyond the hopes of a faire retreat: So that these men observed the enemy upon every mo-

tion, sent alarms to the city, and, in a great part, took off the feare of a sudden surprizall.

Amidst these things, the expectation of the London supply, and the dayly hopes of money, strongly upheld the common souldiers by a meere delusion: Its delay became a greater advantage, since its reall strength had before bin crumbled to dust. No part of the kingdome was capable of better service by a considerable number; yet a meane and slender reliefe did not onely not shake off the burthen, but disgrace the businesse and contract, and sinke the mindes of men, when hope doth enlarge and beare up.

The governour therefore advised the stay of the convoy, and was willing to expect such a party as might inable him to beate off the enemy fifteen miles round about. Want of ammuniti<sup>o</sup>n was the greatest exigence, and the preserving thereof till a supply came, was the maine hinderance of all designes. Neverthelesse we had perpetuall bickerings, that the enemy might not grow upon us; and our dayly nimble performances were unto them as a continual dropping. Amongst others, a party of horse and dragooners issued forth as far as Marshfield, fell upon a troope of horse quartered there, and brought thence a lieutenant, cornet, and quarter-master, with a few common prisoners, and such horse and armes as the troop did yield. Whilst colonell Veale's foot and the lord Incheequeene's horse lay in and about Berkley, and sorely oppressed the country, we fell into a horse quarter of Incheequeene's regiment, and took a major and two captaines, three lieutenants, two cornets, with two colours, and other inferior officers and souldiers, to the number of three-and-twenty. All this while, the strength of the king's army is lodged between us and Warwick, to intercept our relief, and in thought have already divided the spoyle.

Sir William Vavasour, willing to act something in the latter end of the day, to repaire his credit in the kings army, desired a greater strength, with a sufficient artillery, to distresse and straiten Gloucester; and having obtained two culverins from Oxford, with a proportion of powder, he advanced with a strong brigade towards Painswick, with unusuall preparations and expectation. Their march afflicted the country, and indangered our out-garrisons. The enemy were confident to the last that extremity would compell us to yield up all to their mercy. Sir William Vavasour entered Painswick with as gallant horse and foot as the kings army did yield. Here the governour had placed a guard in a house neer the church, into which the church also was taken in by a breast-work of earth. The intention of the guard was to command contribution, and keepe off a plundering party; and order was given to the lieutenant which commanded to maintaine it against a lesser party, but if the maine body and artillery advanced upon them, to relinquish it, and retreate down the hill to Bruckthrop, (where the governour had set a guard, to prevent the enemies falling down into the bottome;) for which purpose they were assisted with a troop of horse, to make good such a retreate, if need were. But the lieutenant, more confident of the place, and not understanding the strength of the army, and not willing to draw off before the last minute, was inforced by the enemy to engage himselfe and many willing people of the neighbourhood in that weak hold, and upon the first onset deserted the house, being the stronger part, and betook himselfe to the church, which wanting flankers, the enemy had quickly gained, by firing the doores, and casting in hand-granadoes. Some few were slaine in defending the place, and the rest taken prisoners. We lost three inferior officers, seven-and-thirty common souldiers, and many country men. At that season the governour had commanded to Stroud another guard of fifty musketiers, to support and strengthen the place in its own defence; but ammuniti<sup>o</sup>n was their only cry, which struck us dead, and constrained the governour to withdraw that party to the garrison at Essington; for our magazine did then yield no more then six single barrells of powder, by which meanes he was wholly disabled to encounter the enemy: Only, to preserve the bottome, he drew forth the greatest part of both regiments, with their colours displayed, to flourish at a



distance, and summoned the volunteers of the country, whom himselfe had engaged in a posture of defence. These were to increase the appearance of strength by day, and at night to guard the several passages. So that the enemy durst not adventure below the hills, nor seek us in our advantages; nor was it safe for us, who wanted horse, to set upon them in those large and open places: Either party kept their own ground. They wasted the hill countries, whilst we secured the vale; and the souldiers sustained hard duty in marching to and fro, to give the country satisfaction. Where the enemy prevailed, they plundered to the bare walls. And this was the accomplishment of the great service so long expected from Sir William Vavasour.

This brigade, upon the defeate of sir Ralph Hopton's army by sir William Waller, at Charrington Down, was commanded hence, and instantly marched for Cirencester, and so to Oxford. Our horse made after them, but could not recover the reare; only they lighted upon some straglers; and, in the whole businesse, we killed and took near fifty men. This diversion relieved Gloucester, which else had bin blocked up to the gates, and cast into as great necessity as ever. In this pinch we received twelve horse loads of ammunition, strangely conveyed between the enemies garrisons, only by the carriers and a foot post; when their designed convoy, that set forth a little after, and missed them, gave them for lost, and returned to Warwicke. The residue of the relief was stolne by parcells through the enemies quarters; for though their greater body was drawn off, yet were we still vexed with their garrisons. Not long after, there arrived another portion, and three troopes of horse, to make up the governours regiment. At length came lieutenant-colonel Ferrar, that had the command of these succours, with a little long-expected pay for the garrison. As for the foote soldiers that came with him out of London, in regard they came severall wayes, and at severall times, in a lingering march, with want of pay, and some taken prisoners, about fifty came to Gloucester, and of the rest no good account could be given.

When Vavasour was called off, the enemy revived, and grew bold under a more active leader, colonell Nicholas Min, who commanded the Irish brigade. In the first entrance hee began to lash out, and made assays of action; cut down the bridge at Masemore, alarmed the city from the Winniet Hill, and took divers of our men, that issued out upon a sally over the river in a boate.

At this present there came dayly cries for the reliefe of Brampton Castle, in the remote parts of Herefordshire; which held out a long time in the midst of the enemies country, to the expense of much time and blood. And their succour was the more importuned by the rage of the enemy, which had lately acted their cruelties upon forty prisoners of the same command, taken by colonell Woodhouse in Hopton Castle, which were basely murdered after the surrender. Colonell Massie had no forces under his command, to undertake a march through the midst of the enemy, when they pressed hard on our own borders; and the brigade of horse assigned for the convoy, and commanded by commissary-general Bher, were unwilling to undertake the service. Yet while these horse remained here, the governour desired to set them a worke, that they might not act only to the spoyle of the country. Wherefore they joyned with a party of our foot, and made an attempt upon Newent, colonell Mins garrison, but were called off in the midst of the service, by a speciall order from the lieutenant-general.

The enemy have lost the hopes of their winter action; and this garrison made the best of a bad game, in continuall petty services and small parties, yet beyond the strength of the place; not to conquer, but live, nor to destroy the kings forces, but to stave off or delude them. But to enable colonell Massie to march with a better strength, colonell Purefoy, with his regiment of horse, about the first of April, 1644, was, by the committee of both kingdomes, commanded into these parts; and the maine designe was to remove or take in the garrisons that lay round the city. These horse having brought but a slender part of the ammunition, and none of the armes that were

sent from London, were remanded to Warwicke, for the convoy of match and powder: the governour resolving not to undertake a march or action of time without a proportion of powder, both for the field and garrison. Upon their second arrivall, these horse, with a party of foure hundred foot, were drawne out, with two small pieces of ordnance, and advanced into the enemies quarters; first, with a purpose to seeke out colonell Min, who was lodged in the nearer parts. But upon the report of our march, he fell back from Newent, and hastened to Rosse, where he began to fortify the church with his own and sir John Winter's regiments. The governour made forwards into Herefordshire, and kept his head quarters at Ledbury, to appeare unto the enemy, and in their own country provoke them to action, and in the meane while, to fetch in monies for the supply of the souldiers, and to ease our neighbourhood, which, till then, did beare the whole burden. Our horse that lay neer upon their garrisons had some encounters, but with no considerable party. From Ledbury an hundred and fifty musketers, with the whole strength of horse, were drawn towards Hereford, to command the country, and face the garrison, which feared our approach, and for that cause fired a lone house neer the city; but none did adventure to sally forth, or fall on the reare in our retreat; so we marched through the greatest part of the county; but the grand malignants were fled, with the best of their substance. The governour resolved to attempt the lesser garrisons; but the noyse of our march had reached prince Rupert, who thereupon was come to Evesham, with as great a strength of horse and dragoones as he could draw together, with a purpose to fall over Upton bridge, and get between Gloucester and our forces, whilst colonell Min, and sir John Winter held us in play in these parts. Wherefore, being advertised of the prince's march, and suspecting his intention, he drew back the party, as well to refresh and preserve his men, as to make the enemy secure.

But within foure daies the like number were againe drawne out towards the forrest side, to attempt and act something upon Myns forces; and first they came up upon Westbury, once our owne garrison, but betrayed into the hands of sir John Winter. Here the enemy held the church, and a strong house adjoyning. The governour observing a place not flanked, fell up that way with the forlorne hope, and secured them from the danger of shot. The men got stooles and ladders to the windowes, where they stood safe, cast in granadoes, and fired them out of the church. Having gained the church, he quickly beat them out of their workes, and possest himselfe of the house, where he tooke about foure score prisoners, without the losse of a man. The enemy had an other guard at Little-deane, whether the governour commanded a party of horse to give them alarms, whilst he fell upon Westbury. These horse found the enemy stragling in the towne, and upon the discovery of their approach shuffling towards the garrison, which the troopers observing, alighted, and ran together with them into the house, where they tooke about twenty men. Neere unto which guard, lieutenant-colonell Congrave, governour of Newnham, and one captaine Wigmore, with a few private souldiers, were surrounded in some houses by the residue of our horse. These had accepted quarter, ready to render themselves, when one of their company from the house kills a trooper, which so enraged the rest, that they broke in upon them, and put them all to the sword. In which accident this passage was not to be forgotten, that expressed, in one place, an extreame contrariety in the spirits of men under the stroke of death:—Congrave died with these words, "Lord receive my soule;" and Wigmore cryed nothing but "Dam me more, Dam me more;" desperately requiring the last stroke, as enraged at divine revenge.

Colonell Massie pursued the successe, (whilst his owne men were full of life and hope that the confidence of the enemy might be dashed by a quicke surprisall,) and the very next day came before Newnham, where a strong party of sir John Winter's forces kept garrison in the church and the fort adjoyning, of considerable strength; who, at that instant were much daunted and distracted by the losse of Congrave, their gover-



nour. Our men were possest of the towne without opposition, and recovered the houses, by which they got neere the workes. The governour commanded a blind of faggots to be made athwart the street, drew up two pieces of ordnance within pistoll-shot, and observing a place not well flanker'd, where he might lead up his men to the best advantage, himselfe marched before them, and found that part of the worke fortified with double pallisadoes; (the souldiers being provided with sawes to cut them down;) and having drawn these close within a dead angle, and secure from their shot, and drawing the rest of his force for a storme, the enemy forthwith desires parley, and to speake with the governour; which he refused, and commanded a sudden surrender. In this interim some of the enemy jumpt over the workes, and so our men broke in upon the rest, who ranne from the out-worke into the church, hoping to cleare the mount, which we had gained. But our men were too nimble, who had no sooner entered the mount, but rushed upon them before they could reach home, and tumbled into the church all together. Then they cryed for quarter; when, in the very point of victory, a disaster was like to befall us:—A barrell of gunpowder was fired in the church, undoubtedly of set purpose, and was conceived to be done by one Tipper, a most virulent papist, and Sir John Winters servant; despairing withall of his redemption; being a prisoner before, and having falsified his engagements. This powder blast blew many out of the church, and sorely singed a greater number, but killed none. The souldiers enraged fell upon them, and in the heate of blood slew neere twenty, and amongst others this Tipper. All the rest had quarter for their lives, (save one captaine Butler, an Irish rebell, who was knocked downe by a common souldier,) and an hundred prisoners taken. The service was performed without the losse of a man on our side.

After this dispatch the governour marched to Lidney house, with purpose to attempt according to what he should finde meet; and, in the first place, summoned the same to a surrender; which being refused, and he finding the house exceedingly fortified, and no lesse provided with victuall than force, engaged not upon it: And understanding that col. Myn, with a considerable strength of horse and foot, assisted by the lord Herbert's forces and sir John Winter, was come as far as Coford, he was enforced with more expedition to draw off, for the gaining of the hill towards them; there expecting the enemies advance till towards evening, when he marched off his wearied men to Gloucester; first having fired sir John Winters iron-mills and furnaces, the maine strength of his estate and garrison.

After these things many gentlemen of the county began to looke towards the parliament, and tender their obedience, desiring protections from this government, to secure themselves from spoyle and the souldiers violence. Neverthelesse, as the personall estates of all knowne delinquents within the reach of this command were seized, and the profits of their lands sequestred, so these men were not to be ignorant or insensible of the value of their peace. Concerning some, the governour desired the direction of the houses, yet granted protections, with strict provisoes onely to preserve their persons from the violence, and their estates from the plunder of the common souldier, for the advantage of the publique, till a full conviction, or the pleasure of the houses were, by themselves or their committee, made known. And this he did according to the parliament's undeniable justice, and the example of other generall officers. As for the moderate offenders, unlesse the estate of things did require or permit their utter destruction, he had no other way but to endeavour to make them our friends and confidants; and since it was resolved they must live amongst us, hee desired, by love and gentle dealing, to hold the way secure and open, that they might imbrace the condition without discontent or feare. And for these protections hee reserved nothing to himselfe, but caused the moneys to be paid in to the publique treasurer, for the use of the garrison.

Neither was he sluggish in the spring of action, but immediately fell upon another

designe—the surprisal of Tewkesbury, by an unexpected onset: For the enemy, by the number of their men, and the naturall strength of the place, with the workes well begun, were sufficiently provided to receive an expected and open storme; and the governour shun'd all desperate hazzards, because he did not march with supernumerary forces, but the maine strength of Gloucester. Wherefore, to deceive the enemy, the foot were drawne forth at the west gate, bearing the shew of an advance into Herefordshire, and the horse kept their rendezvouz, and looked the same way. But in the evening the horse came backe, and marched through Gloucester towards Tewkesbury, having first sent a guard to Upton bridge, while the foot came on beyond Severne. The designe had taken effect, had not the foot, by their slow march or mis-guidance, passed the houre, which was breake of day; for they came not before the towne till an houre after sunne-rising, when we were found not fit to assault a waking and prepared enemy. To withdraw, neverthelesse, did seeme but a feeble businesse for such a faire body of horse and foot displayed before the towne, and carried before it the appearance of a baffle; yet the governour, though naturally jealous of honour, could digest such mis-fezance, when the safety of his owne men required; knowing that the opportunity of service would in good time cancell a mis-grounded ignominy; and in his whole course, whensoever the present exigence did not urge a greater hazzard, neglected the hopes of those victories that could not be gained without the weakning of that party on which the maine rest did lie.

This party was presently sent over the river, and marched toward Rosse, to prevent the joyning of colonell Myn (now made commander-in-chiefe, in the roome of sir William Vavasour) with sir John Winter and the Welsh forces, as also to raise moneys for the garrison out of the remoter parts, to enlarge our owne quarters, engage the countrey with us, or to lie ready for all occasions of service. There our horse and foot arrived, with two pieces of ordnance, and found Wilton bridge guarded by capitaine Cassie and thirty muskietiers from Gudridge Castle. A party of our horse advanced upon them, forced the river, and got beyond them; after some dispute, beat off the guard, wounded and tooke the capitaine, slew many of his men, and tooke the rest in the chase almost up to the castle. Our forces rested here a few daies, and summoned the countrey to appeare; it being the governours constant endeavour to adde daily friends unto the parliament, and to put the countrey into such a posture, that upon all alarms they might gather to an head for their owne defence: and hereupon many came in and declared themselves, by taking the nationall covenant. Whilst the engagement of the countrey was thus prosecuted, some emergent occasions drew the governour to Gloucester, where he found a prisoner, capitaine Oglethorpe, governour of Beverston Castle; a man rendred odious to the countrey by strange oppressions and tyranny, and who lost himselfe basely; being taken by some of our scouts in a private house courting his mistresse, and when once taken, not so high and sterne before, but now as vile and abject. By which meanes the governour was made sensible of the weaknesse of the castle, but much divided in his owne thoughts, whether to leave the countrey, that came on so fairely to a selfe-engagement, and neglect the contribution already levied, but not payd in, or desert the hopes of a gallant service; till at last, considering the great command of the castle; that the gaining of it would free the clothiers of Stroudwater from the bondage and terroure of that government, and might prove a great detriment and annoyance to the enemy, in stopping or disturbing their passage from Oxford to Bristol, he turned his thoughts to the businesse, put on, and resolved to try for it. Wherefore he drew from Rosse without delay, and commanded his foot over Severne, at Newnham passage, whilst the horse marched through Gloucester. The next day he came before Beverston, and demanded the castle, in the name of the king and parliament.

The lieutenant that commanded at the first returne sent an answer of compliance,



farre from the language of a souldier, and without one confident expression. They quickly came to a parley, and rendered, upon conditions that both officers and common souldiers, leaving their armes, ammunition, bagge and baggage, should freely passe to whatsoever garrison of the kings themselves desired; onely foure officers had the privilege to take each man his horse: So that without losse or danger we were possesst of Beverston Castle, to the great content and satisfaction of the countrey round about. 'Twas lost unworthily on the enemies part, who might have held it with ease. Of so great simplicity was he conscious that commanded the garrison, as to aske the place whether our forces intend the next march; expressing his doubts of Malmesbury, and feare of being taken the second time. Neverthelesse they required a conduct thitherward, and were guarded along by two troops of horse; and that very day our forces fell before it

Whilst the horse faced the towne, colonell Massie sent in the summons; but this enemy put on the appearance of bravery, fired upon the horse, and colonell Henry Howard, governour of the garrison, sent backe a resolute answer. Thereupon our foot and artillery were brought up from Tedbury, and within two houres, drawne into the suburbs and lower part of the towne. The foot broke their way through the houses, till they came almost up to the workes, and the onely place of entrance into the towne, which is built upon the levell of a rocke. Colonell Massie caused a blinde to be made crosse the street, to bring up the ordnance within carbine shot; when, on the sudden, the fancie of an alarm seized upon our men, in the heate of the businesse, that the enemy were sallying out upon them; which was nothing so. This unexpected accident stricke those men, that at other times would brave it in the face of an enemy, with such distraction and feare, that they all fled, and left their cannon in the open street. This meere conceit was like to overturne all; but they within observed not. After a while the souldiers recovered themselves, regained and kept their ground; and the governour resolved to storme the towne in three places at once. The severall parties were drawne out to the places of assault; but this designe miscarried, through the misunderstanding of the signall. The parties returne unto the governour, who resolved to make the assault at breake of day, in one place where himselfe kept the onely passage into the town; having no draw-bridge at the entrance, but onely a turn pike; whereas the other parts were almost inaccessible, guarded by a steepe descent and double channell round about. The houses within pistoll-shot of the workes were our maine advantage, by which meanes our men were brought safe under the shelter of their workes. And the governour observing the late effects of a panick feare amongst his owne men, gave the charge that they should fall on all together, with a sudden and confused noise, to amaze the enemy, and disturbe the command of the officers. The forlorne hope advanced, seconded with a good reserve; all put on together, came up to the turn-pike, and threw in granadoes. The enemy made many shot at randome, in the disadvantage of a rainy night, and their muskets lying wet on the workes: So that our men came all in a croude to the narrow passage, and thronged in, and not a man slaine or wounded in the storme: one onely was killed the night before, in helping to make the blinde. Colonell Howard was taken at the workes, after three shots received in severall parts of his garment, each of which missed his body. An hundred musketiers were taken prisoners, many having escaped, besides those of Beverston Castle, who came hither for refuge the day before. This service was performed gallantly by our men, after three daies continuall march. Upon the first entrance colonell Massie preserved the town from plunder; nor at any time did he suffer his souldiers to ransacke any place that he took by storme; giving this reason—that he could judge no part of England an enemies countrey, nor an English town capable of devastation by English souldiers. After a little stay, to settle the garrison and countrey, and to command in some moneys, for the satisfaction of the souldiers, and present sup-

ply of the brigade, he returned to Gloucester, and the Warwickshire horse were called off into their owne countrey.

After few daies the governour having breathed himselfe and his men, resolved to attempt the taking of Tewkesbury; a bad neighbour to our head garrison, and where he had suffered the repulse twice before. He was able to draw forth an hundred and twenty horse, and about thirty dragoones, with three hundred foot; for his strength was no more then the standing forces of the city, a great part of which were now swallowed up by the garrisons lately taken in. The horse and dragoones, commanded by major Hammond, advanced some few houres before the foot and artillery, and were to alarm the enemy till the foot came up. They made a halt a mile from the town, and drew out a pretty strong forlorne hope; conceiving they might possibly surprize them, if they had not as yet tooke the alarm. And first three men were sent before, to espy if the draw-bridge were down, and six more behind went undiscovered; next unto these marched the forlorne hope, and the maine body in the reare. In this posture they advanced up to the town, where they found the bridge down, the guards slender, the enemy without intelligence, and supinely negligent. On went the first party, killed the sentinels, a pikeman and a musketier without match, and made good the bridge: The forlorne hope rushed in, and after them a full body of horse and dragoones; fell upon the guards, came up to the maine-guard before the alarm was taken, overturned their ordnance, and charged through the streets as farre as the bridge, Worcester way, where they tooke major Myn, the governour of the towne. The enemy threw down their armes: many escaped by flight, and many were taken prisoners. Colonell Godfrey was slain in the first charge, as also colonel Vavasours quarter-master-generall, and a lieutenant, all papists besides a sergeant with about six common souldiers. Our officers and souldiers supposing themselves wholly victorious, dismounted, and went into the houses; some in the vanity of their humour, others for plunder; whilst all sleighted their owne guards, and the making good of the bridge at which they entered, and neglected the taking and disarming of the maine-guard, which lay in the heart of the towne, and cleared every street. Whereupon those at the main-guard observing the horse not seconded with foot, took courage to charge some of our horse, now in confusion; and many of the enemy out of the houses ran to the guard, and so strengthened it, that they issued out upon our men, put them to a retreat, beat them out of the towne, and took some few prisoners. But before they were beaten out they had cut down two draw-bridges, and secured the governour, major Myn, who was passed over Severne with a small party, that tooke him beyond the town. By this time colonell Massie was come up, with a few horse, halfe a mile in the van of the foot, which hastened after, to make an assault in this instant of time. But the bridge towards Gloucester was againe drawn up, and the workes manned on that side. Here the governour placed his company of dragoones, and gave order to fire upon them, whilst he drew his men round the towne, it being now darke night; but before he could reach the farther end, where he entered about midnight, the enemy were fled towards Worcester, being daunted at the first assault made by the horse; observing withall our foot now brought up, their owne governour lost, their officers slaine, and most of the common souldiers already runne away. The townesmen, through feare, durst not give the least intelligence of what had happed; by which meanes they were past the recovery of our horse, already tyred: Besides, the night and darke weather hindred the pursuit: Oncly we tooke some scattering foot, to the number of foure-and-twenty, with a lieutenant. Upon our entrance we found eighteen barrells of powder, left by their haste, an hundred and twenty skeyns of match, two hundred new pikes, foure-and-thirty large hand granadoes, good store of musket-shot, and two brasse drakes. Most of their muskets were thrown about in the fields, ditches, and rivers, many of which were afterwards found. But the place it selfe was



of greatest consequence, and worthy of the service, being now a strong frontier town, securing that side of the county, and commanding a good part of Worcestershire, and in this nicke of time extreemly crosse to the intentions of the kings army. The enemy confest themselves to be neer seven hundred strong, when our whole body could not reach that number. That very day colonell Myn was to march from Hereford to ayd this town, but prevented by our possession.

These things were acted here, while the earle of Essex and sir William Waller lay neere Oxford with both their armys, and compelled his majesty to withdraw himselfe from his strongest hold. The king having shifted between them both, by a close and nimble conveyance, and being on a swift march over Cotswood hills, had this town of Tewkesbury in his thoughts for his owne passe, and a stop to the pursuing army; not understanding his losse till within a daies march of the place. The intelligence of this surprisall, and that Upton bridge was made unpassable, perplexed the king, and turned aside the course of his flight towards Evesham, where he quartered for a night, and rose thence in great distraction, and caused all the bridges in those parts to be broken down after him, to hinder sir William Waller in the pursuit, whom he expected in the reare every hower. In such a hurry, confusion, and feare did the enemy run, that a smaller party of horse, only with the report of the foot comming after, in a constant and close pursuit, might have consumed and dissipated the whole army; which, neverthelesse, remained a body with life in it selfe, and quickly grew up to the perfection of parts.

The governour had reduced these parts into a reasonable condition of ease and security, made a convenient passe for the parliaments forces through the heart of the kings country, and blocked up the course of the enemy almost on every side, unlesse the maine army did march. Malmesbury and Beverston Castle lie in the roade from Oxford to Bristoll, and inforce the lesser parties to fetch a compasse by Worcester and Hereford, thence round about into Wales, and at last to passe the river of Severne below Berkely Castle.

When the king had winded himselfe out of the snare, sir William Waller could not well follow the chase with his foot and a traine of artillery, though the horse might performe gallantly, to the ruine of those who resolved rather to flie before them then fight upon any tearmes. Wherefore he made some pause by the way, with a purpose to march his great ordnance to Gloucester; and appointed colonell Massie to meet him before Sudeley, where he performed an acceptable service to this country. The governour forthwith faced the castle, beat in the enemy, and took twenty horses from under the Castle walls; expecting the arrivall of sir William Waller, who came up within few houres, with a strong party of horse.

The enemy within discharged their ordnance, and fired their out-houses, like men resolved upon extremities, rather then to yield up or lose the garrison. In the evening sir William Waller summoned the governour of the castle; and it fell out that the very name of his army and presence strooke them to the surrender of that hold that might have expended the lives of many, and much time, then pretious, in that great advantage on the kings distressed army: Yet they refused to render at the first summons. The battery was planted within halfe musket-shot; but the great pieces did little execution upon the soft and yielding stone, nor could the castle be taken by battery; but one shot by chance took off the head of their cannoneer, and exceedingly daunted the common souldier; and the governour, sir William Morton, did in his owne thoughts incline to a surrender, whether out of a naturall feare or free choice. He was knowne to be active and violent in the kings service, of an high spirit and bold, bearing before him the semblance of valour, and supposed by an high degree of enmity most obnoxious to the justice of the parliament; one that had the repute of a knowing man, able in the profession of the law, and versed in the wayes and actions

of men. He was likewise more strongly linked unto that cause by the late honour of knighthood, which by the state is held no better then a note of infamy, to stigmatize those persons that have been eminent in the disservice of the commonwealth. Notwithstanding this, being lost and desperate in the opinion of the parliament, he gave up that strong hold and himselfe into their hands, having not provided for the indemnity of his own person; when by his own party, likewise, he must needs be branded with treachery or cowardize, and so lost on all hands. So that no faction seemes to be assured of its principall confidents, and that no resolved nature or judgement can secure the strongest enterprize to a wise and honorable conclusion. After the surrender, sir William advanced thence to seek out the kings army, and left the castle to be kept by the Gloucester forces.

By this time the enemy had no footing in the county, save Berkley Castle and Lidney House. And as this government had by maine force gained every step of its command, so no lesse skill and vertue is required to maintaine the victories. We have the possession of Gloucester, Tewkesbury, Sudely, Newneham, Beverston, and Slimbridge; all to be defended and maintained, at so great distances, only by two regiments of foot: For Malmesbury was kept by colonell Deveraux his regiment, who was appointed governour, under the command of colonell Massie, unto whom the disposition and settlement of that garrison was intrusted by the parliament. For want of money the city regiments were weake and uncertaine in duty and service, and the souldiers ranne dayly to other garrisons, where they found alwayes constant pay and lesse hardship: But the governour could find none so rationall as to clap them in irons, or give them back to his justice. For this cause he was perplexed in each designe, uncertaine of the atchievement, and could not waite for a regular disposition and traine of circumstances; but nimble in the secret and sudden motions of the time and season, and sometime resolving upon the sole guide of Providence; but in this never running a greater hazard then the shame of a non-performance. These many garrisons having taken up the whole strength, for want of a marching brigade, we were deprived of the fruit of our labours, in the supplies of monies to be commanded out of the enemies quarters, and disabled to relieve the remote parts that were by this time united under the power of this government: So that the first fruits were nipt in the bud, and we remaine miserable after so great enlargements; being inforced to cry to the parliament for help, which we should have held a disparagement, had we received a stock to improve to a larger support and livelyhood. Wherefore the house of commons taking notice of the many good services of colonell Massie, made an order for the recrate of his regiment of horse and foot in the first place; and to make up a competent brigade, colonell Thomas Stephens had commission for a regiment of horse, and colonell Edward Harley for a regiment of foot. In which businesse the governour advised not to raise men and horse at London, whither the refuse of the army, runnegadoes, and such as disliked the conditions of their former entertainment were wont to repaire, but only to procure monies to be sent into the country, where horses might be rayased at a cheaper rate, and able men were easy to be found, and chiefly where we might robbe the enemy of their maine strength; from whom great multitudes were ready to flow in, upon the hopes of entertainment. And before this time, since the late siege, at least a thousand of the enemy, that here tendred themselves to the service, went from us for lack of pay. This was a speedy course, and effectuell, which might carry on the worke whilst we were in a thriving way.

At that time the affaires of the garrison were a little enterwoven with some passages of the greater army. Sir William Waller was led into the northerne parts in the pursuit of his majestie, straining to reach or get beyond him. But the king doubled in the chace, hasted back by Worcester towards Oxford, and left sir Wi am a few dayes march in the rear; who nevertheless made after with all speed, but was constrained



to rest at Gloucester, to refresh his weary souldiers; and purposing to fall upon the kings army, importuned the governour to lend his assistance; which was extracted out of the extreme penury of these parts onely for a quick dispatch. Two hundred and seventy muskettiers, with a company of dragoons, were sent from Gloucester, and a hundred muskettiers from Malmesbury; which did not a little necessitate the place, and stop the actions of this command, which had so many garrisons to make good, and defend the countrey from the neighbouring enemy, that began to threaten from every quarter.

At this time there happened a dispute between the kings army and sir William Waller, at a bridge neer Banbury, where some few were slain and taken on both sides; but on ours the chief miscarriage was the losse of some ordnance. After this brush the king marched off into the borders of Worcestershire, and sir William Waller towards Buckingham, to joyn with colonell Browne. Our countrey is in danger of ruine, by the falling down of the kings army, whose main body lay for a while about Breedon, three miles from Tewkesbury; where his majestie being informed of the weaknesse of the place, drew neer, with a purpose to storne it, advanced the ordnance within a mile, and sent out parties to skirmish. Colonell Massie, upon the first intelligence, clapt into the town two hundred muskettiers for an additionall strength, and to encourage those within: Himself in the mean while, with a hundred and fifty muskettiers in Coslawne, waited to encounter with an other party of the Worcester forces, whom he staved off, with the losse of five or six men, neer Upton bridge, and passed over Seavern to Tewkesbury. Upon notice hereof, the enemy drew thence, and retreated towards Parshowe and Evesham. There the king pretended to passe over the river into Herefordshire and Wales, and gave command that all the bridges should be made up; but his designe lay westward. Wherefore he made up the hills, marched the first day, in the view of Sudely Castle, over the downes, and came that night to Cubberly, seven miles from Gloucester, and from thence marched the next day by Beverstone Castle to Sodbury. They went on like a flying army, surprised the countrey; but they onely touched and away; and our weak troops drove in the stragling plunderers: For the governour commanded a party of horse to follow the reare of the enemy, whilst the rest were employed in a necessary defence in sundry places. These did seem to give them a gentle convoy over the hill countrey towards Bristoll; and though the van of their horse were too nimble for us, and drove great store of the garrison cattell, that lay in their way, yet the country men were saved from any great matter of losse, and the parties of horse brought into our garrison between 50 and 60 prisoners, officers and souldiers; and though they could not retard the march, yet made them passe forward with much warines and fear.

In the mean while colonell Min, together with sir John Winters forces, take the advantage of our weakness, to spoil and destroy our friends on the forrest side; sir William Russell and the governour of Worcester make incursions on that side; and the garrison, oppressed with many out-guards, and multitudes of prisoners within, had much ado to preserve the neighbours from ruine. Colonell Min advanced from Rosse, where he quartered his regiment, within half a mile of the city, drove away the countrey cattell, and took the persons of many: And the forces of Berkley Castle act a sufficient part in the generall mischief. The governour looks round about him, and though he cannot hope to lay them flat, and subdue their spirits, yet he can check their insolence, and make them stand on their guard. He commanded a party of horse and dragoons towards Berkley, who fell upon the guard of the town, beat them into the castle, slew eight or ten, took prisoners captain Sandys, with a lieutenant, ensigne, sargeant, and seven common souldiers; whence, likewise, they brought away fourty or fifty arms, and took from out of the park under the castle wall about fiftie horses, with other cattell. An other party was commanded within foure miles of

Worcester, and surprised in their quarters sir Humphrey Tracy, lieutenant-colonell Hely, and captain Savage, and brought them prisoners to Gloucester.

By this time an increase is added to the garrison forces, by the arrival of collonel Stephens with three troops of horse, and two troops of collonel Harlyes regiment, which did inable the governour once more to appear in the field, and draw out against collonel Min, a serious and active enemy, and a perpetuall terror to the countrey; whose ruine was again contrived, and resolved upon; and for this designe strong preparations were made by the enemy round about. The governor had some discovery out of their own quarters, and upon advertisement that some forces out of Hereford and Wales went over the river at Aust passage, advanced with his horse towards Berkley Castle, and thence to the passage, where they missed not half an houre of the surprisall of the lord Herbert. The notice of the march of our horse into the remote parts of the county hastned Mins expedition for Gloucestershire. And our intelligence abroad gave a timely advertisement of the work in hand, which a little after was fully confirmed by letters taken out of collonel Mins pocket; to wit, that Hereford and Worcestershire were to joyn their forces about Cosselawne, and with an overpowering army to march up to the gates of Gloucester, to the utter devastation of the parts adjacent with fire and plunder, and to burn up the corn on the ground, it being then neer harvest. Hereupon the governor marched back with his troops to Gloucester, from whence he commanded two hundred and twenty muskettiers, and ordered an hundred muskettiers from Tewkesbury to meet him on the march, to prevent this great-noised army.

Whilst the orders for the march were giving forth to the officers of horse and foot, there fell out a sad accident between major Gray and major Hammond, which was like to dash the whole action. The heat of a quarrell then brake forth, by occasion of a verball contestation at a councill of warre the same day, when both had orders to march, and were commanded to their particular charges. Major Gray began to question Hammond for his hasty language, and to require satisfaction. This challenge at the present was refused, or sleighted; wherefore, impatient of the supposed injury, and full of revenge, he smote him on the face with his fist. Upon this to swords they went in the street; and after a little clashing, Gray received his deaths wound by a thrust in the neck, and expired in the place. This miserable accident was like to beget a greater mischief among the souldiers, who being in arms, and ready to advance, came back with full streame of violent resolution for the present revenge of Grays blood; that the whole city and garrison was not farre from an uproar. It rested on the governors sole care to allay that violence of the souldier; who used his best art and industry to appease them, whilst the officers, indulging their own discontent at the losse of their major, fell quite off the hinges. After an houres dispute and intreaty, the tumult was in some measure qualified, that the most were perswaded to march, as it was high time, when the enemy came on within three miles of the city, with a resolution, if not to lay waste by fire, (as they threatned,) yet to plunder, and take away the persons of men, their goods and cattell. The businesse was put forwards, but with little help from the discontented officers. Late in the afternoon our party began to advance, and at Highleaden passage got over the brook. The enemy were quartered in Hartpurty field, and commanded to lie close. Our men came up to a bridge within a quarter of a mile of them in the dark night, gave them an alarme, and took ten prisoners; and an other party of our horse, that quartered neer the Lawne, took divers that were sent that way to plunder. But their main body evaded us, and with great speed marched that night to Redmarley; and we, after a tedious wandring to find them out, came to Eldersfield, two miles from their quarters, where we rested two or three houres, to refresh ourselves and horses.



At break of day we prepared to advance upon the enemy, when the beating of their drums minded us of an early march; and by six of the clock we came up to their rendezvous. Their horse consisted of an hundred and sixty, and their foot of eight hundred and fifty, and of them six hundred and forty muskettiers, by their own confession; all drawn up into battalions, and the hedges lined with muskettiers. To beat them out of their advantages, the governor divided the foot into two bodies, and drew out the horse into single troops, because the frequent inclosures would not make room for a larger forme, (the enemy in the mean while plying us with small shot;) and having disposed of his own troop, with the hundred muskettiers from Tewkesbury newly come in, and many of the country inhabitants armed with muskets and good resolutions, to one part of the town he drew the Gloucester muskettiers, about an hundred and sixty, (for the rest remained at home, ready to raise a mutiny for the misfortune of Grayes death,) and the greatest part of the horse to an other place of best advantage. Himself advanced with this party, and led the van, which consisted of three troops: these were seconded with three other troops, left to the command of captain Backhowse. Some of the foot were placed in each flank of the horse, and one single troop, with the rest of the foot, brought up the reare. They were drawn out into this posture, marched up to the face of the enemy, the governour in the van: Next unto him colonell Harley, in the head of his own troop, gallantly, and in good order, gave the charge, beat them from their ambuscadoes, put their horse to flight, and in the instant of time got into the van of their foot, cut down, and took them prisoners, that few escaped our hands. The horse and foot, both officers and souldiers, plaid their parts with resolution and gallantry. The enemy was left to our execution, and their whole body broken and shattered; many wounded and slain, but more taken. Major-generall Min was slain on the place, with an hundred and seventy. Among the officers, leiftenant-collonel Passy, then mortally wounded, major Buller, seven captains, foure leiftenants, five ensignes, twelve serjeants, and neer three hundred common souldiers were taken prisoners. Some troops advanced in the pursuit five miles from the place of the fight; but upon the view of a strong party from Worcester that came to joyn with collonel Min, they were enforced to leave the pursuit, and prepare for a second encounter. And a strange hand of Providence kept asunder the Hereford and Worcester forces, whose joyning would have proved unto us an inevitable destruction: For leiftenant-collonel Passie, who commanded this fresh partie, of an hundred and fiftie horse, and five hundred foot, just upon the beginning of the fight, was riding up to Min's brigade, to bring news of their arrivall, but happily intercepted, and wounded by our scouts, and left for dead: So that neither enemy had the knowledge of each other's condition. But the Worcester forces advanced within two flight-shot of the place, whilst our men were scattered here and there in the chase of a vanquished enemy; nor did the governor, when the first brunt was over, expect an after-birth.

The first discovery was made by collonel Broughton and captain Backhowse, upon whom a blunt fellow charged up from the head of the main body, in the entrance of a crosse-lane. Him they surprised in the name of friends, drew him aside from the view of the company, and informed themselves of the strength at hand. Forthwith they make a noise in the enemies hearing, pretending to fall on with a body of ours ready for a charge; by the sudden out-cry daunted and drove back that strong party, and made way for the governor's retreat, and those with him, which were now dispersed, secure of the victory, and following the chase. Our stragling persuers were gathered together, drew back to the place of the fight, and there expected the charge; choosing rather to make good the victory atchieved upon so great hazard and disadvantage, then venture all, by seeking out a fresh and doubtfull enemy with our few and weary souldiers. Onely three or foure slain, five or six wounded, amongst whom collonel Harlye

received a shot in the arme. The successe of this designe cut off the maine strength of the king's forces in South Wales, and secured the countrey from our plundering neighbours on the Welch side. The body of collonel Min was brought to Gloucester, and vouchsafed an honorable buriall. His death was by his own party much lamented, together with the losse of a brave regiment, that were commanded from Ireland, to fight here against the justice of that cause upon which the Irish war was held up and owned by the whole kingdom. And it hath been observed, that as the Irish pacification was unlucky and reproachfull to the outside of the king's actions amongst his protestant party, so the commanders that came thence were unfortunate in all their designs, and in the end miserable.

When the governor had settled his affaires at home in reasonable security, his desires and aime was to put in for the advantage of a more generall service, and pitched upon these two proposals: the one to make a diversion from the lord-generals army, then blocked up in the west; the other to keep back prince Ruperts stragling forces, which then lay between Shrewsbury and Worcester, a little after the great northern defeat. And these the prince earnestly desired, that upon this rubbish he might frame an army for the close of the summer action.

Wherefore, if possible, to endeavour a diversion from the west parts, the governor drew towards Bath, with nine hundred horse and foot, (the forces lent to sir William Waller being in part returned,) with a purpose to disturbe the kings quarters, and withdraw a part of the maine army to inable Bristoll and Bath. On the hills, likewise, he might expect to encounter prince Rupert from Bristoll, who fled thither with about three hundred horse, presently after the discomfit in the north. But within a few dayes, upon advertisement of the miscarriage and disaster of the lord-generals army, he drew back, and the rather, having intelligence that the prince had commanded collonel Charles Gerrard out of Wales, and the reliques of his own army to break their way through our countrey into the western parts. These were reported to lie neer Worcester, waiting there for a clear passe, and by all means to escape collonel Massie. They were to take their course over Coltswoold hils, or by the borders of Herefordshire to make into the forrest of Deane, and thence over the river at Aust. Wherefore the governors maine businesse was to prevent this conjunction, and block up either passage. In his retreat towards Gloucester, he fell down before Berkely, and lodged his men two dayes in the town, summoned the castle, and made shew of an assault; but this was taken up in the way, besides the intention of the designe. And though the losse of six or eight men, by their own folly, gave collonel Veale occasion of boasting, yet for all the pretended great service, in maintaining the place that was never attempted, he was immediately after cashered that government by the princes order. But before collonel Massie drew thence, he caused the boats to be fired at Aust passage; and intending to passe over Seaverne at Frampton, to meet prince Ruperts forces, received an alarme that they were already in Cosse Lawne; whereupon our marching brigade hasted to Gloucester, where they found that many of those troops under the command of sir Marmaduke Langdale were newly come into Herefordshire, and that a party of them, joyning with collonel Lingens horse, had advanced within six miles of the city, to spoil and plunder those parishes that were joyned in one association to a mutual defence, and the aid of this government.

The governor perused his designe, drew forth towards the Lawne, and stopped their course on that side Seaverne: Whereupon they took their course through Worcester, where they obtained an additional strength from collonel Sandys his horse, and sir William Russels horse and foot, with all the foot that Dudley Castle and those parts could afford them. And now conceiving themselves able, both in power and advantage of the march, having (as they supposed) left collonel Massie beyond Seaverne, and too farre in the reare to reach them, resolved to break forth; hoping both to passe clear, and re-



lieve Banbury in the way. But the governor being certified of their march, forthwith conveyed his men over Seaverne at Tewkesbury, and recovered the hils as farre as Stanway, and got before them; in the meane while gave notice to the major of the earle of Denbighs horse, that lay neer Tewkesbury, in Worcestershire; who the same day brought up two hundred horse, to joyn with our party on the hils. Neverthelesse, the governor understanding nothing, but that the enemy was marched to Stratford upon Avon, and so beyond his reach, sent back the foot, almost tyred with tedious and continuall marches, and with his horse resolved to joyn with collonel Fines at Banbury. But he found, at the return of the scouts, that about five hundred horse neer at that instant got over the river on this side Evesham, and made their approach neer his quarters, and that a party of foot were left at the bridge, to make good the repasse; one half of the forces in the mean while, lying at Evesham, and the other neer Parshowe. Our men appearing on the hils, the enemy took the alarme, retreated suddenly, and for a while lodged themselves beyond Worcester. Their number was computed, by such as beheld them, to be about five-and-twenty hundred horse, ill armed, and the surviving part of the ruines of the northern army. Again to prevent their incursions into the remote parts of the country beyond Seaverne, a competent strength of horse and foot were commanded over, and withall to attend the enemies motion.

In the midst of this and other designs of consequence at that time depending, the governor, with all the officers of horse and foot, were much distressed for lack of that support which the necessity of the service did require; and the extreme want of the common troopers drove them daily away. Every performance in the whole course of this government was filled with much distempers; and though the exigence of the souldier hath been great in many places, yet the gleanings of other brigades have been better then our vintage. No officer had any portion in the contribution money; no pay for the troops for many moneths together; no allowance for scout, spie, or intelligencer, who observe onely the liberall and open-handed; nor the hopes of reward to encourage the souldiers gallantry;—that the indeavours of the governor, in keeping together and increasing the forces, were nigh lost. Neither was any means allotted to the supply of the necessary attendants and officers of a marching brigade: And in the heat of service, the nature and terms of the governors command were disputed; and twas very questionable whether to provide for the attendants of a march; that onely a proportion seemed to be cared for, that might live within the walls of Gloucester, and nothing to further such action that might restrain and lessen the strength of the enemy, preserve the countrey, and passe withall to the relief of remote garrisons. Neverthelesse, the establishment of such a power was required in these parts as might check the enemy in all his marches and recruits, and this strength far greater then the stint of that constant number which the garrisons took up.

In this extremity the governor was constrained to act, and marched on in the pursuit of the enemy, who kept randevous neer Hereford, with fourty-two troops of horse; resolving to passe the Severne at Aust, not daring to adventure over the hill countrey. And to guard the passage, prince Rupert sent into the forrest a commanded party of five hundred horse and foot. These began to fortifie Beachly for a lasting guard; a place of extreme difficult approach, being a gut of land running out between Seaverne and Wye, and the onely commodious passage from Wales to Bristoll and the western parts; being the maine entercourse of the kings army, and a strong reserve for the last exigence. It was high time therefore to crush this designe, and nip the bud of so great hopes. The governor advanced upon them some foure dayes after they began their fortifications, and had drawn the trench half way from the banks of one river to the other; when the other part was well guarded with an high quick-set hedge, (which they lined with muskettiers,) and a ditch within, with a fair meadow beyond, where-in they had made a re-intrenchment. The strength consisted neer of six hundred horse

and foot, which, at the first coming on, lighted upon a partie of horse from Chepstow, took some, and drove the rest into the river; then faced the enemy within musket-shot that evening, and so continued the next morning, waiting the opportunitie of an assault; for at high water the place was inaccessible, by reason of their ships, which guarded each river with ordnance, lying levell with the banks, and clearing the face of the approach from Wye to Seaverne. Wherefore the governor taking the advantage of lowe water, drew forth a party for the on-set. These were brought neer the place of entrance, where the enemy intended a draw-bridge, with order to storme the works which as yet were not finished. Out of the forlorn hope the governor had selected ten musketiers to creep along the hedges, and thence to fall into the very breach. These gave the first alarme, and caused the enemy (according to the meaning of the plot) to spend their first shot in vain. And when the first volly was given, ere they could recharge their muskets, the governor gave the signall, by the discharge of a pistoll. On went the forlorn hope, and the reserve following, the trumpets sounding and the drums beating; run up to the works, rushed in among them, and fell upon the hack; when the whole and each part of the action was carried on without interruption, and the souldiers went up in such a regular march, and so great solemnity, that it seemed more like the pomp of a triumph then the confused face of a fight. Of the enemy some were killed, and the rest taken prisoners, besides some few that recovered the boats; and many of them that took the water were drowned. And to grace the service, it was performed in the full view of a multitude on Chepstow side, whilst the great guns plaid from each river; which, cast beneath the banks by the lowe ebbe, did no execution, but, by their noise and semblance of terror, both raised the souldier, and conduced to the majesty of the victory.

This good successe and the season held forth a fair opportunitie to compasse an other designe at that time in agitation. Some overtures were made by lieutenant-collonel Kyrle of the delivering of Monmouth into our hands. Many did urge the present acceptance of the plot, and an hasty performance, and were discontented in that which they called slacknesse in the governor; when as neither the method of the plot was propounded in the generall, (the circumstances being left free,) nor the present state of things gave leave to manage the businesse, when the following army of prince Rupert was to be intercepted; a work of greater concernment, and more beseeming a publick spirit then this latter. But at that time twas the usuall mistake of particular associations to confine every enterprise to their own counties, and divide the commonwealth into so many petty kingdoms. And in this did collonel Massie deny himself, in spending the latter part of the summer in prosecuting a lesse plausible and appearing service, though of larger concernment. But having now pursued the princes horse into Wales, and destroyed the enemies project in fortifying Beachly, he quartered with his horse and foot neer Monmouth, on the forrest side; and receiving an answer to a message lately sent to lieutenant-collonel Kyrle, propounded unto him, and followed this way:—That he would feigne a post from Gloucester side, to desire a sudden return with his forces thitherward, to secure that part of the countrey from the enemy, which was already fallen out from Bristoll and Berkley. And this message was to come to his hands at Mr Halls house of High-meadow, a grand papist, where it would take wings for its dispatch to Monmouth; by which means Kyrle, commanding the horse, might easily draw forth some troop to follow the rear of our party. Hereupon the governor feigned a sudden retreat to Gloucester, and having marched back three miles, lodged his forces in a thicket of the forrest, and sending his scouts abroad, prevented the enemies discovery. In the mean while the intelligence reaches Monmouth, and lieutenant-collonel Kyrle draws out; whom the governour surprised at midnight in High meadow house, with his troop of thirty horse; and with as little noise as pos-



sible advanced thence to Monmouth. Neverthelesse, twas not so deep a silence but the alarme was given by the cornet of the troop, who escaped the surprisall; and the attempt made the more difficile, if not desperate. The town took the alarme, stood upon their guard, expecting an enemy. Notwithstanding this, Kyrle, with an hundred select horse, arrived at the towns end, confidently came up to the draw-bridge, pretended a return, with many prisoners taken; perswaded the guards, and prevailed with collonel Holthy, the governor of the town, by the officers of the guard, to let down the draw-bridge; which was done, but with much jealousie and a strong guard, and the bridge presently drawn up again; insomuch that the first party were like to be held prisoners in the town. Our forlorn hope saw that it was time to lay about them: They declare themselves, over-power the guard, and make good the bridge. And in this there wanted not those that kept a strict watch over Kyrles' deportment, who acted his part with dexterity and valour. Our body of horse and foot were at hand, had a large entrance, subdued the town in a moment, and spared the blood of the surprised souldiers. But the dark and rainy night fitted the governour of Monmouth, with the major part of the garrison, for an escape over the dry graft. We took one major, three captains, and divers inferior officers, threescore common souldiers, five barrels of powder, and some arms. But the town it self was the best prize, being the key of South Wales, and the onely safe entercourse for the kings army between the west, Wales, and the northern parts.

The taking of Monmouth gave a fearful alarme to the whole country, especially to the earl of Worcester, at Ragland castle; who raised the country, and called in prince Ruperts horse to their assistance. The Ragland papists made the poore Welch believe that we came to put man, woman, and child to the sword, and filled their fancies with as many strange conceits of the Roundheads, as the poore Spaniards had of the English after their revolt from Rome; it being easie to perswade an irrational and stupid people. Forthwith they appear in arms against us: Wherefore, two dayes after our entrance, the governor sent out a small party of muskettiers, commanded by captain Rochford, to quash the rising of the country. Our men find out the randevous, with a kind of guard defended by captain Gainsford with his ragged regiment. These, upon the first onset, were all put to flight, ran an hundred wayes, like a barbarous people, were pursued by our horse, about twenty knocked on the head, and sixteen taken prisoners. To revenge this losse, sir William Blaxton, with his brigade of horse, joyns with the country train-bands and the forces from Ragland and Chepstow, making (according to the best relations) five hundred horse, and twelve hundred foot. Of this preparation we were not advertised till they fell upon one of our horse quarters in a strong house neer Monmouth, where we lodged two troops, and, by good hap, ten muskettiers, to secure the quarters. The house was made good by the resolution of captain Bayly and lieut. Page, till the major of the horse had drawn up the troops, and faced the enemy, whilst the governor commanded out of Monmouth a hundred and fifty muskettiers. But before our foot could reach the house, their horse drew thence, encountred with a party of ours, and being recharged by major Backhouse, were beaten back to the foot. By this time our muskettiers were brought up, and in the first charge put the enemy to a confused running retreat, slew seventy, and wounded many; took threescore prisoners. Of the officers, a major of horse and two captains were slain, one taken, and sir William Blaxton shot in the thigh. But the pursuit had an early stop, by a small river which the enemy passed, and plucked up the bridge, or their

\* Kyrle, who thus betrayed Monmouth, and Backhouse, often mentioned as one of Massey's best officers, were both killed at a skirmish at Lidbury, in the beginning of 1645, when Massey was beaten by prince Rupert.

foot had been wholly routed and taken. The prisoners that were of the countrey people the governor entreated kindly, and after a few dayes sent them home by parcels, and each man with a little note, or letter, directed to his master, or the severall parishes, to signifie that the intention of the parliament and the present government was not to destroy or enslave their persons, or take away their livelihoods, but to preserve their lives and fortunes, to open the course of justice, and free them of their heavy burthens under the forces of Rupert, a Germane prince. At the free discharge of the captives, they began to resent the governors humanity, as before, by the slaughter of their men. They had felt the force of arms; and the dispersed papers did in part undeceive the people, and dislodge their fears; our horse marching peaceably, and doing no spoil or violence.

After the appeasing of the countrey tumults, the indeavours of the governor were to reduce that people to a willing and cordiall obedience. He dispatched many letters of invitation to the gentlemen of the countrey, and gave assurance to the best affected, of his purpose to defend and make good the town. But all were silent, and not two valuable persons did own the businesse. On the other side, they did not stir a foot at the summons of the earl of Worcester; and in confidence of the justice of this party, they frequented our markets; whereas at our first approach they drove away all their cattell into the remote parts of the county: Yet most of the gentlemen fled from their houses. The greatest part of prince Ruperts forces lie still under our arrest in Wales, where they decrease and drop away, discontent and burden the countrey, between whom there arise perpetuall quarrels. And the truth is, even those people whose affections comply with the kings designe could never correspond with the souldier of that faction, with whom there is no dealing for very friends; insomuch that the generall hatred of the souldier might drive in to the parliament a moderate enemy, and such as breathe a more cool spirit of malignity, when the state shall reach out the hand to clear the way, and make good the engagement.

Collonel Massie seems now to have spread the branches of his government beyond the sap and strength of the root, and the extreme parts grow burdensome to the main body. He had neither horse nor foot to maintain what was gotten, considering the strivings of the enemy to repossesse themselves of Monmouth: For which end the whole power of South Wales that is fit for the march, under the command of collonel Gerrard, are come as far as Abergenny, Uske, and Ragland. Sir John Winter must bring forth his master-peece to the world, and once more, assisted with four hundred from Bristol, purchased at a high rate, and added to a hundred of his own men, with all the aid prince Rupert can send, undertakes to fortifie Beachly. The noised strength of the enemy round about did contribute to the designe with all fiercenesse, since the want of a guard upon this passage did render all South Wales of little value. And it highly concerned us to indeavour the preventing this project, which threatned the ruine of the forrest, the intercepting of the passage between Gloucester and Monmouth, and to render that garrison in great part uselesse. The governor had a hard game to play, alwayes put upon desperate hazards, without a sufficiencie to accomplish or make good. For the case was questionable, whether to desert Monmouth, or seek to maintain it; having no competent number for a town yet unfortified, generally malignant, in an enemies countrey, at a great distance, and with a difficult passe; but that the wonderfull successe of Beachly, twice fortunate, determined the doubt. The businesse was not capable of deliberation; nothing but a quick dispatch had the shew of safety. Gerrard was to be kept from joyning his forces with these in the forrest, who, when once fortified, were not to be beaten out, having all the advantages of sea and land. And although his forces hovered about the countrey, pretending to fall upon Monmouth, yet, about midnight, October 13, one hundred muskettiers were drawn thence, with eight



troops of our poore horse, unto Clurewall, expecting there to meet the Newnham foot, drawn off for this designe; the garrison supplied in the interim by the countrey volunteers. In the close of the next evening they approached neer the enemy, where no good presage did favour the busines. The horse failed six houres of the time appointed; whom the constant want of pay, and hands bound up from plunder, made irregular, and disabled the commander-in-chief to reward or punish. Himself must manage the designe, not by advice onely, but personall action, and act a part in the duty of each inferior officer. That night we beat up their ambuscades, forced them within their works, and by frequent alarms kept them waking, yet as much as possible from working. The next morning at break of day was the time reserved for a storme; but the foot were all stragling, and could not be gathered up; insomuch that the governors own troop, with no more then fourscore muskettiers, made the onset, and by Gods help performed gallantly. They found the enemy well prepared, the works followed with dexterity and diligence, with much art and cost on pallisadoes and breast-works, and the most defective places, from Wye to Seaverne, defended with a tall quick-set hedge, and a ditch within; the pinnaces riding in each river with ordnance to play upon us, and the line so strongly guarded with hammer guns, and murtherers placed on the flanks at either end, that it seemed impossible to storme the same by day, without apparent great losse. Yet was the governour to wait for lowe water, that the guns from the ships might not reach us; which happily fell out at the opening of the day: Yet were we in the reach of the ordnance planted on the Welch shore, and equall to our height. He laid hold on the instant of season, with a small party, in a silent march, came close to the works; wherupon, after the taking of the alarme, when the enemy had spent many shot, our men forced two or three pallisadoes, that some of the foot and the forlorn hope of horse brake in; but finding themselves at a stand between the pallisadoes, and the quick-set hedge lined with muskettiers, began to face about, when there was no looking back nor passing forwards, by reason of the continuall shot. In this party was the governor engaged, who now became the leader of the forlorn hope, and with not a little difficulty forced his own horse over the hedge, fell in among them, was recharged furiously, his head-peece knocked off with the but end of a musket, and strangely preserved, till three or foure foot and some horse brake over the hedge after him; Then there came up a full body of horse and foot, and by maine force bore down before them a resolved and prepared enemy, slew thirty, and tooke prisoners a lieutenant-colonell, one major, two captaines, three lieutenants, three ensignes, with other officers and common souldiers, to the number of two hundred and twenty. They forced sir John Winter downe the clift into the river, where a little boate lay to receive him, and convey him thence into the ships, riding within musket-shot of the shore, with many musqueteers and great shot. Many tooke the water, some whereof were drowned, and others saved themselves by recovering the boates. Prince Rupert, the patron of this designe, was expected there the next high water, being then upon the river, but extreemely prevented and crossed in the height of his desire and confidence.

It was a brave exployte and true victory, upon such an eminent disadvantage over a formidable enemy. They were stronger within the fortifications then sixe times the same number in the open field. The storme that hovered was blowne over, and we calme, and secure in the possession of Monmouth. But as for this necke of land, so fortunate and famous to the government of Gloucester for two remarkable victories, though sir John Winter and the Welch forces had their eye continually upon it, yet the neglect of the place was no oversight in our garrison, but caused by the incapacity of the place it selfe; it being impossible to be held by us till we were masters at sea, because at every floud the ships on the Seaverne lay levell with the highest ground.

Wherefore it was resolved, by a councill of warre, that the buildings should be demolished, and all trees and hedges cut downe. The taking and securing of Monmouth was a faire beginning, and almost the possession of halfe Wales. But as yet the county became unserviceable to us, and we made losers by enlarging our bounds.

The substance of Gloucestershire was expended in maintaining the garrison foote, and the horse left wholly unfurnished, yet bounde up from plunder and rapine; neither did we finde that assistance in the county as was expected and promised; considering which, with our meane forces and slender pay, no progresse could be made in gaining the countrey, but the time was spent in light skirmishes and surprizals betweene petty parties on both sides: And we sustained some losse by colonel Broughtons captaine-lieutenant, who, with fifty souldiers, undertooke to garrison a house neare Godridge Castle, neither obvious to reliefe, nor caring to fortify or store the place with victualls. This was done in the governours absence, without order, disavowed by all, and owned onely by the captaine himselfe; whose plea was, that he had no support for his men, and was enforced to get his living there. But within a few dayes his house was fired upon him, and he and all his carried prisoners to Hereford, before reliefe could reach them.

Notwithstanding our necessitous condition, the parliament were informed of great multitudes, and a burden of supernumerary officers and souldiers, and seemed to require out of the superfluity of those parts an assistance more ample then the maine strength of the place. It was hard to take a just and full view at such a distance; and peradventure perpetuall action, and the great things effected here, might multiply the numbers of the garrison, and represent things in the largest forme. But the voyce of the people gave out that we were kept low by the malice of misinformations; and that the souldiers cry could not be heard, because they were apt to be thought ever craving and querulous. Wherefore at that season there came some particular commands from the powers above, which did not correspond with the state of our affaires, or the ground of the enjoyed service. November the tenth, colonell Massie received instructions from the committee of both kingdomes to march, with all the strength he could make, into the borders of Oxfordshire, to prevent the joyning of the Welsh forces, under the conduct of colonell Gerrard, with the rest of the kings army, or to take advantage of the enemy, or joyne with the parliaments army, as occasion did offer. This command found him overwhelmed with manifold imployments; and in that instant of time some Monmouthshire gentlemen tendred their assistance to the taking in of Chepstow Castle, which the governour was ready to embrace, (that Wales might fall under the power of the parliament,) but with much warinesse, having many irons in the fire. Neverthelesse, lying under a greater weight of envie, he resolved to obey the former orders, against the progresse and reason of his affaires; wherefore he called off his owne regiment of horse from about Monmouth, where the enemies vigilancie was not little, and the malignity of the towne wondrous great. With the regiment of horse he hasted towards Evesham, where the enemy had arrived before, whose march he could not interrupt or retard, since they were eight for one. But before this march, having drawne a small party out of Monmouth, he commanded from Gloucester his own company, and another company of the same regiment, to the security of that garrison, and committed the charge of the towne in his absence to major Throgmorton, then serjeant-major to colonell Harley, who, by order of parliament, was designed to that government, but with no power to command out a partye upon any designe, having no thought that the forces left there were fit to be imployed upon any service, more then the defence of that place: Besides, he had waved the offers of Chepstow, till he might gaine an assurance of making good so much ground in an enemies country; for it was alwayes his desire, in ingaging any people to those masters whom he served, to foresee a possibility of continuing that engagement, least hee might doe



them a greater disservice, by dashing the resolution of others who intended the same course, and, by grasping beyond his reach, take off their inclinations who might be gained in due time. Notwithstanding the governors expresse order, at the earnest solicitation and promises of some well affected in the country, and the vehemencie of others, who thirsted after the glory of some atchievement in the governors absence, the major yeelded to the drawing out of a party for Chepstow, and stretched his power beyond the known discipline of warre; fearing either the brand of cowardice, or the censure of a man unwilling to doe his country service, though he declared his judgement against it. Wherefore he advanced towards Chepstow with three hundred commanded men, having some conceived assurance of gaining the castle by surrender or onset. The newes is conveyed forthwith to the enemy, who draw together all the strength they can make, of horse and foote, from Ragland, Abergeweny, Hereford, and Godridge; and November the nineteenth, about breake of day, came neere the towne, and lay undiscovered behind a rising ground, at a quarter of a miles distance, never thinking to make an attempt, much lesse to surprise it; but as the governors inavoydeable absence, and the impertinent enterprize of Monmouth garrison, did cause their approach, there being not above a hundred and fifty left there, so the negligence of the captaine to whom the keyes were intrusted in the majors absence gave up the towne into their hands. So remisse were the slender guards, that the trevally was beaten, and none tooke the alarme. The enemy observed it, and tooke the courage to attempt the surprisall; came upon the higher side of the towne, that looked towards Hereford, having onely a sloping banke cast up to a reasonable height, with a dry graft of no depth; insomuch that the guards and sentinells being all asleepe, or supinely negligent, above forty men presently climbed over, and fell downe to the next port, where they found no more than sixe men, who fled from the guard upon their comming on. With that one takes an iron barre, breakes the chaine, forces the gate, and sets it open to the whole body of horse, who ride up the towne with full career, seased upon the maine guard before one man could be ready to give fire, and tooke the rest in their beds. It was done in a moment, where wee lost colonell Broughton, foure captaines, lieutenants, and ensignes, some of the committee, together with common souldiers, in all, about one hundred and threescore prisoners, two sakers, besides a drake, and nine hammer guns taken at Beachly, with ammunition and provision, and at least foure hundred muskets.

The newes of the taking of Monmouth reached colonell Massie neere Burford, prosecuting the commands of the committee of both kingdomes, and there abiding to meete the lord Grandeston, with the Worcester forces, who endeavour for Oxford. Hence he makes haste to the reliefe of the party sent out against Chepstow, and to bring off the rest that remaine upon their guards in that county; and at Gloucester understood that the party sent for Chepstow were safely landed on this side Wye, having effected nothing of their designe. The governor met them in the forrest, and thence marched to Rosse, where he hoped to have passed the bridge, to the releefe of Pembridge Castle, which was made an out-guard to the garrison of Monmouth; but found the bridge broken downe, and the river made unpassable, by the sinking of boates on the other side, and a guard of horse to defend it. Here we had some disputes with the enemy for two dayes; but those in the castle having no meanes of a longer subsistence, were inforced to surrender upon quarter, and the freedome of their persons. Most of the common souldiers revolted, being formerly of the kings army, and our prisoners.

The base neglect of the officers had not the least share in the unfortunate losse of Monmouth, and daily wants increased the neglect, and weakned the governours hand in inflicting condigne punishment. And as the parliaments service was by many degrees cast backe by this misfortune, so the forrest, in speciall, was hereby sorely plagued,

being left open to the spoyle of the enemy, against whom they were preingaged by colonell Massie, and of late had declared themselves more freely. And though the generall multitude seemed to be brought in by the hatred of sir John Winter, whose name and faction the people did abhorre, yet at that time the tye of affection and necessity drew them to a strong combination. To provide for their safety was the governours maine care; wherefore, instead of one good baracadoe, the towne of Monmouth, sundry garrisons are erected in the forrest, for want of an ample strong-hold, and these expended greater portions of men and ammunition, though the limits of the government were much contracted. The garrison of Highmeadow did affront Monmouth, and furthered the preservation of that side; Ruerdeane was a stoppe to the plunderers from Hereford; and those at Lidney were kept in by another party at Nast. These lesser places distracted the governour on every side, willing, but not able, to preserve all them that desired to live under his protection.

Some weekes before, the governour had commanded a party to Yate-court, within ten miles of Bristoll, to secure the neighbourhood, being a well-affected people; but in this distraction he resolved to call off those men, who, peradventure, might maintaine themselves in a kinde of imprisonment, but in no wise preserve a countrey that was then filled with the kings forces, so neere Bristoll, and farre from releife, especially in the winter: Nor at that season could they draw off without a stronger guard and convoy. To this end the governour marched to Kingscoate with three hundred horse and dragoones, intending to send a party to bring off that garrison; but receiving advertisement of a regiment of horse quartered that night in Sodbury, he fell downe thither, where he found an enemy there arrived to the assistance of colonell Gerrard against Yate House. Here he resolved to undertake them that night, and had no sooner appeared at the townes end, but the first guard fledde, and our men marched into the town one by one, because of the enemyes baracadoes, went up to the maine guard, consisting of forty horse, who being surprized and daunted at the sudden entrance of our men, and not confiding in their owne strength, quitted the place, and left the rest in their quarters, most of which escaped on foote by the backe side of the towne. We tooke fourescore horses, many armes, twenty prisoners, and of them two captaines, and the next morning brought off the forlorne garrison.

In the depth of winter, when each parcell of the parliaments army had retired into London, or the securer parts of that association, and the kings forces were dispersed into the severall quarters, Cirencester and the hill country of Gloucestershire was assigned to sir Jacob Ashley, having the command of three brigades of foote, and assisted with the queenes, prince Ruperts, prince Maurices, and the lord Wilmots regiments of horse, with others. His designe was to destroy the countrey, and live upon the ruines thereof; whose incursions on that side, and the Bristoll forces about Berkely, with the Worcester, Hereford, and Monmouth forces on the other side, act something daily to the spoyle of a miserable countrey, which is left as the kingdomes forlorne hope, and croucheth daily betweene two burdens. The distressed neighbourhoode did seeme to challenge those severall armyes then in being, which lay rusting in their quarters, to keepe the associated countyes where no feare was, when they might prevent the ruine of their friends, and starve the enemy, who live upon our fatnesse; when they might hinder the kings recruits, disturbe their winter calmes, and make them fight for the possession and enjoyment of their owne territoryes. But in the deepe silence of that part of the kingdome, these parts are borne downe by the maine bulke of the kings army, without the least inablement at present, or the hopes of future releife.

The enemyes whole burden rests upon this government. Colonell Massie placed a guard at Lypiatt; commanded a party of horse and dragoones to Stroude, a place most exposed to spoyle; and set guardes of horse at severall places of advantage. These



guardes affronted sir Jacob Ashley in the stoppe of contribution and plunder, the indignation whereof drew him out of Cirencester, with foure regiments of horse, to Hampton roade, where he divided his men, and sent them out three severall wayes to surprize our horse in their quarters, and plunder the countrey. Each party fayled of the designe, through the favour of Providence to that well-affected people. At each guardes some few that tooke the alarme did encounter and stave off the enemies first violence, till the rest of a few slender troopes were drawne up, and, encouraged by the governours fortunate arrivall from Gloucester at that instant, charged and overcame a farre greater power, which were also engaged to fight by their heavy plunder and difficult returne. In the whole, about eight or nine slaine, and twenty of the best men of the queenes and princes regiment taken prisoners, and of these one capitaine and cornet. The successe did revive and engage the countrey.

Yet after a few dayes sir Jacob Ashley marched out of Cirencester with a greater power of horse and foote, and assaulted the guard at Lypiatt in the absence of the capitaine that commanded there, with instructions from the governor to draw off, if at any time an army fell downe. But the house being unfortified, was soone taken, and incapable of defence, where we lost a lieutenant and fifty private soldiers. At which very time we had lodged three hundred foote within Muserden House, sent thither the day before, with orders to defend it as a garrison; who had no knowledge of the enemys approach till they came within halfe a mile. They remained in the house according to command, but in no defensible posture, neverthesse expecting the onset every moment. The surprisall of these men was prevented by a meere accident of the governors arrivall, who faced the great body with no more then sixty horse, till the foote were drawne off the hills.

That the strength of the kings army should lie upon us was not strange, but that no care was had of a competent provision for a deserving country, was beyond the conceit of them that beheld our misery. The enemy were strong in horse, and our few divided into so many parcells, and swallowed up in the petty guards, that no sooner could we drawe to the rescue of one side, but the forces on the other hand fell on to the ruine of the poore people. The governor knowes no remedy but by daily shifting motions, and becomes an ubiquitary: He can attempt no designe, but first in his owne person faceth the enemy on the contrary side, and fills them with the alarme of his presence. Sir Jacob Ashley sends warrants for contributions to the gates of Gloucester. The forces from Hereford were marched forth to Canon-Froome towards Lidbury; whereupon the governor advanced with a party of horse and foote as farre as Bosbury, waiting for action, but staid onely for a night, having placed guards towards Worcester and Hereford, in the most passible wayes for the enemies approach, and fell into one of their quarters, took a capitaine and his cornet, with some common troopers, and fifteen horses. The enemy falling downe from Cirencester, suddenly fetches home this party.

While these things happened, the governor received a command from the committee of both kingdoms to attempt Campden House, newly garrisoned by the kings forces, under sir Henry Bard; and the horse of Warwick and Coventry, by command of the same committee, were to aide and receive orders from him in the prosecution of this designe. Colonell Massie tooke courage to resolve them of the incapacitie of that service for the present, since it could not be done without greater losse to the state then the fortune of the action could countervail; for it was a worke of continuance, that required our whole strength; and that side of the country from which we drew must be given up to destruction; and the enemy waited no greater advantage than to fasten the governour upon a tedious enterprize: besides, the intendment was unvailed in all those parts that were required to send aid; and before the orders of the grand committee came to his hand, the London Mercuries had proclaimed it to the world.

The earl of Worcester, the lord Herbert, and their agent, sir John Winter, bestirre themselves to patch up the lingering life of the garrison at Lidney, and have procured from prince Maurice, at Worcester, a regiment of horse and dragoones, by whose assistance he was confident to have beaten up our small guards in the Forrest, and enlarge his owne quarters; to bring the Forrest once more under his power, to the destruction of the people, and the great advantage of the kings army, and Bristoll in speciall; furnishing them with iron, wood, and coales. The reminding of so great a mischief to the parliaments service made the governour carefully to prevent him, and with an answerable number of horse and foote advanced into the Forrest towards Lidney, where sir John and his party got in before him. But after a few small skirmishes, to no valuable losse on either side, the governour set guards upon all the passages, and imprisoned the enemy in their own strong-hold, and again drew off the maine body in the view of the garrison. The enemy observing his march, and supposing the expedition for Gloucester, sallied out upon Sully House, at a miles distance, and a temporary garrison for the blocking up of Lidney. In the instant of time the governour returnes to this guard, and understanding by the scouts their neere approach, drew out a forlorne hope, faced and charged them, retreated a little, and faced them againe, with the exchange of few shot, till the enemy were brought up so high, that they discovered our body. Hereupon they make a sudden retreat, our forlorne hope fall on, and the body followes, turned their horse to flight, who forsooke the foote, and left most of them to our mercy. Here wee tooke one captaine, with five and-twenty common souldiers, having slaine a captaine, two lieutenants, and twenty-six souldiers. The whole action upon those forces from Worcester was performed onely with the losse of twenty horses, and a few men surprised in their quarters; which, neverthesse, cost the enemy the life of a major. The passages from Lidney are all guarded by our horse, to starve those within, and preserve the Forrest from their plunder.

The governour having his hands and thoughts filled with these distractions, was yet more perplexed by a fresh and unknowne engagement of colonell Stephens in Wiltshire. It happened that about this time the enemy had garrisoned an old, but repaired castle at the Devizes: And to prevent the spoyle of the country neere Malmesbury, colonell Deveraux had erected a garrison at Rouden House, between the Devizes and Malmesbury; and before it was settled, or well furnished with ammunition and provision, it was set upon, and sorely straitened. Colonell Stephens being newly made governour of Beverston Castle, was desired to give aide to the reliefe of the house, and sets upon the service without colonell Massies order, or knowledge in those his manifold preingagements; wherefore he advanced to succour the besieged, with three troopes of his owne regiment and some Malmesbury foote; and though he failed of a party of horse to be sent from colonell Deveraux, undertooke the businesse, broke through the enemy with much difficulty and hazard, and relieved the house with provision and powder, but failed in the concluding part; for when he might, with farre lesse difficulty, have forced the way back, through a troubled enemy, he alighted unwarely, and went into the house to refresh himselfe; thereby giving the besiegers time to rally, and to cast up a breast-worke before the passage, that hee, with the rest, being foure hundred horse and foote, were all cooped together, and the poore besieged are most desperately straitned by this kinde of reliefe. They without are five hundred strong. The newes runnes to Gloucester, and calls for helpe; which had not needed, had colonell Stephens imparted the businesse to the governour, as he ought, and waited to have set the country in a posture on all sides to face the enemy, whose inrodes in the meane while were expected from each quarter. They were already drawne out of Cirencester, Farfard, and Lechlade, and kept their randevouz on the hills by Cirencester. From Hereford they stirre with a great strength on that side, and in the Forrest; those that are penned up in Lidney strive to breake prison.



Notwithstanding this, at our first alarme the governour sent his owne capitaine-lieutenant, and threescore of the choise horse, well appointed, and all that could be spared, unlesse he would ruine the forrest. And now the worke of relieving this place is made more difficult, the enemy round about being drawne together, with a purpose to swallow them up, or more gladly to fight with colonell Massie, at such advantage, on the hills, and farre from home: yet the best face is put on a bad matter. The threescore horse were to joyne with an hundred horse and dragoones from Malmesbury, to breake through the enemy; and these, added to the foure hundred and thirty within the house, were conceived able to force a passage through the midst of the first five hundred. But now a greater power are come up to the house, at least three thousand men. Sir Jacob Ashley did contribute much to the strength of the besiegers, by draining his quarters at Cirencester; whom the governour could not prevent, nor follow, except with the losse of his interest in the forrest; onely he raised the country about Stroudwater, to face the garrison of Cirencester. Our horse advanced up to the first guard, and slew the sentinell, hoping by this alarme to draw backe the residue from Rowden House. And though the weather dispersed and drove backe the country forces, yet such hopes did revive the businesse, that two rainy nights might be an opportune and active season for colonell Stephens to breake through, and then which no greater could be expected. Our second party of horse went on for Malmesbury, to relieve the besieged at Rowden, and by the way releved Beverston Castle with ammunition, but came too late for the maine designe; for the more potent enemy had so strongly guarded the passages, that the releefe of the house became desperate, and they within presently surrendered, upon quarter for their lives.

The regiments of horse are much broken, and reduced to an inconsiderable number; the enemy growes strong, and a streame of ill successe flowes in upon us. Colonell Hopton, for whom the governour procured a commission, upon his promise of raising foure hundred horse and armes at his owne charge, without the helpe of the state or country, having got together about threescore horse, and forty foote, undertooke with these men to garrison Castle-ditch, neere Ledbury, in Herefordshire; having neither order nor directions from the governour, who conceived the house not to be defended, and required him to desist the enterprize. The order is neglected: But not many dayes after, a party drawne out of Hereford had not lain before it foure-and-twenty houres, but he, with his forty foot and twenty horse, were taken, and carried prisoners to Hereford, ere the governor could come with releefe; who lighted, neverthesse, upon a few straglers in the reare, and tooke thirteene prisoners.

Meane while sir John Winters releife lyes under the arrest, yet so as we would gladly ridde our hands; for the guards set round his house, to the safety of the forrest, did alwayes distract our designes. These horse are impatient of a longer imprisonment, and after a sore distresse, breake their way through our quarters, into the utmost parts of the forrest towards Chepstow, and joyne with a partie of foote from Chepstow, landed at Lancaught; where they intended to fortify and to make good the passe over Wye; by which means they might issue out of Wales at their pleasure. The place containes foure hundred acres, having a very straight entrance. Hereupon our several guards drew together, and summoned the country to aide, and came up to the enemy, who were divided in opinion: One part held it meete to make good the passage, the rest perswaded to draw out into the field, and fight. These latter prevailed, and for a while both parties faced each other. Our men drew out a forlorne hope of foote, the place so requiring; next unto these a forlorne hope of horse, and the rest were appointed for a reserve. Their horse violently charged our forlorne hope of foote, who were ready to give backe, when our horse came in opportunely, and played their parts; whereat the foote tooke courage, and fell on all together, and with one charge turned the enemy to flight, that they killed few on the place, but drove them up to the river side, and fell

upon the hacke in the pursuite, and so cooped them up, that few escaped their hands. About fourescore were slaine, of whom were colonell Gamme and colonell Vangerris; of the residue some adventured the river, to recover the frigate: Many were drowned, of whom colonell Poore, governour of Berkely Castle. But sir John Winter and his brother, with some few besides, escaped onely, of an hundred men from Chepstow, and an hundred and fourescore horse and dragoones from Lidney House. The remainder fell into our hands; an hundred and twenty taken prisoners, of whom two lieutenant-colonells, foure captaines, and divers inferiour officers. This was the last blow of three which sir John Winter received, one in the necke of another.

These things happened about the time of the taking of Shrewesbury, which called off the kings forces from these parts. Sir Jacob Ashly marched from Cirencester, and prince Rupert out of Herefordshire, to relieve his brother Maurice, neere Chester. The governour was imployed in observing the enemyes motion, but with a strength every day more slender; having lost most part of his owne troope, with some peeces of others, by an other miscarriage in fetching our armes and ammunition from Warwicke, and in the conveying of some clothiers packes of great value, which were taken betweene Campden and Banbury, through the misguidance of the officer that commanded.

Neverthesse, he advanced into the neerer parts of Herefordshire, with two hundred horse and five hundred foote, to startle the enemy, or make some diversion, supposing they bent their course to the reliefe of Westchester. Here he found great multitudes of the countrey people appearing in armes, but standing on their owne guard, and declaring themselves for neither side. It was hoped, neverthesse, they might be made of good use; and the best affected of them gave colonell Massie that satisfaction as was meete, by whome he understood the condition of their engagements. The governour of Hereford sending for hay and contribution to his garrison, was so farre denied by the countrey, that it came to blows. The people rising to resist, some few men, and, as it was reported, women and children, were slaine, and some carried prisoners to Hereford; also some of the Hereford forces were taken by the countrey men. The next day the alarum went throughout that side of the county, and some parts of Worcestershire. The people gather into a body, and march to Hereford. Here they stayed some dayes, with a resolution to have certaine articles granted by the governour of that garrison. The summe of their demands were to this effect:—That such of theirs as were held prisoners there should be delivered forthwith; that satisfaction be given to the country for the losse they sustained by plunder, as also to the wives and children of those that were slaine; that the countrey might be freed from contribution, and all manner of payment to the souldier; that since the present forces of Hereford were not able to defend the county, they forthwith quit the garrison, and leave it to be kept by the countrey, who are able to defend the same, and the whole county, with lesse charge. These and the like triviall passages, did they discover to the world, as it is wont to happen in such popular commotions. In the meane while severall posts were dispatched to colonell Massie at Ledbury, and letters returned from him to them, and in particular to some gentlemen, the chieftest and best affected. These letters received by the country people tooke well with some; but the generall vote was, that they needed not his helpe to gaine Hereford, which they conceived would be delivered up by the citizens, whom they knew to be of one minde with them. Other messengers came from them, with intreaties to march up to Hereford, promising concurrence in assaulting the towne: others would have him fall upon another garrison at Canon-Froome. The governour made answer to the severall messages, that he desired to conferre with some of their best intrusted gentlemen and yeomen; expecting meete security that, either by protestation or taking the nationall covenant, they give him an assurance of their standing with the parliament; requiring them to cast off the enemy, and receive orders from him; to act nothing of themselves, without the



consent and approbation of parliament, without which engagement he could not joyne or act with them. To this they replied, that they held it a thing of evill consequence, and dangerous, to declare themselves; and they knew their ability of themselves to perform what they had resolved; intreating him to march backe with his men; giving assurance that they were our friends, but could not declare for either side; this act of theirs being a just defence against the unjust proceedings of the committee and souldiers of Hereford, and to secure the country from contribution and quarter. The governour makes answer to this resolve, that the course they had taken was neither safe nor legall; for if in this confused manner they should gaine Hereford, it would doe them little service, unlesse they were able to keepe it from the kings army, and be able of themselves to beate them wholly from that side Seaverne, that no incursion could be made on their countrey from any part: that they would distresse themselves without reliefe, because their illegall way would not be owned by the parliaments forces; for though they have undertaken the preservation of the kingdome, yet they can give no protection to any that will not joyne with them in that way which the representative body of the kingdome thinks fit; for a third party cannot be in England; and therefore they have no way of safety or justification in this action, but a speedy declaration for the parliament, from whom they would finde security and protection, and, after assurance of fidelity, a settling of the countrey to their owne likings. He gave them likewise to understand, that the charge of the parliament in maintaining the souldiers, and of the countrey in contribution, did thence arise; that the people being disingaged in person, might looke to their husbandry; declaring withall, that the disunion of the country, not understanding their interest in the parliament, was the sole cause of the entertayning of souldiers; for had the whole kingdome rose in time, and expressed themselves of this opinion, that they would stand up as one man against the popish partie, and enemy of their countrey, the worke had beene long since done: But their drawing backe put the parliament upon this way of rayeing armes upon their stocke and expence, or the kingdome must needs fall. He minded them likewise, that if they lost this opportunity of closing with the parliament, nothing but destruction would follow; that if they closed with Hereford, and composed the difference, this compliance might last till prince Ruperts returne, and then they must looke to pay for this rebellion; but if they purpose at last to fall in with Rupert, it would hasten their bondage, yet give them no security.

This kinde of entercourse passed betweene colonell Massie and the countrey people: Meane while he drew backe to Rosse, waiting the event of this commotion, but not engaging himselfe amidst a promiscuous and doubtfull multitude. He represented, likewise, to the committee of both kingdomes, what advantage the gaining, and disadvantage the losse of this opportunity might be to the whole worke: that their expressions of their esteeme of himselfe, and his gentle dealing with them, were great: that the weaknesse of his forces, chiefly of horse, was the maine businesse that caused the major part to decline his invitation: importuning them, if they desired to gaine this partie, as also a leading party to the whole kingdome, to send a considerable strength of horse. And if the forces saide to be intended, had come to him when fifteen thousand appeared in armes before Hereford, and of them sixe thousand musqueteers, and some well mounted, he had gained a full testimony of compliance with the parliament, and drawne them with ease to aide him against prince Ruperts army, when they were in the moode, so farre incensed and iraged. And to compleate the designe, a recruite for the regiments of horse was necessary, and that the auxiliaries should bring along their meanes of entertainment; for the sending of strength without money did more wound then heale us; for the souldiers challenge their pay or plunder. And as it was hatefull to the governour, so the state of the countrey would not permit him to spend his time in gathering contribution. But for want of a just and

due supply, these men were lost to us and to themselves also ; concluding a peace with the governour of Hereford, and obnoxious and open to the kings army.

Hereupon colonell Massie marched from Rosse, and passed the Seaverne towards Berkley, purposing to joyne with sir William Waller, who was noysed to be come into the borders of this countrey, when, the day before, some of the Berkley forces had issued out towards our garrison at Slimbridge ; but ere they could retreate to the castle, the garrison forces fell upon them, slewe twelve, whereof one captain, an Irish rebell, and took twenty-five prisoners, whereof two were captaines, and one lieutenant. The governour, with his party, advanced thence towards Chipping-Sodbury, where colonell Strange, with a party of horse, began to fortify, but upon the notice of our advance retreated to Berkley.

No sooner had the Herefordshire men disbanded, and returned to their owne houses, but prince Rupert falls backe out of Shropshire, and comes upon them with his whole army. The noise of his arrivall doth hasten the governours returne to Gloucester ; who drew thence two hundred horse, and five hundred foote, into the borders of Herefordshire ; where many of the countrey people resorted unto him, some with fire-weapons, some with others ; but the want of strength, especially of horse, render'd him of little capacity to preserve them. The people having good desires, but daunted with the greatnesse of the enemy, and the slendernesse of our forces, were wholly lost. Sir William Waller was importuned to draw this way, or to send a strong party, which might prove of the greatest advantage to the kingdome, when the princes designe was to lye on that countrey to recruite his army with men, horses, and money, for the spring action, and the approach of the parliaments army ; and would not onely bring in the countrey, and make them firme to their service, but disappoint, if not destroy prince Ruperts army, at that time the greatest in the kingdome ; being a confluence of the forces of prince Rupert, prince Maurice, colonell Gerard, lord Hastings, lord Ashly, and sir Marmaduke Langdale. These men beare all before them, take mens persons, spoyle their estates, disarme the countrey, reape the benefit of the late insurrection, and extract money by force and terrour from the poore people, whose destruction, as well as their late rising in armes, is wholly lost to the parliament, and serve onely to make up the enemies recruite. The princes impresse men in great abundance in Hereford, Monmouth, Worcestershire ; raise great summes of money ; get good store of armes : necessity in part casting them upon such ways of violence and coercive power. And though the prest men were of suspected fidelity and lesse value, and had often deceived them in the heate of battell, yet they conduced to the sudden forming of an army when the kings affaires grew desperate, and, thrust in with the old volunteers, made up the bulke of a great body. Thus both the strength and the ruines of the countrey are left to the enemy, when, by the aide of twelve hundred horse in the beginning of this insurrection, the hopes of the businesse might, without vanity, promise the parliament many thousand fighting men of all sorts, besides those already in pay.

Sir John Winter, the plague of the forrest, once more importuned the releife of Lidney House, and obtaines from the prince about two thousand horse, and fiftene hundred foot, who breake in to destroy the countrey, and disarme the inhabitants. The governour, with what strength he can make, marched to Wesbury, and quartered within a mile and a halfe of the enemy, and gave order to the guards that beset Lidney, that the foote be drawne off to the garrison of Nast and Highmeadow, and the horse repaire to the randevouze ; which was done without losse, when the forrest was full of the enemy. He preserved likewise the lower parts neere the river, but, for want of horse, wherein the enemy did abound, could not, without extreame hazard and losse, advance to the further parts, where they kept their randevouze, and which they laide wast, plundering the houses to the bare walls, driving all the cattell, seizing upon the



persons of men, and sending them captives to Monmouth and Chepstow, except such as escaped to us by flight, (as many did with their armes,) and some few that saved themselves in woods and mine-pitts. The enemy did not adventure into the lower and neerer places, where our foot lay ready, and resolved to undertake theirs, if they came on. Our neighbouring parts of Hereford and Worcestershire runne the like fortune with these in the forrest, and looke blacke upon this garrison, which was not able to preserve them. The kings forces returned the second time into the forrest, and tooke the gleanings of the former harvest; yet the neerer parts are still preserved. The enemy raised themselves to a great power, already reputed sixe thousand horse and foote, and seeme to endeavour northward; wherefore the governour, intending to helpe the countrey, by driving up the reare of their march, or to put in for any service, advanced to Lidbury, with foure hundred horse and five hundred foot, his whole marching strength, notwithstanding the addition of two hundred and fifty horse from Northampton and Warwicke, and with this party attended the enemies motion. Hither prince Rupert advanced, with the best part of his army; of whose approach neither spy nor scout from the out-guards made the least discovery, till they came within halfe a mile of the towne, horse and foote, to surprize, or at least to surround us. The governour instantly commanded the horse to mount, and drew up the foote, though not in so good order as he might, by reason of the sudden alarme; and suspecting what he afterwards founde, that the prince would endeavour to compasse him in, he marched off the foot with all due speed, that the enemies right or left wing might not get before us, which they endeavoured, by sending one party to the towns end, to keep us in action there, whilst two other parties fetched a compasse upon either hand. In the meane while he brought up those few horse that were not upon the out-guards, to charge the enemy at their first entrance, and placed an ambuscado of twenty musqueteeres, to make good the retreat. But the businesse was acted so, that the governour in person, with the field-officers and captaines, were enforced to entertaine the enemy with severall charges, and beare their brunt alone, till the foote had ridde some ground before them. In this part of the skirmish their losse was the greatest for number; of ours only major Backehouse mortally wounded. The governour, whom the prince aimed to charge, had his horse wounded under him by two severall shots. Our men drew off as was meete, and made good the retreat three or foure miles, to the enemies losse, till they came up to a place of shelter, when, hasting to get before the right wing of the enemies horse, they were put into some confusion; and the horse having no great desire to fight, neglected the advantage of the place, to stop the pursuit, though the governour endeavoured what he could to engage them; that the enemy fell in among the reare guard of the foote; where he lost neare two hundred men taken prisoners; many countrey men being taken in to make up the number. This businesse cost them the lives of some gallant officers, and the prince missed his aime of surprizing colonell Massye; but the governour supposed the stay of the princes march an advantage to the service.

Neverthesse, the army continued some dayes after betweene Hereford and Worcester, recruiting dayly, and seeme to put much confidence in the country, whom they cause, not onely to abjure the parliament, but binde over to themselves by solemne oath; swearing, in the presence of God, that they beleieve no power of pope or parliament can depose the king, and absolve them from their naturall obedience to his royall person and successors: That the two houses of parliament, without the kings consent, have no power to make lawes, or to binde or oblige the subjects by their ordinances: That they beleieve the earl of Essex and Manchester, and sir Thomas Fairfaxe, sir William Waller, colonell Massie, together with all such as have already, or shall hereafter take up armes by authority or commission from the members of parliament at Westminster, pretending to fight for king and parliament, doe thereby become actual rebels,

and as such ought, with all their adherents and partakers, to be presented and brought to condigne punishment: That they will never beare armes in their quarrell, but will, if they be thereto called, assist their souveraine and his armies in the defence of his royall person, crowne, and dignity, against all contrary forces, to the utmost of their skill and power, and with the hazard of their lives and fortunes: That they will not discover the secrecies of his majesties army unto the rebells, nor hold any correspondence with them; and all designes of theirs against the kings army, for the surprizing or delivering up of the cities of Hereford or Worcester, or any other of his majesties forts, they shall truly discover to those whom it shall concern, so soone as it comes to their knowledge: That his majesties taking up armes, for the causes by himselfe so often declared in print, is justly necessary: That they shall endeavour all they can to hinder popular tumults, risings, randevouzes, meetings, confederacies, and associations of the people, townes, hundreds, and countries, which are not warranted to assemble by his majesties expresse commission, or by power derived from him by vertue of his commissions, and in the sense he meanes it; and that they detest from their heart that seditious and traiterous late-invented nationall covenant, and protest never to take it. All these particulars they vow and protest sincerely to absolve, without equivocation or mentall reservation. This protestation was strictly enjoined by the princes to be taken by all, without exception, in the counties of Monmouth, Glamorgan, Brecknocke, Radnor, Hereford, and Worcester. Neverthelesse, this constrained act could not knit the hearts of a male-contented country to the love of that side, nor could the state permit the enemies exaction and violence by this vow eternally to binde up the people from well-doing.

The princes army is the maine rest of the kings affaires, which they strengthen daily, by impressing the countrey, taking in lesser brigades, and draining the garrisons; and a part of Gorings army passed over the Seaverne, from Bristoll into Wales, and so to Rupert, at Hereford. After a little stay, to perfect the recruite, the enemy drew thence. The infantry and artillery lay betweene Worcester and Beaudly, commanded by sir Jacob Ashley, whilst Rupert and Maurice, with the horse and some select foote, fetch off the king from Oxford, assisted also with Gorings horse and dragoones; who left his majesty at Stow, and marched backe, over the hills, into the west, through our borders.

The governour received another dropping, by the addition of two troops from Newport-Pagnell:—the auxiliaries were in all three hundred and forty; his owne so few, weake, and ill armed, that he could scarce muster a hundred fighting horse; and those much discontented; observing the rest in good equipage, but themselves in the constant action of souldiers, naked and miserable. These are employed in attending the enemyes march, to preserve the countrey what they may; yet they disturbe it with frequent alarmes, and sometimes beate up the lesser partyes, and, upon sundry attempts, tooke one colonell, divers captains, with inferiour officers and souldiers.

Sir John Winter despairing of longer subsistance and livelyhoode, deserted and fired his house at Lidney, having first spoyled the forrest, and so before-hand with revenge. By this time the counties round about are cleared of the kings army, and colonell Massie received a larger supply of horse, from the remainder of colonell Bher and D'Albeirs regiments, commanded by major Buller; and thereby inabled to undertake some important service. Evesham was beheld as the most opportune, and of greatest concernment in distressing Worcester, and establishing the committee, by order of parliament, for that county: Wherefore the governour drew before it, with five hundred foote from Gloucester, and two hundred from Warwicke, who belonged to the Worcester committee, with a strong able brigade of horse, and in the name of the king and parliament summoned colonell Robert Legge, governour of the towne, to make a speedy surrender of the garrison, with all persons, armes, ammunition, and provision, which he there held against the justice of them both, or, upon refusall, to expect such justice



as fire and sword would inflict: And to this he expected a speedy answer. Colonell Legge sent backe the summons, with this answer:—You are hereby answered, in the name of his majesty, that this garrison, which I am intrusted to keep, I will defend so long as I can, with the men, armes, and ammunition therein, being nothing terrified by your summons. I perceive you are a stranger to our strength and resolution. Further treaties will be troublesome.

Upon this returne the governour prepared the designe, and ordered to each officer his charge in the storme. The assault was to be made on each part of the towne. The side that lookes towards Worcester was to be stormed in five places, with one place at the bridge, on the other side of the river. The commanded parties of the foote were led on by the severall captaines, and seconded by the horse, divided into three bodies. After the disposition of the designe, and the night spent in alarmes, the signall was given a little after breake of day, when both horse and foote fell on together, with life and heate, in a furious assault, broke up the pallisadoes, filled the grafts with faggots and other preparations, made sundry passages, recovered the workes, and stood firme on the parapet, whilst the musqueteers from within played furiously. The foote having recovered the shelter of the ditch, beate off the enemy, got up by scaling-ladders, stood on the breast-workes, and some entred, but were againe driven up by the horse to the top of the workes, where they stood firme, and fired, but after a while ready to be beaten off by the violent charge of the enemies horse, till a party of our horse on that side drawing up close, and having a small breach made for their entrance, fell in, and beate off the enemy from that bulwarke, whilst another party made an entrance neare the bridge. And now they tumble over the works on all sides, and charge up, both horse and foote, with equall gallantry; bore downe the enemy, and mastered the garrison. The conflict was hot and difficult for almost an houre, and maintained by the enemy with much resolution. The lives of the officers and souldiers were wonderfully preserved in that violent storme, when each man was exposed to the hazard of the most daring enemy. Of the officers two onely wounded, and ten private souldiers slaine, and twelve of the enemy. The prisoners taken in the garrison were five hundred and fifty on the list, of whom two colonells, one major, thirteene captaines, with other officers and gentlemen reformadoes, to the number of seventy. Many gentlemen and officers that charged with the governour acted their parts with courage, and spurd on the valour of the souldiers. The reserve of foote, divided into three bodies, to second the assaylants, performed as became resolved men; and the whole action was compleate, according to the idea and platforme of the designe. The evening before, to keep off an approaching enemy from Worcester, about a hundred horse were drawne out, and kept guard five miles from Evesham; faced a party of horse from Worcester; whose hasty and distracted retreat gave such an alarme to the whole city, that they fired foure peece of ordnance before day, and alarmed the countrey round about, when the conquest was already secured, and the parliament masters of Evesham.

This performance was the concluding honour of colonell Massies government, after his remove from the present command was resolved by both houses of parliament; when the desires of promoting the publike service made him to hazard the fame of his former atchievements by the doubtfull issue of the last action.

Some dayes before, hee had an honourable invitation from the westerne gentlemen, and the same day that he entred Evesham, received a commission from the lords and commons to leade an army in the west. The parliaments command found the governour absolutely free in affection and choice; willing to comply with their pleasures; neither longing to stay, nor eager of a change, but in any place ready to spend his blood in the kingdomes cause, if he might not spend it in vaine. Neverthelesse, the city and county of Gloucester did much resent it, and something repine that their go-

vernour should be snatched from such a people as had done much, and suffered much in their fidelity and resolution, without president, (considering the many assaults;) that had sacrificed their lives and fortunes in preserving this city and the kingdome therein; that had borne so much in the firing of the suburbs, in the burning of many houses neere the towne; some by the enemies malice, and some by themselves for safety, and the pressures of the country under both armies. They cast up the consequence and concernment of the place, being the center, garden, and granary of the kingdome; the blocke-house to the river of Seaverne, and a barre to all passages betweene Worcester, Bristoll, and the sea; the stop of intercourse betweene Oxford and Wales; the key to open the passage upon the Welsh and their frontiers, and the locke and barre to keepe out their incursions; the onely refuge and safety for the parliament party and friends in that part of the kingdome; and the enemies sole hinderance from the command of the whole west. Besides this, they had strong desires of retaining their governour, having so long experience of his judgement to foresee dangers, and care to prevent them: of his readinesse to issue out for offence and defence upon each incursion; of his indefatigable industry in taking the advantage of all opportunities to weaken the enemy, and happy successe in all enterprizes; of his disposition and comportment, by which he cherished the well-affected, ratified and confirmed the indifferent, reduced the very malignant, and by himselfe engaged the country to armes, and governed the souldiers from mutiny, rapine, and plunder, or other violence in the garrison or country. To all which they added an unavoidable prejudice against any stranger, though in himselfe able and faithfull, considering the many by-past plots, and the enemies implacable malice, who breath out threatnings daily. Such was the sense of the people universally. And the mayor and aldermen, with the whole city, *nemine contradicente*, did so farre honour themselves in vindicating colonell Massie, as to petition both houses of parliament for his continuance in the government; representing, in expresse termes, his noble disposition, constant and unwearied paines, blest by God with extraordinary successe, and his maine influence on the hearts of the people in generall, (most of them being by him ingaged in armes for the parliament,) and upon the whole souldiery, who were kept together to serve in this countrie, chiefly by the love and respect they beare to him. And this they acknowledged, not with an intention of prescribing rules to the state, but out of their care and zeale to the common cause. They likewise importuned the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-councell of London, upon the mutuall bonds of former engagement, in defending and raising the late siege of Gloucester, to represent unto the parliament the sense of their feares, and the countries distraction at the removall of colonell Massie; complaining of the sinister ends of some few persons, who brought in a crosse petition, with articles, in the name of the county of Gloucester, which no part of the county did ever acknowledge, and of which no corner thereof was conscious.

The house of commons would not accept the charge against colonell Massie, and that they might deale in the businesse without partiality, refused also the countries petition. Neverthelesse, the speaker was directed, in the name of the house, by way of answer to their requests, to let them know that they were very sensible of the dangers that might attend an alteration in that kinde, but that the governour provided to succeed might speedily give such assurance against such dangers, that there will be no cause for them to continue, much lesse to encrease their feares: That the house was confident that their constant readinesse to comply with the publike would also, in this particular of colonell Massies removall, make them rest content in the resolution of the parliament in that matter: Though Gloucester be a place they prize and care for as much as any in the kingdome, yet for the present it was thought of greater necessitie to imploy him in that command of the westernne forces; and they cannot



doubt of the concurrence and submission of those well-affected parts in whatsoever is judged to be of publike advantage.

Hereupon it was ordered, the third of June, 1645, by the lords and commons, that master Luke Nurse, mayor of Gloucester, alderman Singleton, and colonell Blunt, or any two of them, shall have the command of the garrison of Gloucester, and of the forces and garrison in Gloucestershire, in as ample manner as colonell Massie had, till the appointed governour come downe to his charge there, or the houses take other order.

Colonell Massie in the meane while labours to disengage the affections of the countrey, and to take off discontents and mutiny, and beseeches the parliament to send downe the succeeding governour, that he might seeke to interest him in the hearts of the people, whom he never desired to indeare unto himselfe, but to those masters whom he served; which was a full testimony of a true servant to the state, upon the sole termes of conscience and honour.

FINIS.

---

*Short Memorials of Thomas, Lord Fairfax. Written by himself.*

London, printed for Ri. Chiswell, and are to be sold at the Rose and Crown, in St Paul's Church-yard. 1699.

---

This singularly ingenuous and now rare tract affords one of the few instances in which an English general of eminence has recorded his own exploits. The gallantry, military talents, and simplicity of lord Fairfax deserved perhaps a more civil commemoration than is afforded by my lord Orford, although the extent of the ruin which his want of foresight, or of political courage, brought upon his country cannot be denied.

“One can easily believe (says his lordship) his having been the tool of Cromwell, when one sees, by his own Memoirs, how little idea he had of what he had been about. He left

‘Short Memorials of Thomas, Lord Fairfax, written by himself.’ Lond. 1699, 8vo.

“But his lordship was not only an historian, but a poet. In Mr Thoresby’s museum were preserved in manuscript the following pieces:

‘The Psalms of David, the Song of Solomon, the Canticles and Songs of Moses, Exod. xv., and Deut. xxxii., and other Parts of Scripture done into Verse.’

‘Poem on Solitude.’

“Besides which, in the same collection, were preserved—

‘Notes of Sermons by his Lordship, by his Lady, Daughter of Horace, Lord Vere, and by their Daughter Mary, Wife of George, Duke of Buckingham;’ and

‘A Treatise on the Shortness of Life.’

“But of all lord Fairfax’s works, by far the most remarkable were some verses which he wrote on the horse on which Charles the Second rode to his coronation, and which had been bred, and presented to the king, by his lordship. How must that merry monarch, not apt to keep his countenance on more serious occasions, have smiled at this awkward homage from the old vic-

torious hero of republicanism and the covenant! He gave a collection of manuscripts to the Bodleian library."—*Lord Orford's Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors*, Lond. 1806, V. p. 110.

---

*To the Right Honourable Thomas, Lord Fairfax.*

MY LORD,

It is with your lordship's leave that this short manuscript of my lord Fairfax, your noble predecessor, is now printed from the original, written in his own hand, and left in your study at Denton, in Yorkshire; for it was never intended by him to be published, but to remain for the satisfaction of his own relations.

But of late something has happened, which, in the judgment of your lordship, and many other persons of condition, makes it necessary that these papers should be sent to the press; which is now done, without any material alterations from the original, but only by placing them in the natural order of time.

Though no copy was ever taken by your lordship's consent, yet, I know not how, some imperfect ones are got into other hands. And this being an age wherein every man presumes to print what he pleases, of his own or other mens, we are plainly told, that my lord Fairfax's memorials are ready to be published, and by the very same person who has lately set forth some memoirs, wherein his lordship is scarce ever nam'd but with reproach; not to be excused by what the editor himself confesses, that the author was much out of humour when he writ the book.<sup>1</sup>

My lord Fairfax's true character is better known to many wise and good men, than to be blemished by such envious detractions; nor can his reputation thereby suffer with any who were acquainted with his person, and the true intentions of his actions, and knew him in the latter part of his life.

His great misfortune, and so he accounted it, was to be engaged in the unhappy wars, whereof he desired no other memorial than the act of oblivion; which few that ever needed, better deserved.

It cannot be denied, but, as a soldier, his life would furnish as noble a memoir as the age has produced, from the time that he began with a troop of horse, and a few undisciplined forces in the north, to his being general of a victorious army in the south; which he governed, not as a cypher, but with great prudence and conduct in councils of war, as well as animated by his personal courage in the field, as long as they had an enemy to oppose them.

But after that they broke into factions, and were over-run with enthusiasm, and became ungovernable by their general, when they chose their own agitators, and were managed by men of the deepest dissimulation and hypocrisie; by whose fair, but treacherous promises, some greater than himself were deceived to their own ruin.

That most tragical and deplorable part of the civil war, the death of the king, he utterly from his soul abhorred and lamented to his dying day, and never mentioned it but with tears in his eyes.<sup>2</sup>

The retired part of his life gave him greater satisfaction than all his former victories, when he lived quietly at his own house at Nun-Appleton, in Yorkshire; always earnestly wishing and praying for the restitution of the royal family, and fully resol-

<sup>1</sup> Denzil, Lord Hollis.

<sup>2</sup> Yet if Ludlow can be trusted, Fairfax himself, talking of the exceptions from the general pardon which succeeded the restoration, plainly said, "that if any person must be excepted, he knew no one who deserved it more than himself, who, being general of the army at that time, and having power sufficient to prevent the proceedings against the king, had not thought fit to make use of it to that end."—*Ludlow's Memoirs*, vol. iii. p. 8.



ved to lay hold on the first good opportunity to contribute his part towards it; which made him always lookt upon with a jealous eye by the usurpers of that time.

As soon as he was invited by general Monk to assist him against Lambert's army, he cheerfully embraced the occasion, and appeared at the head of a brave body of gentlemen of Yorkshire; and upon the reputation and authority of his name, the Irish brigade, of twelve hundred horse, forsook Lambert's army, and joined with him: the consequence was the immediate breaking of all Lambert's forces, which gave general Monk an easy march into England.

This was always acknowledged, not only by general Monk, but by the king himself, as a signal testimony of his zeal to make amends for what was past, and of the very considerable assistance he gave towards the restoring the royal family.

After he had waited on his majesty in Holland, as one of the commissioners sent to invite him home, and had seen the king establish'd on his throne, he retired again into his own country, where he died in peace, in the 60th year of his age, anno 1671, leaving behind him his only daughter, the lady Mary, dutchess of Buckingham.

I shall now say no more of him, but that so long as unfeigned piety towards God, invincible courage, joynd with wonderful modesty, and exceeding good nature, justice, and charity to all men in his private life, and an ingenuous acknowledgment of his public error, with hearty endeavours to make reparation, as soon as he was convinced of it, shall be esteemed in the world, so long shall the name of my lord Fairfax be honoured by good men, and be had in perpetual remembrance.

Your lordship had the good fortune to be born after the storms and tempests of that age, but you have had the honour to appear eminently in defence of our religion and civil rights, in this last happy revolution, as your noble predecessor did at the restoration.

My Lord,

I am your most affectionate uncle, and humble servant,

Apr. 22, 1699.

BRIAN FAIRFAX.

*A short Memorial of the Northern Actions in which I was engaged, during the War there, from the Year 1642 to the Year 1644.*

In gratitude to God for his many mercies and deliverances, and not to deprive myself of the comfort of their remembrance, I shall set down, as they come into my mind, those things wherein I have found the wonderful assistance of God to me in the time of the war in the north; though not in that methodical and polished manner as might have been done, being intended only for my own satisfaction and help of my memory.

My father was called forth, by the importunity of his country, to join with them in their own defence, which was confirmed by a comission from the parliament.

The first action we had was at Bradford. We were about three hundred men, the enemy seven or eight hundred, and two pieces of ordnance. They assaulted us; we drew out close to the town to receive them. They had the advantage of the ground, the town being encompassed with hills, which exposed us more to their cannon, from which we receiv'd some hurt; but our men defended those passages by which they were to descend so well, that they got no ground of us; and now the day being spent, they drew off, and retired to Leeds.

A few days after, captain Hotham, with three troops of horse, and some dragoons,

came to us : Then we march'd to Leeds ; but the enemy having notice of it, quitted the town, and in haste fled to York.

We advanced to Tadcaster, eight miles from York, that we might have more room, and be less burthensome to our friends ; and being increased to one thousand men, it was thought fit that we should keep the pass at Wetherby, for the securing of the West-Riding, or the greatest part of it, from whence our chief supplies came.

Tadcaster.

I was sent to Wetherby, with three hundred foot and forty horse. The enemy's next design from York was to fall upon my quarters there, being a place very open and easy for them to assault, there being so many back ways, and friends enough to direct them, and give them intelligence.

Wetherby.

About six o'clock one morning they fell upon us with eight hundred horse and foot ; the woods thereabout favouring them so much, that our scouts had no notice of them, and no alarm was given till they were ready to enter the town ; which they might easily do, the guards being all asleep in houses : For in the beginning of the war, men were as impatient of duty, as they were ignorant of it.

I myself was only on horseback, and going out of the other end of the town to Tadcaster, where my father lay, when one came running after me, and told me the enemy was entering the town. I presently galloped to the court of guard, where I found not above four men at their arms, as I remember ;<sup>\*</sup> two serjeants and two pikemen, who stood with me when Sir Thomas Glenham, with about six or seven commanders more, charged us ; and after a short, but sharp encounter, they retired, in which one major Carr was slain ; and by this time more of the guards were got to their arms. I must confess I knew no strength but the powerful hand of God that gave them this repulse.<sup>\*</sup>

After this they made another attempt, in which captain Atkinson (on our part) was slain. And here again there fell out another remarkable providence :—During this conflict, our magazine was blown up. This struck such a terror into the enemy, believing we had cannon, which they were before informed we had not, that they instantly retreated ; and though I had but a few horse, we pursued the enemy some miles, and took many prisoners. We lost about eight or ten men, whereof seven were blown up with powder : The enemy lost many more.

At this time the earl of Cumberland commanded the forces in Yorkshire for the king. He being of a peaceable nature and affable disposition, had but few enemies ; or, rather, because he was an enemy to few, he did not suit with their present condition. Their apprehensions and fears caused them to send to the earl of Newcastle, who had an army of six thousand men, to desire his assistance, whereof he assured them, by a speedy march to York.

Being now encouraged by this increase of force, they resolved to fall upon Tadcaster. My father drew all his men thither ; but in a council of war the town was judged un-

Tadcaster.

<sup>\*</sup> One of them had a pension for his life, till 1670.

<sup>\*</sup> Sir Henry Slingsby gives the following interesting account of that severe camisade :—

“ My lord of Cumberland sent out sir Thomas Glenham once again to beat up sir Thomas Fairfax's quarters at Wetherby, commanding out a party both of horse and dragoons. He came close up to the town undiscovered, a little before sun-rise, and Predeaux and some others enter the town through a back yard. This gave an alarm quite through the town. Sir Thomas Fairfax was at this juncture drawing on his boots, to go to Tadcaster : he gets on horseback, draws out some pikes, and so meets our gentlemen : every one had his shot at him, he only making at them with his sword, and then retired again under the guard of his pikes. At another part lieutenant-colonell Norton enters with his dragoons : captain Atkinson encounters him on horseback, the other being on foot : They meet : Atkinson misseth with his pistol ; Norton pulls him off horseback by the sword-belt : Being both on the ground, Atkinson's soldiers come in, fell Norton into the ditch with the butt-end of their muskets, to rescue their lieutenant : Norton's soldiers came in, and beat down Atkinson, and with repeated blows break his thigh, of which wound he died. After this they retreated out of the town, (a sore scuffle between two that had been neighbours and intimate friends,) with the loss of more than one trooper killed, and one major Carr, a Scotchman.” —*Memoirs of Sir Henry Slingsby*, Edin. 1806, 8vo. p. 40.



tenable, and that we should draw out to an advantageous piece of ground by the town. But before we could all march out, the enemy advanced so fast, that we were necessitated to leave some foot in a slight work above the bridge, to secure our retreat; but the enemy pressing on us, forced us to draw back, to maintain that ground.

We had about nine hundred men, the enemy above four thousand, who, in brigades, drew up close to the works, and stormed us. Our men reserved their shot till they came near, which they did then dispose of to so good purpose, that the enemy was forced to retire, and shelter themselves behind the hedges. And here did the first fight continue from eleven a clock at noon till five at night, with cannon and musquet, without intermission.

They had once possessed a house by the bridge, which would have cut us from our reserves that were in the town; but major-general Gifford, with a commanded party, beat them out again, where many of the enemy were slain and taken prisoners. They attempted at another place, but were repulsed by captain Lister, who was there slain; a great loss, being a discreet gentleman.

By this time it grew dark, and the enemy drew off into the fields hard by, with intention to assault us again the next day.

They left that night above two hundred dead and wounded upon the place. But our ammunition being all spent in this day's fight, we drew off that night, and marched to Selby, and the enemy entred the next morning into the town.

Thus, by the mercy of God, were a few delivered from an army who, in their thoughts, had swallowed us up.

The earl of Newcastle now lay betwixt us and our friends in the West Riding; but to assist and encourage them, I was sent with about three hundred foot, and three troops of horse, and some arms to Bradford. I was to go by Ferry-bridge, our intelligence being that the enemy was advanced no further than Sherburne; but when I was within a mile of the town, we took some prisoners, who told us my lord of Newcastle lay at Pontefract, eight hundred men in Ferry-bridge, and the rest of the army in all the towns thereabout; so that our advance or retreat seemed alike difficult. Little time being allowed us to consider, we resolved to retreat to Selby. Three or four hundred horse of the enemy shewed themselves in the rear, without making any attempt upon us; so that, by the goodness of God, we got safe to Selby.

Three days after this, upon better intelligence how the enemy lay, with the same number as before, I marched, in the night, by several towns where they lay, and came the next day to Bradford, a town very untenable; but, for their good affection to us, deserving all we could hazard for them.

Our first work then was to fortifie our selves, for we could not but expect an assault. There lay at Leeds fifteen hundred of the enemy, and twelve hundred at Wakefield, neither place above six or seven miles distant from us. They visited us every day with their horse, ours not going far from the town, being very unequal in number. Yet the enemy seldom returned without loss; till at last our few men grew so bold, and theirs so disheartened, that they durst not stir a mile from their garrisons.

Whilst these daily skirmishes were among the horse, I thought it necessary to strengthen our selves with more foot. I summoned the country, who had by this time more liberty to come to us. I presently armed them with those arms we brought along with us; so that in all we were about eight hundred foot.

Being too many to lye idle, and too few to be upon constant duty, we resolved, through the assistance of God, to attempt them in their garrisons.

We summoned the country again, and made a body of twelve or thirteen hundred men, with which we marched to Leeds, and drew them up, within half cannon-shot of their works, in battalia, and then sent a trumpet, with a summons to deliver up the town to me, for the use of king and parliament. They presently returned this answer:

That it was not civilly done to come so near before I sent the summons, and that they would defend the town the best they could with their lives.

I presently ordered the manner of the storm, and we all fell on at the same time. The business was hotly disputed for almost two hours; but the enemy being beaten from their works, and the barricadoes into the streets forced open, the horse and foot resolutely entred, and the soldiers cast down their arms, and rendered themselves prisoners. The governor and some chief officers swam the river, and escaped; only major Beaumont was drowned, about forty or fifty slain, good store of ammunition taken, of which we had great want.

The consequence of this action was yet of more importance; for those who fled from Leeds to Wakefield, and quitting that garrison also, gave my lord of Newcastle such an allarm at Pontefract, that he drew all his army again to York, leaving once more a free intercourse, which he had so long time cut off, betwixt my father and us.

After a short time the earl of Newcastle returned again to the same quarters, and we to our stricter duties. But we quickly found our men must have more room or more action.

Captain Hotham and I took a resolution, early one morning, (from Selby,) to beat up a quarter of the enemies that lay at Fenton: They being gone, we marched to Sherburne, intending there only to give them an alarm; but they might see us a mile or more, over a plain common which lay by the town; and they sent twenty or thirty horse to guard a pass near the town. I had the van; for at this time we commanded our troops distinct one from another, both making five troops of horse, and two of dragoons. I told captain Hotham, that if he would second me, I would charge those horse, and if they fled, I would pursue them so close, as to get into the town with them. He promised to second me. I went to the head of my troops, and presently charged them: They fled, and we pursued close to the barricado; but they got in, and shut it upon us. Here my horse was shot in at the breast. We so filled the lane, being strait, that we could not retreat without confusion, and danger of their falling in our rear; so we stood to it, and stormed the works with pistol and sword. At the end of the barricado there was a narrow passage for a single horse to go in; I entred there, others following me, one by one; and close at one side of the entrance stood a troop of horse of the enemy. So soon as eight or ten of us were got in, we charged them, and they fled. By this time the rest of our men had beat them from their barricado, and entred the town. We soon cleared the streets, and pursued those that fled. And now my horse which was shot in the lane fell down dead under me; but I was presently mounted again.

Sherburne.

The enemy in the towns about having taken the alarm, it made us think of securing our retreat with the prisoners we had got, some of them being considerable, among whom was major-general Windham. We scarce got into order before general Goring came with a good body of horse up to us; and as we marched off, he followed us close in the rear, without doing us any hurt; only my trumpet had his horse shot close by me; and thus we returned to Selby.

Colonel Pri-  
deaux escaped.

Though this did not free us wholly from a potent enemy, yet we lay more quietly by them a good while after.

In this recess of action we had several treaties about prisoners; and this I mention the rather, for that captain Hotham here first began to discover his intentions of leaving the parliament's service, in making conditions for himself with the earl of Newcastle; though it was not discovered till a good while after, which had almost ruined my father, and the forces with him; for being now denied help and succour from Hull and the East Riding, he was forced to forsake Selby, and retire to Leeds, and those western parts where I then lay.

To make good this retreat, I was sent to, to bring what men I could to joyn with



him at Sherburne; for my lord of Newcastle's army lay so as he might easily intercept us in our way to Leeds; which he had determined to do, and to that end lay with his army on Clifford Moore, having present intelligence of our march.

Whilst my father, with fifteen hundred men, ordnance, and ammunition, continued his way from Selby to Leeds, I, with those I brought to Sherburne, marched a little aside, betwixt my lord of Newcastle's army and ours; and, to amuse them the more, made an attempt upon Tadcaster, where they had three or four hundred men, who presently quit the town, and fled to York.

Here we stayed three or four hours slighting the works, which put my lord Newcastle's army to a stand, being on their march to meet us; thinking he was deceived in his intelligence, and that we had some other design upon York. He presently sends back the lord Goring, with twenty troops of horse and dragoons, to relieve Tadcaster.

We were newly drawn off when he came. My lord Goring past over the river to follow us; but seeing we were far unequal in horse to him, (for I had not above three troops, and were to go over Bramham-Moore Plain,) I gave direction to the foot to march away, whilst I stay'd with the horse to interrupt the enemy's passage in those narrow lanes that lead up to the moore. Here was much firing at one another; but in regard of their great numbers, as they advanced we were forced to give way, yet had gained by it sufficient time for the foot to have been out of danger.

When we came up to the moore again, I found them where I left them; which troubled me much, the enemy being close upon us, and a great plain yet to go over. So we marching the foot in two divisions, and the horse in the rear, the enemy followed about two musket-shot from us, in three good bodies, but made no attempt upon us. And thus we got well over this open campaign, to some inclosures, beyond which was another<sup>1</sup> moore, less than the other. Here our men, thinking themselves secure, were more careless in keeping order; and whilst their officers were getting them out of houses where they sought for drink, it being an extream hot day, the enemy got another way as soon as we into the moore; and when we had almost pass'd this plain also, they seeing us in some disorder, charged us both in flank and rear. The country men presently cast down their arms and fled; the foot soon after, which, for want of pikes, was not able to withstand their horse. Some were slain, many were taken prisoners. Few of our horse stood the charge. Some officers with me made our retreat with much difficulty; in which sir Henry Fowles had a slight hurt: My cornet was taken prisoner. We got well to Leeds, about an hour after my father and the men with him got safe thither.

This was one of the greatest losses we ever receiv'd: Yet was it a providence it was a part, and not the whole forces which receiv'd this loss; it being the enemy's intention to have fought us that day with their whole army, which was at least ten thousand men, had not our attempt upon Tadcaster put a stand to them, and so concluded that day with this storm, which fell on me only.

We being at Leeds, it was thought fit to possess some other place; wherefore I was sent to Bradford with seven or eight hundred foot, and three troops of horse. These two towns were all the garrisons we had; and at Wakefield, six miles off, lay three thousand of the enemy; but they did not much disturb us: And we were busied about releasing prisoners that were taken at Seacroft; most of them being country men, whose wives and children were still importunate for their release, which was as earnestly endeavoured by us; but no conditions would be accepted; so as their continual cries, and tears, and importunities, compelled us to think of some way to redeem these men; and we thought of attempting Wakefield.

Wakefield.

<sup>1</sup> Seacroft Moore.

Our intelligence was, that the enemy had not above eight or nine hundred men in the town. I acquainted my father with our design, who approved of it, and sent some men from Leeds, so that we were able to draw out eleven hundred horse and foot.

Upon Whitsunday, early in the morning, we came before the town, but they had notice of our coming, and had manned all their works, and set about five hundred musketeers to line the hedges without the town, which made us now doubt our intelligence; but it was too late.

After a little consultation we advanced, and soon beat them back into the town, which we storm'd at three places; and after an hour's dispute, the foot forced open a barricado, where I entred with my own troop: Colonel Alured and captain Bright followed with theirs. The street where we entred was full of their foot: We charged them through, and routed them, leaving them to the foot, that followed close behind us. And presently we were charged again with horse led on by general Goring; where, after a hot encounter, some were slain, and himself taken prisoner by colonel Alured.

I cannot but here acknowledge God's goodness to me this day; for being advanced a good way single before my men, having a colonel and lieutenant-colonel, who had engaged themselves to be my prisoners, only with me, and many of the enemy now betwixt me and my men, I lighted upon a regiment of foot standing in the market-place. Being thus encompassed, and thinking what to do, I spied a lane which I thought would lead me back to my men again. At the end of this lane there was a corps-de-guard of the enemy's, with fifteen or sixteen soldiers, who were just then quitting of it, with a serjeant leading them off; whom we met; and seeing their officers, they came up to us, taking no notice of me, and asked them what they would have them do, for they could keep the work no longer, the round-heads (as they call'd them) came so fast upon them.

The gentlemen, who had pass'd their words to me to be my true prisoners, said nothing; and looking one upon another, I thought it not fit now to own them as prisoners, much less to bid the rest to render themselves to me; but being well mounted, and seeing a place in the works where men used to go over, I rushed from them, and made my horse leap over the work, and by a good providence got to my men again; who, before I came, had, by direction of major-generall Gifford, brought up a piece of ordnance, and placed it in the church-yard, against that body that stood in the market-place, which presently rendred themselves.

All our men being got into the town, the streets were cleared, and many prisoners taken; but the horse got off, almost entire.

This appeared the greater mercy, when we saw our mistake; for we found three thousand men in the town, and expected but half the number. We brought away fourteen hundred prisoners, eighty officers, twenty-eight colours, and great store of ammunition.

But seeing this was more a miracle than a victory, more the effect of God's providence than humane force or prudence, let the honour and praise of all be his only.

After this we exchanged our men that were prisoners, and we were freed a good while from any trouble or attempt of the enemy.

Hitherto, through God's mercy, we had held up near two years against a potent army; but they finding us now almost tired with continual service, treacherously used by friends, and wanting many things necessary for support and defence, the earl of Newcastle marched with an army of ten or twelve thousand men to besiege us, and resolv'd to sit down before Bradford, which was a very untenable place.

Hither my father drew all the forces he could spare out of the garrisons; but seeing it impossible to defend the town otherwise than by strength of men, and that we had



Adderton  
Moor.

not above ten or twelve days provision for so many as were necessary to keep it, we resolv'd the next morning very early, with a body of three thousand men, to attempt his whole army, as they lay in their quarters, three miles off; hoping by it to put him to some distraction, which could not be done any other way, by reason of the unequal numbers.

To this end my father appointed four o' th' clock next morning to begin our march; but major-general Gifford, who had the ordering of the business, so delay'd the execution of it, that it was seven or eight before we began to move, and not without much suspicion of treachery; for when we came near the place we intended, the enemy's whole army was drawn up in battalia.

We were to go up a hill to them: That our forlorn hope gained, by beating theirs into their main body, which was drawn up half a mile further, upon a plain called Adderton Moore. We being all got up the hill, drew into battalia also. I commanded the right wing, which was about one thousand foot, and five troops of horse; major-general Gifford commanded the left wing, which was about the same number; my father commanded in chief.

We advanced through the inclosed grounds, till we came to the moore, beating the foot that lay in them to their main body.

Ten or twelve troops of horse charged us in the right wing. We kept the inclosures, placing our musketeers in the hedges next the moore; which was a good advantage to us who had so few horse.

There was a gate, or open place, to the moore, where five or six might enter a-breast. Here they strive to enter, we to defend it; but after some dispute, those that entred the pass found sharp entertainment, and those who were not yet entred as hot welcome from the musketeers that flanked them in the hedges. They were all, in the end, forced to retreat, with the loss of colonell Howard, who commanded them.

Our left wing at the same time was engaged with the enemy's foot, and gained ground of them. The horse came down again, and charged us, they being about thirteen or fourteen troops. We defended ourselves as before, but with much more difficulty, many having got in among us, but were beaten off again with some loss. Collonel Herne, who commanded that party, was slain. We pursued them to their cannon. Here I cannot omit a remarkable instance of divine justice. Whilst we were engaged in the fight with those horse that entred the gate, four souldiers had stript collonel Herne naked as he lay on the ground, men still fighting round about him; and so dextrous were these villains, that they had done it, and mounted themselves again, before we had beaten the enemy off. But after we had beaten them to their ordnance, as I said, and now returning to our ground again, the enemy discharged a piece of cannon in our rear: The bullet fell into captain Copley's troop, in which were these four men: Two of them were killed, and some hurt or mark remained on the other, though dispersed into several ranks of the troop, which made it more remarkable. We had not yet martial law among us: This gave me a good occasion to declare to the soldiers how God would punish, when men wanted power to do it.

This charge, and the resolution our men shewed in the left wing, made the enemy think of retreating. Orders were given for it, and some marched off the field.

Whilst they were in this wavering condition, one collonel Skirton desired his general to let him charge once with a stand of pikes, with which he broke in upon our men; and not being relieved by our reserves, which were commanded by some ill-affected officers, chiefly major-general Gifford, who did not his part as he ought to do, our men lost ground, which the enemy seeing, pursued this advantage, by bringing on fresh troops: Ours being herewith discouraged, began to fly, and were soon routed. The horse also charged us again, we not knowing what was done in the left wing. Our

men maintained their ground till a command came for us to retreat, having scarce any way now to do it, the enemy being almost round about us, and our way to Bradford cut off. But there was a lane in the field we were in, which led to Hallifax, which, as a happy providence, brought us off without any great loss, save of captain Talbot, and twelve more, that were slain in this last encounter. Of those who fled, there were about sixty killed, and three hundred taken prisoners.

After this ill success, we had small hopes of better, wanting all things necessary in Bradford for defence of the town, and no expectation of help from any place. The earl of Newcastle presently besieged the town; but before he had surrounded it, I got in with those men I brought from Hallifax. I found my father much troubled, having neither a place of strength to defend ourselves in, nor a garrison in Yorkshire to retreat to; for the governour of Hull had declared, if we were forced to retreat thither, he would shut the gates on us.

Whilst he was musing on these sad thoughts, a messenger was sent unto him from Hull, to let him know the townsmen had secured the governour; that they were sensible of the danger he was in; and if he had any occasion to make use of that place, he should be very readily and gladly received there; which news was joyfully received, and acknowledged as a great mercy of God; yet it was not made use of till a further necessity compelled.

My father having ordered me to stay here with eight hundred foot and sixty horse, retired that night to Leeds, to secure it. Bradford.

The earl of Newcastle spent three or four days in laying his quarters about the town of Bradford, and brought down his cannon, but needed not to raise batteries, for the hills, within half musket-shot, commanded all the town. Being planted in two places, they shot furiously upon us, and made their approaches, which made us spend very much of our little store, being not above twenty-five or twenty-six barrels of powder at the beginning of the siege. Yet the earl of Newcastle sent a trumpet to offer us conditions, which I accepted, so they were honourable for us to take, and safe for the inhabitants.

We sent two captains to treat with him, and agreed to a cessation during that time; but he continued working still; whereupon I sent forth the commissioners again, suspecting a design of attempting something upon us. They returned not till eleven o'clock at night, and then with a slight answer.

Whilst they were delivering it to us, we heard great shooting of cannon and muskets: all run presently to the works, which the enemy was storming. Here for three quarters of an hour was very hot service, but at length they retreated.

They made a second attempt, but were also beaten off. After this, we had not above one barrel of powder left, and no match. I called the officers together, where it was advised and resolv'd to draw off presently, before it was day, and to retreat to Leeds, by forcing a way, which we must do, for they had surrounded the town.

Orders were dispatch'd, and speedily put in execution. The foot, commanded by colonel Rogers, was sent out through some narrow lanes, and they were to beat up the dragoons quarters, and so go on to Leeds.

I myself, with some other officers, went with the horse, which were not above fifty, in a more open way.

I must not here forget my wife, who ran the same hazard with us in this retreat, and with as little expression of fear; not from any zeal or delight in the war, but through a willing and patient suffering of this undesirable condition.

I sent two or three horsemen before, to discover what they could of the enemy; who presently returned, and told us there was a guard of horse close by us. Before I had gone forty paces, the day beginning to break, I saw them upon the hill above us, being about 300 horse. I, with some twelve more, charged them. Sir Henry Fowles, major-ge-



neral Gifford, myself, and three more, brake through. Captain Mudd was slain ; and the rest of our horse being close by, the enemy fell upon them, and soon routed them, taking most of them prisoners, among whom was my wife ; the officer, William Hill, behind whom she rid, being taken.

I saw this disaster, but could give no relief ; for after I was got through, I was in the enemies reer alone. Those who had charged through with me went on to Leeds, thinking I had done so too ; but I was unwilling to leave my company, and stay'd till I saw there was no more in my power to do, but to be taken prisoner with them. I then retired to Leeds.

The like disaster fell among the foot that went the other way, by a mistake ; for after they had marched a little way, the van fell into the dragoons quarters, clearing their way ; but through a cowardly fear, he that commanded these men being in the reer, made them face about, and march again into the town, where, the next day, they were all taken prisoners ; only eighty, or thereabout, of the front that got through, came all to Leeds, mounted on horses which they had taken from the enemy ; where I found them when I came thither ; which was some joy to them all, concluding I was either slain or taken prisoner.

At Leeds I found all in great distraction, the council of war newly risen, where it was resolv'd to quit the town, and retreat to Hull, which was sixty miles off ; many of the enemies garrisons being in the way. This, in two hours after, was accordingly done, lest the enemy should presently send horse to prevent us ; for they had fifty or sixty troops within three miles : But we got well to Selby, where there was a ferry, and hard by, a garrison at Cawood.

Selby.

My father being a mile before, with a few men, getting over the ferry, word came to us that he was in danger to be taken. I hasted to him with about forty horse, the rest following in some disorder. He was newly got into the boat, when the enemy, with three cornets of horse, entered the town.

I was drawn up in the market-place, directly before the street they came down. When they were almost half come into the market-place, they turn'd on the right hand : with part of my troop I charged them in the flank, and divided them : we had the chase of them down the long street that goes to Brayton.

It happned, at the same time, that those men I left behind were coming up that street ; but being in disorder, and discourag'd with the misfortunes of many days before, they turn'd about, and gave way, not knowing we were pursuing the enemy in their reer.

At the end of this street was a narrow lane which led to Cawood. The enemy strove to pass that way, but it being narrow, there was a sudden stop, where we were mingled one among another.

Here I received a shot in the wrist of my arm, which made the bridle fall out of my hand, and being among the nerves and veins, suddenly let out such a quantity of blood, that I was ready to fall from my horse ; but taking the reins in the other hand, in which I had my sword, the enemy minding nothing so much as how to get away, I drew myself out of the crowd, and came to our men, who turned about, and seeing me ready to fall from my horse, they lay'd me on the ground. Now when I was almost senseless, my surgeon came seasonably, and bound up the wound, and stopt the bleeding.

After a quarter of an hours rest, I got a horseback again. The other part of our horse had beaten the enemy back to Cawood, the same way they came first to us.

Thus, by the goodness of God, our passage was made clear. Some went over the ferry after my father, I myself, with others, went through the Levels to Hull ; but it proved a very troublesome and dangerous passage, being often interrupted by the enemy, sometimes in our front, sometimes in our reer.

I had been twenty hours on horseback after I was shot, without any rest or refreshment, and as many hours before. And as a further affliction, my daughter, \* not above five years old, being carried before her maid, endured all this retreat a horseback; but nature not being able to hold out any longer, she fell into frequent swoonings, and, in appearance, was ready to expire her last.

Having now past the Trent, and seeing a house not far off, I sent her, with her maid only, thither, with little hopes of seeing her any more alive, though I intended, the next day, to send a ship from Hull for her.

I went on to Barton, having sent before to have a ship ready against my coming thither. Here I lay down to take a little rest, if it were possible to find any in a body so full of pain, and a mind yet fuller of anxiety and trouble. Though I must acknowledge it as the infinite goodness of God, that my spirit was nothing at all discouraged from doing still that which I thought to be my duty.

I had not rested a quarter of an hour before the enemy came close to the town. I had now not above a hundred horse with me. We went to the ship, where, under the security of her ordnance, we got all our men and horse aboard; and crossing Humber, we arriv'd at Hull, our men faint and tired. I myself had lost all, even to my shirt, for my cloaths were made unfit to wear with rents and blood. Presently after my coming to Hull, I sent a ship for my daughter, who was brought the next day to the town, pretty well recovered of her long and tedious journey.

Not many days after, the earl of Newcastle sent my wife back again in his coach, with some horse to guard her; which generous act of his gain'd him more reputation than he could have got by detaining a lady prisoner upon such terms.

Many of our men, who were dispersed in this long retreat, came hither again to us. Our first business was to raise new forces; and in a short time we had about 1500 foot, and 700 horse.

The town being little, I was sent to Beverly with the horse, and 600 foot, but my lord of Newcastle now looking upon us as inconsiderable, was marched into Lincolnshire, with his whole army, leaving some few garrisons. He took in Gainsbrough and Lincoln, and intended Boston, which was the key of the associated counties; for his orders, which I have seen, were to go into Essex, and block up London on that side.

Having laid a great while still, and being now strong enough for those forces which remained in the country, we sent out a good party to make an attempt upon Stanford Bridge, near York, but the enemy upon the alarm fled thither; which put them also in such a fear, that they sent earnestly to my lord of Newcastle, to desire him to return, or the country would again be lost. Upon this he returned again into Yorkshire, and not long after came to besiege Hull.

I lay at Beverly, in the way of his march, and finding we were not able to defend such an open place against an army, I desired orders from my father to retire back to Hull: But the committee there had more mind of raising money than to take care of the soldiers; and yet these men had the greatest share in command at this time, and would not let any orders be given for our retreat; nor was it fit for us to return without order.

The enemy marched with his whole army towards us: Retreat we must not; keep the town we could not: So, to make our retreat more honourable and useful, I drew out all the horse and dragoons towards the enemy, and stood drawn up by a wood side all that night.

Next morning by day our scouts and theirs fired on one another. They marched on with their whole body, which was about 4000 horse, and 12,000 foot. We stood

\* Duchess of Buckingham.



till they were come very near to us: I then drew off, having given direction before for the foot to march away towards Hull, and thinking to make good the retreat with the horse.

The enemy with a good party came up in our rear: The lanes being narrow we made good shift with them, till we got into Beverley, and shut the gate, which we had scarce time to do, they being so close to us.

In this business we lost major Layton, and not above two more.

The enemy not knowing what forces we had in the town, stayed till the rest of the army came up, which was about a mile behind. This gave our foot some advantage in their retreat, it being five miles to Hull, and the way on narrow banks. I sent the horse by Cottingham, a more open road, who got well thither; they overtook the foot, and made good their retreat, till we got to a little bridge two miles from Hull, where we made a stand. The enemy followed close: our men gave them a good volley of shot, which made them draw back, and they advanced no further.

So leaving a small guard at the bridge, we got safe to Hull.

Thus, not only for want of military skill in the gentlemen of the committee, but, to say no more, for want of good nature, we were exposed to this trouble and danger.

My lord of Newcastle now laid siege to Hull, but at a great distance, for the sluices were let open, and drowned the land for two miles about the town.

Yet upon a bank, which was the highway, he approached so near as to shoot cannon-shot at random into the town, and for the most part hot bullets; but by the diligence and care of the governour, who caused every inhabitant to watch his own house, the danger was prevented.

Our horse was now useless, and many dyed every day, having nothing but salt water about the town. I was therefore sent over with the horse into Lincolnshire, to join with the earl of Manchester's forces, which were then commanded by major-general Cromwel, who received us at our landing with his troops.

Sir John Henderson lay within three or four miles of this place, with 5000 men, to prevent our conjunction, but durst not attempt it. He marched three or four days near unto us, but for want of good intelligence, we did not know so much; for I altogether trusted to the care of our new friends, being a stranger in those parts.

At Horncastle, one morning, he fell upon our out-guards, who being but newly raised in that country, fled towards Lincoln, without giving any alarm to our quarters, that lay dispersed and secure.

Sir John Henderson marching slowly with his army, gave the alarm to some of our out-quarters, which was soon taken in all the rest; yet we were in some disorder before we could get into any considerable body. My lord Willoughby, with his horse and my dragoons, commanded by colonell Morgan, brought up the rear; and after some skirmishes, we lodged that night in the field.

The next day the earl of Manchester came to us with his foot; the day following we advanced toward the enemy, and chusing a convenient ground to fight on, we drew up the army there. The enemy did so on the side of another hill close by, having a little plain betwixt us. Lieutenant-general Cromwel had the van, I the reserve of horse, my lord Manchester all the foot.

After we had faced one another a good while, the forlorn hopes began the fight; presently the bodies met on the plain, where the fight was hot for half an hour, but then they were forced to a rout, 200 killed, and many taken prisoners.

This was the issue of Horncastle fight, or, as some call it, Winsby fight.

At the same instant we heard great shooting of ordnance towards Hull; which was a sally my father made out of the town upon my lord of Newcastle's trenches, who drew out most part of his army to relieve them: But our men charged so resolutely,

that they possessed themselves of the canon, and pursuing their advantage, put the enemy to a total rout, upon which he raised the siege, and returned again to York.

These two defeats together, the one falling heavy upon the horse, the other upon the foot, kept the enemy all that winter from attempting any thing; and we, after the taking of Lincoln, settled ourselves in winter quarters.

In the coldest season of the year I was commanded by the parliament to go and raise the siege at Nantwich, which the lord Byron, with the Irish army, had reduced to great extremity. I was the most unfit of all their forces, being ever the worst paid, my men sickly, and almost naked. I desired the parliament that they would be pleased to supply these wants; not excusing myself, as some did, who had no will to stir, though well enough accommodated.

The parliament's answer was a positive direction to march, for it would admit of no delay. But foreseeing I should have such a return to my desires, and considering the necessity of the business, I had upon my own credit got so much cloath as cloathed 1500 men, and all were ready to march when these orders came to me.

The twenty-ninth of December we set forward from Falkingham, in Lincolnshire, with 1800 horse, and 500 dragoons, and power to call the regiments of foot in Lancashire and Cheshire to make up the body of the army; which I found was not a little trouble when I came to Manchester, for some were thirty, some forty miles distant, besides the dissatisfaction of some of their collonels, who went as their particular safety or interest swayed them.

But finding more readiness in the inferior officers and common soldiers, I got up, in a few days, near 3000 foot.

With this army we marched to Nantwich, which was at the point of surrendring. When we came within a days march, I had intelligence the lord Byron had drawn off his siege, and intended to meet us in the field. I put my men into the order in which I intended to fight, and continued my march till we came within three miles of the town.

There was a pass kept with about 250 men: I sent collonel Morgan with his dragoons, who beat them off, in which his brother was slain. The major who commanded the other party, with some others, was taken prisoner.

We marched on till we came within cannon-shot of their works, where half of their army was drawn up: And we were informed, that the river which runs through the town being raised with the melting of the snow, hindered those that lay on the other side of the town from joining with them.

We called a council of war, wherein it was debated, whether we should attempt those in their works, being divided from the rest of the army, or march into the town and relieve them, and by the increase of our force be better able the next day to encounter them.

This last was resolved on; and making way with pioneers through the hedges, we marched to the town; but after we had gone a little way, word came that the enemy was in the reer. We faced about with two regiments and my own regiment of horse, commanded by major Rokeby, and relieved those that were engaged, and so the fight began on all sides.

These that fell on our reer were that part of their army that lay on the other side of the town, who had past the river. Those who were drawn up under their works fell upon our van, which was marching to the town. Thus was the battel divided, there being a quarter of a mile betwixt us in the division that first engaged. Our foot at the beginning gave a little ground, but our horse recovered this, by beating the enemies horse out of the lanes that flanked our foot; which did so encourage our men, that they regained their ground on the enemy, and made them retreat from hedge to hedge, 'till at length they were forced to fly to their works.



Their horse retreated in better order towards Chester, without much loss. Our other wing being assisted from the town, who sallyed out with seven or eight hundred musketeers beat the enemy back into the same works. We presently surrounded them; and being in great disorder and confusion, they soon yielded themselves prisoners, with all their chief officers, arms, colours, and ammunition.

Thus, by the mercy of God, was this victory obtained, being the more signal, in that we were not to deal with young soldiers, but with men of great experience, and an army which had ever been victorious.

After this we took in several garrisons in Cheshire. Latham only in Lancashire held out, which was besieged by the forces of that county, but afterward the siege was raised by prince Rupert.

Having spent three or four months in this expedition, my father commanded me back into Yorkshire, that by the conjunction of our forces he might be abler to take the field. We met about Ferry-bridge, he being come out of Hull thither, with intent to fall upon the enemies garrison at Selby.

I received at this time another command from the parliament to march immediately, with my horse and dragoons, into Northumberland, to join with the Scots army; the earl of Newcastle, who was then at Durham, being much stronger in horse than they, for want of which they could not advance. But it being resolved within a day or two to storm Selby, I stayed till that business was over, which proved as effectual for the relief of the Scots army.

The governour of York, collonel Bellasis, lay in Selby, with 2000 men. We drew our horse and foot close to the town. Sir John Meldrum led on the foot, which had their several posts appointed them where they should storm; I, with the horse, ready to second them. The enemy within defended themselves stoutly a good while. Our men at length beat them from the line, but could not advance further, because of the horse within. I got a barricado open, which let us in betwixt the houses and the river; here we had an encounter with their horse. After one charge, they fled over a bridge of boats to York. Their horse came up and charged us again, where my horse was overthrown, I being single, a little before my men, who presently relieved me, and forced the enemy back. They retreated also to York. In this charge we took collonel Bellasis, governour of York. By this time the foot had entred the town, and had taken many prisoners. This good success of ours put them into great distraction and fear at York; so that they speedily sent to the earl of Newcastle, to haste back thither, believing we would presently attempt them.

This news suddenly called him back, leaving the Scots, who, with cold and often alarms, were reduced to great extremity, but now they advance after him.

The earl of Newcastle gets into York; the Scots join with my father at Wetherby: altogether made 16,000 foot, and 4000 horse. They march on to York.

For the siege of York it was thought necessary to have more men, the town being large in compass, and strongly manned. The earl of Craford, Lindsey, and myself were sent to the earl of Manchester, to desire him to join with us in the siege; to which he willingly consented, bringing an addition of 6000 foot and 3000 horse.

Now the army had three generals, Lesly, Manchester, and Fairfax, who lay apart in three several quarters before the town, but the north side still remained open.

Some time was spent here without any considerable action, till, in my lord of Manchester's quarters, approaches were made to St Mary's tower, and they soon came to mine it. Collonel Crayford, a Scotchman, who commanded that quarter, sprung the mine, being ambitious to have the honour alone of it, without acquainting the other two generals, for their advice and concurrence; which proved very prejudicial; for having engaged his party against the whole strength of the town, without more forces to second him, he was repulsed, with the loss of three hundred men; for which he had

surely been called to an account, but escaped the better by reason of this triumviral government.

Soon after, prince Rupert came to relieve the town: we raised the siege. Hessey Moore was appointed the rendezvous; the whole army drew thither. About a mile from thence lay the prince, the river Ouse being betwixt us, which he that night past over at Popleton. The next day he drew his army into the same moore, which being now joined with my lord of Newcastle's army, made about 23 or 24,000 men, we something more.

We were divided in our opinions what to do: The English were for fighting, the Scots for retreating, to gain (as they alledged) both time and place of more advantage.

This being resolved on, we marched away to Tadcaster, which made the enemy advance the faster.

Lieutenant-general Cromwell, Lesley, and myself were appointed to bring up the reer. We sent word to the generals of the necessity of making a stand, or else the enemy, having this advantage, might put us in some disorder. But by the advantage of the ground we were on, we hoped to make it good till they came back to us, which they did.

The place was Marston fields, which afterwards gave the name to this battel.

Here we drew up our army: The enemy was drawn up in battalia on the moore, a little below us.

The day being most part spent in preparations, we now began to descend towards them. Lieutenant-general Cromwell commanded the left wing of the horse, and seconded by major-general Lesley: I had the right wing, with some Scots horse and lances for my reserves. The three generals were with the foot.

Our left wing first charged the enemies right wing, which was performed for a while with much resolution on both sides, but the enemy at length was put to the worst.

Our right wing had not all so good success, by reason of the furzes and ditches we were to pass over before we could get to the enemy, which put us into great disorder.

Notwithstanding, I drew up a body of 400 horse; but because their intervals of horse in this wing only were lined with musketeers, who did us much hurt with their shot, I was necessitated to charge them. We were a long time engaged one within another, but at last we routed that part of their wing which we charged, and pursued them a good way towards York. Myself only returned presently, to get to the men I left behind me. But that part of the enemy which stood, perceiving the disorder they were in, had charged and routed them before I could get to them: So that the good success we had at the first was eclipsed by this bad conclusion.

Our other wing and most of the foot went on prosperously, 'till they had cleared the field.

I must ever remember with thankfulness the goodness of God to me this day; for having charged through the enemy, and my men going after the pursuit, and returning back to go to my other troops, I was got in among the enemy, who stood up and down the field in several bodies of horse: So taking the signal out of my hat, I past through them for one of their own commanders, and got to my lord of Manchester's horse, in the other wing, only with a cut in my cheek, which was given me in the first charge, and a shot which my horse received.

In this charge many of my officers and soldiers were hurt and slain. The captain of my own troop was shot in the arm; my cornet had both his hands cut, so as rendered him ever after unserviceable. Captain Micklethwait, an honest, stout gentleman was slain; and scarce any officer who was in this charge but received a hurt. Collonel Lambert, who should have seconded me, but could not get up to me, charged in another



place. Major Fairfax, who was major to his regiment, had at least thirty wounds, of which he dyed at York, after he had been abroad again, and in good hopes of recovery.

But that which nearest of all concerned me was the loss of my brother, ' who being deserted of his men, was sore wounded, of which, in three or four days after, he dyed: Buried at Marston: Ætat. 23.

In this charge as many were hurt and killed as in the whole army besides.

On the enemy's part there were above 4000 slain, and many taken prisoners.

Prince Rupert returned into the south, the earl of Newcastle went beyond sea, with many of his officers. York was presently surrendered, and the north now was wholly reduced by the parliament's forces, except some garrisons.

Soon after this I went to Helmesley, to take in the castle there, where I received a dangerous shot in my shoulder, and was brought back to York, all being doubtful of my recovery for some time.

At the same time the parliament voted me to command the army in the south.

But my intentions being only to keep in mind what I had been present in during this northern war, I shall put an end to this discourse, where it pleased God to determine my service there.

Yet thus with some smart from his rod, to let me see I was not mindful enough of returning my humble thanks and acknowledgments for the deliverances and mercies I received, and for which (alas) I am not yet capable enough to praise him as I ought, that may say by experience, "Who is a God like unto our God."

Therefore, not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give we the praise.

But as for myself, and what I have done, I may say with Solomon, I looked on all the works that my hands had wrought, and on the labour that I had laboured to do, and behold all was vanity and vexation of spirit.

For there is no remembrance of the wise, more than the fool, for ever, seeing that which now is, in the days to come shall be forgotten.

T. FAIRFAX.

*Short Memorials of some Things to be cleared during my Command in the Army.*

By the grace and assistance of God, I shall truly set down the grounds of my actions during this unhappy war, and especially of those actions which seemed to the world most questionable.

My first engaging in the sad calamities of the war was about the year 1641, when the general distemper of the three kingdoms, I mean the difference betwixt the king and parliament, had kindled such a flame, even in the heart of the state, that before a remedy could be found, the whole body was almost consumed to ashes.

I must needs say, my judgment was for the parliament, as the king and kingdoms great and safest council; as others were averse to parliaments, because they did not go high enough for prerogative.

Upon this division different powers were set up; the commission of array for the king, and the militia for the parliament. But those of the array exceeded their commission, in oppressing many honest people, whom, by way of reproach, they called roundheads; who, for their religion, estates, and interest, were a very considerable part of the country; which occasioned them to take up arms in their own defence, and it was afterward confirmed by authority of parliament.

' Charles Fairfax.

My father being yet at his house at Denton, where I then waited on him, had notice from his friends, that it was intended he should be sent for as a prisoner to York: He resolved not to stir from his own house, not being conscious to himself of any thing to deserve imprisonment.

The country suffering daily more and more, many came and intreated him to join with them in defence of themselves and country, which was extremely oppressed by those of the array, (who after had the name of cavaliers;) and he being also much importuned by those about him, seeing his neighbours in this distress, resolved to run the same hazard with them.

Then did the parliament grant a commission to him to be general of the forces in the north; myself also having a commission under him to be general of the horse.

It is not my intention in this place to relate the services done in this cause of the parliament; for I am rather desirous to clear my actions, than declare them; and therefore I shall say no more of this three years war in the north, there being nothing (I thank God) in all that time to be objected against me in particular: But I shall say something how I came to be engaged in the south.

Some years had been spent in those parts, in a lingering war betwixt the king and parliament, and several battels so equally fought, that it could scarce be known on which side the business in dispute would be determined. Though it must be confest that the parliaments army was under the command of a very noble and gallant person, the earl of Essex, yet they found that time and delay gained more advantage against them and their affairs, than force had done. They therefore resolved to make a change in the constitution of their armies, hoping by it to find a change also in their business, which was then something in a declining condition. In this distemper of things the army was new modelled, and a new general proposed to command it; and by votes of the two houses of parliament I was nominated, though most unfit, and so far from desiring it, that had not so great an authority (which was then unseparated from the royal interest) commanded my obedience, and had I not been urged by the perswasion of my nearest friends, I should have refused so great a charge. But whether it was from a natural facility in me, that betrayed my modesty, or the powerful hand of God, which all things must obey, I was induced to receive the command.

Then was I immediately voted by the parliament to come to London, and take my charge, though not fully recovered of a dangerous wound which I had received a little before at Helmesley, and which I believe, without the miraculous hand of God, had proved mortal.

But here (alas) when I bring to mind the sad consequences that crafty and designing men have brought to pass since those first innocent undertakings, I am ready to let go that confidence I once had with God, when I could say with Job, "Till I die, I will not remove my integrity from me, nor shall my heart reproach me so long as I live." But I am now more fit to take up his complaint, and say, "Why did I not die? Why did I not give up the ghost when my life was on the confines of the grave?"

God having been pleased thus to give me my life for a prey, I took my journey southward, hoping it might be some ways serviceable to the publick: But when I came thither, had it not been in the simplicity of my heart, I could not have supported myself under the frowns and displeasures of those who were disgusted with these alterations, in which many of them were much concerned; and therefore they sought by all means to obstruct my proceedings in this new charge. Though they could not prevent what the necessity of affairs prest most to do, which was to march speedily out with the army, yet were we by them made so inconsiderable, for want of fit and necessary accommodations, as it rather seemed that we were sent to be destroyed, than to do any service to the kingdom.



Surely then, if we had had no other end but self-interest, this might have discouraged us; but it wrought no such effect on me, but rather gave me the more hopes of future success, as hapned, to the parliament's great advantage. But if any ill use hath been made of such mercies, let the mercies be acknowledged from God, but the abusers of them receive their due reward of shame and punishment.

Being thus led on by good success and clear intention of publick good, some of us could not discern the serpent which was hid under the leaves of so good fortune, nor believe the fruits of our hopes would prove as cockatrice eggs, from whence so mischievous a brood should afterwards spring.

But how ill deserving soever we were, it pleased God still to give the army such success, in the years of 1645 and 1646, that there remained in England neither army nor fortress to oppose the parliament in settling the peace of the kingdom.

This mercy was soon clouded with abominable hypocrisy and deceit, even in those men who had been instrumental in bringing this war to a conclusion.

Here was the vertical point, on which the army's honour and reputation turned into reproach and scandal. Here the power of the army I once had was usurped by the agitators, the forerunners of confusion and anarchy.

My commission as general obliged me to act with council, but the arbitrary and unlimited power of this council would act without a general; and all I could do was ineffectual to oppose them, especially when the parliament itself became divided.

At this time the pay was withheld from the army, which increased their distempers; then followed free quarter, and that wrought a general discontent through the whole nation, which gave these factious agitators occasion to carry on their design of raising their own fortunes upon the publick ruine.

I was much troubled to see things in this condition, and rather desired to be a sufferer than a commander: But before I laid down my commission, I thought fit to consult some friends, rather than gratify my private reason and desires, especially having received it from a publick authority, which might justly expect to have notice before I laid it down.

This was the cause of my continuing in the army longer than I would have done, which did indeed preserve the parliament for some time from those violences that it afterwards suffered from these disturbers.

I shall now descend to some particulars of their agitations.

The first time I took notice of them was at Nottingham, by the soldiers meeting to frame a petition to the parliament about their arrears. The thing seemed just, but not liking the way, I spake with some officers who were principally engaged in it, and got it suppressed for that time. But this was only as the cutting off a hydra's head; for they began again, not so near the head-quarters, but in more remote corners of the army; so that before I could prevent it, they presented it to the parliament, at which they were highly displeased.

They now fell into differences, the consequence of which did not only prove fatal to the king, but destructive to themselves; the one striving to uphold their authority, the other, who had a spirit of unsettlement, to preserve themselves from the ruine they feared.

This, with a natural inclination to change, I believe created thoughts of new government, which in time attained the name of a commonwealth, but never arrived to the perfection of it, being sometimes democratical, then oligarchical, lastly, anarchical. And indeed all the ways of attaining to it seemed nothing but confusion; for now the officers of the army were placed and displaced at the will of the new agitators; and violence so prevailed, that it was above my power to restrain it. This made me have recourse to my friends, to get me a discharge of my command; and

several members of parliament met, and consulted about it, but none would undertake to move it to the house, as affairs then stood, believing such a motion would be unpleasant to them.

This was the answer I received from them, and that I should satisfy myself, for it would be the parliament's care to compose all things for the good and settlement of the kingdom.

These hopes did a little support my spirit, but could not ballance the grief and trouble I had, that I could not get my discharge: So that if you find me carried on with this stream, I can truly say, it was by the violence of it, rather than my own consent.

The army got this power and strength by correspondence with some in parliament, who found it afterwards to their own trouble. The army marcht nearer London; and at Windsor, after two days debate in a council of war, it was resolved to remove all out of the house whom they conceived did obstruct (as they called it) the publick settlement.

I was prest to use all expedition in this march, but here I resolved to use a restrictive power, where I had not a persuasive: And when the lieutenant-general and others did urge me to sign orders for marching, I still delayed it, as ever dreading the consequences of breaking parliaments, and at a time when the kingdom was falling into a new war, which was so near, that my delaying three or four days giving out orders diverted this humour of the army from being statesmen, to their more proper duty as soldiers.

Then did collonel Poyer declare in Wales; great forces did rise with my lord Goring in Kent; and duke Hamilton came into England almost at the same time, with a powerful army of Scots; all which set out work enough that summer.

This I write to shew how by providence a few days of delay secured the parliament above a year from the violence which soon after was offered them.

I might here mention those great and difficult actions the army performed that year, which were designed for the good of the kingdom; but that factious party growing more insolent, as success made them more powerful, I shall forbear to relate them, which otherwise would have deserved a better remembrance than in modesty were fit for me to give. In Kent, &c.

I shall rather punish myself with the continuance of this story of the irregularities of the army. But I must not forget one thing of very great concernment in the after changes, which should have been inserted before the mentioning of this second war—the king's removal from Holmby; the sad consequences whereof fill my heart with grief in the remembrance of them, as they did then with care how to prevent them.

Being at Saffron-Walden, in Essex, I had notice that Cornet Joyce, an arch-agitator, who quartered about Oxford, had seized on the king's person, removed his guards, and given such a check to the commissioners of parliament, who were ordered there to attend his majesty, that they refused to act any further on their commission, being so unwarrantably interrupted.

So soon as I heard of it, I immediately sent away two regiments of horse, commanded by colonel Whaley, to remove this force, and to set all things again in their due course and order. But before he came to Holmby, the king was advanced two or three miles on his way to Cambridge, attended by Joyce; where colonel Whaley acquainted the king, he was sent by the general to let him know how much he was troubled at those great insolencies that had been committed so near his person; and as he had not the least knowledge of them before they were done, so he had omitted no time in seeking to remove that force which he had orders from me to see done: And therefore he desired his majesty that he would be pleased to return again to Holmby, where all things should be settled again in as much order and quietness as they were



before. And also, he desired the commissioners to re-assume their charge, as the parliament had directed them, which he was also to desire them to do from the general. But the king refused to return, and the commissioners to act; whereupon colonel Whaley urged them to it, saying, he had an express command to see all things well settled again about his majesty, which could not be done but by his returning again to Holmby.

The king said positively he would not do it, so the colonel prest him no more to it, having indeed a special direction from me to use all tenderness and respect, as was due to his majesty.

The king came that night, or the next, to sir John Cutts's house, near Cambridge; and the next day I waited on his majesty, it being also my business to persuade his return to Holmby; but he was otherwise resolved.

I prest the commissioners also to act according to the power given them by the parliament, which they also refused to do: So having spent the whole day about this business, I returned to my quarters; and as I took leave of the king, he said to me, sir, I have as good interest in the army as you; by which I plainly saw the broken reed he leaned on.

The agitators could change into that colour which served next to their ends, and had brought the king into an opinion that the army was for him.

That it might appear what a real trouble this act was to me, though the army was almost wholly infected with this humour of agitation, I called for a council of war, to proceed against Joyce for this high offence, and breach of the articles of war; but the officers, whether for fear of the distempered soldiers, or rather (as I suspected) a secret allowance of what was done, made all my endeavours in this ineffectual. And now no punishment being able to reach them, all affairs were steered after this compass:—the king and his party in hopes; those of the parliament, and others, who kept to their covenant interest, in fears; so as for many months all publick councils were turned into private juntas, which begot greater emulations and jealousies among them: So that the army would not trust the king any longer with the liberty he had, nor the parliament suffer the army to undertake that which was more properly their own work—to settle the kingdom in its just rights and liberties; and the army was as jealous that the parliament would not have care enough of their security.

All things growing worse and worse, made the king endeavour to escape, which he did; but out of a larger confinement at Hampton-Court, to a straiter one in the Isle of Wight.

Here the parliament treated upon propositions of peace with the king; but alas! the envious one sowed tares that could not be rooted out, but by plucking up the corn also.

The king was the golden ball cast before the two parties, the parliament and the army; and the contest grew so great, that it must again have involved the kingdom in blood; but the army having the greater power, got the king again into their hands, notwithstanding all endeavours to hinder it.

The treaty was scarce ended, before the king was seized on by the hands of the same persons that took him from Holmby: soon after followed his trial.

To prepare a way to this work, this agitating council did first intend to remove all out of the parliament who were like to oppose them, and carried it on with such secrecy, as I had not the least intimation of it till it was done, as some of the members of the house can witness, with whom I was at that very time upon special business, when that attempt was made by colonel Pride upon the parliament, which I protest I never had any knowledge of till it was done. The reason why it was so secretly carried, that I should have no notice of it, was, because I always prevented those designs when I knew them.

By this purging of the house, (as they called it,) the parliament was brought into such a consumptive and languishing condition, that it could never again recover that healthful constitution which always kept the kingdom in its strength, life, and vigour.

This way being made by the sword, the trial of the king was easier for them to accomplish.

My afflicted and troubled mind for it, and my earnest endeavours to prevent it, will, I hope, sufficiently testify my dislike and abhorrence of the fact.' And what will they not do to the shrubs, having cut down the cedar?

After this, duke Hamilton, the earl of Holland, the lord Capel, and others, were condemned to death.

It is fit for me in this place to say something for my own vindication about my lord Capel, sir Charles Lucas, and sir George Lisle, who were prisoners at mercy upon the rending of Colchester, seeing some have questioned the just performance of those articles.

I laid siege to the town, and made several assaults; but finding their forces within much more numerous than those I had without, I was forced to take another course in blocking them up, and, by cutting off all supplies, to bring them to a surrender; which, after four months close siege, they were compelled to, and that upon mercy, being in number three or four thousand men; and delivering upon mercy is to be understood that some are to suffer, the rest to go free.

Immediately after our entrance into the town, a council of war was called, and those forenamed persons were sentenced to die, the rest to be acquitted.

This being so resolved, I thought fit, notwithstanding, to transmit the lord Capel, the lord Norwich, &c., over to the parliament, being the civil judicature of the kingdom; consisting then both of lords and commons, and so most proper judges in their case, who were considerable for estates and families. But sir Charles Lucas and sir

\* Anthony Wood, no great favourer of Fairfax, gives, however, full credit to the sincerity of his efforts to save the king's life, and a strange account of their termination:—"When the war was terminated, and no enemy, either in field or garrison, left, he went to London in November, 1646, where he was in a most high manner joyed and caressed by the citizens of London and parliament, for the great service he had done for the commonwealth, and nothing was thought too good or great for him. After his majesty was taken away from Holdenby, and conveyed to Childerley, Newmarket, &c., he expressed himself civil to him, as he did afterwards at Hampton-Court; but then having no pious frauds in him, or dissimulation for a good end, he did not, or could not endeavour, as being no politician, to countermand the diabolical designs of Cromwell and his hellish crew. He did not endeavour to repel or hinder the remonstrance of the army, the purging of the House of Commons of its chief members, the agreement of the people, &c., but was lulled on in a kind of stupidity. 'Tis true, before the king was beheaded, (in order to whose trial he was nominated the chief judge, but did not sit,) he did use his power and interest to have the execution deferred for some days; forbearing his coming among the officers; and did fully resolve, with his own regiment, to prevent the execution, or have it deferred till he could make a party in the army to second his design. But behold his policy! All the morning of that day on which the king was beheaded, and the time when he was beheaded, he was with certain officers in the army, at prayer, or in discourse, or both, in major Thomas Harrison's apartment in Whitehall, (being a room at the hither end of that gallery, looking towards the Privy-garden,) and knew nothing of it, as it doth appear by this passage. When his majesty was beheaded on a scaffold joining to the Banqueting-House in Whitehall, and his corps thereupon immediately confined, and covered with a black velvet pall, bishop Juxon, who attended him on the scaffold, and Thomas Herbert, the only groom of his bed-chamber that was then left, did go with the said corps to the Back-stairs, to have it embalmed; and Mr Herbert, after the body had been deposited, meeting with Fairfax the general, Fairfax asked him how the king did? Whereupon Herbert looking very strangely upon him, told him that the king was beheaded, at which he seemed much surprised. Afterwards, Herbert walking farther in the gallery with the said bishop, they were met by another great commander, named Oliver Cromwell, who knew what had lately past; for he told them, unasked, that they should have orders for the king's burial speedily, as I have been informed by the letters of the said Thomas Fairfax." —Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, II, 87. The common report of historians states that Harrison was employed to pray with Fairfax, by way of seeking the Lord's will on this important occasion, and that he prolonged his devotions until the blow was struck.



George Lisle being mere soldiers of fortune, and falling into our hands by chance of war, were executed; and in this I did nothing but according to my commission, and the trust reposed in me.<sup>1</sup>

But it may be objected, I went into the court during the trial; to which I answer, it was at the earnest request of my lord Capel's friends, who desired me to explain there what was meant by surrendering to mercy: Otherwise I had not gone, being always unsatisfied with those courts.

For this I need say no more, seeing I may as well be questioned for the articles of Bristol, Oxford, Exeter, or any other action in the war, as this.

I have now related the most remarkable things that might be alledged against me during the prosecution of the war.

One thing more requires I should say something to before I conclude; that is, concerning papers and declarations of the army, that came out in my name, and the council of officers.

I say, from the time they declared their usurped authority at Triplow Heath, I never gave my free consent to any thing they did; but being yet undischarged of my place, they set my name in way of course to all their papers, whether I consented or not: And to such failings are all authorities subject. Under parliament authority many injuries have been done; so here hath a general's power been broken, and crumbled into a levelling faction.

Yet even this I hope all impartial judges will interpret as force and ravishment of a good name, rather than a voluntary consent, which might make me equally criminal with that faction. And if in a multitude of words, much more in a multitude of actions, there must be some transgressions, yet I can truly say, they were never designedly, or willfully committed by me.

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

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

Thus have I given you the sum of the most considerable things for which the world

<sup>1</sup> Lord Fairfax is severely stigmatized for the expression "soldiers of fortune," as well as for his whole conduct upon this occasion, by the author of his life, in the *Biographia Britannica*.—"Whereas Sir Charles," says that author, "was no more a soldier of fortune than his lordship; for he had an estate in Essex, till dispossessed of it by plundering rebels, and was heir to the honour and estate of his brother, John, Lord Lucas, for want of issue-male. In his letter to the parliament, his lordship seems to question whether he had not prejudiced the honour and justice of parliament in their execution.—'For some satisfaction,' says he, 'to military justice, for the innocent blood they have caused to be spilt, and the trouble, damage, and mischief they have brought upon the towne, this country, and the kingdome, I have, with the advice of a counsell of warre of the chief officers, both of the country forces and the army, caused two of them, who were rendered at mercy, to be shot to death, before any of them had quarter assured them. The persons pitched upon for this example were, sir Charles Lucas and sir George Lisle, in whose military execution I hope your lordships will not find cause to think your honour or justice prejudiced.'"—*Biographia Britannica*, vol. III, 1750, p. 1883.

may censure me during this unhappy war; and I hope, in all my weakness and failings there shall not be found crimes of that magnitude, to make me be numbered with those who have done these things through ambition and dissimulation.

FINIS.

*Thomas Lord Fairfax, his Epitaph, made by the Duke of Buckingham.*

Under this stone doth lie  
One born for victory—  
Fairfax the valiant, and the only he  
Who e're, for that alone, a conqueror would be.

Both sexes vertues were in him combin'd;  
He had the fierceness of the manliest mind,  
And all the meekness too of womankind.

He never knew what envy was, nor hate;  
His soul was fill'd with worth and honesty,  
And with another thing besides, quite out of date,  
Call'd modesty.

He ne're seem'd impudent but in the field, a place  
Where impudence itself dares seldom shew its face.  
Had any stranger spy'd him in a room,  
With some of those whom he had overcome,  
And had not heard their talk, but only seen  
Their gesture and their mien,  
They would have sworn he had the vanquisht been:  
For as they bragg'd, and dreadful would appear,  
Whilst they their own ill luck repeated,  
His modesty still made him blush to hear  
How often he had them defeated.

Through his whole life the part he bore  
Was wonderful and great,  
And yet it so appear'd in nothing more  
Than in his private last retreat;  
For 'tis a stranger thing to find  
One man of such a glorious mind  
As can despise the power he has got,  
Than millions of the Poll's and Braves,  
Those despicable fools and knaves,  
Who such a pudder make,  
Through dulness and mistake,  
In seeking after power, and get it not.

When all the nation he had won,  
And with expence of blood had bought  
Store great enough, he thought,  
Of fame, and of renown,



*Tracts during the Reign of King Charles I.*

He then his arms laid down  
 With full as little pride  
 As if h'ad been o' th' conquer'd side,  
 Or one of them could do that were undone.

He neither wealth nor places sought ;  
 For others, not himself, he fought.  
 He was content to know,  
 For he had found it so,  
 That when he pleas'd to conquer, he was able,  
 And left the spoil and plunder to the rabble.

He might have been a king,  
 But that he understood  
 How much it is a meaner thing  
 To be unjustly great, than honourably good.

This from the world did admiration draw,  
 And from his friends both love and awe,  
 Remembering what he did in fight before.  
 Nay, his foes lov'd him too,  
 As they were bound to do,  
 Because he was resolv'd to fight no more.  
 So blest of all he di'd ; but far more blest were we,  
 If we were sure to live till we could see  
 A man as great in war, as just in peace as he.

*An unhappy View of the whole Behaviour of my Lord Duke of Buckingham, at the French Island called the Isle of Rhee, discovered by Colonell William Fleetwood, an unfortunate Commander in that untoward Service. 1648.*

This is a most fierce and prejudiced impeachment of an expedition, ill planned, and unhappily terminated. It is here ranked, according to the date of its publication, in 1648, but was probably circulated, in manuscript at least, if not printed, long before. Nothing too strong can be said of the duke's ill conduct, but all good authorities allow that he behaved with personal gallantry ; whereas this disaffected officer, in the usual style of such a character, gives the valour of the troops the sole credit for any partial success, and throws the blame of every miscarriage on the cowardice of the general.

At a private assembly at the councill table, by the king and the lords, and to extinguish the ignominy of the former service of Cales, an attempt into France was conclu-

ded on, and the duke designed for generall; who took the honour indifferently gladly, presuming to recover his lost honour and credit by his own prowesse in this exploit.

Hereupon began a strong presse of soldiers, so large a provision of victuals, and other maintenance for them, as could not but in common reason promise a boon voyage to come, if the intent were closely carried.

But before any souldiers were imbarqued, the duke, out of an evil will to the weal-publique, divulged the plot at court very freely, without any feare or wit; whereby the worst of our ill-willers wheresoever (taking but the pains to addresse themselves thither) might know all for an easie attention, which must needs be half a prevention of the hopes in question.

Upon the point of our first setting to sea, the duke, out of a distrust of some miserable death that might befall himself in the voyage, as of the consideration of being for a time estranged from his effeminate pleasures here at home, from which no warlike service could ever with-draw him, would willingly have relinquisht his charge, without any allegation, either of the weakness, unexperience, or insufficiency of his own person, but that he was prickt and spurred on to it afresh, by the only perswasion of his majesty: For that the eyes of all the troops were fixed on him for their chieftain.

Upon this we put forth to sea, and inclined ourselves, by the dukes direction, to the Island of Rhee, or St Martins.

Where, as well every mechanick and common souldier, as captains and collonels in our company, knew where our journey was to end. But, Lord! the dukes carriage at sea was obstinate and ridiculous, and altogether backward to his faith and credit, laid to pawn here at home in his absence; for whatsoever the circumspect commanders under him had propounded, as behoovefull, he would be sure to gain-say it; under a vile penalty to command that no invention should be so much as set on foot, but what proceeded from his study and approbation; so to be wholly enriched and dignified with the attribute of compassing all the good fortune that could any way attend the enterprize, as he now, contrariwise, surfeits of the disgrace.

The islanders, through the largeness of the dukes tongue, being too inquisitive after their fortifications, of divers plague passengers at sea, were acquainted with our meanings long before they saw us; and we arrived not there without an unlucky expectation and entertainment.

After we had viewed the fort and situation, we began to demand of the duke where-in our country could be advantaged by suppressing such a vast, strong, ill-favoured place, in that the maintenance thereof, after our conquest, would yearly expend very neer as much as the profit could amount unto.

To this he replied, that through his own entreaty, upon his majesties signing of his commission, he was only put upon this island, which, if he should but recover at his return, it would redeem all his lost honour at home; and so commanded us to intrench ourselves.

We all being confident that the expression could not but proceed from an undaunted heart, some of us presently, in a desperate manner, went on shore, (expecting the duke and his retinue at our heeles,) where we were suddenly unawares encountred very sharply by some troops of French horsemen, which (by meanes that the duke kept at sea, and came not in to our succour) so oppressed us with their multitude, that many of our company, in our return to our ships, were hewn to pieces, or drowned in the water; as sir William Hayden, Mr Temple of Lincoln Inne, and many other of good parentage.

The third day after the repulse, we renewed our strength, and went all again on shore, and there fortified ourselves for our most advantage; and in short time after, so furiously summoned the island, that the inhabitants were constrained to retire to their



fort, as their last refuge, to the gates whereof we pursued them with great terror, and took some prisoners.

Then perceiving the strength and compasse of the fort, and understanding that it was well victualled for a lingering siege, we recoyled back, and intrenched ourselves anew from the annoy of their cannon; and by degrees we came at last to environ it almost round, (as far as it was any way needfull,) and yet kept out of the danger of their ordinance still, and for a good while deprived them of all succours, both by sea and land, and so planted our battery.

Thus farre we sped indifferently well, having, in recompence of our first overthrow, gained the island, and put ourselves in possession of it.

The honour and applause whereof detesteth the duke and his best merits in the whole action, and, next under God, reflects on the ever-having fame and memory of that right valiant and heroique gentleman sir John Burrows, by whose only reach it was compassed, and whole act herein, since, in a calme season, he was afterwards treacherously slain, deserves, if one may say so without presumption, to immortalize his soule.

The fort now remaining unyeilded, and standing betwixt us and a reasonable conquest, by the powerfull and searching perswasion of sir John Burrows, as well common souldiers as captains protested to have too, or else to dye in the field; which promise the very flower of all our commanders there were inforced in the end to make good, to the very effusion of their dearest blood. And thus we continued our battery for above two moneths space; and yet in all that time, through the extraordinary strength of the place, by reason of the rampiers and barracadoes that the defendants had new erected within, we could make no breach, nor take other opportunity to give an assault.

Whereupon, for that our provision held out well, it was determined by sir John Burrowes, (whose weakest advise at this time the multitude were readier to follow than the best of the dukes,) that we should beleagure the fort round still as we had begun, and without a surrender thereof by a long siege, should starve up the defendants: and (all things considered) this was the only way to surprize so impregnable a place.

The duke was infinitely incensed with this sway of sir John Burrowes, and his own neglect, and therefore by degrees hee endeavoured to allure the hearts of the souldiers from him, which bare words could not doe, nor bring to passe, till he privately had distributed to some of them assenting, the pay of the rest dissenting; whereupon such a murmuring discontent arose betwixt the faction of sir John Burrowes and the duke, that had not sir John suddenly quieted all by his wisdom, we had certainly mutined amongst ourselves, to all our confusion, and so have given the enemy an occasion of advantage; but they seemed to be reconciled, and new-celebrated the amity, the same night, by a private supper in the dukes tent.

But such is the malice of a vindicative heart, that it is never appeased, but remains still inexorable and devilish.

For the next morning sir John Burrowes (according to his daily wont) surveying his own trenches, and being clear out of all danger of the fort, was in an instant stricken dead in the place with a musket shot, by an unknown hand, and so gives up his spotlesse soul into the joyes of heaven, that had never done but good on earth.

The newes and manner of this bred a new burly-burley in the campe, and ready we were to dye againe upon each others swords; but through fresh rewards from the duke to some, and lord-like meanes to other some, that had been formerly rewarded, all were once more quieted, and our provision was much lessened; whereupon my lord of Holland was sent to for our reliefe, but came not.

About this time there was news that the French king approached with reliefe for the fort, and to raise our siege, whereupon the duke, for the safe-guard of his own person, (whereas his retinew were the strongest already,) withdrew two of the best regiments

from the sure places where sir John Burrowes had formerly allotted them, for his own defence in particular, and so left all manlesse; which the French convoyes perceiving, entered there the same night, and relieved the fort in abundance, both with fresh soldiers and provision; and so nightly, for a week together, came under our noses with the like stuffe, and yet the duke would not suffer us to encounter them; pretending that hee feared the French king at his backe, when (alas) there was neither king nor French army there.

When the fort was as well manned as victualed, the defendants began divers times to confront and brave us, before their maine sally out; yet this our generall would neither permit us to encounter them, nor at last to continue our battery; so that in a very discontented manner we lay idle, riotously consuming the remainder of his majesties allowance, without attempting any thing worth the while: Insomuch that I myselfe impartially demanded of the duke what he would do with us; whether he longed to inthrall us to his owne ignoble pleasure, or to starve us up instead of the defendants; but could draw no other answer from him, but that he was our general, and so we should know it, by the strict hand he would carry over us.

And for our further proceedings against the fort, wee should go on in our idlenesse till we heard further from him.

Wee, that were colonels and prime officers under him, could hardly brook this his untoward carriage, (as raw meat on our stomachs;) yet for quietnesse sake, to repell mutenies in the camp, we smothered our grudge, without any appearance of heart-burning to the multitude, and so lay expecting a miserable successe of all our undertakings. Afterwards the duke told us that he had secret intelligence out of the fort, that most of their best souldiers had conveyed themselves away by night, for feare of a new supply by my lord of Holland; and that the remnant (if we lay still intrencht) would shortly become our vassals; which news being confirmed, with as large protestations as could proceed from the heart of any Christian man, made us so far credit him, as to lie secure, and to presume that this, once done, would make us all as happy as our confidence in his word could any wayes make us miserable by the contrary.

The very next morning after this consultation, which fell out to be the day of doom to most of us, the duke being sensible of his perfidious dealings, and that was the day the defendants would encounter us to death, notwithstanding what his engagement for our safety had formerly bin to the contrary, privily, in his tent, by the help of his faction, attired one of his own followers, every way much resembling himself, in his warlike habit and colours, with instructions suitable to the deceit; and then, disguised as a faint and impotent souldier, got himself a shipboard, and not only left us ignorant of the bloody intent towards us, but also made us incapable to prevent it when we could.<sup>1</sup>

Immediately upon this, we suspecting as little this treachery, (as that which came of it,) the defendants numberlesse sallied out, and with such violence and fury assayed us in our trenches, (they taking most of us unarmed, and daunted with the sight of the multitude,) that we were glad to fly for our lives.

Which retreat cost most of us our lives, (as the assault and both fell out in the end,) to make up a conquest to the French, and an absolute overthrow to us.

The wilnesse of my lord Mountjoyes horse was the cause of his surprizall, and as well of the death of some of our own men; for that he not onely avoyded the enemies charge, but confusedly ranne upon, and beat back divers of our best horses, which otherwise to the very death would have stood it out.

In our flight we aimed at a certain narrow bridge over a great river, which if we could have recovered and passed, we had stopt the pursuit of our enemies; but through their policy we were prevented, by their overturning a loaded cart there before-hand,

<sup>1</sup> This imputation is quite absurd, in an age when men fought bare-faced.



which we must either climb over, or leape into the river or salt pits; which most of our company being unable to doe, were instantly hewen in peeces; Sir Charles Rich, and others of great esteeme, who in the very deadly extremity were offered quarter, but would not, rather chusing to dye honourably, then longer to live with infamy and torment. I my selfe perceiving the folly of resisting any longer, having one of the best horses in the company, was forced to take an infirme salt-pit, where both my selfe and my horse stuck fast in the ground, and where I had suddenly a gashly wound in the legge with a bullet, and so I lay struggling for life. Lord, Lord, (me thought,) what paine it was to dye so; and divers of our company and commanders were in the like distresse. But in the end, the French horsemen wanting shot to reach us in the water, by the valliancy of the poore remainder of our souldiers that were gotten over the cart, wee were dragged a shoare, and so being at that time unpursued, were conveyed out of danger.

During the time of our conflict our counterfeit generall fought very resolutely, and got a gash or two in his shoulder for his pains and labour, which (before we knew the deceit) made us, notwithstanding our losses, to commend him for a valourous commander; but through the dukes backwardnes, some of those that were trusted with the knowledge of this villany, we understood it all in two dayes after, in our comfortlesse journey homewards; and we had thereupon presently mortalized his carkasse for amends, but that, upon a more mature deliberation, we thought it fitter to let him die at home, by the inquestionable hand of the parliament; so he himself could not take this as his preservation, but as his reservation to a more infamous end. And, truely, should the revenge of the parliaments almost extremity seize upon him, it would be but correspondent to his merits, that would find in his heart to lye secure himself, and all the while to see us, that were his charge, knocked down, and slaughtered like dogges. O let him go to the grave, and let no man stay him, for it is a sin to pity him in his worst estate.

My lord Mountjoy was the onely man of note of our party that accepted quarter, and was since very honourably ransomed, and sent home againe; which proceeded more from the heroiqne clemency of the French king, than for any desert either of his own or ours.

One of our French prisoners, that we have taken at our first encounter, confessed to me, in our return homewards, that had sir John Burrowes lived one two dayes longer, the defendants were concluded to have given up the fort, and all the treasure in it, to our disposeure, in respect they had so miserable experience of his vigilant intercepting of all their convoyes, and stopping of their passages; and therefore this reach could not but redownd to their utter confusion in the end, unlesse they submitted themselves betimes; but the news of his death was joyous unto them, as it was grievous unto us, and made them resolve to dye in their own defences; but the mistake at last cost most of us our lives.

And this is the whole description of our mis-fortunes, which, upon a due consideration, (I think,) must needs provoke the poorest affected of our nation to indeavour a revenge to be done. In all our future voyages, he must and will be still our generall, and then to thrive (at least) after the old fashion, we must assure our selves.

We have not been a little famous in France, for conquest heretofore with a few; but God Almighty is omnipotent and just, and we now see it is his pleasure to make us all to suffer for the sin and lacivious life of this one man. His will be done in all.

And if we can, we must be content. (Besides, too, notwithstanding,) he hath been the death of divers of the nobility, the unlucky overthrow of all our late voyages.

The unknown consumer of our treasury, and the utter confusion of the poore protestants in France, now daily massacred, without all pity, through their needlesse defence of their religion.

Yet it is the kings pleasure still to afford him his wonted grace and connivance for all this ; and treason it is apparent to denounce him faulty in any thing ; but let his majesty look to it, for his longer sheltering of this rich traytor, and false-hearted man, both to God and his country, which will be the ruine both of himself and his kingdom at last. Yet then I have hope (out of the integrity of his heart, now whilst it is called to-day, and before the evil day come) he will give him over to the parliament, whilst it is of strength to punish him ; and that they, for their parts, will send him to H., without any more adoe.

If any hereafter shall maligne, or goe about to disprove me in any one of these points, (so I may be unquestionable for this presumption,) I will, notwithstanding my lamenesse, maintaine all, upon notice, to his face, to the expence of my dearest blood : In the interim, I expect good news from the parliament by the next faire wind.



---

TRACTS

DURING

THE REIGN OF KING CHARLES I.

---

FOURTH CLASS.

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

---

## KING CHARLES I.

### FOURTH CLASS.

## MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

---

*The Letany of John Bastwick, Doctor of Phisicke; being now full of Devotion, as well in respect of the common Calamities of Plague and Pestilence as also of his owne particular Miserie; lying at this instant in Limbo Patrum. Set downe in two Letters to Mr Aquila Wykes, Keeper of the Gatehouse, his good Angell. In which there is an universall Challenge to the whole World to prove the Parity of Ministers to be Jure Divino. Also, a full Demonstration that the Bishops are neither Christs nor the Apostles Successors, but Enemies of Christ and his Kingdome, and of the Kings most excellent Majesties Prerogative-Royall. All which hee undertaketh to make good before King and Counsell, with the hazard of otherwise being made a Prey to their insatiable Indignation. A Booke very useful and profitable for all good Christians to read, for the stirring up of Devotion in them likewise.*

PROVERBS, chap. xxv. ver. 2.

It is the glory of God to conceale a thing, but the honour of the king is to search out a matter.

Printed by the speciall Procurement, and for the especiall Use of our English brethren,  
in the Yeare of Remembrance, anno 1637.

---

This singular performance ought to have been inserted in the class of Ecclesiastical Tracts; but having come to the editor's hands since that department was printed off, he still judged proper to republish it, were it only to show what very insignificant implements the wisdom of Providence deigns to employ in the revolutions of great nations. Clarendon's character of the author, John Bastwick, as "a half-witted, crack-brained fellow, but one that had spent his time abroad, between the schools and the camp, for he had been in, or passed through armies," is justified by the tenour of this his once-celebrated Litany. At the time of composing this diatribe, Bastwick was in *limbo patrum*, as he calls it—the Gatehouse prison namely, to



which he had been committed for writing a work entitled, *Flagellum Pontificis et Episcoporum Latialium*, in which he was supposed to have had the bishops of England in view, rather than those of Italy. This confinement, though uncommonly rigid, was so far from taming his furious and inflexible temper, that he only employed the leisure it afforded him in new attacks upon Laud and the prelacy. Amongst these his Litany was most celebrated, and was indeed, by a mixture of violent abuse and low humour, particularly calculated to please the crowd. Laud gave way to his wrath against the author with little prudence, and less moderation. Bastwick, with Burton, and the yet better known Prynne, was tried on the 14th June, 1637, in which one of the particular charges against him was, the having written the following Litany. The sentence was cruel in the extreme, and even, in Lord Clarendon's judgment, far exceeded the offence. The three puritanical writers were fined 5000*l.* a man, sentenced to stand in the pillory, in the Palace Yard at Westminster, there to have their ears cut off, and thereafter to be perpetually imprisoned in remote parts of the kingdom:—A judgment more terrible than death, and which, nevertheless, the sufferers sustained with the utmost courage. Bastwick was sent to the Isle of Scilly, but in the first year of the celebrated Long Parliament he was liberated, by an order from the House of Commons. The noble historian gives the following account of the triumphant return of these sufferers in the cause of puritanism. "Prynne and Burton, being neighbours, (though in distinct islands,) landed at the same time at Southampton, where they were received with extraordinary demonstrations of affection and esteem; attended by a marvellous conflux of company; and their charges not only borne with great magnificence, but liberal presents given to them. And this method and ceremony kept them company all their journey, great herds of people meeting them at their entrance into all towns, and waiting upon them out, with wonderful acclamations of joy. When they came near London, multitudes of people, of several conditions, some on horseback, others on foot, met them some miles from the town; very many having been a day's journey; and they were brought, about two of the clock in the afternoon, in at Charing-cross, and carried into the city by above ten thousand persons with boughs and flowers in their hands; the common people strewing flowers and herbs in the ways as they passed; making great noise and expressions of joy for their deliverance and return; and in those acclamations mingling loud and virulent exclamations against the bishops, 'who had so cruelly prosecuted such godly men.' In the same manner, within five or six days after, and in like triumph, Dr Bastwick returned from Scilly, landing at Dover; and from thence bringing the same testimonies of the affections and zeal of Kent, as the others had done from Hampshire and Surrey, was met before he came to Southwark by the good people of London, and so conducted to his lodging, likewise in the city."—CLARENDON, vol. I. p. 160.

Bastwick appears to have had some command in the service of parliament during the civil wars; but at their very commencement he fell into the hands of the royalists, at Leicester, and narrowly escaped being hanged for high treason. He escaped, however; for the king's party durst not venture on such violence, for fear of retaliation. How long he remained in prison, I am ignorant, but he seems, from some of his copper-plates, to have been afterwards a captain of foot in the parliamentary army. See Granger, under the article *Bastwick*.

---

*John the Phisitian to the Vertuous and Elect Lady, the Lady Walgrave, at her House in Worminsford, in Essex.*

MADAM, in these times of greate danger, being every way invironed with the contagious sickenes of the plauge, and seeing all possibility taken away (without a miraculous hand of deliverance) of ever escaping the common calamity of mortality; having set my cottage in order, which was quickly done, (little, I thanke my good friends, being left unto mee;) and having bequeathed my wife and children, and all my stock and substance, to the benediction of the Grand Creator and Sovereigne Preserver of all things, and my spirit into the hands of my blessed Redeemer, nothing sollitious for my body, (now none of mine owne;) and being most assured of a happy meeting and sweet conjunction, though wee have tasted here of much bitterness, and forced